



# reporter

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## Services for Indian Children: How Local Government Responds

by *Mary Duroche*

**Mary Duroche is a graduate student in the Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs. She recently prepared a report for CURA on the implementation of the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978. Her work was done chiefly under the supervision of Esther Wattenberg, School of Social Work, with assistance from Tom Dewar, Humphrey Institute. Since the initial distribution of her report in January 1982, the Children's Bureau in Washington D.C. has responded by putting together a task force to look into the problems she uncovered in the relationships between Indian reservations, county governments, and the spending of state and federal monies. In addition, informal discussions regarding state funding for Indian child welfare services have been initiated between Minnesota Department of Public Welfare representatives and Indian representatives. The article presented here highlights the findings of Duroche's report.**

government and local people to decide how it will be spent.

The block grant system is seen as a way of strengthening services at the local level. It is assumed that local government is best able to define local problems, set service priorities, and allocate resources. Block grants, it is argued, permit greater discretion and flexibility in developing programs for local needs. Minnesota, in its block grants to the counties, intended to reflect its established history of local control. The Community Social Services Act of 1979 extended this responsibility to social services.

Given the new funding pattern, what happens to minority groups? An interesting and complex case in point is that of the services for Indian children on reservations in northern Minnesota. This study focuses on how the Indian Child Welfare Act of 1978 is being implemented in northern Minnesota. Along the way a number of perplexing facts emerged as to how monies are being spent at the local level and how reservation Indians and county governments are interacting.

This study concerns two of the six Indian reservations that together constitute the Minnesota Chippewa Tribe. These are the White Earth Reservation and the Leech Lake Reservation. Because reservation boundaries do not coincide with county boundaries, six counties are involved in responsibility for social services for these two reservations. There are about 11,000 Indians in the six counties, 7,000 of them living on the reservations.

In preparing this study, representatives from the Chippewa Tribe and from the six county social service departments were interviewed. Data was analyzed from the

To what extent can local counties respond to local needs? Can a somewhat disfavored group be treated fairly at the level of local government?

Categorical grants, where money is earmarked for a specific group or need and handed down from either the state or federal government for that purpose only, have been used in funding social services for many years as a way of assuring that specific needs, particularly of minority groups, are met at the local level. In the past few years, however, a new pattern of funding has emerged: the block grant, where a lump sum of money is handed to the local

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1979 Chippewa Tribe survey of county child welfare policy and practices, the six county social service plans for 1980-81\* were examined, and several other documentary sources were consulted.

Among the findings: a disproportionate number of Indian children are being placed in foster homes, at a very high cost to the counties involved; the counties are responding unevenly in meeting the needs of Indian families; and in some counties the commissioners are not following the recommendations of their staffs. Overall, a great deal of money is being spent on Indian children, but in ways that are contrary to the intent of the Indian Child Welfare Act. Two counties, however, seem to be pointing the way toward better solutions to the incredibly complex problems involved when new funding methods emerge, responsibilities change, and relationships between affected parties, the different government units and the Indian tribe, are in flux.

To understand the intricacies of the situation some background information is essential.

### **Government Policies for Indian Children**

For decades, the lives of Indians on reservations have been dependent on federal government policies that often led to neglect, forced relocation, assimilation, and threatened termination of their rights. Indian lives have been defined and redefined by non-Indian policy makers and program planners. The poverty of Indians on the reservations sometimes was seen by non-Indians as a sign of Indian pathology; the solution was seen as forced removal from the reservation and placement in the dominant white society. Inculcating the values of white society meant, in effect, wiping out all vestiges of the Indians' own culture and society.

From an Indian perspective, such "de-tribalization" was effected most directly through the widespread practice of removing Indian children from their families "for their own good." Non-Indian child welfare workers applied the "community standards" to reservation situations, often equating Indian poverty with child neglect. Indian children were frequently placed in non-Indian foster homes to await adoption by non-Indian families. Those Indians who might have provided foster care were deemed unsuitable because their homes did not measure up to state standards. Indian parental rights were terminated by state courts, frequently without due process for Indian parents and relatives. Rarely was an attempt made to guarantee tribal rights for Indian children or to find foster or adoptive parents who were sensitive to Indian cultural and spiritual values.

The process was seen by Indians not merely as destruction of individual families, but as a form of cultural genocide.

Minnesota, despite a reputation for progressive and innovative social legislation, reflected these national policies. A 1974 survey by the Association on American Indian Affairs (AAIA) revealed that one out of eight Minnesota Indian children was in an adoptive home and one out of four Indian infants (under one year of age) was in pre-adoptive foster care. In 1977, a second AAIA survey showed that Minnesota had the third highest rate of Indian child foster placements of any state in the nation—most of them in non-Indian homes. Indian children here were five times more likely than non-Indian children to be placed in foster or adoptive homes. Ninety percent of adoptions for Minnesota's Indian children were by non-Indian couples.

In the mid-1970s, Minnesota Indian leaders joined with Indians from other states to demand that the federal government put a stop to what was seen as the state's destruction of Indian families. As an intermediate result, the U.S. Office for Civil Rights in 1977, ordered the Minnesota Department of Public Welfare to stop excessive placement of Indian children in non-Indian homes.

### **The Indian Child Welfare Act**

An even more important result was the passage of the Indian Child Welfare Act in 1978. The act seeks to prevent the breakup of Indian families and to ensure that Indian children are removed from their parents or guardians only as a last resort. It asserts that the tribe will have jurisdiction over Indian child welfare matters and provides funds for child and family service programs to strengthen Indian family life. The act also reaffirms the states' primary responsibility for providing child welfare services to Indians and it stresses that the funds appropriated through the act may not be used as a basis for denying or reducing assistance under Titles IV-B and XX, the sources of funding for child welfare programs

The Indian Child Welfare Act became effective in mid-1979. But the intent of the act—to broaden the range of services for Indian children and families—has been shortcircuited by limited and inadequate appropriations. First-year (1980) appropriations totaled only \$5.5 million nationwide, a minimum award of \$15,000 for each tribal or urban group plan approved by the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA), which administers the program. In fiscal year 1981, grants were higher, a minimum of \$25,000 for each approved program or \$9.3 million in total. The fiscal year 1982 appropriation was cut by one-third from \$10 to \$6.6 million. And the Reagan administration has recommended elimination of the funding in 1983.

### **Tribal Initiatives in Northern Minnesota**

The struggle to diminish the "paternalistic" power of the federal government over Indian affairs was marked with the passage in 1975 of the Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act. The act states that Indians are best suited to define needs and provide services for Indians and it encourages Indians to take the initiative in planning and providing needed services through contracts with BIA and other federal agencies.

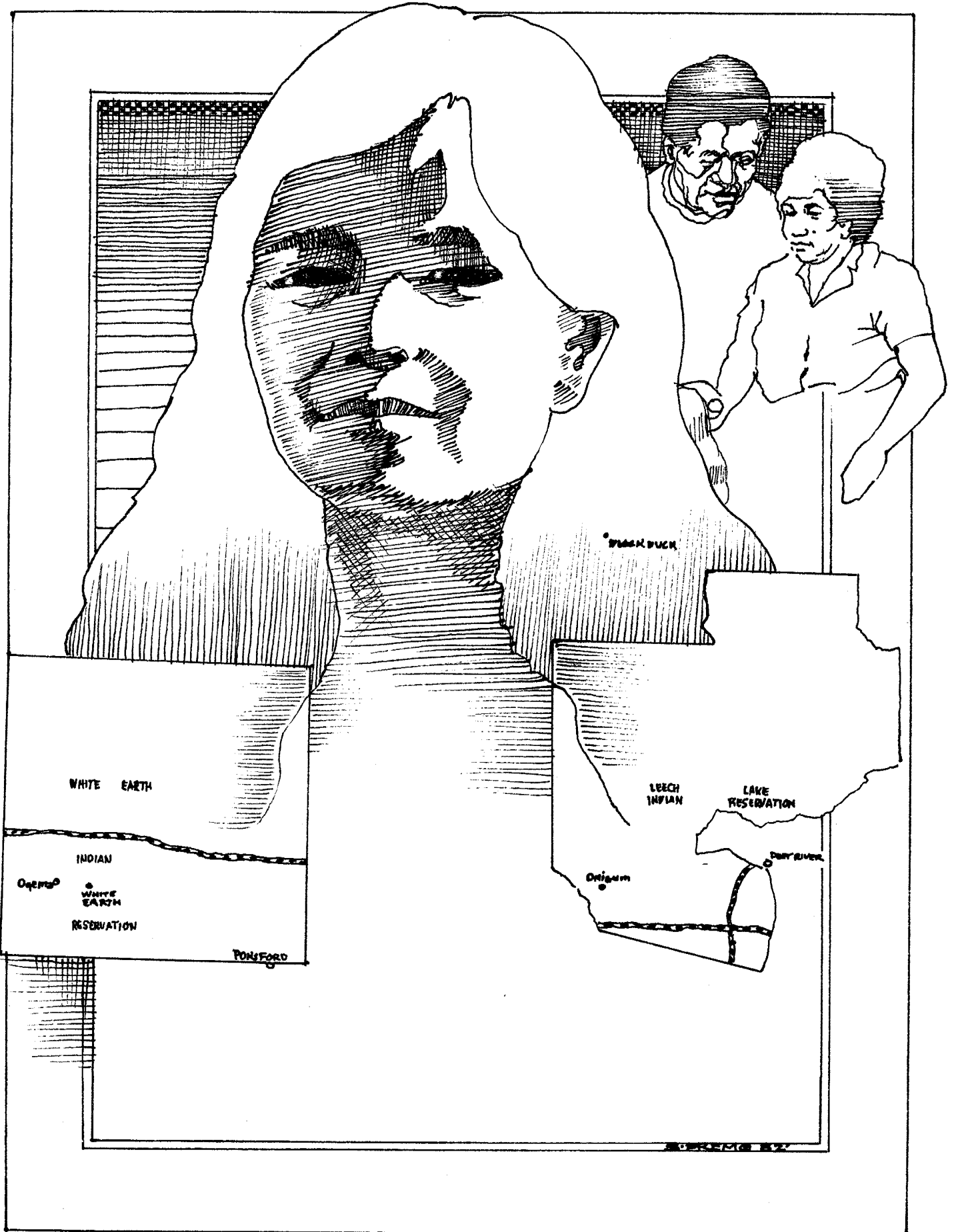
The Minnesota Chippewa Tribe, with BIA contract money, established a social service division in 1975 with the primary objective of creating programs to strengthen Indian families and prevent out-of-home placements for Indian children. In 1978, the division was awarded two three-year grants for child welfare services by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW). The money enabled the tribe to recruit and train Indian social workers and paraprofessionals for teamwork with counties' child protection workers, to recruit foster homes and to provide direct services on the six member reservations.

The HEW grant money also enabled Indian research on counties' child welfare policies and practices as they affect Indian families. Findings from their survey would serve as a basis for tribal planning. As expected, the 1979 survey showed Indian children disproportionately represented in county caseloads. And, as also was expected, the survey found that many Indian children in foster care at that time were in non-Indian homes (98 of 139, or 71 percent).

Cooperation between county and tribal workers became even more important after the Indian Child Welfare Act went into effect in mid-1979. The counties depended on tribal workers to recruit and license Indian foster homes. Under new state Department of Public Welfare (DPW) rules, homes are to be approved according to "prevailing social and cultural standards of the Indian community," not DPW's standards for non-Indian foster homes. In reported cases of abuse and neglect in the Indian community, county agencies are required to "seek the recommendation of the tribe(s) in order to best serve Indian children and their families." Because none of the counties working with the tribe had Indian caseworkers, they depended on reservation workers to bridge cultural and sometimes linguistic barriers, and to help county workers establish trust relationships with Indian families.

By 1980, the Chippewa Tribe's social service staff felt they had well established service capabilities: a staff of fifteen professionals was dispersed on six reservations, providing support services for county agencies, as well as direct services for Indian families. With the first Indian Child Welfare Act grant due in April 1980, and with HEW funding to expire in mid-1981, it was time for the tribe to ask the counties for financial support in exchange for services.

\*The Minnesota Community Social Services Act now "enfold" federal Title XX monies and other social service monies, such as child welfare and mental health.



## Recent Interactions Between Indians and the Counties

The Leech Lake Reservation developed a tri-county plan for child protection and foster care services. The reservation falls under the jurisdiction of three counties: Beltrami, Cass, and Itasca. The tribal plan, asking for funding presumably through the Community Social Services Act block grant, was presented first to the social service supervisors in each county. Cass and Beltrami approved it, and placed the Indian proposal on their county commissioners' agendas.

Cass commissioners said they would consider the request after the Indians had approached the other two counties. Itasca's social service director thought the plan had merit, but said it was too late for funding that year. Beltrami commissioners also declared there wasn't time to fund the request. With two turndowns, the Indians returned to the Cass County staff, worked out a new plan solely for that county, and the county board funded it for \$11,000 for 1981-82.

The White Earth Reservation followed a similar plan, presenting their proposal first to county workers at a tri-county meeting. Each county's staff approved it and felt that their county commissioners should be approached for funding. The commissioners of Clearwater, Mahnomen, and Becker counties turned down the proposals despite staff recommendations and support.

