

**CURA****reporter**

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## Shopping Downtown

*by William J. Craig*

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The University of Minnesota is committed to the policy that all persons shall have equal access to its programs, facilities, and employment without regard to race, religion, color, sex, national origin, handicap, age, veteran status, or sexual orientation.

Until Southdale opened in 1956, the only significant shopping areas in the Twin Cities were the two downtowns. Since then the dominance of our downtowns has shrunk and the role they play in the Twin Cities retail market has changed. Shoppers now have other options, most of them closer to home and with free parking provided. Yet the downtowns continue to have a special allure, attracting shoppers with stores unique in size and variety. The downtowns continue to be strong retail centers.

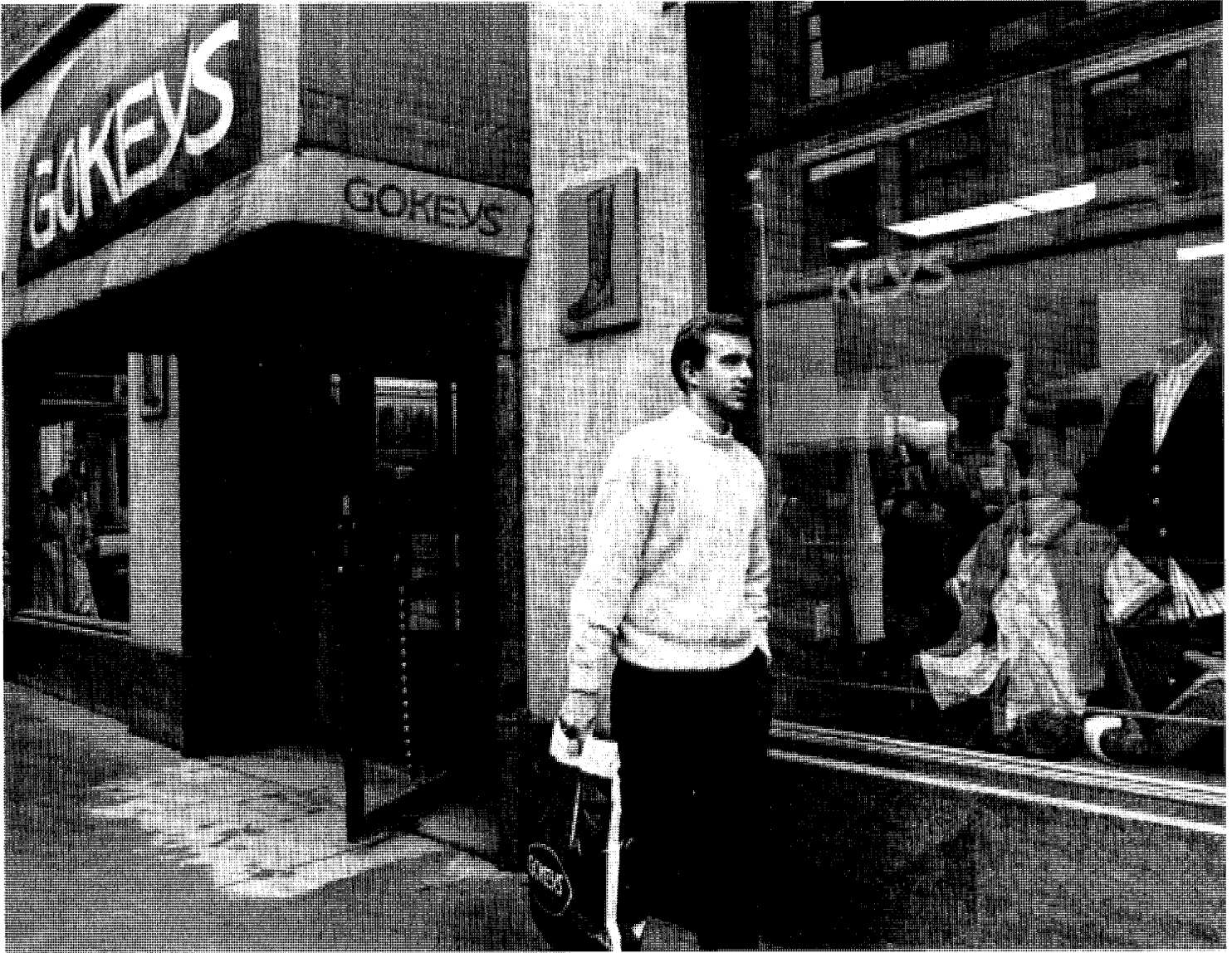
The Twin Cities take pride in this strength and are willing to take extra steps to preserve it. Public subsidies are going into new downtown developments to compensate for the high land costs and expensive architecture. New transit systems are being designed to make it easier to get to and from the downtowns and to give them a competitive advantage in an increasingly congested urban transportation system. The hope is that these public investments

will be repaid with interest. But much of the impetus for this investment goes beyond that. We see the downtowns as the core of our urban life and we are willing to go to extra lengths to preserve them.

The continued strength of the downtowns and the improved chances for recouping these public investments depend on keeping them attractive to shoppers. We need to know who shops downtown and why some people avoid it. In this way the downtowns can move to build on their strengths and improve on their weaknesses.

This article is based on a survey of 1,006 adults living in the seven-county Twin Cities metropolitan area, people aged 18 and over. They were contacted by telephone as part of the 1988 Twin Cities Area Survey,\*

\* Minnesota Center for Survey Research, "1988 Twin Cities Area Survey: Results and Technical Report," and accompanying computer data file. University of Minnesota, 1989.



conducted from November 1988 through early January 1989.

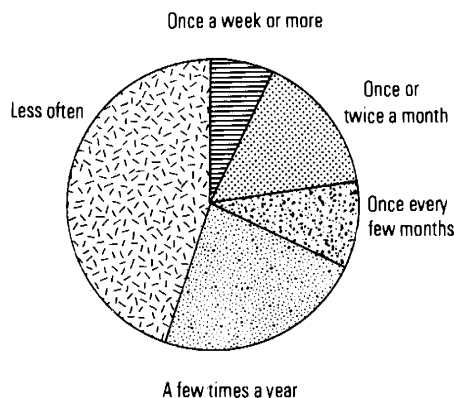
### How Many Shop Downtown?

Nearly one-quarter of the adult population in the metropolitan Twin Cities shops downtown on a regular basis, once a month or more often (Figure 1). Seven percent shop downtown at least once per week. This means that over 100,000 people weekly and nearly 350,000 people regularly shop the downtown. These are remarkably high figures, but more stunning is the fact that most of these shoppers are going out of their way to make that shopping trip. One-third of these regular shoppers already work downtown, but two-thirds make a special trip to shop downtown.

Throughout this article, downtown is treated as if it were a single place, but, in fact, there are two downtowns in the Twin Cities. Downtown Minneapolis is significantly larger than downtown St. Paul and this is reflected in how people relate to

them. Two-thirds of the people (65 percent) who shop downtown at least a few times a year or more, choose downtown Minneapolis most often as their destination, one-third (32 percent) choose St. Paul, and a bare 3 percent choose to shop both down-

**Figure 1. FREQUENCY OF SHOPPING DOWNTOWN (in percents)**



towns equally. Except for this issue of scale, the study found no major difference between the two downtowns in terms of the type of people who shopped there or the reasons given for not shopping there more often.

The people who do not shop downtown (they shop there less than "a few times a year") are a substantial portion of the metropolitan population—nearly half (45 percent). This is a cause for concern.

This study asked about shopping, not about going downtown. People go downtown for other reasons than shopping, as a poll conducted in June of 1988 by the *Star Tribune* showed.\* Their Minnesota Poll surveyed 406 people across the seven-county metropolitan area and asked both how many times per week people visited downtown and the purpose of their visit. The *Star Tribune* study found that only 19 percent said they visited downtown less than once a

\* Personal communication with Robert Daves, assistant managing editor for research at the *Star Tribune*, January 1989.

week or never. Those who did go downtown went primarily for work (33 percent), for dining or entertainment (22 percent), for shopping (17 percent), or for medical or legal services (16 percent).

But when it comes to shopping, the MCSR poll indicates that nearly one-quarter of the people shop downtown regularly and nearly one-half do not shop downtown.

