Education and Housing
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Copyright Notice:

Metropolitan Citizens Summit
Education, Housing and Race in the Twin Cities Area
December 1999 (date, time and place to be determined)

At the conclusion of the 1999 Community Circle Dialogues, circle participants will be invited to participate in a "Citizens Summit" on creating better schools, livable wage jobs and affordable housing for every resident of the Twin Cities.

This event will be designed to bring "closure" to the Community Circle Dialogues and to move the community forward on education, housing and race in the Twin Cities:
➢ to honor the work that dedicated citizens have undertaken in the community circles;
➢ to provide a forum for further exchange of ideas among these diverse groups of citizens (in the form of more concrete solutions and next steps);
➢ to further build connections among citizens metro-wide to *act*;
➢ and, finally, to generate attention for citizens' ideas and recommendations among local, state and national policy leaders, the media and the public.
The ultimate goal is to begin to "change the way we do business" as an economically and racially diverse metropolitan community.

The Citizens Summit will have two parts:

1) **A citizens forum with participants from the Community Circle Dialogues**
   At the forum, participants will present their best ideas for moving from ideas to action on better integrating the metropolitan area (i.e., building more inclusive communities and schools). This session will be fully interactive, with participants having the ability to electronically vote on and prioritize the various ideas presented. The forum will be moderated by a known and trusted community leader in the Twin Cities.

   In addition, the forum will be attended by a number of local policy makers – elected officials from suburban, urban, metropolitan, school, county and state government – all key officials working on or influencing these issues. The goal of the meeting will be to have these policy makers present to listen to the citizens who participated in the community circle conversations, and to understand the depth of support of their ideas.

2) **A luncheon, public address to the Minnesota Meeting, and radio broadcast**
   In conjunction with the forum, the Minnesota Meeting will host an address by Lani Guinier, a nationally prominent leader in civil rights, education and housing (who will have observed the citizens summit). A larger group of community leaders – largely from business and the professions – will join the participants from the citizens forum for the Minnesota Meeting, a luncheon event which will be broadcast live on the stations of Minnesota Public Radio. This event will give the guest speaker the opportunity to relate to a larger public (luncheon guests and radio listeners) her understanding of the work among citizens that took place at the "citizens summit."

Sponsors: **The Minnesota Meeting, the Minnesota Public Radio Civic
              Journalism Initiative, and the Education & Housing Equity Project**

Funded by: **The Minneapolis Foundation and The Saint Paul Foundation**

Augsburg College, CB 185
2211 Riverside Avenue
Minneapolis, MN 55454
P: 612-330-1505
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November 11, 1999

Fred Smith
Coordinator, Community Development Programs
Center for Urban and Regional Affairs
330 Humphrey Center
301 – 19th Avenue South
Minneapolis, MN 55455

Dear Fred:

Thank you for your interest in the Citizens Summit. As I indicated in our phone conversation, the Community Circle Dialogues have come a long way since they were initiated with the help of a Humphrey intern provided through your funding.

Enclosed are several pieces of information about the proposed Metropolitan Citizens Summit. The Summit is gaining the support of organizations from many corners of the Twin Cities, including the Metropolitan Council, the City of Minneapolis and the Saint Paul School District. We see this project as the culmination of the community circle conversations on education, housing and race which have been held at various locations in Minneapolis, Saint Paul and suburbs over the last three years. We also see the summit as a unique opportunity to move the Twin Cities community into some new kinds of thinking about the "social side" of what "Smart Growth" could look like for the metropolitan area.

We are in need of additional funding support, as well as in-kind support to assure that the Summit is a success. The Summit will be identified as a project of the collaborating partners rather than in the name of a single organization. We would very much like CURA to be part of this project. We would also welcome your counsel in the planning of the Summit.

I look forward to hearing from you about our request, and appreciate your offer to contact me as early as next Wednesday.

Sincerely,

Dick Little

☐ *Yes*, I am interested in participating in the Citizens Summit and attending the Luncheon.

Name _____

Address _____

City/State/Zip _____

Phone _____

Fax _____

E-mail _____

Please indicate
the Community
Circle and/or
Forum(s) in
which you
participated:

_____

_____

_____

Invitation and Information will be mailed to you.
Send this form to:

Education and Housing Equity Project
Augsburg College, CB 185
Minneapolis, MN 55454

Lani Guinier

Lani Guinier, the first black woman tenured professor at Harvard Law School, is author of a new book, *Lift Every Voice: Turning a Civil Rights Setback into a New Vision of Social Justice*. Guinier came to public attention in 1993 when President Clinton nominated her to be the first black woman to head the Civil Rights Division of the Department of Justice and then withdrew her without a confirmation hearing. The experience prompted her to write this new book which uses the nomination debacle as a window on the civil rights movement's past, present, and future.

Guinier is a graduate of Radcliffe College and Yale University Law School and has been recognized for her achievements with many awards, including the 1995 Champion of Democracy Award from the National Women's Political Caucus, the 1995 Margaret Brent Women Lawyers of Achievement Award from the ABA Commission on Women in the Profession, and the 1994 Rosa Parks Award from the American Association of Affirmative Action.

A powerful work of scholarship and a thought-provoking memoir, *Lift Every Voice* is a cry for a new commitment to civil rights and social justice. Dean of the Yale Law School, Anthony Kronman writes, "In this stirring book, we hear Guinier's true voice. It is the voice of a democrat…searching for ways to widen and enliven our shrinking public life…It is also a moving personal testimony, a story of dignity and principle and hope, from which every reader can take heart."

Guinier, whose views on democracy and voting rights were widely misinterpreted and vilified during her nomination as Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights, was denied an opportunity to speak for herself at the time. Her experience led her to create COMMONPLACE, a new organization to transform public discourse and democratic decision-making. This national non-profit center connects citizens, communities and ideas. At COMMONPLACE, people can come together to learn how to communicate across language barriers created by academic jargon, sound bite journalism, adversarial culture, and radical, gender and social differences. The goal of COMMONPLACE is not only to get academics, journalists, public policy makers and ordinary citizens to talk through differences about race, gender and other important social issues in America, but to use conversation to develop innovative and collaborative approaches to collective decision making and issue oriented problem solving.

SCRIPT

TITLE SLIDE

Metropolitan Citizens' Summit
Addressing the Challenges of Education, Housing and Race in the Twin Cities

Hilton Hotel and Towers, Minneapolis
December 17, 1999

With logo

I. Open

Mayor Sharon Sayles Belton
- Why its so important you are here
- Why she help start Community Circle Project
- What's its accomplished to date
- Personal story about Matt Little, history of civil rights movement in Twin Cities

Matt Little
- We've heard all your ideas from the Study Circles
- Summary included
- We are focusing -- just as we did in Circles -- on two critical issues: Education and Housing and how to use them to build a more equitable and racially just society here in our community/region
- Introduce Yusef Mgeni, the chair of today's meeting
- Introduce Ken Darling, facilitator

8:40-8:45   Overview of Process -- Yusef Mgeni
- Our charge for today: Get your feedback on policy, not personal action.   Prioritize ideas, not a laundry list.
- Need to be respectful of one another's opinions, really listen
- Process, interactive technology, etc.

EXP: Demographics "Agenda-Setting" Questions -- Ken Darling

HUMOR: If you could re-do your career what would you be?
   Navy SEAL
   Professional Wrestler
   Arnold Schwarzeneger's side kick
   Governor of a small Midwestern state

1. Gender

2. Age
   1. 18 or younger
   2. 19 - 30
   3. 31 - 45
   4. 46 - 60
   5. 60 - 75
   6. Over 75

3. Racial/Cultural Background [How do you ID yourself]
    1. African American
    2. Asian American
    3. Chicano/Latino
    4. European American
    5. Multi-racial
    6. Other

4. Your political philosophy
    1. Socially and fiscally liberal
    2. Socially liberal, fiscally conservative
    3. Socially and fiscally conservative
    4. Socially conservative, fiscally liberal

6. Did you participate in a Community Circle dialogue or a related project?
    1. Yes
    2. No

7. Residence
    1. City
    2. IR
    3. OR

8. Do you have children…
    1. PS K-12
    2. PS-12
    3. Both
    4. Neither

9. Grade our region's success in building a racially equitable society
    A, B, C, D, F

10. How confident are you that we will make significant improvement in the next five years?
    1. Very confident
    2. Somewhat confident
    3. Somewhat pessimistic
    4. Very pessimistic

II. HOUSING

HOUSING CRISIS

1. Experts estimate that 195,000 low and moderate income households in the Twin Cities metro region do not have housing that is affordable. The affordable housing crisis has reached catastrophic proportions. Discussion about homelessness, children behind in school because of having to move multiple times during the school year, need for employees, trends in aging population compared to available senior housing, etc.

   EXP:

   1. How would you describe the availability of affordable housing in the Twin Cities?
      1. Not a serious problem
      2. Serious but not a crisis (addressable)
      3. A crisis among many other social issues
      4. Major Crisis, among the most critical today
      5. Catastrophe

   2. Where would you put address this crisis among major issues facing our state and region today (improving education, reducing crime, teen pregnancy, environment, etc.)
      1. Number one
      2. Top three
      3. Top five
      4. Top ten
      5. Not a major issue

   3. How would you rate Met Council's leadership on housing issues?
      A, B, C, D, F

   4. How confident are you that Met Council will effectively address housing needs in next five years
      1. Very confident
      2. Somewhat confident
      3. Somewhat pessimistic
      4. Very pessimistic

Rank 1to5
SHORT TERM
1. Moratorium on demolition of structurally sound affordable housing
2. Early Warning System to identify homes at risk of condemnation
3. Housing preservation policy to require that all lost units are replaced
4. Require affirmative marketing policies for each housing development that receives public resources.

LONG TERM
1. State Legislature:
   a) Increase affordable housing to 1% of state spending
   b) Equalize benefits of homeownership and home rental
   c) Stimulate private investment through Low-Income Housing Tax Credits
2. Establish a housing discrimination testing program for lenders, property managers, real estate sales personnel, mortgage lenders, insurers, and property appraisers. Pursue enforcement of unfair treatment.
3. Establish/Renew a Human Rights Commission in every metropolitan city
4. Strengthen the Metropolitan Council role
   a) Provide significant incentives to cities who build affordable housing
   b) Provide regional transportation, sewer and park subsidies only to cities who have met their affordable housing goals
   c) Require that a certain percentage of apartments in every new housing development are affordable to lower wage earners in the same area.
   d) Apply Smart Growth principles to metropolitan development

III. EDUCATION

The societal commitment to school integration has changed. The government-mandated approach to school desegregation has given way to a voluntary approach to the problem. Several developments have signaled a change in public policy as it relates to using school desegregation as an instrument for providing equal education opportunities for all students. For example:

A. The Minneapolis Public Schools have moved from a desegregation strategy to a community schools strategy where the first goal is not integrated classrooms but instead providing education choices for families that include a community school option and other magnet school options.

   EXP SA/SD with that approach

B. The change in the state desegregation rule from a mandatory policy for schools that are considered racially isolated to a voluntary strategy that encourages schools and school districts to collaborate on strategies that create more integrated education options.

C. A growing threat to state funded education programs that focus on affirmative actions to ensure equal education opportunities for students of color.

D. State education policy that emphasizes state education standards as a mechanism for addressing achievement gaps between schools.

Unfortunately the current state of education for students of color in Minnesota is still in crisis. In the first year that students will be denied graduation from high school because they have not passed the state's basic skills test, a disproportionate number of students of color have yet to pass the test.

EXP: 1. What is the most important factor in closing the "education gap"
   1. Student and his/her family
   2. Schools
   3. Larger issues of institutional racism [economic structure, etc.]

2. What should the state do now, financially?
   1. Increase funding to schools [no strings attached]
   2. Increase funding to schools, but only after demonstrated improvement
   3. Demand more effective use of current dollars with no increase

Potential spontaneous questions:

- Basic Skills test is inherently bias against students of color and should not be required for graduation

- Profiles in Learning "high standards" are an effective way to enhance learning and should be kept, conceptually

- Profile in Learning "high standards" implementation for graduation should be extended to allow schools and students time to adapt?

While we wait for long term policies related to desegregating our communities through housing and economic development opportunities to take root, thousands of students are not being adequately educated today.

How can we develop an education strategy that will address the educational challenges for students of color today while we continue to work toward long term, metro-wide strategies to the problems of racial and economic segregation?

SHORT-TERM STRATEGIES:

What policies do you believe will have the most profound and immediate impact on the current challenges related to ensuring equal education opportunities for all students?

> **EXP: RANK each on 1-5 priority scale**

A. Create an educational enterprise zone in areas with high percentages of low-income students. The education enterprise zone would provide resources, above and beyond state funding formulas, to district schools, charter schools and private schools that create innovative, high quality integrated education opportunities that serve all students.
B. Increase funding to schools that serve low-income students by attaching increased school funding to "the backs" of low-income students.
C. Decrease school class sizes, particularly in grade K-3.
D. Fully implement the state Profile in Learning.
E. Increase funding for voluntary desegregation efforts that result in immediate interdistrict strategies for creating more integrated classrooms.
F. Funding for more after school and summer academic enrichment programs for students.
G. Invest more resources to effectively educate the increasing number of immigrant students who require English Language Learning.
H. End "Social Promotion" of students.

LONG-TERM STRATEGIES:

What are the most prudent long-term strategies that should be employed to ensure equal education opportunities for all students?

EXP: RANK each on 1-5 priority scale

A. Increase the number of interdistrict schools like the new Downtown Interdistrict School in Minneapolis.
B. Implement a community schools policy for all school districts.
C. Create performance based funding for schools and salaries for teachers.
D. Build the capacity of parents and teachers to better educate young people by increasing professional development for teachers
E. Extending Early Childhood Family Education programs for parents Pre-K through grade 12.
F. Reform teacher education programs
G. Develop programs that attract more talented and diverse people to the teaching profession.
H. Implement a school voucher program for low income families that would allow families to receive state funding to attend a public or private school.
I. Build the political will to reintroduce mandatory integration and desegregation laws.

IV. RACE

EXP

1. I view this issue primarily as one of….
        1. Social and economic justice
        2. Race relations

2. Are you an "antiracist"?
        1. Yes
        2. No

3. Are you a "counter-racist"?
        1. Yes
        2. No

RANK EACH ON FOLLOWING TWO SCALES

4. MEDIA
5. ELECTED OFFICIALS
6. BUSINESS COMMUNITY
7. K-12 PUBLIC SCHOOLS
8. CHURCHES/COMMUNITY/NONPROFITS
9. PHILANTROPY

How critical?	**How are they doing?**
1. Low -- 5. High	1. Low -- 5. High
MEAN SCORE	MEAN SCORE

REASK OPENING QUESTION:

10.   How confident are you that we will make significant improvement in the next five years?
1. Very confident
2. Somewhat confident
3. Somewhat pessimistic
4. Very pessimistic

TEMPLATES

1. What do you think?
   1. Strongly agree
   2. Agree
   3. Disagree
   4. Strongly disagree

2. What do you think?
   1. Yes
   2. No

3. What do you think?
   1. Yes
   2. No
   3. Not sure

4. How do you feel?
   1. Very confident
   2. Somewhat confident
   3. Somewhat pessimistic
   4. Very pessimistic

5. RANK
   1. Low -- 5. High
   MEAN SCORE

Citizen's Summit
Housing section
Draft

1. The Twin Cities metropolitan region is at a crossroads. In the midst of unprecedented economic growth thousands of residents cannot find safe affordable places to live. Experts estimate that 195,000 low and moderate income households in the Twin Cities metro region do not have housing that is affordable. Approximately 1/3 live in suburbs and 2/3 core city dwellers. Discussion about homelessness, children behind in school because of having to move multiple times during the school year, need for employees, trends in aging population compared to available senior housing, etc. discrimination and negative bias.

How would you describe the availability of affordable housing in the Twin Cities?
1. Not a serious problem
2. Serious but not a crisis (addressable)
3. A crisis among many other social issues
4. Major Crisis, among the most critical today
5. Catastrophe

Where would you put addressing this crisis among major issues facing our state and region today (improving educatin, reducing crime, teen pregnancy, environment, etc)
1. Number one
2. Top three
3. Top five
4. Top ten
5. Not a major issue

During the Community Circle Conversations and other public dialogues across our region in the last two years, neighbors point to the need to address the root causes of the housing crisis. People want to do the hard work of changing public policy. Let's look at some policies that could move our region forward.

SHORT TERM
1. Moratorium on demolition of structurally sound affordable housing
2. Early Warning System to identify homes at risk of condemnation
3. Housing preservation policy to require that all lost units are replaced
4. Require affirmative marketing policies for each housing development that receives public resources.

LONG TERM
1. State Legislature:
   a) Increase affordable housing to 1% of state spending
   b) Equalize benefits of homeownership and home rental
   c) Stimulate private investment through Low-Income Housing Tax Credits

2. Establish a housing discrimination testing program for lenders, property managers, real estate sales personnel, mortgage lenders, insurers, and property appraisers. Pursue enforcement of unfair treatment.
3. Establish/Renew a Human Rights Commission in every metropolitan city
4. Strengthen the Metropolitan Council role
   a) Provide significant incentives to cities who build affordable housing
   b) Provide regional transportation, sewer and park subsidies only to cities who have met their affordable housing goals
   c) Require that a certain percentage of apartments in every new housing development are affordable to lower wage earners in the same area.
   d) Apply Smart Growth principles to metropolitan development

Left overs.

2. $1.6 billion dollar surplus.   Some people say use it to build housing, provide incentives for the private market to invest in housing, others say to return it to taxpayers, build more highways. Which is a higher priority for our metropolitan region? Which use of our money will improve our region? Make this a better place for all of us?

3. Fair housing enforcement, fighting housing discrimination. Over 70% of Caucasian households own their own homes. Less than 30% of households headed by people of color own their own homes. A recent study by the Urban Coalition and the Roy Wilkins Center at the U of M recommend policy remedies for this problem: increase the $ for 1st time homebuyers, increase fair housing monitoring and enforcement, etc.

4. Met council role.
a.   The Metropolitan Council in the primary regional planning body for the Twin Cities region. It oversees transit, waste water/sewer treatment, airports and regional parks. It also plays a role in the provision and funding of affordable housing as it plans for orderly growth of the region. During recent years the Met Council has used incentives-based approaches to encourage communities to build affordable housing. In other parts of the country, regional bodies set requirements, rather than incentives to influence regional growth. The new leadership of the Council will need to decide on its approach.

What is your opinion? Should the Council use a 'carrots or sticks' approach? (Incentives vs. requirements)

b.   The Met Council projects that the population of the region will grow by 300,000 people in the next 20 years. They also project strong job growth, with approximately 40% of the jobs created being in the lower wage service/retail sector. With a current shortage of affordable housing, and trends showing the shortage worsening, what should the Met Council do?

Should the Met Council require a community to provide homes for lower wage workers in its area?

c.   The council administers the Livable Communities Act, that emphasizes voluntary incentives based approaches for communities to plan for affordable housing across the metro. Currently the LCA is on track to only meet half of its goals.

Should the Council hold back public dollars for new roads, parks and sewers from communities that do not aggressively pursue the development of reasonably priced housing?

Metropolitan Citizens' Summit
Addressing the Challenges of Education, Housing and Race in the Twin Cities

Hilton Hotel and Towers, Minneapolis
December 17, 1999

AGENDA

8:30 a.m.   **Welcome**
Matthew Little, President, Education and Housing Equity Project

8:40 a.m.   **Overview of Process**
Yusef Mgeni, conference chair, President, The Urban Coalition
Introduction of Interactive Technology
Ken Darling, conference facilitator, Vice President, Express
Interactive Solutions

8:55 a.m.   **Focus on Housing**
Joy Sorensen Navarre, moderator, Executive Director, Metropolitan
Interfaith Council on Affordable Housing

9:45 a.m.   **Focus on Education**
Carlos Mariani, moderator, Executive Director, Minnesota Minority
Education Partnership

10:35 a.m.   **Synthesis**
Curt Johnson, Principal with the Citistates Group

10:40 a.m.   **Building a More Racially Equitable Society**
Yusef Mgeni, moderator

11:25 a.m.   **Synthesis and Closing Reflections**
Ilean Her, Executive Director, Council on Asian Pacific
Minnesotans

11:30 a.m.   **Minnesota Meeting Luncheon**

12:00 p.m.   **Keynote Address**
Lani Guinier, Professor, Harvard Law School
*Lift Every Voice: Talking about Race, Rethinking Power, Changing
the Status Quo*

Introduced by the Honorable Sharon Sayles Belton,
Mayor of Minneapolis

Songs by the Walker West Music Academy Youth Chorale
The Reverend Carl Walker, Director

1:00 p.m.   **Adjourn**

Metropolitan Citizens' Summit
Addressing the Challenges of Education, Housing and Race in the Twin Cities

Hilton Hotel and Towers, Minneapolis
December 17, 1999

HOSTS
Community Circle Collaborative
Minnesota Meeting

SPONSORS
Metropolitan Council
Minneapolis Foundation
Saint Paul Foundation
Saint Paul United Way,
Community Investment Fund
University of Minnesota,
Center for Urban and Regional Affairs
General Mills Foundation
Headwaters Fund
Metropolitan Interfaith Council on Affordable Housing
The Study Circle Fund, a Project of the Topsfield Foundation

PARTNER ORGANIZATIONS
Alliance for Metropolitan Stability
Amherst H. Wilder Foundation
Citizens League
Education & Housing Equity Project
Institute on Race and Poverty
Metropolitan Council
Metropolitan Interfaith Council on Affordable Housing
Minneapolis Mayor's Office
Minneapolis Neighborhood Revitalization Program
Minnesota Churches Anti-Racism Initiative
Minnesota Fair Housing Center
Minnesota Housing Partnership
Minnesota Meeting/Express Interactive Solutions
Minnesota Minority Education Partnership
Minnesota Public Radio
National Conference for Community and Justice, MN-Dakotas Region
Richard R. Green Institute for Teaching and Learning
Saint Paul Area Council of Churches
Saint Paul Neighborhood News Network
Saint Paul Public Schools
Urban Coalition

November 22, 1999

FIRST LAST TITLE
COMPANY
ADDRESS 1
CITY STA ZIP

Dear FIRST

Issues of racial equity and access to good housing and schools for all families in our region are perhaps the most important issues we face as a community — and a nation. We are writing to invite you to attend an important meeting designed specifically to help the Twin Cities metropolitan community move forward on those difficult issues — **The Metropolitan Citizens Summit: Addressing the Challenges of Education, Housing and Race in the Twin Cities.**

The Summit will be held from 8 a.m. to 1:30 p.m., Friday, December 17, 1999, at the Hilton Hotel and Towers, 1001 Marquette Avenue, in downtown Minneapolis. The Summit will be attended by elected officials, foundation and business leaders and others who can impact these issues. Most important, we are making a personal invitation to all the citizens — like you — who participated in the Community Circle conversations on education, housing and race throughout the Twin Cities over the last three years, or who participated in the Cities at Work forums on "Race, Connections and Commitment" over this past year. We feel strongly that informed, engaged citizens like you are the critical factor in moving an agenda forward that will make our region stronger and more equitable.

The Summit is being convened by the Education and Housing Equity Project, as well as the impressive list of co-sponsors of the Community Circle Dialogue and the Cities at Work projects. You'll see them listed at the end of this letter. It will be a truly metro-wide meeting of key players on these issues.

This is not just another meeting. Everyone at the Summit will have a voice, via an electronic voting pad. You — and your fellow participants — will give your reaction to policy initiatives now moving forward at the state, regional and local level — and to ideas now just on the drawing board. We will leave the Summit with a prioritized list of critical policy steps that we feel must move forward to:

• Combat racism and enhance racial equity in the region.
• Address the crisis in affordable housing.
• Ensure that every child in the region has access to a good education.

Of course we will not be able to "solve" these issues in a single morning meeting. Instead, our goal is to help set the policy agenda, to make sure the best ideas -- many of which came out of your dialogue with other citizens -- are moving forward.

The morning Summit will culminate with a luncheon address by Dr. Lani Guinier -- perhaps the country's leading authority on engaging citizens to build a more racially equitable society. The luncheon with Dr. Guinier will be hosted by the Minnesota Meeting, the region's most prominent public affairs forum, and broadcast live throughout the Upper Midwest. We'll be joined at the luncheon by 200 or more business and professional leaders from the Minnesota Meeting.   Dr. Guinier will participate in the Summit and will comment on our deliberation during her important address.

The event includes a continental breakfast, snacks and the Minnesota Meeting luncheon. The cost of the event is $25 -- to cover the costs of the meals. If you or your organization can cover that cost, please send a check along with your registration card. If you cannot cover the costs, don't worry. We still would very much like you to attend and will cover the cost through our scholarship fund. Simply check "scholarship" on the registration form.

If you have questions, contact Dick Little, Executive Director of the Education and Housing Equity Project, at 612.330.1505 (fax: 612.330.1507). We look forward to seeing you!

Sincerely,

Matt Little
President,
Education & Housing
Equity Project

Sharon Sayles Belton
Mayor, City of Minneapolis
Host for the Citizen's Summit

And Partnering Organizations:

Alliance for Metropolitan Stability
Amherst H. Wilder Foundation
Center for Urban and Regional Affairs
Citizens League
Education & Housing Equity Project
Institute on Race and Poverty
Metropolitan Council
Metropolitan Interfaith Council on
  Affordable Housing
Minneapolis Foundation
Minneapolis Mayor's Office

Minnesota Churches Anti-Racism Initiative
Minnesota Fair Housing Center
Minnesota Housing Partnership
Minnesota Meeting/Express Interactive
  Solutions
Minnesota Minority Education Partnership
Minnesota Public Radio
St. Paul Area Council of Churches
St. Paul Foundation
Saint Paul Public Schools
Urban Coalition

CITIZENS SUMMIT STEERING COMMITTEE

Cat	GroupName	LastName	FirstName	Address	City	State	Zip	HomePhone	WorkPhone	FaxNumber	Email
H	CITIZENS SUMMIT STEER. COMM.	ADAMS	RUSS	ALLIANCE FOR METROPOLITAN STABILITY 2600 E. FRANKLIN AVENUE	MINNEAPOLIS	MN	55406		(612) 323-4471	(612) 339-3481	radam03@ibm.net
	CITIZENS SUMMIT STEER. COMM.	NETHERCUT	DOUG	JEFFERSON CENTER FOR NEW DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES 3100 W. LAKE STREET,SUITE 405	MINNEAPOLIS	MN	55416		(612) 925-3292	(612) 926-3199	
R	CITIZENS SUMMIT STEER. COMM.	KEARNEY	GAVIN	INSTITUTE ON RACE AND POVERTY 415 LAW CENTER 229 - 19TH AVENUE S.	MINNEAPOLIS	MN	55455		(612) 625-5344	(612) 624-8890	kearn008@tc.umn.edu
H	CITIZENS SUMMIT STEER. COMM.	KARI	JOHN	METROPOLITAN COUNCIL MEARS PARK CENTRE 230 E. 5TH STREET	ST. PAUL	MN	55101		(651) 602-1548	(651) 602-1442	john.kari@metc.state.mn.us
	CITIZENS SUMMIT STEER. COMM.	WETTERNACH	VERNON	MINNEAPOLIS OFFICE OF THE MAYOR 350 S. 5TH STREET, 331 CITY HALL	MINNEAPOLIS	MN	55404		(612) 673-2109	(612) 673-2305	vernon.wetternach @ci.minneapolis.mn.us
H	CITIZENS SUMMIT STEER. COMM.	SORENSEN NAVARRE	JOY	METROPOLITAN INTERFAITH COUNCIL ON AFFORDABLE HOUSING MINNESOTA CHURCH CENTER, SUITE 310	MINNEAPOLIS	MN	55404		(612) 871-8980	(612) 813-4501	joysn@micah.org
H	CITIZENS SUMMIT STEER. COMM.	SNOW	CHRISTY	MINNESOTA FAIR HOUSING CENTER 2469 UNIVERSITY AVENUE W., LOWER LEVEL	ST. PAUL	MN	55114		(651) 917-8869	(651) 917-8907	mfhc@mtn.org
"	CITIZENS SUMMIT STEER. COMM.	WINANS	LARRY	MINNESOTA FAIR HOUSING CENTER 2469 UNIVERSITY AVE. W. LOWER LEVEL	ST. PAUL	MN	55114		(651) 917-8869	(651) 917-8907	mfhc@mtn.org
R	CITIZENS SUMMIT STEER. COMM.	SCHOEN	LOUIS	MINNESOTA CHURCHES ANTI-RACISM INITIATIVE 4661 CEDAR LAKE RD.,S.	MINNEAPOLIS	MN	55416		(612) 374-9719		louschoen@ecunet.org
"	CITIZENS SUMMIT STEER. COMM.	ADDINGTON	JAMES	MINNESOTA CHURCHES ANTI-RACISM INITIATIVE 122 W. FRANKLIN AVE., SUITE 100	MINNEAPOLIS	MN	55404		(612) 871-0229	(612) 870-3662	naja@gmcc.org
"	CITIZENS SUMMIT STEER. COMM.	VALENZUELA	CARMEN	MINNESOTA CHURCHES ANTI-RACISM INITIATIVE 122 W. FRANKLIN AVE., SUITE 100	MINNEAPOLIS	MN	55404		(612) 871-0229	(612) 870-3662	
H	CITIZENS SUMMIT STEER. COMM.	WILLIAMS	JESSE	MINNESOTA HOUSING PARTNERSHIP 122 W. FRANKLIN AVE., STE., 230	MINNEAPOLIS	MN	55404		(612) 874-0112	(612) 874-9685	jwilliams@mhponline.org
	CITIZENS SUMMIT STEER. COMM.	DARLING	KEN	MINNESOTA MEETING & EXPRESS INTERACTIVE SOLUTIONS 219 MAIN STREET S.E., SUITE 500	MINNEAPOLIS	MN	55414		(612) 617-1000	(612) 617-1001	kdarling@expsolutions.com
E	CITIZENS SUMMIT STEER. COMM.	VANDAL	BRUCE	MINNESOTA MINORITY EDUCATION PARTNERSHIP 2211 RIVERSIDE AVE., S.	MINNEAPOLIS	MN	55454		(612) 330-1509	(612) 330-1510	bvandal@mmep.net
H	CITIZENS SUMMIT STEER. COMM.	WALZ	BOB	ST, PAUL AREA COUNCIL OF CHURCHES 1571 SUMMIT AVENUE	ST. PAUL	MN	55105		(651) 646-8805	(651) 646-6866	vwalz@spacc.com
E	CITIZENS SUMMIT STEER. COMM.	RODRIGUEZ	DAN	ST. PAUL PUBLIC SCHOOLS 360 COLBORNE STREET	ST. PAUL	MN	55102		(651) 293-5167	(651) 290-8386	daniel-rodriguez@spps.stpaul.k12.mn.
	CITIZENS SUMMIT STEER. COMM.	ROSE	BARB	AMHERST H. WILDER FOUNDATION 919 LAFOND AVENUE	ST. PAUL	MN	55104		(651) 659-6031	(651) 642-2088	bar@wilder.org
R	CITIZENS SUMMIT STEER. COMM.	MGENI	YUSEF	URBAN COALITION 2610 UNIVERSITY AVE., W., SUITE 201	ST. PAUL	MN	55114		(612) 348-8550	(612) 348-2533	
E	CITIZENS SUMMIT STEER. COMM.	JENNY	PHIL	CITIZENS LEAGUE 708 SOUTH 3RD STREET SUITE 500	MINNEAPOLIS	MN	55415		(612) 338-0791	(612) 337-5919	pjenni@citizensleague.net
R	CITIZENS SUMMIT STEER. COMM.	LITTLE	MATT	EDUCATION & HOUSING EQUITY PROJECT 2670 GERMAIN CT.	MAPLEWOOD	MN	55109	(612) 651-8141		(651) 773-8141	
	CITIZENS SUMMIT STEER. COMM.	LITTLE	DICK	EDUCATION & HOUSING EQUITY PROJECT 2211 RIVERSIDE AVENUE, CB 185	MINNEAPOLIS	MN	55454		(612) 330-1505	(612) 330-1507	ehep@augsburg
E	CITIZENS SUMMIT STEER.COMM.	MALKIS FUENTES	ALLAN CLAUDIA	URBAN COALITION 2610 UNIVERSITY AVE., W. SUITE 201	ST. PAUL	MN	55114		(612) 348-8550	(612) 348-2533	allan@urbancoalition.org

H = HOUSING & GROWTH MGT.

E = EDUCATION & ECONOMIC DEV.

R = RACISM & SEGREGATION

The Metropolitan Citizens Summit: Addressing the Challenges of Education, Housing and Race in the Twin Cities

<u>DRAFT AGENDA</u>

8:00 a.m.   Registration and continental breakfast

8:30   Opening remarks
Introduction of Interactive Meeting Technology
Demographic profile of participants

8:45   Racial Equity: How do we address issues of race and racism? What did we learn from the Community Circle project to move forward on these difficult questions?

Leader: TBD
Leader will act as a representative of the topic and present 3-5 of their best "ideas" which reflect needs of the community, not just a personal agenda, and that will lead to changes in policy or other form of action.
Ken Darling will moderate the discussion using interactive technology.

Process:
- Present idea quickly (one person)
- Get reaction from the group using technology:
   Voting slide scale:
   1.   Very supportive
   2.   Somewhat supportive
   3.   Neutral
   4.   Somewhat unsupportive
   5.   Very unsupportive
- Have discussion, call on an expert to address as needed.
- Re-vote as necessary

9:30   Education: Is the Community School movement working? What other ideas must be on the agenda to improve the educational opportunities of all children in our region?
Leader: TBD
Same process as above.

10:15   Refreshments

10:30   Housing: What strategies work best to provide adequate housing for all people in our region? What ideas on the policy agenda now should move forward? What ideas need to get on that agenda?

11:15   Wrap Up: How do we move forward on these issues? What are our top priorities? How do we ensure every child in the Twin Cities gets a solid education?

UPCOMING EVENT

CITIZENS SUMMIT!

Culmination of Community Circle Dialogues on Education, Housing and Race in the Twin Cities (1997-99)

Friday, December 17, 1999
Summit, 8-11:30 a.m. • Luncheon and Address, 11:30-1:15 p.m.

Minneapolis Hilton on Marquette
Downtown Minneapolis

Luncheon address by Professor Lani Guinier of Harvard Law School, author of *Lift Every Voice*.

Sponsored by the Minnesota Meeting, Minnesota Public Radio and the Education & Housing Equity Project. Funded by the Minneapolis and Saint Paul Foundations.

For more information contact:
Dick Little at (612) 330-1505 or Barb Rose at (651) 695-6031.

☐ *Yes*, I am interested in participating in the Citizens Summit and attending the Luncheon.

Name

Address

City/State/Zip

Phone

Fax

E-mail

Please indicate the Community Circle and/or Forum(s) in which you participated:

Invitation and Information will be mailed to you.
Send this form to:
    Education and Housing Equity Project
    Augsburg College, CB 185
    Minneapolis, MN 55454

Revenue

Minnesota Meeting		$ 6,200
Facility costs	$ 750	
AV costs for lunch	$ 800	
Mailing	$1,000	
Registration	$1,200	
Lani Guinier all expenses	$2,000	
25 lunches	$ 450	
Participant fees		$ 4,375
(175 @ $25)		
Donor support, to date		$10,000
Minneapolis Foundation	$5,000	
St. Paul Foundation	$5,000	
TOTAL REVENUE		**$20,575**
To Be Raised		**$ 6,250**

Citizens Summit

December 17, 1999
Minneapolis

BUDGET
– PRELIMINARY –

Expenses

Meeting space	$ 1,000
AV/Projector/Screen/Sound System/Technician/morning	$ 600
AV/Sound System/Technician/lunch meeting	$ 800
Materials/Event folders	$ 500
Event signage	$ 200
Invitation printing, postage, follow-up mailing	$ 1,200
Registration handling/onsite support	$ 1,200
Continental breakfast ($8/person)	$ 1,600
Beverage service ($2/person)	$ 400
Lunch ($18/person)	$ 3,600
Speaking Fee to Lani Guinier	$ 2,000
Travel, lodging, expenses for Lani Guinier	$ 2,000
Project management/meeting design/communications	$ 4,000
Interactive meeting technology/professional facilitation	$ 4,500
EHEP internal costs	$ 3,000
Admin expenses	$ 225
TOTAL EXPENSES	**$24,225**

Metropolitan Citizens Summit

Collaborative Partners
Nov. 5, 1999

Alliance for Metropolitan Stability	Russ Adams
Citizens League	Phil Jenny
Education & Housing Equity Project	Matt Little
Humphrey Institute, Humphrey Forum	Steve Sandell
Institute on Race and Poverty	Gavin Kearney
Jefferson Center for New Democratic Processes	Doug Nethercut
Metropolitan Interfaith Council on Affordable Housing	Joy Sorensen Navarre
Minneapolis, Mayor's Office	Vern Wetternach
Minneapolis Urban League	Thomas Ross
Minnesota Churches Anti-Racism Initiative	Lou Schoen
Minnesota Fair Housing Center	Christy Snow
Minnesota Housing Partnership	Chip Halbach
Minnesota Meeting/Express Interactive Solutions	Ken Darling
Minnesota Minority Education Partnership	Carlos Mariani-Rosa
Minnesota Public Radio (Civic Journalism Initiative)	Len Witt
Saint Paul Public Schools	Dan Rodriguez
Urban Coalition	Yusef Mgeni
Wilder Foundation	Barb Rose

COMMUNITY CIRCLE COLLABORATIVE
EDUCATION AND HOUSING EQUITY PROJECT
122 West Franklin Avenue, Suite 320
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55404
Phone: (612) 871-8980
Fax: (612) 871-8984

February 28, 1997

Mr. George A. Garnett
Vice President, Programs
The Minneapolis Foundation
A200 Foshay Tower
821 Marquette Avenue
Minneapolis, MN 55402

Dear George:

Thanks for the very productive meeting earlier this month. It is a great pleasure to work with funders who are not are not only supportive of our work but also eager to offer new ideas and to actively help shape projects. You and Paul Williams are both great assets to our work and we thank you.

This letter is to outline the elements of a "Citizens Summit" on creating better schools and affordable housing for every resident of the Twin Cities. The project is designed to bring some closure to the "Community Circles" meetings now, or about to be, underway: to honor the work these dedicated citizens have undertaken, to provide a forum for further exchange of ideas (now in the form of more concrete solutions and next steps) among these diverse citizens, to further build connections among citizens metro-wide to *act*, and, finally to generate attention for those ideas among local and national policy leaders, the media and the public.

As we discussed, our plan is to hold a major public forum featuring a speaker of national stature. The program will be co-hosted by the Community Circle partners and the Minnesota Meeting. I've had a long conversation with George Latimer and he agrees that Andrew Cuomo, the new Secretary of HUD, would be an ideal speaker. Mr. Cuomo has expressed a keen interest in what we are doing – and George thinks we have a good chance at getting Cuomo within our May timeline.

The Citizens Summit with Mr. Cuomo will have two parts:

1) A Citizens Forum with the participants from the Community Circle project. At the forum, participants will present their best ideas for moving from ideas to action on better integrating the metropolitan area. The session will be fully interactive, with the participants having the ability to electronically vote on or rate the various ideas presented. The forum will be moderated by Mr. Latimer and co-facilitated by Jayne Marecek, president of EXPRESS.

In addition to Mr. Cuomo, the forum will be attended by a number of local policy makers/elected officials, from suburban, urban, metropolitan, school, county and state government – all the key officials working on or influencing these issues. The goal of the meeting will be to have these policy makers present to listen to citizens, and to understand the depth of support for their ideas. Our plan is to have 150-200 citizen participants from the study circles join us for the sessions, as well as several dozen policy makers.

2) A Minnesota Meeting address. In conjunction with the forum, the Minnesota Meeting will also host an address by Mr. Cuomo. The larger group of community leaders – largely from business and the professions – will join the 200 or so participants from the morning forum for the Minnesota Meeting, which will likely be held just after the forum. It will be very easy for the forum participants – and the elected officials – to stay on for the luncheon, which will be broadcast live on the stations of Minnesota Public Radio. The Minnesota Meeting will also give Mr. Cuomo an excellent opportunity to relate to this larger audience his understanding of the work that happened that morning. Our target date remains late May.

The cost of the above is $8,000. That cost will cover complete use of the EXPRESS Communications interactive meeting technology at the forum, and provision of the firm's expertise on meeting design, agenda-setting, media relations, and planning of such events. That amount includes $1,000 to cover all miscellaneous costs associated with the forum (mailing, copying, etc.) and to purchase lunches for some participants. The Minnesota Meeting will cover all travel and lodging costs for Mr. Cuomo, will provide its staff for making all logistical arrangements and coordinating the large-scale meeting itself, will allow all participants to attend the Minnesota Meeting at the membership rate of $18 and will provide luncheon scholarships for lunches of some non-profit and low income participants (with the project picking up some, too, on a needs basis).

The Community Circles project will handle all communications with the participants and the elected officials (with professional communications advice and support from EXPRESS, which has handled many similar public policy programs) and will actively recruit diverse participants.

As we stated at the meeting our goal is to bring together a group of diverse people who are all committed to moving ahead on these important issues, to "change how we do business" on these issues (schools, housing and segregation), to quote George Garnett. The group will include diversity by race, gender, income, geographic location and political perspective – and profession. We want new people in this discussion – including business owners and a very good mix of suburban and urban people.

We also desire to provide an evening forum for Community Circle participants, especially for those participants who will not be able to attend the daytime forum coupled with the Minnesota Meeting.

This forum will be moderated by Mr. George Latimer and Ms. Vivian Jenkins Nelsen and will use an interactive process modeled after the public deliberations of the Kettering Foundation's National Issues Forums and the Study Circles Resource Center. It will be held prior to the Minnesota Meeting forum, to enable the fullest possible input into the Citizens Summit. The cost of doing that forum is $2,000. Accordingly our total request from the Minneapolis Foundation (and its partnering funders) is for $10,000.

We think it would be ideal to have the project jointly funded by the Minneapolis Foundation and the Saint Paul Foundation (or another major St. Paul-based funder). Please do not hesitate to call me – or any of us – with questions. Thanks, again.

Sincerely,

Dick Little, Coordinator

cc: Paul D. Williams, Project Manager, *Building Better Futures,* The Minneapolis Foundation
    Mike Anderson, Board Member, Education and Housing Equity Project
    Jayne Maracek and Ken Darling, EXPRESS Communications/Minnesota Meeting
    Leonard Witt, Minnesota Public Radio Civic Journalism Project
    George Latimer, Professor of Urban Studies, Macalester College

Metropolitan Citizens Summit
Education, Housing and Race in the Twin Cities Area
December 1999

At the conclusion of the 1999 Community Circle Dialogues, circle participants will be invited to participate in a "Citizens Summit" on creating better schools and affordable housing for every resident of the Twin Cities.

This event will be designed to bring "closure" to the "Community Circles" meeting this and previous years, and to move the community forward on these important issues:
> to honor the work these dedicated citizens have undertaken;
> to provide a forum for further exchange of ideas among these diverse citizens (in the form of more concrete solutions and next steps);
> to further build connections among citizens metro-wide to *act*;
> and, finally, to generate attention for citizens' ideas among local, state and national policy leaders, the media and the public.

The ultimate goal is to "change how we do business" as a racially diverse community.

The Citizens Summit will have two parts:

1) **A Citizens Forum with participants from the Community Circle project**
   At the forum, participants will present their best ideas for moving from ideas to action on better integrating the metropolitan area (i.e., building more inclusive communities and schools). This session will be fully interactive, with participants having the ability to electronically vote on or rate the various ideas presented. The forum will be moderated by a known and trusted community leader.

   In addition, the forum will be attended by a number of local policy makers – elected officials from suburban, urban, metropolitan, school, county and state government – all key officials working on or influencing these issues. The goal of the meeting will be to have these policy makers present to listen to the citizens who participated in the community circle conversations, and to understand the depth of support of their ideas.

2) **A Minnesota Meeting address**
   In conjunction with the forum, the Minnesota Meeting will also host an address by a nationally prominent leader in civil rights, education and housing (who will have observed the citizens summit). A larger group of community leaders – largely from business and the professions – will join the participants from the citizens forum for the Minnesota Meeting, a luncheon event which will be broadcast live on the stations of Minnesota Public Radio. This event will give the speaker an excellent opportunity to relate to a larger public (luncheon guests and radio listeners) her/his understanding of the work among the citizens that happened at the forum.

Sponsored by: *The Minnesota Meeting, the Minnesota Public Radio Civic Journalism Initiative and the Education & Housing Equity Project*

Funded by: *The Minneapolis and the Saint Paul Foundations*

MEMORANDUM

To:	Tanya Martin Pekel
From:	Dan Rodriguez
Re:	Community Circle Dialogue Sponsorship
Date:	September 24, 1999

Per our conversation earlier this week, this is the note I promised which provides background, our role, and next steps on the above referenced item.

Background

As you know, Luz Maria Serrano and I are board members of the Education and Housing Equity Project (EHEP). EHEP has collaborated with a host of other organizations (see attached list) to initiate the Cities at Work Community Circle Dialogues. The dialogues provide an opportunity for community members to have an honest (and sometimes rare) dialogue and discussion about the challenges facing the Twin Cities, in the area of housing, education, race, culture, and economics. (You'll note that the Minneapolis Public Schools are sponsors.) For some time now, EHEP has wanted the SPPS to fully participate in the Circle Dialogues by actually sponsoring several circles. To date we have not done so, though we would like to change that in the near future.

Role

Working with the Wilder Foundation, we have identified four areas that have not fully been involved in the ongoing circles: North End, East Side, Summit U, and the West 7th Area. With this in mind we would like to target our SPPS parents and staff who reside and work in these areas and invite them to a Community Circle Dialogue. (With our databases, we can randomly identify and target parents and staff.) The invitation would be under Pat Harvey's signature. We would provide the location (one of our schools or other SPPS sites, such as 360) and we also would provide facilitators.