With little funding from the counties, the tribe's child welfare staffs had to be cut back in 1981: Leech Lake now has three workers and White Earth two, a reduction from eight, to provide services in the six-county area. Leech Lake has recently received funding from Cass County for 1982-83 but none of the other counties have funded Indian child welfare services for the coming year.

## Indian Involvement in County Social Service Planning

Decisions on how block-grant funding will be distributed and on what services will be provided are now the responsibility of the county commissioners. To ensure that the needs of all groups will be heard, citizen participation in the planning process is mandated.

The six county social service plans for 1980-81 were examined to determine the degree of Indian participation in the planning process and to see if the stated needs of Indians were represented in each county's needs assessment.

Only three of the counties (Cass, Beltrami, and Clearwater) invited Indian participation in the planning process; and only two counties (Cass and Beltrami) noted Indian child welfare in their needs assessment. Beltrami's needs assessment also noted a lack of "acceptable" services for parents and children in neglect/abuse cases (perhaps referring to Indians) and a need for improved teamwork among county

**Table 1. 1980-81 COUNTY FOSTER CARE COSTS**

County	No. of Indian Children in Foster Care	Foster Care Costs for Indians	Foster Care Costs for All Children	Indian Percent of Population	Indian Percent of Foster Care Costs
Becker	46	\$ 38,199	\$192,238	6	20
Beltrami	41	64,692	385,888	13	17
Cass	91	200,733	459,801	9	44
Clearwater	22	13,685	50,787	7	27
Itasca	7	13,932	297,184	3	5
Mahnomen	12	45,248	60,652	18	75
TOTAL	219	\$376,489	\$1,446,550	7*	26*

\*Percent over all six counties.

**Table 2. 1980-81 COUNTY CHILD PROTECTION CASELOADS\***

County	Total All Cases	Total Indian Cases	Indian Percent of Population	Indian Percent of Caseload
Becker	—	—	6	45**
Beltrami	98	16	13	16
Cass	80	37	9	46
Clearwater	33	13	7	39
Itasca	123	15	3	12
Mahnomen	7	6	18	86
AVERAGE			7	40.7

\*Caseloads are expressed in terms of family units, not the number of individuals involved.

\*\*Estimated.

caseworkers, foster parents and children, and natural parents. Beltrami commissioners' mission statement gave "high priority" to "keeping families intact...exploring options and services to keep people living in their own families and homes."

Clearwater and Mahnomen, the smallest of the six counties, presented no data on how service needs were assessed. Itasca's plan did not mention Indians. Becker County sought no participation from Indians in its planning or needs assessment process. Becker's needs assessment noted the heavy caseloads of its workers and noted that—based on demographic and socioeconomic indicators—the county was not providing services to many needy persons who were eligible for services.

## County Costs for Services to Indians

In 1980-81, the six counties serving Leech Lake and White Earth reservations spent nearly \$400,000 for foster care for 219 Indian children. Under the state's Indian Relief Act, up to 75 percent of such costs may be reimbursed to the counties, but the 1980-81 Indian Relief appropriation was not enough for maximum reimbursement; it covered only 37 percent of the costs, or \$140,644.

Figures from the Department of Public Welfare (Table 1) show each county's costs for Indian foster care. The table clearly demonstrates the disproportionate amounts of money that were being spent on foster care for Indians in proportion to the

rest of the population in each county. While Indians represent 3 to 18 percent of the population, the proportion of foster care costs for them range from 5 to 75 percent of the total spent for each county. Itasca stands out as the one county that has been able to keep costs for Indian foster care close to the Indian proportion in the population as a whole.

Cost figures for child protection, the "other half" of child welfare, were not available. But figures on caseloads (Table 2), obtained from the counties, show a similar disproportionate representation of Indians.

## Preventive vs. Band-aid Services

Why are Indians represented in such great numbers and at such high costs to the counties in these social service figures? The difference seems to stem from a difference in the type of services offered.

Itasca County stands out from the other five counties examined here. Though it is the most populous of the six counties and has the fourth largest Indian population, Itasca's foster care costs are the lowest and disproportionately low in comparison with its Indian child protection caseload. Table 2 shows that Itasca's caseload in 1980-81 included 15 Indian families though only seven children were placed in foster care. By contrast, Beltrami with a caseload of 16 Indian families, placed 41 of their children in foster care. An Itasca County case worker explained that his agency "worked very closely" with reservation workers; their mu-

**Table 3. AVERAGE NUMBER OF DAYS IN FOSTER CARE AND AVERAGE COST PER CHILD PLACEMENT (1980-81)**

County	Indian Children in Foster Care	Total Cost Indian Foster Care	Average Cost Per Child	Total Days of Foster Care	Average Days in Foster Care
Becker	46	\$ 38,199	\$ 830	3,025	65.7
Beltrami	41	64,692	1,578	4,588	111.9
Cass	91	200,733	2,206	11,128	122.3
Clearwater	22	13,685	622	623	28.3
Itasca	7	13,932	1,990	861	123.0
Mahnomen	12	45,248	3,771	4,193	349.4

**Table 4. HYPOTHETICAL SAVINGS IN FOSTER CARE COSTS**

County	Indian Children	Actual Foster Care Costs	Hypothetical Foster Care Costs	Potential Savings
Becker	46	\$ 38,199	\$ 28,612	\$ 9,587
Beltrami	41	64,692	25,502	39,190
Cass	91	200,733	56,602	144,131
Clearwater	22	13,685	13,685	0
Itasca	7	13,932	4,354	9,578
Mahnomen	12	45,248	7,464	37,784
TOTAL		\$376,489	\$136,219	\$240,270

tual goal was to provide in-home services to Indian families in crisis, and to prevent placement whenever possible.

Abuse and/or neglect are the most common reasons for child protection workers to remove children from their homes. In a 1977 study of factors underlying the high rate of foster placement of Indian children, the Association on American Indian Affairs found that 99 percent of placements were based on charges of neglect—very frequently because of parental alcohol/drug abuse.

The Chippewa Tribe's 1979 survey of counties verified this finding: in one county, alcohol abuse by Indian parents accounted for removal of 15 out of 20 children; in another, 42 of 53; in a third, 24 of 24, and so on.

Residential treatment programs, however, often are resisted by Indian parents because of their fears that their children will be permanently lost to them if they leave the children to go into treatment. Dr. Joseph Westermeyer, a University of Minnesota psychiatrist who has worked extensively with Indians, has documented the fact that removal of Indian children from their homes—without supportive services for both parents and children—frequently leads to total disintegration of the Indian family unit.\*

In-home services, such as day care or a temporary homemaker if parents must be

absent for treatment, have proved not only cost-effective but also much less disruptive for families. Intensive counseling can also sometimes enable parents and children to stay together in the home, even in a crisis situation.

The new policies initiated with the Indian Child Welfare Act of separating children from their parents only as a last resort, also make financial sense in terms of saving the counties money. Actions that can be taken within the tribe are much less expensive than the costs of placing children in foster care. But tribal action has depended on funding through the Indian Child Welfare Act. The monies that are needed have not been forthcoming and prospects for the future look even more grim.

Proposed federal budget cuts for reservation programs—alcohol/drug treatment, employment and training, health and mental health, and other services—are expected to increase economic and social stress on Indian families, intensify the need for family services, and put even more strain on the reservations' already limited resources.

"We wanted to stress early intervention and family support, identify high-risk families, provide day care and parenting classes..." an Indian child welfare worker in White Earth has commented. But funds were not made available. "So we're back in the band-aid business again. More emphasis should be put on helping young parents to keep their families together—break the cycle of neglect—of young people drinking

and forgetting their kids...But not this year."\*\*

### Possible Cost Savings

An examination of the costs of foster care placement in the six counties involved (Table 3) shows the average number of days children were placed in foster care for each county and the related costs.

Clearwater had the lowest average number of days in foster care for Indian children and the lowest overall cost. Clearwater's practice, as described by the social service supervisor, is to "put the kids back home" as soon as possible—maintaining protective supervision and, with help from a White Earth social worker, providing in-home counseling to parents and children.

Not all family crises can be handled in this manner, of course, and longer-term foster care may be required in some cases. But, assuming that all six counties under study were to adopt such an in-home service strategy, substantial savings could be achieved in foster care costs. Using Clearwater's average-placement-cost-per-child (\$622) as a baseline measure, Table 4 shows that foster care costs could be reduced by almost two-thirds if all six counties had tried to "put the kids back home" as soon as possible.

The hypothesized costs for all six counties are only 36 percent of actual costs (\$136,219 vs. \$376,489). The state's reimbursement share would be \$50,401 (vs. \$140,644 actual)—a savings of \$90,243. Such savings could pay for a substantial amount of supportive services. Using Indian workers to provide those services would be additionally cost effective because tribal workers know of, and use, extensive Indian family networks as service resources. The Chippewa Tribe research shows that placement of a child with relatives costs \$100 to \$150 a month less than other out-of-home placement, and that Indian children with Indian social workers are returned to their own homes more quickly than are those children with non-Indian social workers.

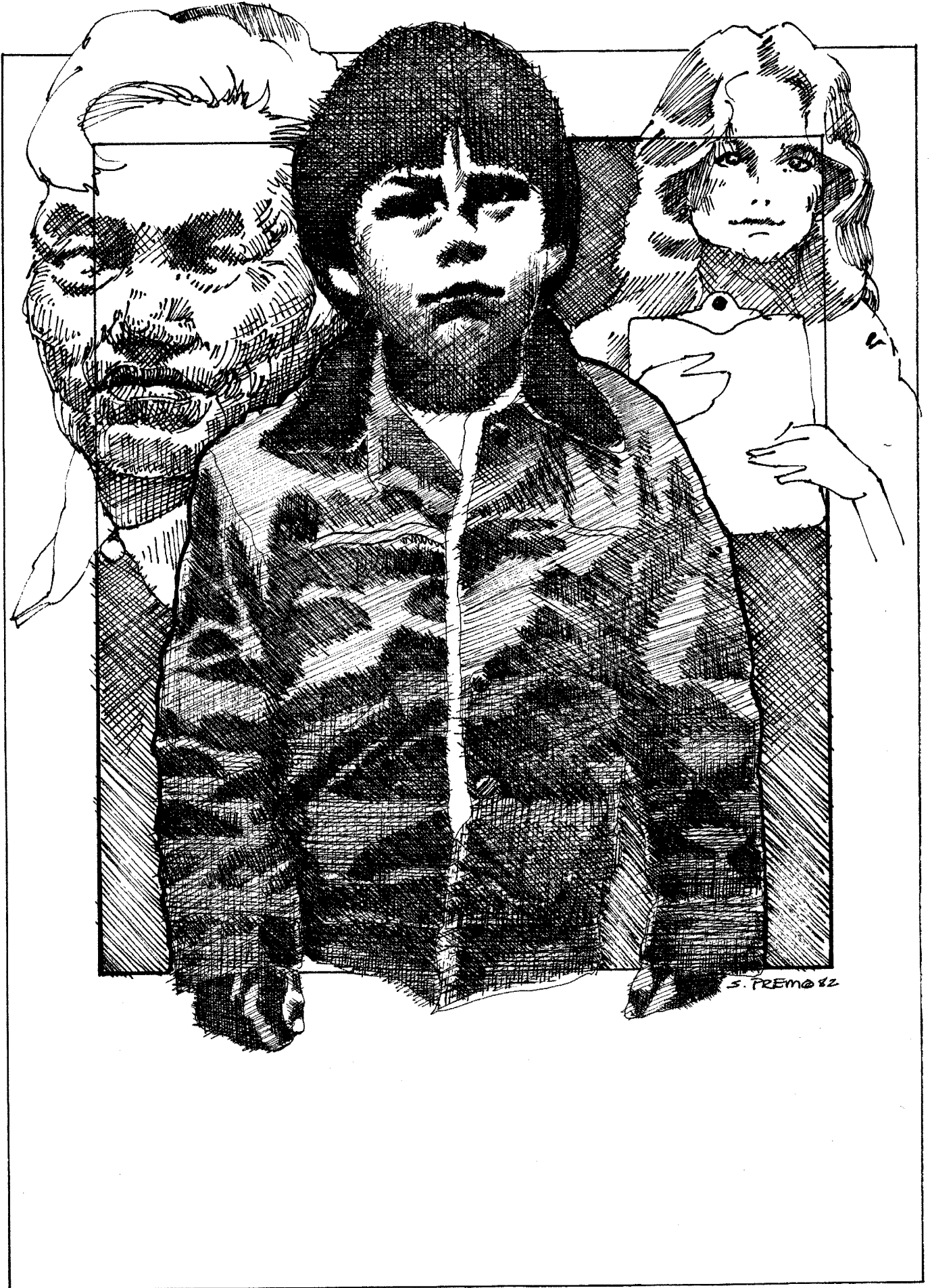
### Speculations on Decision Making

Why have county commissioners chosen to spend such large amounts of money on services to Indians when less expensive ways of serving the same ends are available—ways, in fact, that follow the guidelines of the Indian Child Welfare Act? One can only speculate on the factors involved.