### Who Shops Downtown

Three major factors determine who shops downtown: where people work, where they live, and their tastes. Some attention has already been given to the downtown worker. One-third of the regular shoppers downtown (those who shop once a month or more often) are people who also work there.

Using zip codes it is possible to map the residence of those who are regular shoppers downtown. These comments are made with some caution, because of the very low number of households interviewed in any one zip code area, but the pattern makes sense. The downtowns attract shoppers from across the metropolitan area, especially people living inside the 494-694 interstate highway loop. People living in lower income areas and those close to the major malls (especially Rosedale and Maplewood Mall) do not shop downtown. On the other hand, downtown attracts some people living beyond the interstate loop, especially people to the southwest into Eden Prairie, people to the southeast through Inver Grove Heights and Cottage Grove into Hastings, and people in cities on the St. Croix River, including Stillwater.

Determining how people's tastes affect their shopping is difficult to measure, especially in a telephone survey. Instead we can look at household income and other demographic characteristics as a surrogate measure for taste. The people who shop downtown regularly are homeowners. They have household incomes of over \$40,000 a year. The chief breadwinner works full-time either as a manager or professional or in a job that is technical, or involves sales, or administrative support. Most often (half or more), shoppers are younger than thirty-five. Most often, shoppers are single.

Another way of looking at the economic and demographic characteristics is to see which types of people appear downtown more frequently than their numbers in the population would indicate. With this approach, a less upscale shopper emerges, one more representative of the broader range of downtown workers and inner-city dwellers who use downtown as their most convenient shopping location. Here we can learn where downtown has its best "market penetration." This includes people from households earning \$20,000 to \$30,000 a year as well as those earning over \$40,000 a year. Occupational groups that stand out are similar to those just mentioned (administrative support, sales, technical, professional, and management), but now the

emphasis is on lower level positions. Women stand out in proportions far higher than their numbers in the general population would suggest. And renters stand out as well. This second way of looking at the socioeconomic status of shoppers shows a broader market, not as upscale, and more representative of the Twin Cities as a whole, and of the central cities that have the downtowns as their closest and most accessible shopping areas.

In summary, three kinds of people shop downtown: those who work there, those for whom downtown is their closest regional shopping center, and those with higher incomes. Each has a different reason for shopping downtown and each needs a different range of goods and services.

### Why Do People Avoid Shopping Downtown?

What about the people who don't shop downtown? It could be that these people have an alternative shopping area that is more attractive to them or it could be that they dislike downtown and avoid it.

The metropolitan area is nearly ringed by regional shopping malls. There are seven malls now, with two more proposed, and each one of them offers over 700,000 square feet for shopping. For most people, these malls are closer to their homes than downtown, and many have to drive past a mall to get to downtown. Last October, a survey conducted for the *Star Tribune* asked people about their shopping activity

over the previous thirty days.\* Downtown Minneapolis placed third, behind Rosedale and Southdale, in popularity as a shopping area. Clearly, there are alternative shopping areas that are attractive.

The MCSR survey asked specifically about why people avoid shopping downtown. To everyone but those who shop downtown weekly, we read a list of three reasons why some people don't shop downtown and asked that they identify whether or not each reason applied to them. The three reasons for not shopping downtown were: The cost of goods is too high. Parking is too expensive or too hard to find. You are uncomfortable with the people you encounter downtown.

People's response to this question (Figure 2) showed that parking problems are far and away the biggest reason for avoiding downtown. Nearly three out of every four people (72 percent) agreed that the cost of parking or just finding parking is a significant reason why they don't shop downtown more often. This percentage is roughly the same for both downtowns. It is only slightly less of a problem for households with high incomes and it is the most conspicuous and prevalent problem affecting every segment of the population of the Twin Cities.

Next to parking, the upscale nature of the downtown markets deters shoppers. Twenty-four percent agreed that the high cost of goods kept them from shopping

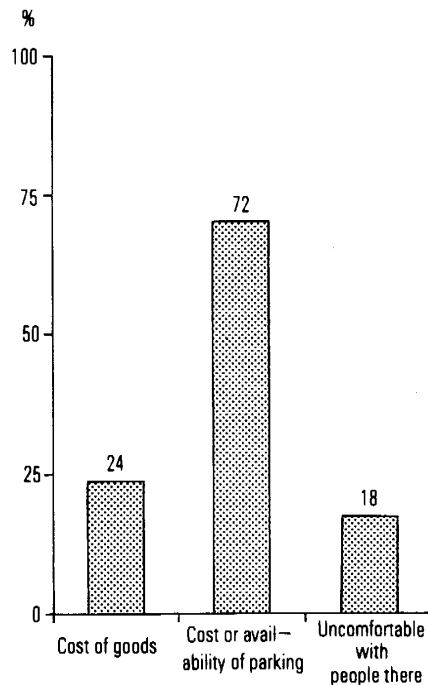
\* Paul Klauda, "Many Area Shoppers Are Avoiding Downtowns," *Star Tribune*, 15 February 1989.



downtown more often. Not surprisingly, this factor was mentioned more by lower income people and very little by those with high incomes.

Being deterred by the kind of people one encounters downtown was a factor for only 18 percent of the sample. And in this case, Minneapolis and St. Paul were viewed differently. About 20 percent of those oriented toward Minneapolis said that this factor affected them. Only about 13 percent of the St. Paul shoppers were deterred by such encounters.

**Figure 2. REASONS FOR NOT SHOPPING DOWNTOWN MORE OFTEN**



### Opportunities for Expanding Markets

Downtown can expand sales either by increasing its appeal within already established markets or by creating new types of markets. In fact, downtown has been concentrating its market, focusing on the upscale and trimming out bargain basements and low cost retailers. This has hurt downtown's ability to serve those close-in poor parts of the central cities and has reduced its market there.

High rental costs and higher profit margins have pushed downtown into middle and upscale markets. But are these markets large enough to support an expanding retail complex? The answer appears to be yes if enough of the Twin Cities' potential shoppers can be attracted into shopping downtown.

One obvious place to begin is with people who work downtown. Less than two-thirds (62 percent) of those who work downtown shop there weekly or more often, and 38 percent shop there only once or

twice a month.

These figures, in fact, may overstate how much shopping people who work downtown do. The survey did not ask the less frequent downtown shoppers (those who shop there once every few months or less) where they worked, assuming that the chances were slim that it would be downtown. Also, the survey did not ask downtown workers why they do not shop there more often, but a study of their demographic characteristics gives some clues. Less than half of male downtown workers shop downtown weekly. Only 44 percent of downtown workers with household incomes of \$35,000 or less shop downtown weekly. Perhaps there is a market for new stores that meet the regular needs of the underserved downtown worker.

Downtown has done well at attracting a special type of shopper—young and affluent. It attracts people under age 35, yet 57 percent of the metro area population under age 35 now shop downtown only a few times a year or less. It attracts people from households that earn \$40,000 or more a year. Yet 64 percent of the metro area population with that level of income now shops downtown only a few times a year or less. There is much room for growth if downtown can reach deeper into these markets where it has already done exceptionally well.

### The Future

The future could be bright for downtown. New stores are planned, under construction, or just opening that may attract new shoppers downtown. Stores like Saks or Polo Ralph Lauren build on the strength of downtown as a unique shopping area. They add to downtown's allure as a place different from the malls and more attractive to the upscale shopper. This is a market where downtown has excelled and can expand.

New office buildings have been built or are under construction, providing workplaces for more people and thereby for more potential shoppers. The new World Trade Center is expected to eventually hold nearly 2,000 office workers. One-third of the regular shoppers downtown are also downtown workers. More workers can expand this number.

At the same time, Minneapolis is constructing new convention, sports, and entertainment facilities that will attract thousands of people to downtown. They may buy some of what downtown has to offer during their visits, but the mix of goods that will appeal to them is less likely to be upscale and more likely to be gift oriented. At a minimum, these visitors will be exposed to the positive aspects of downtown and may return on a shopping trip at a later time.

## About the Survey

The Twin Cities Area Survey is conducted annually by the University of Minnesota Center for Survey Research. For the 1988 survey, 1,006 adults were interviewed, each selected at random from across the seven-county metropolitan area. The survey was conducted from November 10th, 1988 through January 14th, 1989 with 78 percent of the surveys completed before Christmas day. The response rate was 74 percent.

