



# CUA REPORTER

*Residential Segregation of Immigrants on St. Paul's West Side*



*Also Inside:*

- Work and Home Location: Exploring the Possible Role of Social Networks
- Preparing Minnesota Teachers for Diverse Classrooms
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# CURA REPORTER

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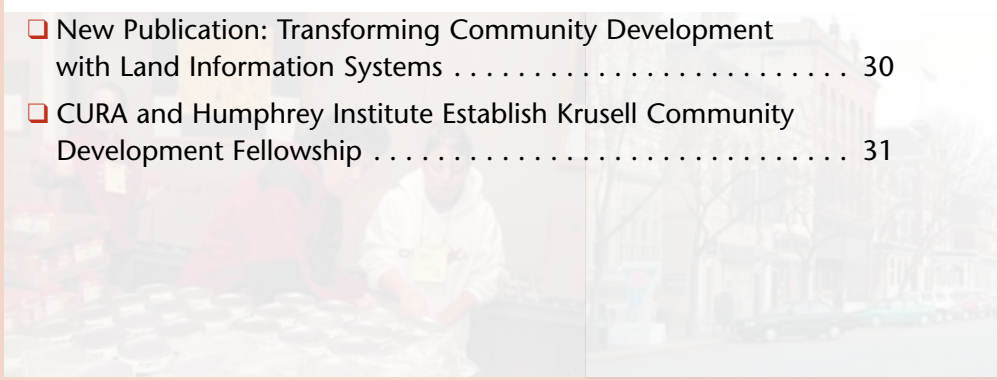
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**Photo on Cover:** *Cinco de Mayo celebration in St. Paul.*  
Photo © Steve Schneider, 2008.

# Residential Segregation of Immigrants: A Case Study of the Mexican Population on St. Paul's West Side

by Eva Dick

Residential segregation has been one of the more frequently studied and controversial research and policy issues for urban researchers and policy makers during the last few decades. *Residential segregation* refers to the concentration or uneven distribution of residents from different socio-economic or racial/ethnic backgrounds across a city or region. Although research on residential segregation has focused on a diversity of issues, ranging from the causes and consequences of segregation to changes in the levels and patterns of segregation in a particular area, most of the literature regards residential segregation as a negative phenomenon assumed to have harmful impacts on the segregated population. The “Black ghetto” of the American metropolis represents perhaps the most extreme example of segregation. It is assumed that poor housing quality, inferior educational opportunities, deficient health services, and high crime levels go hand-in-hand with ghetto life, limiting the opportunities available to residents of the community. Moreover, although affluent (and predominantly White) Americans *voluntarily* cluster in suburban neighborhoods, it is assumed that the segregation of low-income and racial/ethnic minority households in inner-city urban areas happens mostly *involuntarily*.

In recent decades, policy makers have begun to address the problematic effects of residential segregation by targeting pockets of *concentrated poverty* in urban areas. The notoriety of large public housing projects as sites of urban blight, shrinking governmental budgets for affordable housing, and several lawsuits filed against the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) alleging racial discrimination in housing, led to substantial modifications in the agency's housing programs from the late 1980s onward. To prevent both racial and income concentration in project sites and neighborhoods,



Photo © Kendra Mack, 2008

HUD curtailed further construction of low-income housing projects and imposed significant restrictions on

municipal public housing authorities regarding the geographic placement of subsidized housing. As a result of

**Table 1. Ethnic Composition of the Twin Cities, St. Paul, and the West Side Neighborhood, 1980–2000**

	Pct. Non-Hispanic White			Pct. Black			Pct. Asian			Pct. Hispanic*		
	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000	1980	1990	2000
13-county Twin Cities metro area	94.5	91.5	84.7	2.3	3.5	6.1	0.9	2.6	4.7	1.0	1.5	3.3
St. Paul	88.6	80.4	64.0	4.8	7.2	12.9	1.0	7.1	13.4	2.9	4.2	7.9
West Side neighborhood	85.4	65.4	48.8	1.6	3.1	6.0	0.6	7.7	7.9	17.5	22.1	32.6

Sources: <http://mumford.albany.edu/census/data>; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census 1980, Table P-1: General and Family Characteristics, St. Paul, Minnesota; U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census 1990, Summary File 1 (SF1); U.S. Bureau of the Census, Census 2000, Summary File 1 (SF1).

\* People of Hispanic origin can be of any race.

lawsuit settlements, several former public housing projects were bulldozed and replaced with mixed-income units, and programs were established to relocate former residents to low-poverty or nonminority communities, sometimes against their will.

The present research project has several origins. First is the limited success of recent desegregation or dispersal initiatives. On the whole, these efforts have been largely unsuccessful at achieving desegregation, have provided limited benefits to relocated households, and have met frequent resistance from those who were involuntarily relocated, particularly racial/ethnic minorities and immigrant communities. In addition, there are serious questions about the transferability of the African American residential segregation experience to new immigrant communities. Discussions of residential segregation in the United States traditionally have focused on African American/White segregation. However, recent immigrants to the country from Asian or Latin American countries often cluster in ethnic enclaves within the communities where they live, and empirical studies in Europe in the 1990s suggest that residential clustering or segregation may convey social and economic benefits to new immigrants. Finally, research on immigrant groups and communities historically has been shaped by an integrationist or assimilationist normative framework. Within this framework, ethnic enclaves are assumed to pose a threat to national social cohesion, as well as to the social, economic, and cultural advancement of immigrants. However, some evidence suggests that ethnic enclaves favor the development of co-ethnic networks that not only help immigrant

newcomers to become established in their new communities, but also foster social mobility and provide bridges to the dominant culture.

Using the Mexican population on the West Side of St. Paul as a case study, this project explored the impact of residential segregation on the development of social capital and social mobility of immigrants. The project was supported in part by my residence at CURA during 2002 and 2003 through the Visiting Scholar Program, and served as the basis for my Ph.D. dissertation.

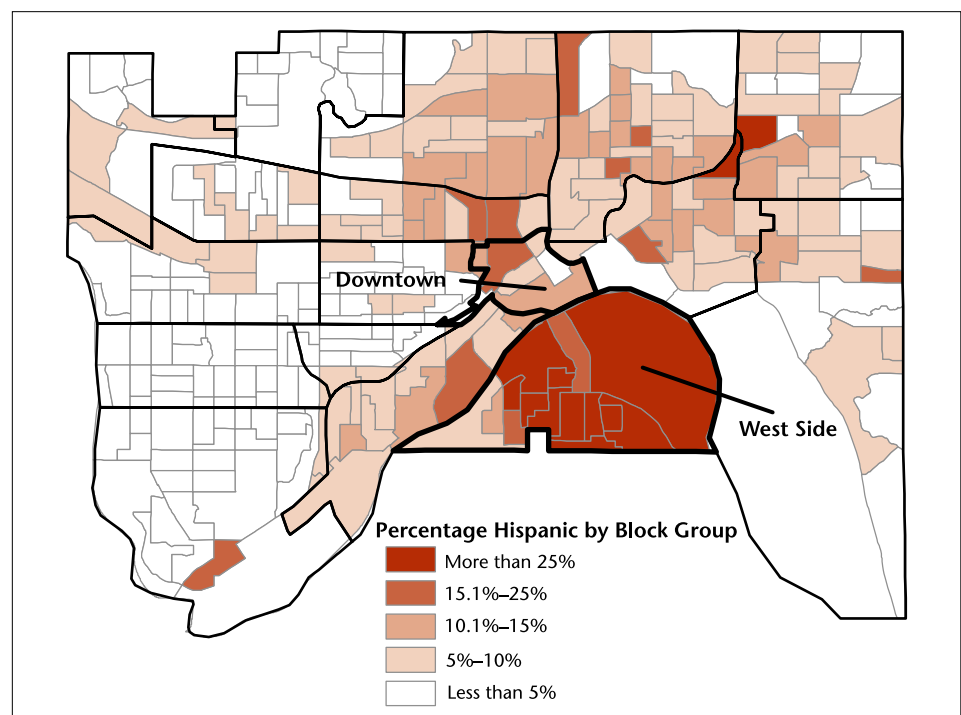
### The Mexican Population on St. Paul's West Side

The Twin Cities metropolitan area epitomizes a recent feature of urban

demographics in the United States: Metropolitan areas in the North and Midwest with little past immigration have become centers for a new wave of immigration from Latin American and other less-developed countries. In 1980, 89% of the population of St. Paul was non-Hispanic White. By the year 2000, this proportion had decreased to 64%. Figures for the larger Twin Cities metro area indicate a similar trend (Table 1).

I chose the West Side of St. Paul as a case study location for two reasons. First, this neighborhood has a high percentage of racial/ethnic minorities, low-income households, and low housing values, as well as higher poverty rates. All of these characteristics are typical of the types of neighborhoods the literature

**Figure 1. Hispanic Population in St. Paul, 2000**



Source: 2000 U.S. Census

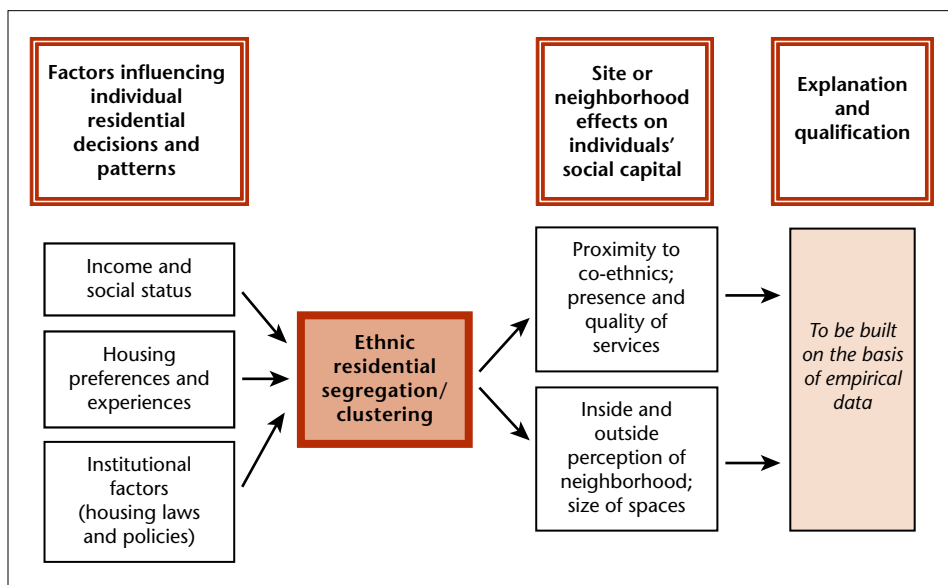
on residential segregation usually addresses. Second, in the context of the metro area in general and St. Paul in particular, the West Side neighborhood has one of the longer-standing and larger Mexican and Latino populations in the region—a population that has been steadily growing since the 1990s (Table 1 and Figure 1).