Also working on this project with me are: Tamsyn Alixandra, Arty Dorman, Willie Nesbit, and Sylvia Perez. They have all agreed to be facilitators. Our contact at Wilder has been Barb Rose.

In addition to simply asking some of our parents and staff to participate in the five sessions that make up the circle dialogues, we thought it might be important to also have a follow-up forum, with Pat in attendance. This would allow participants an opportunity to share their thoughts or observations about these topics directly with one of the major stakeholders, namely, the superintendent of the Saint Paul Public Schools.

Further, it was suggested that to underscore the importance of this undertaking and recognizing that none of these issues exists in a vacuum, we might want an invitation with both Pat and the Mayor's signature. (Barb has contacted the Mayor's Office and they are interested.)

Next Steps

We are proposing sending out the invitations the first week of October. The following week could be used to follow-up and establish confirmations. The circle dialogues would begin the week of the 18th. They meet for five consecutive weeks. (We are currently trying to identify meeting space.) We would then like to schedule the follow-up forum with Pat Harvey. (If the invitation is sent under Pat and the Mayor's signature, then we would want him to be part of the follow-up also....possibly even the BOE?) [We can approach Dick Little of EHEP and/or Yusef Mgeni of the Urban Coalition to facilitate the forum.]

- Is Pat willing to send out an invitation under her signature? (I can draft the invitation once sites are identified.)
- Would Pat agree to an invitation sent under her signature **and** the Mayor?
- Would she be available for a follow-up forum? If so, when?

Our next planning meeting is Monday, October 4th at 8:00. If your schedule allows, you are welcomed to attend.

I have a short video that does a nice job of presenting an overview of the Community Circle Dialogues. Feel free to view it and share it with Pat.

Mayor Sharon Sayles Belton, of Minneapolis , is convening a sponsor information meeting on this topic tomorrow. Tamsyn Alixandra and myself are attending. The purpose of this meeting is to raise awareness of this project. If you schedule permits, you are more than welcomed to attend. I am attaching a copy of the invitation.

I just received a call from Barb Rose (659-6031) of Wilder. She called to inquire if the school district would be interested in sponsoring the Call-to-Action luncheon on November 8th. I suggest if you are interested, that you contact Barb, who can fill in the details.

If you have any questions, I am available at 293-5239.

Thank you for assistance and cooperation.

Cc: Tamsyn Alixandra
        Arty Dorman
        Willie Nesbit
        Sylvia Perez
        Barb Rose
        Luz Maria Serrano

minneapolis
city of lakes

September 13, 1999

Mr. Dan Rodriguez
Saint Paul Public Schools
360 Colborne
Saint Paul,MN 55102

Dear Mr. Rodriguez:

You are cordially invited to an informational meeting to learn more about *Cities at Work* and *Conversations at the Crossroads: Community Circle Dialogues on Education, Housing and Race in the Twin Cities.* Because I am a strong supporter of the Community Circle process, I encourage you to participate in this informational meeting to "kick off" the fall 1999 Community Circles dialogues.

With crime and unemployment at historic lows, housing and public education remain two of the biggest challenges facing our city, the metropolitan community and the nation. I share a deep commitment to promoting housing patterns that better integrate our metropolitan community across barriers of race and class and, in the process, bring children from different backgrounds to more integrated and diverse learning environments. We need your leadership in the Community Circles project to help create sustainable solutions to these challenges.

The Community Circle Dialogues on Education, Housing and Race have proven to be an effective way to engage our citizens in discussion, reflection and public action to build healthy, inclusive communities and schools. Community Circles are small, diverse discussion groups that meet for five two-hour sessions in an honest and open dialogue. The discussions are moderated by trained facilitators and use a study guide to explore the challenges facing our communities and to identify promising actions. Community Circle dialogues build a greater understanding of diverse viewpoints and encourage individuals and communities to take action and promote constructive public policy changes.

The Community Circles are hosted by organizations such as yours: neighborhood associations, schools, faith-based groups, businesses and community-based organizations throughout the region. Already over 60 circles and 1,000 citizens have engaged in this process, yielding fresh ideas and solutions to some of our most vexing problems, as well as new partnerships between citizens of different backgrounds.

Here is your opportunity to make a difference in your community and for all of us in the Twin Cities metropolitan area. **Please join us at the Community Circle Dialogues Sponsor Information Meeting to be held in the Mayor's Conference Room (Room 333), Minneapolis City Hall, on Saturday, September 25th from 9:00 to 11:00 a.m. (registration and refreshments begin at 8:30). Please send your designated representative if you are personally unable to attend.** This will be a one-time event, in which all information and resources needed to host a Community Circle Dialogue will be shared.

The 4th street entrance to City Hall will be open. Directions to the third floor conference room will be provided at the sign-in desk inside the building entrance. Parking is available at nearby ramps (see map) or on the street.

Please RSVP by calling 612.330.1505 Ext. 1. If you have questions or need further information, please call Dick Little at the Education and Housing Equity Project (612) 330-1505 or Barb Rose at the Wilder Foundation (651) 642-4060. We look forward to seeing you on the 25th.

Sincerely,

Sharon Sayles Belton
Sharon Sayles Belton
Mayor

Community Conversations on Education, Housing and Race
in the Twin Cities Metropolitan Region

Sponsor Information Meeting
Minneapolis City Hall
Mayor's Conference Room (333)
September 25, 1999
**9:00 – 11:00 a.m.**

AGENDA

8:30	**Registration and Refreshments**
9:00	**Welcome and Introductions** Kris Brogan, Policy Aide to Mayor Sharon Sayles Belton
9:10	**Video "Story of Lima, Ohio"** *What does a community circle look like? What can a community-wide circle program do for a city or region?*
9:30	**Conversations at the Crossroads: Twin Cities Community Circles** **Dialogue Project** Dick Little, Education and Housing Equity Project
9:35	*Cities at Work* **Public Dialogue on "Race, Connections and Commitment"** Barb Rose, Wilder Foundation
9:40	**The Challenges of Education, Housing and Segregation in the** **Twin Cities Metropolitan Area** Gavin Kearney, Institute on Race and Poverty
9:50	**Stories of Successful Community Circles in the Twin Cities** Representatives of the Bloomington Human Rights Commission Circle and the Frogtown Pluralism Circle
10:05	**Sponsor Roles and Expectations** *What does it mean to be a community circle dialogue sponsor?*
10:20	**Facilitators, Discussion Guide and Action Forums** Mitchell Davis, Minneapolis Foundation
10:30	**Questions and Concerns**

A Focus for Discussion

This discussion guide offers you an opportunity to look at various viewpoints about the complex affects of race and racism on housing and education. They are a starting point for a thoughtful and respectful dialogue and are intended to launch our community in a search for answers to the following questions:

◆ Do patterns of residential, economic and racial segregation have impact on the educational achievement and life opportunities of children and adults living in Saint Paul? How? What are the impacts?

◆ What can we do as individuals and as a community to enhance the educational, housing, and economic opportunities of all children and adults living in Saint Paul and the Twin Cities region?
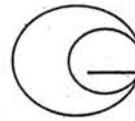
Cities at Work Community Circle Dialogues
EDUCATION AND HOUSING EQUITY PROJECT

CIRCLE DIALOGUE SPONSORS
1998-1999

Amherst H. Wilder Foundation
Bloomington Human Rights Commission
Crystal Human Rights Commission
District Five Teen Council
Frogtown Family Center
Frogtown Pluralism Circle
Hamline/Midway Coalition Alliance for a Prejudice Free Community
HECUA (Metro Urban Studies Term)
Hiawatha YMCA and Longfellow-Nokomis Family & Community Resource Center
Hmong American Partnership
J.J. Hill Montessori Magnet School
League of Women Voters of Minneapolis
Lexington/Hamline Community Council and the Merriam Park Community Council
Mayflower Park Community Council & Goodwill/Easter Seals
Minneapolis School District
Southwest Area (Barton Open School)
South Area (Bryant Square Park)
East Area (East Lake Library)
North Area (Northstar Elementary School)
Neighborhood Economic Development Alliance
Partnerships for Tomorrow
Project for Price in Living
Ramsey Action Program
Ramsey International Fine Arts School
Richfield Human Rights Commission
Saint Paul Foundation
St. Mark's Episcopal Church
St. Paul Area Council on Churches
St. Paul Neighborhood Network
St. Paul Public Schools
The St. Paul Companies
University of St. Thomas
Westside Family Center
Wooddale Lutheran Church
Young Leaders Caucus

Community Circles: 1997 – 1999 Sponsors

Amherst H. Wilder Foundation, St. Paul (1999)

Ascension Catholic Church – Minneapolis Circle (1997)

Ascension Catholic Church – Brooklyn Center/Brooklyn Park Circle (1997)

Apple Valley Foundation (2000)

Augsburg College, Minneapolis (1999)

Bloomington Human Rights Commission (1999)

Bloomington Jefferson High School & Galaxy Youth Center (2000)

Central Neighborhood Improvement Association, Minneapolis (1999)

Champlin Community Library (1997)

Commonbond Communities, Oak Terrace Residents Association, Oakdale (1997)

Courage Center, Golden Valley (1998)

Crystal Human Rights Commission (1999)

District Five Teen Council, Saint Paul (1999)

Edina Community Education, Edina School District (1997)

First Universalist Church of Minneapolis (1997)

Frogtown Family Center, Frogtown Pluralism Circle, Saint Paul (1999)

Greater Minneapolis Day Care Association (1997)

Golden Valley Black History Month Committee (1997)

Hamline/Midway Coalition Alliance for a Prejudice-Free Community, Saint Paul (1999)

Hennepin County Children and Family Services (1997)

Hiawatha YMCA & Longfellow-Nokomis Family and Community Resource Center, Minneapolis (1999)

Higher Education Consortium for Urban Affairs, Metro Urban Studies Term, Hamline University (1998 & 1999)

Hmong American Partnership, Saint Paul (1999)

Holy Trinity Lutheran Church & Longfellow United for Youth and Families, Mineapolis (1997)

Hopkins School District (1997)

Interdistrict Downtown School, West Metro Education Program (2000)

J.J. Hill Montessori Magnet School, Saint Paul (1999)

League of Women Voters of Minneapolis (1999)

Lexington/Hamline Community Council, Saint Paul (1999)

Maple Grove residents group (1997)

Mayflower Community Congregational Church, Minneapolis (1999)

Merriam Park Community Council & Goodwill/Easter Seals, Saint Paul (1999)

Minneapolis School District, Southwest Area & Minneapolis NRP – Barton Open School (1998)

Minneapolis School District, South Area & Minneapolis NRP – Bryant Square Park (1998)

Minneapolis School District, East Area & Minneapolis NRP – East Lake Library (1998)

Minneapolis School District, North Area & Minneapolis NRP – Northstar Elementary School (1998)

Minnesota Fair Housing Center & Project Foundation, Minneapolis (1997)

Minnesota Public Interest Research Group, University of Minnesota (1999)

Neighborhood Economic Development Alliance, Saint Paul (1999)

Partnerships for Tomorrow and City of Burnsville (1999 – 2000)

People's Congregational Church, Bayport (1997)

Project for Pride in Living (two circles), Minneapolis and Saint Paul (1999)

Ramsey Action Program, Saint Paul (1999)

Ramsey International Fine Arts School, Minneapolis (1999)

Richard R. Green Central Park School, Minneapolis (1997)

Richfield Diversity Connection (1998)

Richfield Human Rights Commission (1999)

Richfield School District & Richfield Community Council (1997)

Roseville Human Rights Commission (2000)

Sabathani Community Center, Minneapolis (1997)

Saint Joan of Arc Interfaith Action Team & Southside Neighborhood Housing Services, Minneapolis (1997)

St. Louis Park leaders circle (1997)

Saint Mark's Episcopal Cathedral, Minneapolis (1999)

Saint Paul Central High School (1997)

Saint Paul Neighborhood Network (1999)

Saint Paul School District (multiple circles) (2000)

Seward Montessori School & Matthews Community Center, Minneapolis (1997)

South Anoka County Community Consortium (2000)

Southwest Area Roundtable, Minneapolis (1998)

The Saint Paul Companies & East Metro Women's Council (1999)

Twin Cities Habitat for Humanity, Minneapolis (1998)

University of Minnesota, Newman Center (1997)

University of St. Thomas, Political Science Department, Saint Paul (1999)

University of St. Thomas, Theology Department, Saint Paul (1999)

Westminster Presbyterian Church, Minneapolis (1999)

Westside Family Center, Saint Paul (1999)

Wooddale Lutheran Church, Saint Louis Park (1999)

Young Leaders Caucus, Women's International League for Peace & Freedom, Twin Cities Chapter (1999)

METROPOLITAN CITIZENS' SUMMIT

ADDRESSING THE CHALLENGES OF HOUSING, EDUCATION, AND RACE

IN THE TWIN CITIES

December 17, 1999

Minneapolis, Minnesota

MEETING NOTES

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I. INTRODUCTION

On December 17, 1999, approximately 320 citizens gathered in Minneapolis for a first-time event called the Metropolitan Citizens' Summit. The purpose of this forum was to allow informed participants to consider and prioritize current legislative solutions to problems of housing and education. The Citizens' Summit was the culmination of a three-year public education process in which nearly 2,000 citizens from the Twin Cities metropolitan area engaged in organized study groups and dialogues on these issues through programs such as Community Circles and Cities at Work. To provide a context for their discussions, each group received supplemental reference materials and handouts containing current information on housing and education from a variety of sources, including the Center for the American Experiment and the Urban Coalition. As a result, the people who gathered for the December 17 Citizens' Summit were *informed* citizens, with 82% having participated in at least one of the community dialogues in the Twin Cities area.

The initial goal of the Summit was to arrive at a list of policy recommendations for state lawmakers to consider over the next year. To achieve this, a number of prospective policies on housing and education were presented to the group. The policies in question, both short- and long-term solutions, had been selected by a group of 16 individuals from various community organizations and were drawn from issues that are currently on the docket for consideration in next year's legislative session. At the Summit, each prospective policy was ranked according to importance, with each participant having an opportunity to vote. The votes were electronically tabulated, and—within seconds—the results were displayed on the screen, usually in bar graph form. A mean score for each question was also calculated and displayed.

Sponsors of the Metropolitan Citizens' Summit were the Equity in Housing and Education Project, the Wilder Foundation, and the St. Paul Foundation. The agenda was as follows:

Welcome - Matthew Little, co-founder and President, Equity in Housing and Education Project.
Introductory Remarks - Yusef Mgeni, Executive Director, Urban Coalition

Interactive technology, voting, demographics of group - Ken Darling

Focus on Housing: Joy Sorensen Navarre, Moderator

Focus on Education: State Rep. Carlos Mariani, Moderator

Focus on Race: Yusef Mgeni, Moderator

Meeting Observations: Curt Johnson

Additional Remarks: Lani Guinier

II. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

Verbatim summary comments and observations of the meeting by Curt Johnson, Yusef Mgeni, and Lani Guinier may be found in the latter portion of this report.

Nature of questions

There was significant rebellion of the audience against the nature of the questions on which they were expected to vote. Beginning with the housing discussion, participants complained that a particular question missed the point, neglected important related issues, or was presented without enough background information: Why regulate discrimination only with respect to *public* housing? Shouldn't all housing be discrimination-free? Why not address the accountability of landlords? We're being asked to vote on whether to increase affordable housing to 1% of the state budget, but where did that number come from? Will it meet the actual need?

"Quick fixes" vs. systemic solutions

The turning point came during the education discussion when a representative of the Somali community objected to the prescribed set of "solutions" he was being asked to prioritize: "I'm surprised how we are just throwing solutions with which I have no clue where they come from…," he stated. "You should be asking us what the priorities are instead of deciding *for* us." This sentiment was echoed and supported by many of the participants, one of whom described the solutions presented as "pitifully inadequate in a system that's failing our children." Another resisted "voting for a structure I basically disagree with…It seems to me we're being marched into a structure that isn't at all relevant to creative

solutions to this particular issue." The ambivalence of the group on whether or not to end "social promotion" of students pointed to a public incomprehension of what it would really mean to end it, what the alternatives are. As Rep. Mariani put it, "Are we talking about a limited strategy or something that's more comprehensive?"

Inadequacy of the current debate

Underscoring the entire Citizens' Summit discussion was an acknowledgment of the interconnectedness of housing and education issues—which, when considered as a whole, represent a systemic problem. The difficulty the participants encountered in dealing with the questions was a response to the complexity of the current debate on public policy, a complexity that the questions when viewed separately did not acknowledge. The split of opinion on whether the Profiles of Learning higher standards should be enforced was indicative of that complexity. "Herein lies the debate on education in our country," Rep. Mariani noted. "….Our public policy debate is inadequate. It is not reflecting the questions that *we* want to ask."

III. MEETING NOTES

Matthew Little, President and co-founder of Education and Housing Equity Project, welcomed the group and provided some background to the event. "We have always felt that there was an inextricable connection between education and housing; that one cannot be solved without the other. That was the premise upon which we initiated our Education and Housing Equity Project. Our primary vehicle for addressing this basic concept has been our Community Circle dialogues and conversations…. For the past three years we have engaged more than a hundred groups of citizens involving more than 1,000 individuals throughout the Twin Cities and suburbs in this effort. And, in the meantime, the Cities at Work in St. Paul have engaged more than 900 in the same area. This summit today, in a very real sense, represents a culmination of those, a putting and bringing together, of those dialogues, and to attempt to find some concrete policy projections that we can move forward to the next step." He expressed thanks to the many organizations that made this Summit possible, and then introduced Yusef Mgeni, President and CEO of the Urban Coalition.

Yusef Mgeni acknowledged the 17 study circles that arose in St. Paul from the Cities at Work dialogues: "We're not here today solely to extend the Community Circle dialogues that a number of you in attendance participated in. We're here today to get your feedback on policy rather than personal action. We want to prioritize ideas. We will not be creating a panacea, quick fixes, or magic solutions; we're here to examine a laundry list."

Ken Darling demonstrated the electronic voting process. Initial questions on which the group voted concerned their own demographics, which were reported as follows:

- Gender: female, 65%; male, 35%

- Age: <18 years, 5%; 19–30, 18%; 31–45, 21%; 46–60, 36%; 61–75, 17%; >75, 3%

- Racial/Cultural Background: African American, 15%; Asian American, 3%; Chicano/Latino, 5%; European American, 68%; Multi-racial, 4%; other, 5%. (Note: Moderator acknowledged the error of not including American Indian as a specific group.)

- Political philosophy: socially and fiscally liberal, 57%; socially liberal, fiscally conservative, 33%; socially and fiscally conservative, 6%; socially conservative, fiscally liberal, 3%.

- Former participant in a Community Circle dialogue or related project: yes, 82%; no, 18%.

- Area of residence: city, 60%; inner-ring suburb, 23%; outer-ring suburb, 17%.

- Parent of children in public school K-12, 26%; private school K-12, 2%; both, 1%; neither, 71%.

The group was then asked to vote on a couple of general questions concerning the issues with results as follows:

Grade our region's success to date in building a racially equitable society:

Results: A, 1%; B, 8%; C, 31%; D, 42%; F, 19%.

How confident are you that we will make significant improvement in the next five years?

Results: Very pessimistic, 12%; somewhat pessimistic, 40%; somewhat confident, 46%; very confident, 2%.

HOUSING

Moderator: Joy Sorensen Navarre, executive Director of Metropolitan Interfaith Council on Affordable Housing (MICAH). Her introductory remarks included the following:

- Experts say almost 200,000 low and moderate income (<$30,000/year) households in the Twin Cities metro region do not have affordable housing.

- We've seen a seven-fold increase in the number of homeless children in the Twin Cities metro area in the last 5 years. In Hennepin County alone, it's estimated that 6,000 children (10% of Minneapolis schoolchildren) will be homeless this year.

- Of those challenged by affordable housing, 1/3 live in the Twin Cities suburbs, and 2/3 live in urban neighborhoods.

Question to audience for voting: How would you describe the availability of affordable housing in the Twin Cities ?
Results: Not a serious problem, 1%; serious but not a crisis, 4%; a crisis among many other social issues, 20%; a major crisis, among the most critical today, 53%; a catastrophe, 22%.

Question: Where would you put addressing this crisis among major issues facing our state and region today?
Results: Number one problem, 24%; top three, 54%; top five, 19%; top ten, 3%; not a major issue, 0%.

Discussion:

Candy Bacon, YWCA, Family Services Coordinator, Phillips Children's Center, noted that housing is a stressful issue for parents who want to move from the suburbs to the cities but can't find any place to live.

Nikki Carlson, Board of Directors, Education and Housing Equity Project: "The lack of affordable housing undermines employment and education. In the public schools, transience creates problems for not only those children who are facing a housing crisis, but those children who are not. A greater supply of

affordable housing would contribute to more successful education, more successful employment, etc. etc. I think they're all interrelated."

The moderator walked the groups through some of our short-term ideas for solutions to the housing problem, and the group prioritized them on a scale of 1 to 5 (1 = low priority, 5 = high priority). Mean scores are reported.

_ Require affirmative marketing policies for each housing development that receives public resources. Mean: 4.0

Comments: Christy Snow, Assistant Director, Minnesota Fair Housing Center, reported that the Center has done a number of fair housing audits to look at the nature and extent of housing discrimination in communities. Has done five community audits (Minneapolis, St. Paul, Burnsville, Bloomington, St. Cloud) over the past 3–4 years. Found that 50 - 60% of the time their testers of color are receiving less favorable treatment (less information about available apartments; whites are getting discounts on rents and deposits, even encouraged to apply for the apartment right on the spot). From their perspective, housing discrimination is a huge problem in the metro area. Testers are middle-income, not low-income people of color.

_ Stimulate private investment through Low-Income Housing Tax Credits - Mean: 3.8
Discussion:

Jim Gamboni: In order for investment to provide a return, there needs to be a significant incentive.

Bob Bonine offered his perspective as a private investor in housing. "I and a number—hundreds of us—invested in 1978–1985 in suburban apartments in the Twin Cities. I want to tell you: that is the worst thing we ever did. And the reason I'm saying this is that you will not get people to build housing units unless you can make a profit. And those of us—the hundreds of us who did this—have almost uniformly lost most of our investment, and/or after 18 to 20 years, for example, I can point out hundreds of us in this cluster of investments who have lost money. We could not raise our rents until about two years ago, and

this is pretty much true in the whole metropolitan area. Rents were very, very low and increasing in very, very small amounts. And, for many years, until a couple years ago, we had very high vacancies. So I find this just a fact for you to think about, and if you want more units, we've got to find some incentives so people can build more units."

Margaret Jones felt strongly about getting away from the financial purpose of investing. "What about human investments?…It's not about the buck. This is about decent living for people. And we have plenty of people that have plenty of money who can afford to make a crummy investment to help others…We need to look at the word *investment*—does it necessarily always have to correlate back to the almighty dollar?"

Denise Stevens, House of Rep. Fiscal staff person. "What is the cost to the state for the total investment?"

Increase affordable housing to 1% of state spending. Mean: 4.6
Other questions to be considered included: 1) Provide significant incentives to cities who build affordable housing, and 2) Require that a certain percentage of apartments in every new housing development are affordable to lower wage earners in the same area.

This led to an issue raised by Paul French from Ramsey Action Programs: "What are we going to do about all these landlords overcharging fees—first and last month rent, damage deposit?"

Myrna Matzah, Rabbi, Adath Jeshurun Congregation, Minnetonka, commented: "Regulations on the financial aspect is one piece of it; but I'd like to see regulations that buildings are maintained so that it's healthy to live *in* the building, and landlords be held accountable, so that the percentage of what is coming in is really going in to maintain this. Kids shouldn't have to become asthmatic because their parents are seeking housing."

Spontaneous vote: The group voted on the concept of regulating landlords—increasing oversight and regulations on them; with the goal of keeping prices low and quality up. Result: 56% thought it was a high priority, with a mean of 4.1.

VOTE: Provide regional transportation, sewer and park subsidies only to cities who have met their affordable housing goals. Mean: 3.6

Discussion:

Eileen Collard: What if their goal is to have one house, one apartment? We're not talking about the standards of what is required or expected.

Tom McEven from Met Council: I think the question I heard was. "What are the goals that people are striving to reach? And I think that one of the frustrations in the region with our Livable Communities program is that the goals shoot low in terms of the need. I don't know if that's what you all are thinking. The reality also on the resource side is that we don't have enough resources to produce enough affordable housing to reach those goals we have established. There is a question, however: Do we need to pop a fair share allocation plan that says, 'This is the global need?' and get it out there and provide the incentives that get communities there. I think that's a good issue."

Steve Wash: "If housing is indeed a basic human right, then why is so much focus being put on landlords to supply a basic human need when we know that we create government to make sure that people's most basic human needs are being met?"

Pat Murray, Plymouth: "The affordable housing cost in Plymouth is $128,000. I have trouble with providing subsidies in the current environment to people who can afford a $128,000 house. I think the money should be spent at a lower level than affordable housing. I think the Met Council has to change its approach to the cities meeting those goals."

Artie Dornmuth, Saint Paul Public Schools: "I in general support this concept. The one concern I would have about it is in terms of transportation because it's a separate issue but it's closely related where we're

seeing that the jobs being made available are not in the areas where low-income families are living, and if we remove transportation connections into some of those communities where jobs are being created, then we're creating an additional hardship for people trying to get to jobs. So I would only want to be careful about that piece of this kind of solution."

Policies that got highest mean scores:

- Moratorium on demolition of affordable housing;
- To require affirmative marketing policies;
- To increase affordable housing appropriations on the state level;
- Requiring a certain number of units to be affordable in every development.
- Increase regulations on landlords (this got the highest mean score)

EDUCATION

Moderator: State Representative Carlos Mariani, Executive Director, Minnesota Minority Education Partnership. "We're going to move now into the education discussion, and one of the things Dick [Little, Executive Director, Education and Housing Equity Project] wanted me to emphasize right off the bat is that there's a real propensity to try to think about these issues as separate from one another and not impacting one another....and I think what we're learning is that these issues are, in fact, very much interrelated. That issues in housing and education, and issues in terms of race relations and discrimination, are very much interrelated, and as Dr. Powell would argue, have historically always been interrelated and have in fact created some of the issues and problems we face here today....

"Consider that students of color in Minnesota as a demographic group are not achieving anywhere near the levels of academic success as the mainstream students in the State of Minnesota. What does that mean? It means that we have, and continue to have, high dropout rates...., poor test outcomes,...The huge proportion of those students are low income and low-income students of color. Consequently, though Minnesota has one of the highest high school graduation rates in the country, when it comes to students of color, we quickly dip below the 25th in terms of states' graduation rates. ... And when our students graduate, we have a real low student of color participation in the ACT and SAT test scores. Consequently, we have a poor post-secondary enrollment rate, which is actually getting worse. There are some blips, it

continues to be better for Asian American students, but even there we're starting to see some dangerous trends. And then when they go on to post-secondary, we have a low retention rate and a low graduation rate. At the University of Minnesota, when it comes to students of color (although last year they made some gains), we're still talking 17–18% graduation rates at the University of Minnesota. So that's what going on.

"Now, consider that while this is going on, that 75% of the new student enrollment rates in the state of Minnesota are being driven by students of color. So to the degree that you have new enrollees, the huge majority of that is driven by immigrant groups, African American groups already here and are moving here from other states, students with limited English capacity, and *new* communities of color—Somalis, Eritreans, Ethiopians, increasing numbers of new Southeast Asians, increasing numbers of new Latinos in the state of Minnesota. And while that's going on, the white population as a demographic group is beginning to level off. And inside of 10 years we'll hit the troll(?) of that in terms of white population growth. And, as Lyle Wray will tell you, this is all happening at the same time that we have a 2% unemployment rate. If you think there isn't in addition to a *moral* issue before us, there is certainly indeed an economic self-preservation issue that is facing us....The people who are driving our enrollment rates in schools are the same group of people we are failing in terms of providing them the necessary skills to become productive citizens in the state of Minnesota. Who's going to pay for that? We all pay for that.

"Consider that within our lifespan, our educational efforts—our response to that—has in large part been to try to strive for equal opportunity—so we've had in our lifetime the integration–desegregation efforts going back to the 50s, the 60s, and the 70s. And our hope when we did that was that we would be able to increase success for all students, the idea being that if you provide equal opportunity, all things being equal, you're leveling the playing field, then we'll get better results. And so we put deseg plans into place, we put integration plans [into place0, we built magnet schools all over the place. Now, cynics would say, "Yeah, we did all that, and look—we're still failing the students. The students still aren't participating. The extreme of that, of course, are the bell-curve people who say, 'Well, yeah, we expected *that* to happen.' The exasperated progressives would say, 'Yeah, we put those efforts into place; however, they were severely undermined by a number of issues, foremost of which is known as white flight—where folks found a way to move out of the legal jurisdictions of those plans, and the result was greater

segregation, in many instances than what we had—physical segregation, than what we had—prior to our integration plans.'

"That then set up what is currently happening right now, which is a major public policy shift, a major public policy direction, which in Minnesota we see manifested in several ways. One is we no longer have a mandatory desegregation plan, except in the most extreme situations. So we have a *different* deseg plan in the state of Minnesota. We have a movement toward community schools, which was primarily—or at least visibly—initially led by the Minneapolis schools to move from its deseg strategy to community schools. We have increasing legal challenges being raised to affirmative action plans. A few of you will remember a couple months ago we had a national group zoom into our state and try to make a case against the University of Minnesota (frankly, I don't think their numbers bore up). There are legal challenges involving the K-12 system and post-secondary in terms of all the broad strategies that are known as affirmative action strategies. And that has created responses on the part of local governments who don't want to get sued—who don't want to waste taxpayer dollars on lawyers and courts—and so they're beginning to modify their approach in terms of outreach and creating opportunities. For better or for worse, that's what's happening.

"Finally, our state—and all states, in fact, are moving toward an education policy that emphasizes state education standards as a mechanism for addressing the gap in achievement between all students.

"While we wait for public policy to figure out what's the best policy, however, one constant remains: that is, that students of color today, like yesterday, are not doing well in our schools. The question that we're going to pose to you overall, in the form of several questions, is to have you think about: Given the backdrop, the history, the dynamics, what are the short-term strategies that we as a people can employ to address both the issue of academic success for all students as well as the issue of equal opportunity and integration efforts, and what are the long-term strategies that we should deploy in using those?"

Presentation of and voting on short-term solutions followed.

_ **End "social promotion" of students. Mean: 3.1**

Discussion: Pam Taylor: "This is a very high priority, to end social promotion, but that will require us to change the way we educate our children. Because you can't simply keep them back and not give them adequate education to go forward. So we have to do two things at the same time."

Ross Taylor, Mpls. School Board – Did benchmark tests a number of years ago. Found that retaining students wasn't working (getting 16-year-olds in 8th grade, for example). National studies show that kids who get retained have a higher dropout rate. Also found that kids retained at kindergarten pulled ahead for the next year, but then after about three years lost the advantage they had. "Any social promotion means you don't just promote somebody… if they're not doing well, you require them to go to summer school, Saturday classes, extra tutoring. Just arbitrary, wholesale holding them back doesn't work."

Art Saratoff, Sabathani Community Center: "When I listened to all of these solutions, I first got sad, then I got angry, because they are pitifully inadequate in addressing a system that's failing our children. And so if we put more money and more resources into a system that is failing, it's just more of the same. That's ridiculous. It doesn't talk about accountability to the teachers; it's directed at students. It doesn't talk about culturally specific education—we have many good examples here in the city of Minneapolis. It doesn't support any of that stuff. It's just more of the same—which is failing."

Rachel Powell, Hopkins High School junior, noted that she is struggling with math and science now because she didn't get the basic skills in elementary school. Her teachers assumed that because she was a student of color, she didn't care about her grades. She's not saying schools should fail students when they are struggling, but the students should receive extra help.

A follow-up to Art Saratoff (unidentified speaker): "…the systemic question---we still have to start at 0, to 3, to 5. The children arrive in kindergarten with such deficits. I know that's not our direct state mandate right now, but somewhere in this big conversation we have to remember it starts much earlier."

After the vote, Rep. Mariani offered some observations on the question of social promotion. "What this [ambivalent vote] reflects is that we really don't know what this means. Part of not knowing what that means has to do with are we talking about a very limited strategy, or are we talking about something that's comprehensive. And I don't think that's been defined for the public yet."

More resources to effectively educate immigrant students who require English language learning. Mean: 4.2

Discussion (unidentified speaker): "I would hope that in voting for this we're saying that the *family* needs the English learning. If the children get the words, obviously, and the parents don't, the parents lose their responsibility and their obligations and their *ability* to be parents. I hope this would include not just children 5–18 but also their family."

Jim Gamboni: "Education as a whole is our largest retail business in the state. We invest the most money in this business. And it just amazes me, both in regard to this question and also other questions, that if you think about it as a retail business, there's no other business in this country that could operate that doesn't first start by asking: who are the consumers of that retail business? That's the first part that we need to get to, and I think that speaks to the gentleman's question.....and specifically, when you get to language questions, you have to go and talk to the consumers. You have to find out what they need, what their wants are, and how to deliver those wants. Unfortunately, we have an educational establishment that chokes off, and is afraid of listening to consumers, i.e., parents *and* children. I think Peter Hutchinson got a good start on that in Minneapolis, but we've forgotten that important part of how we change education. Let's make it consumer-driven, as opposed to organizational- and self-interest-driven."

Gloria Silva, St. Paul Public Schools: "I think the funding is very much in big trouble for us to be able to serve our kids. But I think we need to look at doing it differently .... What we have done in the past in St. Paul about educating second-language learners no longer works any more. Our classes are 50%, in elementary level, second-language learners. We need to educate the mainstream teacher who spends most of the time with the kids not only how to teach them, but how to understand and

enrich the culture. We need to look at the kids who come monolingual in one language, whatever the language is, that one day they will be bilingual, and that is a plus for life skills. And we do not have that mentality. We look at the kids and say, 'Oh, poor kids—don't know how to speak English.' But you know what? They will be speaking two languages—or *five* languages, some of them—a lot more than a lot of us who are monolingual. We need to change the way, from a subtractive point of view, to an additive. "

A participant from the Somali Community of Minnesota, who is also board member of the Education and Housing Equity Project, commented: "I'm just surprised how we are just throwing solutions with which I have no clue where they come from. It's puzzling to me, because from what I am seeing within the Somali community of Minnesota, and what they need, is not actually addressed, whether it's Minneapolis schools, or whether it's in St.. Paul schools, or for that matter, in general in Minnesota. And I'm definitely sure it's the same as other immigrants who are in the state. What I am more concerned [about] is…..you should be asking us what the priorities are for our communities—Instead of somebody actually figuring out what we need or what we actually don't need. Because I really think with in the basic education system in here, there is no way children could learn in this process."

Nicholas Long: I agree with a number of people who have spoken, the man from Sabathani and the man who just spoke. I'm troubled about voting on a structure that basically I disagree with. I am concerned about the systems aspects of this. A kid that doesn't have a house—throwing money at the school isn't going to do anything for the breakfast and so on that he needs to learn, or she needs to learn. And I feel by voting, we're going to tabulate data, have a report, and…it seems to me we're being marched into a structure that isn't at all relevant to creative solutions to this particular issue."

Spontaneous vote "Do you agree that we should we continue to prioritize these short-term policy strategies with this voting process?"
Result: Agree: 60%, disagree 40%.
Dick Little, Executive Director, Education and Housing Equity Project: "I think the last participant's question is a relevant one. Yes, the conversation that goes with these will be part of the result. One person

commented to me that we're sometimes asking the wrong question. That needs to be tabulated, that needs to be reflected in your conversations. If this is not the type of issue that you think legislators should be working on right now, say that."

Because of time restraints, it was decided that the group would vote on remaining short- and long-term solutions, with limited discussion on each, and at the end, do a quick examination of the relevancy of these public policy questions.

- More after-school and summer academic enrichment programs. **Mean: 4.3**

- Increase funding for voluntary desegregation efforts. **Mean: 2.8**

- Fully implement the Profiles of Learning. **Mean: 3.1**

- Decrease school class sizes in K-3. **Mean: 4.2**
  Comment: Margaret Jones, St. Paul: "I would like to have this clearly specified that this does not mean you can put an aide in a kindergarten classroom for two hours a week so that the ratio gets down to that 17 or whatever it is, because right now that's what's currently happening in our schools."

- Attach funding to the backs of low-income students. **Mean: 3.6**
  Comment: Annastacia Belladonna, City of St. Paul Human Rights Dept.: Sen. Wellstone last year was working on a bill that actually guaranteed exactly what was on there. And, interestingly enough, at the United States congressional level that's no longer the case; it used to be the case, and I don't know if Rep. Mariani can speak a little more about that, but that is no longer the case in the state of Minnesota at a federal level. Prior to that, ... low-income children , the state had to respond to the federal government and say, 'Yes, this is what we've done within our schools,' it's no longer the case now."

Rep. Mariani: "I don't know—you're talking about Title I, the monies targeted for low-income students? It may be wise to think about this as a state appropriation policy. With state dollars, do we want, say, our general formula monies to reflect low-income realities, and should we direct those monies into the classroom as much as possible? We've already begun that with compensatory education dollars in the state of Minnesota."

Create educational enterprise zones in areas with high percentage of low-income students. Mean: 3.7

Comment: Jan Hively: "I've spent most of my life looking for what the right question is to ask, and I haven't found it yet. I'd like to pose a question for us to vote on. I think that when we talk about education, talking about K-12 education is just too narrow. The world needs too much of all of us, of all ages, and we know it starts at the beginning and it ends maybe at the end. But what I'd like to suggest is that we think about... a concept which is coming up all around the country, which is the 'family learning account.' It's an anytime, anywhere learning account, because our business community needs to have people who maybe didn't learn it right the first time around but need another chance....This needs the participation of all of us. So I would like to suggest that we actually vote on whether we see a low priority to a high priority, thinking about whole families and their learning lifelong."

Spontaneous vote: Should we focus on the whole family for lifelong learning? Mean: 4.2

Due to time constraints, Rep. Mariani suggested that the group vote on two of the long-term strategies—two of the extreme ones, in his opinion. These would be 1) implementing school vouchers for low-income families and 2) building the political will to reintroduce mandatory integration and desegregation laws

Implement a school voucher program for low-income families that would allow families to receive state funding to attend a public or private school. Mean: 2.5

Build the political will to reintroduce mandatory integration and desegregation laws. Mean: 3.0

The moderator pointed out that there was no consensus on either of the above issues.

Closing thoughts from Rep. Mariani: "I am not disappointed by the rebellion of the group here in terms of the questions. What I would like to posit before you is that herein lies the debate on education in our country. I think many people are asking, 'Are we asking the right questions?' The questions that we pose before you—and maybe I approach this differently, I wasn't necessarily coming with super creative ideas out of our hat—we did a scan of what dominates the public policy debate in terms of what are being offered as solutions to our education crises, and these questions to a large degree reflected that. So part of what I hear this group saying is, 'Our public policy debate is inadequate; it is not reflecting the questions that we want to ask... And I think that is very valuable in itself."

Summary of observations of Summit from Curt Johnson, former community college president; former executive director, Citizens League; journalist; former head of the Metropolitan Council:

"I'm keenly aware of a couple of things here—one is that there are many of you out there whose listening and whose insights are equal to or superior to mine, so I'm honored to be able to take just a little time to tell you what I heard from the discussion this morning. The second thing is I'm very aware that we're in a time crunch, so I will not yield to every temptation I wrote down, but just try to hit things that I thought were most provocative. Remember housing, back on the other side of the education discussion? Well, this group, it seems to me, is prepared to:

_ Raise public investment to whatever level it takes to equal the need;

_ Regulate more tightly the responsibilities of landlords;

_ Enact fair share laws;

_ Stop all redevelopment until supply catches up with demand;

_ Use the Metro Council to restrict infrastructure investments where cities are not providing housing that's affordable

And there was even a hint in the room that maybe people investing in housing shouldn't necessarily expect a return on that investment. Now, what I have to tell you is, though that seemed to be the sentiment, you, fortunately or unfortunately, are not representative of a cross-section of the population. When Bob Bonine rose to express his angst over losing money by investing in new apartments, most of you didn't care that he lost the money, and you didn't much like that he brought it up…But the point is, sometimes it's what you *don't* hear that is significant in a meeting. I would just respectfully suggest that while we seem to be further along—we're more mature in our grasp of what the problem is, and what we want to do about it, in housing—it doesn't play yet in politics as well it could, because the people who are debating it tend to be mostly on the liberal and progressive side of the agenda. We will know we are getting somewhere when we can get two or three hundred people, and half of them are like Bob Bonine. It is a sign, it seems to me, of the maturity of the discussion that we are now asking for real numbers; that we're now saying, more clearly, what does it take to close the gap? As I told somebody at the break: Nobody here will believe it, but I think it is true that the Twin Cities region is doing more in terms of pushing on this issue, doing more in producing absolute numbers of affordable housing every year, than any region in the United States, but the gap is still growing. It doesn't mean that we should feel satisfied or smug, but a lot of stuff is happening here. [Inaudible comment from audience] So I would summarize the housing discussion by saying that there is a strong sentiment in the room that says, 'What does it take for us to do this?' Lay the number in front of us. If it's a legislative dilemma, let's push on the legislature to close that gap on the supply side.

"The most fascinating things around the edges of [the housing discussion] had to with the connections that people were making, the connections between personal income and insufficiency, and what it takes for people in the way of skills to produce more income so that they can participate in what the market makes possible. It is interesting that housing is not a public system; it's a *private* system. And yet we are beginning to talk about it as though it *were* public. That's not completely unprecedented in the policy sector. Health care is also largely a private system, and yet government is now paying 35 or 40% of the entire bill, and it's clearly a raging public debate.

"When it got to education, the consensus in *this* room, even—predominantly liberal—fell apart. A no more graphic example could you get than the modal split on standards. After deciding to let people choose their schools more abundantly in the 80s, and turning the corner in the 90s, deciding to invent

these charter schools to create more diversity on the supply side, we've spent the rest of the 90s arguing about *whether* to have standards, and if we're going to have them what they're going to be, and it's clear that argument is not over. There's a lot to talk about in this...We've heard this story of failure, particularly on the part of students of color, to the point that we can almost all recite it. We're ready to do something about it. I thought the most interesting sentiment in this room was the rebellion of the audience, the weariness with marching through protocols about competing solutions, and instead saying, 'We have to find a way to talk about this as a system.' The rap on liberals is often that you stand guard against anybody blaming the victim except when it comes to education, and there we're always prepared to say they come from poor homes, they have poor parents, there's not enough material there to work with. Well, I didn't hear that today. I heard the beginnings of a sentiment that says we have to—as the gentleman from Sabathani expressed it, and as Jim Gamboni burst out, and began to get echoed all over the room, Nick Long, too—that we've got to find a way to treat this as a *system*. The problem with that, of course, is not mysterious. This issue is a policy issue, today it is a prisoner of politics. It is held hostage by idealogues. And you've got some people on the left who say the only answer is more teachers, more schools, more money in the system as it stands, and protect the people who are making their living at it. You've got people over on the right that say the only agenda worth pursuing is to rescue these kids from a system that can't be saved, we've got to go entirely to vouchers, entirely to privatization. If you're interested in the challenge to liberate this important issue from politics, I would commend to you, go the archives of *Atlantic Monthly*, find an article from last July by Matthew Miller in which he says, why don't we do both? Why don't we concentrate on the urban areas where we have the greatest incidence of failure? Why don't we pour significantly more money into the entire system, and at the *same* time let those who would choose to go to a private school. It would be interesting to see what kind of graduation to another level of debate that would take. Jan Hively's still looking for the question; I'll leave you with one. What does it take—how many more meetings, how many more years of anguish and wringing our hands, how many more kids do we have to lose before we're willing to do *anything* it takes to get different results in education?"

Yusef Mgeni – Observations

"This is the part of the program where we're supposed to move into a broader discussion on how do we move toward a more racially just society in the Twin Cities. We focused this morning on housing and education. We could have just as easily focused on living wage jobs, child care, public or private transportation, and a raft of other issues, because all of these barges are lashed together. We've got to begin to connect the dots. So small groups got together and identified some questions in housing and education based on which issues are most likely to pop up in the legislative session that begins the end of next month, and your input is being solicited on that. A number of people are also concerned about how to answer questions based on what kind of use the information is going to be put to. Our sponsors this morning, our hosts, are the Education and Housing Equity Project. They've conducted more than a hundred study circles over the past 3 1/2 years. Some of you may not remember, but Curt Johnson and I kicked off the first study circle discussion in Minnetonka 3 1/2 years ago, talking about these very same issues. What I want to do is ask Dick Little to tell you what the Education and Housing Equity Project intends to do with the results of the meeting. It may increase the comfort level a bit more and perhaps, in hindsight, it should have been done at the beginning of the meeting."

Dick Little: "As you know, last month we had the Call to Action Forum which many of you participated in at Arlington High School under the auspices of Cities at Work. That focused on individual initiatives and actions at the local and community level, and we're already starting to see some of the things that are coming out of that. Here, as Yusef pointed out, we're trying to go a step further and get the sense of the group about how we can address various policy questions that are facing us as a metropolitan community, using the wisdom of what you did in your community circles or in your other dialogues and some of the results of your own conversations taken to that level. Our intent is to capture that, capture the voices that were heard here today, not just the votes—the conversation is clearly going to go with those votes—and put that into a meaningful written report (in fact, Minnesota Meeting is going to be helping us to do that), and it won't just be EHEP. We will have this looked at by all of the Community Circle partners, organizations that are here partnering to make this project possible … but we do intend to publish a report based upon what happens here this morning. We have a number of elected and appointed officials who are laying low in the audience today. We have the mayor of Apple Valley, for example, and we have various representatives from the state legislature. They're very interested in what you all have to say, because they

know that you've looked at these issues in a more in-depth way than the ordinary citizen on the street. And so they're interested in seeing what this group collectively says about these different issues, and where the energy of this group seems to lie. We think that's a significant way of informing public policy. So that is certainly one of the major hopes and uses of the project by some of our partners."