Every attempt was made to produce a representative sample. Households were selected by random digit dialing to include those with unlisted numbers. Up to ten attempts were made to reach each number, calling on different days and at different times of the day. A random adult was selected to be interviewed within the household by requesting the person (age 18 or older) who had most recently celebrated a birthday. Responses presented in this article have been weighted by the number of adults in the household to better represent individuals and remove bias often introduced by single adult households.

In theory, in nineteen cases out of twenty, the results of surveys of this sample size will differ by no more than three

percentage points from results of interviewing all 1.5 million adults in the metro area.

The questions asked during the interview were as follows (instructions to the interviewer in parentheses):

- How often do you shop downtown once a week or more, once or twice a month, once every few months, only a few times a year, or less often than that?  
(If once a week or once or twice a month)
- Do you work downtown?  
(If a few times a year or more often)
- In which downtown do you shop most often, Minneapolis or St. Paul?  
(If once or twice a month or less often)
- I'm going to read a list of reasons why some people do not shop downtown. For each item, tell me whether or not this is a reason that you don't shop downtown more often.
  - The cost of goods is too high.
  - Parking is too expensive or too hard to find.
  - You are uncomfortable with the people you encounter downtown.



Expansion in the types of merchandise offered would probably attract more downtown workers as well. Hardware and grocery stores are obvious needs, but there may be others. Downtown residents and those in the neighborhoods surrounding downtown also would be attracted to this broader range of goods, adding to downtown's market potential.

If well designed, new transit systems could make downtown shopping more accessible and more attractive to people who now see downtown as too distant. An improved transportation system would make it easier for both an expanding workforce and potential shoppers.

But parking is the biggest problem for downtown shoppers. Price is part of the problem, especially with rates set highest for the first hour. Some new stores, Nieman-Marcus and Saks, are planning to offer validated parking which will pay the parking fees for those making a minimum purchase. Many ramps have lower prices on evenings or weekends, but more could be made available.

The other part of the problem is parking availability. And new entertainment opportunities downtown may even exacerbate this problem. Sometimes, as one circles unknown blocks (more than one wishes, because of one-way streets) it seems as though no place is available at any price. Some stores are considering valet parking, leaving a professional driver to find a place for your car. Part of the problem is that many downtown firms buy parking places for their upper-level employees, making these spaces unavailable to shoppers. New ramps are being built on the edge of downtown Minneapolis to provide inexpensive parking for car pooling workers. That will help shoppers by taking the pressure off close-in lots. Moreover, these new lots will offer shoppers a low rate of \$1.50 after 4 p.m. on weekdays and all day Saturday and Sunday. Good security and good shuttle bus service will be necessities if these new lots are to attract shoppers. St. Paul already helps shoppers with their parking. Attractive signs direct the infrequent visitor to a number of locations, including the Civic Center parking lot. Low off-hour parking rates are widely available in St. Paul's downtown ramps.

The future of our downtowns could be bright indeed. Much hard work, and a fair bit of luck, will be needed to make the downtown of tomorrow a place where we all want to be, where we want to work, where we want to shop, and where we can all find a parking place (even if it is in a park-and-ride lot).

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# Establishing the World: Hmong Shamans

by Dwight Conquergood

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**Paja Thao, a Hmong healer, told his life story to Conquergood in 1984.**

The Hmong are well known for their strong work ethic, independent spirit, and love of freedom. Outsiders call them *Miao* or *Meo*—pejorative terms that mean “barbarian” or “primitive”—but they proudly call themselves *Hmong*, which means “Free People.”...Like mountain peoples the world over, they have developed a culture of extraordinary integrity, communal self-reliance, intimacy with nature, and resistance to outside authority and official power structures. Indeed, one of their traditional proverbs reveals their resistance to (and sense of humor about) the homogenizing forces of lowland officialdom: “To see a tiger is to die; to see an official is to become destitute.”...

## Cosmology and Community

Much can be learned about Hmong society by examining their symbolic projections of the human body. Notions of physical health and illness draw on the most fundamental concepts about the body. According to

Hmong cosmology, the human body is the host for an ensemble of life-souls. The number of souls believed to inhabit a human body depends on whom you consult. Some say seven, some nine, others twelve, or even thirty-two. The point is that the body is a site for multiple souls, whereas according to American cosmology, the body is a site for a single soul.

A human body is healthy when all the life-souls are centered in the body, cooperating interdependently and living together harmoniously as a group. Sickness is explained by the isolation and separation of one or more of these souls from the community of the body. Disease, depression, and death result from diffusion, dispersal, and loss of souls.

Therefore, the major restorative measures for this affliction, curing rites, are in fact, soul-calling rituals. The most common of these in Hmong culture is the *Hu Plig* (Soul Calling). The ritual specialist summons the soul or souls who have become separated from their bodily community. Whether the soul became separated out-

side the body because it was frightened away or kidnapped by an evil force, or simply wandered off by itself, the message is the same: return to the body, reincorporate, restore the integrity of life. The ritual is climaxed when the ritual specialist ties strings around the wrists of the newly revitalized person, *Hu Plig Khi Tes*, concretely signifying the binding up and holding intact of the life-souls.

What makes for a healthy human body also makes for a healthy body politic. The Hmong ideal of society is one in which individuals find their meaning and identity within the scope of the group and its various ramifications: household, lineage group, village, clan, and so forth. Productive relationships with others are healthier than singular achievements. Interconnectedness rather than competitiveness is the prized norm. A sick society, according to Hmong world view, is one that is fragmented, alienated, highly individualistic, and ruled by entrepreneurial competitive impulses, rather than communitarian drives.

Hmong beliefs and values about what constitutes the ideal society, epitomized and enunciated in healing rituals that recall souls that have become separated from the body, offer an interesting contrast to an American cosmology that celebrates individualism. According to Robert Bellah and his colleagues:

Individualism lies at the very core of American culture....We believe in the dignity, indeed the sacredness, of the individual. Anything that would violate our right to think for ourselves, judge for ourselves, make our own decisions, live our lives as we see fit, is not only morally wrong, it is sacrilegious. Our highest and noblest aspirations, not only for ourselves, but for those we care about, for our society and for the world, are closely linked to our individualism.\*

This commitment to individualism gets expressed in common sayings such as "God helps those who help themselves" and "Pull yourself up by your bootstraps."

Further, our rugged individualism is enacted in our myths about Horatio Alger and the restless frontier cowboy who never settles down but rides off into the sunset, away from settlements and communities that are seen as threatening to the autonomous self....For the Hmong, standing alone, outside the village, cut off from the clan, is unthinkable as a moral alternative. Movement away from a communal center represents the loss of everything that makes one a viable person. It is a fate associated with death....

[In Hmong society] equilibrium, the co-existence of life-souls within the body, is matched by sustaining balance and meaningful communication with innumerable spirits that live outside the body. In addition to ancestral spirits who continue to interact with living descendants, the natural world is

alive with spirits. Trees, mountains, rivers, rocks, and lightning are all animated by distinctive spirits. Nature spirits are generally good. Most animals are regarded as kindred creatures who share and exchange souls.

The Hmong celebrate their humanity, not as a discrete and impenetrable part of the natural order, but as part of the circle of life of all creation—caught up in the rotation of the seasons, and deeply connected with the configuration of the mountains, and the reincarnation of life from generation to generation, even from species to species. Life, in its myriad forms, is intimately articulated through souls and spirits.

The Hmong cosmos has its own coherence and internal logic. It is richly equipped to explain the mysteries of life and to enable meaningful action in the world. All the premises that support Hmong culture are rooted in a deep belief about the primacy of spiritual reality. The more you study and understand Hmong cosmology, the more impressed you become with the remarkable intricacy, beauty, and depth of their spiritual life. The Hmong have a highly developed spiritual system.

Westerners committed to a progressive ideology based on science and technology, often define the Hmong and other primal cultures as "undeveloped," "pre-literate," "pre-modern," "pre-industrial," or "primitive." Such labels define the people in terms of "absences"—relative only to the la-

beler—instead of the "rich presences" that the outsider may not be able to see because of his own blind spots. One can imagine a Hmong anthropologist encountering contemporary American culture and labeling it "pre-spiritual," and "undeveloped" in terms of human relationships....

### Shamanism: The Linchpin of Hmong Cosmology

The more I studied Hmong culture and shamanism, the more I realized that the shaman epitomized the Hmong belief system....The practice of shamanism connects the Hmong to a host of other cultures across the globe and throughout history....