### Conceptual Framework and Methodology

The question guiding this research project was: What is the impact of residential segregation on the development of immigrants' social capital and social mobility? The research drew on French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's concept of *social capital* as "the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition— or, in other words, to membership in a group."<sup>1</sup> For Bourdieu, the value of social capital lies in its potential to be converted into economic or educational (cultural) capital, creating opportunities for upward social mobility. For example, a person might learn from a neighbor about a desirable employment opportunity which, in turn, might lead to a better job with higher income potential and the possibility of acquiring new skills. According to Bourdieu, individuals—both consciously and unconsciously—use their social capital to maintain or increase their social status.

To conceptualize the relationship between an individual's residential location and his or her acquisition of social capital and mobility, I used Bourdieu's concept of *localization profits*. An underlying assumption of this concept is that physical space strongly influences social structures and vice versa. The influence of the physical world on the social capital and status of individuals works via two types of profits of localization. The first is *profits derived from the proximity to desirable agents and goods*, such as a person's neighbors or community and service infrastructure. For instance, for households with children, proximity to good-quality schools is an important criterion when choosing where to live. For households with a small budget, proximity to the workplace may be

**Figure 2. Conceptual Framework: The Impact of Residential Segregation on Social Capital and Mobility**



the most important criterion because it frees up limited income that would otherwise be used for transportation expenditures. The second type of profit of localization is *profits of position or of rank*. For example, a person who lives in a prestigious neighborhood may earn respect or be considered "successful" simply because of where his or her home is located. In contrast, a person who lives in a crime-ridden neighborhood might be suspected of being involved in illegal activities.

Thus, living in a low-income neighborhood is likely to adversely affect a person's social capital, both in a material and symbolic sense. High resident turnover may be a disincentive for residents to build social relationships in the community. Opportunities for socializing may be limited because of high levels of neighborhood violence and low police presence. Adolescents may be particularly at risk if they are exposed to adults and peers with behavioral patterns and values at odds with those of mainstream society (e.g., alcohol and drug abuse, violence, disinterest in education). Symbolically, living in a neighborhood that is considered by others to be a "poor" or "minority" neighborhood may convey a negative reputation on the community's inhabitants. As Bourdieu explains, "the stigmatized area symbolically degrades its inhabitants, who, in return, symbolically degrade it."<sup>2</sup>

Although this negative attribution is created from the outside, neighborhood residents may appropriate it by, for example, avoiding mentioning their home address in status-relevant situations such as applying for a job or making new friends.

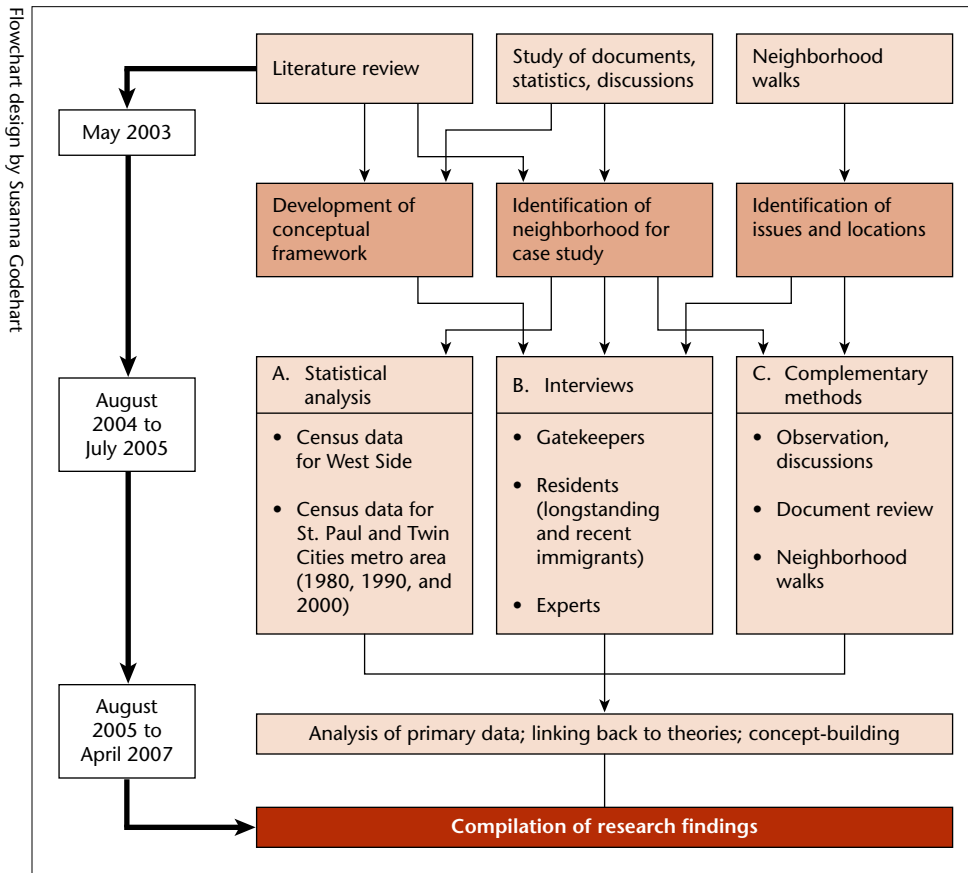
Although this research project focused on analyzing the effects of residential segregation, it also looked at the causes for ethnic clustering on the West Side. Based on the literature on residential segregation, I assumed *income and social status*, *housing preferences and experiences*, and *institutional factors* (such as discriminatory housing practices by real estate agents or lending institutions) to be the most important factors leading to segregated living patterns. Figure 2 illustrates the conceptual framework I used to analyze the causes and effects of residential segregation.

I conducted the empirical portion of this research from August 2004 to July 2005 using a mix of quantitative and qualitative research methods, based on both primary and secondary data (Figure 3). During this time, I carried out 27 semi-structured interviews with Mexican residents living on the West Side of St. Paul. The interviews were structured around a prepared interview guideline with open-ended questions that centered on the residents' life history on the West Side, the type and geographic extent of their social networks, the relevance of these social networks for getting along and getting ahead, and the advantages and disadvantages of living in

<sup>1</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, "The Forms of Capital." In John G. Richardson (ed.), *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986), p. 248.

<sup>2</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, *The Weight of the World: Social Suffering in Contemporary Society* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999), p. 129.

Figure 3. Research Methodology



an “ethnic community.” To account for differences in social capital-related outcomes, I used a purposive (as opposed to random) sampling design to ensure that interview partners of different social-class backgrounds, gender, age, and immigration cohort (between first- and fourth-generation) were selected. I conducted a total of 15 resident interviews in English and 12 in Spanish, according to the preference of the persons being interviewed. My analysis of the interviews followed the principles of grounded theory: simultaneous data collection and analysis, use of different coding techniques, progressive definition of patterns and concepts by seeking confirming and disconfirming cases, and eventual linking back to existing or additional theories.

In addition, I interviewed 15 housing and community development experts from federal, state, metro-area, city, and neighborhood institutions, again following open-ended interview guidelines. The main purpose of the expert interviews was to gather information on general housing policy and planning issues, as well as issues specific to the study areas such as the housing market constraints in the West Side and other St. Paul neighborhoods, and the

relationship between different Mexican immigration cohorts on the West Side.

Another research method I used was observation, which included participating in neighborhood events and meetings of neighborhood organizations. For six months, I participated in the weekly meetings and training sessions of the self-help group Hispanic Women in Action (*Mujeres Hispanas en Acción*), participated in neighborhood events (e.g., *Cinco de Mayo* celebrations), attended a Spanish Church service and parish gatherings, and attended meetings of the West Side Citizens Organization (WSCO). I took neighborhood walks to familiarize myself with the West Side neighborhood and to gain a visual impression of the Mexican imprints in the neighborhood, such as sculptures and murals on neighborhood buildings.

My secondary data sources included reports and leaflets from housing and community development organizations in St. Paul and the West Side neighborhood, and statistical information from the 1990 and 2000 U.S. Censuses. I analyzed statistical data both to provide background information on the study area and to corroborate or crosscheck information from my interviews.

## The Effects of Residential Segregation

The case study of the West Side of St. Paul suggests that ethnic residential segregation brings about both localization “profits” and localization “deficits.” In addition, the study identifies the concrete *conditions* under which ethnic segregation plays out positively or negatively. These conditions may be found on the individual, neighborhood, or macrosocial level.

### Conditions on the Individual Level.

The way residential segregation of immigrants on the West Side is manifested on the individual level is illustrated in Table 2. My research results suggest that no general conclusions can or should be drawn with respect to the clustering effects of a neighborhood on the individual person. Rather, ethnic segregation has differential effects on individuals with different characteristics. The individuals’ immigrant cohort, gender, and age are particularly important in determining these effects.<sup>3</sup> My general findings are summarized below.

First-Generation Adult Immigrants of Lower Social Status. These individuals benefit most from the spatial proximity of co-ethnic households and ethnic services or commerce for several reasons. First, linguistic and legal barriers often limit their opportunities to socialize with the native population and to access jobs in the mainstream economy. Thus, job opportunities are accessed via informal contacts or immigrant service providers such as Neighborhood House, located on the West Side. For example, 39-year-old, first-generation immigrant *Hermosa*,<sup>4</sup> who got her first paying work as a hotel janitor, recalls:

In the context of Neighborhood House where I participated in the group, a lady came to the group and offered a class in hospitality. And this was about how to work in a hotel. So, [after] I took this class with this lady, I went to a hotel. And then, well, they gave me the job in the hotel.

Second, recent first-generation Mexican immigrants tend to feel safer

<sup>3</sup> Social class or status constitutes a further important factor influencing neighborhood effects on the individual. However, in the context of the case study, class appeared largely as a function of the immigrant cohort (born or not-born, or length of time, in the United States), rather than as an independent variable.

<sup>4</sup> All interview-participant names cited in this article have been changed to protect confidentiality.

**Table 2. Localization Profits and Deficits Derived from Living in an Ethnic Neighborhood**

Localization profits/deficits derived from...		
	Proximity to desired agents and infrastructure	Position or rank; size of occupied space
Profits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Walking distance to self-help groups and social services</li> <li>▶ Proximity to downtown jobs</li> <li>▶ Accessibility of same-language services and commercial infrastructure</li> <li>▶ Comfort associated with socially and culturally familiar environment</li> <li>▶ Concentration required to attain critical mass for specialized, ethnic services</li> <li>▶ Protection from outside judgment and discrimination</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Reputation of West Side among Latinos as <i>the</i> Latino neighborhood in the Twin Cities</li> </ul>
Deficits	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Low-quality educational infrastructure</li> <li>▶ Contact with problematic peer role models, especially youth gangs</li> <li>▶ Physical mobility hampered by violence in some areas of the neighborhood</li> <li>▶ Social and economic barriers reinforced through (past) sociospatial segregation</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▶ Negative image of neighborhood in rest of the city</li> <li>▶ Self-perception as low-income neighborhood</li> <li>▶ Historical disinvestments in neighborhood</li> <li>▶ Low market values of housing and real estate</li> <li>▶ Low use value of housing and old, dilapidated housing</li> </ul>

and more comfortable in a co-ethnic social and neighborhood environment, where they can avoid anticipated or actual discriminatory attitudes. When asked about alternatives to living on the West Side, 26-year-old Esteban, who at the time of the interview had lived in the Twin Cities for three years, replied:

Well, we would like to live in an area with not so much traffic and less noise, you know,... in the kind of areas where the Americans are. They are cleaner and quieter.... But then we would not like to live there because the people there treat you as the “bad Latino” or they look at you with a strange face, you know.