Political realities are certainly a part of decision making on the county level and a long history of tensions between Indians and government officials cannot be ignored. Historic prejudices against the Indians may have been a factor in com-

\*Joseph Westermeyer, "The Ravage of Indian Families in Crisis." In *The Destruction of American Indian Families*, edited by Steven Unger, pp. 47-56. New York: Association on American Indian Affairs, 1977.

\*\*"Our Children Need Us," news account of a conference of Indian child welfare workers, published in *The Circle* (September 1981), monthly newspaper of the Minneapolis American Indian Center.



Drawings by Steven Premo

missioners' denying service contracts to Indians.

Economic factors are also an important element. Of the six counties studied, four have been classified as "distressed" (Beltrami, Cass, Clearwater, and Mahnomen). The presence of the Indian reservations is a contributing factor in their poor economic status, since Indian lands are tax-exempt and Indian people generally earn either low incomes or are unemployed. The state provides welfare equalization aid to these counties, but budget cuts have been increasingly severe. Perhaps in a short term sense, faced with the possibility of being forced to cut county personnel, there was little propensity to think about a contract with Indian tribal groups that would substitute Indian social workers for county social workers.

It is also possible that the counties have not fully realized that by spending money on service contracts with the Indians they can save money on county foster care costs. One county, however, now seems to be benefiting from this trade-off. In Cass County, Indian foster care costs were \$145,644 for the first three quarters of 1980-81,\* providing foster care for an average of 53 children in placement each quarter. This was the cost to the county without a service contract with the Indians. In 1981-82 the county established a service contract with the Indians. Costs for the first three quarters of the year ran to \$82,660, for an average of 28 children in placement each quarter. This represents a savings of \$62,984 achieved through spending \$11,000 on a direct service contract with the Leech Lake Reservation, or a net savings of \$51,984 to the county. Cass County commissioners renewed their service contract with the Indians for 1982-83.

\*Data for the last quarter of 1981-82 were not yet available.

## Responding to Change

Events of the past few years have significantly changed the situation of Indians on reservations. The Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act in 1975 and the Indian Child Welfare Act in 1978 have empowered the tribe in new ways and encouraged the Indians themselves to determine what is in the "best interests" of Indians children and families.

Tribal workers can now be seen as actors (not acted upon) and partners with county workers in the provision of social services. Relations that long have engendered Indian fear and mistrust of county caseworkers, who had sole statutory authority over Indian families, are now evolving into cooperative roles at the service level. The change, however, has not yet been fully accomplished at the commissioner level in some counties.

On the other hand, at the same time that significant improvements in Indian and county relationships are beginning to occur, changes in funding patterns and drastic budget-cutting seem to threaten the entire network of services for Indian families and children.

Funding to enable the Indian Child Welfare Act to work in offering autonomy to Indians to strengthen their families and evolve their own support and intervention systems has not been available in the amounts needed. The threat of total cut off next year makes the situation even more critical.

While funds are being cut back, changes in the relations between federal, state, and local government further complicate the picture. Block grant funding requires the county commissioners to look at social service monies in a way they are not accustomed to. Will they be able to put aside old patterns of thinking in order to respond creatively to a new situation? Will disfavored minorities, such as the Indians, be treated fairly when it is up to the local government to make the decisions? It is

perhaps too early to tell, but the challenges are becoming more real and more pressing with each funding cut.

To fully realize the potential of the Indian Child Welfare Act for strengthening Indian families, as well as improving county services, a systematic reassessment will be needed of service goals, provider roles, and funding mechanisms. Many of those close to the situation feel that the state could serve a vital role in this process.

- The State of Minnesota would reaffirm its commitment to bettering the lives of its Indian citizens by providing funds to implement the programs and services of the Indian Child Welfare Act. These funds would be directly granted to the tribal governments to reestablish a corps of Indian child welfare workers.
- The Department of Public Welfare, in consultation with tribal leaders and county representatives, would monitor and evaluate cooperative county/Indian child welfare services for a three-year period to identify effective service strategies and to improve county services to Indian families. The evaluation would focus on county foster placement practices and on alternatives to placement, and the cost-effectiveness of various child welfare practices.
- The Department of Public Welfare would more closely monitor the counties' decision making as it involves the Community Social Services Act to ensure that the needs of vulnerable populations are being adequately met in county service plans. In instances where DPW finds such needs ignored in county resource allocation, county boards would be required to show cause for such omissions. Specifically, a grievance procedure should be established to hear complaints of underserved and disadvantaged groups.

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## Graduate Interns Available

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Trained, experienced graduate students in sociology are available for applied research internships. Graduate students (some advanced, all having completed the doctoral program methods/statistics sequence) are seeking paid positions that involve the collection and/or analysis of social science

data (in any form) for policy or practical purposes. A wide variety of experience, knowledge, and skills are represented among these students. Contact Professor Paul Reynolds, Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota (612/373-3268) for more information.

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# Student Papers in the Public Administration 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 Administration 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 Administration Library is located in room 365, Blegen Hall, West Bank Campus of the University of Minnesota (373-2892). The faculty advisor for each study is indicated at the end of the entry.

Alozie, Maria E. Perspectives on job satisfaction: an examination of some policy relevant issues. 1980. 39 p. Hoenack.

\_\_\_\_\_. Bureaucratic and political development: the Nigerian experience. 1981. 62 p. Warp.

Butterfield, Kevin. The Semi-States/Transportation Division of the House Appropriations and Senate Finance Committees of the 1981 Minnesota State Legislature: a case study. 1981. 89 p. Jernberg.

Chavez, Luis H. Not everything is law in a law firm. 1982. 33 p. Warp.

\_\_\_\_\_. In support of the fishing laws of Mexico. 1982. 54 p. + appendix. Warp.

Idike, Adeline Alo. A comparison of administration in the public and the private sectors. 1981. 44 p. Warp.

\_\_\_\_\_. A comparison of the available help to the aged in Nigeria and the United States of America. 1981. 47 p. Anderson.

Joel, Lynn. Minnesota state refugee employment programs. 1982. 19 p. Fass.

\_\_\_\_\_. Industry adjustment: shipbuilding in Sweden. 1982. 22 p. Fass.

Kahn, Howard A. Organizational change in health maintenance organizations serving the elderly. 1981. 43 p. Anderson.

\_\_\_\_\_. Analyzing alternatives in physician maldistribution policy. 1981. 46 p. Kudrle.

Lindblad, Kathleen Sears. Brutality and morality: domestic violence and the Hmong. 1982. Fass.

Middendorf, Thomas Michael. The market for firewood from small farm woodlots of east central Minnesota. 1981. 87 p. Dewar.

\_\_\_\_\_. A critique of the east central Minnesota small family farm proposal. 1981. 72 p. Hoyt.

Reitan, Mark Alan. Financial problems of urban public general hospitals as viewed from a socio/political frame of reference. 1981. 53 p. Kudrle.

\_\_\_\_\_. The use of multiple linear regression equations to predict the gross revenue per patient stay for medicaid, general assistance medical care, and

commercial insurance patients. 1982. 119 p. Kudrle.

Steiner, Kathryn. The financial impact of the Indochinese refugee resettlement on a county government. 1981. 42 p. Borchert.

Sweder, Don V. Will the 1980s state process for siting a hazardous waste facility succeed? 1981. 51 p. Einsweiler.

\_\_\_\_\_. Why did the 1970s state process for siting a demonstration hazardous waste facility fail? 1982. 36 p. Einsweiler.

Thoreen, Peter W. Death, dying and terminal care: issues faced by the long-term care facility. 1981. 116 p. Bryson.

Walker, John E. Peoples' regional opportunity program. Multi-year plan. 1982. 107 p. + appendices. Dewar.

\_\_\_\_\_. Analysis of a homemaker program. 1977. 73p. + appendix. Copeland

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## New CURA Publications

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**Courses in the Field of Aging: AUCA Bulletin 1982-84.** All University Center on Aging. 1982. 28 pp.

The All University Center on Aging continues to perform a valuable service for the University community by compiling a listing of all the classes offered at the University of Minnesota that relate to aging. Their latest bulletin, for 1982-84, is just off the press. It includes classes and programs on all University campuses but does not give specific class scheduling details. This year, for the first time, courses with more than 50 percent aging content are indicated with an asterisk.

**The Hmong in the West: Observations and Reports.** Bruce T. Downing and Douglas P. Olney, eds. CURA/Southeast Asian Refugee Studies Program. 1982. CURA 82-1. 401 pp. \$7.00.

What happens when a tribal people are suddenly set down in the midst of Western society? The Hmong have attracted the attention of scholars from around the country because of the unique problems of resettlement and cultural adaptation they face. Collected in this volume are the papers from the national Hmong Research Conferences held at the University of Minnesota in October of 1981. The papers cover a wide range of subjects and include a brief history of the Hmong people and why

they left Laos, traditional Hmong culture and cultural change, Hmong linguistics, problems of English language training, Hmong communities in the United States, and problems of resettlement.

**Peatland Energy Options: Systems Analysis.** Roger Aiken and Douglas S. Wilson. 1982. CURA 82-2. 32 pp.

Minnesota's peatlands offer a large and untapped energy resource. But how much energy would be required to develop the peatlands? And how much energy would be gained from each of the various methods now being considered for developing the peatlands? As part of its Peat Policy Project, CURA prepared a report centering on the energy requirements of various alternative development strategies. This technical supplement to the project's major report, *Energy from Peatlands*, presents calculations that compare the amount of energy that could be extracted from Minnesota peatlands using three different mining techniques as well as a renewable approach. Cattails are used as the renewable crop to be grown on the peatlands, harvested, and converted to usable energy.

**CURA publications may be ordered by phone (612/373-7833) or on the CURA Publication Order Form included with the insert in this Reporter.**



We present here a complete list of CURA publications that are currently available. Individual works are cross-referenced if they could be placed under more than one subject heading. Major articles that have appeared in the *CURA Reporter* are also included in each subject area if copies of the *Reporter* are still available. Publications are available free-of-charge unless otherwise noted. A large number of CURA publications are now out of print but can be photocopied at a cost of 5¢ a page. To learn more about out of print publications you can order a copy of *The Complete List of CURA Publications*, included on the order form at the end of this listing.

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## **BUSINESS, INDUSTRY, AND EMPLOYMENT**

**"Are You Employing Your Total Self?"** See "Human Services."

**Atlas of Minnesota Resources and Settlement.** See "Planning and Public Affairs."

**Day Labor: A Labor Market Analysis of Temporary Industrial Workers.** Steve West. 1981. CURA and the Urban Coalition of Minneapolis, CURA 81-12. 93 pp.—A detailed look at the dynamics of the day labor market is presented here: how it fits into the labor market as a whole, who is involved, how it is used by employers, and what working conditions it offers.

**The Growth of Minority Business in the Twin Cities Metropolitan Area: 1969-1975.** Earl P. Scott. 1977. CURA 77-6. 84 pp.—This monograph traces how federal government efforts to eliminate inequities in the American business community affected minority businesses (and particularly black businesses) in the Twin Cities area between 1969 and 1975. Maps showing changes in minority business are included.

**"Hmong in the Workplace."** See "Minorities."

**Twin Cities Conversions. The Case Studies: How the Finances Work.** See "Housing."

**"When Women Must Work: A Study of the Location of Jobs With Livable Wages for Women in Minnesota,"** Esther Wattenberg and William J. Craig. March 1980. *CURA Reporter* 10 (1): 1-6.—The matrix of women in the workplace is examined, with particular attention to factors affecting availability of well-paying jobs for women. A county-by-county analysis presents a picture of where the jobs are for women in Minnesota that pay a livable wage.

## **COMMUNICATIONS**

**Atlas of Minnesota Resources and Settlement.** See "Planning and Public Affairs."

**"Communicating by Cable: A Sleeping Giant?"** Jennifer Wilder. May 1979. *CURA Reporter*. 9 (3): 1-7.—Written as an introduction to cable television, this article discusses cable in terms of its capabilities and how it has developed in Minnesota. A step-by-step guide to franchising is included.

**"Expert Advice: Can Computers Help Government Find and Use it?"** Robin D. Crickman. March 1981. *CURA Reporter* 11 (1): 1-4.—How has computer conferencing been used as an aid in conducting government business? This paper discusses several systems (INDEX, CONFER, and LEGITECH) and their strengths and weaknesses.

**"Financing Performing Arts in the Twin Cities,"** Joseph Galaskiewicz. March 1980. *CURA Reporter* 10 (1): 7-10.—Arts funding in the Twin Cities is examined and compared with the national trends in funding patterns. The article presents an analysis of what has worked here and why.

**"Voiceless" Groups in the Twin Cities Community: Programming Needs of Some of Public Television's Non-Audiences.** Orville C. Walker, Jr., Priscilla P. Goldstein, and William Rudelius. 1974. CURA and the Graduate School of Business Administration, University of Minnesota. 22 pp.—Results are presented from a survey conducted among minority groups in the community as to how television can serve their needs. Those surveyed were: elderly on fixed income, hard of hearing, mental health patients, women prisoners, teenage expectant mothers, runaway teenagers, V.D. victims, American Indians, black teenage girls, Asians, disabled, and nuns.