The distinguishing characteristic of shamanism that sets it apart from other forms of folk healing is the ecstatic trance the shaman enters to achieve a particularly intense form of communication with spirits....The shaman is the one who can actually cross the threshold between earth and sky, and human and spirit, and enter the side of reality that is unseen, but nonetheless real, to rescue captured or fugitive souls, battle with evil ogres, or reconcile an offended nature spirit....

Shamanism is a *vocation* in the true sense of "calling." An individual does not decide to become a shaman as a career choice. One has to be called to shamanism through a special visitation of the spirits. This summoning is communicated through initiatory illness....The shaman is the one who can wage lifelong battle against the God of Death on behalf of others precisely because she or he has confronted it personally and survived the encounter....

Every time a Hmong shaman performs, she or he reenacts the myth of "Shee Yee and the Evil Spirits," which explains the origin of sickness and death. Evil spirits were hatched into the world because of the failings of a primordial couple: "All of these spirits came out of Nyong's egg, because he did not think of others, but instead, was self-centered and selfish, and would not let his egg be burned. Because of him, all these evil spirits entered into the world of men, and all those terrible diseases."\* Horrible suffering and devastation afflicted the world for a while. But according to the cosmogonic myth, a deliverer in the person of Shee Yee, the first shaman, knows how to heal the sick, and provides protection against evil spirits.

To the present day, every shamanic performance opens with the invocation to Shee Yee, the primordial shaman....

A shamanic performance entails something much deeper than curing a specific illness. What is really being refurbished and recreated every time a Hmong shaman performs is the system of meanings and web of



Zoua Yang, a woman shaman, in ceremonial dress.

\* Bellah et al, *Habits of the Heart: Individualism and Commitment in American Life* (New York: Harper and Row, 1985), 142.

\* C. Johnson, ed. *Dab Neeg Hmoob, Myths, Legends and Folktales from the Hmong of Laos* (St. Paul: Macalester College, Department of Linguistics), 28-29.



Paja in trance, speaking with spirits in front of altar.

symbols that grant coherence and comprehension. Whether the sickness abates or lingers, the shaman's real accomplishment in every performance is that she or he establishes the world.

### Shamanism and Healing

Superficially glimpsed by rationalistic Westerners, the shaman might be construed as a very primitive form of medical doctor. Limiting the shaman's role to ministrations of the physical body reflects the specialized differentiation and compartmentalization of modern culture. The shaman's functions within a primal society embrace the combined roles of physician, spiritual minister, psychiatrist, and elder statesman. All these dimensions of human experience—physical, spiritual/religious, psychological, sociological, political—are thought to be interpenetrating and inseparable in a primal society.

The shaman rescues meaning from the diffuse, confusing, inchoate parts of existence. He or she wrests order from chaos, discovers pattern and continuity where before all seemed lost and incomprehensible. Physical pain and bodily ailments are explained as localized manifestations of cosmological imbalance and disorder. The

back pain or stomachache is not the ultimate target of the shaman's redressive rites. These bodily pains are but communications of a disturbance in the spiritual ecology of the world. The shaman's healing rituals provide existence with a moral interpretation and meaningfulness....

The renowned anthropologist Claude Levi-Strauss...concludes that the primary function of a shaman is to reproduce and restore *belief*, not physical health. The individual cases of illness to which a shaman ministers are highly charged arenas within which shaman and audience attend to the shared system of beliefs that anchors their collective lives....

The dominance of logical empiricism in Western thought has produced a highly differentiated world with discrete compartments, specialties, and cause-effect relationships. Because our cognitive categories divide the physical from the metaphysical and privilege the former, it is difficult for us to grasp the way shamanism works in a primal society. We superficially observe shamans attending to sickness and then assess their interventions in purely physical terms, according to criteria derived from medical science. The shaman, to be sure, is concerned with phys-

ical ailments, but that is only half of the picture. His or her function is always to bring physical and metaphysical realities into intimate communication. Sickness in the fallen world provides the breach, the exigent opportunity to bridge these two worlds. Paja Thao expressed the relationship with eloquent simplicity:

The sky kingdom with its order and ways  
The earth kingdom with its customs and laws  
Mirror each other.

It is the special responsibility of the shaman both to celebrate and actualize the coincidences between these two kingdoms and to amplify their resonances, one into the other.

Perhaps that is why shamans do not resist prescription medicines and physical treatments. These forms of medicine do not directly compete with the shamans' manipulation of symbols and management of belief....

Shamans are not threatened by the introduction of Western medicine because its physical treatments are not comparable to the shaman's mode of healing. Indeed, even Hmong traditional medicine does not perceive all illness as supernatural and therefore susceptible to the shaman's *spiritual* interventions. They do attribute some ailments to natural causes and treat them accordingly with nonspiritual methods....

It is more common than not to find shamans alternating and combining natural and supernatural healing techniques. They will try first one technique, and then another, persisting until the patient gets relief. They see the two modes of healing, natural and supernatural, as complementary rather than contradictory....

### The Politics of Shamanism

Some Christians associate shamanic trance possession and animal sacrifice with heathenism and link it with the devil. Too many interest groups claim that in the name of science, progress, and Christianity, shamanism should be stamped out. Sadly, the resistance to shamanism that the Hmong resettled in the United States now experience, recapitulates a history of oppression that traditional people everywhere have been subjected to when confronted with Western powers....

Paja Thao's life narrative is filled with the tensions and pain a practicing shaman experiences in a milieu that assaults and erodes his core beliefs:

I still believe Hmong religion  
In my country Laos none of my cousins  
changed to Christians  
But now all my cousins come to America  
And all of them change to Christian  
Now only my son and I  
Hold to Hmong religion  
But I am not sure how much longer  
Before my son changes to Christian  
As for me, I will never be Christian

Most shamans in the United States with whom I have talked actively resist the assid-



Conquergood videotapes a woman shaman sewing pandau in front of her altar.

uous attempts to undermine and disconfirm the ritual practices that enact and sustain the Hmong system of beliefs. You do not have to talk very long before the tensions surface. Here is a segment from an interview in Milwaukee with Yang Lau, the Hmong male shaman who performed the opening ceremony in the *Between Two Worlds* film documentary:

In the past, in Laos, we didn't have any Hmong who were Christians, but recently in Xieng Khouang there have been a few families becoming Christian, but many still hold their own Hmong religious beliefs. Right now in the U.S., we Hmong are not against Christianity. Some of us are becoming Christians now because we think we must be accepted by Americans. But as for myself, I will not become Christian because that means giving up my beliefs and the Hmong culture. If I become Christian there will be no one to pass on the Hmong culture to my children and their children. That is why I keep practicing Hmong religion...If all of the Hmong were to become Christians we would lose Hmong culture forever...We Hmong who believe in Hmong culture still have shamans...Now I'm very old but I hope my children and the generation following won't forget Hmong culture. I tell you this to remember for the future generation....A long time ago we were born to have shamans. My grandfather was a shaman and my father

was a shaman also...I want to pass this on to the future generations so that they will know about the shaman. This is all I have to say.

One cannot help but be impressed with the articulate self-awareness and simple forcefulness of this old man's words. He has a clear-eyed view of the present situation of his people. He understands the vital tie between culture and its expressive traditions. He firmly resists, therefore, all attempts to stamp out shamanism. It will be a sad day for Hmong people if the time ever comes when the last shaman dies.

People in the West need to understand that shamanism is not just some exotic, superstitious practice that can be excised easily to promote the Hmong's adjustment to American life styles. Shamanism is deeply embedded within the tissue and texture of Hmong culture and belief.

What is needed is a dialogical understanding of and appreciation for cultural difference and diversity....Two excellent examples of dialogical integrity are found in the relatively brief history of the encounter between Hmong shamanism and American culture.

The first is in the *Final Report of the SUNDS Planning Project*. This exemplary project arose as a response to the crisis of SUNDS (Sudden Unexpected Nocturnal

Death Syndrome) which has now claimed more than 100 lives in the United States since 1975; Hmong, mostly young men, have been the hardest hit ethnic group. SUNDS has reached epidemic proportions and is being monitored by the Center for Disease Control in Atlanta, Georgia. Under the direction of Dr. Neal Holtan, the investigative team drew on the expertise of physicians, scientific researchers, epidemiologists, and public health professionals to assemble state-of-the-art knowledge about the problem and make recommendations for research and community action.