Third, recently arrived immigrants tend to have limited physical mobility, partly due to economic reasons (insufficient income to own a car or pay public transit fees) and partly due to the gendered division of labor and consumer goods (resulting in many immigrant women being unable to drive). Proximity benefits are accentuated in residentially segregated areas because culturally or linguistically targeted services (healthcare, employment training, religious services, etc.) are usually located close to their clientele.

**Long-standing Immigrants.** For long-standing (beyond first-generation) immigrants, the proximity of co-ethnic households and services is a matter of emotional comfort rather than need. None of the 13 long-standing residents

of the West Side I interviewed had acquired his or her present employment through co-ethnic networks. It appears that the relative importance of what might be called the *instrumental* versus the *intrinsic* dimension of neighborhood capital—the first related to social mobility, the second to emotional well-being—changes over time through subsequent generations of immigrant families and their descendants. For newcomers, proximity to co-ethnics and ethnic neighborhood infrastructure tends to be of instrumental importance to “get along” and “get ahead” in their new society, although sociocultural comfort and familiarity no doubt is also essential. For second- (and subsequent) generation immigrant descendants, the comfort factor associated with proximity to co-ethnics and the ethnic neighborhood environment becomes dominant. As 55-year-old second-generation immigrant Ronald put it,

I like the people, I like being familiar with my community, and my community being familiar with me.... I like to know who runs the businesses, and when I go in there they’ll call me by name, um, I like being around people that look like me, that act like me, and uh, and, come from a basic fundamental value system, of what I come from.

**Children and Adolescents.** Young people are the most heavily impacted by potential locational deficits. In some measure, the deficits result from being

surrounded by potentially harmful peer or adult role models in the family, neighborhood, or school environment. Sixteen-year-old West Side high school student Tamara illustrates this point:

I don’t like it because there is a lot of violence, I mean it is a bad school, I mean in terms of its students. The teachers are very good and all, but the students make it a bad school.

These deficits also result from educational entities ill-prepared to confront the challenges or draw on the potential of a multiethnic and socio-economically burdened parent and student constituency. For instance, parents’ lack of familiarity with the American school system, linguistic constraints, and sociocultural barriers are likely to result in their lack of involvement in school affairs, traditionally considered an important factor in children’s educational success. Several experts I interviewed observed that only recently have schools taken action to address this issue, for example, by pursuing culturally specific parent involvement strategies. For such children, educational barriers are likely to result in mobility constraints in the future. To the extent that parents worry about social and educational risks to their children, they are also strongly affected by these locational disadvantages.

**Individual-Independent Characteristics.** Study results suggest that living in an ethnic neighborhood provides rather limited profits of position or rank



**Immigrant youth are the most heavily impacted by potential locational deficits that result from being surrounded by harmful environmental influences or being consigned to schools that cannot address the challenges or potential of such youth.**

to individuals. As 46-year-old Francisco, second-generation immigrant, observes:

You know, the negative is I guess the perception, some people think that, you know... maybe still to this day, they fear from the West Side, they still think that it's bad, that you're poor, that you're hanging out, that you might be part of a gang, or, you know, that you either have bad house or gang or a lot of trouble and things which are not totally true.

As long as the dominant, middle-class, White society maintains a negative image of the neighborhood, immigrants are unlikely to capitalize upon (at least in a material sense) the subjectively perceived locational advantages of their ethnic neighborhoods. Tangible manifestations of this fact are housing disinvestments, relatively small or slowly increasing housing values, and frequent residential turnover (implying that economically stronger ethnic and White households tend to leave the neighborhood). I further elaborate on this point in a later section.

#### ***Conditions Related to the Neighborhood and City Environments.***

Neighborhood characteristics, as well as characteristics of the city and urban region as a whole, also influence the way racial/ethnic residential segregation plays out at the individual level.

For instance, neighborhoods where the majority of inhabitants experience high levels of poverty are likely to have different neighborhood effects than, say, mixed-income neighborhoods. Overall, wealthy urban areas can be assumed to offer more income-generating opportunities than economically depressed ones, and to provide more opportunities for population groups with lower skill levels.

Because the case study was carried out in one neighborhood only, I was not able to gather comparative qualitative data for different types of ethnic neighborhoods in the same or in other urban regions. Therefore, the conclusions I reached should be considered tentative at best. The following are some factors I found to be of importance when considering urban environment-related variations of ethnic residential segregation.

**Economic Situation of Neighborhood and Urban Area.** Income levels and distribution, as well as skill levels of the inhabitants in a neighborhood, provide important clues about the socialization environment, particularly for children and youth. On the level of the city as a whole, apart from employment opportunities, the income levels of inhabitants determine the tax base of the city and thereby the financial resources the city has available for mobility-relevant services and infrastructure, such as schools.

U.S. Census data provide evidence of the relatively high variation in incomes among West Side residents in general and the Mexican population on the West Side in particular, including both middle- and high-income groups.<sup>5</sup> Although they are predominantly locally oriented, West Side businesses in the neighborhood's commercial corridor, many of them owned by Mexican residents, have been economically successful, at least in recent times.<sup>6</sup> The Minneapolis–St. Paul region has higher median income and lower poverty rates than other similar urban regions in the United States.

**The Absence of Ghettoization.** In the literature on segregation in the United States, neighborhoods in which one non-White group largely dominates (e.g., African American ghettos or Latino barrios) are considered problematic for at least two reasons. First, they indicate exclusion and discrimination of a particular ethnic/racial group in the housing market, resulting in involuntary spatial concentration. Second, they tend to prevent social and political contact between geographically separated racial or ethnic groups, preventing the realization of a truly multicultural civic community.

The West Side is, however, far from being a ghetto neighborhood in which one numerically predominant population group—in this case, Mexican—lives in isolation. Rather, between 1990 and 2000, the neighborhood has become more multicultural, with other racial/ethnic groups such as African Americans experiencing a similar population growth as Hispanics (Table 1). The decrease of the White population from 65% to 49% in the West Side neighborhood during the same period might be a matter of concern if this population group represents the economically stronger and more highly skilled one.

**The Maturity of Ethnic Institutions and Networks.** The degree to which formal ethnic institutions provide their

<sup>5</sup> Expert interviews and census data indicate that a relatively high proportion of the Mexican population on the West Side (compared with those of other St. Paul neighborhoods) are long-standing residents rather than recent immigrants. Much of this population lives in socio-economically established households.

<sup>6</sup> In contrast, in the 1980s, according to some of the experts I interviewed from community development corporations, the neighborhood was experiencing an economic downturn. It was in this context that some organizations began promoting local economic development.



**West Side neighborhood businesses—many of them owned by Mexican residents—have been economically successful in recent times.**

members or participants with useful or instrumental social capital depends on the kind and quality of their services. It can be assumed that more mature institutions, in the sense of having a longer institutional history, are better able to meet the needs of their mono- or multi-ethnic constituency and are able to offer more effective bridges to the nonethnic society and the larger city context.

According to some of my interviewees, the service networks on the West Side that developed during early Mexican immigration at the beginning of the 20th century effectively assist today's immigrants in getting along and

getting ahead in their new home. The few long-standing Mexican Americans who continue to be involved in the networks were described as the “anchors of the community” and as particularly valuable role models for youth.

In short, the West Side neighborhood context may provide some advantageous components to the social networks and social mobility experience of its Mexican population that might not be found to the same degree in other ethnic neighborhoods.

**Conditions Pertaining to the Macrosocial Environment.** The case study of the West Side indicates that

the influence on individual social capital and mobility of living in ethnic neighborhoods greatly depends on how the neighborhood and its population are viewed from the outside. The relationship between these factors points to the symbolic dimension of localization effects—that is, the profits or deficits of position and rank.

Value judgments about a certain social or ethnic population group and their residential location manifest themselves in observable ways. For instance, housing values on the West Side are lower on average and increase at a slower rate than housing values for St. Paul as a whole. According to one housing expert I interviewed, they have been “undervalued for many, many years... because of this reputation that it was an ‘ethnic’ neighborhood.” Another example of these observable manifestations is school curricula. For many years, educational instruction in West Side primary and secondary schools occurred exclusively in English, despite the high presence of nonnative students, many of them Mexican. Only recently, reading lessons for English-learners have been introduced, Spanish-speaking staff have been hired, and extracurricular activities have been developed that are targeted at a multi-cultural parent and student population.

These manifestations of outsiders’ images of a group affect people’s lives in both material and symbolic terms. For instance, one resident named Leon did not consider buying a house on the West Side to be a very good deal because “it’s always looked [at] more as a low-income [area],” thus providing less opportunity for housing-based asset building. As another example, many Mexican Americans who grew up on the West Side in the mid-20th century do not speak Spanish because their parents made sure their children only spoke English at home. It is likely that the parents recognized speaking English as a key attribute for getting ahead in American society.<sup>7</sup> Both examples (buying housing property, retention of native language) suggest that the negative

<sup>7</sup> Or, inversely, recognized that the Spanish language is not valued (e.g., by teachers, peers, prospective employers) and that learning to speak Spanish thus lacks instrumental utility. In contrast, today, multilingual backgrounds are attributed a higher value, and are more frequently promoted in U.S. schools. Against this background, most Mexican immigrants now try to make sure their children retain their language of origin, in addition to learning the English language, as an element of cultural pride.

outside image of a group and its attributes are not only known about, but also partly appropriated, by the group.

Despite this, the present case study indicates that there are tensions between the outside and inside value judgments. For example, the long-standing Mexican American residents of the West Side vigorously reject the negative outside image of their community with respect to perceived security. As one interview subject named Dora noted,

I walk the streets at any time in the day or night. You know, hey. People are getting bombed out and killed in the suburbs, more than in my neighborhood.

Another tension lies in the outside labeling of the West Side as “the” Mexican or Hispanic neighborhood. Long-standing Mexican American residents of the community tend to emphasize the socioeconomic and cultural differences between themselves and the recent Mexican immigrant population with respect to such things as eating or clothing habits, the level of appropriation of the American way of life, and spoken language. It is clear that underscoring these differences plays a status-reaffirming role for long-standing residents in response to the majority-White society view that identifies Mexicans as those who, in the words of one expert interview subject, “aren’t making it in schools, who’re dropping out of school.”

### Conclusions

This case study of St. Paul’s West Side illustrates that ethnic residential segregation or clustering can have both positive and negative effects on ethnic residents. Any assessment of ethnic residential segregation, however, should consider not only the effects of residential segregation, but also the factors leading to it. More precisely, it makes a difference whether immigrants or their descendants live in an ethnic neighborhood as a result of discrimination or due to their own choice or preference.