**CURA Publications in Print—Sept. 1982**

## COMMUNITY/NEIGHBORHOOD STUDIES

**"Community in Southdale,"** David Cooperman and Lea Hagoel. June 1980. *CURA Reporter* 10 (2): 12-15.—The paper reports on a study of community relationships in a high density Minneapolis suburban area, isolated by the surrounding highways.

**Community Involvement in the Whittier Neighborhood: An Analysis of Neighborhood Conditions and Neighborhood Change.** Rebecca Lou Smith and Thomas L. Anding. 1980. CURA 80-4. 82 pp.—A revitalization effort in the inner city of Minneapolis is evaluated. A corporate and neighborhood partnership enabled a variety of programs to be tackled: housing, crime, business, and neighborhood image. A summary of this report is also available: see "Whittier" in this section.

**Introduction to Community Interviewing.** Leslie H. Brown. 1980. CURA 80-7. 31 pp.—Designed as an aid for groups preparing to interview in the community, this work tells how to train people to do face-to-face interviews and offers a checklist for trainers of things they should remember to do.

**Minnesota Project Rediscovery. Parks and Open Space: Mora, Minnesota.** Lynn Stearns. 1977. CURA 77-4. 21 pp.—A landscape architecture student describes how he developed a recreational concept plan for the community of Mora. Community involvement played an important part in formulating guidelines for his plan.

**"Neighborhood Therapy for Duluth's West End."** Rick Ball. January 1982. *CURA Reporter* 12 (1): 11-13.—An old neighborhood in Duluth has gone through a neighborhood planning process and has begun a revitalization program that involves both local business and residential areas.

**Parallels: Teaching Architecture in Elementary and Secondary Schools.** Gar Hargens and Bev Anderson. 1979. CURA and the Minnesota Society American Institute of Architects. 12 pp.—Teachers and architects can work together to teach community planning in the schools and thereby help educate the next generation of citizens. This four-color pamphlet tells how, based on the authors' experiences in Red Wing, Minnesota.

**Project Rediscovery: Lake City, A Study of Choices.** Robert Friedman. 1977. CURA/Urban Education Center. Color slide/tape show. 20 minutes.\*—Pictures of Lake City, its citizens, and the student designers who worked with them in 1976-77 document the process they went through in rediscovering their community and exploring how the growth of the recreation industry in the community might be encouraged and enhanced. Development ideas for the harbor, Hok-Si-La Park, and the downtown area are featured.

**Project Rediscovery: Red Wing, A Study of Choices.** Robert Friedman. 1977. CURA/Urban Education Center. Color slide/tape show. 22 minutes.\*—Pictures of Red Wing, its citizens, and the student designers who worked with them in 1976-77 document the process they went through in rediscovering their community, analyzing development problems for the community, and proposing solutions. Development ideas for the marina and the downtown business district are highlighted.

**Recycling the Central City: The Development of a New Town-In Town.** See "Housing."

**Staples.** Richard G. Wolfgramm. 1977. CURA 77-5. 37 pp.—Planning and design proposals were prepared by three architecture and landscape architecture students for Staples, Minnesota. Their work, presented here, was part of Project Rediscovery, a CURA Urban Education Center program. This book includes many photos and maps and a wealth of information about the community of Staples.

**Twin Cities Conversions. The Displacement Factor: A Survey of Outmovers.** See "Housing."

**"Whittier: A Revitalization Effort in the Inner City,"** Rebecca Lou Smith. October 1980. *CURA Reporter* 10 (3): 10-12.—This paper presents a summary of *Community Involvement in the Whittier Neighborhood*, listed earlier in this section.

**Windows to the Past: A Bibliography of Minnesota County Atlases.** See "Land Use."

**"Windows to the Past: Minnesota County Atlases."** See "Land Use."

## ENVIRONMENT AND ENERGY

**"The All-University Council on Environmental Quality,"** February 1977. *CURA Reporter* 7 (1): 1-3.—The history and current programs of AUCEQ are briefly described and presented along with a commentary on "the task ahead" by Dean Abrahamson.

**Atlas of Minnesota Resources and Settlement.** See "Planning and Public Affairs."

**"Consensus on Peatland Development,"** Thomas R. Peek. November 1981. *CURA Reporter* 11 (7): 7-8.—This is a short report of the conference held in Grand Rapids, Minnesota in September 1981 ("Minnesota Peatland Development: Energy, Jobs, and Environment"). People from industry, government, environmental organizations, the University, and local residents reached consensus on a number of aspects of peatland development for northern Minnesota.

**Decommissioning Commercial Nuclear Power Plants.** Jane Anderson, Dave Acquilina, and David Rodbourne. 1980. CURA 80-6. 108 pp.—A thorough study of the different methods of decommissioning, the estimated costs, financing issues, and radiation problems, this book was designed to serve as a background work for the public discussion of the policy issues involved when we must dispose of nuclear power plants as they shut down after a normal life-span of 30 years. Also available in summary form: see "Decommissioning..."

**"Decommissioning Commercial Nuclear Power Plants,"** David Acquilina, Jane Anderson, and David Rodbourne. October 1980. *CURA Reporter* 10 (3): 1-5.—This paper summarizes *Decommissioning Commercial Nuclear Power Plants*, listed earlier in this section.

**Energy from Peatlands: Options and Impacts.** CURA Peat Policy Project. 1981. CURA 81-2. 183 pp. \$4.00.—This book is a major report on Minnesota's peat resources and how they might be developed. It includes a discussion of direct peat mining, using peatlands as farmland for growing energy crops, and preserving peatlands. It analyzes the economies of these various approaches; considers the impact development would have on local economies, communities, and the environment; explains the legal and regulatory options available to Minnesota; and presents the recommendations of the peat panel that prepared the report.

**"Environmental Protection Versus the Right of Property Owners,"** Edward J. Drury. May 1979. *CURA Reporter* 9 (3): 9-11.—A study by David Bryden on the origins and effects of a 1972 Wisconsin Supreme Court decision is summarized here. That decision upheld conservancy zoning as part of the comprehensive shoreland zoning statutes in Wisconsin.

**"If We Develop Peat..."** Thomas R. Peek and Douglas S. Wilson. March 1981. *CURA Reporter* 11 (1): 9-11.—The creation of the CURA Peat Policy Project and the different areas it is studying are outlined here. These include: the development options and the problems surrounding the economic, social, and environmental effects of peatland development.

**Minnesota's Lakeshore. Part 1: Resources, Development, Policy Needs.** See "Land Use."

**"Minnesota's Peat: A Waiting Resource in Our Northern Wastelands,"** Jeffrey P. Anderson. March 1980. *CURA Reporter* 10 (1): 11-14.—A background piece on Minnesota's peatlands, this

\*Available on loan from CURA's Outreach Office, 1927 South 5th Street, Minneapolis, MN 55454 (612/376-3684).

article discusses the extent of the peatlands, their energy content, and past uses. Minnegasco's experimental program in peat gasification is noted as are the state of Minnesota's Peat Program, and past CURA mapping studies of the peatlands.

**Peatland Energy Options: Systems Analysis.** Roger Aiken and Douglas S. Wilson. 1982. CURA 82-2. 32 pp.—A technical supplement to the CURA Peat Policy Project's major report *Energy from Peatlands*, this work presents calculations that compare the amount of energy that could be extracted from Minnesota peatlands using three different mining techniques as well as a renewable approach. Cattails are used as the renewable crop to be grown on the peatlands, harvested, and converted to usable energy.

**Presettlement Wetlands of Minnesota.** See "Land Use."

**Public Control of Privately-Owned Land: Approaching Land Use from the Legal Perspective.** See "Land Use."

**Residential Heating Fuel Type, 1970.** CURA and Minnesota State Planning Agency. March 1978. SPA/CURA Wall Map Series #5. Color 25 x 33 inches.—Based on the 1970 Census of Housing, seven maps show the distribution of the various kinds of fuel used for home heating in Minnesota. Supply systems for the fuels are also shown where it is appropriate.

**See the Sun Again.** May 1978. CURA, All University Council on Environmental Quality, and University of Minnesota Graduate School Research Development Center. CURA 78-2. 20 pp.—This pamphlet, prepared for Sun Day (May 3, 1978), presents a summary of current solar research at the University of Minnesota.

**A Student Guide to Courses and Programs in the Environment 1980-82.** All University Council on Environmental Quality. 1980. 79 pp.—A course guide to all the classes related to environmental concerns at the University of Minnesota, this publication includes classes, programs, facilities, and libraries on all the University's campuses along with information about community facilities.

**Uranium in Minnesota: An Introduction to Exploration, Mining, and Milling.** Dean Abrahamson and Edward Zabinsky. 1980. Revised March 1981. CURA 80-2. 67 pp.—Prepared as a primer on uranium and how it is mined, this work gives particular attention to current explorations for uranium in Minnesota, the radiation hazards involved in mining and milling, and the means available to the state for controlling the development of uranium mining in Minnesota.

## HOUSING

**Atlas of Minnesota Resources and Settlement.** See "Planning and Public Affairs."

**"Changing Populations in an Urban Renewal Area,"** Richard Chase. March 1982. *CURA Reporter* 12 (2): 6-9.—A study of displacement in the Minneapolis neighborhood of Seward West is summarized in this article. Data about the neighborhood population before urban renewal (1969) and after renewal (1980) are compared and analyzed.

**"The Costs of Regulation: Home Builders, Developers and the Maze of Government Review,"** B. Warner Shippee. January 1982. *CURA Reporter* 12 (1): 2-8.—A year long study of the regulatory processes that local, regional, state, and federal governments have created as controls on residential development is presented here. The article discusses the regulatory picture in Minnesota and details the additional costs that accrue to the home buyer as a result of local fees, delays, and uncertainties in the home building process.

**"From Soybeans to Split-levels: Exurbanites in Wright and Olmsted Counties."** See "Land Use."

**Housing Rehabilitation Loan Programs in Minnesota.** James D. Fitzsimmons, Julia A. Nutter, and Kathleen A. Gilder. May 1975. 82 pp.—Three programs created in 1974 to assist mainly low and

moderate income people in maintaining and rehabilitating their homes are described: the Minneapolis Housing Rehabilitation Loan and Grant Program, the St. Paul Housing Rehabilitation Loan and Grant Program, and the Minnesota Housing Finance Agency Rehabilitation Loan Program.

**Municipal Housing Policy in Minnesota.** 1977. CURA; the School of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota; and the Office of Local and Urban Affairs, Minnesota State Planning Agency. CURA 77-3. 143 pp.—This work presents an inventory of programs and grants of authority that can be used in creating local housing programs and local housing policies. A series of case studies shows how the elements listed in the inventory have actually been combined to design local housing programs in three suburban Twin Cities communities.

**New Homes, Vacancy Chains, and Housing Submarkets in the Twin City Area.** John S. Adams. August 1973. 56 pp.—The results of a University of Minnesota class project are presented here. The impact of new housing in the Twin Cities area was studied by following the "vacancy chains" created when one family moves into a new housing unit, thus leaving their old housing unit vacant for another family to move in, vacating a third unit and so on.

**Parallels: Teaching Architecture in Elementary and Secondary Schools.** See "Community Studies."

**Postwar Housing in National and Local Perspective: A Twin Cities Case Study.** Rebecca Lou Smith. 1978. CURA 78-4. 63 pp.—After World War II a housing boom swept the nation. This study reviews the major features of that boom and its Twin Cities component. Changes in some typical Twin Cities postwar suburbs are analyzed in depth.

**Recycling the Central City: The Development of a New Town-In Town.** Judith A. Martin. 1978. CURA 78-1. 161 pp.—Author Martin presents a detailed examination of the planning and development of Minneapolis' Cedar-Riverside project, the first federally sponsored urban new town. Her study includes the origins of the project through the first phase of development, along with a survey conducted after the first year of occupancy. Illustrated with many maps and photographs.

**Residential Heating Fuel Type 1970.** See "Environment and Energy."

**"Selling the Land: Rural Land for Urban use?"** See "Land Use."

**Twin City Conversions of the Real Estate Kind.** Barbara Lukermann and others. 1981. CURA 81-5. 96 pp.—A major study of condominium and cooperative conversions in the Twin Cities metropolitan area was completed in 1981. The results, presented here, include maps locating all the conversions; surveys of condominium developers, of buyers, and of those displaced when the buildings were converted; an analysis of cooperative housing; financial case studies; an evaluation of the Minneapolis Homeownership Program; and a discussion of the study results in terms of housing policy for the metropolitan area. More detailed reports of parts of this study are also printed separately under the general title: *Twin City Conversions*.

**Twin City Conversions. The Case Studies: How the Finances Work.** Milo Pinkerton. 1981. CURA 81-8. 17 pp.—The financial aspects of three actual conversions are described here, each representative of a particular type of conversion. Time lines for development, income and expenses, and profit and loss are recorded for each project. A comparison of three apartments is made in terms of costs to the renter or owner before and after conversion. The effects of conversion on real estate taxes are analyzed.