Yusef Mgeni: We're going to ask seven more questions—we're not going to discuss them. The first one is, Are the right questions being asked today? Yes or no. And then we're going to open it up, we're going to have an open floor with microphones scattered, and I'm going to forcibly reserve the last few minutes for our guest this morning who's been with us, Professor of Law at Harvard University, Lani Guinier..... We'd like you to have the opportunity to put any issues that you want on the table or on the floor, before those assembled, before our hosts and sponsors this morning. And then we'd like to give Lani Guinier a few minutes before we move next door into the Minnesota Meeting, where she will be the featured presenter today."

The first question is, for the sponsors of today's meeting, are the right questions being asked today? Result: 1/3 yes, 2/3 no.

Mgeni: "Let me tell you what I take away from the group this morning... We're two-thirds female, diverse in terms of our ages, mostly white, and on behalf of all of those planning the event, I want to apologize officially to the American Indian community, because that racial/ethnic category was inadvertently omitted from the screen where people were asked to self-identify themselves. 57% of us are liberal, 82% of us have been engaged in these discussions on an ongoing basis....60% of us live in the cities, 23% of in the inner ring of suburbs, and 17% outside. 71% do not have children in either public or private schools, which means that we're civically engaged and informed citizens, so I think that's important. When we were asked to grade our region's success, 61% did not feel that we've done very well in these issues—it's a failing grade from 61% of us. When asked how confident we are that these issues will be resolved over the next five years, 52% were somewhat or very pessimistic, 46% were somewhat confident, 2% were extremely confident....The majority of you felt that these issues should not be the responsibility of the church, that government should do more. When we talked about education, the institutional approach, people didn't

want piecemeal programs, they wanted system-wide programs, they wanted accountability. There was (Curt, you're absolutely right) a fair amount of ambivalence on social promotion, integration. And finally, I think we'd make a good convention of Luddites—the people who were opposed to machines in the 15th century because they were afraid it was going to take somebody's job. They didn't like high technology even way back then. And that's the rebellious spirit in you. One of the things that we had planned to do was to ask you to rank six key players in our community in terms of how critical they are to creating a community that is socially just, and how well you think they are doing. Those key players are the media, elected officials, business, K-12, churches, and philanthropy. Would you like to vote on those questions?" (76% of the group voted yes.).

"A real debate around the question of housing, education, and a racially just community is whether we think this is an issue of social and economic justice, or whether we think this is simply an issue of race relations—that we should celebrate our diversity,...or do we need some fundamental reassessment and reevaluation of major institutions in our community? It's a very simplistic question. Is it about social and economic justice, or is it about race relations? "

The group had concerns about the nature of the question, and discussion followed:

Art from Sabathani: "Why can't we just name an issue called *race-ism* that talks about power and how it affects social, economic, and race relations in this state. It's not about how we all get along. It's about power."

Mary Hayman Roland, mayor of Apple Valley. "The National League of Cities' focus for 2000 from the president, Bob Knight, is racism. And I think that gives us a whole lot of hope, because we have the municipalities who are supporting an issue that you see right now as fundamentally what we need to deal with. And I think if you're really committed to this issue, contact John Kyle [Program Director for Children, Families, and Cities via e-mail: **Error! Reference source not found.**. Phone 202-626-3030], make it attention Bob Knight, president of National League of Cities, and tell them that we support this issue and that we're going to move forward with this issue."

The following questions were put forth to the group, and mean scores were calculated.

How critical is the media in contributing to a racially just society in the Twin Cities? Mean: 4.7

How is the media doing at this task? Mean: 1.8

Elected officials – How critical? Mean: 4.5. How are they doing? Mean: 2.0

Business community – How critical? Mean: 4.3. How are they doing? Mean: 2.2

K-12 public schools – How critical? Mean: 4.8. How are they doing? Mean: 2.4
It was noted that 71% of the participants did not have school-age children.

Churches/community-based organizations/nonprofits – How critical? Mean: 4.4. How are they doing? Mean: 3.3.
It was noted that a large percentage of participants work for nonprofits.

Philanthropy – How critical? Mean: 4.5. How are they doing? Mean: 2.8

Question from beginning of discussion resubmitted: How confident are you that we will make significant improvement on these issues in the next five years? Mean: 2.4 (same as earlier result).
The mean was the same as the earlier vote, though some minor shifting of percentages occurred in separate categories.

Comment from Dick Little: We went through a lot of different categories, and I think this is very significant. I just wanted this group to know, and to personally thank them, that the St. Paul Foundation was one of the two major funders for what we're doing today, so please find John Couchman and Joanne Stately and thank them for that.

Closing comments from Yusef Mgeni: There were two other slides that we didn't have, and I'm going to tell you why we didn't, and it was sort of a trick test. About how many people in the room believe they're anti-racist? (show of hands) The word *anti* means against—anti-sexist, anti-homophobic. How many people are *counter*-racist, counter-sexist? That's the framework that I'm going to explain. Because there's an African proverb that says, "No matter how high a house is built, it has to stand on something." And I don't want to be disrespectful or take anything away from people who are anti anything, because there is a lot in our society that we should be against. However, if you don't remember anything else that Yusef Mgeni said this morning, remember this: It is easier to tell people what you are against than it is to tell

people what you are for. So when we talk about counter-racism, when we talk about counter-sexism, we talk about social practice, professional responsibility, carrying ourselves. Dr. King used to say that a man can't ride your back unless it's bent. It means interacting with one another in a fashion that refuses to even allow race or sex or class to get on the table. To intervene early and effective enough not to allow it to become something that we have to jump out of the bushes and say, 'Aha! Now we've got you! You know, let's react all over the place.' So we want you to implement proactive practices. Again, the materials in your packet—"48 steps you can take to combat racism"; the themes that came out of the study circles—are solution-oriented; they're proactive... You're never who you *are*, you're always who you are *becoming*. And we want you to become contributing members of a just community. Even if you think you already are, can you be a better contributor? Can you write letters to the editor? Can you call up KSTP...when people are attaching affirmative action, and women's rights, and refugees, and child care, and people on public assistance, are you willing to speak out against it? Are you willing to do it in church? Are you willing to do it at a family reunion?...Are we willing to offer constructive criticisms to our own? Constructive criticism, particularly on these issues. A lot of people very reluctant to bring up the "R" word—gets real tense, people's heartbeat goes up, their pulse; start to get a little red.

"There are three things involved in a constructive criticism. Number one, you've got to say specifically and exactly what's wrong. Don't beat around the bush. Don't use Minnesota Nice. You've got to say why you think it's wrong. Number two, you've got to say, Here are some options and alternatives. You goofed, here are some ways you can ungoof.. Now this exercise is most effective when it's done one-on-one rather than in the board room in front of the entire staff... What's wrong, specifically, what are some options and alternatives to correct it? Number three—this is where people become counter-racist—You've got to say, Here's what I'm personally committed to do to be a part of the [solution]. Not just what's wrong and what you need to do about it, but what I'm prepared to do to help, because I want to go down in history as a part of the solution, not a part of the problem. And that's how you move from being against something to being *for* something. That's the difference between being reactive and being proactive. Is it semantics? Yes. Is it one of Yusef's metaphors? Yes. And God bless all those people who are in an anti-anything. I don't care what you call them. But we don't just want people to think that we're going to beat them over the head when they do something wrong, but rather that we're going to encourage

them, through our modeling and our social practice, to be the kind of citizens and the kind of human beings that create a just community by their very presence and by their social practice.

Comment from audience member (unidentified): "...The activists make up a small proportion of what the community is. That's us. But we have to bring this to the family level. What is this family doing? What do we think the family's effect is on this?"

Response from Dick Little: "What we've done here is we've had a two-part experience, one of course is the Community Circles themselves, which have had a very transforming impact for a lot of the participants, and we hope to capture and measure some of that. That's a very important part of this. The people who participated in the Circles really focused on a lot of those individual questions. We had two major events. The first one, the one that you're at today, is the Citizens' Summit, where we're looking at policy and systemic and institutional changes. Last month, on November 9, we had a very exceptional experience of which those of you who participated in the Community Circles are aware, which focused on the individual actions, individual change, and the things that have to happen at the family and the community level. I just wanted to point out that we are dealing with both.

Nadine Addington, Minnesota Churches Anti-Racism Initiative, commented that racism is an irrational setting we've dealt with all our lives. "Our struggle is trying to deal rationally with something irrational."

Closing comments from Lani Guinier, Professor of Law, Harvard University:

"Let me try to follow Yusef's suggestion and talk about what I am for and not just what I am against. Let me make it clear: I'm not against voting, I just think that voting should be the last resort, not the first. And that voting should be something we rely on when our other means of communicating disagreement fail us. The problem with voting is that it tends to polarize, and it also tends to allow those who are not in the room, but who ask the questions, to set the agenda. So that's my concern. On the other hand, I think there are some very valuable things that did come out of this morning's session, and in particular, there is a loud and clear consensus of critique against the job that the media and the elected officials are doing in terms of setting the agenda. So one of my constructive suggestions for the future, should you reconvene and want to involve more of the people who are in the audience and less of the people who are setting up the technology, is to think about what are the next steps that *this* group can take,

not what are the next steps that the media or the elected officials should take, since you have no confidence in the media or the elected officials to set the agenda or to do their job well. So my major concern is if the questions that were put on the board were put on the board to inform public policy, and the definition of public policy is based on what is coming up in the next legislative session, then those are truly the wrong questions. The questions need to be, What is it that the people here, who care enough to come here, to sit through this meeting and to listen to each other, what are the things that all of us can do to make a difference? And I don't mean all of us individually in our own lives. Obviously, we can all do much more, and we should all do much more, but there is a value to raising a collective voice, to acting in concert, to feeling the energy and the sense of optimism that comes when a group of this size commits itself to doing something together. And so, for me, the most dangerous or scary part of this meeting is the sense of pessimism that I feel coming out of it, and I worry that that sense of pessimism is, in part, a sense of improper delegation—that is, you are pessimistic because we have allowed ourselves to delegate the authority for changing things to the media and to the elected officials, who are not going to do a good job. So if we could regain a sense of optimism, I think it would really help, and I think we can regain that optimism by assuming some of that authority in this room and not delegating it."

Metropolitan Citizens' Summit
Addressing the Challenges of Education, Housing and Race in the Twin Cities

Hilton Hotel and Towers, Minneapolis
December 17, 1999

AGENDA

8:30 a.m. **Welcome**
Matthew Little, President, Education and Housing Equity Project

8:40 a.m. **Overview of Process**
Yusef Mgeni, conference chair, President, The Urban Coalition
Introduction of Interactive Technology
Ken Darling, conference facilitator, Vice President, Express
Interactive Solutions

8:55 a.m. **Focus on Housing**
Joy Sorensen Navarre, moderator, Executive Director, Metropolitan
Interfaith Council on Affordable Housing

9:45 a.m. **Focus on Education**
Carlos Mariani, moderator, Executive Director, Minnesota Minority
Education Partnership

10:35 a.m. **Synthesis**
Curt Johnson, Principal with the Citistates Group

10:40 a.m. **Building a More Racially Equitable Society**
Yusef Mgeni, moderator

11:25 a.m. **Synthesis and Closing Reflections**
Ilean Her, Executive Director, Council on Asian Pacific
Minnesotans

11:30 a.m. **Minnesota Meeting Luncheon**

12:00 p.m. **Keynote Address**
Lani Guinier, Professor, Harvard Law School
*Lift Every Voice: Talking about Race, Rethinking Power, Changing
the Status Quo*

Introduced by the Honorable Sharon Sayles Belton,
Mayor of Minneapolis

Songs by the Walker West Music Academy Youth Chorale
The Reverend Carl Walker, Director

1:00 p.m. **Adjourn**

Metropolitan Citizens' Summit
Addressing the Challenges of Education, Housing and Race in the Twin Cities

Hilton Hotel and Towers, Minneapolis
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Community Circle Collaborative
Minnesota Meeting

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Minnesota Meeting

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

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CITIZENS TO ADDRESS ISSUES OF RACIAL EQUITY AT SUMMIT MEETING WITH LANI GUINIER THIS FRIDAY

MINNEAPOLIS (December 15, 1999) -- About 200 citizens will convene Friday morning for a fully interactive Citizens Summit to react to and prioritize policy steps regional leaders can take to build a more racially equitable Twin Cities metropolitan community. The meeting, featuring a keynote address by Lani Guinier, the prominent civil rights leader, will be attended by informed citizens, elected and appointed officials, foundation and nonprofit leaders, students, community activists and business people.

The Metropolitan Citizens' Summit: Addressing the Challenges of Education, Housing and Race in the Twin Cities will be held from 8 a.m. to 1 p.m., Friday, December 17, 1999, at the Hilton Hotel and Towers in downtown Minneapolis, and will feature a Minnesota Meeting address by Lani Guinier at noon.

The event is the culmination of a Community Circle Dialogue project held over the last three years, which convened over 100 groups of citizens for a series of conversations on race, housing and education issues. The dialogues, often called study circles, brought together people of different races, income levels and personal backgrounds, and involved residents of Twin Cities suburbs and the cities of St. Paul and Minneapolis. The study circle participants met in small groups in church basements, living rooms and school libraries throughout the region. Everyone who participated has been invited to the summit.

The purpose of the summit is to give these citizens and others community leaders working on these issues the ability to react to and prioritize potential policy steps that will move the region forward in building a more racially inclusive community. To this end, the meeting participants will use a hand-held interactive keypad technology to rank proposed policy ideas and express their views. The event will be a three-hour, interactive conversation, not a series of presentations.

-over-

Lani Guinier's address, *Lift Every Voice: Talking About Race, Rethinking Power, Changing the Status Quo*, will be presented to the summit participants and a larger audience of Minnesota Meeting members and guests. It will be broadcast live on the stations of Minnesota Public Radio and on the Web sites of MPR and the *StarTribune*. Dr. Guinier, a professor at Harvard Law School, will reflect on the morning's deliberations in her talk.

The event is being convened by the Community Circle Collaborative, an ad hoc partnership of over 20 community-based organizations throughout the region, and the Minnesota Meeting, the prominent public affairs forum, and is being organized by the Education and Housing Equity Project (EHAP), the coordinating organization of the community circle project.

"The real power of the summit is involving citizens who have been actively thinking about and working on building a more racially inclusive community in the development of public policy. We must raise the level of public discourse on these issues if we are to move a policy agenda forward that is truly effective," said Dick Little, executive director of EHAP.

The summit is being funded primarily by the Minneapolis Foundation and the Saint Paul Foundation, with additional support from the St. Paul United Way's Community Investment Fund, Minnesota Meeting, the Metropolitan Council, the University of Minnesota's Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, the General Mills Foundation, Headwaters Fund, and the Metropolitan Interfaith Council on Affordable Housing (MICAH).

The summit will be chaired by Yusef Mgeni, president of The Urban Coalition, and will be opened by Minneapolis Mayor Sharon Sayles Belton and Matthew Little, president of the Education and Housing Equity Project. Discussion leaders include Professor Guinier; Carlos Mariani, executive director of the Minnesota Minority Education Partnership; Joy Sorensen Navarre, executive director of MICAH, and Curt Johnson, the former chairman of the Metropolitan Council. Ken Darling, of Express Interactive Solutions, will facilitate the program using his firm's interactive meeting technology. The Minnesota Meeting program will open with songs by the Walker West Music Academy Youth Chorale, directed by The Rev. Carl Walker.

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RACE AND SPACE

BY JOHN A. POWELL

What Really Drives Metropolitan Growth

I recently met with a high-ranking administrator in a large, predominantly African-American city to discuss the problems that cities like his face, from failing school systems, depopulation, and business and job loss to the suburbs, to a housing crisis marked by boarded-up houses and vacant lots. I suggested to the administrator, whom I will call Dr. Jones, that one of the problems facing central cities and older-ring suburbs is the constant pulling of resources away from the region's core and the deployment of these resources to the outer edges of the metropolitan area, or put succinctly, sprawl. Dr. Jones agreed and added that sprawl can be fully understood only in racial terms: the developing outer-ring is always upper middle class and white.

I asserted that the city and older suburbs must find a way to coordinate and develop a regional strategy to benefit from the resources that are spread unevenly throughout the region, reverse the trend of fragmentation or isolationism amongst municipalities, and halt the pull of resources. The idea of coordinating with the suburbs disturbed Dr. Jones: "White people in the suburbs are hostile to the city largely because the city is black. They will only work with the city if they think they can take it over. They are racist, I don't trust them, and I won't work with them."

I tried to assure Dr. Jones that my suggestion was not based on naive trust and that I, too, was aware that regionalism had often been used to the detriment of the people of color living in the central cities. And while this issue must be addressed, a nonregional solution for the problems facing the urban core is not a solution at all. Unfortunately, our discussion was cut short. This article is written in continuation of the spirit of our discussion.

Race has been a major factor in the spatial configuration of our metropolitan areas. The outer-ring suburbs of metropolitan areas are overwhelmingly white (although recently minorities, and in particular middle-class blacks, have participated in the move to the suburbs), and the inner cities are populated largely by people of color, especially blacks. This spatial and racial pattern makes sharing or fairly distributing regional benefits almost impossible. White suburbanites resist regional strategies, reluctant to embrace something that will have negative economic consequences for them—which is rational, albeit shortsighted. Blacks also resist regional solutions because they fear a loss of cultural control or identity and a loss of political power.

Ignoring these claims from the minority community is a serious mistake. Doing so makes a regional solution into just one more solution imposed by whites on people of color. Given the history of white and nonwhite relations in this country, particularly around the development of sprawl and metropolitan fragmentation, this is simply untenable. At a

john a. powell is the Julius E. Davis Professor of Law and executive director of the Institute on Race and Poverty at the University of Minnesota Law School. He acknowledges Colleen Walbran's assistance with this article.

more practical level, in regions with a substantial minority population, regional approaches that do not engage the minority community will have difficulty gaining the necessary support. But regional solutions are, I think, imperative, because a number of important inner-city problems are caused by regional forces, and thus can be adequately addressed only at the regional level. A failure to address central-city problems affects the entire region adversely. The failure to adopt regional strategies adversely affects the central cities.

We need a regional approach that gives cities or communities a way to maintain appropriate control of their political and cultural institutions, while sharing in regional resources and balancing regional policymaking. We need an approach that avoids both the myopia of local, fragmented governance and the blunt regionalism exercised by an overarching unit of government, such as a county or state, that can suffocate local governments.

The Metropolitan Area in Black and White

The economic and political isolation of poor minorities in the inner cities is caused by flight, or sprawl, and fragmentation. The movement further away from the central cities to the suburbs is sprawl. The effect of the creation of rigid boundaries, which separate municipalities from each other and more importantly from the central core, is fragmentation. As a result of these forces, minorities find themselves in neighborhoods of concentrated poverty, where four out of ten of their neighbors (or they themselves) are poor. Of the more than 8.2 million people who live in these areas, more than half are black, a quarter are Hispanic.

The residential segregation and concentration of poverty in neighborhoods inhabited by blacks did not come about accidentally. It was constructed and is perpetuated through governmental housing and transportation policies, institutional practices, and private behaviors. In the 1940s and 1950s, the Federal Housing Administration pursued an explicit policy against granting mortgages for homes in minority or integrated neighborhoods and preferred to back new construction rather than the purchase of existing units. Essentially, the FHA paid whites to leave the central cities and confined blacks to

The Plan

WHITES LIVE IN CITIES.
THE CROWNING GLORY OF CIVILIZATION.

MINORITIES MOVE INTO CITIES.
HELLO
GOODBYE

WHITES FLEE CITIES TO SUBURBS.
AH, THIS IS BETTER.

WHITES MOVE INTO SECOND-RING SUBURBS.
CITIES ARE DEAD. THIS IS BETTER STILL.

MINORITIES MOVE INTO FIRST-RING SUBURBS.
THIS IS BETTER. I GUESS.

WHITES MOVE BACK INTO CITIES.
IT WORKED.
THE VAST WHITE RING CONSPIRACY.

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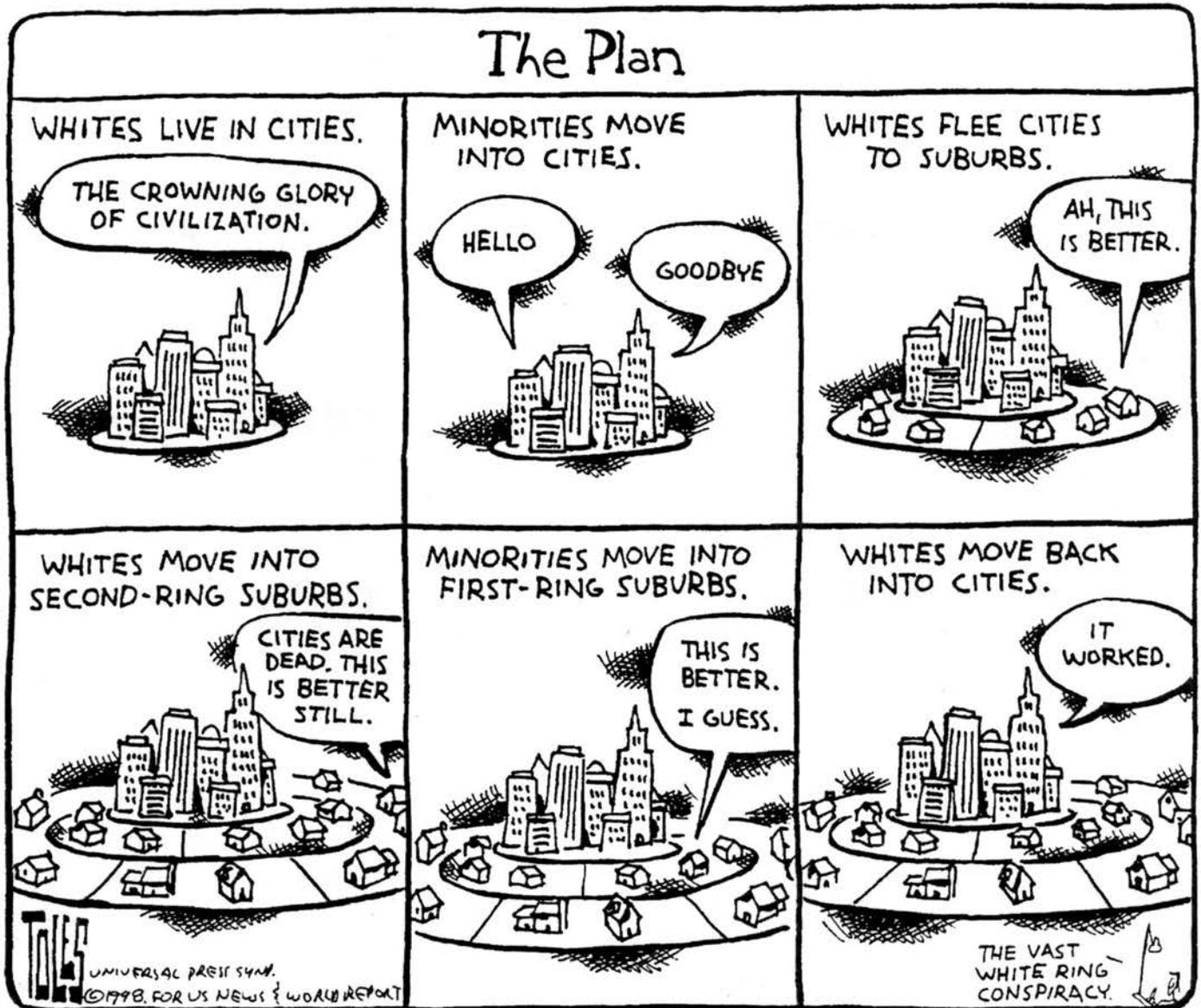
the central cities, which were, in turn, divested by the federal government and private capital. The national highways facilitated exit from the central city and destabilized many urban neighborhoods. "Urban renewal" efforts destroyed stable black neighborhoods. Local governments have also contributed to the problems of segregation and concentrated poverty through the ongoing practice of exclusionary zoning (requiring large minimum lot sizes or banning multifamily housing), which makes it nearly impossible for poor families to find affordable housing in white suburban communities. Similar private measures have included but are not limited to the practice of blockbusting by the real estate profession and the creation of racially restrictive covenants by homeowners.

The concentrated poverty that these kinds of policies create is usually ruinous to people's life chances. High levels of crime, drug use, and other social pathologies emerge and become self-perpetuating. In addition to this poor quality of life, residents experience severely limited social and economic opportunities. The quality of schools, housing, and municipal services and the availability of transportation and employment are undermined.

When one part of the region becomes dysfunctional, the entire area is compromised. This is what is happening with the inner cities and older suburbs—their difficulties are negatively affecting entire regions. Among other things, a poor and racially segregated urban core harms the reputation of the metropolitan region as a whole and makes it less inviting to international, national, and local businesses as well as families looking for homes.

But white suburbanites have traditionally resisted claims like these that tie them to the inner city. The justification for this resistance changes over time. The current justification is that the "culture of poverty" found in the inner cities will infiltrate protected suburban enclaves—a justification that is simply a new name for a long-standing racism directed toward the central cities.

White segregationism, or resistance to regionalism, manifests itself in the support of in-place strategies. Such strategies attempt to move resources and opportunities to low-income central-city residents and to generate improvements in urban neighborhoods of color, as opposed to mobility-oriented schemes, which aim to disperse central-city residents to existing opportunities. Whites want to keep minorities "immobile" and out of their suburban neighborhoods.

In-place strategies frequently receive support from minorities as well, though for different reasons. One motivation is the preservation of cultural identity. As Cornel West and others have argued, deconcentration of minorities can result in both assimilation of minorities who are pocketed in more affluent areas and dilution of culture in predominantly black areas.

Minorities also fear the erosion of political power and the loss of control over the political process if the political base of their communities diminishes or the minority population is dispersed throughout the region. Minorities would often rather retain this control even if opportunity structures are lacking in their communities. Political power is actually a very complex issue. On the one hand, the geographic concentration of

minorities does not guarantee their political cohesion, nor, given the challenges to majority-minority legislative districts, does it guarantee the election of minority candidates. Even if minority candidates do win office, they are likely to be isolated in the legislature. But, on the other hand, mobility and the resulting dispersion of blacks throughout a metropolitan area may generate a backlash in some places, reducing black political power. There is evidence of a white backlash against black interests when the black population rises above 30 percent of a voting district. While a mobility strategy seems to be a better choice for the creation and maintenance of economic power for communities of color, it is likely to undermine political power.

Federated Regionalism

A federated approach recognizes the regional nature of racial and economic segregation and provides a solution that integrates regional policymaking with local governance. An example is tax-base sharing, which, as practiced in Minnesota's Twin Cities, distributes the regional tax base according to regional needs without compromising local interests. Each city is allocated a certain share of the regional tax base but controls the tax rate for its residents, thereby maintaining authority and discretion over local issues. Another example is Portland's regional housing strategy. There, the regional governing body sets requirements for affordable housing, but municipalities maintain responsibility for zoning and how they choose to meet their share of the regional housing need.

While strategies of federated regionalism such as those noted above can provide a balance between local governance and regional concerns, not all federated strategies strike that balance. Those that fail to do so can actually perpetuate regional fragmentation. An example is Indianapolis's Uni-Gov, which made regional many areas of governance but left the schools under existing local segregated boundaries. The ideal balance between "local" and "federated" must be responsive to concerns of communities of color and the problems of concentrated poverty. It is critical that racial minorities participate in the effort to strike that balance.

Minorities have cause to be wary of regional solutions to the problems of segregation and concentrated poverty. What little political power they wield seems at risk of dilution if regionalism further fragments their communities. In searching for regional strategies, we must steer between two extremes. One is to be so jealous of local control as to preserve political and cultural control, but in areas that are isolated and starved of economic resources. The other extreme is a regionalism that offers access to resources at the cost of a stifled political voice and cultural assimilation or marginalization. We need a metropolitan approach that addresses both the economic and concentrated-poverty issues of the central core while respecting the right to effective participation in political and cultural institutions.

Tensions between local concerns and the needs of the whole metropolitan region are healthy. Structuring these tensions in a way that leads to true democratic cooperation in metropolitan planning—cooperation that transcends racial polarization—is the challenge. ■

Race, Poverty, and Urban Sprawl:
Access to Opportunities Through Regional Strategies

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Abstract *This article attempts to demonstrate the need for social justice and urban civil rights advocates to focus on sprawl as well as concentrated poverty. The article posits that these are as much civil rights issues as environmental or land use issues and that sprawl has frustrated civil rights efforts. Indeed, there is strong evidence that racialized concentrated poverty is both a cause and product of sprawl and that, due to this interrelationship, concentrated poverty cannot be addressed without addressing sprawl. To examine this relationship, the author explores how the phenomena of gentrification and the revitalization strategy of in-fill operate differently in rich, middle-class, and poor cities. Finally, the author argues that concentrated poverty and sprawl are regional issues that can only be addressed on a regional level; therefore, it is a mistake for social justice and urban civil rights advocates to leave the regional discussion to environmentalists and land use planners.*

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This article explores the relationship between sprawl and concentrated poverty. Although there has been inadequate attention given to this relationship, a number of scholars have recently begun to examine it more closely.[1] This article strongly supports that effort and will briefly set out some of the historical and current processes that clearly link sprawl and concentrated poverty.

In discussing this inattention, I will focus on two specific phenomena related to concentrated poverty and sprawl: the failure of urban civil rights and social justice advocates to target the relationship between sprawl and concentrated poverty on one hand and the oftentimes confusing response to gentrification on the other. The nexus of gentrification and concentrated poverty is possibly the most misunderstood and least explored aspect of concentrated poverty as a social phenomenon. In the latter half of this essay I will turn attention to that issue.

I engage these issues with a focus on racialized concentrated poverty.[2] Although I am not indifferent to sprawl, per se, my primary concern is to demonstrate why it is critical for civil rights and social justice advocates to address sprawl and to better understand gentrification in the wider scope of remedying problems associated with concentrated poverty. Sprawl is not simply a problem that warrants cursory attention by civil rights advocates. Indeed, it is one of the most important structural urban dynamics that frustrates many of the broad aspirations of the civil rights movement. The article is written for a wide audience as these issues affect the entire country, but I am particularly concerned with engaging the civil rights community.

Urban Sprawl and Its Effects on Central City Communities

Urban sprawl, which has long been a reality of the American landscape, has recently drawn attention as a serious problem that must be addressed.[3] While there are still those who would challenge the claim that sprawl is a problem in want or need of a solution,[4] a number of policy makers have joined the ranks of environmentalists in the call to address and retard the proliferation of urban sprawl.[5] Terms like planned growth, smart growth, sustainable growth, and no growth are gaining currency in popular discourse. This evolving public discourse and the problems associated with sprawl usually focus on environmental and land use issues.[6] These issues include traffic congestion, long commutes, lost time and efficiency for businesses, depleting habitats of endangered species, and the destruction of farmland and open space. In sprawl discourse, issues of concentrated poverty and race, if discussed at all, are too often mentioned as peripheral concerns.

Suburban residents and the environment are not the only victims of sprawl. Sprawl isolates inner-city communities from economic and educational opportunities. Concentrated poverty, defined as a poverty rate at or above 40% within a given area, is closely aligned with several sprawl-related trends in urban America. These trends include a decrease in population density in central cities as primarily white, middle class people flee, and the movement of employment opportunities to the outer reaches of the region following this demographic shift away from the central city.[7] These sprawl patterns have contributed to the destructive pattern of concentrated poverty and the isolation of low-income communities and communities of color from economic opportunities. It was the concentration of middle class whites at the periphery of the region that helped cause and made possible the concentration of low-income minorities at the center. Racial discrimination and segregation have played important roles in creating and reinforcing these sprawl patterns.[8] Racial discrimination in housing, employment, and educational opportunities, has operated to concentrate poor communities of color in the central city while economic opportunities as well as middle and upper class whites have moved out to suburbia.

As mentioned above, with the suburban flight that has been occurring over the last few decades, much of the employment base has also fled the central cities. In 1970, only 25% of the nation's offices were located in suburbs.[9] More recent numbers indicate that over 60% are now located in the suburbs.[10] Many city residents have not been able to follow this migration of jobs. The lack of transportation choices in metropolitan areas limits options for those without cars and it prevents central city residents from accessing jobs located in the suburbs.[11] There are also limited housing choices for lower income residents in the suburbs—many

developing suburban communities limit or prohibit multifamily housing and have minimum lot sizes and other restrictions that push up the cost of housing.[12] Racial steering and redlining have also played roles in limiting housing choices for many people of color; isolating them in central city neighborhoods and declining suburbs while denying them the opportunity to develop wealth through home ownership.[13] From this isolation of people of color and low-income people in the central cities, have developed a number of related problems—including chronic unemployment, increased crime, and failing schools.[14] Solving these problems is beyond the ability of local governments, especially in light of their declining tax bases.[15] The deteriorating state of many cities drives still more middle class families to the suburbs. This pattern continues today as many central cities continue to lose population while their suburbs grow.[16]

There are some who claim that urban sprawl is a free market outcome and that it is actually the preferred life-style of most Americans, as evidenced by the tremendous growth of suburbs.[17] Such claims do not fully account for the government's role in creating sprawl, as well as the lack of access to opportunities for minority communities. The federal government provided the highways that helped pave the way out for the fleeing middle class, and insured the cheap FHA mortgages that helped buy many suburban homes.[18] At the same time, this financing was not initially available to many central city residents and people of color due to official and informal policies of redlining, racial steering, and refusing loans to residents that remained in the city.[19]

The costs of sprawl, including increased traffic and the increased cost of infrastructure, are becoming more evident every year. People are beginning to realize that the negative effects of hollowing out the urban core caused by sprawl cannot so easily be confined to the central city.[20] There is growing evidence that the fate of the city and suburb are inextricably linked. Studies indicate that the better the central city does, the better the suburb does;[21] and during the last recession, the metropolitan areas with the greatest income differential between central city and suburbs suffered the most.[22] Inner ring suburbs are now suffering many of the same problems central cities faced a generation ago.[23] In today's global economy, regions compete with each other for capital and jobs.[24] Crippled central cities and declining suburbs can serve as a drag on the whole regional economy.[25]

There are currently a number of limited anti-sprawl solutions. Many of them are aimed at slowing the outward spread of suburban growth—usually by buying land on the fringe of metropolitan areas. Despite, or maybe because of, these limited efforts most metropolitan areas have not been effective in slowing sprawl. Even in the absence of effective government action, however, there are signs of change and a possible reorientation of middle-class residents back to the city. After years of flight, there are modest signs of people moving back to downtown

areas. Cities like Houston, Cleveland, Denver and Chicago are seeing an influx of upscale residents moving into downtown neighborhoods.[26] Although this influx is hopeful, the numbers are usually not enough to offset the number of people still leaving the central city.

The weak anti-sprawl movement and the influx of new residents to the city are at best, only partial solutions to sprawl and concentrated poverty. Job growth and entry level employment opportunities are projected to continue to be concentrated in the suburbs of most metropolitan regions.[27] Educational opportunities are still grossly unequal for city and suburban residents.[28] And housing choices continue to shrink as existing affordable housing is being demolished or upgraded out of the reach of lower and middle income residents without being replaced.[29] To effectively address the issues of sprawl and concentrated poverty it is necessary to closely examine how sprawl patterns dictate the location of these opportunities denied to low-income communities of color. Regional strategies are critical to remedy these inequities in meaningful ways.

Sprawl and Concentrated Poverty: A Nexus Too Often Ignored

The growing anti-sprawl movement is frequently spearheaded by those in the suburbs who have not traditionally focused on inner city social justice issues. At the same time, social justice advocates who work on issues associated with racial segregation and concentrated poverty traditionally do not focus directly on land use policy outside of their immediate neighborhood.[30] Many anti-sprawl and social justice advocates have failed to recognize the important connections between these seemingly disparate issues. This is more than a small oversight.

Political Fragmentation Disables Desegregation Earlier I suggested that sprawl and fragmentation had effectively undermined the aspirations of the civil rights movement. How and when did this occur? Before the civil rights movement there was forced segregation of blacks and whites imposed by law. We are all familiar with this racial caste system referred to as Jim Crow. The civil rights movement was an attack on that system. However, the dynamics of sprawl and jurisdictional fragmentation largely blunted the civil rights movement. While the civil rights movement was concerned with ending segregation, the court and policy makers adopted a different approach that distinguished intra-jurisdictional segregation from inter-jurisdictional segregation, thus limiting desegregation efforts and remedies to segregation within local political boundaries.[31] This clever legal distinction rendered many desegregation efforts virtually meaningless and made a mockery of the goals of the civil rights movement.

The increased deference to local political boundaries occurred almost exactly at the same time as the early gains of the civil rights movement. This move

toward greater fragmentation in the wake of the civil rights movement was not just a coincidence, but part of a deliberate move to compromise the idea of integration while responding to the growing demands for racial justice by blacks.[32] Gregory Weiher notes the role of political boundaries in maintaining segregation despite the efforts of the civil rights movement.

> *The tendency of boundaries to perform this function has been increased by public policy produced from the late 1940s to the seventies and early eighties. In the presence of a persistent aversion to blacks on the part of whites, public policy has not ameliorated residential segregation. Rather, it has restructured it by presenting these whites with altered incentives and institutional forms. The result has been a change in the geographic pattern of rather than a reduction in, residential segregation.[33]*

Weiher goes on to note, "Civil rights policy has substantially dismantled neighborhood level, or 'intrajurisdictional' [sic], mechanisms of segregation. But federal court policy has reinforced devices which support interjurisdictional [sic] racial segregation."[34] This re-sorting of whites, not just to new neighborhoods but to new cities, explains the persistent racial segregation in housing markets and in non-Southern schools despite the efforts of the civil rights movement. Indeed, one study has shown that the more fragmented a region, the more racially and economically segregated it is.[35] And importantly, blacks were not simply being segregated from whites but also from opportunity.[36]

One community worker calls the fragmentation associated with sprawl the 1990's version of states' rights.[37] Support for states' rights was a strategy often used by civil rights opponents in the early part of the civil rights movement to undermine desegregation efforts at the federal level. Opponents of civil rights would argue that federal laws governing civil rights infringed on states' rights to govern themselves. Thus, through states' rights they attempted to circumvent the gains of the civil rights movement.

There is an historical connection between the push for states' rights and the current political fragmentation at the municipal level. Both movements have used fragmentation and local control to prevent desegregation. The local control advocated by states' rights proponents was state control to circumvent federal laws. [The local control and fragmentation associated with sprawl is a more refined version of the same localism touted by states' rights advocates and is used by residents of the municipalities to exclude low income residents of color while trying to attract high tax base resources.] Sprawl, as a method of fragmentation, perpetuates the dysfunctional dynamic of our regions and is a continuation of the sorting and local control movement that undermined civil rights desegregation efforts dating back to the 1950s.

The Reciprocal Relationship Between Sprawl and Racialized Concentrated Poverty Concentrated poverty can be equated with racialized space at the urban core because these isolated low-income populations are also disproportionately populations of color.[38] Economist Anthony Downs and urban scholar David Rusk have asserted that where there is a sprawling metropolitan area with political fragmentation and a substantial presence of racial minorities, you will have concentrated poverty and racial segregation at the urban core.[39] This phenomenon is not simply the result of naturally occurring economic sorting or private policy over the last fifty years. Poverty in America is racialized and systemic; it is the product of well documented, formal and informal, racially discriminatory federal, state, and municipal policies, including housing and transportation policies that encourage middle-class whites to flee the city for the suburbs.[40]

Concentrated poverty is both a substantial cause and product of sprawl. On one hand, concentrated poverty has been a strong causative force behind sprawl. The fear of minority ghettoes and barrios and the social problems often associated with the poverty there, is one of the causes of white and middle class flight from the core of metropolitan areas; a flight that has created and exacerbated sprawl patterns.[41]

On the other hand, it is the abandonment of the urban core itself that creates and causes concentrated poverty, which is then used to justify white flight. It is not the poor concentrating themselves or moving to the center, but rather upper and middle class residents moving out to the periphery that causes the isolation of low-income people of color. Policies that have encouraged sprawl over the last fifty years have also fostered concentrated poverty as key opportunities quickly followed middle-class whites' flight from the urban core. Urban residents were left behind with a declining tax base, shrinking employment opportunities, a failing educational system, and a shortage of decent, affordable housing.[42] There is an economic incentive for middle-class suburban residents to keep out those with high needs and few resources. This, coupled with racial discrimination and whites' aversion to blacks takes a high toll on low income blacks.[43]

While it is difficult to address issues of sprawl without addressing concentrated poverty, it is virtually impossible to address issues of concentrated poverty without dealing with sprawl.[44] Strategies to alleviate concentrated poverty and racial discrimination center on gaining access to or creating economic and educational opportunities. Since sprawl patterns have largely shaped the spatial placement of these opportunities, it is virtually impossible to substantially address concentrated poverty without addressing sprawl.

Why Civil Rights and Social Justice Advocates Have Been Reluctant To Join the Anti-Sprawl Movement

I have posited that sprawl and fragmentation caused concentrated poverty and undermined the civil rights movement. But if this is even modestly correct, then why is it that traditional civil rights and social justice advocates have not been more active participants in the attack on sprawl? There are a number of explanations for the failure of these communities to address sprawl as a strategy for addressing issues of race and poverty. While the list of possible explanations I provide here is not exhaustive, it presents some of the most significant barriers to working on social justice issues in the context of sprawl discourse.

One explanation is simply proximity. Sprawl is primarily, but mistakenly, viewed as an issue at the edge of the metropolitan region, with little impact or direct relevance to the issues of the urban core. Many people involved with social justice issues in the urban core are often unaware of, and as a result, unconcerned with, what is happening so far from their neighborhoods and cities. Most of the active players addressing concentrated poverty issues are people working on a grass-roots level, often through Community Development Corporations (CDCs). The focus of most CDCs is to lift the economic level of the communities' residents.[45] It is often not immediately apparent to these communities that the resources they need to bolster their communities are being pushed away by the problems related to concentrated poverty and pulled away by sprawl patterns. Strategies addressing sprawl that seek to increase density and build up the tax base by drawing in the middle-class and businesses to create a more stable, mixed-income community are seldom advocated by anti-sprawl regionalists. Additionally, these strategies often seem irrelevant or threatening to the present population.

A second explanation is the suspicion and resistance that urban communities have toward regional approaches.[46] Regionalism suggests the need to move beyond fragmented jurisdictional approaches toward cross-jurisdictional cooperation as a means to address issues that impact the entire region.[47] Many inner-city communities of color have resisted regional strategies for fear of losing cultural control, cultural identity, and political power within their communities. Indeed, this fear is well founded since the redrawing of political boundaries has often been used to disempower the minority community.[48] However, some theorists have failed to addresss concerns over disempowerment by suggesting that, although minority communities may currently have political control over their communities, in reality, due to the lack of resources in their community or re-isolation within the political system, this control is ineffectual.[49] The logic behind this position is that, even if minorities have to give up control in order to participate in region-

al strategies, they have nothing to lose because, in effect, they have control over nothing significant.

The Hobson's choice that is apparently presented by these two assertions is that inner-city communities of color can either have insignificant self-control, or have access to resources but no voice or identity. These are untenable choices that have been, and should be, rejected. But rejecting these choices is often seen as the same as rejection of regional or metropolitan efforts. This is a mistaken assumption as the dichotomy these choices present is a false one. Regional approaches are necessary to adequately address the inextricable issues of sprawl, race, and concentrated poverty because these are regional problems and the solutions are not found solely or even primarily within the neighborhoods or cities where concentrated poverty is located. As the Mayor of Detroit, Dennis Archer, has recently noted, "we can't save our cities unless we save our farmland."[50]

I have suggested a form of federated regionalism to mediate the concerns about disempowerment and the need for addressing concentrated poverty.[51] Federated regionalism is a regional approach that preserves political and cultural status within communities or cities, while sharing regional resources and responsibilities, and balanced regional policymaking.[52] This approach provides the opportunity to preserve and build on the assets of the inner city community while tapping into the resources and opportunities located elsewhere in the region.

Another explanation for many urban civil rights advocates' failure to enter the sprawl discourse is their suspicion and skepticism of urban revitalization as a policy for bringing in or maintaining the number of middle class households in the urban core. The fear is that by allowing middle- and upper-income residents into their neighborhoods through in-fill or gentrification, complete displacement of low-income residents will ultimately result. This concern has both class and racial underpinnings. While concentrated poverty generally depicts a method of sorting low-income racial minorities at the urban core, gentrification is a way in which middle and upper middle class whites are sorted into urban areas by displacing low-income minorities.[53]

Although gentrification in high poverty cities is often a charged and contentious political issue, I believe that concerns about gentrification are more appropriately raised in rich cities, not poor cities. The issue is more nuanced in middle class cities. This approach may seem counter-intuitive given that rich cities have resources and low poverty rates and poverty does not seem to be an issue. But when viewed in a wider context of how racial and class sorting occur in metropolitan areas, the approach takes on clarity.

By rich cities, I refer to central cities that have a median per capita income and fiscal capacity close to or above the average for the region in which they are situated. In addition, rich cities will usually have a growing or stable population base. San Francisco and Seattle are examples of rich cities. Middle class cities

are cities that have 70-90% of the regional median per capita income while poor cities have less than 70% of the regional median income. Rich cities may appear to have no serious concentrated poverty issues, certainly not of the magnitude of poor cities such as Detroit and Cleveland. This perception, however, obscures how rich cities sort along racial and class lines through gentrification and how this method of sorting is related to concentrated poverty.[54] Rich cities appear to have few problems with concentrated poverty because their sorting practices displace or keep most low-income minorities out of their cities where opportunity is concentrated, while relocating them in nearby poor cities and suburbs.