In their pursuit of information and insights into this baffling health crisis, the team members did not limit their search to the knowledge and methods of medical science. They talked to Hmong suffering the effects of this epidemic and seriously considered their ideas along with the hypotheses and methods of scientific investigation. With extraordinary openness and balance between radically different world views and explanatory frameworks, the investigative team used the best of modern medical science and respected the authenticity of native beliefs. So extraordinary is their achievement of dialogical balance and cultural sensitivity, that their first three recom-



recommendations merit quotation:

1. Further study is needed of refugee religions and traditional healing practices, so that cross-cultural understanding and improved quality and appropriateness of refugee health care can be achieved.
2. Traditional rituals should be considered therapeutic. Shamans should be befriended to gain their assistance in reducing refugee stress.
3. Compromises can be found so that refugees interested in animal sacrifice can be accomplished [sic] while abiding by legal restrictions.\*

This kind of tough-minded commitment to difference and dialogue should serve as a model for any group working cross-culturally.

The second positive example of dialogical understanding is found in a sensitive report and discussion of a Hmong shaman's cure published in the *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*. Following an excellent dramaturgical description of a ceremony that included the patient crawling through a hoop and between two knives to divert the afflicting spirits, the authors, Tobin and Friedman, offer this insightful interpretation:

...we should not let the exoticness of Mrs. Thor, of Vang Xiong, and of people like the Hmong interfere with our appreciation of the transcultural, universal aspects of anguish and cure. In many ways Mrs. Thor functioned in a manner analogous to that of Western psychotherapists. She represented herself to Vang Xiong as a specialist, a professional with long years of training and experience in dealing with similar cases. She showed compassion, but maintained a professional detachment, neither pitying nor scorning her patient. She avoided making premature diagnoses, she offered herself as the chief instrument of care...As is so often the case in Western therapy, her ability to help her patient understand (become conscious of) mysterious (unconscious) forces proved to be the key to the cure.\*\*

By bringing Hmong shamanism into dialogue with modern psychotherapy, both practices are rendered "anthropologically strange" so that new insights and fresh perspectives can be mutually achieved and sharpened. The similarities enable comparison, but the differences challenge and stretch understanding.

The capacity to hold different ways of knowing in productive tension is both possible and desirable. Tobin and Friedman encourage this struggle to embrace difference in the mode of "both/and" openness rather than "either/or," which eliminates categories. They confirm that from the patient's point of view, the shaman's "interpretations and ministrations on his behalf were intelligible, desired, and ultimately successful"

(p. 441). Nonetheless, they insist that this openness to "the other" does not entail a denial of one's own beliefs. One can embrace "the other" without forsaking one's own convictions:

But how are those of us who do not believe in spirits...to view Vang Xiong's illness and cure? Cultural relativism requires that we acknowledge and respect beliefs that differ from our own, but not that we necessarily subscribe to these beliefs. We can appreciate Mrs. Thor's skill and recommend her to our Hmong clients without agreeing with her understanding of what underlies her clients' suffering, or why her cures work (p. 442).

Actually, this willingness to articulate different world views in a way that respectfully preserves the integrity of both is epitomized by the Hmong shamans who place bottles of prescription medicine alongside the spirit baskets on their altars.

To acknowledge respectfully the beliefs and practices of people different from ourselves is simply human decency and deserves no special praise. To use these other beliefs to question our own assumptions is a step toward the development of a critical consciousness. Ultimately, a genuinely dialogical encounter with "the other" should deepen self-understanding. Lemoine takes the dialogical encounter between shamanism and Western psychology to this next level of self-critique:

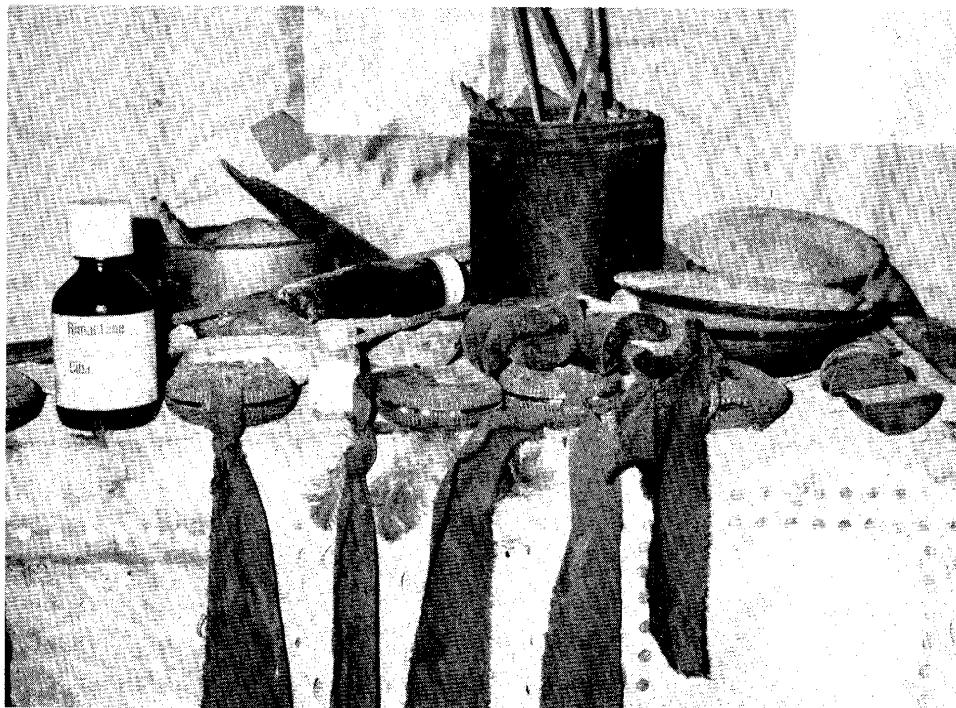
Comparing his work to psychiatric procedure, I noticed that while the analyst tries to provoke self-analysis by scratching the wounded part of the self, a Hmong shaman will provide an explanation which avoids all self-involvement of the patient. He is always represented as a victim of an assault from outside powers of an accidental separation

from one part of his self. When this situation has been identified and overcome by the shaman, health is recovered. At no point has there been a feeling of guilt associated with suffering. Maybe in the healing power of the Hmong shaman's art there is a lesson which the psychotherapist could learn.\*

We enlarge and enrich ourselves through dialogue with others—others whose differences challenge our complacencies and open to us new boundaries of human experience in our shared world.

**Dwight Conquergood is an associate professor of Performance Studies and Communication Studies at Northwestern University and is also one of the research faculty at the Center for Urban Affairs and Policy Research at North-**

\* J. Lemoine, "Shamanism in the Context of Hmong Resettlement," in *The Hmong in Transition*, G.L. Hendricks, B.T. Downing, and A.S. Deinard eds. (New York: Center for Migration Studies), 348.



**Shamans do not resist Western medications. They place bottles of prescription medicine alongside spirit baskets on their altars.**

\* N. Holtan et al, *Final Report of the SUNDS Planning Project* (St. Paul: St. Paul Ramsey Medical Center, Asian Sudden Death Information Center, 640 Jackson Street, St. Paul, MN 55101), 40-41.

\*\* J.J. Tobin and J. Friedman, "Spirits, Shamans, and Nightmare Death: Survivor Stress in a Hmong Refugee," *Am. J. of Orthopsychiatry* 53 (July): 441.

western. This article is excerpted from his ethnographic commentary to *I Am A Shaman: A Hmong Life Story*, the eighth of the Occasional Papers to be published by the Southeast Asian Refugee Studies Project (SARS) at the University of Minnesota.

Paja Thao's life story was originally published in a limited edition in Illinois and has been reprinted by SARS in an expanded version to give it wider circulation. *I Am A Shaman* presents the shaman's life story in the form of an epic poem along with Conquergood's ethnographic commentary. The published text of Paja Thao's story is an integral part of an award-winning video-documentary *Between Two Worlds: The Hmong Shaman in America*. Both the film and book stem from the same research and complement each other. The book may be ordered on the CURA Publications Order Form in this *CURA Reporter* and the film (28 minutes running time) may be ordered through Siegel Productions, P.O. Box 6123, Evanston, Illinois, 60202, phone 312/528-6563.