**Twin City Conversions. The Condominium Market: Surveys of Activity, Developers, and Buyers.** Barbara Lukermann and Milo Pinkerton. 1981. CURA 81-6. 67 pp.—Complete details of condominium conversion activity between 1970 and 1980 are presented

(including a map of conversions in the metro area). Lukermann and Pinkerton include an analysis of who the developers were, how they operated, and their attitudes toward public housing policies. They also analyze a survey of condominium buyers.

**Twin City Conversions. The Complete Inventory: 1970-1980.** Milo Pinkerton. 1981. CURA 81-9. 36 pp.—This is a complete listing of the addresses of all the conversions studied in *Twin City Conversions of the Real Estate Kind*. All converted condominiums in the seven-county metro area and all converted cooperatives are included along with the new condos and new coops in Hennepin and Ramsey counties.

**Twin City Conversions. The Displacement Factor: A Survey of Outmovers.** Thomas L. Anding and Rebecca Smith. 1981. CURA 81-7. 22 pp.—The complete survey data is presented from a study of 207 outmovers, "displaced" when their apartments in Hennepin and Ramsey Counties were converted to condominiums.

## HUMAN SERVICES

**American Indian Alcoholism in St. Paul.** See "Minorities."

**"Are You Employing Your Total Self?"** Judith H. Weir. May 1979. *CURA Reporter* 9 (3): 7-8.—The article gives a brief introduction to the work of the Vocational Assessment Clinic at the University of Minnesota.

**Atlas of Minnesota Resources and Settlement.** See "Planning and Public Affairs."

**Bibliography of Retirement Resources.** Janet S. Myers. April 1979. All-University Council on Aging. 19 pp.—The bibliography lists books and articles on retirement, including call numbers for those books in the University of Minnesota Twin Cities library system.

**"Bibliography: On Aging."** Eunice Bisbee Johnson. October 1980. *All University Council on Aging: News* 6 (2): 3-5.—Designed for people interested in the field of aging, this paper is a guide to bibliographic sources, listing data bases, search services, and key reference tools.

**Caring for Children.** 1974-75. CURA/Office of Career Development. Ramsey County Day Care Training Project Slide Tapes.\*

**Ages and Stages,** the developmental relationship. [5E 934]

**Are You Listening?** parent, child, caregiver relationship. [5E 933]

**Because I Said So,** guiding behavior. [7E 935]

**Childhood at Risk,** helping young children handle harsh realities. [5D 461]

**Hurrah for Me!** self-esteem in young children [5E 932]

**Imagine That!** an introduction to creativity in children. [5E 936]

**Through Our Eyes,** cultural identity in child care. [5E 931]

**Courses in the Field of Aging: AUCA Bulletin 1982-1984.** All-University Center on Aging. 1982. 28 pp.—This bulletin serves as a guide to all classes offered at the University of Minnesota that relate to aging. It includes classes and programs on all University campuses but no specific class scheduling details.

**"Down the Road with Aging."** Donald W. Legler. January 1982. *CURA Reporter* 12 (1): 9-11.—The tasks facing the All-University Council on Aging are depicted along with a brief history of the council.

**If the Bough Breaks . . .** 1975-76. CURA/Office of Social Service Training Projects. Minnesota Child Welfare Training Project Slide Tapes.\*

**Goodbye Again,** separation issues in child placement. [3E 992]

**If the Bough Breaks,** developmental needs in the first year of life. [5E 994]

**Like a Motherless Child,** toward understanding neglecting parents. [5S 1441]

**She Was Always Hugging Me,** handling separation issues in child placement. [5E 993]

**The Theft of Childhood,** toward understanding abusive parents. [5E 991]

**"Indian Alcoholism in St. Paul."** See "Minorities."

**"Rethinking Child Care Issues: The Family Day Care Option."** Esther Wattenberg. March 1982. *CURA Reporter* 12 (2): 13-16.—Current patterns of child care for working parents are examined in relation to the social revolution we are experiencing, the changing patterns of government social policy, and the economic realities of the day. Recommendations are suggested for government policy in relation to day care.

**Room at the Top: Moving Women into Administrative Positions in Social Welfare.** Esther Wattenberg, editor. 1978. CURA 78-3. 28 pp.—Basic administrative concepts, historical patterns and trends in Minnesota, different styles of administration, and some typical administrative problems are presented and discussed in this proceedings of a seminar held by the Minnesota chapter of the National Association of Social Workers in January 1978.

**"Senior Centers in Minnesota."** Theodore R. Anderson and Jan Benson. March 1982. *CURA Reporter* 12 (2): 10-13.—Senior centers have recently sprung up in community after community across the entire state. Anderson and Benson offer the results of their recent study of senior centers, focusing here on the kinds of service they offer and how they relate to their communities.

**"Voiceless" Groups in the Twin Cities Community: Programming Needs of Some of Public Television's Non-Audiences.** See "Communications."

## LAND USE\*

**Atlas of Minnesota Resources and Settlement.** See "Planning and Public Affairs."

**Available Wetlands for Bioenergy Purposes.** See "Environment and Energy."

**Building Permits Monitor Development and Land Use Change in Wright County.** William J. Craig. 1979. CURA 79-5. 129 pp.—A new method of monitoring growth and land use changes is proposed and a pilot study using this method in Wright County is reported. County building permits were geocoded and computerized so that computer generated maps could show land use changes.

**"Environmental Protection Versus the Right of Property Owners."** See "Environment and Energy."

**"From Soybeans to Split-Levels: Exurbanites in Wright and Olmsted Counties."** Lizbeth A. Pyle. March 1981. *CURA Reporter* 11 (1): 4-8.—The first in a series of papers reporting on the urbanization process in rural areas, this paper discusses characteristics of new homeowners in rural areas of Wright and Olmsted Counties, compares them with long-time residents, and reports on the problems of converting rural land to residential use as seen by the two groups. See also "Selling the Land" in this section.

\*CURA worked with the Minnesota State Planning Agency for a decade establishing the Minnesota Land Management Information System. A large number of publications resulted. Only those still available at CURA are listed here, but most of the MLMIS publications are available from the Land Management Information Center, 15 Capitol Square Building, St. Paul, MN 55101 (612/296-1211). LMIC has a list of publications as well as a newsletter that it will send out to interested persons.

\*Available from University of Minnesota Audiovisual Library Service, 3300 University Ave. S.E., Minneapolis, MN 55414 (612/373-3810). AV Library Service numbers indicated in brackets.

**Minnesota's Lakeshore. Part 1: Resources, Development, Policy Needs.** John R. Borchert, George W. Orning, Joseph Stinchfield, and Les Maki. 1970. CURA and Department of Geography. 47 pp.—This is the summary report of the Minnesota Lakeshore Development Study, providing guidelines for the establishment of a lake and shore management system in Minnesota. The study led to the Minnesota Lake Shore Zoning Act.

**Public Control of Privately-Owned Land: Approaching Land Use from the Legal Perspective.** All University Council on Environmental Quality. December 1975. 28 pp.—A brief history of the development of public restrictions on the use of private land is presented along with descriptions of five acts passed by the Minnesota State Legislature in the early 1970s that extended the state's role in regulating private land use.

**"Selling the Land: Rural Land for Urban Use?"** Lizbeth A. Pyle. November 1981. *CURA Reporter* 11 (7): 9-13.—The second in a series of papers reporting on the urbanization process in rural areas, this article reports on a study of rural landowners in Olmsted County and analyzes the characteristics of those who sell their property for conversion, why they sell, and how they differ from those who don't sell. See also "From Soybeans to Split-Levels" in this section.

**Surface Water—Metropolitan Minneapolis—St. Paul Area 1974.** CURA/MLMIS, Geography, and the Minnesota State Planning Agency. Color wall map 35 x 43 inches. 1975.—This map compares lakes, streams, and rivers in the metro area as they are shown on topographic maps and as they appear in satellite imagery.

**Twin Cities Metropolitan Area Land Use, 1974.** CURA/MLMIS, Geography, and Minnesota State Planning Agency. Color wall map 23 x 29 inches.—The map distinguishes eight kinds of land uses as they appear in satellite imagery: central business district, commercial-industrial-institutional, residential 1, residential 2, water, extractive, forest, and other. Map designed to accompany *Mapping Twin Cities Minnesota Metropolitan Area Land Use With ERTS-1 Imagery* (CURA/MLMIS and Minnesota State Planning Agency, 1975, LMIC #5013).

**What's Happening to Farmland in Minnesota?** William J. Craig. 1981. CURA 81-4. 11 pp.—An examination of how calculations of farmland losses are made, shows that statewide farm losses may be half of what they have been publicized to be. This report also looks at the indicators of where in the state we are losing farmland.

**Windows to the Past: A Bibliography of Minnesota County Atlases.** Mai Treude. 1980. CURA 80-3. 187 pp.—Treude has prepared a comprehensive listing of Minnesota's county atlases and where they are available. Published from 1867 to the present, these atlases contain records of land use and land ownership, directories of businesses and residences, photographs of buildings and people, geneologies, county histories, and advertisements. In an introduction to the bibliography, a brief history of the county atlas and how it developed in Minnesota is presented along with a number of illustrations from Minnesota atlases. Excerpts from the introduction are available in "Windows to the Past..."

**"Windows to the Past: Minnesota County Atlases."** Mai Treude. June 1980. *CURA Reporter* 10 (2): 4-10.—A brief history of the county atlas and how it developed in Minnesota is presented along with a number of illustrations from Minnesota atlases. Excerpted from *Windows to the Past*, listed earlier in this section.

## MINORITIES

**American Indian Alcoholism in St. Paul.** Michael Miller and Laura Waterman-Wittstock. 1981. CURA 81-11. 60 pp.—The findings of a survey designed and conducted largely by Indians are reported here. Data are presented on who is alcoholic, how wide spread the problem is, and how programs and services for the alcoholic Indian are working. Recommendations and an extensive

annotated bibliography are included. The work is also available in summary form: see "Indian Alcoholism..." in this section.

**American Indians and the Criminal Justice System in Minnesota.** Roger Benjamin and Choong Nam Kim. 1979. CURA 79-6. 61 pp.—A statistical comparison is made of how the Minnesota Criminal Justice System treats American Indians as compared with blacks and whites. Treatment by police, prosecutors, and courts is examined as well as treatment within the corrections system. How Indians are treated in different areas of Minnesota is explored. Data originated in the computerized data base of the state's Bureau of Criminal Apprehension.

**Annotated Bibliography of Recent Research on Chicanos and Latinos in Minnesota.** Greg Stark, Kathryn Guthrie, and Cheryl Selinsky. 1980. CURA/Minnesota Spanish-Speaking Research and Data Collection Task Force. CURA 80-1. 56 pp.—The bibliography includes both published and unpublished works of merit. Research is presented in four categories: policy and issue oriented studies, immigrant affairs, data sources and descriptive studies, and specific program studies. At least one verified location of where to obtain each study is given.

**Atlas of Minnesota Resources and Settlement.** See "Planning and Public Affairs."

**Bibliography of Social Science Research and Writings on American Indians.** Russell Thornton and Mary K. Grasmick. 1979. CURA 79-1. 160 pp.—Thornton and Grasmick have compiled a listing of social science knowledge on American Indians as it has appeared in scholarly journals in the fields of history, sociology, geography, political science, economics, and American and ethnic studies. Entries date from the late 19th century to 1976.

**A Bibliography of the Hmong (Miao).** Douglas P. Olney. CURA/Southeast Asian Refugee Studies Program. August 1981. CURA 81-10. 53 pp.—Writings on the Hmong people of Laos are listed under eight subject headings: general works on Southeast Asia, general Hmong ethnography, specific aspects of Hmong ethnography, linguistic studies of Hmong and Mien, refugee resettlement, journalism, Hmong language books, and bibliographies. Most of the works listed are available at the University of Minnesota.

**The Growth of Minority Business in the Twin Cities Metropolitan Area: 1969-1975.** See "Business, Industry, and Employment."

**The Hmong in the West: Observations and Reports.** Bruce T. Downing and Douglas P. Olney, eds. CURA/Southeast Asian Refugee Studies Program. 1982. CURA 82-1. 401 pp. \$7.00.—Papers of the 1981 Hmong Research Conference are published here. The papers cover a wide range of subjects and include a brief history of the Hmong people and why they left Laos, traditional Hmong culture and cultural change, Hmong linguistics, problems of English language training, Hmong communities in the United States, and problems of resettlement.

**"Hmong in the Workplace."** Glenn L. Hendricks and Brad Richardson. March 1982. *CURA Reporter* 12 (2): 1-5.—Hendricks and Richardson report on a study they made of local employment needs of the Hmong refugees in the Twin Cities area and on local employers' experiences with Hmong workers.

**"Indian Alcoholism in St. Paul."** Michael Miller and Laura Waterman-Wittstock. November 1981. *CURA Reporter* 11 (7): 1-6.—This paper summarizes *American Indian Alcoholism in St. Paul*, listed earlier in this section.

**Indochinese Refugee Settlement Patterns in Minnesota.** Glenn Hendricks. 1981. CURA 81-3. 7 pp. and 3 maps.—How many refugees live where? Indochinese settlements are roughly located on maps of Minnesota and the Twin Cities area and presented along with a discussion of some of the factors involved in refugee decisions about where to live.