This case study of the West Side suggests that the majority of the Mexicans or Mexican Americans who were interviewed chose to live or stay on the West Side, precisely in order to live near co-ethnics. No cases of direct discrimination (e.g., by real estate agents or banks) were reported. However, for



**For many years, educational instruction in West Side primary and secondary schools occurred exclusively in English, despite the presence of many nonnative students. Only recently have Spanish-speaking staff been hired and extracurricular activities developed that are targeted at a multicultural student population.**

one resident interviewed, anticipated discrimination from neighbors was mentioned as a reason they moved to a “Latino” neighborhood. The importance of preference notwithstanding, limited housing affordability as well as the need to use certain services or infrastructure, such as public transportation, effectively narrows the range of housing choices from the start, especially for low-income, first-generation Mexican households.

As stated at the beginning of this article, policy responses to residential segregation that are focused on residential dispersal of minorities have produced rather unsatisfactory results. They have failed to lead to a numerically significant deconcentration and have provoked opposition from those to be dispersed, particularly racial or ethnic minorities. Several housing experts I interviewed expressed apprehension about dispersal policies, including one who described the typical reactions of the African American community:

[It is] viewed very cynically, that there is some federal government plan to deconcentrate poverty/race, it’s just a way to take away our power.... So there’s this kind of sophisticated argument that efforts to deconcentrate are misplaced. Don’t tell us what good *you* are gonna do for *us*. We’ve chosen to live here.

Against this backdrop, a reconsideration of U.S. housing policy and planning responses to residential segregation, whether racial or ethnic based, seems necessary. The results of the empirical research on the West Side of St. Paul suggest future policies should be oriented around the following principles.<sup>8</sup>

**Recognizing the relevance of ethnic neighborhoods for individual well-being.** Immigrant neighborhoods have a distinct value in terms of satisfying their inhabitants’ need for social comfort and safety, in addition to their mobility-relevance. The experience of comfort and sociability cannot necessarily be replicated in other, majority-White neighborhoods.

**Supporting the bridging potential of ethnic neighborhoods and capital.** Living in immigrant neighborhoods and being involved in local ethnic networks can provide access to opportunities outside of the neighborhood, and thus to social and spatial mobility. However, this bridging potential requires active institutional and policy support. Such support may include increasing the asset-building capacity of residents of an ethnic neighborhood by providing linguistically adequate homeownership counseling, or housing maintenance and rehabilitation loans.

<sup>8</sup> In my doctoral thesis, these principles are translated into more concrete policy recommendations.

### *Fostering an integrated approach.*

Although housing is a critical mechanism for fostering social inclusion, it is not the only one. Specifically, measures to enhance individuals' educational and employment opportunities, as well as to advance intercultural understanding among ethnic groups, need to be embraced to foster urban social inclusion.

### *Seeking outgroup-sensitive policy solutions.*

Policy measures need to account for the differential impacts of residential segregation on specific groups. For instance, children and youth constitute the groups most susceptible to possible detrimental effects of segregation. Particular efforts should therefore be made to improve educational

quality in immigrant communities and provide an affirmative attitude toward the childrens' culture of origin. Homeownership options adjusted to the economic and cultural needs of an ethnic group are another example of a group-sensitive approach.

**Eva Dick** is currently a lecturer and research fellow in the Department of Spatial Planning at the University of Dortmund, Germany, where her work focuses on urban development and planning in developing countries. She has a masters degree in sociology from the University of Hamburg, Germany, and successfully defended her doctoral thesis at the University of Dortmund in June 2007, on the topic of this article.

The research upon which this article is based was supported in part by the author's residence at CURA during 2002 and 2003 through the Visiting Scholar Program. At the time, she was involved in a research project on demographic changes and the housing market in first- and second-tier Twin Cities suburbs. The Visiting Scholar Program is an informal means by which CURA has served as a temporary home for incipient projects by researchers from other organizations or institutions. Typically, visiting scholars receive outside funding and work on projects concerning public policy in Minnesota. Generally CURA provides office space and an environment that supports their project, and often publishes the results of their research.

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## Changing Racial Composition: Minneapolis–St. Paul

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The changing racial composition in the Twin Cities was the focus of a recent keynote address by Reynolds Farley of the University of Michigan's Population Studies Center. Farley spoke at a January 24, 2008, symposium on "Advancing Interdisciplinary Research and Action on Health and Education Disparities," sponsored by the University of Minnesota's Children, Youth and Family Consortium; School of Public Health; and Minnesota Population Center. In his keynote, Farley traced sociodemographic changes in the Twin Cities during the last half-century based on a detailed analysis of U.S. Census data and readings about the history of the region.

According to Farley, Minneapolis and St. Paul have weathered the

fundamental economic changes in the United States since World War II better than other cities in the Midwest and Northeast. That economic success has attracted migrants to the region, particularly since 1970. These migrants have included large numbers of Latinos, African Americans, and immigrants from abroad, transforming the area from being almost exclusively White. Racial/ethnic minorities have always resided in Minnesota, but in very small numbers. Residential and school segregation of those minorities has been lower than in other cities in the Midwest and Northeast, but higher than places in the South and West. Poverty rates among African Americans are several times higher than that of Whites, whereas Latinos and Asians fall somewhere in

between. Farley concluded that the Twin Cities are better positioned than other places to deal with economic and health disparities because they have a diverse economic base, a good reputation to maintain, a well-educated and affluent population, an ethic of corporate tithing and corporate support for the public good, a governmental tradition of supporting the public welfare, and strong public institutions to work on reducing these disparities.

Farley's PowerPoint presentation (with voice narration) is available online at <http://cpheo1.sph.umn.edu/healthandeducation/>, along with presentations from other speakers at the symposium.

# Toward Preventing Youth Violence: Engaging Urban Middle-School Students in Community Service Learning

by Renee E. Sieving and Rachel Widome



Photo by Glynis Shea, HYD-PRC, 2007

**As part of the service learning curriculum, the sixth-grade class from the Lead Peace-Plus school packaged 4,000 meals at a local nonprofit called Kids Against Hunger.**

Youth violence is a highly visible, profoundly devastating problem in contemporary society. Adolescents involved in violence may be victims, perpetrators, or witnesses, and the consequences vary in severity both for the individuals involved (psychological stress, injury, or death) and for the larger community (reduced community cohesiveness, lower productivity, lower property values, or increased healthcare costs).

In the United States, many communities have been affected by the problem of youth violence in some way. According to the National Adolescent Health Information Center, in 2004 an average of more than 14 young people between the ages of 10 and 24 were murdered in the United States each day. The Minneapolis Police Department's annual homicide report documented that 26 Minneapolis residents between the ages of 15 and 24 were murdered in

2006. Although death is the most severe consequence of violence, nonfatal injuries are far more common. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), in 2004 more than 750,000 10- to 24-year-olds in the United States were treated in emergency rooms for injuries caused by violence. Many acts of violence do not involve either the healthcare or criminal justice system and are therefore more difficult to quantify. According to the 2004 Minnesota

Student Survey, 46% of sixth-grade students in public schools in Minneapolis reported being kicked, bitten, or hit, and 58.5% reported being punched, shoved, or grabbed during the previous year. In a 2007 Minneapolis Public Schools survey, 33% of fifth graders reported that crime and violence were problems around their neighborhoods and schools. By any of these measures, violence involving youth is common.

Certain communities—including low-income, resource-poor urban neighborhoods—tend to be more afflicted by serious forms of violence. In addition, specific demographic groups such as males and African Americans are overrepresented in homicide statistics. According to the CDC, homicide is the leading cause of death among African American young people between the ages of 10 and 24. The National Adolescent Health Information Center reports that males 15 to 19 years of age are 6.2 times more likely to die from homicide than same-age females, and that murder rates for African American males 10 to 24 years of age are 3 to 16 times higher than rates for other groups of males. However, as a 2001 report on youth violence from the Office of the Surgeon General points out, self-reports of general violence perpetration do not differ substantially across racial/ethnic groups.

Bullying behaviors also fall along the continuum of violence. Bullying is a broad term that refers to behaviors that are intended to threaten another person who is more vulnerable. Bullying can include making verbal threats, spreading rumors, ruining someone's belongings, pushing or shoving, and other intimidating behaviors. In a 2001 article published in the *Journal of the American Medical Association*, Nansel and colleagues reported that approximately 30% of U.S. sixth to tenth graders have been involved in bullying either as a bully, victim, or both. Young people who are bullied are at greater risk for emotional distress and perpetration of violence.

This article highlights research for Lead Peace, a middle-school service learning program developed by the Minneapolis Public School District. Lead Peace aims to (1) enhance middle-school students' connectedness to and prosocial involvement in their schools and communities; and (2) reduce students' involvement in violence and early substance use, behaviors that interfere with positive

school and community involvement. Through Lead Peace, students actively participate during their sixth-, seventh-, and eighth-grade years in community service designed to meet authentic community needs. Weekly classes provide structured time for preparation and reflection before, during, and after students' service activities. Lead Peace programming is led by partners from the Village Social Services, Minneapolis Public Schools, Kwanzaa Community Church, and the Healthy Youth Development–Prevention Research Center (HYD–PRC). With funding from CURA's Faculty Interactive Research Program and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, HYD–PRC is evaluating the impacts of Lead Peace on students involved in the program. Our findings will provide information for refining Lead Peace program activities.

### Preventing Youth Violence: Youth Development Approaches

The Lead Peace program is grounded in the view that violence is a public-health problem and not solely a crime issue. The public-health perspective views violence as preventable. Preventing violence before it occurs eliminates the ill effects it has on individuals and communities. By understanding factors that make some populations more vulnerable to violence involvement and evaluating programs aimed at preventing it, we can gain a better understanding of the problem and formulate effective interventions and policies to prevent violence.

The 2001 Office of the Surgeon General's report on youth violence urged practitioners and policy makers to adopt evidence-based approaches to preventing youth violence, including programs that employ a dual strategy of addressing known risks for violence while building protective factors that buffer adolescents from violence involvement. Risks that can be addressed programmatically include *personal and behavioral risks* such as poor school performance, feeling alienated from school, aggressive behaviors, emotional distress, antisocial attitudes, and hopelessness. Modifiable *environmental risk factors* include pervasive role modeling of antisocial behaviors, as well as limited opportunities and support for prosocial school and community involvement. *Protective factors* are events, circumstances, and experiences that buffer young people from violence involvement. Research suggests protective factors against violence involvement

that are amenable to change include a commitment to school involvement, academic achievement, attitudes that are intolerant of deviance, positive social and emotional skills, a strong sense of connection to school, and involvement with adults and peers who value avoiding violent behaviors.