It is possible that a region is doing so well that the isolation of poor minorities associated with concentrated poverty is simply not an issue. However, this situation is not likely, which makes it necessary to examine what is actually occurring in these rich cities and their surrounding regions. In San Francisco, the number of high poverty census tracts has remained comparatively low and stable at 12-13 since 1970 while most large American cities in the Midwest and Northeast have experienced a large increase in number of high poverty census tracts during this same time period.[55] Through a closer examination of the forces behind this low number of high poverty tracts, we find that lower-income residents, even those with modest means, are being pushed out of the city and into areas where there is concentrated poverty, such as Oakland, or into other suburbs away from opportunity. This is disturbing for a number of reasons. Not only are people being pushed out of their homes and away from opportunity, they are also being pushed into areas with fewer social resources to address the needs of low-income residents. In essence, the dynamics of isolation remain the same, they are just relocated.

We find a similar sorting going on in places like Seattle. Seattle, which had only 9 high poverty census tracts in 1990, is a place where economic resources in the region are concentrated in the central city.[56] At the same time, many of the low-income residents are being pushed out into southern working class suburbs such as Renton.[57] This context of gentrification could be called extra-jurisdictional gentrification in that low-income residents are not simply being pushed out of their neighborhood but also out of their city.

To exacerbate the problems of displaced residents, poor cities and marginal working class suburbs receiving the displaced have declining resources and growing need. In these suburbs many of the long-term residents are white and many of the residents coming in are people of color. This is a recipe for racial tension and resentment.[58]

Because both the Bay Area and the Seattle area are fragmented along jurisdictional lines, these rich cities are in a sense subsidized by this sorting process since they do not have to share their resources with the low-income residents they have displaced to nearby suburbs or cities. In so doing, these rich cities fail to take

their fair share of responsibility for the social needs they have helped create in other locations within the region.

Contrast this experience of extra-jurisdictional or complete gentrification with the experience of many high poverty cities. In many high poverty areas or cities, any effort to attract or build housing for middle class households is misconstrued as gentrification. It is both a conceptual and political mistake to confuse gentrification with efforts to attract middle class households back to poor cities, however. For example, in cities such as Cleveland and Detroit which have a large number of high poverty census tracts populated primarily by low income people of color,[59] as well as a large number of vacant lots and homes,[60] there is an effort to attract middle class residents. The effort to attract middle-income housing in these areas is better characterized as in-fill housing and the goal is to build housing on vacant land or rehab existing housing that is not being used.

In-fill housing can be built in areas where there is little or no existing housing or in areas where some housing already exists. While in-fill can involve any type of housing and other non-residential projects, it is the filling in with middle and upper middle class homes that is most frequently associated or confused with gentrification. Gentrification is usually understood to mean the transition of a neighborhood caused by the in-migration of middle and upper middle class residents who are most often white, and the resulting forced out-migration of low-income residents who are frequently people of color.[61] Given this understanding, an in-fill project is not gentrification because no one is being pushed out.[62]

In-fill housing can be used as a strategy to create stable mixed-income communities. In contrast, gentrification occurs when middle or upper income gentrifiers move into economically depressed neighborhoods to restore older housing stock or build new housing and, in so doing, displace current residents from affordable housing. The mixed income communities that result from gentrification are generally not stable, but transitional; transitioning from largely low-income to exclusively upper and middle-income communities. Revitalization efforts that have the goal of creating stable mixed-income neighborhoods through in-fill or partial/small-scale gentrification, should be distinguished from extra-jurisdictional gentrification that pushes the poor out of the cities. This distinction is vital to strategizing to create stable, mixed-income neighborhoods, cities, and regions.

Poor Cities Have Much to Gain By Attracting Middle-Income Housing

Poor cities tend to possess more than their share of their region's low-income housing. Among other things, this means that the city does not have the buying power or the tax base of other areas in the region. The poor city lacks the resources it needs to attract investment and address the greater social and infrastructure needs of its residents. Detroit, for example, is a city with an aging infrastructure that was designed for two million people but now serves a population of just over one million residents mostly of modest means.[63] Given the dearth of population, especially residents in the middle- and upper-income brackets, Detroit overburdens relatively few residents with the cost of supporting this infrastructure. This places a tremendous economic strain on the city. In addition, many of the jobs and other resources associated with opportunities are more likely to be found outside of poor cites. These cities need a strategy to capture a fair share of the opportunity base, including the tax and job base of the region. Trying to attract middle-income residents and middle income housing is a rational strategy for these cities to pursue because it brings in a much needed boost to revenues, and creates buying power which in turn creates even more revenue for the central cities.

Despite the promise of expanding the central city's resources, such strategies are often contentious and strongly opposed by inner city residents of color. Although there are a number of reasons for this opposition, I will focus on four. The first, which has been a primary focus of this essay, is that this method of city revitalization is mistakenly perceived as a gentrification process that will displace inner city residents from their existing neighborhoods.[64] The second is that in poor cities there is still likely to be unmet low-income housing needs; causing resistance to revitalization efforts that focus on middle-income households with the least need of assistance. The third reason is that it has not been made clear to low-income communities why attracting middle class households will benefit the city or its existing residents. Finally, revitalization efforts are perceived in racial terms. That is, they are viewed as a political ploy specifically intended to pander to white suburbanites and hurt blacks and other people of color.

Our history gives all four of these concerns credence. Consider, for example, the urban renewal of the sixties.[65] This policy, which appears similar to the proposed in-fill strategies, often hurt minorities while it benefited whites.[66] Another basis for these concerns is the fact that whites fled to the suburbs as blacks came to the central city. Because of this, minority communities often perceive any return by whites to the city as an effort to retake the city.[67] Indeed, even in Oakland today there is support for this perception as there is some indication that the new mayor is taking a public posture that uses black disenfranchisement to

draw whites back to Oakland.[68] There is also the concern that low-income people, often people of color, need assistance in the housing market by developing and subsidizing affordable housing. But the city simply cannot address the housing and other social needs of low-income citizens of the region by itself. If poor cities continue to import poor residents while exporting opportunities and resources, a role historically consigned to cities by the federal government and the region, the cities will cease to function.

Despite their often justified concerns, it is a mistake for low-income communities to oppose policies that provide a better balance of mixed-income housing stock in the city. While it is conceivable that some partial/small-scale gentrification in poor cities will occur, it must be stressed that gentrification is not the central issue facing poor cities. In fact most poor cities will continue to lose population especially middle-class residents, even with the implementation of in-fill programs. The pull of sprawl and the push of concentrated poverty that already exist in these cities cannot be adequately addressed unless the sprawl and fragmentation issues are more directly confronted by inner city communities.

Rich cities that engage in extra-jurisdictional gentrification usually have small, politically marginalized low-income minority populations that cannot alone mount an effective opposition to on-going displacement. By contrast, in cities with large numbers of low-income minorities, allegations of gentrification are used as a racial coding to oppose whites moving back to the city. The reality is, in most of these poor cities there is little, if any, gentrification occurring. If residents are displaced it is more likely to be to a nearby neighborhood in the city through what I have termed intra-jurisdiction gentrification.

While any displacement raises legitimate concerns, the intra-jurisdictional gentrification that may occur in modest amounts in poor cities and the extra-jurisdictional gentrification in rich cites are of a different order. The concern in poor cites is less likely to be displacement in terms of housing but rather a fear of displacement in terms of power. There is concern that the influx of whites to the city foreshadows white domination. While there may be a basis for such fear, as the experience of Oakland appears to be bearing out, cities like Detroit and Cleveland are far from being at risk of political domination by whites. Nonetheless, low-income communities of color in these poor cities evoke the same fears of displacement and disempowerment to oppose an influx of whites.

The future of middle class cities, such as Minneapolis is more difficult to foresee. The balance in middle class cities is much more delicate and requires constant attention. In middle class cities intra-jurisdictional gentrification and displacement are more likely to occur than in poor cities. Despite this influx of middle- and upper-income residents, these cities are still losing population and remain oversubscribed in terms of low-income housing. In light of this dynamic, similar

to that of poor cities, it does not make sense for low-income communities to oppose active attempts to attract and keep middle class residents. In middle class cities, middle class housing in-fill projects are valuable in low-income neighborhoods where there are many vacant lots. Instead of opposing it, middle class cities should welcome middle class in-fill, but with a vigilant eye toward the ultimate goal of access to opportunity for low-income communities.

Regional Strategizing for the Future

The common thread for understanding the housing needs and the ways in which opportunity is sorted in rich, middle class, and poor cities is through a regional approach. In evaluating each of these types of cities, one must look at how population and opportunity are being sorted by race and class on a regional level. We must then adopt strategies that give people meaningful access to opportunities. From a regional perspective, concentrated poverty in the cities or declining suburbs is a method of isolation and containment and should be opposed.

If the ultimate goal is to provide low-income people of color access to the opportunity structures from which they have been excluded, then communities should seek to build stable mixed-income, racially integrated communities with access to opportunities. There are those who believe you can alleviate concentrated poverty by bringing opportunities to poor city neighborhoods through localized revitalization efforts, thus avoiding the regional discussion. However, these efforts have generally failed unless they have been linked to a larger metropolitan goal.[69]

The strategies that should be pursued to provide access to opportunity differ greatly among rich, middle class, and poor cities, because their experiences of racial and class sorting differ greatly. Poor cities must overcome their fear of displacement and recognize that their volatile resistance to the influx of middle-income residents through in-fill is vastly out of proportion to the actual threat posed. Poor city communities should refocus on the ultimate goal of access to opportunities and resources. By refocusing their strategies, low-income communities of color and social justice advocates will recognize that attracting middle-income residents and businesses is a logical next step to continue the civil rights movement's goal of true access to opportunities.

Notes

*Thanks go to Rachael Callanan for assistance on this paper.
1. See Rusk, 1995, 1999; Massey and Denton, 1993; Orfield, 1997; Jorgowsky, 1997, 201-213; Downs, 1998, 8; and Freilich and Peshoff.
2. See Galster and Hill, 1992. ("The condition of African-Americans who are persistently poor is an extreme expression of racial inequality, and it provides a crystallized picture of polarization between African- and European-Americans in the metropolis."); Massey and Denton.
3. Purdum.
4. Gordon and Richardson, 23.
5. Anonymous, *Star Tribune* (Anti-sprawl policies are being advocated by Vice President Al Gore, New Jersey Governor Christine Todd Whitman, and in Maryland, by Governor Parris Glendening).
6. Purdham.
7. Jargowsky, 201-203; Foster-Bey.
8. *Id.* Foster-Bey, 29-30. See also, Massey and Denton.
9. Peirce.
10. *Id.*
11. Jargowsky, 105.
12. Orfield, 58-59.
13. Oliver and Shapiro.
14. Orfield, 2-4; Massey and Denton, 1.
15. Orfield, 2-5.
16. Wilson.
17. Gordon and Richardson.
18. Jackson.
19. *Id* 206, 217.
20. Downs, 1997.
21. Rusk, 72-73, box 2.5 (citing studies by Savitch, 341-357, and Voith, 31).
22. Peirce, 19.
23. Downs, 9; Orfield, 2.
24. See Peirce, 3.
25. Peirce, 19.
26. Brooke.
27. Peirce, 19.
28. Orfield, 39-54.
29. McLeod.
30. Land use policies within inner city communities have been addressed through the environmental justice movement. See Collin.
31. In the school desegregation context, Milliken v. Bradley, 418 U.S. 717 (1974),

provides a forceful example of how political fragmentation curtailed the aims of the civil rights movement. In Milliken, the court ordered the Detroit schools to be desegregated but prohibited an inter-district desegregation remedy that would have included the white suburban districts along with the largely minority school district in Detroit. The narrow focus of the desegregation remedy, as limited by local municipal boundaries, did not remedy segregation on a broad scale and in fact, may have entrenched racial segregation. See Ford.
32. Weiher.
33. Weiher, 87-88.
34. *Id.*, at 88.
35. Rusk.
36. For a good discussion of the Supreme Court's confusing fidelity to local control see Ford, 1866-1877.
37. Conversation with Mary Gonzalez, Metropolitan Alliance of Congregations, Chicago, Illinois.
38. We not only sort poverty by race and space, we also use space to maintain and create the social meaning of race. So in today's practices, we use the ghetto both to produce 'blackness' and also as a place to consign low income blacks. See Goldberg; Jargowsky; Calmore; Ford; and Rusk, 1999.
39. Downs, 9 (defines fragmentation as a part of sprawl); Rusk, 44.
40. Massey and Denton; Jackson; powell, 1996.
41. *Id.*
42. See Freilich and Peshoff; Orfield.
43. For a good discussion of whites' aversion to blacks and concentrated poverty see Weiher, 87-99.
44. In-place economic developmental strategies, alone, have been ineffective in addressing concentrated poverty on a large scale. Rusk, 127-128; Orfield, 75; Foster-Bey (discussing the limitations of in-place strategies); see also, Bollens, 11, 12 (both in-place and mobility strategies are necessary to effectively address concentrated poverty).
45. Vidal, 1992.
46. powell, 1998, 20; see also Goedert; and Choper.
47. See e.g. Rusk, 1995; Peirce; Orfield.
48. Guinier; Kousser.
49. Orfield; Guinier, 1991. (citing Fainstain and Fainstain.); Guinier, 1991a, 1131-1132.
50. Remarks by Dennis Archer, Detroit Mayor, to the Michigan Farm Bureau/Clean Mchigan Inititative, Ann Arbor , Michigan, Oct. 1, 1998.
51. powell, 1998, 22.
52. *Id.*

53. This is not suggesting that only minorities live in concentrated poverty or that only whites live in gentrified areas, although both statements are more true than not.
54. It is recognized that the wealth of a region can distort which category a city falls into, despite this limitation this is a useful way of distinguishing rich, middle and poor cities. It is also clear that a city may move from one category to another. For a discussion of this see Rusk, 1995.
55. Jargowsky, Appendix B (citing U.S. Census Data).
56. Jargowsky, 232.
57. Conklin; Modie.
58. Other U.S. cities have recently experienced racial tension in neighborhoods that were formerly all-white but are witnessing an influx of people of color. Lewis, Brand-Williams and Taylor; Associate Press.
59. In 1990 Detroit had 149 high poverty census tracts while Cleveland had 69 high poverty census tracts. Jargowsky, 224, 225, 235 (citing 1990 U.S. Census Data).
60. The percentage of vacant housing units in Detroit is 8.8, and in Cleveland the vacancy rate is 10.9%. 1990 U.S. Census Data.
61. The term gentrification has been criticized as a misnomer since many gentrifiers are not from the highest echelons of society, but are in fact middle income. However, gentrification will be the term used in this essay because it is the term most commonly used to describe the phenomena of middle and upper-income residents returning to live in the central city, often renovating existing housing stock. See Durham and Sheldon, III.
62. Even if people are not directly displaced, it is possible that in-fill could still have the effect of pushing people out by driving up the property values in the area or city which could make it harder for people to stay in their homes. This is not a major problem in cities such as Detroit and Cleveland, however. As will become clear later in this article, I believe that it is important to distinguish between gentrification and other processes, such as in-fill, that are not likely to have the impact of displacing large numbers of people. When there is gentrification in poor cities, it is likely to be intra-jurisdictional. This means that people will be able to relocate within their home city if not their neighborhood, but it also means they remain tied to a jurisdiction with a limited taxing capacity. I am not suggesting in this article that gentrification in poor cities does not occur. It can and it does, but usually on a very modest scale. There may be very good reasons to challenge even modest gentrification in poor cities but this should not be confused with in-fill or the need to attract middle class housing stock. For a recent example of a dispute over gentrification in Detroit see Puls.
63. Sugrue.

64. Our history offers very few examples of stable integrated neighborhoods. Most historically white neighborhoods that experience an influx of people of color, particularly blacks, reach a "tipping" point, a point at which whites feel threatened by the growing minority population and flee. When this occurs, neighborhoods rapidly shift from predominantly white to predominantly black. See Weiher, 19-22. In a related phenomenon, black neighborhoods that undergo gentrification experience a rapid shift by which middle- and upper-class whites move into and transform the neighborhood and lower-class blacks are forced to move to other "affordable" neighborhoods. Although both phenomena point to the ephemeral nature of integrated neighborhoods, the key difference is that with "tipping" there is no actual "squeezing out" of whites, whereas, with gentrification, the relocation is involuntary.
65. Halpern, 64-71.
66. *See id.*
67. Sugrue.
68. See Nieves; Matier and Ross. Brown who is the new white mayor of Oakland, California may be engaging in what I call strategic racism. Strategic racism is a politically motivated effort to curry favor with whites after establishing a reputation as being supportive of pro-black policies, in other words, to demonstrate to outsiders that the politician has not been "captured" by blacks. Brown appears to be adopting this strategy by publicly attacking blacks, particularly Police Chief Joseph Samuels, to attract non-blacks and investment back into Oakland. This has been an effective strategy with a number of politicians. See Edsall, for a related phenomenon called "wedge politics" where politicians play the "race card" to gain political favor; see also O'Reilly.
69. See *supra* note 43.

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FORUM for SOCIAL ECONOMICS

The Forum for Social Economics

ISSN 0736-0932

Contents

Symposium *Urban Sprawl*

Metropolitics: A Regional Agenda for Community and Stability

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Abstract *The problem of urban sprawl is explored in terms of its effects on the concentration of poverty, the decline of inner suburbs, and the distribution of economic and other benefits toward the "favored quarters" of a region. Also considered are the costs of the polarization that is symptomatic of urban sprawl, the benefits of regional cooperation and obstacles to attaining that cooperation.*

• • •

Overview

For decades, leaders of the Twin Cities, a vibrant, progressive Midwestern metropolitan area, believed that their communities were immune from the rapid central city and inner-suburban decline and restrictively zoned, sprawling growth—the polarization—that has devastated and divided older, larger regions. With smugness, they looked at Chicago, Detroit, and Milwaukee and quietly asserted that the deep problems of these regions could not recur in the land of Hubert Humphrey. The Twins Cities was too reform-minded, our philanthropic and governmental centers were coordinated and responsive, and we were, decidedly, not racist. The 1980s, however, hit the Twin Cities like a freight train and the identical patterns of regional polarization clearly emerged.

The events in the Twin Cities show that no American region is immune from the problems associated with this sort of polarization. Once they occur, the concentration of poverty, disinvestment, middle-class flight, and sprawl grow increasingly severe over time, and are more costly and detrimental than any other set of problems facing American society. As of 1995, there is essentially no national urban policy left. With this awareness, a powerful coalition has developed in the Twin Cities. During the last three legislative sessions, the central cities, declining inner suburbs, and low tax base developing suburbs have unified in support of a regional reform agenda including tax base sharing, fair housing, reinvestment, land use planning,transportation/transit reform, and a stronger regional government. Substantial parts of the agenda have been enacted and the movement's energy is growing. In the community, hundreds of churches, environmental, good government, and civil rights groups have linked their energies and agendas to this program. In this reform movement, and one very similar in Portland, Oregon, the tools are being forged to create a national model that can address the problems of decline and polarization in all of the nation's metropolitan areas.

These patterns of polarization, which are present in some form in all the nation's regions, can be divided into two pieces: the push of concentrated need and the pull of concentrated resources. As this polarization grows, its momentum increases.

The Push of Concentrated Need

The Growth of Severely Distressed Neighborhoods Regional polarization begins as poverty concentrates in certain central city neighborhoods. Urban scholars have shown that all of the nation's metropolitan regions have areas of dense poverty in their cores.[1] The concentration of poverty, or ghettoization,[2] increased dramatically in U.S. cities in the northeast during the 1970s and the Midwest in the 1980s.[3] Not only are these distressed areas expanding in size, but the degree of poverty concentration and racial segregation is intensifying within them.[4] In the 1980s, the Twin Cities became the fourth fastest ghettoizing region of the nation.[5] During this period, Twin Cities ghetto areas tripled in size from 11 to 32 census tracts and 8,894 to 25,223 people. Surrounding this ghetto, an area in deep transition increased from 43 to 57 census tracts and 25,505 to 40,501 people.[6]

The Concentration of Poverty Hurts Individuals Powerful new research clarifies that the residential concentration of poverty creates social consequences far greater than the sum of its parts. Physical separation from jobs, middle-class role models, and dependency on a dysfunctional welfare system reinforce social isolation and weaken work skills. Studies have found that poor individuals living in concentrated poverty are far more likely to become pregnant as teenagers, drop out of high school, and remain jobless than if they lived in socioeconomically mixed neighborhoods. On the other hand, growing evidence demonstrates that when poor individuals are freed from poor neighborhoods and schools, and provided with economic opportunities in low poverty communities, their educational and employment prospects improve dramatically.

The Concentration of Poverty Destabilizes Schools Schools are the first victim and the most powerful perpetuator of metropolitan polarization. Local schools become socioeconomically distressed before neighborhoods themselves become poor. Hence, increasing poverty in a city's school children is a prophecy for the city. First, the city's children become its adults. Second, middle-class families, who form the bed-rock of stable communities, will not tolerate high concentrations of poverty in their schools. In this light, both Twin Cities central cities are struggling under a disproportionate share of concentrated poverty and segregation. Third, schools cannot effectively and competitively perform when all of the children are from poor homes. When middle-class families and pundits say that cities have bad schools, what they often mean is that cities have schools full of poor children.

Between 1982-1994, the Minneapolis school system went from 33 to 52 percent of its children on free or reduced cost lunch and from 34 to 59 percent minority student enrollment.

Saint Paul experienced similar changes.[7] During this period, both central cities lost one third of their preschool white children.

The Concentration of Poverty Greatly Intensifies Crime As poverty concentrates in poor central cities' neighborhoods and older suburbs, crime rates grow dramatically. Specifically, crime was remarkably concentrated in the core of poverty. Minneapolis census tracts with more than 25 percent of residents below the federal poverty line account for 71 percent of the city's violent crime, even though only 32 percent of the city's residents live there.[8] The poorest neighborhoods had violent crime rates that were over 10 times the metro average and over 30 times the suburban average. Many of the neighborhoods that went into socioeconomic transition during the 1980s had 50 to 70 percent increases in violent crime during a 5 year period. This study found that as concentrations of poverty increased beyond 10 percent in a neighborhood, violent crime rates increased predictably and exponentially.

The Concentration of Poverty Causes a Loss of Local Governmental Resources as Needs are Increasing Throughout the nation, as social demands increase in core cities, vital human and financial resources necessary to address growing problems disappear.[9] In a five year period, Minneapolis residential property surrounding the expanding core of poverty lost 25 percent of its value, while housing values in exclusive suburbs soared.[10] As the middle class leaves an area, businesses become disadvantaged by the concentration effects of poverty (crime, physical decline, and loss of property value) and other issues such as polluted brownfields, inability to expand, and lack of rapid access to radial highways. In a metropolitan economy that created over a quarter million jobs in the 1980s, Saint Paul lost jobs, and unemployment grew rapidly in both central cities. In one of the only northern U.S. metropolitan economies that created manufacturing employment during the 1980s, Minneapolis and Saint Paul together lost more than 20 percent their manufacturing jobs in a single decade.[11]

The Rapid Decline of the Inner Suburbs Contrary to popular impression, socioeconomic instability does not stop neatly at central city borders. As it crosses into inner suburbs, particularly into suburbs that were once adjacent to blue-collar and middle-class neighborhoods, it frequently accelerates and intensifies. During the 1980s, the largest flight of middle-class families in the nation did not occur in central cities, but in the inner-ring suburbs of Chicago and Atlanta.[12] In Chicago there are 6 southern rings and 5 western rings of rapidly declining inner suburbs. In the Philadelphia region there is a powerful pattern of decline in the suburban communities all along the Delaware River Valley, the border between Pennsylvania and New Jersey.[13]

Similarly, in the Twin Cities metropolitan area growing concentrations of poverty and economic instability firmly established themselves in working class inner-ring suburbs, particularly those north of Minneapolis and south of Saint Paul. Like older metropolitan areas, the long-term prospects of Twin Cities working-class suburban communities are less hopeful than the cities they surround. While central cities are hit by the first body-blows of social and economic change, they have a fiscal, governmental, and social infrastructure with which to counteract these powerful trends. Inner suburbs, lacking the central city's central business district and elite neighborhood tax base, its social welfare and police infrastructure, and its network of organized political activity, often decline far more rapidly than central city neighborhoods.

Following the pattern of older, larger regions, by 1994 nine of the eleven inner suburban school districts had more than 20 percent of their children on free lunch and were gaining poor children at a faster rate than Minneapolis.[14] Eight were gaining minority students faster. Eighteen of 29 inner-ring cities experienced significant flight of white pre-school children over the decade. During the 1980s, the inner suburban serious crime rate was 20 percent higher than the nearest group of suburbs: the inner suburbs were the only place in the region—other than the poorest neighborhoods of the central cities—where crime was increasing.[15] Moreover, to the extent that these inner-ring communities developed with more than a purely residential tax base, many had far more dramatic job losses than the central cities. Their older industrial and manufacturing sites were burdened by the same brownfield pollution, lack of space for expansion, and access to radial roads that disadvantaged central city locations. Finally, as their problems greatly increased in severity over the decade, their tax bases, small to begin with, grew less certainly than those in the central cities.

The Pull of Concentrated Resources

Developing communities at the edge of metropolitan regions engage in as restrictive and as low density a pattern of land use practices as their present economic circumstances will bear. Their goals, as have been the goals of virtually all neighborhoods and communities from time immemorial, are both to keep out potentially undesirable residents, such as apartment dwellers, and to build a broad rich tax base which will keep services high and taxes low. The outcomes of effort, however, are not uniformly successful. In the white collar sector emanating from the affluent neighborhoods of the city, the growing communities corner the market in low density executive housing and/or business tax base with low service requirements. However, on the other side of the region, in the blue-collar, middle-class sector, the middle-income communities, struggling to duplicate this pattern, end up developing only modest homes, apartment buildings, trailer parks, and few

businesses. These communities, often develop without sufficient resources to adequately support public services such as schools.

The Favored Quarter Christopher Leinberger and his colleagues at Robert Charles Lesser and Co., one of the most successful real estate consulting firms in the county, have made a great deal of money locating the "favored quarter" for businesses in a given metropolitan area. These quarters are developing suburban areas that have mastered the art of skimming off the cream of metropolitan growth, while accepting as few metropolitan responsibilities as possible. As these communities grow rich and their tax base expands, their exclusive housing market actually causes their relatively small local social needs to decline. Leinberger and Co. look for areas with concentrations of housing valued at above $200,000, high-end regional malls, and the best freeway capacity.

The Favored Quarter Dominates Regional Economic Growth In Chicago, Leinberger's favored quarter is a crescent of suburbs in the northwest quadrant that absolutely dominate job growth and upper income residential development. At the heart of this quarter is an area with 18 percent of the Chicago region's households and 80 percent of its new jobs. A similar crescent surrounding the King of Prussia mall in the northwest quadrant of the Philadelphia region dominates regional job growth, property tax base expansion, and new infrastructure construction. In the Twin Cities, the favored quarter is a group of developing suburbs to the south and west, on and beyond the 1494 beltway.

While the cities and many of the inner suburbs lost jobs over the decade, the southwestern developing suburbs, which represent 27 percent of the region's population, gained 61 percent of its new jobs. Eden Prairie, Minnetonka, and Plymouth, at the heart of this crescent, which represent 7 percent of the region, created 26 percent of its new jobs.[16]

The Favored Quarter has Highly Restrictive Housing Markets Affluent developing communities, in turn, use their economic power and local authority to restrict the access of potential moderate and low income residents. Local studies document that virtually all of the southwestern cities have extensive, multi-layered barriers to affordable housing. Communities burgeoning with new jobs prohibit new apartment buildings, require large expensive lots for single family homes, and impose other regulatory barriers that prevent workers from reaching opportunity and the market place from responding to pent up demand for affordable housing. One of the most strident of these communities refuses to build single family housing costing less than $150,000 because such housing would not "pay its own way" in terms of social services.[17]

The Favored Quarter's Small Social Needs Decline as its Resources Increase Through exclusive housing markets, these communities welcome throngs of middle and upper-income migrants and businesses from core communities, but restrict the access of the less fortunate. With such powerful advantages,

they are able, in short order, to drain the wealth and productive energies away from the rest of the region. Hence, while the percentage of poor children soared in working-class core communities, a great number of southwestern cities actually had a smaller percentage of poor children at the end of the decade than at the beginning.[18] Their school systems, particularly, enjoy insulated, stable prosperity and high achievement financed by growing protected tax bases. As the central cities and inner-suburbs grow more socioeconomically diverse, these districts become wealthier and less diverse. The favored quarter's low crime rates steadily declined.

Over the decade, the central cities and inner-suburbs saw property value increases 25 percent below the metropolitan average increase. Conversely, the southwestern developing suburbs experienced the region's largest property tax base growth. To illustrate this economic strength, Eden Prairie and Minnetonka, two southwest communities, together had the same commercial-industrial tax base as Saint Paul ($1.5 billion), yet have only one third as many residents and, unlike Saint Paul, virtually no poor people.

The Favored Quarter Does Not Have Enough Local Workers for Local Jobs As suburbs without affordable housing dominate regional job growth, a mismatch develops between the location of jobs and the people who need them. Local southwestern chambers of commerce speak of thousands of jobs going unfilled because of a lack of available workers. An increasing number of employees are bused hours each way for minimum wage jobs in the southwestern suburbs. Some workers call these buses "Soweto Empresses," complaining that they are good enough to work in these affluent communities but not good enough to live there or to send their children to the schools.

The Favored Quarter Gets a Disproportionate Share of the Region's New Developmental Infrastructure In Chicago, roads leading to the northwest favored quarter dominated regional highway expansion budgets. In Philadelphia, it appeared that all new capacity leads to the King of Prussia growth area. In the Twin Cities, exacerbating the pattern of metropolitan social and economic polarization, during the last two decades state, metropolitan, and local governments spent billions of dollars building freeways and sewer systems to support the development of new southwestern cities.

Of the twenty-five largest regions in the country, the Twin Cities is the second lowest density,[19] and has some of the least congested freeways.[20] Nevertheless, during the 1980s, $1.087 billion was spent adding capacity to the system; 85 percent on capacity serving the southwest developing suburbs.[21] In the next decade, all of the budget has been earmarked to expand capacity in the I-3 5W and I-494 corridors, again in to the south and west.[22]

A regionally financed sewer system, which could have served as the lynch-pin of effective planning, was subverted to finance a Marshall Plan build-up in the

wealthiest and most exclusive suburban areas. Specifically, a system of sewer financing was put in place in the mid-1980s through which the core of the region subsidized the construction and operation of sewer capacity at the fringe. By 1992, the central cities were paying over $6 million a year to help move their middle-class households and businesses to the edge of the region.[23]

By 1990, 131,488 acres, or 23 percent of the area where sewer service was available remained undeveloped.[24] Most of this excess capacity was in the struggling middle-income suburbs. Rather than directing growth to these areas, between 1987-1991 the region provided sewer service to an additional 28 square miles of land (18,000 acres) at the request of cities and developers.[25] While abundant capacity remained in the system, the region spent over $50 million dollars a year adding new capacity. The vast majority of this new expansion was in the southwestern quadrant of the region.[26]

The Favored Quarter Suffers from Congestion Problems that Cannot be Solved by New Highways The mismatch between opportunity and housing also contributes to congestion problems that cannot be solved by expanding lane capacity. Studies show that beltway highways are clogged by the cars of people who cannot afford to live close to their work. Thus, so long as the majority of new jobs is created in communities without affordable housing, only land use reform that promotes such housing will lessen the stress.

The Low Tax Base Developing Suburbs It is not all sweetness and light at the edge of metropolitan regions. Generally, on the opposite side of a region's favored quarter lie struggling middle-class developing communities. These communities would like to be like the favored quarter, would like to win the battle of fiscal zoning, but cannot. The patterns of metropolitan polarization play a cruel joke on middle-income families seeking a better life at the edge of the region. As they flee to avoid increasing socioeconomic change in the central cities and inner-suburbs, they arrive in rapidly growing school districts with small tax bases. Because their tax base is inadequate and they have throngs of young children needing to go to school, their local governments will build "virtually anything that moves" simply to pay the bills. The results are the poorest planned, least well functioning communities in America. Perhaps in part because of overcrowding and very low per pupil spending, these districts have some of the highest drop out and lowest college attendance rates in the region.

The Increasing Momentum of Polarization

As multilayered forces acting upon subregions move them apart, they become like massive tectonic plates on the earth whose increasing momentum is difficult to slow or reverse. The poorer the central cities and inner-suburbs are, the faster they grow poor. The more successful the favored quarter is, the faster it grows more successful.

As an example, restrictive fiscal zoning and competition for tax base have created growing disparities amongst the property wealth that supports local service in Twin Cities communities. The central cities, inner-ring, and working class suburbs all had the average tax capacity to produce $1800 of annual revenue per household to support public services. The southwestern developing suburbs, with $2749 of average capacity, had one third more tax base per household and less social need.[27] In short, virtually everywhere social needs are present and substantial, there are comparatively small governmental tax resources, and those resources are growing slowly, stagnant, or declining. On the other hand, virtually everywhere there are comparatively large governmental resources that are rapidly growing, the social needs are small, and growing slowly, stable, or declining.

When an area has high social needs and low resources, it is generally not a nice place to live. Further, it has a combination of poor services and high taxes. On the other hand, when an area has high resources and low social needs, it is generally a nice place to live. In addition, it has a combination of good services and low taxes. To the extent that individuals with broad residential choices (high income individuals) and businesses seek out pleasant places, good services, and low taxes and wish to avoid unpleasant places, low services, and high taxes, this process of polarization fuels itself. As the favored quarter captures more high income individuals, its base increases, its taxes go down, and its services increase. It becomes even more attractive. But, as individuals and businesses exit areas with high social need and high taxes, the base declines and tax rates go up. This results in even more incentive to leave.

The Costs of Regional Polarization

The Human Costs of Concentrated Poverty What is the human cost of locking people in areas of concentrated poverty, in hopeless places without role models or connection to the broader economy, places with titanic levels of crime and disorder, places with no way out? What does it cost when we force people to live in a place where their lives can only become worse, where they are programmed to fail, and where that very failure will only increase the already deep social and racial divisions in our society?

Government Waste: Building New Rings as Old Rings Decline In the United States, each generation we build a new ring of suburbs at the edge of our metropolitan areas, as a central city or an inner ring of suburbs becomes isolated and declines. How do we estimate this cost? How do we value the decline of once vibrant cities and neighborhoods, the devaluation of buildings, streets, roads, parks, and schools that each generation is forced to build and then abandon? In the clearest sense, the increase of property wealth in outer suburbs and the stag-

nancy or decline of central city and inner-suburban values represents, in part, an intra-regional transfer of tax base. As such, the loss of value in older, poorer communities is one of the costs of economic polarization and urban sprawl. But there is much more than this.

The closing of vast numbers of schools in the core of the region, while scores are built at its periphery, symbolizes the magnitude of the flight to the edge and the massive waste involved. Between 1969-1990, total Twin Cities metropolitan school enrollment declined by 77,370 due to the generational population decline following the baby-boom. During this period, the central cities, inner-ring, and diverse second ring suburbs together closed 132 schools, while 41 new schools were opened at the edge of the metropolitan area.[28]

Business: Increased Taxes and Over-Regulation Business underwrites a good part of this decline and sprawl. They take the hit when the central city or inner-suburbs go down, they suffer from the lack of available workers at the job site and from association with a divided declining region. They pay the price of restricted and arbitrary housing markets in the developing suburbs.

Land Use Patterns and the Environment In the last twenty years, the Chicago region grew by 4 percent in population and 40 percent in land area. Between 1965-1985, the Philadelphia region grew by 3.8 percent in population and 32 percent in land area. Locally, the vast supply of developmental infrastructure in restrictively zoned communities creates low density, economically inefficient, environmentally dangerous land use patterns. Between 1970 and 1984, the population of the metro area grew by 9.7 percent, while the percentage of land used for urban purposes increased by 25.1 percent. Between 1982 and 1987, 86,832 acres of farmland (or 136 square miles) were lost to metropolitan development.[29] The Prairie Du Chien, the main aquifer serving the southwest quadrant, shows signs of severe groundwater pollution and depletion.[30] Correspondingly, thousands of acres of polluted industrial land lie fallow at the core, unable to compete economically with virgin land at the exterior.

Political Balkanization As the physical and economic separation increases, so does the political polarization. As an example, each year the Minnesota Children's Defense Fund rates legislators on their willingness to support the issues of children, particularly poor children. During the 1991 session, representatives of central city and middle-income suburban districts in the Minnesota House on average scored over 80 percent on the Defense Fund scorecard. Those representing the southwest developing suburbs scored an average of 20 percent.[31] Over time, as regions grow more distinct socially, politically, and racially from each other, they stop speaking a common language and cooperation becomes impossible.

Benefits of Cooperation

For decades, the National Civic League, academics (particularly economists), and Ripon Republicans have preached the gospel of metropolitanism. The message of cost effective regional planning, supported by local business leadership, had a strong influence in the Twin Cities, Indianapolis, and Portland twenty-five years ago. In the 1990s, columnist Neal Peirce has revitalized good government metropolitanism, broadening its base by emphasizing the social and economic interdependence of metropolitan areas and the need for regional economic coordination to compete effectively in the new world economy.[32] On another front, David Rusk, former mayor of Albuquerque, New Mexico, has simply and effectively connected the issues of metropolitanism and social equity.[33] He has done this by showing that regions that have created metropolitan governments by annexation or consolidation are less segregated by race and class, economically healthier, and simply more equitable to a region's people. Anthony Downs, of the Brookings Institution, has assembled his own research together with the recent ground-breaking work of urban poverty scholars, economists, transportation experts, and land use planners. With this, he makes compelling new arguments for metropolitan government, and broad metropolitan-based reforms in fair housing, transportation, land use, and property tax-base sharing.[34] Hank Savitch, Ronald Vogel, Richard Voith, William Barnes, and Lany Lebudur have shown the deep interconnections of metropolitan economies and how the health of central cities is deeply connected to the success of even the favored quarters. Peter Calthorpe, an urban planner from San Francisco, has set forth a compelling aesthetic vision of what regionally responsible communities could look like.[35] These books—particularly Rusk's—have received extraordinary coverage in the national media and have stimulated a vital national discussion. In Washington, U. S. Housing and Urban Development Secretary Henry Cisneros is pushing the federal government to strengthen metropolitan coordination of affordable housing, land use, environmental protection, and transportation issues. President Clinton has issued a broad executive order beginning this process.[36]

The Regional Agenda for Community and Stability

In order to stabilize the central cities and older suburbs and prevent metropolitan polarization, there are six substantive and one structural reform that must be accomplished on a metropolitan scale. The reforms are interrelated and reinforce each other substantively and politically.

The first three reforms are the most significant in terms of the socioeconomic stability of the core. They are (1) fair housing, (2) property tax-base sharing, and (3) reinvestment. Together, these reforms deconcentrate poverty, provide resource

equity, and support the physical rebuilding necessary to bring back the middle class and private economy. The second three, (4) land planning/growth control (5) welfare reform/public works, and (6) transportation/transit reform, reinforce the first three and allow them to operate efficiently and sustainably. In addition, these reforms provide for growth that is balanced socioeconomically, accessible by transit, economical with governmental resources, and environmentally conscious. It is extraordinarily likely that these reforms can only be accomplished, administered, and sustained by an elected metropolitan government. Finally, a panoply of tax and public finance reforms should occur to overcome the perverse incentives created by generations of a highly fragmented, over-regulated local marketplace.

The Struggle for Regionalism

Central control versus local autonomy in federated systems is the central political dilemma in American history. Each time major adjustments have been made to the existing balance of power in our history, i.e. the Constitution and the Articles of Confederation, the Civil War and the 14th Amendment, the New Deal/Great Society, and as recently as the Contract With America, these adjustments have been divisive. In Minnesota, the centrally important regional reform of tax base sharing has been bitterly resisted by contributing suburbs who challenged it all the way to the United States Supreme Court, and in every legislative session since 1971. Similarly, in Oregon, their path-breaking land use law has been subject to constant attack and controversy. Recently, it barely survived. In the end, while certain pundits will talk about the necessity of total cerebral, regional consensus before action can be taken, real sustained regional reform demands the formation of enduring coalitions that can weather intense opposition and controversy.

In this light, the regional agenda in Minnesota is more than the musings of good government academics, but rather the political platform of an increasingly powerful local political coalition. Community leaders are deeply aware of the severe consequences of the decline and polarization that have occurred in older, larger metropolitan areas. There is a legacy of metropolitan cooperation and reform, which though squandered during the 1980s, still has force. Perhaps most important, it has become clear that Twin Cities suburban communities are not a monolith with common experiences and political needs. The emergence of these patterns has created a metro-majority political coalition between the central cities, which comprise one third of the region's population, and the inner and middle-class developing suburbs, which comprise another third.

The creation of such a coalition between the central cities and inner and low tax base suburbia is no mean feat. These middle-income, often blue-collar, suburbs, which have been a loose political cannon since 1968, hold the balance of power on these regional issues and arguably on most political issues in this country. Our most distinguished political commentators and pundits have written about

the central significance of this group in holding and maintaining a ruling political coalition.[37]

On the merits, these middle income, blue collar suburbs are the largest winners in regional reform. Tax base sharing means to them both substantially lower property taxes and better services, particularly better funded schools. Regional housing policy means, over time, fewer units of affordable housing crowding their doorstep. Once understood, this is an unbeatable combination. However, in the face of this coalition stand long term, powerful resentments and distrust on the basis of class and race that have been fueled by every political campaign since Hubert Humphrey lost the White House in 1968 and Archie Bunker became a Republican. In recent times, the advent of talk radio has intensified these divisions.

In Minnesota, after two years of constant cajoling and courting, of constant repetition of the growing inequities between the suburbs, the middle-income, blue-collar suburbs joined the central cities and created a political coalition of immense political power in the Legislature. In 1994, this coalition passed the Metropolitan Reorganization Act, which placed all regional sewer, transit, and land use planning under the operation authority of the Metropolitan Council. In so doing, it transformed the Met Council from a $40 million a year planning agency to an $800 million a year regional government. That same year, in the Metropolitan Land Use Reform Act, metro area farmers were insulated from public assessments that would force them to subdivide farm land for development. In both 1993 and 1994, the Legislature passed sweeping fair housing bills that were vetoed. In 1995, a weakened version was finally signed. In 1995, the Legislature passed a bill that significantly increased the regional tax sharing system known as fiscal disparities. That bill was vetoed. While the legislative process has been controversial, reform energy is growing.

Similarly, social equity groups representing the poor living in older communities and environmental groups wishing to protect land and water from development pressures are beginning to coalesce around this regional agenda.[38] Increasingly, these groups sense a common connection in their individual struggles against the growing waves of chaos that overwhelm their individual efforts. In 1994, the Alliance for Metropolitan Stability was formed, an organization including over 400 churches, environmental groups, communities of color, community development agencies and other good government groups. As the Alliance becomes more visible, as it develops a common language and agenda, the potential for broad-based regional action increases.

Conclusion

The relevance of the Twin Cities experience can be placed on a continuum. While the polarization and decline here are clearly not as severe as in New York, Chicago, or Detroit, they are worse than in most younger and smaller regions and even some regions of similar size, age, and complexity. Moreover, while the Twin Cities has many natural advantages in dealing with regional issues, it also has serious shortcomings. The comparatively small poor and minority population is already extraordinarily segregated. Further, while the Twin Cities has the beginnings of regional cooperation, it has an unusually high number of school districts and local governments with land use powers that must cooperate. On the other hand, the local coalitions that are beginning to take action in response can be built elsewhere.

Notes

* This is a summary of Myron Orfield's 1997 book, *MetroPolitics: A Regional Agenda for Community and Stability*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution and Lincoln Institute for Land Policy.
1. See Kasarda (1993), 255; Jargowsky and Bane, 240.
2. A ghetto is a neighborhood with more than 40 percent of the residents living below the federal poverty line. A transitional or mixed neighborhood has between 20 and 40 percent of the residents in poverty. *Ibid*
3. See Kasarda (1993); Jargowsky, 288; Jargowsky and Bane.
4. Massey and Denton.
5. Jargowsky, 306.
6. U.S. Department of Commerce (1992).
7. Minnesota Department of Education, unpublished
8. Myron Orfield and Cannon.
9. Kasarda (1989), 26.
10. Minnesota Department of Revenue, unpublished.
11. Minnesota Department of Jobs and Training.
12. Gary Orfield and Monfort (1988), (1992).
13. Metropolitics Reports from Philadelphia and Chicago (forthcoming).
14. Minnesota Department of Education, unpublished.
15. Myron Orfield and Cannon.
16. Minnesota Department of Jobs and Training.
17. Lukermann and Kane.
18. U.S. Department of Commerce (1992).
19. *Ibid*; Smith.
20. Hanks and Lomax.

21. Schenkelberg. Al Schenkelberg, Director Highway Programming Section, Minnesota Department of Transportation. Ken Pekarek, Land Management Information Center, Minnesota Planning, assigned project code numbers from the MT/DOT budgets provided by Mr. Schenkelberg to travel behavior inventory regions developed by the Metropolitan Council: This division of expenditures allowed regional spending values to be determined.

22. Denn.

23. Luce, Jr.

24. Metropolitan Council.

25. *Ibid.*

26. Metropolitan Waste Control Commission.

27. Minnesota Department of Revenue, unpublished

28. Minnesota Department of Education, unpublished.

29. U.S. Department of Commerce (1989).

30. Minnesota Pollution Control Agency; McCammon, 31; Children's Defense Fund

32. Peirce.

33. Rusk.

34. Downs.

35. Calthorpe.

36. Clinton.

37. Dionne; Greenberg; Phillips (1969), (1990), (1993), (1994); Johnson; Greider; Edsall and Edsall.

38. At the local level by the Alliance for Metropolitan Stability, a cooperative organization of local churches, inner city poverty groups, and environmentalists. At a national level this movement is being lead by Henry Richmond of the National Growth Management Leadership Project. See Richmond.