**"A Model for Bringing Academics into the Minority Community."** Edward L. Duren, Jr. October 1980. *CURA Reporter* 10 (3): 7-9—Duren describes the Communiversity Personnel Grants Program that brings faculty and students to the aid of community agencies working with minority communities.

**"Refugees and Researchers."** Judith H. Weir. March 1981. *CURA Reporter* 11 (1): 12-14.—Background on the influx of Southeast Asians to Minnesota is presented along with a description of the Southeast Asian Refugee Study Project and some of their current research efforts.

**"Voiceless" Groups in the Twin Cities Community: Programing Needs of Some of Public Television's Non-Audiences.** See "Communications."

## PLANNING AND PUBLIC AFFAIRS\*

**American Indians and the Criminal Justice System in Minnesota.** See "Minorities."

**Atlas of Minnesota Resources and Settlement.** John R. Borchert and Neil C. Gustafson. 3rd edition. 1980. CURA and the Minnesota State Planning Agency. CURA 80-5. 309 pp. 350 two-color maps. 24 tables. \$4.00.—The atlas brings together in a single source a vast amount of information on Minnesota's basic resources and current trends and development. Examples of topics included are bedrock geology, farm-size changes, export manufactures, weekly newspaper circulation, changes in housing construction, and local government taxes. Designed as an aid for local and state government officials and a data source for students learning about Minnesota's development, it is also a fascinating reference work for the general public seeking to learn more about the state.

**Atlas of Minnesota Taxing Jurisdictions.** Jim J. Lee. 1975. CURA/Rapid Analysis Fiscal Tool Project. 216 pp.—This work presents a series of maps of the government units in Minnesota that are important in the process of taxation: regional development commissions, counties, municipalities, school districts, and special taxing districts. The maps were current as of October 1975.

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**"Government Training Service (GTS) Comes of Age."** Thomas M. Scott. October 1980. *CURA Reporter* 10 (3):6.—The origins and purposes of GTS are described along with a brief history of its development.

**Minnesota Development Regions.** CURA and Minnesota State Planning Agency. October 1974. SPA/CURA Wall Map Series #3. Black and white 23 x 29 inches.—The thirteen state development regions are located and named on a map showing county boundaries.

**Municipal Housing Policy in Minnesota.** See "Housing."

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**Taxes and the Minnesota Community.** John R. Borchert. 1979. CURA 79-3. 33 pp.—Borchert explains how the collection of taxes statewide and the redistribution of those monies for different state needs works. Minnesota taxation is also compared with other states. Includes 45 maps and figures.

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**Carpooling: An Overview With Annotated Bibliography.** Roger Plum and Jerry Edwards. 1979. CURA 79-2. 36 pp.—This review monograph discusses how carpooling compares with mass transit, presents two systems of ridesharing (carpooling and vanpooling), and lists incentives to encourage people to rideshare and disincentives to discourage people from riding alone. An annotated bibliography of sources for more information is also included.

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# A Note From the Editor

What should be the fate of our nation's farmlands? Will we preserve them for agricultural use? Will we allow some to be used for residential development? The ever expanding urbanization of our society seems to press this question on policymakers a little more each year.

Over the past several years CURA has been examining the issues of urbanization and farmland loss in Minnesota from a number of different angles. We present here the third (and last) in a series of articles prepared by Betsy Pyle for the *Reporter* based on her studies of land use change in Olmsted County. (See *CURA Reporters* for March 1981 and November 1981 for her earlier reports.)

CURA's Assistant Director, Will Craig, in another work (*What's Happening to Farmland in Minnesota?* CURA 1981), examines how calculations of farmland losses are made. Mr. Craig has also prepared a new method of monitoring growth and land use changes in his *Building Permits Monitor Development and Land Use Change in Wright County* (CURA 1979).

The issues involved in land use change are complex. Experts don't always agree. Ms. Pyle worked closely with both Will Craig and Phil Wheeler, Olmsted County Consolidated Planning Department, in her study of land use changes in Olmsted County. Mr. Wheeler has a different perspective on the situation in Olmsted County. We asked him to prepare a response to Ms. Pyle's paper since the two of them disagree on a number of points. We are pleased to present his response here, along with her article.

J.H.W.



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## New Homes in the Countryside: Prime Farmland for Residential Development?

by Lizbeth A. Pyle

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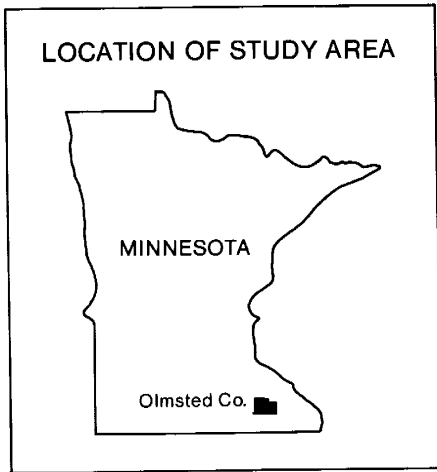
**Betsy Pyle is a Ph.D. candidate in the geography department at the University of Minnesota. Her area of special interest is land use and land tenure changes in rural areas of the United States. This article is the third she has written for the CURA Reporter on her research in Olmsted County. She offers special thanks to Philip Wheeler, Olmsted County Consolidated Planning Department, and William Craig, CURA, for their help with her work on land use changes.**

Anyone who has ventured outside the city in recent years will testify that change is afoot in our nation's rural areas. Houses stand where crops once grew, and the countryside is peopled with more converts to country living than bona fide farmers. Rural residential development is criticized for a variety of reasons, but the issue that has drawn the greatest attention is the loss of prime farmland. People fear that each new rural home or subdivision whittles away a precious part of our nation's agricultural resource base, threatening our ability to sustain full agricultural production for domestic consumption and foreign export. Is prime farmland, in fact, threatened by urbanization of the countryside? If it is, the situation may be serious because once land has been converted to a more intensive use, chances are slight that it will ever revert to agricultural production.

For several years, CURA has been studying the urbanization of rural land in Olmsted County, Minnesota. Between 1971 and 1979 more than 1,400 new homes were built in unincorporated areas of the county. Rochester, the county seat, is spilling over into the surrounding countryside. Though a majority of the county's workers are employed in Rochester, where the Mayo Clinic and International Business Machines dominate the work force, the county itself is largely agricultural. Eighty-two percent of the county's land is farmland. Is residential development in rural areas near Rochester using up the best farmland? And if so, what can be done about it? CURA's study examines these questions.

### Patterns of Residential Development

A detailed land use map, building permit records, air photos, and files in the Olmsted County assessor's office were used to inventory new rural residences. Because development on prime farmland was at the core of public concern, information on the previous land use and soil quality of building sites was also recorded. Land use was interpreted from air photos and soil quality was determined from maps in the local planning office. CURA coded and mapped the residential development data by forty-acre units using the Minnesota Land Man-



agement Information System (MLMIS).\*

The results of the inventory (Figure 1) show that new rural homes had been built in every township in the county, but most of the new construction was concentrated in the townships closest to the city of Rochester.

Construction occurred on both platted and unplatted property. Platted properties, commonly called subdivisions, are groups of lots of uniform sizes that have been surveyed for sale to individuals for residential use. Unplatted properties are scattered individual parcels of land, varying in size, that are not part of a major, planned residential subdivision. Acreage information from the county assessor's files, used to inventory development during the latter part of the 1970s, revealed pronounced differences in size between platted and unplatted properties. Platted land sites tended to be very close to the county health department's minimum lot size requirement of two acres (average, 2.04 acres; median, 2.17 acres). Unplatted sites were usually larger and more variable in size (average, 23.17 acres; median, 6.13 acres).

A majority (58 percent) of the people building new homes in the country opted for sites in platted subdivisions, and nearly all the new homes built on platted land in unincorporated areas of the county during the 1970s were in six townships: Cascade, Haverhill, Rochester, and Marion (surrounding the city of Rochester) plus Oronoco to the north, and Kalmar to the west. Rivers and highways served as a focus for most of this development. The density of development on platted land is acutely much greater than the pattern revealed in Figure 1. Most of the forty acre parcels indicated as having more than one new home contain platted lots, and one-third of the parcels with platted lots contain five or more new homes.

The pattern of development on unplatted land is widely scattered compared

to the clustering of new homes on platted land. Most of the forty acre parcels indicated as containing only one new home represent construction on unplatted land; eighty percent of the parcels with new homes on unplatted lots contain no more than one new home. Access to major roads and streams attracted people building new homes on unplatted land, but the pattern of construction on unplatted land clearly was not limited to these areas. The scattered pattern reflects the importance of often overlooked personal reasons for selling land, such as providing a relative with a residential lot.\* The idealized economic model of land conversion with decreasing built-up uses as distance from the city center increases does not readily incorporate such highly personal reasons for land use change.

These new homes, whether in platted subdivisions or on scattered, unplatted lots, made conspicuous changes in many rural roadside scenes throughout Olmsted County. But to what extent did they pose a threat to the county's stock of prime agricultural land?

### What is Prime?

Before the extent of prime agricultural land converted to housing can be estimated, one must define *prime*. There are nearly as many definitions of *prime* as there are

definers. Most would agree that the term *prime* should be reserved for the best. But what is the best?

Physical characteristics are often used to grade the quality of soil. George Poch, regional soil scientist with the U.S. Department of Agriculture for southeastern Minnesota, derived a soil rating scheme—the Crop Equivalency Rating (CER)—that is used for planning purposes in Olmsted County. CER subtracts points from a perfect score of 100 for the impact of certain soil quality characteristics on crop yields. Characteristics that affect the rating are: slope, soil depth, rooting depth, water capacity, drainage, surface texture, reaction, erosion, and flooding hazard.

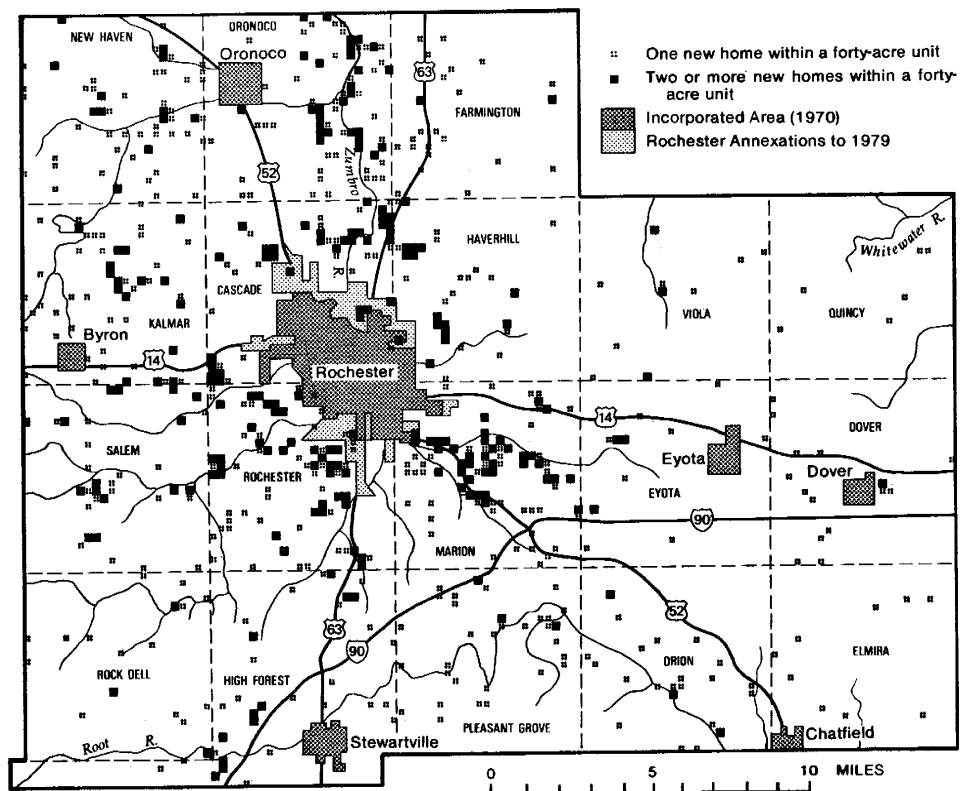
Olmsted County planning officials grouped the soils into five classes based on CERs. Class 1 contains soils with ratings of 80 or more. Soils rated between 60 and 79 are in Class 2, soils between 40 and 59 are in Class 3, and so on. The county designated soils in the top two classes (CERs of 60 or more) as *prime*. Soils that meet the county's definition of *prime* can be expected to yield about 100 bushels of corn per acre\* when rotated with hay and other crops. These soils clearly are good quality soils, but are they the best?

Part of this study of prime farmland loss suggests reserving the term *prime* for soils only in the top class (CERs of 80 or more).

\*See "Selling the Land: Rural Land for Urban Use?" Lizbeth A. Pyle. CURA Reporter, November 1981, pp. 9-13.

\*Approximate corn yields from Olmsted County Planning Department.

Figure 1. NEW RURAL HOMES IN OLMSTED COUNTY, MINNESOTA, 1971-1979



\*MLMIS is a computerized data base and geographical information system originally developed by CURA and now maintained by the Minnesota Department of Energy, Planning, and Development. Much of the information is stored in cell format and the most common cell size is forty acres. A forty-acre unit corresponds to a quarter-quarter section in the Public Land Survey System of land division.