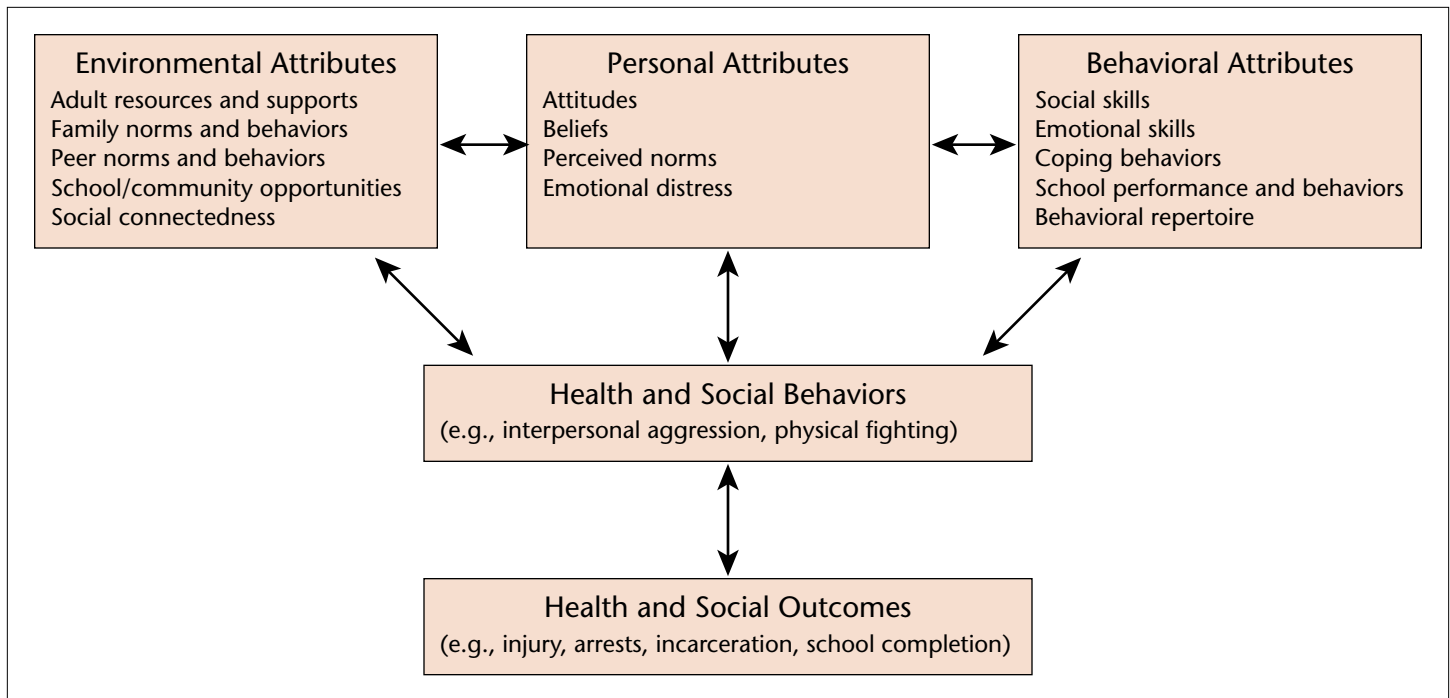
Understanding the interplay between risk and protective factors within the social contexts of adolescents' lives is essential to developing effective health-promotion programming. The *resilience paradigm*, which identifies factors that protect against unhealthy behaviors and adverse outcomes in vulnerable youth populations, provides a theoretical basis for the Lead Peace program. In this paradigm, depicted in Figure 1, health and social outcomes, including violence-related injury, arrests, and incarceration, emanate from health and social behaviors such as bullying, aggressive behaviors, and physical fighting. These behaviors, in turn, result from the dynamic interplay of *environmental attributes* (adult resources and supports; family norms and behaviors; peer norms and behaviors; school and community opportunities; connectedness to family, peers, school, and community) with individuals' *personal attributes* (attitudes, beliefs, and perceived norms; level of emotional distress) and *behavioral attributes* (social and emotional skills, coping behaviors, school performance, and behavior).

Multiple studies provide evidence that the environmental, personal, and behavioral attributes identified in the resilience paradigm are important buffers against violence.<sup>1</sup> Research suggests communities that provide higher concentrations of organizations and services for youth and other neighborhood residents reduce the likelihood of adolescents engaging in aggressive behaviors or becoming victims of violence.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore,

<sup>1</sup> Examples include I. Borowsky, M. Ireland, and M. Resnick, "Adolescent Suicide Attempts: Risks and Protectors," *Pediatrics* 107 (2001): 485–93; I. Borowsky, M. Ireland, and M. Resnick, "Violence Risk and Protective Factors among Youth Held Back in School," *Ambulatory Pediatrics* 2 (2002): 475–484; and M. Resnick, M. Ireland, and I. Borowsky, "Youth Violence Perpetration: What Protects? What Predicts? Findings from the National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health," *Journal of Adolescent Health* 35 (2004): 424e1–424e10.

<sup>2</sup> B. Molnar, M. Cerda, A. Roberts, and S. Buka, "Effects of Neighborhood Resources on Aggressive and Delinquent Behaviors among Urban Youth," *American Journal of Public Health* (forthcoming). Published online ahead of print as 10.2105/AJPH.2006.098913.

**Figure 1. The Resilience Paradigm: Factors that Protect Against Unhealthy Behaviors and Adverse Outcomes in High-Risk Youth Populations**



young people’s connectedness to school has been shown to protect against violence involvement.<sup>3</sup> Connectedness is enhanced by structured opportunities for young people to develop social and emotional skills.<sup>4</sup> In addition, a close relationship with even one caring, consistent adult who recognizes, values, and rewards prosocial behaviors has been found to be a key protective factor in the lives of resilient youth.<sup>5</sup>

The resilience paradigm has expanded the traditional pursuit of exploring pathology in the social and behavioral sciences to include a quest for understanding successes and strengths, as well as resistance and resilience. With respect to intervention research, the paradigm underscores the importance of approaching youth intervention strategies by asking, *How can we successfully nurture protective factors in young people who live in highly challenging, stressful environments, and will*

*these protective factors improve outcomes for these young people?* This approach is particularly salient for racial/ethnic minorities and populations who have experienced oppression. By emphasizing resources and protective factors rather than focusing on pathology, this theory-guided, solution-oriented approach has found increasing acceptance among marginalized groups precisely because it emphasizes hope and potential. The resilience paradigm identifies protective, nurturing factors that can positively influence adolescents who would otherwise likely experience a variety of adverse outcomes.

Youth development programs can use the power of protective factors to counteract risk. Effective youth development programs help young people develop social and emotional skills and build prosocial relationships with their peers. They underscore the importance of supportive relationships with adults who provide paths to achievement and who consistently communicate high expectations for behavior. Successful programs typically are offered over one or more academic years to bring about desired changes in behaviors. One type of youth development program, service learning, focuses on helping young people build a sense of connection and contribution through activities that serve the community. The National Youth Leadership Council has defined service learning as “an educational

method that involves students in challenging tasks that meet genuine community needs and require the application of knowledge, skills and systematic reflection on the experience.”

### **Middle-School Service Learning: The Lead Peace Program**

The Lead Peace middle-school service learning program addresses critical risk and protective factors for youth violence involvement identified by the resilience paradigm. As such, it emphasizes opportunities for young people to practice social skills, including communication, decision making, problem solving, and conflict resolution; to develop emotional self-regulation skills; to build caring relationships with peers and adults; and to gain experience in prosocial school and community involvement.

Developed by the Minneapolis Public Schools, the Lead Peace curriculum includes key components noted in Table 1, including team building, leadership skills development, community mapping, goal setting, and planning, implementing, and reflecting on community service learning projects. Through service learning projects and other experiential activities, Lead Peace engages students and gives them tools to be leaders in their schools, homes, and communities.

At the invitation of the Minneapolis Public Schools, the University’s

<sup>3</sup> M. Resnick et al., “Protecting Adolescents from Harm. Findings from the National Longitudinal Study on Adolescent Health,” *Journal of the American Medical Association* 278 (1997): 823–32.

<sup>4</sup> J.D. Hawkins et al., “Promoting Positive Adult Functioning through Social Development Intervention in Childhood,” *Archives of Pediatrics and Adolescent Medicine* 159 (2005): 25–31.

<sup>5</sup> B. Egeland, “Mediators of the Effects of Child Maltreatment on Developmental Adaptation in Adolescence.” In D. Cicchetti and S. Toth (eds.), *Developmental Perspectives on Trauma: Theory, Research, and Intervention* (University of Rochester Press: Rochester, NY, 1997). pp. 403–434.

**Table 1. Key Components of the Lead Peace Curriculum and Service Learning Projects**

Lead Peace Curriculum
<b>Team Building</b> —Initial sessions use creative and interactive activities to help students get to know each other, build trust, and develop team norms.
<b>Leadership Skills Development</b> —Sessions focus on helping students to develop a clear understanding of what leadership means and to see themselves as leaders.
<b>Community Mapping</b> —Sessions illustrate how community issues can be broken down into root causes, resources, and outcomes.
<b>Goal Setting</b> —Sessions give voice to students’ personal hopes and dreams, and teach them how to create goals for their lives.
Service Learning Projects
<b>Project Planning</b> —Sessions focus on the planning process and steps that lead to service. Students work together to create expectations for themselves in the classroom and in service settings.
<b>Implementation</b> —Sessions focus on implementing service projects. Emphasis is placed on experiential learning, in which students apply content knowledge, critical thinking, and good judgment to address genuine community needs.
<b>Reflection</b> —Sessions allow students to reflect on their service projects and the lessons they have learned about themselves and others through their service projects.

Healthy Youth Development–Prevention Research Center is evaluating the impacts of the Lead Peace service learning program on middle-school students. The Lead Peace outcomes evaluation study involves four K–8 schools in North Minneapolis that were selected in partnership with the Minneapolis Public Schools. All study schools have ethnically diverse and economically disadvantaged student bodies. Schools have been assigned to one of three conditions: Lead Peace, Lead Peace–Plus, and a comparison group. The study cohort includes students from the eighth-grade class of 2009 at each of these schools.

The two comparison schools will offer their usual middle-school curricula during the study period (2006–2009). The Lead Peace program school will offer weekly Lead Peace sessions for 16 to 28 weeks per year during the students’ sixth-, seventh-, and eighth-grade years. The Lead Peace–Plus program school will offer an 8–10 session classroom health education program, the Lead Peace service learning program (including 30 classroom sessions with 15–20 additional hours of community service), and parent/family outreach activities during the students’ sixth-, seventh-, and eighth-grade years. Lead Peace and Lead Peace–Plus programs are led by a group of school and community partners, including staff from each of

the program schools and the Minneapolis Public Schools, social workers from a North Minneapolis branch of Hennepin County Human Services and Public Health, youth workers from Kwanzaa Church in North Minneapolis, and staff from HYD–PRC. Analysis of student responses to self-report questionnaires administered at the beginning of sixth grade and the end of sixth, seventh, and eighth grades will permit us to compare bullying and aggressive behaviors, violence involvement, and school performance, as well as core risk and protective factors for these behaviors, among students exposed to the three different curricula.

To examine associations between violence outcomes and environmental, personal, and behavioral attributes at the beginning of the sixth grade, we completed linear regression analyses with data from students in the Lead Peace study cohort (number of students = 118). Violence involvement was measured using a 4-item scale that assessed students’ involvement in physical fights, group fights, and weapon use in the past year. Bullying behaviors were assessed with a 12-item scale that measured the frequency of students’ teasing, bullying, and aggressive behaviors in the past week. Regression analyses adjusted for the effects of age, gender, race/ethnicity, and similarities in violence and bullying behaviors among students in a given school.