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FORUM FOR SOCIAL ECONOMICS

Contents

BY MYRON ORFIELD

CONFLICT OR CONSENSUS?

Forty Years of Minnesota Metropolitan Politics

Collage by Glenn Pierce

Skeptics tell me that regional equity reform will never happen in America's metropolitan regions because the suburbs are now in charge of American politics. It may be true that the suburbs are in charge of American politics. But the politics of metropolitan reform is not about cities versus suburbs or, for that matter, about Democrats versus Republicans.

The suburbs are not a monolith, economically, racially, or politically. Surrounding America's central cities, with their high social needs and low per capita tax wealth, are three types of suburbs. First are the older suburbs, which comprise about a quarter of the population of U.S. metropolitan regions. These communities are often declining socially faster than the central cities and often have even less per household property, income, or sales tax wealth. Second are the low tax-base developing suburbs, which make up about 10–15 percent of U.S. metropolitan regions. They are growing rapidly in population, especially among school-age children, but without an adequate tax base to support that growth and its accompany-

ing overcrowded schools, highway congestion, and ground water pollution. Both the central city and these two types of suburbs have small tax bases, comparatively high tax rates, and comparatively low spending. Median household incomes are also comparatively low: $25,000–30,000 in central cities in 1990, $25,000–40,000 in older suburbs, and $35,000–$50,000 in low tax-base developing suburbs. Families in these communities are thus extremely sensitive to property tax increases. A third type of suburb is the high tax-base developing community. These affluent communities, with the region's highest median incomes, never amount to more than 30 percent of a region's population. They have all the benefits of a regional economy—access to labor and product markets, regionally built freeways and often airports—but are able to externalize the costs of social and economic need on the older suburbs and the central city.

Suburbs and cities can also be surprisingly diverse in their electoral results. Not all suburbs are Republican—or all cities Democratic. In Philadelphia, Republicans control almost all the suburbs and even the white working-class parts of the city. In Pittsburgh, Democrats control virtually all suburban seats except the highest property-wealth areas. In San Francisco, almost all suburbs are represented by Democrats, while in Los

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Angeles and Southern California, most of the white suburbs are represented by Republicans. In general, Democrats build their base in central cities, move to the older and low tax-base suburbs, and, if they are very effective, capture a few of the high tax-base suburbs. Republicans do just the opposite. In many states the balance of power rests on electoral contests in a few older suburbs or low tax-capacity developing suburbs.

Minnesota has been engaged in the politics of metropolitan regional reform for almost 40 years. Over the decades, three types of metropolitan coalitions have sought to move policy reforms through the state legislature. The first, a Republican-led bipartisan coalition, engaged in some bitter legislative fights; the second, a consensualist-led coalition, eschewed controversy; the third, a Democratic-driven bipartisan group, revived the real-world reform political style of their Republican predecessors. The following short history of metropolitanism in Minnesota suggests the complexity of coalition politics—and my own conviction that, while compromise and accommodation is the necessary essence of politics, regional reform, like all other real reform movements in U.S. history, necessarily involves some degree of controversy.

A short history of metropolitanism in Minnesota suggests that while compromise and accommodation is the necessary essence of politics, regional reform necessarily involves controversy.

The Progressive Republican Vanguard

In the 1960s and 1970s, metropolitan reform efforts in Minnesota's legislature were led by "good government" Rockefeller Republicans and reform Democrats—in a sense the progressives that Richard Hofstader wrote of in his *Age of Reform*. Joined by leaders of local corporations, they took aim at waste in government and set out to plan and shape a more cohesive, cost-effective, efficient, and equitable region. Though they sought rough metropolitan-wide equity in Minnesota's Twin Cities, they were not typical practitioners of class warfare. They valued equity because they knew from hard-headed calculation the costs of inequity and of destructive competition for development among municipalities in a single metropolitan region.

In some ways progressive Republican regionalism was an elegant, direct, limited-government response to growing sprawl and interlocal disparity. Joining Minnesota's Governor LeVander were Oregon's Tom McCall, Michigan's Miliken and Romney, and the great Republican mayor of Indianapolis, Richard Lugar. Had the country heeded their far-sighted strategy, the 1980s and 1990s might have been much different for the central cities and older suburbs.

In Minnesota the progressive Republicans and reform Democrats created regional sewer, transit, and airport authorities for the Twin Cities, as well as a Metropolitan Council of the Twin Cities with weak supervisory powers over these authorities. (Making the Met Council an elected body was a top goal, but it failed in a tie vote in 1967.) They also created

a metropolitan land use planning framework and enacted Minnesota's famous tax-base sharing, or fiscal disparities, law, which, since 1971, has shared 40 percent of the growth of our commercial and industrial property tax base among the 187 cities, 49 school districts, and 7 counties in our region of some 2.5 million people.

The battle to pass the fiscal disparities act was brutal. Though the legislation, introduced in 1969, had its origins in the ethereal world of good government progressivism, its political managers were shrewd vote counters who made sure that two-thirds of the Twin City region's lawmakers understood that the bill would both lower their constituents' taxes and improve their schools and public services. Some of the progressives' key allies were populists who did not hesitate to play the class card with blue-collar voters in the low property-value suburbs. Probably not coincidentally, the populists collected most of the votes. The progressives pragmatically swallowed their compunctions.

The fiscal disparities bill that passed in 1971 was supported by a coalition of Democratic central-city legislators and Republicans from less wealthy suburbs—essentially the two-thirds of the region that received new tax base from the act. A few more-rural Republicans who had a strong personal relationship with the bill's Republican sponsor went along. The opposition was also bipartisan—Democrats and Republicans representing areas in the one-third of the region that would lose some of their tax base. Debate over the bill was ugly. Republican Charlie Weaver, Sr., the bill's sponsor, was accused of fomenting "communism" and "community socialism" and of being a "Karl Marx" out to take from "the progressive communities to give to the backward ones." One opponent warned that "the fiscal disparities law will destroy the state." "Why should those who wish to work be forced to share with those who won't or can't help themselves?" demanded a representative of the high property-wealth areas. Amid growing controversy, after two divisive failed sessions, the bill would pass the Minnesota Senate by a single vote.

Not until 1975—after court challenges that went all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court (which refused to hear the case)—did the fiscal disparities law finally go into effect. The last legal challenge to the law came in 1981, a decade after passage. High property-wealth southern Twin Cities suburbs were finally rebuffed in the Minnesota Tax Court. But representatives and state senators from high property-wealth Twin Cities suburbs have tried to repeal the statute in virtually every legislative session for the past 25 years.

A New Approach

The tough progressive reformers were followed by consensus-based regionalists whose preferred approach, it has often been joked, was to convene leaders from across metropolitan Twin

Cities in the boardroom of a local bank to hum together the word "regionalism." Highly polished professional policy wonks, the new generation of leaders leaned more to touring the country extolling the virtues of regional reform, which many had no part in accomplishing, than to gritty work in city halls and the legislature to make it happen. To make matters worse, business support for regionalism began to erode. The rise of national and multinational companies created a cadre of rotating, frequently moving executives who, facing a more competitive business environment, eschewed controversy in favor of political action that would boost the bottom line.

By the 1980s, proponents of the regional perspective in Minnesota had dwindled to the chairman of the Citizens League, a local policy group financially supported by the region's big businesses; a half-dozen legislators; two or three executives of declining power; and the editorial board of the Minneapolis paper.

Meanwhile, some suburbs, particularly the high property-wealth developing ones that saw no gain but plenty of loss coming from metropolitan action, rebelled. Over the course of the 1980s, as the Twin Cities region rapidly became more like the rest of the nation—more racially and socially segregated—and as fundamental divisions hardened, those suburbs hired high-priced lobbyists and prepared for a fight to dismantle "regional socialism." Metropolitanism's opponents, tough and organized, began to control the regional debate.

During 1980–90, state lawmakers gradually dismantled the metropolitan authority that had been put in place in the 1960s and 1970s. They stripped the Met Council of its authority over major development projects: the downtown domed stadium, a new regional race track, and even the Mall of America—a local landmark that by its sheer size had a thunderous effect on the retail market in central Minneapolis and St. Paul and the southern suburbs. They severely weakened the land use planning statute by giving supercedence to local zoning. They also overturned the Met Council system of infrastructure pricing, abandoned a regional affordable housing system, and shelved well-conceived regional density guidelines. And they took a hard, well-financed run at the fiscal disparities system.

Sometimes the consensus-based regionalists would oppose the changes, but more often they seemed unable to stomach controversy. Their general response to the newly assertive high property-wealth suburbs was to seek accommodation. Meanwhile, developers in the high property-wealth suburbs and their lawyers obtained coveted seats on the Met Council itself.

The first generation of regionalists had fought bloody fights for land use planning, the consolidation of regional services, and tax equity. A decade later, the consensus-based regionalists were reduced to building regional citizenship through a proposal for a bus that looked like a trolley car to connect the state capital to downtown St. Paul. Times, and tactics, had clearly changed.

The proud legacy of the first-generation regionalists was in shambles. In 1967, the Twin Cities had created a regional transit system with a tax base that encompassed seven regional counties and 187 cities. By 1998, what had been one of the most financially broad-based transit systems in the nation was struggling with below-average funding per capita. The Met Council, now in thrall to developers, allocated virtually all federal resources to its large highway building program. Finally, the Citizens League and the consensus-based regionalists, perhaps to curry favor with the rebellious high property-wealth suburbs, used their influence both to defeat the development of a fixed-rail transit service and to fragment and privatize the transit system. By the early 1980s, the southwestern developing suburbs, the most prosperous parts of the region and those that benefited most from the development of a regional sewer and highway system, were allowed to "opt out" of funding the transit system that served the region's struggling core.

In 1991, the Met Council was on the verge of being abolished. A measure to eliminate the Council passed on the House floor, and the governor opined that the Council should either do something or disappear. The consensus-based regionalists, frustrated after a decade of difficulty, were not even grousing about legislative roadblocks. They had moved on to champion school choice and had joined the business community in an effort to cut comparatively high Minnesota business property taxes.

The Third Generation

Out of this state of affairs emerged a new type of regionalist, of which I count myself one. Most of us were new to politics in the 1990s, and we were spurred to action by worrisome conditions in the Twin Cities, where concentrated poverty was growing—at the fourth fastest rate in the nation.

To address the growing concentration of poverty in the central cities, we began to investigate reforms, particularly in fair housing, at a metropolitan level. We began to wonder, in particular, whether the sprawl at the edge of the Twin Cities area was undermining the stability at the core and whether the older suburbs, adjacent to the city, were having equally serious problems. As we learned more about the region's problems, we came to appreciate the metropolitan structure that had been put in place 20 years before—a structure severely out of fashion and irrelevant in liberal circles. "What does land use planning in the suburbs have to do with us?" asked our central-city politicos. "We need more of a neighborhood-based strategy," they said. We were also received as fish out of water when we went to the Met Council and the Citizens League to discuss our regional concerns. "This is not what the Met Council is about," they said. "It is about land use planning and infrastructure, not about urban issues or poverty."

In addition to the concentration of poverty at the core, we grew interested in the subsidies and governmental actions supporting sprawl. We were inspired by the land use reforms in Oregon and the work of Governor Tom McCall, Henry Richmond, and 1,000 Friends of Oregon. We read the infrastructure work of Robert Burchell at Rutgers. We became aesthetically attached to New Urbanism and Peter Calthorpe, its proponent of metropolitan social equity and transit-oriented development.

Our third-wave regionalism gradually became broader based. We added environmentalism and the strength of the environmental movement to what had heretofore been a sterile discussion of planning and efficiency. We also brought issues of concentrated poverty and regional fair housing into an equity discussion that had previously been limited to inter-local fiscal equity. The dormant strength of the civil rights movement and social gospel also readied itself for metropolitan action and activism. In only a few years, hundreds of churches joined the movement for regional reform.

We also mobilized the rapidly declining, blue-collar suburbs—angry places unattached to either political party—to advance regional reform. Blue-collar mayors, a few with decidedly hostile views toward social and racial changes in their communities, united with African-American political leaders, environmentalists, and bishops of the major regional churches to advance a regional agenda for fair housing, land use planning, tax equity, and an accountable elected regional governance structure.

In fact, probably the most important element of the new regional coalition was the older, struggling, fully developed suburbs—the biggest prospective winners in regional reform. To them, tax-base sharing means lower property taxes and better services, particularly better-funded schools. Regional housing policy means, over time, fewer units of affordable housing crowding their doorstep. As one older-suburban mayor put it, "If those guys in the new suburbs don't start to build affordable housing, we'll be swimming in this stuff."

Winning over these suburbs was not easy. We had to overcome long-term, powerful resentments and distrust, based on class and race and fueled by every national political campaign since Hubert Humphrey lost the White House in 1968. But after two years of constant cajoling and courting and steady reminders of the growing inequities among the suburbs, the middle-income, working-class, blue-collar suburbs joined the central cities and created a coalition of great political clout in the legislature.

In 1994 this coalition of central-city and suburban legislators passed the Metropolitan Reorganization Act, which placed all regional sewer, transit, and land use planning under the operational authority of the Metropolitan Council of the Twin Cities. In doing so, it transformed the Met Council from a $40-million-a-year planning agency to a $600-million-a-year regional government operating regional sewers and transit, with supervisory authority over the major decisions of another $300-million-a-year agency that runs the regional airport. That same year, in the Metropolitan Land Use Reform Act, our coalition insulated metro-area farmers from public assessments that would have forced them to subdivide farm land for development.

In both 1993 and 1994 the legislature passed sweeping fair housing bills (both vetoed); in 1995 a weakened version was finally signed. In 1995 the legislature passed a measure that would have added a significant part of the residential property tax base to the fiscal disparities pool. While the measure passed strongly, it too was vetoed. In 1996 a statewide land use planning framework was adopted, and a regional brownfields fund created. Throughout the process, we restored to the Council many of the powers and prerogatives that had been removed from it during the 1980s in the areas of land use planning and infrastructure pricing. In each area of reform—land use planning, tax equity, and regional structural reform—we were initially opposed by the consensus-based regionalists as "too controversial," only to have our ideas adopted by them a few years later as the political center of gravity began to change.

Worth Fighting For

Like all real reform, regional reform is a struggle. From the fight against municipal corruption and the fight against the trusts to the women's movement, the consumer movement, the environmental movement, and the civil rights movement, reform has involved difficult contests against entrenched interests who operated against the general welfare. Today, we are told that the Age of Reform is over. We are in an age of consensus politics, when calmer words—"collaboration," "boundary crossing," "win-win" strategies—carry more promise than "assertive" ones.

In every region of this nation, 20–40 percent of the people live in central cities, 25–30 percent in older declining suburbs, and 10–15 percent in low tax-base developing suburbs. These communities, representing a clear majority of regional population, are being directly harmed by an inefficient, wasteful, unfair system. Studies indicate that the regions in the nation that have the least economic disparity have the strongest economic growth and those with most disparity are the weakest economically. The social polarization and wasteful sprawl that are common in our nation take opportunity from people and businesses, destroy cities and older suburbs, waste our economic bounty, and threaten our future.

Those who care about these problems must "assert" themselves to reverse these trends. We must engage in a politics that is free of personal attacks and sensationalism, that is conducted with a smile and good manners—like the progressives. At each roadblock, we must seek a compromise that moves equity forward, before we entrench unproductively. We must achieve the broadest possible level of good feeling, gather to our cause as many allies as we can from all walks of life and from all points of the compass. We must educate and persuade. However, if there are those who stand in our path utterly—who will permit no forward movement—we must fight. We must fight for the future of individuals, for the future of communities, and for the future of our country.

In the end, the goal is regional reform, not regional consensus. ∎
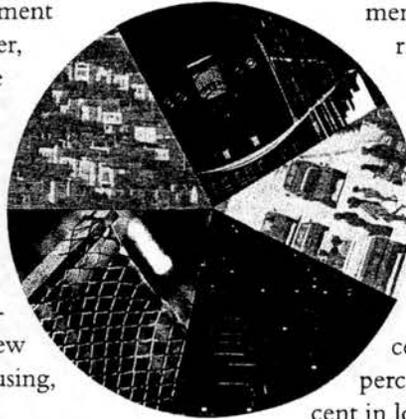
1999 Cities At Work Forum Series
Ideas for Community Change

Background

During the spring and fall of 1999, over 900 people in Saint Paul came together at a series of public forums, gatherings, training sessions and community circle dialogues to understand and address the impact of racism in our rapidly changing community. Saint Paul is a strong city, proud of its past and traditions. Today, people from many different cultural and ethnic backgrounds migrate here to live and find work, put down roots and raise their families. The 1999 *Cities At Work* forum series focused on how we can strengthen our community by recognizing the richness of our multicultural identity and by tapping all of the assets found in our community.

This forum series aimed to increase understanding of racism and its impact in our community on three levels:
➡ The **individual level** focuses on personal commitment and responsibility for interacting with people from different cultural and racial backgrounds.
➡ The **organizational level** includes working with others in neighborhoods, schools, churches, and places of employment to bridge differences, build understanding and address the impact of racism in our community.
➡ The **institutional level** includes challenges embedded in our social institutions and public policy.

The following pages summarize ideas shared by 245 of the 480 participants in the first three community forums of 1999. Because some people attended more than one forum, this count may overstate the total number of respondents. Feedback from 174 participants in spring 1999 community circle dialogues are also included.

The number of people involved in these discussions is small, considering the population of our city. But if these 900 people each talk in depth with 10 other people, and those people each talk to 10 people, we will have reached 90,000 people or one-third the population of Saint Paul. So these ideas are a starting point, a whisper, that can build to a roar and change the culture of our community.

Ideas for Community Change

The responses have been grouped into seven major themes with the most frequently mentioned ideas listed first. The ideas cut across all levels, including opportunities for action at the individual, organizational and institutional levels. The seven themes are:
1. Make individual commitments to respect and tolerance in daily life
2. Continue public dialogue on race and racism
3. Enrich communities through diversity
4. Create equitable educational opportunities
5. Insure affordable and equitable housing for all
6. Connect with youth and involve them in community change
7. Engage the business community to welcome diversity

The following pages detail some of the more frequently mentioned comments regarding each of the seven themes. This information will be used to stimulate more focused dialogue and action planning at the **Beyond Tolerance - A Call to Action** forum on November 8, 1999.

Theme 1: Make individual commitments to respect and tolerance in daily life

- Reflect on biases and prejudices, and practice becoming not prejudiced. Don't judge or label others.

- Reach out to people different from self, expanding social group to include greater diversity. Stretch beyond comfort zones. Don't avoid conversation with people you don't know. Get involved in community projects to meet a diverse group of people, and keep in contact.

- Make a conscious effort to listen to people of different generations and cultures. Keep an open mind and try to understand other perspectives.

- Use skills gained at the forums when interacting with friends and colleagues on a daily basis. Be positive, sensitive, and respectful of others, and do not take others for granted.

- European Americans need to be aware of their white privilege and consciously decide to not use it. They need to speak out when other European Americans show disrespect to people of color.

Theme 2: Continue public dialogue on race and racism

- Continue organizing and attending community forums and community circle dialogues, and join others to more effectively address racism.

- Share learnings with friends, relatives, colleagues and neighbors. Share knowledge of different cultures. Discuss issues and problems with people who are not yet aware of them. Embrace people experiencing prejudice and help them to get "unstuck". Initiate a gathering of work colleagues or neighbors for a discussion of these issues.

- Hold public leaders accountable to address institutional racism.

- Invite public officials to participate in community forums and community circle dialogues.

- Share strategies for addressing racism with organizations. This could include a youth group, a meeting with school officials, or a church's Social Justice Committee.

- Provide more opportunity for intergenerational and cross-cultural dialogue. Continue telling stories as a way of learning about other cultures.

- Encourage the media to report on diversity issues.

Theme 3: Enrich communities through diversity

- Focus on activities that build a sense of community for individuals.

- Families should make special efforts to get to know your neighbors.

- Communities should provide opportunities for people to meet others different from themselves. They should bring people together in ways which do not feel threatening to community members.

- Initiate community celebrations. Bring community members together to learn about diverse cultures and experiences by participating in celebrations.

Theme 4: Create equity in educational opportunities

- Initiate equitable funding of schools on regional level. Allocate extra funding to schools with large numbers of "at-risk" students, to meet these students' greater needs.

- Desegregate neighborhoods. This is the only way to truly desegregate schools.

- Recruit more men and people of color to be teachers. This will enable students to better identify with them as role models.

- Consider the possibility of neighborhood schools to promote more parent involvement.

- Teachers need to teach a multi-cultural curriculum. All students need to learn about their own and other cultures. All students gain from learning about diverse cultures.

- Businesses and schools need to form stronger partnerships. Business could invest more significant resources to help at-risk students.

- Teachers need to understand more about the cultures of the children they teach. Language barriers and cultural ignorance lead to discrimination by teachers.

Theme 5: Insure affordable and equitable housing for all

- Affordable housing should be subsidized.

- Anti-discrimination laws must be enforced.

- Attend demonstrations and meetings on affordable housing.

- Reconsider the current definition of affordable housing.

Theme 6: Connect with youth and involve them in community change

- More adults should develop mentoring relationships with youth.

- Increase opportunities available to youth. Provide opportunities for young people and adults to tell their stories and discuss issues together. Adults and youth can learn from each other.

- Youth can be capable partners in community change. Their intelligence, energy, and open-mindedness give them the power to be successful partners in improving their communities.

Theme 7: Engage the business community to welcome diversity

- Opportunities for people of color and women to own businesses benefits everyone in the community.

- Adapt the workplace to the needs of a diverse workforce. Greater cultural awareness and cultural competency is needed in the business community.

- The business community needs to connect with the diversity found in our city and neighborhoods. Community connections can improve the success of business.

- Businesses must attract customers from diverse cultural groups. This is an important customer base, and requires that companies get to know the customers they are targeting.

- Recruit the "hard-to-employ". Intentional welfare-to-work programs are needed to utilize every person's talents.

Ideas for Community Change

1. Make individual commitments to respect and tolerance in daily life

2. Continue public dialogue on race and racism

3. Enrich communities through diversity

4. Create equity in educational opportunities

5. Insure affordable and equitable housing for all

6. Connect with youth and involve them in community change

7. Engage the business community to welcome diversity

Cities at Work 1999
Beyond Tolerance: A Call to Action
November 8, 1999

Ideas for Action

The following list of ideas was generated by action discussion groups at the final 1999 *Cities at Work* forum, **Beyond Tolerance: A Call to Action** on November 8, 1999. at Arlington High School. Upon registration, participants signed up for the small groups based on their interests in the topic areas and on personal affinity for particular issues. The action discussion topics were determined by an analysis of the dominant themes that emerged out of the 1998-99 round of Twin Cities area community circle dialogues, including the *Cities at Work* circle dialogues in Saint Paul, and the *Cities at Work* public forums addressing the impact of racism in our rapidly changing community. Approximately 900 people participated in the *1999 Cities at Work* forums, gatherings, training sessions and community circle dialogues. The impact of racism and segregation on our community's housing and education opportunities was directly addressed in the community circle dialogue discussions.

Insure Fair And Affordable Housing for All

1. *Advocate for affordable and accessible housing*

- Educate folks about federal government's role in housing
- Encourage preservation and rehabilitation Vs demolition
- Focus on Saint Paul City Council's commitment to affordable housing policy
- Find more aggressive financial support for nonprofit housing developers
- Bring together diverse communities to purchase plots and pool resources for developing affordable housing
- Address zoning requirements
- Organize broader community support including faith and business leaders

Lead Contacts:
Greg Finzell-221-9884
Petey Mitchell-771-1152 X 19

2. *Expand fair and inclusionary housing practices*

- Educate faith based groups to get involved in strengthening inclusionary housing practices
- Use affirmative marketing to showcase examples in both urban and suburban communities
- Raise awareness of need for fair and affordable issue in workplaces and among businesses
- Link affordable housing and fair housing strategies
- Monitor public agencies
- Build capacity of communities of color re: housing ownership, production, development

Lead Contacts:
Russ Adams-612-332-4471   Pacyinz Lyfoung-296-9825
Christy Snow-917-5869   Justin Cummins-222-5863

3. *Create Housing Information Clearinghouse*

Community Resources Identified:
First Call for Help
Crisis Connection

Continue The Public Dialogue On Undoing Racism And Racial Justice

1. *Expand opportunities for circle dialogues about race and racism*
- Find ways for public and private partnerships to sponsor dialogues
- Build on what others are doing already-leave turf issues beyond
- Create opportunities for circle dialogues in high schools with faculty, staff, parents and students
- Increase government sponsorship of circle dialogues i.e. City of Saint Paul and Minneapolis, County governments, Metro Council
- Use other models i.e. non-linear approach similar to restorative justice model
- Use dialogues to move beyond discussion to defining community assets and priorities as a community building tool
- Focus on history and the roots of racism

Lead Contact:
Hector Garcia-659-0401

2. *Coordinate community efforts for racial reconciliation and undoing racism*
- Link organizations involved in combating racism with a central Website or newsletter to keep efforts coordinated and serve as clearinghouse that announces opportunities for action. Use all levels of technology to make sure information is accessible to many
- Link research on what works, what is needed, to practitioners in community. Also look at what has been tried and failed and ask why?
- Link work being done locally by agencies and community groups to elected officials and major social institutions such s schools, colleges, etc.
- Link efforts that develop neighborhood and community leadership
- Do a walk through history including story telling that addresses past hurts and include healing ceremony

Community Resources Identified:
Wilder Foundation, Cities at Work website
Wilder Research Center
Harmony Worksnewsletter
MRA/Hope in the Cities
Roy Wilkins Center for Human Relations and Social Justice
Just Stop It Campaign-Rev Devin Miller
InterRace-Augsburg College
local churches

Lead Contacts:
Lawrencina Mason-Oramaly-612-626-7164   Tzy Lee Ya-659-6036
Toni Reams-292-9385   Antonia Wilcoxin-612- 291-8330

3. *Develop faith-based action and response for racial justice*
- Help churches prepare themselves and mobilize to counter racism thorough training and dialogue groups and stimulate awareness of personal responsibility and racist practices (racial impact statements)
- Develop education in Anglo congregations around white privilege and power
- Get youth involved
- .Develop network of diverse ethnic groups and bring churches together to work together to create systemic solutions

Community Resources Identified:
MCARI
Crossroads Ministry
Roy Wilkins Center at HHH
Frogtown Pluralism Circle
Bethel College
Lead Contacts:
Claude Jones-487-2964
Jim Tyree-642-4026
Rev Becky Sechrist-612-378-2380

4. *Fight Hate Crime in our neighborhood*s

Community Resources Identified:
League of Minnesota Human Rights Commission
Hamline Midway Alliance for a Prejudice Free Community
Saint Paul Human Rights Department
Lead Contact:
Cathy Lue-646-1986

5. *Link youth with adults to take leadership in further understanding and combating racism*

- Engage youth and adults in dialogues about racism
- Create youth-friendly environments ie rules, procedures, meeting agendas, etc.
- Engage youth in planning for action to strengthen and lobby policy and mobilize others
- Develop play or theatrical event with youth about combating racism

Community Resources Identified:
Armstrong High School-youth dialogues
National Youth Leadership Council
SEED
Youth organizations ie South Side Family School, Wilder Forest, etc
Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights

Lead Contacts:
Julie Wilson-Herkovitz-645-3207   Johanna Bonnei-612-341-3302

Use the Media to Combat Racism and Promote Pluralism

1. *Intensify positive media attention on race relations and racism*

- Create alternative ways to inform public about community circles
- Use Internet as forum for community dialogue
- Utilize cable access for dialogue event
- Find ways to promote pluralism and combat racism through neighborhood newspapers

Community Resources Identified:
CAAR
West Side Family Center
SPPN, KTCA

Lead Contact:
Melvin Giles-265-5712

Recognize The Diversity In Our Community

1. *Welcome New Immigrants in Our Communities*
   - Build individual relationships with people from different backgrounds
   - Challenge people who express biases and prejudices
   - Increase awareness of American privilege
   - Take time to listen and share stories of new immigrants
   - Find ways to celebrate the unique cultural diversity found in our neighborhoods and to incorporate that diversity into large community-wide events ie Winter Carnival, etc.
   - Create public art and theater projects that engage diversity found in our community
   - Use media to fight anti-immigrant sentiments
   - Connect with each other about issues-stay informed and inform others including public officials

Community Resources Identified:
Heart of the Beast Puppet Theater
Forecast Public Arts
Illusion Theater
CLIMB Theater

Lead Contacts:
Teresa Glass-265-5717
Chris Dart-645-3207

2. *Celebrate diverse cultural heritage through community events and gatherings*
   - Create community access to arts and artists and to local resources ie storytellers, writers, singers, dancers, etc.- An artist registry on the WEB
   - Create opportunities for cultural events on a neighborhood level i.e. heritage dinners, storytelling, etc.
   - Create city-wide committee to review how we as a city can plan cultural events to improve cross-cultural understanding and appreciation
   - Develop culturally based after school programs that use arts to empower students and broaden their experience
   - Use community issues and problems as catalyst to gather people of different backgrounds together

Lead Contacts:
Jill Waterhouse-292-0131
Cheryl Kartes-612-788-2107

3. *Expand Community Involvement In Census 2000*
Community Resources Identified:
Ramsey and Hennepin Counties
Saint Paul Public Schools
NAACP
Minnesota Senior Federation
Resources for Child Care
Celebrities-Vikings, Wolves, Lynx
Church bulletins

Lead contacts:
Brenda Bell Brown 642-0811
Maya Petrovic 266-6647

Create Equitable Educational Opportunities in Our Public Schools

1. *Insure equitable educational opportunities and resources*
   - Merge metro and suburban school districts with metro-wide funding to ensure equitable education
   - Insure that all school site councils in area schools represent demographics of local school
   - Engage business community in funding of public schools
   - Find ways to fund public schools through state wide income tax versus local property taxes
   - Develop urban teacher education program on post secondary level to recruit more people of color to profession
   - Increase teacher salaries to attract the best and brightest to the teaching profession
   - Implement more service learning opportunities for youth in our public schools
   - Evaluate socio-cultural equity of standardized tests
   - Create new standards for teaching reading
   - Continue compensatory education funding

   Community Resources Identified
   Metro Council
   Governors Office-Mae Schunk
   Minnesota Minority Education Partnership
   State legislature-Sandy Pappas, Matt Entenza, Carlos Mariani, Larry Pogmiller, etc.
   Saint Paul Public Schools
   Urban Coaliton
   EHEP

   Lead Contacts:
   Gary Kwong-642-1702   Judy Brown-224-3492

2. *Improve school, parent and community relationships*
   - Hire more bilingual/bicultural outreach staff in schools and community organizations
   - Develop a more cohesive community vision about education
   - Inspire volunteerism among students and parents
   - Develop more partnerships between schools and community groups for mentoring and tutoring
   - Support efforts to get information to parents in languages other than English
   - Provide more diversity training and cultural awareness opportunities for school staff and faculty to insure more respect for parents from diverse backgrounds
   - Find innovative ways for school staff a to learn and listen from parents

3. *Support and implement a multicultural curriculum in the public schools*
   - Teach history of institutional racism in schools
   - Invite parents and other community resources to each culture
   - Celebrate multicultural gifts of students
   - Examine use of language in curriculum for power bias, gender/racial bias, etc.
   - Identify student cultures so curriculum can reflect

   Community Resources Identified:
   Saint Paul Public Schools curriculum coordinators
   COMPAS
   Minnesota State Dept of CFL
   Mutual assistance associations
   Office of Civil Rights

   Lead Contacts:
   Dan Rodgriguez-293-5100   Tim Gusk-642-2003

Engage the Business Community in Welcoming and Investing in Our Community's Diversity

1. *Promote minority business development opportunities*
   - Design an on-line minority business website or resource that allows minority entrepreneurs to assess available resources and opportunities
   - Promote investment and patronage of minority businesses, vendors, etc.
   - Develop minority business support group
   - Create a website for opportunities for minority contracts and an on-line minority business yellow pages

Lead Contacts:
Elsa Batica-291-5612
John Rosales-765-8512

2. *Recruit and Retain people of color*
   - Improve mass transit opportunities for getting to and from work during night shifts
   - Coordinate child care needs amongst employers
   - Review single parent needs in creating wage/benefit packages
   - Reorganize production schedules to recognize needs of workers from diverse backgrounds
   - Sponsor community circle dialogues at large, local corporations
   - Create job opportunities that ensure advancement, job training, and education
   - Provide on-site ESL skils and training in employer organized systems

Community Resources Identified:
Community Employment Partnership
Dimantling Racism Group
EHEP

Lead Contacts:
Marie McNamara-266-4141
Sarah Dennison-687-9000

3. *Infuse cultural awareness in the workplace*
   - Provide opportunities for community circle dialogues in workplace settings
   - Develop ways to educate workers about diverse cultures through storytelling, dialogue about cultural norms, etc.
   - Create diversity committees in workplaces
   - Build cross-cultural work/project teams
   - Create company-sponsored events i.e. ethnic meals, holidays, celebrations, etc
   - Develop buddy system for all new hires

Community Resources Identified:
Wilder Research Center
Ramsey Action Programs

Lead Contacts:
Elizabeth Campbell-612-340-1450
Ike Welborn-603-5881
Justine Nelson Christine-Daughter 612-623-3825

The Choices for Community Project
A Report on the 1997 Round of Community Circles
Education and Housing Equity Project
Community Circle Collaborative

> "We need to develop a regional civics that is not about governmental entities. It's about citizens, community groups, businesses, and government agencies coming together to act in the common interest of the region."
>
> — William Barnes, coauthor of *The U.S. Common Market*

I. Executive Summary: Principal Findings and Directions for the Future

A great experiment in democracy is underway in Minneapolis/St. Paul. Since December 1996, over 350 residents of the Twin Cities metropolitan area have been involved in the Choices for Community program, the first effort of its kind to bring citizens of an entire *region* together to deliberate on difficult regional issues. The program is being organized by the Community Circle Collaborative, a cross-sector coalition of over 30 Twin Cities organizations.

In their Community Circles – small, participatory, democratic discussions – citizens addressed issues surrounding educational and residential segregation. Participants shared their hopes, concerns, and recommendations at a Community Forum held in May 1997.

This fall, another round of Community Circles will begin. The program's organizers and sponsoring organizations are determined to bring many more people into these vital discussions. Based on findings from the first round, the program will also facilitate more opportunities for participants to join in implementing the solutions they develop. With the foundation laid in the first year, the second will become a greater springboard for action at the neighborhood and community levels.

II.   Background: The Community Circle Collaborative

> *"It couldn't happen here." Not in Minneapolis-St. Paul, the political home of Hubert Humphrey: Minnesota, America's sane heartland. . . . The Twin Cities was immune to urban decline, inner-suburban decay, urban sprawl – and the polarization that has devastated and divided older, larger regions. After all, we were not Chicago, Detroit, or Milwaukee. We were reform minded, and our philanthropic and governmental centers were coordinated and responsive.* Then the 1980s hit, marking our Twin Cities with identical patterns of regional polarization. . . . If it could happen here, no American region is immune. Once polarization occurs, the concentration of poverty, disinvestment, middle-class flight, and urban sprawl grow more and more *severe.*
>
> -- *Myron Orfield,* Metropolitics *(1997: 1, emphasis added)*

State Legislator Myron Orfield was one of the first citizens in the region to realize that Twin Cities communities were becoming increasingly polarized along the lines of race and class. Changes in regional school districts pointed to serious issues of equity in both housing access and public education.

It is within this context that the Community Circle Collaborative (CCC) was launched. CCC is a metro-wide dialogue project that engages citizens from all walks of life, 8-12 at a time, in study circles held throughout the metro area. Originally a partnership among EHEP, the Minneapolis Initiative Against Racism (MIAR), the Minnesota Minority Education Partnership (MMEP), and the Minnesota Fair Housing Center, the CCC initiative has expanded into a wide-ranging coalition of community-based organizations, public staff and officials, and individuals working in a variety of fields, including social justice, race relations, housing, education, religion, law and social research.

The Collaborative's members were united by their interest in two central questions:

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

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

> *The diversity in our state is greatest among children . . . . So this is a long curve. We'd better start getting some of the answers right now, because they're going to affect an entire generation.*
>
> – Vivian Jenkins Nelsen, INTER-RACE

A. What is a Community Circle?

The Community Circle process is one way help a community achieve new levels of citizenship and civic action. Large-scale Choices for Community programs – often referred to as study circle programs – have been used all over the country to generate reasoned dialogue, decisive policy input, and grass-roots problem-solving.

The impacts of these programs range from new friendships, to neighborhood projects, to city-wide action plans, to new legislation. An evaluation of a study circle program in Greater Cleveland showed basic

changes in attitude as a result of the study circles. Study circle participants in Lima, Ohio have done everything from building new playgrounds to changing the makeup of a regional development board. A state-wide study circle program in Oklahoma helped the state legislature enact sweeping changes in the criminal system.

Community circles, or study circles, are democratic, highly participatory discussion groups which meet several times to address a critical public issue. The discussions are facilitated, and they follow a framework laid out in a discussion guide specific to that issue. The participants talk about how the issue affects them, then consider some of the larger questions surrounding the issue, and, finally, discuss how they might take action on the issue. Successful organizers have been able to mobilize large numbers of citizens – a "community-wide" program in a medium-sized city can involve roughly 1,000 people in 75-100 circles.

While community-wide study circle programs have taken place in many cities and towns, and state-wide study circle programs have taken place in Maine and Oklahoma, the Twin Cities Community Circles project is the first attempt at a region-wide program. With the ascendance of regional issues such as segregation, urban sprawl, and transportation to the forefront of policy debates across the nation, a region-wide model is a much-needed innovation.

> *We face our greatest challenges at the neighborhood, regional, and global levels. Our governments are structured to address challenges at the local, state, and national levels.*
> — William Dodge, *Regional Excellence*

Why are these public conversations so unusual? In part, it's because most of what we see today in the media and in public meetings is "positioning" or "posturing." The purpose of this style is to advocate one point of view or another, at the expense of dialogue and, often, of decorum. Although widely accepted in the media, this type of communication ultimately leads to public cynicism and withdrawal from the political process. Not many people want to compete in such a contrived forum. Community circles offer a refreshing change from the narrow and often restrictive discussions of the past and the competitive debates encouraged by the political process.

> *People acting as citizens create new ways of working together and new ways of taking responsibility for what is publicly all of ours.*
> — Dick Little, Education and Housing Equity Project

The community circles process recognizes that agreement is not necessary in order for a conversation to be successful. It *is* necessary for participants to listen, reflect, and speak from both the head and the heart. Mutual respect and a belief in the enlightening and healing nature of sharing ideas – across boundaries of ethnicity, geography, age, gender, socioeconomic status and even language – can go a long way toward making a conversation rewarding for the community as well as the individuals involved.

In many cultures, circles are symbols of equality, fairness and completeness. The underlying premise of the Community Circles Collaborative process is that solutions to serious and often divisive issues can be found if we put aside our fears and prejudices and work together.

B. The Need: Residential and Educational Segregation in the Twin Cities

3

The Education and Housing Equity Project (EHEP), the [lead?] partner in the Community Circle Collaborative, was created in early 1995 by a group of education and housing advocates who shared a belief in the pressing need to link the issue of school desegregation with the broader issue of housing and neighborhood segregation. EHEP's mission is to act as a catalyst to build broad-based coalitions and engage the community in public conversations about and advocacy for promotion of racially and economically inclusive communities that give families of all incomes, races and ethnic backgrounds access to schools and housing throughout the metropolitan area.

> *The reason it's critical that we talk is because words have different meanings to different people, and we have different levels of interpretation and reflection from our own experience, our history, our expectations, our own knowledge of where we can go.*
> — Dr. Josie Johnson

A few alarming facts highlight the nature and depth of the concerns they wished to address:

- The proportion of people of color who live in poverty is higher in Minneapolis/St. Paul than in any other central city in the nation: 37 percent of African-Americans, 40 percent of Native Americans, 32 percent of Latinos.

- Concentrations of poverty and income disparities between the region's central cities and its suburbs are also among the highest in the nation. The poverty rate in Minneapolis is 18.5 percent, in St. Paul 16.7 percent, but in the suburbs it is only 4.5 percent.

- The central cities are home to only 22 percent of the children enrolled in regional schools, but to 55 percent of the region's impoverished elementary school children.

- Between 1970 and 1984, the population of the metro area increased by 9.7 percent but the land it occupied increased by 25.1 percent.

The organizations which have joined the Community Circle Collaborative may have widely-diverging views about how to solve these problems. However, all of the partners share a common concern about the issue of segregation, and a commitment that residents of the Twin Cities region must be actively engaged in addressing it.

> *We know that poverty isn't going anywhere, and racism isn't dead.*
> — Vivian Jenkins Nelsen, INTER-RACE

C. Chronology of CCC Events

The Community Circle Collaborative is now more than a year old. A brief chronology of its activities and related events appears below.

December 1996: The "Beyond Busing" Kick-Off Forum was held for project sponsors. This event was attended by more than 100 people representing a wide variety of organizations: churches, advocacy groups, academia, public agencies and foundations. Significantly, the event took place in the suburbs (in the St. Louis Park City Council chambers), making it clear from the beginning that this was not a central-city effort but a metro-wide effort. The first two speakers, former St. Paul Mayor George Latimer and

education expert Josie Johnson, Ph.D., helped to set the context of the project and to encourage and motivate participants. The two speakers who followed them, Curt Johnson, chair of the Metropolitan Council; and Yusef Mgeni, President of the Urban Coalition, provided information and insights regarding the breadth and depth of segregation problems and costs in the metropolitan area. Following the speakers, individuals representing the state legislature, an outer-ring suburban church, an inner-ring suburban school, a nonprofit housing developer, the media and the Minneapolis Mayor's Office all described why they planned to participate in the project and urged others to join them. As the event concluded, many new sponsors submitted their pledges to participate by organizing study circles.

February 1997: Training for study-circle facilitators was held, and the first Discussion Guide for participants was issued.

March-June 1997: Study circle discussion groups met 3-5 times each to discuss the two questions given above. Each group produced a brief report summarizing its discussion and findings. Nearly 350 people participated in these discussions.

May 1997: CCC held a Community Forum at Macalester College in St. Paul. This forum was attended by many of the individuals who had participated in study circles and gave them a chance not only to share the results of their deliberations and but also to explore the extent of commonalities among the different groups. The Forum featured Martha McCoy, the Executive Director of the (national) Study Circles Resource Center, whose presentation was followed by two "conversations." The first, moderated by Vivian Jenkins Nelsen, President and CEO of INTER-RACE, focused on the first study-circle question (regarding impacts); the second, moderated by George Latimer, addressed the second question, which focuses on potential solutions. (Section III of this report summarizes the findings of all the study circles.)

June 1997: The Institute on Race and Poverty delivers to the McKnight Foundation a report entitled "Examining the Relationship Between Housing, Education, and Persistent Segregation." This report identifies the Twin Cities region as one of the ten most segregated metropolitan regions in the United States.

> *The Twin Cities have reached an important time to consider which path it will follow. This community has already begun to creep down the path so familiar to many large urban areas. If the Twin Cities community is to reverse its course, it must begin now. This community must seriously examine and confront what is happening here, and it must come together for real, proven solutions.*
> — The Institute on Race and Poverty, University of Minnesota

July 1997: All study circle reports were submitted to EHEP. In addition, facilitators and group organizers completed a questionnaire intended to help the study-circle organizers to learn more about the process – successes as well as difficulties – and to glean suggestions concerning how better to proceed in the next round of discussions.

July-October 1997: Individual participants who represented interested groups made presentations to their respective organizations, local communities and constituencies.

September 1997: The National Conference on Race Relations and America's Public Education System takes place. One of the discussion sites is the Twin Cities. Among the practical issues identified are

housing segregation, economic inequity, and the need for long-term solutions rather than quick fixes.

April 1998: The final report of the first round of study circles, "Beyond Busing: The First Metrowide Dialogue on the Challenges of Education and Housing Segregation," is issued.

III. Study Circle Reports

A. Issues

> *We are in very deep denial. We believe we aren't like Detroit, but we are;*
> *it's just happening more slowly here.*
>
> – a community circle participant

The necessary first step in trying to solve thorny social problems is to ensure that those problems are understood in much the same way by all. Therefore, the Community Circles focused their attention first on identifying the issues.

The problem areas identified by CCC participants fell into four fairly distinct groupings:
- Issues related to regional growth and equity in terms of investment, employment and social relations;
- Systemic issues related to housing segregation and neighborhood quality;
- Systemic issues related to education; and
- Issues that arise primarily at the level of the individual.

A small degree of liberty has been taken to clarify meaning or to combine similar thoughts expressed in different ways by more than one participant or study circle. Every effort has been made, however, to retain the essence of what appeared in the study circle reports.

Issues shown in italic type were identified by more than one study group.

1. *Issues of regional growth and equity*

When asked to determine how many societies the Twin Cities have become, people responded in two different ways. One group suggested that we have become "three societies: The very rich, working people, and the poor." Another described it differently: "Two – those who work and those who don't." Regardless of how it is said, though, there was a strong recognition among participants that the region has become polarized into distinct, and often mutually distrusting, camps.

The issues that appear in this grouping deal with the broad context of regional equity – and inequity. They cluster around three topics: investment, employment and social relations.