These soils can be expected to yield about 115 bushels of corn per acre continuously, without the need for rotation with other crops. Because soils with CERs of 80 or more have greater agricultural productivity potential, they seem more deserving of designation as *prime*.

Soil provides a nearly continuous cover on the land, and the quality of soil can be assessed regardless of how it is used. Occasionally, soils of the best quality for agricultural use occur in small, isolated pockets that are not large enough to be farmed economically. In other places, soil rated *prime* may have been committed long ago to a nonagricultural use, and it remains in that use today.

Public concern about new homes in the countryside centers on the loss of prime soil in agricultural use to residential development. Before determining how much of the 1970s development in Olmsted County occurred on prime soils that had been in agricultural use, we begin by considering soil quality alone.

If one uses the more narrow definition of *prime* (CER of 80 or more) about half, or 45 percent, of Olmsted County's soil is prime (Table 1). According to this definition, 28 percent of the new rural homes were built on prime soil. Under the county definition of *prime*, more than three-quarters, or 78 percent, of the county is covered with prime soil. The proportion of new rural homes on prime soil is also much higher when the county's definition of *prime* is used. The figure includes an additional 32 percent of the new homes, those on soils with CERs between 60 and 80, bringing the total proportion of new homes on prime soil to 60 percent.

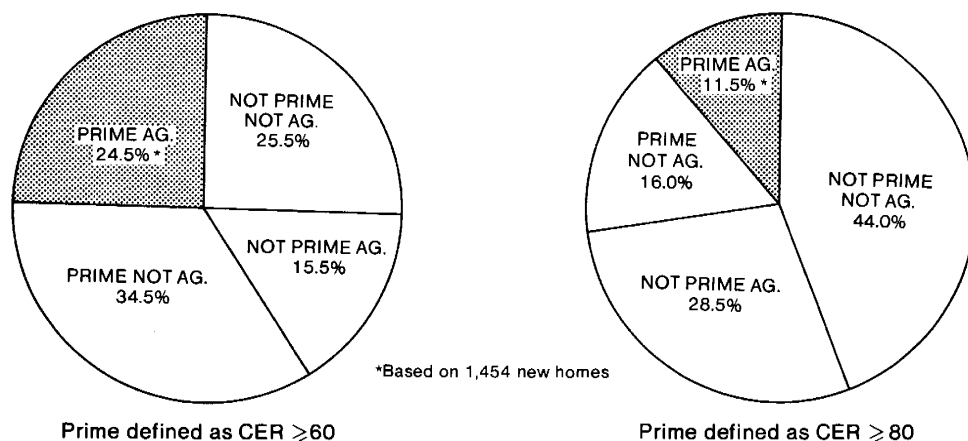
If soils of a given quality and new construction occurred randomly, one would expect the percentage of construction on prime soil to equal the percentage of the county's soil rated prime, resulting in a ratio of 1.00. But under either definition of *prime*, new rural homes have been built on prime soils at less than the respective soils' incidence in the county. The table shows that there was relatively less construction on prime soil using the narrower definition of *prime*. The ratios in Table 1 that exceed 1.00 represent new homes on less than prime soils, showing that people actually built a disproportionate number of new homes on less than prime soils according to either definition of *prime*.

Development on prime soil obviously has not been as common as most people fear. Nevertheless, the definition of *prime* makes a difference in how serious the problem of development on prime soils appears. More than twice as much development occurred on prime soils when one uses the county's definition of *prime* (28 percent versus 60 percent).

**Table 1. NEW RURAL HOMES AND SOIL QUALITY IN OLMSTED COUNTY, MINNESOTA, 1971-1979.**

Soil Quality	Soil in the County	Site of New Construction	Ratio (site/county)
<b>More Limited Definition of Prime</b>			
Prime (CER≥80)	45%	28%	0.62
Not Prime (CER<80)	55%	72%	1.32
<b>Olmsted County's Definition of Prime</b>			
Prime (CER≥60)	78%	60%	0.77
Not Prime (CER<60)	22%	40%	1.82

**Figure 2. SITE CHARACTERISTICS OF NEW RURAL HOMES IN OLMSTED COUNTY, MINNESOTA, 1971-1979**



### Development on Prime Farmland

CURA's study considered previous land use as well as soil quality in evaluating the effects of residential development on rural land in Olmsted County. The sites that were used for new rural homes can be divided into four categories based on land use and soil quality: 1) the soil was prime and the land had been used for agriculture (prime farmland), 2) the soil was prime but the land had not been used for agriculture, 3) the soil was not prime but the land had been used for agriculture, and 4) the soil was not prime and the land had not been used for agriculture.

Here again, the definition of *prime* makes a considerable difference in interpreting the results. Figure 2 shows the characteristics of the land on which the new rural homes were built, comparing the four categories of land use and soil quality under the two definitions of *prime*. Even when using the county's definition (CER of 60 or more), it seems evident that development is not consciously selecting prime farmland for residential use. Only one-quarter of Olmsted County's new rural

homes were built on prime farmland. The largest portion of development in the four categories is on prime soils that were not being farmed (34.5 percent). Most of these sites were wooded (37.5 percent) or previously committed to residential use (62 percent). Many in the latter group represented infill on vacant lots in platted subdivisions that the Planning Advisory Commission approved before its adoption of a farmland retention policy.

If the more limited definition of *prime* is used (CER of 80 or more), the amount of construction on prime farmland is halved—from 24.5 percent (with the county definition) to 11.5 percent (with the narrower definition). Obviously, the amount of development that occurred on prime farmland depends on how *prime* is defined, but regardless of definition the vast majority of new rural homes are not taking high quality land out of agricultural production.

Figures 3 and 4 use the two definitions of *prime* to show new homes on prime soil that had been cultivated (prime farmland). More new homes appear in Figure 3 than in Figure 4 because the county's definition of

prime is broader. Yet when either of these figures is compared to Figure 1, it is easy to see that most of the new home sites in rural Olmsted County have not used prime farmland.

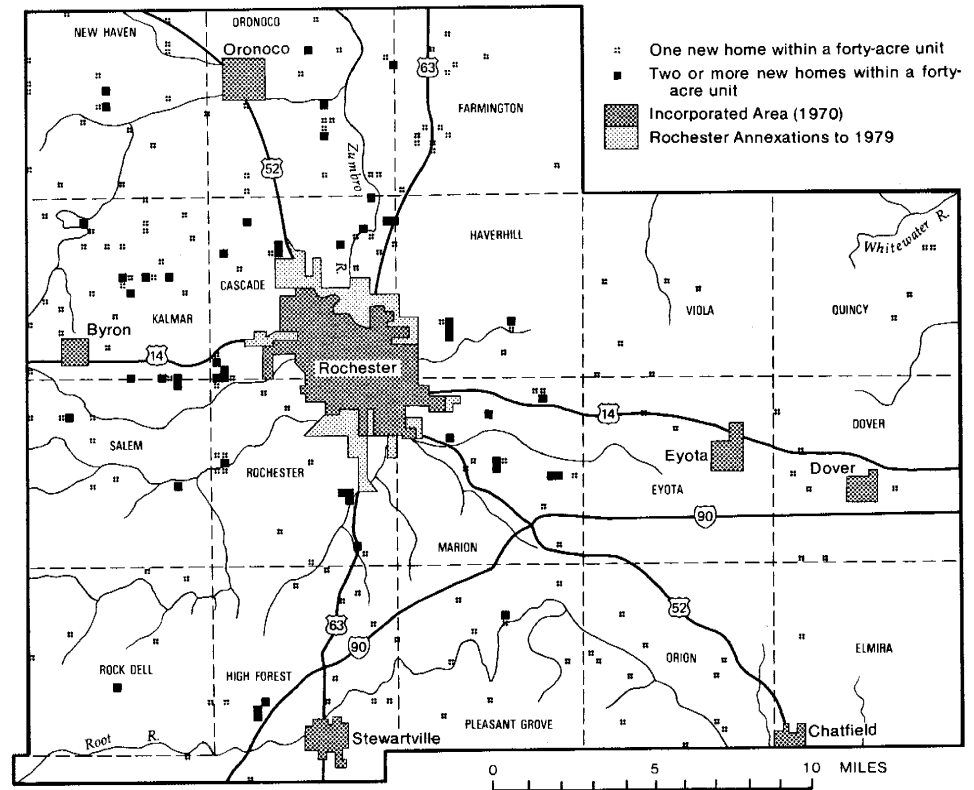
Within the county, there was some variation between the pattern of new homes on prime farmland and the pattern of all new development. Kalmar and Cascade townships lost their best agricultural land to new housing more often than other townships under the more limited definition of *prime* (Figure 4). But these two townships had high proportions of new development as well as large proportions of rich soil. Prime soils (CER of 80 or more) cover 52 percent of Cascade and 40 percent of Kalmar. Many new homes were built in Rochester and Marion townships, also, but fewer used prime farmland because less of the total area of these two townships fell into the top soil class. Only 32 percent of Rochester and 25 percent of Marion have soils with CERs of 80 or more. Oronoco Township, which housed a significant proportion of development during the 1970s, did not lose much prime farmland because only 24 percent of its soil is rated at 80 or more.

### The County's Response

As the popularity of rural living increased, Olmsted County elected officials took a stance on the loss of prime farmland. They recognized the need to guide land use changes in the county, and adopted a series of *Growth Guidelines* in 1977. Their planning goal was to identify areas for growth in the county that would be compatible with preserving prime agricultural land, economizing public service expenditures, conserving energy and other natural resources, and minimizing conflicts between farm and nonfarm uses of land. In 1978, the County Board of Commissioners adopted the *General Land Use Plan for the Olmsted County Area*. The plan offers a strategy for accommodating Rochester's growth while protecting the agricultural economy of the county. In the same year, they approved an amendment to the subdivision ordinance designed to reduce the parcelization of agriculturally significant land. The Planning Advisory Commission recently proposed a new zoning ordinance that will provide the regulatory framework for implementing the land use plan.

The proposed ordinance encourages higher density residential land use in Rochester's future urban service area and in suburban subdivision areas because compact development is most compatible with the county's planning goal. The plan designates most of the county as agricultural. More stringent conditions for residential land use will be enforced in agricultural areas. The density of nonfarm development in these areas will be restricted to either one new nonfarm home per 160 acres, one per 40 acres, or four per 40 acres, depending on the pattern of agricul-

**Figure 3. NEW RURAL HOMES ON PRIME FARMLAND (CER of 60 or more) IN OLMSTED COUNTY, MINNESOTA, 1971-1979**



tural investments and the presence of non-farm, or smaller, tracts of land. Actual lot sizes will be limited only by the county health department's two-acre minimum for an on-site sewage disposal permit.

In addition to these density restrictions, the proposed zoning regulations will not permit new nonfarm dwellings on prime soils (CER of 60 or more) and they will also be prohibited within one-quarter mile of existing animal feedlots (to limit the potential for farm-nonfarm conflict). New dwellings will be prohibited on lots that do not have access to public roads (to economize on public investment and service expenditures) and on lots in wetlands or floodplains (to conserve natural resources).

### A Narrow Window for Development?

A public hearing in March 1982 offered local residents an opportunity to air their opinions about the proposed zoning ordinance. One aspect of the ordinance that drew repeated fire was the matter of defining prime soils. Several citizens objected to Olmsted County's definition of CERs of 60 or more because they believed that all soil in the county would be considered prime, leaving little opportunity for further residential construction in rural areas.

Richard Peter, an employee of the county's health department who certifies soil suitability for septic systems, reassured

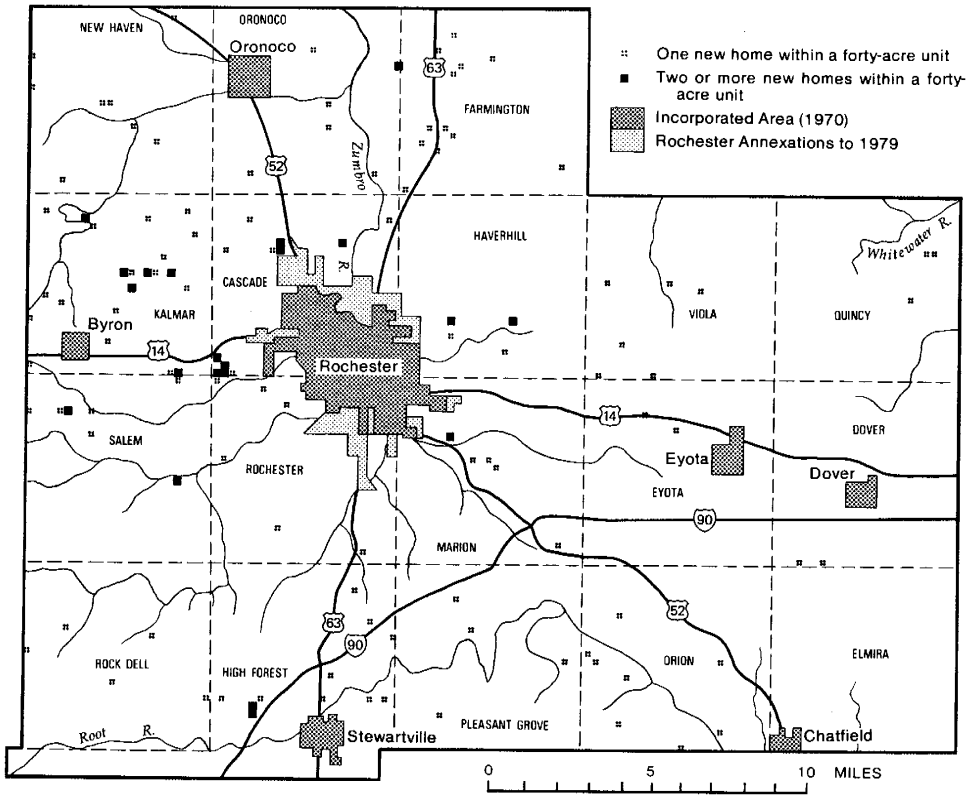
the assembled group that the county did contain soils with CERs of less than 60, but cautioned that many soils with lower ratings were unsuited for septic systems because of steep slopes, poor drainage, or other problems that made them equally unsuited for agricultural production.