Sixth-grade students’ bullying behaviors and violence involvement were clearly related.<sup>6</sup> As reported in Table 2, there were significant relationships between a select group of environmental, personal, and behavioral attributes and violence outcomes at the beginning of the sixth grade. Examining environmental attributes, sixth graders who reported stronger connections with their teachers, school, and schoolwork were less likely to be involved in bullying and violence than their peers with lower levels of school connectedness.

Selected personal beliefs and attitudes were also related to violence outcomes. Sixth graders who perceived that getting into a fight looks “tough” were more likely to engage in bullying and violence than students who did not have this attitude. In addition, students who perceived that getting into a fight looks “cool” were more likely to be involved in violence than their peers who did not express this attitude.

Among behavioral attributes, students who were frequently teased or bullied in the past week were more likely to be involved in bullying and violence than students who were infrequently teased or bullied. Students who reported frequently skipping school, breaking school rules, or getting into trouble at school were more likely to be involved in bullying than those with lower levels of school misbehavior. High levels of emotional and social intelligence appear to be buffers against violence involvement, as students who reported higher levels of recognizing, respecting, and caring about others’ feelings were less likely to be involved in bullying and violence than students with lower levels of these interpersonal skills. Students who reported being able to manage their own emotions in stressful situations were less likely to be involved in bullying and violence than peers who had lower levels of stress-management skills. Finally, students with greater abilities to express their own feelings and those demonstrating higher levels of cooperative and caring behaviors with other students were less likely to be involved in bullying than peers with lower levels of intrapersonal emotional skills and caring and cooperative behaviors.

### Conclusions and Policy Considerations

These findings provide valuable insights into key attributes associated with

<sup>6</sup> Bivariate correlation  $r = 0.68, p < 0.001$ .

**Table 2. Associations between Environmental, Personal, and Behavioral Attributes and Violence Outcomes**

	Violence Outcomes	
	Bullying behaviors, past week	Violence involvement, past year
<b>Environmental Attributes</b>		
Involvement in prosocial community activities (4-item scale)	—	—
School connectedness (10-item scale)	-0.262 ****	-0.258 ***
Peer connectedness (8-item scale)	—	—
<b>Personal Attributes</b>		
Academic aspirations	—	—
Getting into a fight looks...		
“cool”	—	0.282 *
“stupid”	—	—
“grown up”	—	—
“tough”	0.306 ****	0.316 ***
“out of control or crazy”	—	—
<b>Behavioral Attributes</b>		
Victim of bullying, past week (12-item scale)	0.319 ****	0.297 ***
School misbehavior (6-item scale)	0.130 **	—
Interpersonal emotional skills (5-item scale)	-0.302 ***	-0.158 *
Stress-management skills (4-item scale)	-0.269 ****	-0.238 ****
Intrapersonal emotional skills (2-item scale)	-0.098 **	—
Caring and cooperative behaviors (11-item scale)	-0.040 ***	—

Note: Where no result is reported, the relationship was not found to be statistically significant. Where a result is reported, a positive number indicates that the stronger the attribute, the greater the likelihood of bullying behavior or violence involvement, whereas a negative number indicates the stronger the attribute, the lesser the likelihood of bullying behavior or violence involvement. The regression analysis controlled for age, gender, race/ethnicity, and school.

\* Statistically significant at the 0.10 level ( $p < 0.10$ ), meaning there is a less than 10% probability that the statistical relationship is a result of chance.

\*\* Statistically significant at the 0.05 level ( $p < 0.05$ ), meaning there is a less than 5% probability that the statistical relationship is a result of chance.

\*\*\* Statistically significant at the 0.01 level ( $p < 0.01$ ), meaning there is a less than 1% probability that the statistical relationship is a result of chance.

\*\*\*\* Statistically significant at the 0.001 level ( $p < 0.001$ ), meaning there is a less than 0.1% probability that the statistical relationship is a result of chance.

bullying and violence among middle-school students currently involved in the Lead Peace service learning program. Identifying potent risk and protective factors for student bullying and violence in our target population will

help to guide refinements to core Lead Peace program objectives. Each program objective relates to a core risk or protective factor, and is addressed through multiple activities during the sixth-, seventh-, and eighth-grade years. For

example, a core program objective is to foster students’ prosocial involvement and connectedness with their schools. Related to this objective, many of the sixth-grade service learning projects consisted of interactions with younger students, enhancing middle-school students’ sense of involvement with their school. Other sixth-grade Lead Peace activities aimed at building positive student-teacher connections include a teacher-appreciation lunch hosted by students and a celebration of students’ service learning accomplishments attended by middle-school teachers.

Our findings also raise several questions for policy consideration. Higher levels of emotional and social intelligence are related to a decreased likelihood of involvement in bullying and violence. Thus, an important question to consider is how can families, schools, and communities nurture these protective emotional and social skills in young people? In addition, high levels of connection to school appear to act as a protective buffer against violence outcomes. Previous research has identified critical requirements for building students’ school connectedness, including high academic expectations coupled with support for learning, positive adult-student relationships, and physical and emotional safety. What school and community resources can be drawn upon to make schools places where students feel welcome, safe, and supported? How can schools, community partners, and families work together to clearly convey high expectations for students’ learning and academic performance? How can school connectedness be nurtured among young people who attend schools with dwindling resources and high rates of staff turnover? Understanding best practices in building young people’s prosocial connections and contributions to their schools and communities will provide valuable insights for framing social policies aimed at preventing violence and promoting civic engagement among our youngest citizens.

Findings from our research to date verify important risk and protective factors for violence involvement among urban middle-school students involved in the Lead Peace program. A controlled evaluation of student outcomes associated with Lead Peace that we are currently undertaking will allow us to understand whether this service learning program realizes its goals of enhancing students’ school



*Through Lead Peace service learning activities, students develop supportive relationships with adults who encourage positive community involvement and prosocial behaviors.*

and community connectedness while reducing their involvement in bullying, violence, and early substance use. We will report the results of this work in a follow-up article to be published in a future issue of the *CURA Reporter*.

**Renee E. Sieving**, Ph.D., RN, is associate professor in the School of Nursing and the Department of Pediatrics at the University of Minnesota. She is deputy director of the University's Healthy Youth Development-Prevention Research Center, which conducts research and provides post-graduate education, training, and dissemination of actionable

knowledge that promotes healthy youth development and reduces health disparities among young people. Her research focuses on understanding factors that help to prevent health risk behaviors among adolescents and on testing interventions that involve schools, health clinics, families, and communities in promoting the health and well-being of young people. **Rachel Widome**, Ph.D., M.H.S., is a post-doctoral research fellow with the Healthy Youth Development-Prevention Research Center. She is an epidemiologist whose research focuses on how social factors impact health and how policy can improve the public's health.

The research upon which this article is based was supported in part by a grant from CURA's Faculty Interactive Research Program. The program was created to encourage University faculty to carry out research projects that involve significant issues of public policy for the state and that include interaction with community groups, agencies, or organizations in Minnesota. These grants are available to regular faculty members at the University of Minnesota and are awarded annually on a competitive basis. Additional funding was provided by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

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# Project Funding Available from CURA

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**T**he Center for Urban and Regional Affairs supports community-based research projects through several different programs. If you represent a community organization or agency and are unsure which program listed below is most suitable for your project proposal, simply complete a general Community-Based Research Program Application Form at [www.cura.umn.edu/Programs/curaappform.html](http://www.cura.umn.edu/Programs/curaappform.html) and we will route your request to the appropriate program.

■ **The Community Assistantship Program (CAP)** matches community-based nonprofit organizations, citizen groups, and government agencies in Greater Minnesota with students who can provide research assistance. Eligible organizations define a research project, submit an application, and if accepted, are matched with a qualified student to carry out the research. The deadline for applications for fall 2008 support (early September to mid-January) is June 30, 2008. For more information, to discuss potential projects, or for assistance with applications, contact CAP coordinator Will Craig at 612-625-3321 or [wrcraig@umn.edu](mailto:wrcraig@umn.edu), or visit [www.cura.umn.edu/cap.php](http://www.cura.umn.edu/cap.php).

■ **Neighborhood Planning for Community Revitalization (NPCR)** provides student research assistance to community organizations in Minneapolis, St. Paul, and metro area suburbs that are involved in community-based revitalization. Projects may include any issue relevant to a neighborhood's or community's needs and interests, including planning, program development, or program evaluation. Priority is given to projects that support and involve residents of color. Applications from organizations collabo-

rating on a project are encouraged. Applications for fall 2008 support (early September to mid-January) are due June 30, 2008. For more information, visit [www.cura.umn.edu/npcr.php](http://www.cura.umn.edu/npcr.php) or contact NPCR program director Kris Nelson at 612-625-1020 or [knsn@umn.edu](mailto:knsn@umn.edu).

■ **The Communiversity Program** funds quarter-time graduate student assistantships for one semester to help community-based nonprofit organizations or government agencies with a specific project. The application deadline for fall semester 2008 assistantships is June 30, 2008. For more information, contact CURA community program assistant Jeff Corn at 612-625-0744 or [curacbr@umn.edu](mailto:curacbr@umn.edu), or visit [www.cura.umn.edu/communiversity.php](http://www.cura.umn.edu/communiversity.php).

■ **Northside Seed Grants** support community organizations that operate programs serving residents of Minneapolis' Northside community by providing student research assistants and faculty researchers to carry out neighborhood-initiated and neighborhood-guided projects. Applications for fall 2008 support (early September to mid-January) are due June 15, 2008. For more information, visit [www.cura.umn.edu/NSG.php](http://www.cura.umn.edu/NSG.php) or contact program director Kris Nelson at 612-625-1020 or [knsn@umn.edu](mailto:knsn@umn.edu).

■ **University Community Growth Options (U-CGO)** is a new program at CURA (see announcement on page 22) that provides planning assistance to growing communities on the edge of the Twin Cities metropolitan area. Eligible communities are matched with appropriate student or faculty resources to carry out the research. Applications for assistance are accepted on an ongoing basis. For more information, to

discuss potential projects, or for assistance with applications, contact U-CGO program coordinator Mike Greco at 612-625-7501 or [mgreco@umn.edu](mailto:mgreco@umn.edu), or visit [www.cura.umn.edu/cgo.php](http://www.cura.umn.edu/cgo.php).

■ **The University-Neighborhood Network (UNN)** links community organizations to course-based neighborhood projects that students carry out as part of course requirements at a Twin Cities college or university. Organizations that participate in the program identify projects with which they need assistance. UNN then locates faculty who teach courses that meet the organization's needs, and students who have an interest in the proposed project. Participation in UNN is coordinated through a web database system. For more information, visit [www.cura.umn.edu/unn.php](http://www.cura.umn.edu/unn.php), or contact UNN coordinator Jeff Corn at 612-625-0744 or [unn@umn.edu](mailto:unn@umn.edu).

■ **The New Initiative Program** accepts project proposals from community organizations, government agencies, and University of Minnesota faculty and students for projects that are inappropriate for or unrelated to other CURA programs. CURA is always looking for a good new idea, and supports many new projects outside of our existing program areas. The best approach is to call us to discuss the idea; if it looks worthwhile, we will encourage you to write a brief proposal. For projects supporting government agencies, we usually seek matching funds. Maximum support for a project is generally a half-time graduate student research assistant for one academic year; support for one semester is more typical. For more information or to discuss a project idea, contact CURA associate director Will Craig at 612-625-3321 or [wrcraig@umn.edu](mailto:wrcraig@umn.edu).