Investment:
> Spatial mismatch between available fiscal and economic resources and high-order fiscal and social needs – for example, northern part of region needs more infrastructure
> Biases in business lending that shortchange women- and minority-owned businesses
> Need for more entrepreneurship programs, e.g., micro-loans, money circles
> *Perceived and real disadvantages of central-city sites, due to crime, presence of pollutants and an unskilled workforce*
> *A focus on the short-term and the bottom line, disregarding long-standing evidence that a "rising tide" does not lift all boats*
> Shortage of businesses that are committed to being good corporate citizens
> Growth containment affects provision and cost of infrastructure

Employment:

Spatial mismatch between available jobs and many of the unemployed – e.g., the northern part of the region needs to provide more jobs

Biases in job hiring and wage-setting practices

Shortage of reverse-commute options that can take inner-city workers to suburban jobs

Shortage of quality affordable child care, especially at "non-traditional" work times

Changing workforce demographics: more persons of color, more seniors, more women supporting households

Challenge presented by people who are physically or psychologically unable to "work a 9-5 job"

Under-recognition by business that well-trained employees lead to greater profitability

Lack of benefits with many part-time and low-wage jobs

Jobs accessible to residents of poor communities often go to outsiders

Lack of sufficient interest in and support for entrepreneurism in minority and poor communities

Social relations:

Distortions and stereotypes in media reporting

Reporting of crime that is disproportionate to its occurrence

Need for true justice that is timely, fair and makes wise use of parole and community-service options

Polarization reinforced by racial categories on government forms

General breakdown of family structure and cohesion due to economic demands, lifestyle choices, decline in community support

Perceived need to keep track of people with criminal records (e.g., community right-to-know regulations for known sex offenders)

Tendency for people to remain close to their support networks

Decline in traditional values, especially a decline in personal integrity and responsibility

Lack of courage to make wise but unpopular decisions

2. *Systemic issues related to housing and neighborhoods*

There was a generally high level of consensus on housing and neighborhood issues, which clustered around two topics: housing stock and neighborhood environment. By far the most often-cited issue was that of exclusionary suburban zoning and development practices, which were mentioned specifically by one-fourth of the reporting groups.

Housing:

Lack of investment in poor or declining neighborhoods

Poor housing stock that repels stable families, discourages investment

Lead-based paint and other health hazards

Lack of neighborhood diversity in housing types, which leads to homogeneous populations

Inflexible central-city zoning and other regulations that prohibit use of many vacant/ abandoned buildings as shelter

Shortage of affordable housing

Punitive rental property taxes

High cost of land

Poor enforcement of existing fair housing laws

Lack of awareness of opportunities and options among low-income households

Neighborhood environment:

Unequal power in neighborhood/community relations

Inadequate resources for general maintenance, including trash pick-up and yardwork

Lack of resources to facilitate neighborhood involvement

Transience caused by poor housing stock, low incomes

Land-use plans that give highest priority to accommodating cars (e.g., intrusive highway routes)

Inadequate transit service (frequency, hours, direct routing and choice of destinations)

Exclusionary suburban zoning regulations (e.g., minimum lot size and square footage, garage requirements, development fees)

Redlining (insurance, lending, cab service, police response)

Crime and perceptions of crime

Need to improve conditions for those who "remain behind"

3. *Systemic issues related to education*

Perspectives on the shortcomings of the educational system were quite diverse but fall into two groupings: One focuses on the in-school experience, the other on the interaction between the school and the surrounding community.

The school as educational institution:

Teachers not living in the community

Few opportunities to experience diversity

Institutional discrimination: students receiving differential treatment due to race/color, learning ability, economic status, perceived intelligence, and/or athletic ability, which can lead to artificially raised or lowered expectations

Focus on short-term results when long-term solutions are needed

Failure to teach the basics

Lack of adequate [curriculum] structure

Classes that are too big

Inability to sustain children's enthusiasm for school beyond 3rd or 4th grade

Too few minority teachers

Insufficient counselors and inadequate counseling

Schools being asked to do far more than teach academics

Lack of effective means of dealing with children from problem situations; at-risk children "falling through the cracks"

> *Where we do get the minorities to move out into the suburbs, they have the money, they have the wherewithal, but we . . . have a problem in the sensitivity of our teachers and our educational system . . . . One of the biggest problems that [minority kids] are finding is that their teachers are prejudiced. So we move out into the suburbs, and what we encounter are teachers who will not be fair with these kids . . . . They're also scared of being in school, because they're afraid of being called names, and if there's a fight, they get kicked out. So there's a racial imbalance.*
>
> – a community circle participant

The school in the community:

The school system is not user-friendly or parent-friendly

Transience disrupting children's stability, ability to learn

School violence (e.g., children carrying weapons)

Unequal distribution of school resources, both within and between school districts

Perception that central-city schools are underfunded

Special challenges presented by schools impacted by concentrated poverty

Lack of adequate transportation/transit, which results in reduced access to extra-curricular activities and school choice

The public-school monopoly – lack of competition and choice

Poor nutrition among school children

Language barriers among recent immigrants

Under-educated, over-worked parents who cannot adequately help their children

[Household] stability affects academic achievement

Need for transitional housing to support schools

> *You can't learn if you are hungry.*
>
> – a community circle participant

4. *Issues related to individuals*

These issues reflect more general concerns about the state of our society as a whole as well as the plight of individuals within it. Some of these issues are pandemic – that is, they plague people in all races,

classes and locations; others are more specific to particular circumstances, especially the circumstances of those living in areas of concentrated poverty.

Society-wide issues:
Substance abuse and addiction
Breakdown in the institution of marriage
Lack of recognition for different family types, e.g., extended families
Lack of self-esteem in children due to inadequate parenting
Lack of respect for the rights, beliefs and property of others
Lack of respect for teachers and other elders
Fear leading to isolation, high levels of stress
Negative stereotyping
Racism
Denial of racism/segregation problem
Need for more welcoming in the community

> *The white teachers don't like us.*
> *When a white kid does something good, they get praised.*
> *When we do something good, they say nothing.*
> *— a community circle participant*

Issues more common in areas of concentrated poverty:
Low incomes/joblessness leading to extralegal economic activity
Poor parental supervision of children and lack of other supportive/responsible adults
Lack of employed role models
Individuals focused on day-to-day survival unlikely to make education a top priority
Unwillingness or inability to take personal responsibility (e.g., in housing: use of illegal
     subleases and presence of unaccounted-for tenants)
Lack of pride in surroundings
High level of mobility leading to instability in family, education
Inability to set and work toward goals
Entitlement mentality promoted by welfare dependency
Victim mentality promoted by discrimination and dependency

> *Describing the problems of the inner city as a result of abstract 'racism' is not helpful*
> *because fighting 'racism' seems a futile exercise.*
> *— a community circle participant*

B. Potential solutions

> *We decided early on that the issues of housing, education and jobs were not mutually*
> *exclusive, and that if we had to do anything, we had to do all of them . . . . One of the*
> *things we said is that if the economic bottom line drives the process, then a rising*
> *economic tide should diminish segregation. But does it?*
> *— a community circle participant*

The potential solutions that appear here should be regarded as a valuable first cut. As the Community Circles Collaborative proceeds with its second round of discussions, new efforts will be made to help them develop meaningful and effective responses to those issues.

It is also important to remember that many potential solutions are implicit in the issue statements. For example, to address the issue described as "biases in business lending that shortchange women- and minority-owned businesses," a potential solution might be to work to eliminate those biases, or to find other ways to make more investment capital available to women and minorities.

Again, as was the case with the issues, every attempt has been made to capture the essence of what emerged from the discussants, while also combining and clarifying ideas where appropriate.

> *When something isn't working, try something new.*
> – a community circle participant

1. *Employment and opportunity*

Suggestions for increasing employment and economic opportunity generally addressed broad topical categories, such as entrepreneurism and child care.

Adopt the OxFam approach that sets up micro-loan and revolving credit programs ("money circles") among groups of inner-city residents. This will help to foster entrepreneurism.
Increase funding for women- and minority-owned businesses.
Require basic benefits with all full-time jobs.
Offer incentives to lenders to make business and home loans to low-income persons.
Recruit corporations as community partners that can help to provide transportation to job sites, child care, and job offers to center-city residents.
Improve the transit system by expanding reverse-commute options and using a wider variety of vehicle and service types (e.g., company vans, vanpools, dial-a-ride systems, bus-service rerouting).
Expand the funding for and availability of adequate child care.

> *We found ourselves going back and forth. First, someone would say, well, it's an economic solution we need here, or it's an economic cause of this problem. And then right away someone else would counter with, it's lack of community, it's 'heart' things. What we eventually came up with is that we have to have solutions that are addressed to both sides of the problem, because one or the other isn't going to do it.*
> – a community circle participant

2. *Societal relations and resources*

Suggestions related to social relations focused on communities of faith and sources of information:

Partner churches to offer and encourage multi-cultural experiences for their congregations.
Provide anti-racism training and materials for media staff members.
Work more through communities of faith and rely more on faith-based programs, which are [often] more successful than comparable secular programs.

Keep public libraries open for longer hours, especially evenings and weekends.

> *Congregations need to move 'outside the congregational walls.'*
> – a community circle participant

3. *Housing and neighborhoods*

The most logical breakdown of potential solutions in this category is between housing and neighborhoods.

Housing:
Mix small apartment buildings with other housing types in new developments.

Allow mixed-use zoning that permits people to live, for example, above stores.

Increase the flexibility of various codes to assist large families, for example by allowing three persons in each bedroom.

Increase the number of duplexes and triplexes with resident owners.

Fund experiments in shared living.

Expand the supply of transitional housing.

Experiment with ways to reduce the profit motive vis-a-vis construction and rehabilitation of affordable housing.

Reinstitute some kind of fair-share housing requirement regionwide.

Put teeth in the Livable Communities Act and the Community Reinvestment Act.

Provide better and more consistent code enforcement.

Increase resources to make landlords accountable for repairs and treatment of tenants.

Offer more widespread down-payment assistance to persons of limited means.

Couple household support programs with housing choice and subsidy.

Test "money circles" as a source of funding for home improvements and other family/household needs.

Experiment with payment-assistance programs, similar to existing utility-assistance programs (e.g., voluntary payments by utility customers to help those in need).

Neighborhoods:
Pair seniors and young parents so they can get to know one another and exchange services, for example swapping occasional child care for lawn mowing

Expand and support Neighborhood Watch programs.

Improve emergency support systems, as well as awareness of and access to them.

> *People like to be with people like themselves.*
> – a community circle participant

4. *Education*

Ideas for improving public education ran the gamut from those promoting general improvement for all students, regardless of race or socioeconomic status, to those specifically targeting at-risk youngsters from a wide variety of backgrounds. These suggestions fell into several groupings: curriculum and teaching, student support, school choice, recognition of diversity and community relations.

> *If we go back to neighborhood schools, poverty areas must have*
> *the best, strongest teachers.*
>
> *– a community circle participant*

Curriculum and teaching improvements:
  Teach all students life skills, such as money management, parenting, how to look for a job and
    how to select appropriate housing.
  Eliminate state curriculum standards except for testing.
  Require academic tests at the elementary, middle-junior high and senior high school levels.
  Rate schools on academic achievement.
  Develop different learning tracks, including at least one that provides a good education to those
    who will not go to [an academic]college.
  Expand work-study opportunities that do not allow teen-agers to work in fast-food places – for
    example, home construction/rehabilitation.
  Encourage/recruit corporate sponsorships and internships. Involve businesses in helping students
    better visualize careers and career paths and learn the skills they will need.
  Educate students for civic participation.
  Require community-service hours, even before high school.
  Equalize school-district spending per child.
  Lengthen both the school day and the school year.

> *It is time to leave the premise that everyone is qualified to attend college.*
> *It is very important for our country to have mechanics, plumbers, carpenters*
> *and others who perform such useful tasks. Dignity is in all work*
> *and unfortunately that has been lost.*
>
> *– a community circle participant*

Student support:
  Move away from a "fix the kid" approach to a "fix the system" approach.
  Enhance programs that prevent drop-outs.
  Offer more tutoring.
  Expand mentoring programs.
  Expand after-school activities, especially in the fine and performing arts and other non-athletic
    program areas.
  Get truants off the streets and into a community center, workplace or community-service setting.
  Require uniforms (although not necessarily "traditional" ones).
  Provide better and more plentiful counseling that is more holistic and incorporates help with
    chemical abuse.
  Sponsor "burning issues" clubs, lunches or other time to help youngsters deal with issues at
    home.

> *Kids are afraid to go to school because of racism, they're afraid because of sexism,*
> *homophobia . . . When they're there, the children are so worried about, am I going to*
> *get to my next class, am I going to get home, am I going to get beat up on the way home,*
> *am I going to have my lunch money for lunch – that learning is secondary.*

School choice:
> Allow children to go to any [public] school they want.
> Support community schools – "stop busing madness."
> "Bus for programs, not for numbers."

> *Teachers in the public school system are very unprepared for kids of color.*
> *Training needs to address not only multiculturalism but it needs to address some of*
> *the factors of poverty and how they impact on kids. They need to look at learning styles.*
> *They need to look at how they as teachers can facilitate involvement by parents*
> *and community members.*
> *– a community circle participant*

Diversity:
> Fund learning opportunities that bring together or pair students from divergent backgrounds.
> Use instruction and programs focused on the environment and ecology to bring together all
>   groups in the community in a common concern and in common enterprise.
> Train teachers in cultural competency.
> Imbue the curriculum with diversity, rather than making diversity a "special event" or giving it
>   superficial treatment.
> Offer scholarships to students of color who agree to come back and teach for a minimum period
>   of time.

Community relations:
> Experiment with "peer parent" and buddy programs that help newcomers feel less isolated and
>   become more involved in their children's schools.
> Strengthen the non-educational/pre-school support system that helps to relieve problems in the
>   schools, which consists of programs like Head Start, parenting education, mentoring, quality
>   child care and non-school recreation.
> Incorporate community facilities, such as community centers, social service centers and health-
>   care facilities, within or adjacent to schools to give everyone a "stake" in the success of
>   those schools.

> *I remember when there were three black teachers in the Minneapolis public schools.*
> *And yet there were students of color that were going through that school system,*
> *combating racism as individuals, and going on to become successful participants in society.*
> *We can blame a lot of things on racism, but let's not fall into the trap of using that*
> *as an excuse for a lack of achievement.*
> *– a community circle participant*

IV. Preparing for the Future

> *I think a lot of white people believe, but sometimes don't feel that we can say it,*
> *that racism is probably a relatively minor cause of the relatively poor performance*
> *of minority kids . . . . It would be incredibly naive to discount the impact of racism on*
> *minority kids in our schools, but it seems to me far more significant causes are*
> *the breakdown of the African-American family and the lack of role models for young kids.*
> *And the sports culture I think is even more important than racism, the idolization*
> *of athletes, and the belief that African-American boys in the Minneapolis*
> *public schools have – something like 85 percent feel they can have careers in*
> *professional sports . . . . But we don't ever talk about any of those other issues.*
> – a community circle participant

An important and meaningful dialogue has begun, all across the Twin Cities, and people of good will from all backgrounds are thinking about economic and racial disparities with great intensity.

The community circles generated a profile of many of the important issues. The Community Circle Reports (Section III of this report) contain a wealth of information, insights and ideas that can be used to propel further exploration of the role of race, changing economics and spatial segregation of housing and education throughout the region. They also developed a long and varied list of action ideas.

The community circle process also proved its value through the responses of most participants, who viewed it as a valuable experience they would like to continue or repeat.

There were, however, some weaknesses in the first round of community circles, including a lower level of action outcomes than in similar programs in other communities. This section of the report provides some analysis of the program and recommendations for the second round of community circles.

Recommendation #1: Strengthen the action component

As is evident in Section III of this report, community circle participants talked a great deal about action. They developed long lists of action ideas, in the areas of employment and opportunity, societal relations and resources, housing and neighborhoods, and education. Unfortunately, it appears that few of those participants went on to try to implement any of the action ideas. It is also unclear whether the views of participants had any effect on public policy decisions. This runs counter to what could be expected based on the results of study circle programs in other communities.

A. Improve the final session of the guide

The final session of the *Choices for Community* guide, which was used in all the community circles, led participants through a process of listing the areas of tension or conflict and the areas of agreement that they had come to in their discussions. The volunteer recorder in each group was then asked to summarize these thoughts on a record that was submitted to the Community Circle Collaborative.

In study circle guides produced by the Study Circles Resource Center, the final session includes a range of action ideas, divided into categories according to what individuals can do, what small groups can do, what institutions can do, and what communities as a whole can do. Those action lists reflect a range of

political viewpoints and are meant simply to assist the study circle in its brainstorming about what action ideas fit best in their community.

The final session of the revised *Choices for Community* guide should include such a list, as well as discussion questions that help participants prioritize those ideas and think about what roles they can play on the neighborhood, community, and regional level.

B. Improve the recording process

Good records from each community circle can be a valuable asset for structuring an action forum, preparing a report that condenses the deliberations, and giving policy input to public officials.

The records submitted from the community circles varied widely in their length, focus, and level of detail. A certain amount of unevenness is to be expected, but more consistency and uniformity would have been extremely helpful. The new *Choices for Community* guide should include simple forms built into each session, giving each recorder specific guidance in how they report the findings of the group.

For the next round, the facilitators should be asked to lead their groups through a summarizing process at the end of each session. This brings the wisdom of the whole group to bear in the recording process, and ensures that the records capture the ideas of the group and the spirit of collaboration.

C. Hold a true action forum

In May 1997, a forum was held for the participants in the first round of community circles. Due to scheduling constraints, that forum occurred before all of the groups had finished their four sessions of deliberation. More importantly, the forum was not structured as an action forum; rather, it was intended to create a large-group deliberation on segregation issues. While some attendees learned a great deal at the forum, it did not prove to be a springboard for action efforts.

A true action forum should be held at the conclusion of the second round of community circles. The Study Circles Resource Center suggests:

"The action forum at the end of each round of study circles is your most important opportunity to galvanize problem solving efforts. At the kickoff, announce the date of the action forum. Invite the study circle participants, coalition members, area organizations working on the issue, and other community members. Use the study circle records to identify themes which emerged from the groups. At the action forum, give people the opportunity to sign up for task forces on those themes. For example, the task forces for a program on race might focus on themes such as improving police-community relations, reducing bias crime, and dealing with race relations among young people. Ask people with some professional expertise in each topic to join that task force. If you are writing a report based on the study circle records, the action forum is an excellent time to release it.

After the action forum, it is critical for program organizers to stay in touch with the task forces. Help them get off the ground by identifying convenors and setting meeting dates. To keep task force efforts in the public eye, create a newsletter which reports on their progress, and encourage newspapers and television stations to cover their work. Provide ways for newcomers to join task forces as the program moves along. The study circle program in Lima, Ohio, went even further, winning a grant from the Ohio Bureau of Justice Services to fund a Violence Prevention Center. The Center was designed to provide staff time to support the eleven task forces which arose from the study circle program. Finally, it is important to celebrate the task force achievements and build on them. One way to do this is through

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periodic large-group meetings."

D. Include more policymakers in the study circles

The experience of other communities has shown that a study circle program has its greatest effect on policymaking if public officials themselves are among the participants in the groups. In that way, their authority and expertise is brought into the process, but public officials are treated like fellow human beings rather than experts who have the potential to solve problems by themselves. Their wisdom is included in the mix, but they are not put on the spot. Rather than being treated as the distant recipients of formalized public input, they are treated as powerful collaborators in addressing common problems. Public officials have the chance to hear the concerns of real citizens and realize that citizens are capable of addressing complex issues.

Recommendation #2: Create circles which include both city-dwellers and suburbanites

One of the most innovative aspects of the Community Circle Collaborative program is its focus on regional issues. Segregation in housing and education is an issue with a regional scope, requiring deliberation and action by people in multiple communities. However, the majority of the community circles were limited to people who lived or worked in a particular area. This made it much more difficult for suburbanites to understand the concerns of city-dwellers, and vice versa.

During the second round, institutions could be paired so that each study circle included people from more than one community. For example, a church in Minneapolis with 10 people signed up to participate could be paired with a suburban Kiwanis Club bringing 10 people. The institutions could meet at either site (or an alternate site), and split their pool of 20 people into two community circles.

Another strategy which could be used along with or instead of the pairing approach would be to locate all the community circles at "sectional" sites. The Twin Cities region could be divided into sections like the spokes of a wheel, with each section including some urban areas as well as second- and third-ring suburbs. All the participants for that section could meet at a large facility with many rooms, such as a school, college campus, library, or community center. On the first evening, participants could be assigned to diverse community circles on the spot. Since multiple circles would be meeting on the same evening in the same building, participants could be brought together for a brief reporting session (20 minutes) at the end of each session. This strategy was used successfully in a study circle program in Oklahoma, where it also ensured greater media coverage since reporters could attend the reporting sessions and get a quick snapshot of the deliberations.

Community circles with a mix of urbanites and suburbanites would probably make the experience more unique, illuminating, and exciting for participants. In addition, action groups or task forces which emerged from the action forum or the community circles themselves would be more likely to combine city-dwellers and suburbanites. That kind of cooperation, in itself, would make a statement to the rest of the region.

Recommendation #3: Improving racial, ethnic, and gender diversity

A. Race and ethnicity

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The full group of participants (350+) was fairly representative of the Twin Cities community as a whole in terms of race/ethnicity. However, individual groups did not reflect this diversity. As a result, some participants perceived that the process was not representative. A number of comments were made regarding how "the right people aren't here."

The suggestions contained in Recommendation #2, above, would help address this problem. However, the Community Circles Collaborative might also expand further, recruiting organizations representing constituencies which weren't adequately represented in the first round. These could include service clubs and congregations that are known to appeal to members of particular groups. Pairing congregations and other sponsoring organizations to promote racial and ethnic intermingling would be a good measure, even if the urban-suburban strategy mentioned above is not utilized. A third approach would involve deliberately assigning volunteers of one ethnicity to join a discussion group dominated by another. Because it is safe to presume that the vast majority of participants are persons of good will and intent, finding volunteers willing to cross barriers should not be difficult.

B. Gender

The group of participants as a whole was not well-balanced by gender. Men made up only about one-fourth of the participants. The all-female memberships of a couple of study circles even remarked on the absence of male counterparts and asked what could be done to "get the men here."

Although gender imbalance is not uncommon for a volunteer group of this type, gender imbalance needs to be addressed in the next round of circles. One possible approach would be to specifically invite participation by male-dominated clubs or the men's groups from various faith communities.

Recommendation #4: Give more training and support to facilitators

The reports from the circles, and the surveys completed by the facilitators themselves, suggest that the quality of facilitation was uneven. This is one of the potential pitfalls of using volunteers, but it need not be a fatal one.

EHEP could turn to professional facilitators to conduct the next round of meetings, but this is not necessary nor even particularly wise. What is needed is better training and support for volunteer facilitators. For example, at least one facilitator complained that the group he or she led frequently strayed from the topic – without any apparent understanding that it is the job of the facilitator to keep the group focused and moving, so it can produce the results it wants within the allotted time.

The facilitator training process and packet reflect this failure to teach the basics. Training emphasized the content of the sessions and cultural considerations – both critical topics, to be sure, but not to the exclusion of learning how to lead a productive meeting, keep the group focused, mediate conflict, and handle difficult people ("difficult" here referring to any number of problems, including glibness, silence, stonewalling, attempts to dominate, etc.).

> *Getting people involved in addressing public issues is not a "nice" thing. . . .*
> *What you want people to say is not that it is a nice thing to do*
> *but that it's an absolutely necessary thing to do.*
> *— Martha McCoy, Study Circles Resource Center*

Given that some of the facilitators are relatively inexperienced, using co-facilitators might be invaluable. Experienced facilitators could be paired with facilitators who are new to the process. Pairing facilitators of different ethnicities (or a young person and an adult) would also make a statement to the participants about the inclusivity of the project.

Having a monitor present to step in and redirect the group's energy might also be helpful. A monitor can keep an eye on several groups at a time and keep tabs on the clock as well. The monitor's presence allows each facilitator to engage fully in the group's discussion and ensure that both substance and direction remain relevant. Moreover, should any facilitator encounter difficulty with a particular group – belligerence, refusal to focus, etc. – someone else is present to mediate and help the group get moving in positive ways again. The presence of a monitor can aid neophyte and experienced facilitators alike.

In CCC's case, the difficulties in using monitors are logistical: If each group is meeting at its own place and time, it is simply infeasible for a single monitor to be present. Neither would this be an efficient use of anyone's time. Moreover, the number of monitors available will necessarily be limited by the need for each one to be highly experienced in facilitation and/or team leadership. These difficulties could be overcome through a different approach to scheduling discussions.

Recommendation #5: Schedule all meeting times in advance

Ironically, it is possible that individual groups were given *too much* latitude in scheduling their own meetings – which means that each person's dentist appointment, TV viewing habits, softball league, family demands, vacation and other prior commitments interfered with circle meetings. Multiply this effect by ten or fifteen circle members, and it becomes clear why scheduling was a problem.

Rather than leaving the scheduling decision wide open, it may be more effective to set up group meeting times in advance. For example, meetings in each round of discussions could be slated to take place at one of four or five predetermined times at one of four or five predetermined locations. Discussants would be asked to select one of those times and places to participate, either for the entire series or on a meeting-by-meeting basis. Advance sign-ups would probably be necessary in order to make sure that all time slots have enough participants; otherwise, intended participants would have to be notified of a change in plans.

Although this approach might entail some additional work on the part of the organizers, it might also eliminate some work by eliminating confusion about who is meeting where, and when. Moreover, sponsoring organizations would remain heavily involved in coordinating meetings and keeping track of participants.

Adopting an approach similar to this one could produce several benefits:
- It would impose some discipline on the groups and indicate that the study circles are not a social event that takes place only when everyone is free, but a formalized process with demands of its own.
- It would allow coordinators to balance the sizes of the circles, eliminating problems caused by poor attendance in some groups while others overflow.
- It would allow individuals who might miss one set time to "make up" a session at a different time, thus facilitating participation in the entire series of discussions.
- It would allow individuals to sample different locations, if desired, thus exposing them to a much wider range of viewpoints and ideas.
- It would enable the circle coordinators at any given location to balance racial and gender

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representation more effectively, either by pairing sponsoring organizations or by randomly assigning incoming individuals to different discussion groups.

- It would allow for the efficient use of monitors in support of facilitators.
- It would put everyone on essentially the same timetable, with a clear beginning and a clear end.

One potential drawback to this approach is that some groups would lose the continuity and, hence, the familiarity that foster trust and openness. However, the process itself can help to encourage such openness. Moreover, most discussion groups will probably remain essentially intact throughout the entire series due to individual choices.

VI. Appendices

A. Background on EHEP, CCC
B. Findings of facilitator questionnaire
C. List of sponsors and participants

[Dick, anything I should add here from SCRC?]

Intergenerational Dialogue on School Integration
South High School, Minneapolis
November 18, 1999

Report on the Intergenerational Small Group Recommendations

On Thursday evening, November 18 1999, 82 very diverse individuals gathered together for an evening of dialogue across the generations. The age range of the group was 8 to 78 years. The purpose of the meeting was to listen to all generations talk about school integration.

The evening opened with a large Circle of Generations-oldest to youngest in the group. Each person said on word that came to their mind when they heard the word integration.

Then the group listened to a wonderful and powerful set of remembrances from five generations of the Anderson family. Their scenario covered 94 years of an African-American family's experience in Minnesota schools. Each generation answered a series of questions about their own educational experiences. Then the large group broke down into smaller intergenerational small groups. The small groups developed action recommendations related to our common purpose. Here are the results of their deliberations:

Challenge #1 (An Organizational & Institutional Challenge)

What are 3 specific recommendations groups or organizations can do to address the challenges of school integration?

1. Create more interdistrict magnet schools

2. Educate the public on the benefits of integrated education

3. Change the structures of schools in terms of content (curriculum) leadership and family involvement

4. Understand the importance and role of religion in promoting better human understanding and the challenges of integration

5. Bring very diverse students together around their common interests e.g. music, sports, drama, the arts etc.

6. Raise the issue that without integrated neighborhoods and housing options and because of job discrimination, it will be very difficult to have integrated schools (4)

7. Continue to sponsor community dialogues involving all generations around integration issues and challenges

8. We need to make the media our friend because of the power and influence it has. Use media to make changes in the ways people think.

9. Use videos, music, and the Internet to communicate cultural information to a visual generation

10. Use a model like the Northside CO-OP to create integrated and diverse day care centers. This strategy will allow children at a very early age benefit from integration. Early education

will help broaden the definition of family and help shape children in positive ways during their early years.

11. Decide and then promote specific values we want to achieve

12. Look At fair taxation policies

13. We need to change the fact that people with similar points of view have shaped learning environments-particularly schools.

14. Challenge our current segregated housing policies.

15. Cultivate, encourage and recruit people of color to become educators.

16. Call upon religious and spiritual leaders to take leadership by addressing the challenges of integration.

17. Have better teacher-staff training on diversity (2)

18. Important to remember that not all desegregated schools are in fact really integrated. Often hyper-segregation goes on in "integrated schools."

19. Don't be afraid to stand up and be counted on important issues

20. School Districts should encourage multicultural student groups to meet across schools and across districts (2)

21. Faith groups should support and create early childhood education programs (ages 3-5). Early childhood programs should ensure that all children master the alphabet, A to Z and can count from 1-100. All youth should be accepted, not just members of their congregations.

22. Schools can utilize multi-ethnicity randomly in their educational programs

23. Black College Tours need to be opened up to all of the other people of color in our communities.

24. Organizations should view each child as someone with the right to live up to their fullest potential

Challenge #2 (A Challenge of the New Desegregation Rule)

Under the new state desegregation rule, each school district must develop a Desegregation Council. What should the composition of the Council? What is the first thing it should do?

What Should the Council's Look Like?

1. Power and decision makers should be part of the Councils

2. Younger people need to be included and be given the power to really contribute (3)

3. The Councils should reflect the widest possible diversity that is reflected in the communities where they will operate. The councils should be Intergenerational (4)

4. The Councils are a sham! It is the same discussion we have had for 30 years. Will we be here in the same place 30 years from now?

5. The Councils should involve all major stakeholders - students, parents, community and legislature.

6. There should be equal representation of every cultural group.

7. Each Council should be 50% youth, multicultural and disability fair

What Should Be the First Things the Councils Do?

1. Provide public information-the facts- about what the current status of desegregation is community by community.

2. Tell stories about people who come from very different backgrounds and what they contribute to local communities.

3. Tell the truth.

4. Councils should attempt to draw resources for the work from the community as a whole. The councils should expand their focus outside of the schools and engage the whole community.

5. Get to the root of the problem: Determine what is in the best interests of students when it comes to integration.

6. Clearly explain it's purpose and what are the needs and purposes it is suppose to address.

7. The people on the Council should reach some common understanding of desegregation and integration (2)

8. The Councils need to account for the other issues like housing and transportation that are connected to desegregation.

Challenge # 3 (An Intergenerational Challenge)

Develop three concrete recommendations to ensure that all generations are involved and work together on the issue of school integration.

1. Train and require younger people to participate in all aspects of educational planning (3)

2. Set policies and ideas and then communicate them in a way that younger people can understand.

3. Organize intergenerational, cross cultural potlucks

4. Make it a policy to intentionally include all generations in decision-making (3)

5. Resources and money allocated to any organization that have good ideas and strategies regardless of the age of the participants.

6. Give people of all generations real roles on all educational planning and advisory panels. Also include the people who will make and implement decisions.

7. Create smaller Intergenerational dialogues/circles to meet over longer periods of time to learn about investment in this issue (2).

8. Get people of all ages into the schools as volunteers and participants in school events

9. Bring generations of families together to share their experiences

A Personal Commitment

Write down one thing you will do personally within the next thirty days with someone from a younger or older generation about the issue of school integration.

Generational Panels

Age 55-66 and Age 67 and above

Jan Hively, College of Education University of Minnesota

Matt Little, retired.

Barbara Bearman, interior designer, daycare provider for granddaughter, community activist on social justice issues.

Hector Garcia, Executive Director for the National Conference for Community and Justice.

What comes into your mind when you hear the word integration?

Being in it for the long haul, moving slowly and inevitably, an ideal that we need to fulfill.

When kids get to be adolescents, there is a separation that occurs. When I was in school the Jewish kids self separated, they were not pushed to do it.

Coming from Mexico I felt ostracized, but not dramatically.

How do you feel being in a segregated school affected your self image?

While we were in a segregated school it was fine, but when you left the part of town where you were segregated to and saw the white high school, there was only one Black school in the entire town, K-12. The whites had an elementary school, middle school and high school.

There was some security being in a segregated school, but then when it came to the broader community, getting jobs, there was no question that you are less of a person. The unity was a positive, but it was not the whole picture.

What did kids get in trouble for and how were they disciplined?

Corporal punishment. Teachers had complete access and they exercised it. The close knitted community resulted in punishment at school and then they would call home and we would get punished again.

I would get sent to the principal for talking and misbehavior. There was more action at North High. There was more diversity on the North and Northeast side of Minneapolis.

Kids were held back, it was not surprising for an 11 or 12 year old to have a 16 year old in the class. Many just hung around long enough until they could leave. That must have been painful for them.

Age 10-15 and Age 16-19

Khalid Ellison, Interdistrict Downtown School

Azur Lepher, Hopkins High School

Do you value going to school with students of other races, why or why not?

You get to know different kinds of people instead of just knowing your own race, you get to experience different types of things.

Some people can help you with your homework and you can learn more about them.

If we didn't go to school with them, we would be cautious toward them. If I didn't go to school with Asian people, I would not try to build a relationship with them.

I know people that go to segregated schools and I have seen the way they look at people of other races and the way they talk about them they sound ignorant about other people. I don't want to sound the way they sound when they are talking about other people. I don't want to educate people about a race that they don't have a relationship with.

Do you experience racism in school?

My teachers, they will look at the African American students and have low expectations of them. They think that African Americans have a behavior problem. Every time my teachers call home, it is because of my behavior, not about my grades.

I don't think I have experienced racism. I graduated from North, everybody knew everybody.

When I went to school on the east coast. I got a lot of questions about my hair and skin color. I would never get a recommendation to go into the advanced classes, even though I would pass the tests.

When I went to private school, people would ask to see gang signs and the teacher would sit back and wait to for me to show them. It's not like segregation, it's different.

Do you think in our country, we value people and their differences?

We value it on paper, to keep people satisfied, to avoid violence. We like to make it look good, to solve our problems quickly, but I don't think we truly value it.

Yes, we value differences. This country would not be America if we didn't value differences. Difference makes this country what it is.

Yes, we have different cultural groups at school and celebrations about different people.

Yes, we have different opportunities for different students. We have celebrations for different groups.

In your own words provide your definition of racism?

I think racism is about hatred.

Someone is racist when they do not want to learn about other people.

Is power part of the definition of racism?

If I thought about it, I could squeeze it in there.

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Do you feel discrimination from your peers?

I don't think it is discrimination, its just a bunch of questions, like I said before.

There is a difference between racism and curiosity. Because they have not known people of color before, maybe they just want to learn.

Sometimes the common courtesy, the way they ask can create a negative impression.

How many of you have a close friendship with someone of a different race?

Everybody said that they have a relationship with someone of a different race.

Do you think if there was more African American history, the white kids would have more of their questions answered.

Probably, I think some of the history is covered up. People of color have a lot to do with white people succeeding. They cover up the contributions of people of color.

I think it is needed, we need more history. I don't think it will keep them from asking the same questions. My high school has a lot of Black history and the questions and attitudes are the same. Students think they are more educated about Black people, they realize that they were oppressed.

I think it might help a little. A White person has not experienced what Black people have experienced and therefore they won't completely understand.

Age 20-36 and Age 37-54

Dennis Jewett, Artistic Director of the FAIR school, a new interdistrict middle school.

Claudia Fuentes, Urban Coalition

Lynn Daniels, Family and Community Involvement Specialist for the Minneapolis Public Schools and a member of the MMEP Board.

John Shulman, Civil Rights attorney.

What do you think are the current challenges to in relation to race are cultural relations that are different than other generations?

Removing the self-imposed threats. Proving my worth against the implication that I earned this title because of my gender or race as opposed to the fact that I worked hard and was more educated than other people at the table.

The self-deception that is tantamount to a crisis. Fed and fueled by the media to our generation. We are brainwashed that this self-deception, on such a grand scale, deceives us about the reality in our nation about segregation, oppression, and power. The bottom line deal is that you can judge a person based on the color of their skin. Generations view this differently based on how the media perpetuates these notions.

What do you think are the greatest barriers in the metro area to school integration?

There needs to be a self-actualization process for the players and powers that be. Power is not released without a struggle. America is becoming very brown. There was a time when white was

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right, then might was right, then knowledge is right. Now we are owning the table. Education no longer belongs to the top echelon of people. Higher education must be accessible. We need to educate all of our children, they need to be given the tools to learn. The number of African American and Native American students in special education classrooms is deplorable.

I think that the greatest barrier is the neocolonial model that we are perfecting. A model in which the interests are attributed on the basis of skin color. It is part of a system that there are very few people will have access to power. The education system will miseducate those that are not allowed to have power to the point that people feel they deserve the oppression that they receive. A few token people will be paid a distorted amount of money to continue this oppression to represent to the larger public that those that are oppressed deserve it and like it.

As boomers, do you ever talk to your children about integration, if so what do you tell them?

I grew up in the south and was in the class of 1968. I went through forced integration. I moved to Minnesota 12-15 years ago and was impressed with this society. But then I saw how the suburbs became more white and saw that we have problems here to. So when I talk to students, we talk about human values, humanity, treating people as individuals. That was the important part of our generation. I still burn with the same feelings. It is something we still have to do.

I'm 37. I have 12 nieces and nephews. My siblings who had children moved outside of the urban center, I worry about them. I know what they were looking for, but as much as they try to assimilate they are still pretty dark. How can you expect that they would not be harassed. One sibling moved to Moose Lake, I worry about his twins who are Native American and Mexican.

I am very close to my nephews and nieces. They go to the all white schools where the curriculum does reflect the Mayans and the Aztecs. I was surprised because I never had, it is great. But I also listen with such great interest, the optimist generation, they have experienced shootings in their high schools. I find it ironic that they are optimistic when this is happening. I find it frightening. I keep Littleton in mind when I talk to my nieces and nephews.

If our schools reflect the values of our society, what are our schools telling us what our values are?

We need to be with as many people that look like us as possible to receive the best education.

Symbolic efforts to calm the masses. The curriculum, reading Toni Morrision, well that's great, but kids are still getting shot. I think the shootings reflect our country's attachment to a particular group having power. Students pick up on it real fast. The students in Littleton, pick up on it real fast.

Five Generations of Education from One Family

Lillian Shelton-Early, age 95

Lillian was born in St. Paul, Minnesota in 1904. She attended James J. Hill Elementary school around 1910. She attended Central High School and Mechanic Arts in St. Paul. She stated that she played basketball in school. When she attended school between 1910 and 1924 there were not many "colored" kids. She stated she had white friends and colored friends and they all went over to each others homes. (Her sister, who is 90, and one of her daughters who is 73 still refer to Black people as "colored.")

Fred Anderson, age 74

Mr. Anderson's school in Fergus Falls, Minnesota was predominantly white. Less than one half of one percent of enrollment were minority students (Black). Most of the Black families in Fergus were related and came from Kentucky. Fred's father came to Fergus in the 1890s to homestead. His sister moved to Sioux Falls, South Dakota where her children attended school in 1949.

"My early memories of school are a little vague but two things stand out my sixth grade teacher told my mother that I should join the debating team. And during grades K-6, the school system had what was called the "ungraded room" or as some people called it the "dummy room". It was a place to be avoided at all costs!"

Bernadette Anderson, age 66

My name is Bernadette Anderson and I'm 66. I attended elementary school in Robbinsdale and Warington Elementary in south Minneapolis. The Robbinsdale school had less than 1% minorities and the South school had less than 2%.

I can recall being involved in a play with other youth. We were leaving school to rehearse at one "friends" house and when we got there and went up to go in, the girl's grandmother came to the door and stopped me, the only black child in the group, she said she did not allow "niggers" in her home. I felt my friends feelings were hurt as much as mine were.

Linda Anderson, age 42

I attended Harrison elementary school located in North Minneapolis. At that time the minority population might have been 15-20%. Most were African-Americans and there were a few Native Americans and Hispanics.

The one thing I remember about my first day of school was simply that I didn't want to go. My sister had already started kindergarten a year ahead of me but I don't remember her telling me anything about school. I remember holding tightly to my mother's hand when she brought me into my classroom that first day. It looked like such a controlled environment, I know I didn't want to be there. It seemed like everyone else was already there and they were all looking at me. The teacher had to tug me away from my mother, crying and hanging on to her skirt. My mother left and I just stood there in shock. Finally, I was seated at my desk. There was a boy seated next to me who kept talking to me an asking me if I had this or that in my desk. He told me his name (I don't remember it) and he asked me mine. I didn't know him I'd never seen him around the neighborhood but the was determined to talk to me. After that, I looked around and noticed that

none of the other kids were crying or seemed afraid. I finally relaxed. Returning to school the next day was no problem.

Solana Anderson, age 23

I attended Sunny Hollow elementary school in Plymouth the school was very very white. There were only 10 black students in the school.

My earliest memory of school begins with first grade. My mother was a single mom and I was an only child. I had grown up in north Minneapolis and attended a predominantly African American day care, Northside Child Development Center. Before I was to begin first grade, my mother and I moved to Plymouth, MN. Because of our move to a new area, I had to attend a new school, a predominantly white school called Sunny Hollow. I don't recall being particularly nervous about starting a new school in a new and different area because I was a confident kid and even at that time I was aware of that strength. I remember being one of about 10 black students in the entire school. What I remember most is how initially, maybe the first two weeks of school, all of the other white kids looked at me, but no one approached me to join in or play. In my class, I was the only black girl, and there was black boy who was also in my class. He and I did not feel any sense of connectedness to one another, because we also did not interact a great deal initially.

The things I remember most about was how the kids almost intrigued or amazed by me. Just my presence alone almost seemed to make them a little uncomfortable. Once I began to make friends I remember all of the white girls asking me questions about my hair, where I lived and I developed friendships initially because the other children had not had much interaction with any other kids like me, that is what I assumed. Also, the thing that also sticks out in my mind, is how many of the girls would ask me why "Danny" the other black boy in class always acted the way he did. Even then, I remember thinking, "why are they asking me? I don't even talk to him very much, yet they assumed we have to have known each other before.

Lastly, I was very well-liked, the girls looked up to me because I would say what I meant and wasn't afraid of the boys. They would say "How do you take it when they tease you like that?" I would tell them, "Oh, so what" and keep playing, while they would be crying and need to talk with the teacher. I also remember many of the boys being nice to me, and including one in recess because they liked the fact that I didn't crumble so easily and had no problem joining in on their games and laughing at jokes. Overall I remember being acutely aware of being different, I was black. Because I was one of the few black girls and black students, I received a lot of attention because they all were intrigued by the differences of mostly my appearance versus theirs. I enjoyed that attention, an as the school year progressed, I don't remember being all that concerned with how I was different. It wasn't until later on in my life that I became overwhelmed and lonely as one of a few black students in predominantly white schools.

Dante Anderson, age 16

My first day at school was a wonderful experience. Although I attended day care prior to that date it was different. They had the best toys ever played with at school, like a tank of water with floating boats and marble mazes. When I stepped through that door, I was filled with excitement. All kids were playing in groups of threes and fours. The teacher had to put me in a group with kids because I was so shy. We played all day and at the end of the day the teacher read us a book called Chicken Soup with Rice. That book became by favorite childhood book. Everyday I went home I couldn't wait to go back to school.

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48 Steps you Can Take to Help End Racism at Home, at Work, and in your Community

1. Understand the Complexity of Racism
2. Recognize examples of Racist Behavior
3. Get to Know the Changing Face of Racism
4. Avoid Using the Word *Race*
5. Use Nonracist Language
6. Inventory Your Life Experience with Racism
7. Examine Your Personal Views About Racism
8. Reclaim Your Personal History
9. Release the Stereotypes You Have of Others
10. Release the Stereotypes You Have of Yourself
11. Use Humor That Helps, Not Humor That Hurts
12. Develop a Zero Tolerance Attitude for Racism
13. Develop Cross-Cultural Communication Skills
14. Invest Your $$ in Ways to Eliminate Racism
15. Join On-Line Networks to Eliminate Racism
16. Learn the History of Ethnic Minorities
17. Develop a New Mythology of Black and White
18. Develop a Personal Vision of Eliminating Racism
19. Raise Children with Nonracist Beliefs
20. Know What Your Children are Learning Outside the Home
21. Create A Family Environment That Embraces Diversity
22. Honor the Holidays of Other Ethnic Groups
23. Discover Your Family's Ethnic Background
24. Find Unity in Spiritual Diversity
25. Develop a Family Vision of Eliminating Racism
26. Look Beneath the Surface of Your Community
27. Understand Institutional Racism
28. Determine the Views of Community Leaders
29. Eliminate Racism in Education
30. Eliminate Racism in Employment
31. Eliminate Racism in Agriculture
32. Eliminate Racism in Health Care
33. Eliminate Racism in Housing
34. Eliminate Racism in Justice and Law Enforcement
35. Utilize the Contribution of Arts To Eliminate Racism
36. Make Martin Luther King Jr. Day a Celebration of Diversity
37. Organize a Civic Event
38. Create a Support Group
39. Develop a Community Vision of Eliminating Racism
40. Know Your Rights
41. Exercise Your Right to Vote
42. Join a National Organization Working to Eliminate Racism
43. Let National Leaders Know Your Views
44. Develop a National Vision of Eliminating Racism
45. Support Global Efforts to Affirm Human Rights
46. The Healing of Persons, Nations, and the World
47. Develop a Global Vision of Eliminating Racism
48. Become a Messenger of Hope

Adapted from: We CAN All Get Along: 50 Steps You Can Take to Help End Racism at Home, at Work and in Your Community. By Clyde W. Ford Dell Publishing, 1994

Education, Housing and Race
TWIN CITIES AREA ACTION RESOURCE DIRECTORY

The following list is a sampling of community efforts already underway. This list is not comprehensive, but is intended simply as a starting place for generating ideas for action.