When soil restrictions for housing sites are limited from the top by agricultural quality considerations and from the bottom by septic system suitability, a rather narrow window remains open for nonfarm residential development in the extensive agricultural areas of the county. Only 9,095 of Olmsted County's 422,400 acres meet the following criteria: less than prime soils (CERs less than 60), less than "severe" limitations for septic systems, and location outside a floodplain.\* The proposed zoning ordinance may further pare this figure because of its restrictions on proximity to feedlots and on public road access. Even if all 9,095 acres meet the terms of the zoning ordinance, there is no guarantee that the current owners of this land have any interest in selling their property for residential development.

Philip Wheeler, Olmsted County's Long Range Planning Supervisor, believes that several factors ameliorate the effects of this seemingly narrow window for residential

\*Data from Olmsted Consolidated Planning Department.

**Figure 4. NEW RURAL HOMES ON PRIME FARMLAND (CER of 80 or more) IN OLMSTED COUNTY, MINNESOTA, 1971-1979**



development. Individuals will be allowed to build on lots of record (those recognized by the planning office when the ordinance is passed) regardless of their soil quality. In addition, the demand for rural homesites seems to be diminishing. Wheeler expects about 2,000 new homes to be built in rural areas of the county during the next twenty years.

Presumably, many of these new homes will be in platted subdivisions in Rochester's future urban service area or in suburban subdivision areas where the construction of individual homes will not be restricted for soil quality reasons. Those people who desire larger lots, more privacy, or other amenities not offered by sites in subdivisions create the demand for new rural homes in more restricted agricultural planning areas of the county. Wheeler suggests that it makes no sense *not* to guide nonfarm development in agricultural areas of the county as long as suitable nonprime sites exist.

### Conclusions

There is a general concern about prime farmland loss throughout the nation, and many state and local governments, including Olmsted County, have responded with a variety of land use controls to slow the process. Because Olmsted County did not gear its planning and regulatory program toward farmland preservation until the latter part of the 1970s, the resulting pattern of rural residential development largely reflects market mechanisms at work with only minimal intervention by local government.\*

More than half of all new rural homes built during the 1970s were in platted subdivisions near Rochester rather than on scattered unplatted lots. Some of the new homes were built on prime farmland, but the rate of conversion was not as high as popularly feared. Most of the prime farmland converted to residential use involved unplatted lots, which tended to be more scattered and larger than the two-acre norm for lots in platted subdivisions.

The Planning Advisory Commission's conscious effort to avoid plat approvals on agriculturally significant land seems to be effective in slowing the conversion of prime

farmland to residential subdivisions. This suggests that additional loss of prime farmland in the county can be stemmed best by more effective guidance of residential construction on unplatted lots. The new zoning regulations for agricultural areas of Olmsted County propose to do precisely this. They encourage residential development at higher densities near Rochester and discourage development on prime farmland by tightening up restrictions on nonfarm development in agricultural areas of the county.

Most people would agree that guidelines for development offered by land use planning and regulation make sense. The degree of regulation, however, is more open to debate. In the case of Olmsted County's rural land use policy, how much land should be protected from development?

When one considers how little residential development occurred on prime agricultural land during the 1970s, one might conclude that the combination of public health (sewage) restrictions and market mechanisms are sufficient to prevent significant loss of farmland and that future land use controls are not necessary. The issue in Olmsted County, however, is more complex. Given the low proportion of remaining developable land (based on the county's definition of *prime* [CER of 60 or more]), a strong argument for intervention to guide housing to nonprime sites may be made. On the other hand, use of the more narrow definition of *prime* discussed in this article diminishes the need for regulations predicated on farmland preservation reasons alone. Olmsted County's planning goals, however, do encompass more than farmland preservation alone. The county also hopes to encourage compact development and energy conservation and to minimize conflicts between farmers and nonfarmers. The county can support the need for their ordinance based on these goals along with farmland retention regardless of which definition of *prime* is used.

The apparent severity of prime farmland conversion to nonfarm use hinges on how *prime* is defined. An important aspect of the definition of *prime* relates to the scale of analysis, or the size of the community being considered. For example, the poorest soils in Olmsted County are far better than the best soils in many other places. So much of Olmsted County's soils meets the locally established definition of *prime* that, in effect, the county has defined its best soils within the context of some larger community, such as the state of Minnesota or the nation. If prime farmland in Olmsted County is being protected with some larger community in mind, is the county's land use regulatory program the proper mechanism for this mission?

The implementation of land use controls traditionally has been a local function in the United States. It is doubtful that the federal government will ever assume this function,

yet many of the arguments for farmland preservation center on the promise of national benefits. On the other hand, agricultural zoning provides other local benefits, such as the amenities of open space, that are socially desirable but may over-extend the original rationale for regulation. Olmsted County and numerous other units of government that have adopted land use controls to protect prime farmland from development should give more thought to why they are saving the farmland, and for whom they are saving it...the county, the state, or the nation?

### Suggested Readings

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# Response: Protecting Agriculture vs. Preserving Prime Farmland

by Philip H. Wheeler

The planning department has enjoyed a long and productive relationship with the CURA staff over the past several years, and has benefitted immensely from the information gathered about Olmsted County with CURA's assistance. We are grateful for the interest CURA has shown in our county, and hope that this relationship will continue. Inevitably, however, there are differences in analytical approach and policy recommendations that arise when different groups study issues from different perspectives. It is our differences with the discussion presented in Betsy Pyle's article that I would like to elaborate on herein. These differences include both matters of interpreting the data and philosophical differences concerning the intent of the plan and the rationale for protecting agricultural areas.

## INTERPRETING THE DATA

### Magnitude of the Problem

Ms. Pyle concludes (p. 11) that under the county's definition of prime (CER of 60 or more), "only one-quarter of Olmsted County's new rural homes were built on prime farmland (during the seventies)" (that is, prime land that was being farmed prior to residential development). Excluded from this figure is the non-wooded, prime land "previously committed to residential use," representing "infill on vacant lots in platted subdivisions." These lots represented 21 percent of the land area developed during the period, and increase the percentage of developed lots consisting of prime, non-wooded land from 24.5 percent to 45.5 percent. Because this land is not wooded, it was certainly used at one time prior to development for either pasture or cropland, and the loss should be reflected in measures of the magnitude of the prime farmland retention problem.

### "Window for Development"

Pyle correctly asserts that 9,095 acres of land in the county have a CER less than 60, are not flood-prone, and do not have severe limitations for septic tanks. This figure, while accurate, implies a far more restrictive development regulation than is in fact the case. Within the Rochester urban Service Area identified in the General Land

Use Plan for the Olmsted County area, there are over 10,000 vacant acres in parcels over 10 acres in size designated for residential use and located outside the flood plain. The entire county is expected to grow by 17,000 households between now and the year 2000; if the Rochester Urban Service Area is developed at an urban density as planned, there is enough vacant land to house three to five times the expected growth of the entire county by the year 2000. The planned service areas of the smaller cities have similar surpluses of land.

Much of the land identified as future urban service area is prime farmland, even by Ms. Pyle's definition. The policy followed by the county expressly supports the notion that prime farmland can be used for urban development where such development is consistent with the policy of concentrating growth in an efficient development pattern.

"Suburban subdivision areas" identified in the General Land Use Plan for the Olmsted County area, while generally located in non-prime areas by the county's definition, do not restrict development on whatever prime agricultural lands are included in those areas. In addition, residential development on prime agricultural land is accommodated in all areas of the county on all existing lots of record, on wooded lands whether prime or not in the proposed A-3 zone, and on any lands whether prime or not designated residential in an approved Agricultural-Residential Cluster. Finally, non-prime lands unsuited for septic tanks can frequently be made suitable by such measures as filling and grading.

### Market Mechanisms

Ms. Pyle makes a case for the notion that market mechanisms appear to avoid soils rated 80 and above, and that the proposed regulations need not be as restrictive for this reason. Her case is based on a comparison of the frequency of occurrence in Olmsted County of various CER classifications, compared to the frequency with which various CER classes were developed. This analysis fails to take account of the fact that soils rated less than 80 are concentrated around Rochester (because it is in a sandy valley), and that this is coincidentally where most development has occurred. The tendency of the market



to avoid prime agricultural land by either definition is thus overstated.

#### **RATIONALE FOR PROTECTING AGRICULTURAL AREAS**

Olmsted County has chosen to use a CER of 60 or more as a means of defining *prime* land. Several factors guided this choice:

1. Specialists in the field of soils science and soil conservation advised the Olmsted County Planning Advisory Commission and the Olmsted County Board of Commissioners that soils rated 60 and above could support viable farming operations. In fact, there is a clear break in corn yields at the soil rating class chosen. Thus, soils rated 80 and above have corn yields averaging 117 bushels per acre per year over a ten year period; soils rated 60 to 79 average 99 bushels of corn per acre per year; soils rated 40-59 average only 41 bushels of corn; soils rated 20 to 39 average 24 bushels; and soils rated less than 20 are not assigned corn yield figures. In the terminology of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, soils rated 60 to 79 probably fall into the category of "additional lands of statewide importance."

2. Areas containing soils rated 80 and above frequently also contain soils rated 60 to 79. Hence, an effective program to protect agricultural uses on "very prime" farmlands should reflect the need to maintain viable agricultural areas, as opposed to scattered prime farmlands. The purposes of agricultural zoning as perceived by Olmsted County are to protect individual farm operations from conflicts arising from incompatible

non-farm development, and to protect the agricultural economy in general. The agricultural sector is the third largest basic sector employment source in Olmsted County.

3. The majority of soils rated 60 and above in Olmsted County are now in use as cropland.

The decision to use a CER of 60 as the minimum soil rating determining prime farmland was thus based both on use and on the productivity potential of the soils in the county. The county also reflected the demand for urban development in the application of policies relating to the protection of prime farmland, however, by including "primeness" as only one of several criteria used to determine whether or not land should be developed for urban uses.

The General Land Use Plan for the Olmsted County area has three major guiding principles: that development should be concentrated, so as to provide for energy conservation, economy in public services, and so on; that agriculture in the county should be protected, because of its importance in the local economy; and that both should be accomplished in such a manner as to provide for a wide range of choice of residential locations for future residents of Olmsted County. Most of the residential development likely to occur in Olmsted County over the next twenty years will be multifamily housing of some kind (townhouses, apartments, condominiums, and so on), because of the changing demographic character of our county. Of the single family houses built, most will locate in the urban service areas of area cities, for both personal and economic reasons. Of those that are built in rural areas, relying on

septic tanks and private wells, most will be accommodated by the suburban subdivision areas identified in the plan. Of the remainder, most will be accommodated in the least restrictive agricultural areas, either in the proposed A-3 zone or in the residential portions of Agricultural-Residential Clusters. The magnitude of the remaining demand for rural residences is so small as to be easily accommodated by existing lots of record and new lots meeting the criteria set forth in the proposed ordinance. The thrust of the ordinance is therefore to attempt to protect viable agricultural areas from encroachment and disruption by non-farm uses, while providing for those non-farm uses elsewhere in the county.

The county's agricultural preservation policy is motivated by its interest in protecting its agricultural economy and farm community, and not by an imagined concern over "some larger community" (cf Pyle, p. 13). The policy is specific to conditions in Olmsted County, and is part of a land use plan which attempts to balance a number of competing interests in land in an equitable manner. It is because Olmsted County has so much prime land that agriculture is so important in the local economy, and it is in part because of this importance that Olmsted County is committed to retaining suitably located prime agricultural land in agricultural use. Because the land area of Olmsted County is large relative to its population growth, it is possible to preserve agricultural land without constricting the supply of land for non-farm development. Olmsted County is large enough to accommodate a wide range of lifestyle preferences in its land development, while still reserving suitable areas for intensive commercial agricultural use.

# CURA

## reporter

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Comments and contributions are welcome. Thomas M. Scott, director; Thomas L. Anding, associate director; William J. Craig, assistant director; Judith H. Weir, editor.

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