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# A Resounding "Yes" for Recycling

by John Gilkeson

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Each year CURA surveys Minnesota residents on a variety of environmental topics. Questions are asked as part of the omnibus Minnesota State Survey, conducted by the University's Minnesota Center for Survey Research. For the past two years, these environmental questions have focused on solid waste disposal, and have paralleled some of the major topics and proposals under debate at the state legislature.

Solid waste has been polluting ground water in Minnesota and now threatens air quality as we make a major shift from landfills to incineration. The results of the survey this year show quite definitively that Minnesotans think it's time to pay attention to activities that pollute and make some changes in them.

Previous surveys have asked Minnesotans if they support or oppose container deposits; whether they recycle on a regular basis; and if so which materials; and whether they prefer landfills or incineration as a waste disposal method. Some of these findings were reported in the December 1987 *CURA Reporter*. The most recent state survey (Fall 1988) asked about mandatory recycling of four common household wastes (cans, bottles, cardboard, and newspaper) and about priorities among four methods of waste disposal (composting, incineration, landfills, and recycling).

## Mandatory Recycling

The concept of mandatory recycling has been under debate in many Minnesota communities and at the state level for several years. Support for mandatory recycling of cans, bottles, cardboard, and newspapers was virtually unanimous in the recent poll—91 percent favored it. There were no significant differences in the level of support among various demographic groups.

A similar survey in Maryland, conducted earlier in 1988, showed that 72 percent favored mandatory recycling in that state. The level of support in Maryland was thought to be quite high for a measure considered by many to be a controversial action for government to take. The Minnesota results clearly show that mandatory recycling is not at all controversial among the general public.

For some, the real controversy about mandatory recycling may be the scarcity of such programs. The hesitancy by policy makers to implement mandatory programs may be based on imagined rather than real fears of how the public will respond, both to the recycling program and at the polls. How a mandatory recycling program is designed, implemented, and enforced could be controversial if the general public feels that there are unrealistic and rigid requirements, that it is enforced capriciously, or that it does not allow a period of adjustment

while attitudes and habits are changing. Mandatory recycling programs are already in place or soon will be in several cities and two counties (Fillmore and Winona) in Minnesota. Similar programs are operating in some 200 communities throughout the United States.

Since businesses produce half or more of the state's waste and much of it is easily recyclable, any mandatory program must also include business wastes. Though materials recovered from the commercial-industrial-institutional sector may be different from those recovered in residential programs, waste streams from particular types of businesses tend to be quite homogeneous, making separation of materials a relatively easy and effective means of reducing the amount of waste that must be disposed of.

### Methods of Waste Disposal

Asked to choose which method of waste disposal they would like to see their community adopt as its first priority, Minnesotans chose recycling. Three-quarters of those polled wanted recycling to be the priority method in their community.

The Minnesota State Survey offered a choice of four methods, covering the current range of management methods: composting, incineration, landfilling, and recycling. Only one-sixth chose incineration as their first priority. Composting (5 percent) and landfilling (4 percent) were very distant players. Significantly, even among those who favored incineration, over 80 percent supported mandatory recycling.

There were some differences in the level of support by various demographic groups. Women, residents of the seven-county Twin Cities area, and those thirty-four and under were more likely to support recycling than incineration. Men, residents of greater Minnesota, and those forty-five and over were more likely to support incineration. No group, however, expressed more than 21 percent support for incineration.

The debates and discussions about waste disposal that have taken place around the state in the last several years have raised awareness of the potential problems and solutions that each disposal method offers. The response in the Minnesota State Survey this year indicates that Minnesotans are clear about what they feel is best for the environment and for themselves. They have given a resounding "yes" to recycling and to strong recycling programs. This support is consistent with other surveys and studies, showing that Minnesotans want to protect the state's environment and resources.

There appears to be a gulf between public opinion and the direction being taken by state and county governments. Minnesota is currently pursuing waste incineration much more aggressively than any other state in the United States. Minnesota has

committed itself to building thirteen to sixteen solid waste incinerators that will have the capacity, by 1994, to burn at least half of the state's solid waste. The CURA survey clearly shows that Minnesotans support a set of waste disposal methods that are very different from those being implemented. Perhaps this high level of support by the general public for recycling will yet be rec-

ognized and expressed in public policy at some level.

**John Gilkeson is an environmental research assistant with CURA and is completing his master's degree in the Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs.**

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## New CURA Publications

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**The Greenhouse Effect: Policy Implications of a Global Warming.** Dean Abrahamson and Peter Ciborowski. 1988. CURA 88-8. 428 pp. \$15.00.

One of the most significant environmental challenges facing society today is how to respond to a predicted global warming stemming from the greenhouse effect. This book contains papers from a conference held several years ago to consider the policy implications of the greenhouse effect. Both political and technical responses are discussed, including changes in government energy policies that might slow the greenhouse effect and alterations in land-use and in industrial policies that might compensate for the effects of the predicted global warming.

**I Am A Shaman: A Hmong Life Story.** Dwight Conquergood, Paja Thao, and Xa Thao. Southeast Asian Refugee Studies Project. Occasional Papers. Number Eight 1989. CURA 89-3. \$4.00.

The life story of a Hmong shaman, Paja Thao, living in Chicago in 1984, is presented here in the form of an epic poem, translated into English. Conquergood provides an accompanying ethnographic commentary on the role of the shaman in Hmong society, concluding with the life story of a Hmong woman shaman, Zoua Yang. Excerpts from the commentary are presented in this issue of the *CURA Reporter*.

**Past Choices/Present Landscapes: The Impact of Urban Renewal on the Twin Cities.** Judith A. Martin and Antony Goddard. 1989. CURA 89-1. 214 pp. \$10.00.

Urban renewal was designed to clean

up and rebuild our deteriorating American cities. In the 1950s clearance and new construction were emphasized. In the 1960s attention turned to rehabilitation. Now the program is mostly forgotten, but it has left an indelible mark on the landscapes of the cities. Martin and Goddard trace the history of urban renewal in Minneapolis and St. Paul, looking at both downtown and neighborhood projects. They document the social and political processes that guided local renewal decisions, demonstrating that urban renewal in the Twin Cities was substantially different than elsewhere.

**University of Minnesota Class of '39 Symposium: How can We Help Our University? What's the Problem?** 1989. CURA 89-2. 45 pp. Free.

To commemorate their golden anniversary, the Class of '39 organized a series of four public meetings to discuss and analyze the problems currently facing the University of Minnesota. The speeches given at the first symposium, in November 1988, are presented here along with a preface by Arthur E. Naftalin, a member of the Class of '39. The papers are: John R. Borchert on "The Changing Context of the University," Philip M. Raup on "A Profile of the University of Minnesota—What It Is and What It Is Not," John E. Turner on "Viewing the University of Minnesota from the Classroom," James R. Nobles on "Managing a Mega-University: How the University Operates," Josie R. Johnson on "The University and It's Changing Clienteles: How Are Women, Minorities, and Non-Traditional Students Being Received?" and Elmer L. Anderson on "The University and Its Politics: Whom Does the University Serve?"

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# Protecting Minnesota's Ground Water

by John Gilkeson

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Efforts to correct water pollution, beginning in the 1960s and up to the present time, have focused largely on eliminating "point sources" of surface water pollution. More advanced sewage treatment facilities have been developed and industrial and manufacturing effluents, such as those from the paper and metal-plating industries, have been reduced or eliminated. It became increasingly evident in the 1970s, however, that both legal and illegal dumping and storage of industrial wastes, hazardous wastes, municipal solid wastes, and animal wastes were also causing significant pollution of our ground water. These were also regarded as point source pollutions, since they could be traced to a discrete source such as a dump, stockpile, manufacturing facility, or large feedlot.

In the 1980s, we have begun to recognize another cause of water pollution: the non-point source. Runoff and leaching from urban, farming, logging, and construction activities are examples of non-point sources. Though non-point sources pollute surface water supplies, they also, and perhaps to a larger extent, pollute ground water supplies. Ground water is important in a state such as Minnesota, which has abundant ground water and relies heavily on it for household consumption as well as industrial and agricultural uses.