Achievement Plus Initiative
Purpose/Goals: A collaborative partnership of the Wilder Foundation, Saint Paul Public Schools, the City of Saint Paul, the State of Minnesota, several Saint Paul neighborhoods and the East Side YMCA that promotes parent and community involvement in the schools and integrated academic and social support programs and services.
Contact: Mary K. Boyd or Michael Garcia   **Phone:** (651) 642-4070

Alliance for Metropolitan Stability
Purpose/Goals: A coalition that links the religious, social justice and environmental communities to address the issues of economic development, fair and affordable housing, transit, and the environmental consequences of sprawling and to involve citizens in regional policy decisions.
Contact: Russ Adams   **Phone:** (612) 332-4471

Better Together
Purpose/Goals: A network of faith-based social justice initiatives to address segregation, poverty, and urban disparities led by **Interfaith Action** and the **Saint Paul Ecumenical Action Council (SPEAC)** on Saint Paul's East Side.
Contact: Petey Mitchell   **Phone:** (651) 771-1152

B.I.A.S. Project, Minnesota Advocates For Human Rights
Purpose/Goals: This project builds awareness and support for immigrants and refugees in Minnesota.
Contact: Therese Gales   **Phone:** (612) 341-3302

Bloomington Human Rights Commission
Purpose/Goals: The Bloomington Human Rights Commission ensures that ALL Bloomington citizens have equal opportunities and rights, mediates discrimination complaints, and educates and advocates on human rights issues.
Contact: Lorinda Pearson   **Phone:** (612) 948-8735

Center for Cross-Cultural Health
Purpose/Goals: This organization serves a s a clearinghouse for information, training and research on the role of culture in health for health care providers and institutions.
Contact: Vindoh Kutty   **Phone:** (612) 624-4668

Center for School Change
Purpose/Goals: An organization formed to improve public education through advocacy and research. Opportunities for volunteers include researching how to improve public education.
Contact: Joe Nathan   **Phone:** (612) 625-3506
Contact: Nancy Smith   **Phone:** (612) 625-7552

Chicano Latino Affairs Council
Purpose/Goals: A state-wide organization that advises the governor and the legislature in Minnesota regarding the issues of the Latino community.
Contact: Ytmar Santiago   **Phone:** (651) 282-2399

CommonBond Communities
Purpose/Goals: Common Bond develops and manages affordable housing that serves as a stepping stone to resident success.
Contact: Joseph Errigo   **Phone:** (651) 291-1750

Community Action Against Racism (CAAR)
Purpose/Goals: includes people of all colors and communities in the fight to eliminate racism by individuals and institutions. CAAR is working to address multiple issues of systemic racism that impacts our communities .
Contact: Leslie McMurray   **Phone:** (651) 603-8319

Community Employment Partnership
Purpose/Goals: A partnership of public, private and community organizations that have created a network to support and link job seekers and employers in St. Paul and Ramsey County.
Contact: Marie McNamara   **Phone:** (651) 266-4141

Community Stabilization Project
Purpose/Goals: CSP's mission is to spark low income people, tenants and people of color to organize and take action for decent and affordable housing in the core communities of St. Paul and Minneapolis.
Contact: Jolene C. Mason   **Phone:** (651) 225-8778

Council on Black Minnesotans
Purpose/Goals: Created to help people of African descent participate fully and effectively in Minnesota's political, social, and economic life. The Council acts as a critical link between the community and the state government on a wide range of important issues.
Contact: Brenda Bell Brown   **Phone:** (651) 642-0811

District Five Planning Council Youth Program
Purpose/Goals: A youth program that empowers teens to develop their leadership potential in their community; to develop job skills and find jobs, to promote all educational opportunities after high school, and to promote safe and fun recreation. This after school program works to give youth ages 9-13 tutoring opportunities, use computers, learn behavioral skills such as teamwork and conflict resolution.
Contact: Chris Vendel   **Phone:** (651) 774-5234

Employment Action Center
Purpose/Goals: A division of Resource, Inc., serving dislocated workers, women's programs, welfare-to-work and youth and young parents of the Twin Cities by providing career guidance and employment planning services
Contact: Jay Dregni   **Phone:** (612) 752-8650

Frogtown Pluralism Circle
Purpose/Goals: A neighborhood network of residents and service providers working together to dismantle racism and combat unfair institutions in Saint Paul's Frogtown neighborhood.
Contact: Melvin Giles   **Phone:** (651) 265-5712

Hamline Midway Alliance for a Prejudice-Free Community
Purpose/Goals: A neighborhood group of volunteers targeting prejudice and bigotry in the Hamline Midway neighborhood in Saint Paul.
Contact: Cathy Lue   **Phone:** (651) 646-1986

Hmong Minnesota Pacific Association, Inc. (HMPA)
Purpose/Goals: HMPA's mission and purpose is to promote leadership, education, self-sufficiency, economic development, job training, crime and drug prevention, the arts, and avenues to better the lives of the Minnesota Hmong community.
Contact: Eng Her   **Phone:** (651) 778-8937

Housing Equity Law Project

Purpose/Goals: This project provides free legal services and workshops to low income persons in Ramsey and Washington Counties and to senior citizens in Dakota County in the areas of government benefits, family law, housing, housing discrimination, homelessness outreach and prevention, migrant farm worker issues and education law advocacy. This is a special project of Southern Minnesota Regional Legal Services(SMRLS).
Contact: Geneva Ezeagu   **Phone:**(651) 228-9823

Institute on Race and Poverty

Purpose/Goals: A research and educational institute studying the relationship between housing, segregation, and educational achievement.
Contact: john powell or Gavin Kearney   **Phone:** (612) 625-8071

Jane Addams School for Democracy's Learning Exchange Circles

Purpose/Goals: A program for Hmong and Latino immigrants to improve language skills, prepare for the citizenship exam, learn about employment rights, and focus on policy action projects.
Contact: Shelly Rottenberg   **Phone:** (651) 690-8786

Jewish Community Action

Purpose/Goals: A coalition of Jewish people from diverse traditions and perspectives that promotes understanding and action about social and economic justice issues in Minnesota.
Contact: Vic Rosenthal   **Phone:** (612) 822-1442

Lutheran Coalition for Public Policy in Minnesota

Purpose/Goals: Statewide advocacy office for the Lutheran Church (ELCA). Member of Immigration Task Force since 1995..
Contact: Pastor Mark Peters   **Phone:** (651) 224-5499

Metropolitan Interfaith Council on Affordable Housing (MICAH)

Purpose/Goals: A membership organization of over 100 congregations that mobilizes people of all faiths to ensure fair, decent safe and affordable housing for everyone in the Twin Cities metropolitan community.
Contact: Joy Sorensen-Navarre   **Phone:** (612) 871-8980

Minnesota Churches Anti-Racism Initiative

Purpose/Goals: A statewide interdenominational network of individuals and congregations united to struggle against racism and building multicultural diversity in our communities.
Contact: Jim and Nadine Addington   **Phone:** (612) 871-3622

Minnesota Fair Housing Center

Purpose/Goals: The Minnesota Fair Housing Cente is dedicated to the elimination of discrimination in housing and enforcement of the Fair Housing Act through fair housing testing, research, education and public policy advocacy on behalf of racial and ethnic minorities, the disabled, and others protected under federal and state human rights laws.
Contact: Lawrence A. Winans   **Phone:**(651) 917-8869

Minnesota Housing Finance Agency

Purpose/Goals: The Minnesota Housing Finance Agency strives to meet the needs of the people of Minnesota for decent, safe, affordable homes and stronger communities.
Contact: Monte Aaker or Pacyinz Lyfoung   **Phone:** (651) 296-9952

Minnesota Housing Partnership

Purpose/Goals: Minnesota Housing Partnership supports the creation and preservation of affordable housing in Minnesota through technical assistance, education, and legislative advocacy
Contact: Chip Halbach   **Phone:** (612) 874-0112

Minnesota Housing and Urban Development (HUD)

Purpose/Goals: HUD's goala are to provide a decent, safe, sanitary home and suitable living environment for every American; to fight for fair r housing, increase affordable housing and home ownership, reduce homelessness, promote jobs and economic opportunity, empower people and communities, and restore the public trust.

Contact: L. Peter Best
Phone: (612) 370-3000 ext. 2207

Contact: Tony LookingElk
Phone: (612) 370-3000 ext. 2239

Minnesota Minority Education Partnership

Purpose/Goals: A partnership of organizations dedicated to improving student achievement and success among students of color through parent and teacher training and collaborative leadership.

Contact: Carlos Mariani-Rosa or Bruce Vandal
Phone: (612) 330-1522

Minnesota Parenting Association

Purpose/Goals: A state-wide network of parents that provides opportunities for parents and those who care about children to develop and express a collective voice. MPA hosted the Hopes & Dreams, Challenges & Strengths roundtable discussions.

Contact: Roxy Foster
Phone: (651) 290-4755

Minnesota Senior Federation/Metropolitan Region

Purpose/Goals: A 15,000 member grassroots organization dedicated to working on issues and programs that improve the quality of life for all members of the community. The Federation works on issues that meet the greatest community good and have the greatest impact on those most in need--disenfranchised older people. It provides consumer education for the entire community and member benefits that enhance the value of membership.

Contact: Andy Hyser
Phone: (651) 645-0261 ext.119

MRA in the Twin Cities/Hope in the Cities

Purpose/Goals: An inter-racial, multi-faith coalition of individuals in government, business, education, media, religious, and community organizations creating a process of healing through honest conversation on race, reconciliation, and responsibility.

Contact: Steve Dickenson
Phone: (651) 646-8617

National Conference for Community and Justice

Purpose/Goals: An inter-racial and multi-faith coalition of individuals and organizations in government, business, education, and media creating a process of healing through honest conversations on race, reconciliation, and responsibility.

Contact: Hector Garcia
Phone: (651) 659-0409

Project Common Ground

Purpose/Goals: A collaborative sponsored by the Saint Paul and Stillwater public schools to promote understanding and interaction among students of diverse backgrounds, increase academic performance, and provide leadership development training through multi-ethnic cross-district teams of students.

Contact: Anna Barker
Phone: (651) 433-1113

Project Home Support Program

Purpose/Goals: This program provides transitional housing relocation and follow-up services for homeless families as they move from emergency shelter into permanent housing. The program's goal is to stop the cycle of homelessness by intervening with sufficient support for homeless families that will enable them to find and maintain stable housing.

Contact: Margaret Lovejoy
Phone: (651) 646-8805 ext. 18

Prototype Career Services

Purpose/Goals: Serves individual job-seekers, and provides training and materials for job search professionals and career counselors. Visit the website at www.prototypecareerservice.com for information about career resources and regular breakfast series events.

Contact: Tom Carroll   **Phone:** (651) 224-2856

Ramsey Action Program

Purpose/Goals: An organization dedicated to reducing poverty in Ramsey and Washington counties by mobilizing existing organization resources and resources available from the community, state, city and county governments.

Contact: Paul H. French,   **Phone:** (651) 603-5811

Ramsey Action Programs Inc Success for Men of Color

Purpose/Goals: A program to increase the success rate of adult men of color in reaching personal and economic self-sufficiency by matching them with educators, service agencies, end employers.

Contact: Ike Welborn   **Phone:** (651) 645-6631

Rondo Community Land Trust

Purpose/Goals: The Rondo Community Land Trust provides quality, permanently affordable housing for low and moderate-income, multi-generational households in the Summit-University and Lexington-Hamline communities.

Contact: Greg Finzell   **Phone:** (651) 221-9884

Saint Paul Ecumenical Alliance of Congregations (SPEAC) and Interfaith Action

Purpose/Goals: A network of faith-based social justice initiatives that address segregation, poverty and urban disparities.

Contact: Pamela Twiss   **Phone** (612) 333-1255
Contact: Jay Schmitt,   **Phone** (612) 333-1258

Saint Paul Housing Campaign

Purpose/Goals: A broad-based coalition for neighborhood development and affordable housing. Members include Saint Paul Tenants Union Community Stabilization Project, MICAH, Jewish community Action, SPEAC, and Coalition for the Homeless.

Contact: Bob Walz,   **Phone:** (651) 646-8805
Contact: Dan Lee   **Phone:** (651) 222-5863

Saint Paul Human Rights Department

Purpose/Goals: The Saint Paul Human Rights Department prevents and eliminates discrimination by enforcing the St. Paul Human Rights Ordinance and its Rules Governing Affirmative Requirements in Employment, The department provides educational and training opportunities that enable recipients to create equitable living and working environments and facilitates collaborations with and between individuals, agencies, and organizations to maximize community resources toward prevention and elimination of prejudice, racism and discrimination.

Contact: Annastacia Belladonna   **Phone:** (651) 266-8968

Saint Paul Public Housing

Purpose/Goal: Saint Paul Public Housing helps low-income families and individuals achieve greater stability and self-reliance by providing safe, affordable, quality housing and links to community services.

Contact: MayKao Y Hang   **Phone:** (651) 292-6059

St. Paul Public Library

Purpose/Goals: The Mission of the St. Paul Public Library is to anticipate and respond to the communities need for information; to facilitate lifelong learning; to stimulate and nurture a desire to read in young people; to provide reading materials to meet the interests of all ages; and to enrich the quality of life in the community.

St. Paul Public Schools

Contact: Luz Maria Serrano or Dan Rodgriguez   **Phone:** (651) 293-5100

Saint Paul /Ramsey County Children's Initiative

Purpose/Goals: The Saint Paul /Ramsey County Children's Initiative includes eight neighborhood family centers that strengthen families to build nurturing communities and raise healthy children. The goals are to improve children's health, development, school performance and family functioning.
Contacts: Kathleen Vellenga or Roger Banks   **Phone:** (651) 917-4896

Support Our Schools (SOS)

Purpose/Goals: SOS works to strengthen the relationship between the community and the school district by educating the public about public education, and SOS sponsors programs in individual schools designed to improve student achievement.
Contact: Roger Barr   **Phone:** (651) 603-8858

Tri-District School 6067

Purpose/Goals: The Tri-Distict School is a community of learners whose achievement and well-being are enhanced by diversity which is valued and celebrated.
Contact: May L. Yang   **Phone:** (651) 487-5450

TURN (Twin Cities Urban Reconciliation Network)

Purpose/Goals: TURN focuses on racial reconiclaiton and leadership development and has developed extensive resources, workshops, books, and videos on cultural diversity and anti-racism .
Contact: Curtis DeYoung   **Phone:** (612) 879-9377

Twin Cities Habitat for Humanity

Purpose/Goals: An organization that brings families and communities in need together with volunteers and resources to build decent,
affordable housing.
Contact: Julie Gugen   **Phone:** (612) 331-4090, ext. 614

Urban Coalition's 50/30 Initiative

Purpose/Goals: A project to promote and research home ownership for households of color.
Contact: Yusef Mgeni   **Phone:** (612) 348-8550

U.S. Bureau of the Census 2000

Purpose/Goals: The Partnership Program of the U.S. Bureau of the Census Works with state and local governments, tribal governments, non-governmental organizations, businesses and the media to help accomplish the goal of a complete census. Partners help to spread the word about the census and to encourage the active participation of everyone.
Contact: Brenda Bell Brown   **Phone:** (612) 334-4360

Welfare Rights Committee

Purpose/Goals: An organization of current and former welfare recipients, low-income people and working poor fighting for basic human rights, dignity and justice. Goals are to combat attacks on poor families, to fight against any cuts in antipoverty programs, to work for the elimination of poverty and for social and economic justice.
Contact: Maureena Ballard   **Phone:** (612) 824-3604

What we did
What we learned

Increase knowl + aware
Link + mobilize people
Support joint action

3 pub. eve. forum
1 half-day forum
2 lunch forums
19 community circles dialogues
Numerous community gatherings + tmp. sessions
        Serving a total of 1, 450 participants

Part. Demo. Profile : Forums
    30%   people of color
    89%   college grad
    59%   between ages 40 & 60

                        : circles
    75% college grads
    51%   40 and 60
    19%   People of color

Sector Representation
Forum + Circles

- 29% Non-profit orgs
- 24% Individuals (no org. affil)
- 17% Education
- 10% Wilder Employees
- 8% Govt.
- ~~etc~~ 6% Business
- 4% Misc.
- 2% Neigh. Orgs.

Racism → needs to be reframed as a bottom
line item, to get bus. comm. part.

Impact
FORUM

- 81% more aware of their interact. w/ other people
- 71% gained new info.
- 56% joined w/ others to take action

Mostly on indiv. level
not in coord. wg toward
concrete change in comm. + pol

Circles

- 85% gained new info.
- 72% more aware
- 45% joined w/ others to take action
  (Many others already involved in community)

FOLLOW-UP ACTIONS

1. Make indiv. commitments

2. Continue public dialogue

3. Celebrate our community's diversity

4. Create equity in education opportunities

5. advocate for affordable + accessible housing

6. Expand fair + inclusionary hsg. practices

7. Connect w/ and involve youth

8. Engage the business community

Examples =   Discussion of "who" is going to be
              served by LRT

              Issue of affordable hsg - action

              Series in Pioneer Press about immigration

COST
   $ 180,000 for the yr

Do more forums

Stay w/ the racism focus

Prevailing Themes- TC Racism Assessment

No clear, shared def. of, or vision of for
counter - racism

Lack of adeq. leadership & org. commitment
Where exists, working in isolation,
lew coord + focus

$

Unknown success factors for counter -
racism initiatives

Very hard to measure

DOC. -
Renewing Democracy Thru Racial / Cultural Reconciliation
in Community Building
Report to the Schumman Foundation / Feb 1999
John Maguire, Project Director
Claremont Grad. Univ., School of Politics +
Economics, Inst. of Democratic Renewal

ADDRESS & PHONE = McManus 225, 170 E. 10th St.
CLAREMONT, CA 91711 - 6163
909 - 607 - 9220   FX: 909-607- 9221
john. maguire @ cgu. edu

Successful Counter-Racism Initiatives
    Longterm
    Transformational

    Engage people deeper
    Change the comm. profoundly, forever
    Tactics + approaches, different

Ideas
Do some case studies

BRAINSTORM LIST

Need to build scale / mobilize leadership -
  community - wide
Leverage vision/develop common message
Building a common analysis of racism in our community
Institutional analysis
Engage the business community
Dev. studies, examples of that work -
  longterm, transformational
Link community efforts
Build a common analysis of racism, org by org.
Teach / learn how <u>all</u> people are adversely
  affected by racism
Need widespread awareness of white privilege
  and its downside / sharing power
White people need to see their own self interest
  in addressing white privilege + transformational
  change.
Is the time right to take this on at big scale
  in / for Twin Cities community
          Key→ work on souping up that choir —
          our city has a big choir
Organize the choir (all sectors)
Catalogue successes at work — "what's missing?"[10]
Need to look at impacts of racism on housing
Good resources
          Lima, Ohio
          Brown Eyes / Blue Eyes
Be realistic, cautious, challenges are serious,
  still great racism.

Struggles between new immigrant/refugee groups
& other racial/ethnic groups
— economics/privilege/disparity
— scarcity of resources
Need to learn from others
start w/ where we are now.
            Intellectual tension between 4-5 major ideas
Join issues sharply

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E: ehep@augsburg.edu

December 10, 1999

Mr. William F.X. Bard
Vice President, Relationship Manager
Norwest Bank
6th & Marquette
MAC#N9305 280
Minneapolis, MN 55479

Dear William F.X.,

I enjoyed speaking with you or your staff earlier this month. Thank you for your interest in considering a contribution of $500-$1500 to support the Citizens Summit. Below please find details regarding the upcoming event. I would very much like your organization to be included as a sponsor.

The Metropolitan Citizens Summit: Addressing the Challenges of Education, Housing and Race in the Twin Cities will be held on Friday, December 17, 1999 from 8:00am to 1:30pm at the Hilton Hotel and Towers, 1001 Marquette Avenue, Minneapolis. The event is designed to bring some closure to the "Community Circle" discussions that have been taking place since 1997. Our purpose is to honor the work that over one thousand citizens of many diverse backgrounds have undertaken to provide a forum for further exchange of ideas; to further build connections among citizens metro-wide to *act;* and finally, to generate attention for proposed promising policy ideas among local and national policy leaders, the media and the public. The Metropolitan Council is among the financial and in-kind partners in this project; they expect this event to help significantly move forward a policy agenda that will make our region stronger and more equitable.

As we discussed, our plan was to hold a major public forum featuring a speaker of national stature. We are very pleased to have secured the participation of Professor Lani Guinier of Harvard Law School as our lead commentator and keynote speaker. The Minnesota Meeting has agreed to cover all of Professor Guinier's travel and project-related expenses. Professor Guinier has waived her regular speaking fee of $15,000 to participate in the event.

Her voice is particularly relevant at this event given her current book, *Lift Every Voice: Turning a Civil Rights Setback into a New Vision of Social Justice.* Ms. Guinier has also recently founded a new organization entitled COMMONPLACE which she hopes will transform public discourse and democratic decision making. This national non-profit center will connect citizens, communities, and ideas. What a perfect time to have her speak at our forum!

Specifically, the Citizens Summit with Professor Guinier will consist of two parts:

1) A citizens forum with the participants from the Community Circle Dialogues.
At the forum, participants will present their best strategies for moving from *ideas* to *action* on better integrating the metropolitan area (i.e., building more inclusive communities and schools). They will also consider policy ideas that are still "on the drawing boards" that could be considered by future legislative and decision-making bodies at the state, regional or local level. This session will be fully interactive, with participants having the ability to electronically vote on and prioritize the various ideas presented. The forum will be moderated by known and trusted community leaders in the Twin Cities.

In addition, the forum will be attended by a number of local policy makers—elected officials from suburban, urban, metropolitan, school, county and state government—all key officials working on or influencing these issues. The goal of the meeting will be to have these policy makers present to listen to and interact with the citizens who participated in the community circle conversations and to understand the depth of support for their ideas.

2) A luncheon, public address to the Minnesota Meeting, and MPR radio broadcast.
As mentioned above, in conjunction with the forum, the Minnesota Meeting will host an address by Professor Lani Guinier, a nationally prominent leader in civil rights, education, and housing (who will have observed the summit). A larger group of community leaders, largely from business, will join the participants from the citizens forum for the Minnesota Meeting, a luncheon event which will be broadcast live on the stations of Minnesota Public Radio. This event will give the guest speaker the opportunity to communicate with a wide spectrum of the public about what citizens and public officials accomplished at the Summit earlier in the morning. The event will also include a live performance by the primarily African American choral group, the Walker West Music Academy Youth Chorale.

I would like to have your organization listed as a sponsor of this historic event. This is a collaborative project supported by many non-profit organizations, public and business leaders and foundations.

Enclosed please find a copy of our current budget. We are approximately $4000 short of meeting our goal. Also enclosed are additional materials further explaining this project. Please let me know as soon as possible if you can help provide the final funds needed to make this event a success.

Please do not hesitate to call me at (612) 330-1505 if you have any questions. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Dick Little
Executive Director
Education and Housing Equity Project

Augsburg College, CB 185
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December 10, 1999

Mr. David Nasby
Vice President
General Mills Foundation
PO Box 1113
Minneapolis, MN 55402-2055

Dear David,

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Sincerely,

Dick Little
Executive Director
Education and Housing Equity Project

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December 10, 1999

Mr. Ron McKinley
Vice President for Community Affairs
St. Paul Companies
385 Washington Street
St. Paul, MN 55102

Dear Ron ,

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Please do not hesitate to call me at (612) 330-1505 if you have any questions. Thank you for your consideration.

Sincerely,

Dick Little
Executive Director
Education and Housing Equity Project

Augsburg College, CB 185
2211 Riverside Avenue
Minneapolis, MN 55454
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F: 612-330-1507
E: ehep@augsburg.edu

December 10, 1999

Mr. Rip Rapson
President
McKnight Foundation
600 TCF Tower
121 South 8th Street
Minneapolis, MN 55402

Dear Rip,

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December 10, 1999

Mr. Bob Waltz
Director, Congregations and Community
St. Paul Area Council of Churches
1671 Summit Avenue
St. Paul, MN 55105-1884

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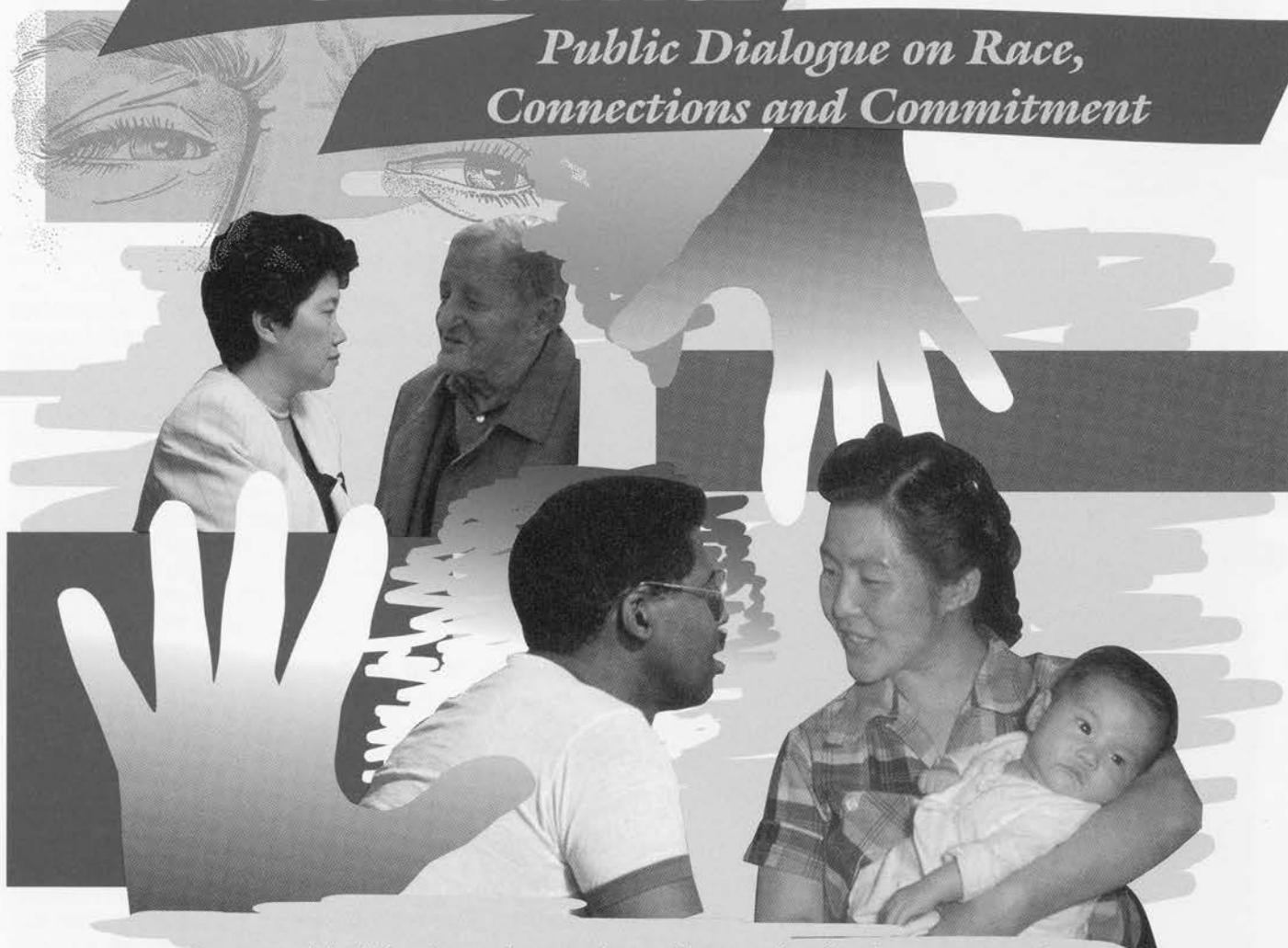
Sincerely,

Dick Little
Executive Director
Education and Housing Equity Project

Community Matters

FACE TO FACE

*Public Dialogue on Race,
Connections and Commitment*

Do we avoid talking about the experience of race and racism in our community?
This spring, *Community Matters* set out to find out who is talking and thinking about race and
racism and which individuals and organizations are contributing to this personal and public conversation.
Throughout our community, people are struggling to overcome prejudices and biases,
taking risks to speak out against injustice, and organizing with others to combat racism and promote
cultural pluralism. In this issue of *Community Matters*, stories of innovative community initiatives and
personal commitments from across the metropolitan region are shared. Yes, much work is yet to be
done to dismantle racism imbedded in our public policies and institutions. But the commitment
behind this ongoing work deserves to be recognized and acknowledged. Through these efforts, we
will become a stronger and healthier community that values and utilizes the assets of all our residents.

In This Issue

FACE TO FACE:
Public Dialogue on Race, Connections, and Commitment

by David Hennessey

The 1999 *Cities at Work* public forum series entitled *Unleashing the Power of Our Community: A Public Dialogue on Race, Connections, and Commitment,* is taking steps to engage Saint Paul citizens in understanding and tackling the complex impacts of racism both in our city and the Twin Cities metropolitan region. Small groups of residents are meeting all over the city this spring, summer, and fall in community circle dialogues and public forums to talk about the impacts of racial and economic segregation on housing, education, and race. Over 700 people have been involved in the forums and community circle dialogues since March.

What's the relevance of all this talk?

Why do we need to continue dialogue about racism in both its personal and institutional forms? Why is it important to tap into and celebrate the cultural diversity of our community?

continued on next page

> **Despite our awkwardness and the possibility of making things worse, we must explore ways to talk about race. There will be some mistakes and misunderstanding, but if we give each other the space to talk we can deal with these. Our racial fault line presents many issues, but there may still be the possibility of a positive vision not based on denial. I do not want to suggest that all our problems will be solved by talking. They will not. BUT none of our problems will be solved without talking.**

Excerpted from *Talking Race*, an essay by john powell, Executive Director of the Institute on Race and Poverty at the University of Minnesota Law School. Reprinted with permission from Hungry Mind Review, Number Forty-Five, Spring 1998.

"America has had a dialogue about race for some time," says Melvin Giles, Facilitator at Catholic Charities in Frogtown. "That's good, but we need a dialogue on racism too. Race is still in the head, but racism goes to the heart. People need to know the burden of pain I (as a Black American) and other people of color carry living in this society. Once people acknowledge that pain, the burden can begin to transform from a heavy and paralyzing struggle to a lighter and healing journey of more understanding and more trust, more peace and less stress. It becomes a shared journey. I can feel light as a feather, as if I'm being carried by the wisdom and knowledge of my mentors and ancestors. If I have less stress and worry, I can hear their voices. But many people have so much pain and feel so belittled that they can't even hear the voice of the person next to them."

Sonia Alvarez – President of Alvarez Communications, a management consulting firm – says we must continue to address racism because it remains with us in ways that many people don't even see. "Most white people think of racism as deliberate acts against people on the basis of their race," she says. "However, if you ask people of color to define racism, their definition is far more inclusive. Examples include being asked for three forms of ID after the white person in line ahead of you is not asked for them or steering people of color into fields requiring less aptitude in math or science.

"Many of these acts are subconscious. Many well-meaning people offend, demean and oppress people of color without even knowing it. The only way to reveal the impact of these behaviors is to talk about it – candidly and mutually."

> **We need a dialogue on racism too. Race is still in the head, but racism goes to the heart.**

Editor's Note: On April 28, nearly 200 children, youth and adults gathered at Arlington High School for the first 1999 *Cities at Work* forum, examining youth perspectives on how to bridge cultural and racial differences.

We've assembled many of the comments made that night by both the youth panelists and audience members. They appear throughout this issue of *Community Matters*. We've identified these voices only by gender and approximate age to protect the privacy of the individuals.

A video of the entire forum, entitled *Stop Talking, Just Do It: Saint Paul Youth's Perspectives On Bridging Differences*, is available. Call Barb Rose at (651) 659-6031 for more details.

Pain shared, pain divided

Pain shared is pain divided. What I've learned from listening to children is that hurt people go out and hurt people. The pain we see in our communities is the grief nobody wants to talk about. It turns to anger. The anger turns to rage. The rage turns to violence, and violence can go in two directions: outward toward the community or inward toward ourselves. So there is no judging who has the most pain; there is just helping each other share the load.

— Adult man

Is "Race" a Valid Concept?

Editor's note: The following article first appeared in *Community Matters*, Fall 1997.

> **"The root and reality of racism grows out of the very false concept of 'race.' We do not seem to realize how recent this concept is. It has not been much more than three centuries that the term 'race' itself entered the English language. The error in 'race thinking' is that we are taught to believe that there is an intrinsic link between biology and what is essentially social."**
>
> **Mahmoud El-Kati, Professor of History, Macalester College. From *The Myth of "Race"/The Reality of Racism: A Critical Essay.***

Is "race" a valid concept?

Michael Omi, Professor of Ethnic Studies at the University of California, Berkeley, has noted: "...most scientists feel that racial classifications are meaningless and unscientific. Professor Kenneth Kennedy of Cornell University is quoted as saying: 'In the social sense, race is a reality. In the scientific sense, it is not.'"*

Omi discusses several problems with the notion of race, especially as it is codified in current census categories. Just two examples: the categories are based on the need of agencies to have objective data about the very subjective notion of one's identity; and categories, such as "Asian American," that lump together whole continents of cultures, languages and historic differences are of questionable use. Some people point out that dividing groups by "race" is a convenient way for the culture in power to control those groups.

"I tell funders that too many times we have to go after 'Indian money,' or 'Asian money,' or 'Hispanic money,'" says Colin Wesaw, Education Specialist at Wilder Forest. "That just keeps us more segregated. We all have the same problems but have to chase after separate pots of money."

Shem Shakir, Executive Director of the Frogtown Action Alliance, also notes how much Americans segregate groups by perceived racial or ethnic differences. "Only in America do we do that," he says. "I believe we do it to keep the different ethnic tribes divided. We need to get away from the 'race issue' and simply address things as citizens."

Is "race" a valid concept? Perhaps the Metropolitan Council answers that best in introductory remarks to a publication on demographic trends in minority populations:

"...racial analysis is in itself a racist activity. It groups people by race and compares overall statistics that generalize characteristics for the group as a whole. The purposes may be worthwhile, but categorizing, generalizing and analyzing people perpetuates viewing them not as individuals, but as members of a group, possessing characteristics one believes to apply to that group.

"What makes race a 'reality' is that people often act on what they believe are racial distinctions...Data by race would not merit much attention if it weren't for the legacy of racism..." **

References:

* "Racial Identity and the State: The Dilemmas of Classification," remarks delivered by Michael Omi at the forum, Race and Poverty: Our Private Obsession, Our Public Sin, October 13, 1995, sponsored by The Institute on Race and Poverty, University of Minnesota Law School.

** "Minority Population Distribution Trends in the Twin Cities Metropolitan Area." Metropolitan Council, October 1993. (651) 291-6359.

Some people add that we must discuss these issues because they also have broader implications – that racism is only one example of how systematic belittling can lead to serious problems. "I believe that we all feel oppression...and at different times, we all can become oppressors," says Ed Irwin, Manager of Youth Development Programming at Wilder Forest, who helps run historical simulations for youth (See article, page 8). "We need to liberate ourselves by recognizing our common humanity and by empathizing with each other. In Littleton, Colorado, you had two young men who felt oppression in a certain way but did not have the ability to be empathetic with other people around them. So they lost their humanity."

Many point out that dealing with racism is only one part of a broader need to embrace cultural differences. "We have significant differences in our population whether these differences are of socioeconomic, religious or ethnic origin," says Pixie Martin, a communications consultant. "It's those differences we need to talk about."

Human Relations Consultant Jim McDonnough is a member of the Frogtown Pluralism Circle, a multi-ethnic and multi-agency neighborhood group that has been meeting for over two years to counter racism and cultivate a pluralistic neighborhood. (See article, page 15.) "The demographics of Saint Paul are changing," he says. "Frogtown, for instance, went from a neighborhood of European Americans to one with many African Americans and now many Hmong as well. The Pluralism Circle feels it's important to welcome the new people rather than react fearfully to the changes." The group looks for positive ways to bring different cultural groups in the neighborhood together.

Giles, who also meets with the Pluralism Circle, agrees that racism is one part of the discussion of cultural diversity. "Undoing racism is about owning up to what has been done to Native Americans, Mexican Americans, African Americans and others, and liberating us from the injustice of systematic racism," he says. "But many of the newer immigrant groups come from countries where discrimination is based on class rather than race." That means, he says, that discussions about cultural diversity focusing on new immigrants can sometimes divert

> **If we fail to tap into all of the rich resources we have available to us, through other human beings, we are not maximizing our potential as a society.**

needed attention from discussions about racism. "It will only be a temporary diversion provided we keep dialoguing. The gift of dialoguing is that the newer folks get to see the similarities of their experience to others' experiences and vice versa." This brings greater understanding and true honoring of our diversities.

Martin emphasizes that promoting cultural diversity is simply following a strong American tradition. "That is one of the strengths of this country," she says. "The immigrant experience is not something that has happened and is finished – it continues. We aren't perfect at it, but compared to almost any other place in the world, we are the only country so open to immigrants."

She also notes that many immigrant communities, along with the African American and Native American communities, "come from collectivist cultures" that can teach us about building community relationships. "Our traditional American individualism takes us only so far, and we now see how much know-how we lack in creating a sustained village. We can learn about interaction from these more collective-based communities."

Alvarez agrees that promoting cultural diversity will tap into the experience of all peoples to help solve community-wide problems. "If we fail to tap into all of the rich resources we have available to us, through other human beings, we are not maximizing our potential as a society. The only way to solve the problems of the whole is to engage the whole in the solution...New insights to old problems are critical to avoid making the same mistakes over and over again."

For McDonnough, who has participated in a community circle dialogue in Frogtown, listening to new immigrants tell their stories reconnected him with his personal family history.

Read the book before you judge its cover

I used to live in Saint Paul and now I live in Woodbury. After we moved out there I found a job. When I told people [at work] where I was from, they automatically thought that I was a thug, was in a gang and might rob the place. Nobody has ever thought that way about me before. I thought it was weird.

— Teen woman

> **Racism plagues the hearts, minds and spirits not only of people of color but of the dominant culture as well.**

"I felt that as a first generation product of immigrants, I was removed from the immigration and acculturation process my parents and grandparents went through. But being in a room with new immigrants from another country, I really had a sense I was experiencing my own family history." Learning about other cultures, he says, can help us learn about our own.

"To do this work requires tremendous self understanding," Martin says.

"You need to know what contributes to your view of the world and what in that view prevents and promotes your engagement with other cultures." She refers to the presentation by the Illusion Theater at the second Cities at Work forum on May 18th. "They laid out three words to guide our work that evening: roots, identity, and community," she says. "All of those elements have to be part of the dialogue."

Giles notes that different cultural communities may need to approach the racism/diversity dialogue in somewhat different ways. "People of color, especially African Americans, Hmong and Vietnamese in Frogtown and Summit University, have to start talking with each other more," he says. "And there will be times when we have to recognize that some cultural groups have to talk among themselves only. I think that's a giant need especially for European-Americans right now. Whites need to be comfortable with – or at least accept being uncomfortable with – talking about being white. Because people of color talk or think about their color and racism all the time. Whites need to talk more about being white until it becomes natural."

Racism, Alvarez points out, affects everyone, not just people of color. "To paraphrase the words of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.," she says, "what affects one directly, affects all of us indirectly. Racism plagues the hearts, minds and spirits not only of people of color but of the dominant culture as well." ●

Mixed labels

I have a question for the adults in the audience because I really don't get it. I know if you look at me you'd think I was African American. But if I told you I was half white and am only a quarter African American, you wouldn't believe me. So my question is – how are we categorizing each other? I just don't get how you do that. I'm confused and puzzled.

— Teen woman

My grandmother was the oldest living Ojibway in the state of Wisconsin...But it very often happens to me that I am considered 'white.' I'm more Native American than I am white. So I get very angry with people who make judgments about others based on what they see.

— Adult woman

I was in a class where we were watching a movie and a lady died in the movie. When her name came up on the screen, it was a Latin name. A guy in the class said, 'Oh, she deserves to die.' He didn't realize that I was Puerto Rican. I guess he thought I was African American. Later, when he found out I was a Latina he said, 'I'm sorry. I didn't know you were Latin.' I just wish we would stop categorizing and quit putting people into boxes and labeling them. I mean, he was a minority himself, and still he labeled me.

— Teen woman

Discovering Common Ground

"This is an opportunity for youth from different neighborhoods – city and suburbs – to come together and learn about each other. Kids live together, and become friends. The skills of inquiry, learning and team building are emphasized."

A teacher involved in Project Common Ground

Since 1995, a unique educational experiment has quietly taught children multicultural communication at Wilder Forest in Marine-on-St. Croix. It brings urban and suburban children and teachers together in a neutral setting to learn about each other in a natural environment. Dubbed "Project Common Ground," the program helps students of different backgrounds discover what they have in common.

"We are experiencing the growth of ethnic populations, and we need to get along as a pluralistic society," says Anna Barker, Project Common Ground Coordinator. "We know employment in the future will require workers to get along in teams, to be efficient and creative. These kids are getting hands-on experience in team building."

A joint undertaking of the Wilder Foundation and the Stillwater and Saint Paul school districts, the project brings together upper elementary and junior high age youth and their teachers at Wilder Forest for three sessions each year. Each session lasts three days and two nights. Multiethnic educators from Wilder Forest work collaboratively with the teachers during the sessions, while outside groups, such as SteppingStone Theater for Youth Development, often assist.

Activities include canoeing and hiking, astronomy and storytelling, winter survival exercises, cultural art, plays and skits, interactive games and skills development, farm activities, journaling, and historical simulations such as the Underground Railroad and the Hmong Odyssey (See article, page 12).

Barker emphasizes that Project Common Ground is built on four principles, which she summarizes with the acronym, LACE: leadership, academic achievement, cultural empathy and experiential environmental education.

"We want to grow a new generation of leaders who will stand up against racism in all its forms," she says. "But you can't understand the myth of race and racism without a solid academic grounding in history, science and the humanities. Then, cultural empathy allows students to feel what it's like to walk in another person's shoes. Finally, experiential environmental education gives students a chance for hands-on, inquiry-based learning in addition to the academic instruction.

So far, the reaction of students, parents and teachers has been very positive. A program evaluation published in 1998 by the Wilder Research Center noted that 94 percent of all

parents surveyed felt that their child's response to Project Common Ground was favorable or very favorable. According to parents, the most valued aspect of the program is the opportunity for children to meet and work with children from other classes, cultures and ethnic backgrounds.

Evaluations during the first two years of the program show that Stillwater students primarily value the experience of working with people from other cultures. But for Saint Paul students "the program appears to have a greater impact on their inquisitiveness and overall interest in school," possibly because they are learning in an outdoor environment.

According to Barker, the outdoor setting is a very important part of the program. "We need a new way of being with our young people that involves hands-on experience using nature as a template," she says with enthusiasm. "The forest is a diverse multicultural ecosystem." She also believes the natural setting helps awaken inquiring minds to solve real-life problems.

"They're allowed to ask questions, to be scientists," she says. "And the teachers work side by side with the

---

Project Common Ground participants frolic while boarding bus.

common. And as far as we know, there's no other program like this in the country."

Last year Project Common Ground received recognition in the President's Initiative on Race. It is now nationally recognized and highlighted on the White House web site.

The program is still developing and will soon expand its reach to high school students. Organizers have been pleased with the program's ability to extend children's horizons. As one teacher wrote in a 1998 evaluation: "This makes kids aware of the larger community. It helps kids understand that the community is bigger than just where they go to school." ●

— DH

students and take these units back into the classroom – it all to goes right back to the curriculum."

The project began four years ago with discussions between Wilder Foundation President Tom Kingston, former Saint Paul Schools Superintendent Curman Gaines and former Stillwater Schools Superintendent Dr. David Wettergren. The program is primarily supported by state desegregation funds.

"The idea grew out of questions about how to positively integrate schools in creative, innovative ways, looking back at the lessons we learned from the '60s," says Barker. "Busing in the '60s obviously didn't work very well, so the idea was to bring young people from both school districts together in a neutral setting to find out what they had in

Busing in the '60s obviously didn't work very well, so the idea was to bring young people from both school districts together in a neutral setting to find out what they had in common.

The company we keep

It's easy to be with people who are like you. It's easy for whites to sit with whites and blacks with blacks. We see that in the [school] cafeteria. Maybe you don't think you have anything in common with people from another culture, but you should just talk to them. And another thing: maybe people look at me and think I'm racist just because I'm white. Or maybe someone who has one bad experience with a black person thinks they'll have the same experience with all black people. But you need to get to know the individual person. That's a big problem for adults – they pass those attitudes on.

— Teen woman

We all need to break away from our peer groups and meet new people.

— Teen man

Personal Reflection
Feeling Guilty for Being American

by Jodi Kiely

Editor's Note: This article was reprinted with permission of the author. It was initially published in *The Aquin*, the student newspaper of the University of St. Thomas, and later appeared in the *Rochester Post-Bulletin*.

Photo: Ron Germundson

I was standing at a bus stop in downtown Minneapolis when an old man with a scraggly gray beard, John Lennon sunglasses and clashing clothes decided to make me feel guilty for being an American.

"Kor-ee-an conflict," he said loudly, pointing at me. "I fought in that war. You should be grateful because if it wasn't for me, you wouldn't be living in this country!" Immediately, everyone turned to stare at me. The man didn't stop. He looked me up and down, nodding, and said, "I bet you're wondering how I know you're a Kor-ee-an," he said, drawing out the word again. "I fought in that war. I know what you people look like."

That wasn't the first time an incident like this has happened to me. It wasn't the first time I let someone insult me in front of strangers without defending myself. I said nothing and tried to ignore him. What I should have done was speak out against his remarks. Instead I let him board the bus as I stayed and waited another 20 minutes for the next bus to come by.