# Work and Home Location: Exploring the Possible Role of Social Networks

by Nebiyou Y. Tilahun and David M. Levinson

Undoubtedly the transfer of information from person to person is a major part of many decisions. In location choice, be it for work or home, the influence of the flow of information could be large. With support from CURA's Faculty Interactive Research Program,<sup>1</sup> we sought to discover if the observed arrangement of people into homes and jobs supports the hypothesis that local information transfer leads to a higher incidence of people living and working in close proximity to one another. If true, the implication would be that certain locations would generate more trips to destinations than would be expected if local information transfer mechanisms were not involved.

Using U.S. Census Bureau data and Longitudinal Economic and Household Dynamics (LEHD) data provided by CURA's Minnesota 3-D project, we investigated the home and work locations of residents in different census blocks, with the goal of determining if people who live close to one another also work close to one another to a greater degree than would be expected at random. In this report, we consider what features of particular neighborhoods are associated with comparatively higher incidences of people sharing work locations, and speculate about the possible role of neighborhood-level or workplace social networks on the choice of home or work location.

## Measures of Association

For the first part of our analysis, we measured whether people who live close to one another also work close to one another and, to the extent that they do, whether the level of home- and work-location sharing that is observed occurs purely by chance. We considered there to be a *home relationship* between two people if their residences were located in the same census block and



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**One possible explanation for home-work associations is that social networks in a neighborhood or workplace lead to information-sharing about work vacancies and homes for sale.**

a *work relationship* if their workplaces were located in the same census block. For our analysis, we randomly selected eight groups of home census blocks in the cities of Edina and Brooklyn Park. After controlling for the overall distribution of home-to-work distance in each group, we found that the observed home and work co-location relationships were more highly correlated than they would have been if work-place locations were randomly interchanged among the residents in each group. Our findings suggest that there is an underlying mechanism that leads to some people who live in close proximity to also work near one another. One possible explanation for such an outcome is the role that neighborhood-level and workplace social networks play in relaying information about possible work vacancies, available homes, and neighborhood quality.

## Investigating Work-Destination Sharing

The second part of our analysis focused on what features of particular home blocks are associated with comparatively

higher incidences of people sharing work census blocks. We used logistic regression analysis to investigate the level of workplace sharing for each census block we examined. The model tells us what demographic variables are correlated with higher levels of workplace sharing based on various characteristics of the home block.

Our results indicate that residents who live in blocks where the average work location is farther away have, on average, 2.6% lower odds of sharing a work location with their neighbors in the same census block for each additional mile. In addition, as compared to residents of blocks that are within 5 miles of downtown Minneapolis, residents of blocks whose centroid is located 5–10 miles and 10–20 miles from downtown Minneapolis are 14.6% and 6.5% less likely, respectively, to share a work location with someone in their own home block. However, outside a 20-mile radius from downtown, we found 27.2% *greater* odds of workplace sharing among residents as compared to the 0–5 mile ring.

<sup>1</sup> Additional support was provided by the Intelligent Transportation Systems Institute at the University of Minnesota and by Techplan, a program of the State and Local Policy Program at the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs.

Although the majority of home blocks we studied are predominantly White, about 4% have populations that are predominantly Black, Asian, or “Other” (which includes Native American, Hispanic, or mixed communities). Compared with blocks that are predominantly White, blocks where a majority of the population is Asian or other race have 31.4% and 7% higher home-work associations, respectively, while no differences are observed between predominantly Black and White blocks.

We also found that as the proportion of one-person households goes down in a block, the proportion of workplace ties increases. Although we detected no significant difference between blocks that have more than 25% single-person households, those that have less than 25% single-person households (more than 75% multiperson households) have 11% higher odds of workplace sharing among residents as compared to the base group that is 75% or more single-person household. The finding suggests that location decisions in multiperson households are significantly different than in single-person households. This may be because of within-household effects (for instance, people who live together also may share a work location) or because multiperson households have better social networks within their communities that lead to information transfer about jobs and housing.

We also found that as the median age in a block group increases, so does the likelihood that people who live in that block share a work block as well. Compared to the base group of people age 30 or less, those age 30–39 had a 6% greater likelihood, those age 40–49 a 10.7% greater likelihood, those age 50–64 a 25.5% greater likelihood, and those age 65 or older a 16.6% greater likelihood of sharing a work location with other residents of their home block. This finding suggests that mature households have a higher incidence of shared home and work locations than younger households.

Finally, we found that blocks that have a large number of owner-occupied homes have a higher incidence of people sharing a work block compared with blocks with relatively fewer owner-occupied homes. All other things being equal, the likelihood of sharing a work location decreases by about 4.2% and 5.3% when the proportion of owner-occupied households in a home block is between 50 and 85% or between 25 and 50%, respectively, as compared to



**Compared to residents of blocks within 5 miles of downtown Minneapolis, residents who lived between 5 and 20 miles from downtown were less likely to share a work location with someone in their own home block. Outside a 20-mile radius from downtown, however, there was a greater likelihood of workplace sharing among residents.**

the base group. But the trend does not carry over to blocks that are fewer than 25% owner-occupied, where no differences were detected with the base group that is more than 85% owner-occupied.

### Conclusions

Our findings suggest that older populations, larger households, and, to an extent, greater numbers

of owner-occupied households lead to higher incidences of people from the same home block sharing a work block. Results for other characteristics were more mixed. Our results point to the possibility that as households “settle,” they do so in a manner that is nonrandom. These data argue for creating traffic forecasting models that take into account the driving forces

behind such systemic effects, in addition to “friction” measures that represent people’s reluctance to travel based on the cost of travel between home (origin) and work (destination) locations. The goal should be to go beyond simply including demographic variables and understanding what causes the differences observed across blocks.

One possible explanation of the block differences we observed is what we would call the *social network paradigm*, which posits that people choose home and work locations using information in part from contacts who are neighbors or coworkers. Location decisions that arise from these information flows might result in people living and working in closer proximity to one another with more frequency than would be randomly expected, all other things being equal. The results from our measures of association analysis support such a hypothesis by showing that the observed co-location at home and work are substantially different from

what would happen when people are randomly assigned to work blocks while keeping their home locations fixed.

Coupled with information about the spatial separation between work and home, understanding and explicitly including such mechanisms of location choice in our analyses would theoretically improve our ability to predict the matching of home (origin) and work (destination) blocks and thus improve traffic forecasting models. In addition, such findings give us hope for exploring innovative solutions to encourage carpooling among people who live and work close to one another, and in job-matching for people who are under or unemployed.

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The research upon which this article is based was supported in part by a grant from CURA’s Faculty Interactive Research Program. The program was created to encourage University faculty to carry out research projects that involve significant issues of public policy for the state and that include interaction with community groups, agencies, or organizations in Minnesota. These grants are available to regular faculty members at the University of Minnesota and are awarded annually on a competitive basis. Additional support was provided by the Intelligent Transportation Systems Institute at the University of Minnesota and by Techplan, a program of the State and Local Policy Program at the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs.

The full version of this report can be found online at <http://nexus.umn.edu/Papers/WorkHomeSocialNetworks.pdf>.

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## CURA Launches Neighborhood Partnership Initiative

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This past January, CURA received a two-year, \$200,000 grant from the McKnight Foundation to initiate the Neighborhood Partnership Initiative (NPI) program. The purpose of this new CURA program is to provide direct financial support to foster innovative, effective partnerships that increase involvement of immigrant, under-represented, and youth constituencies in solving neighborhood problems and improving the community for everyone.

Partnerships applying to NPI must include at least one government-recognized Minneapolis or St. Paul neighborhood organization (Minneapolis Neighborhood Group or St. Paul District Council) and at least one youth, immigrant, or arts organization with nonprofit status. The neighborhood

organization should be the lead partner. The program will provide grants of up to \$10,000 in direct financial support to successful applicants

The goal behind the program is to help neighborhood organizations partner with youth, arts, or cultural organizations to encourage cross-fertilization and collaboration. For example, neighborhood organizations may want to partner with an organization serving immigrants to reach out to immigrant residents in the community with safety or housing concerns. The immigrant organization can overcome language barriers and provide cultural skills to help neighborhood staff connect with immigrant residents. In turn, direct involvement of residents can contribute to a better

understanding of the issues they face, and how they can become involved in advocating for and formulating programs or policies to address their concerns. Similarly, partnerships with arts and youth organizations can assist neighborhood groups in reaching out to and involving new constituencies that might become active in formal neighborhood initiatives and deliberations.

Applications are currently being reviewed for projects commencing this summer. An additional application deadline will be announced in the fall of 2008. Look for an announcement in future issues of the *CURA Reporter*.

For more information about NPI, visit [www.cura.umn.edu/NPI.php](http://www.cura.umn.edu/NPI.php) or contact Jeff Corn at 612-625-0744 or [jcorn@umn.edu](mailto:jcorn@umn.edu).

# Community Growth Options: Helping Communities Address Development Challenges

The McKnight Foundation recently awarded two complementary grants to project partners CURA, the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, and 1000 Friends of Minnesota to fund Community Growth Options, a joint project to assist local communities on the edge of the Twin Cities metropolitan area in their efforts to manage the consequences of growth and development in their communities. 1000 Friends of Minnesota received a two-year grant of \$1.5 million to work with 10 rapidly growing Minnesota communities. CURA and the Humphrey Institute received a two-year grant of \$400,000 to engage urban planning faculty and graduate students in research that will serve participating communities and the educational community. The grants support the first two years of a planned six-year demonstration project.

The 1000 Friends component of Community Growth Options (CGO) will provide direct financial assistance to 10 communities in their work with local planning firms to help foster greater choices in how they grow. “The funding of this project by the McKnight Foundation represents an important shift in how Minnesota plans for its future,” says Jeff Heegaard, executive director of 1000 Friends of Minnesota. “At the conclusion of the six-year project, we will have demonstrated a process whereby growing communities can develop their vision and then implement that vision to ensure the healthiest future for their community—one that addresses livability, local identity, physical well-being and planned open space and conservation.”

The University’s component of Community Growth Options (U-CGO) will provide direct support to edge communities through faculty and student research assistance on community-defined projects. U-CGO will also create and maintain a web portal that will identify tools and techniques to help edge communities manage growth in ways that make development more sustainable, environmentally responsive, and economically efficient.



“Communities at the metropolitan edge generally welcome assistance that helps them identify the problems and possibilities that come from growth, and that helps citizens and decision makers plan for the long term and respond to immediate issues and pressures,” says Jim Solem, CGO advisory committee chair. “The University of Minnesota can be a great resource in this regard if the assistance can be structured to meet the needs of local communities. Community Growth Options will provide the right combination of resources and people to really help growing communities understand and respond to the issues that lie ahead.”