## Invisible Pollutants

Chemicals, eroding soils, and human and animal wastes usually pollute water in a way that is noticeable either by smell, taste, or sight, especially if they emanate from a concentrated or point source. A new type of pollution has been recognized in rural areas across Minnesota and the United States during the 1980s—one that is relatively invisible. This is contamination from synthetic fertilizers and pesticides that have been used in agricultural, forest, and urban areas during the last few decades. While nitrates have usually been found at low levels in ground water, these levels are now increasing substantially in rural areas and often parallel the regional use of chemical fertilizers. Pesticides are also found in increasing number and concentration in rural water supplies, not only in areas commonly considered sensitive, but also in areas where they had not been expected.

Across the country, some seventy-four pesticides have been found in the water supplies of thirty-eight states. In Minnesota, recent well sampling by the departments of Health and Agriculture has shown that 40

percent of private wells and 7 percent of public supplies exceed the drinking water standard for nitrate. About 40 percent of the wells tested in the last three years contained at least one pesticide. Seventy percent of Minnesotans rely on ground water for their domestic water supply. Twenty-five percent have their own wells, and 45 percent are served by public water systems that rely on ground water. The public systems are tested on a regular basis, so these residents are protected to some extent. For those with private wells there are no testing requirements other than the annual test required for Grade A dairy certification.

Conditions in other midwestern states are similar. In some, predominately agricultural states, they are worse. For example, ground water testing programs in Iowa prior to 1987 indicated that 50 to 60 percent of private water supplies were contaminated with some type of organic chemical, and that 40 percent of public water supplies were contaminated with at least one pesticide.

## Iowa's Response

The magnitude of the problem in Iowa spurred that state to develop and pass, in 1987, one of the nation's most comprehensive ground water protection statutes. Iowa's new law establishes a long term water quality testing, education, and regulation program. The program is funded by a variety of taxes and fees on activities and substances that affect water resources. These include a tax on synthetic fertilizers (based on their actual nitrate content), pesticide registration fees for manufacturers of pesticides, license fees for companies that sell or apply pesticides, license fees for retailers who sell "household hazardous" materials, and a per ton fee on solid waste received at landfills.

In 1987, while this ground water protection act was being debated in the Iowa Legislature, the Iowa Department of Natural Resources conducted a poll of state residents to determine how the ground water pollution problem was perceived, and what types of regulatory and financing measures were supported by the state's residents. This survey showed a high level of awareness and concern about ground water issues among Iowa residents, as well as a high level of support for a variety of regulatory funding mechanisms. The survey results are credited with dispelling concern that the public would not support the forward-looking legislation.

## Minnesota's Response

In 1988, Minnesota began an effort to develop comprehensive water quality legislation to be presented in the 1989 legislative session. The effort was coordinated by the Environmental Quality Board (EQB), with active participation by all of the pertinent state agencies. The EQB also appointed a Ground Water Advisory Committee, with representation from a wide range of interests both urban and rural, to provide continuous advice during the process. Thomas Anding, associate director of CURA, serves as chairperson for this committee. In support of this effort, CURA developed and conducted a survey similar to the Iowa survey for Minnesota residents. This survey was undertaken to provide other policy makers, environmental groups, the legislature, and the general public with up-to-date information about public opinion on ground water issues and various regulatory and financing initiatives.

The CURA Ground Water Survey was conducted by telephone during January of 1989 by the Minnesota Center for Survey Research. Households to be called were selected randomly from all Minnesota telephone exchanges. Four hundred and four surveys were completed, for a response rate of 74 percent. In a survey of this size, there is a 95 percent chance or better that if all households in the state were surveyed, the results would vary no more than five percentage points from the results of the survey.

## How Minnesotans See the Problem

Just under three-fourths of Minnesotans believe that ground water pollution in the state is a very serious or somewhat serious problem. About one-fourth consider it only a minor problem, while 3 percent believe there is no problem. Eighty-five percent think that more needs to be done to protect the quality of Minnesota's ground water. Even among those who consider the problem minor, 71 percent support additional efforts.

Those who believe there is a pollution problem with our ground water (97 percent of the sample) were asked to identify the main source of ground water pollution in the state. Eighty-one percent named a source. They named agricultural chemicals and other uses of pesticides and fertilizers (38 percent of those who named a source), industry and manufacturing (27 percent),



dumps and landfills (15 percent), and other sources (20 percent).

Are certain substances and activities a source of ground water pollution? The Minnesotans we surveyed were asked about ten substances or activities (Table 1).

A high percentage believe that pesticides and fertilizers (products that are petroleum-based and synthetic materials) are sources of ground water pollution. Animal wastes (natural substances that have historically been used as fertilizers) are seen by relatively few people as sources of pollution. Sewage (a more concentrated combination of human wastes and other substances) is viewed as polluting by a large majority of respondents. Similarly, wells and sinkholes are seen as pathways for pollutants by a majority of Minnesotans.

The survey shows widespread public support for measures to reduce pollution from agricultural, commercial, industrial, and residential sources. Eighty-three percent support further restrictions on the use of farm pesticides, and 70 percent favor tighter restrictions on the use of farm fertilizers. Citizens did not single out farm use of these chemicals; 84 percent believe that urban use of pesticides and fertilizers should also be more tightly restricted. Support was nearly unanimous (94 percent) for further research on the safe use of pesticides and fertilizers. Opinion was much more divided about taxing pesticides and fertilizers to deter excessive use; 56 percent favored such taxes, while 44 percent opposed them.

**Table 1. ARE CERTAIN SUBSTANCES AND ACTIVITIES A SOURCE OF GROUND WATER POLLUTION? (in percents)**

	Yes	No
farm pesticides	88	12
farm fertilizers	79	21
urban pesticides and fertilizer use	80	20
drainage wells, sinkholes, abandoned wells	63	37
animal manure on land	28	72
sewage on land	73	27
industrial waste on land	93	7
accidental spills of hazardous materials	91	9
hazardous waste disposal	87	13
leaking underground tanks	90	10

Taxes on polluting industries, on the other hand, were favored by a margin of 78 to 22 percent. Other regulation of industry was also well supported. Seventy-six percent favor banning processes that cause pollution. Over 90 percent favor tighter regulations on disposal practices and requiring industry to use processes that minimize the production of hazardous wastes. Support for further research on ways to minimize production of industrial wastes was almost unanimous; 96 percent favor such research.

Perhaps most important, those surveyed were asked how they would be willing to pay for the measures they supported. Slightly over half (53 percent) favor higher general taxes. Funds that would come di-

rectly from sources related to ground water protection received an even broader level of support: water user fees (59 percent), higher prices for goods and services that cause water quality problems (66 percent), and higher prices for goods and services that depend on higher quality water (79 percent). The level of support for each of these funding alternatives was directly related to people's beliefs about how serious the ground water pollution problem is—the more serious they found it, the more support they gave to each funding alternative.

It is a commonly held belief that urban residents, who have little direct knowledge of farming, are exaggerating the threat that agricultural chemicals and other uses of pesticides and fertilizers pose for Minne-



Minnesota is a leading agricultural state and also a leading user of agricultural chemicals. The CURA survey found that residents of greater Minnesota are twice as likely as metropolitan residents to name agricultural use of chemicals as the primary threat to Minnesota's ground water.



**Use of chemical fertilizers in urban areas is also common practice. The CURA survey showed widespread public support for tighter restrictions on urban as well as rural use of chemicals.**

sota's ground water. Findings of the CURA survey directly contradict this. Residents of greater Minnesota, the survey showed, were twice as likely as metropolitan area residents to name agricultural chemicals and other uses of pesticides and fertilizers as the primary threat to Minnesota's ground water. Residents of the metropolitan area, on the other hand, were three times as likely as residents of greater Minnesota to cite industry and manufacturing as the major threat to our ground water.

#### **Comparing the Minnesota and Iowa Surveys**

Questions on the two surveys were not identical, but where they are comparable some differences can be found between Iowa and Minnesota. In general, these differences are not substantial.

Iowans are somewhat more likely to see ground water pollution as a serious problem (86 percent compared to 73 percent of Minnesotans). Iowans named it as a very seri-

ous problem more often also (44 percent compared to 20 percent). Almost twice as many Iowans see pesticides and fertilizers as the major source of ground water contamination (68 percent to 38 percent). Minnesotans, on the other hand, are about twice as likely to see industry and manufacturing (27 percent vs. 15 percent) or landfills (15 percent vs. 6 percent) as the primary source of ground water pollution.