A similar situation occurred when I was at work in downtown Minneapolis. I was in the elevator when an older Caucasian man with a bad sunburn and a preppy tennis shirt stepped on. A younger man followed. The older man turned to me and said casually, "So where are you from?"

"St. Paul," I told him.

He looked at me, laughed and said, "No, where are you really from?"

This time I wasn't as timid as I had been with the Korean war veteran at the bus stop. "I am really from Rochester," I told him.

The man laughed again. "That's impossible," he said. "Even I have my European roots. Where are your ancestors from?" I told him how my dad came from an Irish family and how my mother's side was German.

The guy wouldn't give up.

"What are you talking about? Unless you're fresh off the boat or from California, you can't be from St. Paul. I mean, where in the Orient are you from?"

Unfortunately, I wasn't able to have the last word. He stepped off at his floor, and the other man also exited. The younger man had said nothing.

These things happen to me all the time. In fact, it's become so uncomfortable for me that I have stopped traveling alone with my father. When people see a young Asian woman with an older Caucasian man, the last thing that crosses their mind is the possibility that it could be a father with his daughter.

When I worked at the mall in Rochester, customers would talk to me slowly and enunciate their words, assuming my English wasn't good. I even had some people ask me if I knew May Thuy or Kim Sung or others from Korea, Japan, China and Vietnam. When I went

to my boyfriend's hometown to meet his family, one of his relatives asked me if I was a foreign exchange student. That was a first.

It's frustrating because when people ask me questions like that I feel as if I have to explain my perfect English and my Irish last name by telling them I was adopted. The majority of people living in the United States don't have to explain their history, so why should I?

When I do explain myself, some people take the conversation further, not realizing what they are saying. After learning that I was adopted, some people tell me how friends of theirs adopted a child from Korea, or how a relative traveled to China to pick up their adopted child in person. Those are touching stories, but why are they telling me this?

It seems that wherever I go, so does my ethnicity. I don't want people judging me by the way I look. No one does. And I also don't want to have to tell my life story to people in order to explain why my last name is Kiely. I may not fit the old-fashioned definition of "American," but some people don't realize that Americans aren't just black or white. ●

> **I may not fit the old-fashioned definition of "American," but some people don't realize that Americans aren't just black or white.**

Guidelines for Multicultural Collaboration

by Marya Axner and Marcelle E. DuPraw

Reprinted with permission from the Topsfield Foundation.

- Learn from generalizations about other cultures, but don't use those generalizations to stereotype, "write-off," or oversimplify your ideas about another person. The best use of a generalization is to add it to your storehouse of knowledge so that you better understand and appreciate other interesting, multi-faceted human beings.

- Practice, practice, practice. That's that first rule, because it's in the doing that we actually get better at cross-cultural communication.

- Don't assume that there is one right way (yours!) to communicate. Keep, questioning your assumptions about the "right way" to communicate. For example, think about your body language; postures that indicate receptivity in one culture might indicate aggressiveness in another.

- Don't assume that breakdowns in communication occur because other people are on the wrong track. Search for ways to make the communication work, rather than searching for who should receive the blame for the breakdown.

- Listen actively and empathetically. Try to put yourself in the other person's shoes. Especially when another person's perceptions or ideas are very different from your own, you might need to operate at the edge of your own comfort zone.

- Respect others' choices about whether to engage in communication with you. Honor their opinions about what is going on.

- Stop, suspend judgment, and try to look at the situation as an outsider.

- Be prepared for a discussion of the past. Use this as an opportunity to develop an understanding from "the other's" point of view, rather than getting defensive or impatient. Acknowledge historical events that have taken place. Be open to learning more about them. Honest acknowledgement of the mistreatment and oppression that have taken place on the basis of cultural difference is vital for effective communication.

- Awareness of current power imbalances – and an openness to hearing each other's perceptions of those imbalances – is also necessary for understanding each other and working together.

- Remember that cultural norms may not apply to the behavior of any particular individual. We are all shaped by many, many factors – our ethnic background, our family, our education, our personalities – and are more complicated than any cultural norm could suggest. Check your interpretations if you are uncertain what is meant. ●

For more information, check the Community Tool Box website at: www.toolbox.org

Moving beyond blame

We all have to learn about each other within our own cultures. Then we have to take what we've learned within our culture and educate other cultures about it. We can't just point our fingers at one culture and blame them. I know there's a long history of slavery [in this country] and of Native Americans being killed. I'm here because my ancestors were brought over here as slaves, but I'm not going to blame somebody for it. I'll create my own culture and teach other people about the culture of my ancestors.

— Teen woman

I'm African American, and there are different cultures within my own culture. But if we continue to blame other cultures for us being here for various reasons, we aren't going to get anywhere or educate anybody. So I can't blame my friend right here for what her people did to my people.

—Teen woman

Reliving Cultural History

You're in a room with a small group of people. You are all asked to write down the four most important things in your life. Then you are told to let go of them one at a time. A whip cracks every time you must part with one of the things you cherish the most – such as a loved one's smile, a safe home, a religious practice. The process continues until everything you value is gone.

"Usually there are tears at this point," says Ed Irwin, Manager of Youth Development Programming at Wilder Forest. "People try to hold on to their family members and loved ones. And we talk of how slavery stripped you of your culture and everything you knew. It stripped you of your humanity."

This is a part of the Underground Railroad scenario, one of three historical simulations conducted by Wilder Forest staff to help participants empathize with the history of a people – African American slaves running for freedom, Native Americans moving from home to home as their lands are carved up, or Hmong refugees fleeing soldiers ordered to kill them.

"The intention is to make the group empathetic with that piece of history," says Irwin. "We're talking here about real-life situations. We don't do this to play hide and seek in the woods or to scare people. We're doing it so we can empathize with our ancestors, better understand each other and then focus on reconciliation."

The simulations, which are conducted on request for groups of youth and/or adults, are just a part of Wilder Forest's programs in youth development and cultural awareness and part of its ongoing dialogues about diversity.

"We work in a multi-cultural setting where the dialogue is continuous," says Irwin. "We want to empower participants with a sense of history and with skills in communicating, conflict resolution, problem solving and facilitation." He notes that they often do the simulations in conjunction with multi-cultural and culturally specific camp programs.

> **We're doing it so we can empathize with our ancestors, better understand each other and then focus on reconciliation.**

Located at Marine-on-St. Croix, Wilder Forest is a center for community building and youth development, offering groups the chance to run their own programs, retreats and conferences, or to create new experiences using Wilder's natural environment and staff resources. The historical simulations are usually offered for groups of about 15 people at a time. Each one is carefully structured to give people an historical frame of reference, a re-creation of the oppressive system in question, a simulated field experience outside and a debriefing afterward.

A typical Underground Railroad simulation starts with the playing of drums and music, followed by historical lectures about pre-colonial Africa, slavery in America, and the underground railroad.

Then the group is taken through a series of exercises simulating the slave ship journey, being stripped of their pride, culture and will to resist, imagining what it's like to work as a slave and hearing stories of living under slavery.

Finally, the group prepares to escape to freedom. A "conductor" leads them out into the night woods, emphasizing that their goal is to make it to freedom together, and that freedom is more a state of mind than it is an actual location. Along the way, they will be pursued by slave catchers as well as helped by various friends.

Respecting differences

The anger and the hurt that people feel block productivity. It's important to recognize anger, to see and to hear it. But then it's time to move on...to accomplish the meshing of different cultural groups.

— Teen woman

> **We want to empower participants with history and with skills in communicating, conflict resolution, problem solving and facilitation.**

"Mahmoud El-Kati, a Macalester Professor of History, talks of history and humanity as being the same thing," Irwin says. "The ability to be empathetic is the ability to understand a people's story. If I know your story, it's hard for me to exploit you. But if I don't know your history, it's easy for me to exploit you." Slavery, he says, depended on slave owners remaining ignorant of the history of the people they enslaved.

The entire experience lasts two to three hours. A similar simulation shows how Native Americans in Minnesota viewed the conditions that led to the 1862 uprising, as they were forced to move from their land. Another simulation traces the journey of Hmong refugees as they fled their homes at gunpoint to Thai refugee camps and finally to America. Plans are underway to add simulations of the Irish American and Swedish American immigrant experiences.

Irwin reemphasizes that the point of the simulations is to foster empathy and reconciliation.

"Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa talks of the need for wounds to be reopened sometimes so that they can heal right," he says. "Because sometimes the scab over the wound festers and rots. That's how slavery has been in America. We've never really allowed the wounds to be opened up so that we can cry together, forgive each other, and move on. We do these simulations to get in touch with our own humanity." ●

— DH

Racism's legacy

It's so important for you to understand that this business of racism and the cover and the package that you are in is all garbage. Because your soul is what counts. Your soul is equal to anyone else's, and you can learn just as well as anyone else. But the white establishment has brought racism to you, so now you are wondering if you are not at fault. The fact of the matter is that until they learn to give, you will not be able to do anything.

— Adult man

For more information about all of the programs and facilities at Wilder Forest, call (651) 433-5198.

Underground convert

Editor's Note: The following story is just one example of how the Underground Railroad simulation can affect people personally.

"A young man came here for the Underground Railroad. His teacher had required him to come. His father was an 'Enforcer' for Hell's Angels. The young man had seen a lot of violence and believed in white supremacy. He had a leather coat, spikes – he really lived the part.

"After the Underground Railroad experience he came up, reached out, and embraced me. And he said: 'To be honest, this is the first time I ever wanted to touch a Black man without intending to harm him.' He knew when he got home he would be beaten because his dad hadn't wanted him to take the journey.

"Since then he's actually started helping us do the Underground Railroad. But the most powerful part of the story came about a month ago: he told me his dad is changing because of his (the son's) lifestyle. Now his dad encourages him to be involved with us.

"You hear story after story like this. I think for some people, this experience is the first time someone's giving them permission to deal with their feelings about slavery and not just with their intellect." ●

— Ed Irwin, Manager of Youth Development Programming, Wilder Forest

Personal Reflection

Taking a Stand: *Without struggle, There is No Progress*

by Venise N. Battle, Cretin-Derham Hall High School

I am a sixteen year old African American teenager who is well accustomed to the prejudices of American society. In my sophomore year of high school, I immersed myself in an unconventional education that broadened my horizons on the subject of diversity. It began when I joined my school's diversity group, 'P.R.I.D.E.' (People Realizing Individual Dreams Exist). Two morals that I have learned from this experience are: *"Diversity is more than skin deep"* and *"Silence is a form of oppression."* Since then, it has been a priority of mine to share this knowledge with my community. My name is Venise Battle. I am taking a stand.

Diversity is more than skin deep.

I first thought diversity only involved the racial origin of a community. I believed it was primarily a "black and white" issue. However, I have come to learn otherwise. Diversity does not only include your racial origin, but also your gender, culture, age and socio-economic status. I have learned that there are prejudices beyond racism: sexism, ageism and classism, to name a few. With this knowledge, I realize that prejudice exists not only between communities, but within communities. Intercultural and cross cultural, both equally unjust.

Silence is a form of oppression.

It is said that silence sometimes is the best answer. Yet, with issues of diversity, it is the worst answer. I have learned that silence is a way to avoid discussion and leave an injustice unnamed. When used as an answer, prejudice is tolerated. When prejudice is tolerated, oppression is sustained.

Prejudice is a big problem. A classmate of mine once asked, "How can we make a difference? The problem is so big!" Well, my stance is that we make change by setting examples, e.g., not tolerating prejudiced comments or jokes in our homes, cars or while having fun with our friends. Ending prejudice also requires a conversion of the heart. A person must have an example of love before they can begin to love. Setting a no tolerance attitude is a start.

I refuse to tolerate prejudice. I have taken action by becoming involved in diversity projects. One such project is the Minnesota Independent School Forum Diversity Conference which was planned by a group of students from several independent schools. At the conference, over 200 people attended discussions about issues of race, gender, ageism, and several other subjects. I participated in the planning and organization of this event because I believe that by

I have learned that silence is a way to avoid discussion and leave an injustice unnamed.

creating an environment that stimulates conversation around issues of diversity, someone will walk away more aware and be able to teach others to take a stand against prejudice.

My inner strength has been tested. What has brought me through and has allowed me to continue learning is God. I now see diversity as something we humans have lost sight of. I feel that the unity of nations and love between all people is a goal that God has for us. We were not born to hate. We were created to love. When I stand against prejudice, I stand against hate. When I stand against hate, I stand for the love of all mankind.

This September, I will embark upon my senior year of high school. Even though I will be leaving my school, I hope to pass on the torch to another student, so that the progress in standing against prejudice will continue. The road ahead is a long and difficult one. Nevertheless, in the words of Frederick Douglass, "Without struggle, there is no progress. ●

Teen watch

Just because we're teens, people seem to think we commit crimes. You go alone to shop at stores, and if you watch carefully you see people following you around...I don't like that – they have no business following me when I'm just trying to shop...It hurts even thinking about it.

— Teen man

Frogtown Pluralism Circle: *Our Diversity is our Greatest Asset*

by Anna Lucas, Frogtown Catholic Charities

In December 1996, a group of neighborhood residents and service providers from Model Cities, Saint Paul Rehabilitation Center, Catholic Charities, Hmong American Partnership, Saint Paul United Way and the Wilder Foundation formed a collaboration to address racism in the communities where we live and serve. The Frogtown Family Center joined the Circle in 1998.

Our first initiative was to hold an Undoing Racism retreat with the Peoples Institute for Survival and Beyond. That retreat set the stage for the Pluralism Circle's commitment to combating racism, not only as individuals but within our organizations and throughout the Frogtown community.

Over the past two years, the Pluralism Circle has sponsored several community healing ceremonies and peace pole plantings in Frogtown. Several organizations in the Circle have sponsored anti-racism training for their staff and volunteers. The Pluralism Circle works to help people in our neighborhood learn more about each other and to treat each other with respect. We are working to get rid of racism and to combat unfair, racist systems and institutions in our community.

The Pluralism Circle actively engages all individuals and organizations interested in our vision and mission. The challenge, as we grow, is to sustain the meaningfulness and the relationships of our work and to continue to find ways to share our learning with the Frogtown neighborhood. Getting past the surface exploration of racism to making real, lasting change is a process that requires a safe space where trust is built and can be counted on. The members of the Frogtown Pluralism Circle continue to build a foundation for true lasting social change within ourselves, our organizations and our communities. We want the Frogtown neighborhood to be known across the Twin Cities as a place that welcomes and respects all people. We want to fulfill our responsibility for making this dream a reality. ●

The Pluralism Circle

Vision/Mission Statement

The Frogtown Pluralism Circle actively seeks to engage and support individuals, organizations, and communities in:

- Undoing the insidious web of individual bigotry, prejudice and institutional racism;

- Countering racism on all levels;

- Healing the wounds of the past; and

- Cultivating a dynamic pluralistic neighborhood where diversity is welcomed, respected, and seen as an opportunity for growth.

The Frogtown Pluralism Circle meets at 633 University Avenue on the third Thursday of every month at 9:00 a.m. You are welcome to join us. For more information, call Melvin Giles at (651) 265-5712.

Breakfast Club

How to address the realities of racial tension and division has been a struggle for religious institutions across the nation for years. The Breakfast Club, a concept developed by the Chicago Urban Reconciliation Enterprise or C.U.R.E., is a unique opportunity that provides a model for individuals and communities to deliberately bridge racial and cultural barriers.

The Breakfast Club program participants include racially diverse church leaders from different congregations who meet in pairs every month for a year. The church leaders are assigned a partner from a different race and ethnicity. Over a shared meal, the pairs intentionally discuss issues of race in order to gain an understanding of how someone from a different cultural and racial background thinks and feels. By breaking down racial barriers, personal relationships, understanding, and respect are explored and experienced. These relationships can then potentially lead to working further together on community initiatives to combat and dismantle institutional and personal racism. "We think these informal gatherings can have educational, institutional and neighborhood impact as well as build some deep personal and private relationships," said Reverend Roger Quant of First Covenant Church on Saint Paul's East Side.

Members of Pastor Quant's congregation are participating in the Breakfast Club along with an East Side African American church, Word of Life Christian Fellowship and Unity Baptist Church in the Summit University neighborhood. So far almost 70 individuals (or 35 pairs) from these congregations have made a commitment to meet once a month for 12 months.

A Personal Experience with the Breakfast Club

by Deborah Mitchell

As I was thinking about being asked to write about the Breakfast Club, many thoughts raced through my head. How should I describe this event in my life? I decided to describe the Breakfast Club as part of a journey that I am on. It is a journey that people of color begin when they are born and only ends when they die.

The Breakfast Club idea begins with the horrible term, "racism." Each of us who volunteers to be a part of the "Breakfast Club" is assigned a partner. The partner is a person with whom you have no previous relationship, who is of the same sex but is a member of a different race. My partner is white. We meet to discuss the deeply painful issues regarding race and racism. We meet during breakfast and have made a commitment to continue our discussions with each other for a year. At our first meeting, we cried many tears, but we found out that we have many things in common that have affected us greatly.

The Breakfast Club is a journey, and on any journey you learn not only about others but about yourself, too. My partner and I have decided that we are on this journey together. We hope that the relationship we are building will help her make changes in her life and help me make changes in mine. My partner and I agree that we can't change the world, but together, we can change ourselves. The greatest thing we both hope to gain is that we can be positive role models to our children. We hope our children will be watching, listening, and learning from us. ●

Photo: Ron Germundson

We think these informal gatherings can have educational, institutional and neighborhood impact as well as build some deep personal and private relationships.

Breakfast Club Discussion Topics

Month	Topics
Month 1	Introductions, definitions & expectations
Month 2	First experiences with race When I was the "only" one
Month 3	Family & community views, stereotypes
Month 4	The historic & contemporary role of Scripture
Month 5	You, your friends, & your response to racism
Month 6	Is there a reason to review history? Slavery?
Month 7	White privileges; Have you benefited or suffered?
Month 8	Affirmative action, reverse discrimination
Month 9	Ethnocentric, ethnic pride
Month 10	Interracial dating & marriage, the raw nerve
Month 11	Multiracial worship & community, is it worth it?
Month 12	How I hope to make a difference. I have a dream.

Source: © C.U.R.E., (Chicago Urban Reconciliation Enterprise)

According to some of the materials provided by C.U.R.E., "the one-year commitment provides the framework that will encourage accountability and incentive to meet when the discussions get heated or challenging."

The Breakfast Club program emphasizes that, through the Church, a common bond can help address racial tensions and differences. However, the gulf between racial groups persists. The Breakfast Club is based on racial righteousness versus racial reconciliation. Whereas reconciliation implies that there is a need to restore something that has been broken, racial righteousness implies that there is something new to be forged spiritually.

Each Breakfast Club participant receives a monthly mailing that includes resources to help guide the discussions. The 12 topic areas are listed in the table. Monthly phone calls from the Breakfast Club coordinators evaluate the progress of the groups and provide additional support as needed. Every quarter, a large group meeting brings all the pairs together to share their experiences and learn from others. At the end of the year, participants will be surveyed and asked to support the materials and meeting costs for a new Breakfast Club member. ●

To find out more about the Breakfast Club, contact Reverend Roger Quant at the First Covenant Church, 1280 Arcade Street, Saint Paul, MN 55106 or (651) 774-0344.

Jewish Community Action

by Amanda Seigel, Jewish Community Action

Jewish Community Action (JCA) was founded in 1995 with the mission to bring together Jewish people from diverse traditions and perspectives to promote understanding and action about social and economic justice issues in Minnesota. JCA unites individuals and congregations to bring a distinct Jewish voice to broader community efforts to address social and economic problems. The organization provides leadership and training to increase Jewish advocacy and activism on social justice issues and seeks to develop coalitions with communities of color and religious communities.

In 1998, Jewish Community Action conducted a congregational inreach program, in which JCA members surveyed members of their congregations on current social issues. The three main issues identified during the inreach were racial justice, affordable housing, and community reinvestment. This discovery led to the formation of working groups for each issue.

JCA's Racial Justice Working Group seeks to build anti-racist leadership and action in the Jewish community. The group's objectives include developing anti-racism training that can be provided in the Jewish community and working with communities of color on local issues. As part of this work, JCA serves as a member of the Governor's Commission on the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Holiday events, and has worked for the past two years to help coordinate events. JCA also sponsored "Intersecting Rhythms," a series of cultural programs exploring African American and Jewish American identity, expression, and cross-cultural dialogue.

JCA's Affordable Housing Working Group contributes to JCA's ongoing involvement in affordable housing issues. The group's objectives include preserving subsidized housing and other affordable housing, increasing affordable housing in urban and suburban areas, and promoting training and advocacy for Russian and English speaking members of the Jewish community around affordable housing issues. JCA is active at the legislative level in mobilizing members of the Jewish community to influence affordable housing policy and work with other local affordable housing advocacy groups.

Role models

One form of racism is pressure from the grown-ups around us. For instance, my stepfather is really racist. I try not to let that affect me because right now one of my greatest role models is a white man, Chris Vandel. He's one of my greatest role models. When I see somebody like him being a leader, I think that maybe I can take his position one day and follow in his footsteps.

— Teen man

JCA's Community Reinvestment Working Group seeks to explore and increase Jewish investment in core urban areas of Minneapolis and St. Paul. The group's objectives include promoting Jewish institutional investment in community development institutions such as credit unions, and establishing specific financial goals related to Jewish investment in low-income communities. This work is part of national initiative sponsored by the Philadelphia-based Shefa Fund to stimulate stronger and more visible American Jewish Institutional investment in low-income community development projects. ●

For more information about Jewish Community Action, please contact us at 612-822-1442.

Personal Reflection

Overcoming Fears

by Angelique Beards, Guadalupe Area Project

Source: Guadalupe Area Project

I think there is a fear about things that are different from what we know. So because of this fear, we avoid it. We avoid it by mocking it or ignoring it. People do these things because they are ignorant. We only know ourselves and beyond that, there are some things we choose not to explore. In order to overcome this fear, I believe we must become more knowledgeable. I can't think of a better place to do that than at school. At school, there is a common ground, a neutral territory where the opportunity for us to face and overcome our fears is waiting around every corner. School has a very diverse atmosphere, but more times than not, you will see segregation. People cling to what they know and to people like themselves.

To break this bad habit, I think information needs to be available for

> **People do these things because they are ignorant...I believe we must become more knowledgeable.**

I am

I am from God, Creator of all,
I am from the garden, where the apple was ate.
The place where the world was at one time harmonious.
but now is just the complete opposite.

I am from a place. A place I have never been. Another place where I was happy.
I am from the ship that brought me to where I am now. The place where many of my greats jumped and then drowned to their death.
I am from the beatings we received only because we tried to leave.
I am from the struggles we endured to be free by law, not knowing that once free we would always in some small way still be imprisoned by hate.

I am from confusion. Confusion because I am also the counter.

I am from a place where we decided we wanted more. We weren't happy. We had to bring misery to others also. I am from the ship that brought them here. I was the captain. I am from the hand that chained and enslaved those people and then raped them. I am the one who took the children, screaming, from their parents arms.

I am from all this. All this I have done never knowing that one day it would become one. From all of that it has transformed me to become who I am now: I am irony. I am love and hate. I am greed. I am power. I am man. I am woman and child. I am up. I am down. I am Black. I am White. I am respect. I am looked up to and also looked down upon on.

I am all these things. All these things are me. I am everything... I am the future...I am the past. And I am now. I AM ME!

— Angelique Beards

everyone. I feel that the schools should have more discussions about diversity, and there needs to be more productive activities during celebrations of Black History month, Hmong New Year, Day of the Day, etc. There also needs to be more multicultural and diverse staff on board who can help us initiate the process of learning about our own heritage and other cultures. By doing this, there will be less looking down and more looking up at a person because they are different than you.

From this learning process an understanding will develop, and from this understanding some walls can get knocked down and bridges built in their places. ●

Macalester College Dismantling Racism Group Opens Minds and Hearts

by Mathew Abts, Macalester College Dismantling Racism Group

The Dismantling Racism Group (DRG) is a multiracial, multiethnic, and multi-cultural learning community struggling to unlearn racism. Composed of local community members, Macalester students, staff, faculty and alumni, DRG is creating an anti-racist institutional philosophy for Macalester College and its surrounding community. Recently, DRG joined other student groups to initiate an internal review of multi-culturalism at Macalester. This effort has heightened awareness of the ongoing problem of institutional racism on campus and in the community.

DRG has offered introductory anti-racism training conducted by the People's Institute for Survival and Beyond (New Orleans) and Crossroads Ministry (Chicago). Almost 100 individuals have attended, and 40 have completed advanced anti-racism training with the People's Institute.

The experience with this training has been tremendously valuable. Upcoming training opportunities are available August 11-13, and DRG invites anybody interested to attend. At a recent DRG meeting, several DRG members shared with *Community Matters*.

Matt

Before my involvement in DRG I focused my time on proving that I was not a racist. Until I was nine years old, I lived in a mainly African American neighborhood. I went to the local

school and played with the local kids – African Americans, Laotians and Mexicans. Since I was nice to people of color – and I didn't tell racist jokes – I thought I couldn't be a racist.

The training provided a few definitions

> *I think white privilege is obvious to people of color, and I felt a little foolish that it had to be pointed out to me.*

that transformed my thinking. One was white privilege, which is defined as the advantages white people have because people give us the benefit of the doubt when we apply for a job, or a mortgage, or try to get an apartment or an education. People of color are discriminated against in subtle and blatant ways on a daily basis. I think white privilege is obvious to people of color, and I felt a little foolish that it had to be pointed out to me. Now that I see white privilege, the real challenge is acting on this knowledge.

Chris

As I became aware of white privilege and institutional prejudice, I began to see power in every interaction. I came to understand that untamed power is one of the main dangers of an institution. Everyone thinks they are doing what is in others' best interest, but without accountability, there is no way to be sure. Accountability is one of the most important aspects of the Dismantling Racism Group.

Nathan

Being a native of South Africa, I have experienced the brutal injustices of racism almost my entire life. I did not expect to receive any new information or insights on the matter. However, the first day of training proved to be a real shock to my sensibilities. I was confronted with the radical notion that all white people were racists by virtue of their white privilege and their participation, whether conscious or unconscious, in a racist system. It dawned upon me that it was precisely because white people refused to acknowledge their own racism that it (racism) was able to propagate and fester in this society and my own. In my country white people consider their racism to be a desirable and beneficial state of affairs for everyone involved, whereas in this country, white people believe that racism is a relic of the past, or the burden of minorities.

My experience with DRG hasn't been confined to the culpability of white people. I have also realized my own

> *In my country white people consider their racism to be a desirable and beneficial state of affairs for everyone involved, whereas in this country, white people believe that racism is a relic of the past, or the burden of minorities.*

Twin Cities Healing the Heart of America 2000 Offers Hope

by Hector Garcia, National Conference for Community and Justice

In January, the National Conference for Community and Justice (NCCJ), invited concerned individuals and organizations to attend the St. Paul and Minneapolis showings of the National Conversation on Race, Ethnicity and Culture broadcast from Hartford, Connecticut. Since February, this group has been meeting monthly at the Minneapolis Community Development Agency to build better connections between local anti-racism efforts and to create a stronger voice for these efforts throughout the Twin Cities community.

In the year 2000, the group plans to sponsor a Twin Cities enactment of a project known as *Healing the Heart of America*. Originated in Richmond Virginia in 1993 with the work of a nonprofit organization, *Hope in the Cities*, the project is now spreading to other cities to help heal the wounds of racism and bring about racial reconciliation and cooperation. The former capital of the Confederacy and a port of entry for African slaves, Richmond recently has become an example of how honest conversation can break down stubborn and old barriers between races.

The newly elected Tim Kaine recently became the first white mayor of the city to publicly express regret for the history of slavery. This was a gesture toward reconciliation that is still unique in the nation and a strong indication of a move away from traditional race-based politics. In 1998,

other community leaders in Richmond convened teams of elected officials, community activists, and business people from around the country to offer testimonies about the positive impact of the *Hope in the Cities'* work on Richmond's business sector and the community as a whole.

> *We can bring communities together through shared history.*

The *Twin Cities Healing the Heart of America 2000* will be based on the Richmond model. It will include a conference and a Unity Walk through history and will be preceded and followed by a series of community dialogues about personal experiences and perspectives with race. The dialogues in the Twin Cities will be facilitated by *Hope in the Cities* and NCCJ. In an interview by *Nation's Cities' Weekly*, published by the National League of Cities, Rob Corcoran, the national coordinator for *Hope in the Cities*, said, "If talk is done well, that is action. If people truly go through the dialogue experience, they are going to be different people, behave differently, relate to other people differently. ...We can bring communities together through shared history."

The Unity Walk through history will need to be quite different in the Twin Cities than it was in Richmond. Whereas Richmond's historical sites of racism on the Unity Walk were primarily related to relations between blacks and whites, the history of the Twin Cities will be told through a series of multiracial and multicultural stories.

These stories can help break down barriers, identify cultural blind spots and help to create further progress in racial harmony and cooperation.

The rich heritage of the United States provides an inspirational precedent to all planners and participants of the *Twin Cities Healing the Heart of America 2000*. The excellence and strength in the country's economy and government is due largely to the rich resources provided by the native and immigrant groups which formed it. This precedent presents a challenge throughout the next millennium to Minnesotans. We *can* promote and implement a commitment of resources to create and strengthen our communities based on racial equality and justice. ●

If you are interested in learning more about this project, call Hector Garcia, Executive Director of the National Conference at (651) 659-0401.

Moving Beyond Dialogue:

What are the Most Powerful Steps That Could Help Our Community Work Together Across Cultural and Racial Differences?

On May 18, participants at the *Cities at Work* forum, **Face-to-Face: How we Interact** met in small groups to discuss this question. The following list summarizes the responses recorded by each of the groups that evening.

Create more time and space for engaging in cross-cultural dialogue and public discussion with neighbors and others

Continually challenge our own racial and cultural prejudices, biases, and assumptions and those of others

Insure that the public schools offer a multicultural curriculum that is affirming and inclusive of the diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds of the student population

Insure that the composition of the public school administration, teachers, and staff reflect the racial and cultural diversity of our school population and have adequate training and resources to be supportive and responsive to these diverse groups

Nurture and celebrate the pluralism of our community to preserve the rich cultures and ethnic heritages found in our community

Explore more ways for people of all cultural and racial backgrounds to tell and share their stories

Find more opportunities to learn from and with youth

Initiate and promote more community-based multicultural collaborative efforts ●

Saint Paul New Americans Advisory Committee:
A Forum for Immigrant Issues

by Bob Webber, New American Advisory Committee

The Saint Paul New Americans Advisory Committee (NAAC) is a volunteer committee established by Mayor Norm Coleman. NAAC promotes relations and connections between Saint Paul's growing immigrant community and the Mayor's Office. NAAC members are appointed by the Mayor, but NAAC meetings are open to the public. In fact, the advisory committee encourages anyone interested in discussing social and/or political issues that affect immigrants to attend the meetings.

Over the past year, exploring how to engage the immigrant communities' active citizenship has been one of NAAC's major concerns. Minnesota Secretary of State Mary Kiffmeyer and Bert Black guided committee members on a tour of the Secretary of State's office in May. The committee also recently met with the Saint Paul Police Department and hopes to collaborate soon on some materials that will facilitate relations between the police and new immigrant communities.

Last year, the NAAC focused its work on welfare reform and studying the fast-growing Somali community. A panel of Somali leaders and activists helped to design and organize a public forum. A brochure about the Somali community was also developed for community-wide distribution. Sirad Osman, a Somali job counselor recently joined the committee.

The Mayor's Office sends a representative to every meeting. Cha Vang currently represents the Mayor. Bob Webber is the Chair and Interim Secretary. NAAC meetings are held bi-monthly at the Hubbs Center, 1030 University Avenue West. The next meeting is scheduled for Monday, July 26 from 4:00-5:30 p.m. If you would like to attend a NAAC meeting or would like more information about the committee, please contact the Mayor's Office at (651) 266-8510. ●

Root causes of pain

I think we are only dealing with the surface issue. We talk about all the pain people feel [from racial stereotyping], but we are not talking of the sources that cause the pain...I can try to have good personal relations with people, but if I am systematically advantaged as a white person, that will undercut my personal efforts day in and day out. So when I hear you asking how discrimination feels I'm not sure that's the critical question. I already know how everyone feels to be discriminated against.

I agree that the pain of discrimination is 100 percent valid. I'm just saying we need to look at the root causes of that pain and not just talk about interpersonal relations...I would suggest we take a critical look at how we divide our resources. Look at a map of the Twin Cities: most of the African American people are living right in the center and most of the whites are in the suburbs. Then look at the way money goes to the schools – the suburbs put money in their schools and the inner city schools get less funding. That problem goes much deeper than interpersonal relationships.

— Adult man

Community Circle Dialogues:
Reflection and Action on Education, Housing and Race in the Twin Cities

by Dick Little, Education and Housing Equity Project

There is growing ethnic and racial diversity within Saint Paul and the entire Twin Cities region. We are becoming increasing polarized along the lines of race and class. Demographic changes in the central cities, suburban communities, and school districts point to serious issues of equity and access to opportunity in both housing and public education.

Community-wide study circle programs have taken place in many communities across the country (See sidebar, next page), but the Twin Cities community circle dialogue project is the first attempt at a region-wide program. With the growing national attention to regional policy issues such as urban sprawl, segregation, social equity, and transportation, the regional approach to community circle dialogues is an innovative model. Recently, the community circles on education, housing and race in the Twin Cities were selected by the President's Initiative on Race as a model of a "Promising Practice for Racial Reconciliation" and as an innovative approach to our nation's racial problems.

Metro-wide Community Circle Dialogues

The community circle dialogues on education, housing and race, initially launched by the Education and Housing Equity Project (EHEP), encourage civic engagement and multi-

cultural conversations to help build more inclusive communities in the Twin Cities. In 1997, EHEP and partnering organizations, including the Minnesota Minority Education Project and the Metropolitan Interfaith Council, sponsored the first "community conversations" or community circle dialogues on the challenges of segregation in education and housing. In the fall of 1998, a new round of community circles was launched in the Minneapolis Public Schools.

The community circle dialogue project has brought together hundreds of people in dozens of communities throughout the Twin Cities region, who met in "community circles." Suburban moms, city dwellers, recent immigrants, small business people, the

underemployed, people of color, pastors, police officers, teachers and many others have met in small groups to explore the related issues of housing and school segregation. Dialogue participants share personal experiences with prejudice and racism and develop their ideas for building integrated and inclusive communities that work.

In 1999, several major community activities had their genesis in the circle dialogues of 1997 and 1998. The innovative and inclusionary housing legislation sponsored by the Alliance for Metropolitan Stability was recently passed into law by the 1999 State Legislature. MICAH (Minnesota Interfaith Coalition for Affordable Housing) and the Illusion Theater

Community circle dialogue participants share experiences at June gathering.

produced and performed the fair housing theater event "Like Waters Rolling Down" in churches and synagogues around the metro area this past year. The Alliance for Metropolitan Stability and MICAH were both partners and sponsors of the 1997 community circle dialogues on housing, education, and race. Another idea that grew out of the community circle dialogues, still in the development stage, is the creation of a property tax check-off as part of mortgage and utility payments. The funds donated will contribute to a metropolitan affordable housing fund. The small monthly donations will support fair housing initiatives and reduce up front expenses for households attempting to access better housing.

The community circle dialogues can also lead to new relationships and partnerships that contribute to overcoming racial stereotyping and discriminatory attitudes. A circle convened by Saint Paul's Commonbond Communities, Inc., brought together residents of one of their developments in Oakdale with nearby residents who had initially opposed the introduction of affordable housing in their neighborhood. New understandings, new connections and new commitments by residents are building a shared community.

Community Circle Dialogues in Saint Paul

In the spring of 1999, the *Cities at Work* public forum series kicked off their fourth season with "Unleashing the Power of Our Community: A Public Dialogue on Race, Connections and Commitments." *Cities at Work* community circle dialogues were convened to complement the citywide forums by engaging Saint Paul residents in dialogue at the grassroots level.

A new discussion guide was developed. Experienced facilitators were recruited and trained by the Minnesota Facilitators Network and Society of Professionals in Dispute Resolution. A training workshop on "Understanding Community and Institutional Racism" was offered by Minnesota Churches Against Racism. In Saint Paul, twelve community circles have met this spring; more are planning to convene in the fall. Each circle is ethnically and racially diverse, consists of 8 to 15 participants, and meets for approximately 10 hours spread over five sessions. Examples of circles meeting this spring are the Frogtown Pluralism Circle, and the SPNN (Saint Paul Neighborhood Network) Circle.

In all, more than 50 community circles have or will be convened in both Saint Paul and the Twin Cities area. *Cities at Work* and EHEP co-sponsored a gathering of the community circle participants in June. In November, *Cities at Work* will hold its final forum, "Beyond Tolerance: A Call to Action." The forum will capture the results of the community circle conversations, generate ideas for community action and

Community Circle Dialogues Engage Citizens Across the Country

The *Cities at Work* and EHEP community circle dialogues are modeled after a highly successful study circle program developed by the national Study Circles Resource Center (SCRC), headquartered in Pomfret, Connecticut. Study circles have been used throughout the country to generate reasoned citizen dialogue, decisive policy input, and grass-roots problem solving. SCRC is a national partner in the Twin Cities circle dialogue project.

The community circle or study circle process is one important way to achieve new levels of citizenship, interaction and civic action on difficult issues affecting the community. Large scale, community-wide and metro-wide community circle programs can have a significant, cumulative impact. These impacts range from new friendships, to neighborhood projects, to city-wide action plans, to new legislation. Citizens who participate in community circles often become more involved in the civic life of their community.

Examples of other community study circle programs that SCRC has assisted include suburban Cleveland (race relations), Maine (community violence), Oklahoma League of Women Voters (criminal justice) and Lima, Ohio. In Lima, communities of faith joined forces with the state university, labor unions, the chamber of commerce, and the mayor and city council to initiate the first city-wide study circle program on race relations. Study circle participants in Lima have done everything from building a new playground to changing the make-up of a regional board. A statewide study circle program in Oklahoma helped the state legislature enact sweeping changes in the criminal system. ●

Personal Reflection

Daring to be Different

by Natasha Leskia

My name is Natasha and I'm a sixteen year old Gothic cheerleader. I know that seems like a strange combination, but it's not really what you think. It's just me being myself. That's the whole point of *Gothic,* and that's the whole reason why I became one, because I wanted to be myself.

I don't know when exactly I became a 'Goth.' I guess it was just always inside me. I choose to wear dark make up and dark clothing only because that is the look I like. But I choose not to limit myself. I go through days looking like "Preps" or "Dirties." Why should I have to be one way? By doing that, I lose myself in a look.

I first found myself being shunned by many children my age when I joined up with people at my school called "Dirties." It was through my conversations with these people I finally started fighting for what I believe in: open mindedness and the ability to accept people for who they are.

A few of us got together with the small and unheard of Human Rights Commission at our school. We talked about how we wish people would understand us as we understand them. We surprised many of the members when we joined the group. We surprised people because they believed "people like us" didn't care, and wanted just to rebel against society. The truth is, at first, I wanted to rebel and show everyone I didn't have to be who they wanted me to be. Then I realized that this was who I really was, and is who I am. I was the Gothic cheerleader, I was the one who could be understanding, and I was the one who wanted to see things change.

My friend, Al, and I went and spoke at the "Healthy Community, Healthy Young" Bloomington's Human Rights

Natasha with friends and partners from the Galaxy Youth Center in Bloomington.

Source: Galaxy Youth Center

Commission meeting. We spoke with the mayor of Bloomington and members of the school board. I'm pretty sure we made some of them change their minds about what they thought of our kind. I talked about my experiences and realized maybe if I tell more people, more will change.

All sorts of things happen to those who choose to be different. We get called names, have things thrown at us, and have people move away from us as we come near, or even walk by. I have received such looks that you just want to curl into a ball. I have had people point and talk about me. I never really minded, because I just felt they were close minded. It was not until one time I walked through the mall by myself that I realized how dangerous it was to want to be free.

I now can shrug that off, and tell people stuff like, "that's what happens when you choose to be yourself." As sad as it is that things like this happen to kids my age, it happens to many more kids today because of their race or religion. I know a lot about the injustices experienced by the African Americans years ago, and even up

through the 60's. I know that also some people still treat them wrong. When I heard about the underground railroad experience, I jumped at the chance to go, knowing I'd learn more, and hoping that we could share our knowledge. We went through the experience, and we tried to reach freedom like the runaway slaves did, it was all so real, many of us cried. We were left, running through farms, across fields, in forests, and even across lakes. We lost only one person. We might have lost another, but my friend and I refused to leave her. I would rather be caught too, than to leave a friend behind.

I know I might not be a "Goth" forever. I can accept that, but I know right now this is who I am, and this makes me happy. I realize I may never fit in with other kids, but who wants to when you can be yourself? And finally, I know that maybe, someday, if I keep sharing my thoughts, I can help someone else realize what they want, and who they are. Even if someone only thinks about this cause for 10 seconds, progress has been made and I am happy. ●

• Bulletin Board •

• Trainings, Workshops, Conferences and Forums •

National Council of Nonprofit Associations
10th Annual Conference
The Spirit of Association – Learning and Working Together
July 15-17, 1999. Saint Paul Hotel, 350 Market Street, Saint Paul. Fee: NCNA Regular Members, $300; Additional NCNA Team Members; $250, NCNA Supporter members; $350, and Non-members; $400. For more information, call (202) 467-6262, Fax: (202) 467-6261, or visit the NCNA website at 222.ncna.org

Macalester College
Anti-racism Training
August 11-13, 1999. Weyerhauser Board Room, Macalester College, 1600 Grand Avenue, Saint Paul. For more information, call Liz McKay at (651) 696-7080.

Management Assistance Program for Nonprofits
Board Leadership Orientation
August 10, September 9, October 12 and November 11, 7:30-9:30 a.m. 2233 University Avenue West, Suite 360, Saint Paul. Fee: $15 includes "Board Orientation Guide." To register, call Mary Nehring at (651) 647-1216, ext. "0."

Build a web page
Now enrolling for September class. Date TBD, Earle Brown Continuing Education Center, University of Minnesota, Saint Paul campus. Fee: $195 per organization. Each organization can send 2 people. To register, call Sheldon Mains at (651) 632-7233 or email, swm@mapnp.org

Fundraising Clinic "Booster Shot" Session
August 11, noon-1:00 p.m. Follow-up Q & A brown bag session for all alumni of MAP's fall and spring fundraising clinics. Fee: Free. For more information, call Christine Hammes at (651) 632-7224 or email: cbh@mapnp.org

Fall Fundraising Clinic
September 22, 29, October 13, 27, and November 11. 8:00 a.m.-12:00 noon. Fee: $425 for all five sessions, $375 if register before August 27. For more information, call Christine Hammes at (651) 632-7224 or email: cbh@mapnp.org

Minnesota Council of Nonprofits 1999 Annual Conference
The Nonprofit Place in the World: Repositioning the Nonprofit Role in Local and Global Society
Thursday and Friday, October 7-8. Duluth Entertainment Convention Center. For more information, visit the Minnesota Council of Nonprofits website at 222.mnen.org

Community Matters welcomes contributions and feedback

If you have success stories from your neighborhoods to share, resources you have discovered, upcoming events, training or conference information to promote, or community issues you would like to explore, *Community Matters* encourages you to send your ideas in writing to: Barb Rose, Editor, 919 Lafond Avenue, Saint Paul, MN 55104 or email, bar@wilder.org. Or if you just want to talk over some possible contributions to an upcoming issue of *Community Matters* or offer some feedback about something covered in a past issue, give Barb a call at (651) 659-6031. **Future quarterly deadlines are August 15 and November 15.**

Diverse role models

I go to school in the suburbs, and we have tons of students who want to learn about different cultures. We wanted to start a diversity group and needed help. Everybody wants to be the football coach or the track coach, but there wasn't one teacher in my school who volunteered to be the diversity leader. We need adults to give examples. If you see children interested and wanting to learn about different cultures, you should be right there trying to help them."

— Teen woman

Macalester College...

> *I realized that as someone who could probably become a gatekeeper, I had the responsibility to choose to either perpetuate the status quo or to agitate for change.*

responsibility and duty with this issue. Many black people rise to positions in institutions where they serve as "gatekeepers" of these institutions. I realized that as someone who could probably become a gatekeeper, I had the responsibility to choose to either perpetuate the status quo or to agitate for change.

Art

As an aged (50 years old) community member and white male, my perspective on DRG is vastly different. The most important lesson DRG has taught me is that we must model the organization we wish to see. This is about being human with each other. It is about sharing how we feel, having fun, and even disagreeing strongly but always coming back together and healing. DRG has also heightened my awareness of my role as a white male. I can see how we subvert multicultural groups by not shar-

> *This is about being human with each other. It is about sharing how we feel, having fun, and even disagreeing strongly but always coming back together and healing.*

ing power and leadership. We are often so busy "getting things done" that we don't realize how we have ignored our colleagues, denied their humanity, and missed the very essence of the work. Finally, I am pleased, proud, and humbled that DRG considers me a member and very much appreciate the intergenerational quality of my experience with DRG. We are learning from each other. ●

Membership in DRG is open to everyone, and we welcome comments and questions about our work. For more information, call (651) 696-7080.

Community Circle Dialogues:

conversations, generate ideas for community action and mobilize citizens to take action in new and different ways that bridge the diverse cultural, ethnic and racial communities that make up Saint Paul.

A metropolitan Citizens Summit, sponsored by Minnesota Meeting and Minnesota Public Radio, is also planned for early Winter that will include participants from all of the Twin Cities area circles, and invited community and public officials. At the Summit, participants will use electronic audience response technology to discover areas of consensus and to prioritize action steps for the community. ●

If you are interested in learning more about community circle dialogues in Saint Paul, call Barb Rose at (651) 659-6031 or email her at bar@wilder.org. If you live or work in Minneapolis, call Dick Little at (612) 330-1505.