These differences reflect not only the more dominant position of agriculture in Iowa's economy, but also the nature of the entire ground water debate in each state. During the 1980s, Minnesota's discussion of water pollution has been focused very tightly on the issues of hazardous waste and landfills. Both of these issues have been in the public eye since the passage of the Waste Management Act in 1980. It created the Waste Management Board for the purpose of siting a hazardous waste facility in Minnesota. It also decreed that no unprocessed solid waste could be placed in a landfill in the state after 1990. Protecting the quality of Minnesota's ground and surface water was an explicit goal of this act. In Iowa, a primary focus in the 1980s has been the rural and farm economy and their associated resources.

The same difference in focus is reflected in another series of questions. Citizens in both states were asked whether specific substances and activities contributed a "great deal," "some," or "very little" to ground water pollution. Compared to Minnesotans, Iowans were much more likely to believe that farm pesticides and fertilizers contributed a "great deal" to pollution. However, on urban use of these chemicals and the potential industrial sources of pollution, opinion was virtually identical.

In spite of these differences in opinion or awareness of the problems of ground water pollution, citizens in both states expressed virtually identical levels of support and opposition to the various regulatory measures that were proposed for both the agricultural and commercial/industrial sectors.

#### **Conclusions about Minnesota Opinion**

Minnesotans view ground water quality as an important issue that deserves more attention and more money. Citizens throughout the state give strong support for more regulation of activities and substances that threatened Minnesota's ground water. They are willing to pay for new initiatives and express highest support for those fees that are directly related to ground water and the activities or substances that threaten it.

Urban residents have no monopoly on seeing that agricultural and general uses of pesticides and fertilizers are of concern. They are in fact seen as a more serious threat to ground water by residents of greater Minnesota than by Twin Cities area residents. Furthermore, the level of support for more restrictions on both agricultural and urban uses of these substances is virtu-

ally identical among all groups. Farmers and their practices are not being singled out for regulation. The CURA survey shows that it is farm neighbors who are most concerned.

Awareness of what can cause pollution has grown over the last twenty years to include the less concentrated, less visible, less easily measured, and perhaps more pervasive non-point sources. We now recognize that virtually any and every substance that we put onto our land or water, bury in, or pour over it will eventually find its way into our ground water and then into our wells and faucets.

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## Student Papers in the Public Affairs Library

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Research papers prepared by masters degree candidates in the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs are housed in the Public Affairs Library after they have been approved by the institute's faculty. Because many of these papers are of interest to our readers, we periodically list recently acquired papers (Plan B papers, as they are called). The Public Affairs Library is located in room 50, Humphrey Center, West Bank Campus of the University of Minnesota (612/625-3038). The faculty adviser for each study is indicated at the end of the entry.

Anderson, Carol M. Strategy on aging: income support programs. 1988. 74 pp. Eustis.

Ashby, Janet Helen. Relocation and re-employment programs for economically displaced workers. 1987. 88 pp. M. Dewar.

Auron, James R. Consumer use of quality of care data in health maintenance organizations. 1988. 53 pp. Kudrle.

Backman, Aaron A. Home rule for Ramsey County. 1988. 48 pp. Jernberg.

Campbell, Candace D. Business incubator profiles: a national survey. 1988. 130 pp. Bradford.

Chen, Jen Jen. Eliminating discrimination against women in Japanese workforce. 1988. var. pp. Vaupel.

Chung, Moo Sung. Government policies for the urban slum in the Third World: the case of South Korea. 1988. 31 pp. Fass.

Clouse, Timothy Lyle. Population protection through strategic defense: an appraisal of the Strategic Defense Initiative. 1987. 26 pp. + appendices + bibliography. Vaupel.

Dailey, Debra L. Health care cost containment and the Minnesota Legislature 74th session. 1988. 46 pp. Hanson.

Ensign, Karl. Bridging the gap: a study concerning American Indian dropouts. 1988. 30 pp. Brandl.

Finn, Charles B. An analysis of the consequences of informatization: its impact on the world economy as determined by the private sector. 1988. 52 pp. Cleveland.

Franchett, Lisa. An evaluation of the Minneapolis enterprise zone program. 1987. 32 pp. + bibliography + appendices. M. Dewar.

Grathwol, John. Know your market: a research study of Minneapolis senior citizens' attitudes toward housing and an examination of Minneapolis senior public housing. 1986. 17 pp. + appendices. T. Dewar.

Harper, Jane Michelle. Work planning and budgeting study: Minnesota Department of Natural Resources, Division of Forestry. 1985. 55 pp. Irving.

Hartstein, Marc. Tax issues related to employment based health plans and some proposals for altering their tax free status. 1988. 38 pp. Kudrle.

Hofrenning, Maureen R. Autonomous women's organizations in India: goals, strategies and impact. 1987. 83 pp. Knudson.

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Holliday, Sherri Ann. European community economic sanctions against Argentina during the South Atlantic conflict. 1988. 38 pp. Kudrle.

Inaba, Miyuki. The Japanese style of foreign policy-making. Case 1: Prime minister Tanaka's trip to Peking; Case 2: Reversion of Okinawa; Case 3: Government assistance to electronics industry. 1988. 58 pp. Sampson.

Larsen, Janet. Federal housing policy: assessment criteria and future directions. 1988. 57 pp. + bibliography. Lukermann.

Leckey, David Allen. Diversifying a region's economy: an assessment of efforts in southwest Minnesota. 1988. 22 pp. + notes + bibliography. Fass.

Lee, Vivian. Gholston v. Housing Authority of Montgomery: the case of misinterpretation. 1988. 27 pp. Brandl.

Levi, Laurie Belzer. Juveniles rights: compliance with the 1986 reporting law. 1988. 38 pp. + appendices + bibliography. T. Dewar.

Lewis, Sandra Jean. Social security: present problems and future reform. 1988. 36 pp. + appendices + bibliography. Vaupel.

Liefert, Patricia Lynn. The origins of the economic recovery grant program. 1988. 27 pp. + appendices. M. Dewar.

Lindahl-Hestness, Laurie. The effect of same and mixed gender programs on the treatment outcomes of alcoholic women. 1988. var. pp. Patton.

**John Gilkeson is an environmental research assistant with CURA and is completing his master's degree at the Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs.**

**Photos on pages 1, 2, and 3 by Nancy Conroy.**

**Photo on page 8 by Jerry Zbiral.**

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# CURA Publications Order Form

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## New CURA Publications

- The Greenhouse Effect: Policy Implications of a Global Warming**, Dean Abrahamson and Peter Ciborowski. 1988. CURA 88-8. 420 pp. \$15.00.
- I Am A Shaman: A Hmong Life Story**, Dwight Conquergood, Paja Thao, and Xa Thao. Southeast Asian Refugee Studies Project. Occasional Papers. Number Eight. 1989. CURA 89-3. \$4.00.
- Past Choices/Present Landscapes: The Impact of Urban Renewal on the Twin Cities**, Judith A. Martin and Antony Goddard. 1989. CURA 89-1. 214 pp. \$10.00.
- University of Minnesota Class of '39 Symposium: How Can We Help Our University? What's the Problem?** 1989. CURA 89-2. 45 pp. Free.

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- The Educational Needs of Dislocated Workers in Minnesota**, Rosemarie J. Park, Rebecca L. Storlie, and René V. Dawis. 1988. CURA 88-4. 43 pp. Free.
- Sooner or Later... The Disappearance of Federally Subsidized Low Income Rental Housing in Minnesota**, Janet Larsen. Minnesota Housing Project. 1988. CURA 88-3. 121 pp. Free.
- To Promote the General Welfare**, Clarke Chambers and Esther Wattenberg. 1988. CURA 88-7. 111 pp. Free.
- 1987 Minnesota New Firms Study: An Exploration of New Firms and Their Economic Contributions**, Paul D. Reynolds and Brenda Miller. 1988. CURA 88-1. 142 pp. Free.

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The Center for Urban and Regional Affairs was established to help make the University of Minnesota more responsive to the needs of the larger community and to increase the constructive interaction between faculty and students, on the one hand, and those dealing directly with major public problems, on the other hand.

The **CURA Reporter** is published five times during the year to provide information about what CURA projects are doing.

Thomas M. Scott, director; Thomas L. Anding, associate director; William J. Craig, assistant director; Judith H. Weir, editor.