Faculty and graduate students who participate will also benefit directly. “The Community Growth Options program provides a wonderful teaching, research and outreach opportunity for the University,” says professor Ed Goetz, director of the Urban and Regional Planning program at the Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs. “Our students will be able to supplement their classroom experience with direct involvement in the growth challenges facing communities on the rapidly developing fringe of the metropolitan area. Faculty will have the opportunity to pursue research with direct applicability

to the needs of edge communities. And communities will benefit from the expertise, energy and insights of University students and faculty.”

The Community Growth Options project partners are currently accepting applications for assistance. 1000 Friends of Minnesota invites proposals from edge communities seeking direct financial support for planning activities. Eligibility requirements and the complete RFP are available at [www.1000fom.org](http://www.1000fom.org). The deadline for responses is May 15. For more information, contact Lisa Bigaouette, associate director of 1000 Friends, at 651-312-1000 or [cgo@1000fom.org](mailto:cgo@1000fom.org).

Edge communities seeking applied research assistance with growth-related issues or projects can apply for University assistance through U-CGO. Eligible communities define a research project, submit an application, and if accepted, are matched with appropriate student or faculty resources to carry out the research. Eligibility requirements and application materials are available at [www.cura.umn.edu/cgo.php](http://www.cura.umn.edu/cgo.php). Applications are accepted on an ongoing basis. For more information, contact U-CGO program coordinator Mike Greco at 612-625-7501 or [cgo@umn.edu](mailto:cgo@umn.edu).

# Preparing Minnesota Teachers for Diverse Classrooms

by Mistilina Sato, Benjamin M. Jacobs, and Patricia G. Avery



Photo © Chris Faust, courtesy of the College of Education and Human Development

**Minnesota's classrooms are more ethnically and culturally diverse than ever before, whereas the teaching force remains predominantly White, creating potential mismatches between the teachers' expectations and experiences and the students' cultural backgrounds.**

Cathy, a teacher beginning her second year at a comprehensive high school in the Twin Cities metropolitan area, teaches an introductory technology class specifically designated for English language learners (ELLs). Each week of the semester, two to three new students who have recently immigrated to the United States are placed in this class, making for an ever-changing classroom population. According to Cathy:

I'm figuring it out as I go. I had a one-day staff development opportunity that was with a researcher about ELL education and that was

helpful but that was late in the year. I was kind of just thrown in this position.... I had never taught ELLs before. The first two weeks, I was freaked out, but working with Somali interpreters and with some of the bicultural liaisons at our school, I started to put together the way to do it and I've actually been pretty successful, I think.

In one lesson, Cathy asked her students to write an essay about what they had learned in the class thus far. She tried to help the students structure their essay by providing a series of questions for them to answer. She also

suggested that they write their essay first in their native language and then in English. She admitted that she wasn't sure if this was a strategy she should be using, but it just felt like the right thing to do. Cathy would like to have the opportunity to see an experienced "mainstream teacher's classroom who has many ELL kids in there and talk to [that teacher] about how she was running that classroom, how she had to change things." In addition, she is taking a Spanish class once a week that her school district offers, hoping that more base vocabulary will help her communicate better with at least some of her students.

Cathy is one of the Minnesota teachers we observed for the project we report on in this article. Her experience working with a diverse student population is emblematic of the growing problems and prospects associated with teaching in Minnesota's schools in the 21st century. Minnesota's classrooms are more ethnically and culturally diverse than ever before, whereas the teaching force remains predominantly White, creating potential mismatches between the teachers' expectations and experiences and the students' cultural backgrounds.

In January 2006, a team of researchers from institutions representing the three primary types of teacher-preparation programs in Minnesota—the College of St. Catherine (private colleges), Minnesota State University at Mankato (the Minnesota State Colleges and Universities system), and the University of Minnesota at Twin Cities (the University of Minnesota system)—created the Minnesota Teacher Education Research Consortium (MNTERC) to better understand the teacher-preparation experiences that contribute to the instructional practices of teachers in Minnesota's increasingly diverse schools. As part of MNTERC's efforts, our purpose in this research was to determine how well prepared Minnesota's program completers (i.e., first-year teachers) think they are to teach in ethnically and culturally diverse school and classroom contexts, what aspects of the teachers' background and experience are particularly helpful in preparing them for diverse educational settings, and what instructional strategies they report using as teachers with diverse student populations. This article reports on our findings.

This project was supported by a Faculty Interactive Research Program grant from CURA. Additional funding was provided by the dean's offices at the University of Minnesota, Minnesota State University at Mankato, and the College of St. Catherine, and by the Department of Curriculum and Instruction at the University of Minnesota.

### Minnesota's Changing Demographics, Schools, and Teachers

Minnesota's pre-K–12 schools are widely regarded as among the best in the nation, with students attending and graduating from school at comparatively high rates and achieving consistently high marks on national tests of educational progress. Minnesota's

teachers are also highly regarded, with a high percentage licensed and proficient in the subject areas that they teach. Yet, Minnesota has a serious problem educating all students to meet the same high academic standards equitably. For example, Minnesota fell close to the bottom of all U.S. states in an analysis of the difference between White and African American student scores on the 2005 National Assessment of Educational Progress reading and mathematics tests. Similarly, of the Minnesota schools not meeting the Annual Yearly Progress benchmarks established by the federal No Child Left Behind Act, the majority are composed of students who are African American or Latino, of limited English proficiency, with special learning needs, and/or on free or reduced-cost lunch plans.

Concern about achievement gaps is acute, given that Minnesota demographics are changing rapidly. During the past decade, more than half of the total population growth in the state—in urban, suburban, and rural areas alike—has occurred in the state's Asian, Native American, Latino, and African American populations, including substantial increases in Hmong and Somali immigrant refugee populations. Accordingly, the number of students of color enrolling in Minnesota schools has increased substantially (a 24% increase from the 2000–2001 to the 2005–2006 school year), whereas the number of White students enrolling in schools has decreased (a 7% decline over the same period). Concomitant with the growing immigrant population is a dramatic rise in the number of students of limited English proficiency (a 30% increase from the 2000–2001 to the 2005–2006 school year). In addition, the documented number of special-education students in the state has grown during the past decade, with 14% of the student population currently designated as special education. Taken together, these data indicate that a significant shift is underway in the makeup of the pre-K–12 student population in Minnesota.

At the same time, the teaching force in Minnesota remains predominantly White (97% of full-time teachers statewide during the 2006–2007 school year). With the majority of teachers being White and an increasing number of students coming from ethnically and culturally diverse groups, the potential for mismatches between the teachers' expectations and experiences

and the students' cultural backgrounds and learning styles is growing.

In light of these circumstances, Minnesota's 29 teacher-preparation programs—which constitute the Minnesota Association of Colleges for Teacher Education—are becoming more sensitive to the changing needs of the diverse school populations being served throughout the state. These programs are seeking to better prepare teachers for diverse settings by heightening teacher candidates' awareness of cultural issues and providing for culturally responsive pedagogy.

### Data Sources and Methods

Our research team attempted to evaluate how well Minnesota's teacher-preparation programs succeed in preparing teachers to teach in ethnically and culturally diverse school and classroom contexts, what aspects of the teachers' background and experience are particularly helpful in preparing them for diverse educational settings, and what instructional strategies they report using as teachers with diverse student populations.

We collected three sources of data during our investigation. The first source of data was the *Transition to Teaching* survey, developed by MNTERC researchers, which aligns with the Minnesota Standards of Effective Practice for Teachers (Table 1) and probes first-year teachers on their teacher-preparation program experiences, current teaching practices, current teaching contexts, and personal backgrounds. For our study, we sent surveys to 2005–2006 teacher-preparation program completers from the three participating MNTERC institutions who became pre-K–12 teachers during the 2006–2007 academic year. A total of 298 teachers responded, representing a 51% response rate. The second data source was interviews with a subsample of 18 first-year teachers who were purposefully selected to provide a heterogeneous look at teaching contexts along dimensions such as cultural and ethnic diversity, immigrant status, English language proficiency, geographical diversity (urban/rural), socioeconomic status, and the diverse learning needs of the student population. Finally, we conducted school visits and classroom observations with five selected teacher interviewees. These teachers were among those who indicated on their surveys that they were willing to be “shadowed” for a day; together,

**Table 1. Minnesota Standards of Effective Practice for Teachers**

Standard	Description
#1: Subject Matter	A teacher must understand the central concepts, tools of inquiry, and structures of the disciplines taught and be able to create learning experiences that make these aspects of subject matter meaningful for students.
#2: Student Learning	A teacher must understand how students learn and develop and must provide learning opportunities that support a student's intellectual, social, and personal development.
#3: Diverse Learners	A teacher must understand how students differ in their approaches to learning and create instructional opportunities that are adapted to students with diverse backgrounds and exceptionalities.
#4: Instructional Strategies	A teacher must understand and use a variety of instructional strategies to encourage student development of critical thinking, problem solving, and performance skills.
#5: Learning Environment	A teacher must be able to use an understanding of individual and group motivation and behavior to create learning environments that encourage positive social interaction, active engagement in learning, and self-motivation.
#6: Communication	A teacher must be able to use knowledge of effective verbal, nonverbal, and media communication techniques to foster active inquiry, collaboration, and supportive interaction in the classroom.
#7: Planning Instruction	A teacher must be able to plan and manage instruction based upon knowledge of subject matter, students, the community, and curriculum goals.
#8: Assessment	A teacher must understand and be able to use formal and informal assessment strategies to evaluate and ensure the continuous intellectual, social, and physical development of the student.
#9: Reflection and Professional Development	A teacher must be a reflective practitioner who continually evaluates the effects of choices and actions on others, including students, parents, and other professionals in the learning community, and who actively seeks out opportunities for professional growth.
#10: Collaboration, Ethics, and Relationships	A teacher must be able to communicate and interact with parents or guardians, families, school colleagues, and the community to support student learning and well-being.

Source: Minnesota Rules §8710.2000

they reflected a range of subject areas, grade levels, and geographic locations within the state. Together, these data allowed us to identify strengths and weaknesses of Minnesota's teacher-preparation programs, particularly as they regard teaching in diverse settings.

### Profile of Study Participants

The typical participant in this study—representing survey respondents from

across the three institutions—was a White (94%), native English-speaking (98%) woman (79%) who graduated from a comprehensive public high school (90%) in an urban or suburban area (68%) in Minnesota (65%). Although the majority of the participants entered their teacher-preparation program in college or right after college (65%), the remainder reported having a job for at least one year (with almost

10% having held a job for six or more years) prior to entering the teaching profession. Significantly, more than half of the participants came into Minnesota's teacher-preparation programs with experience working with children from diverse groups, including low-income, urban, special needs, and English language learners. Approximately 70% of Minnesota's teacher-preparation program completers are presently teaching, with the majority of those who are not teaching attributing their status to a lack of available positions.

The first-year teachers in this study largely reported that they found the schools they work in to be supportive professional environments in which teachers share high standards for each other's professionalism and practice (91%), felt mutually responsible for all students' learning (89%), had high standards for academic performance (89%), and respected the dignity and worth of all students (94%). At the same time, challenges to teacher success reported by our survey respondents include a lack of formal mentoring from school districts (only 68% of respondents reported that such programs were available); inadequate facilities, equipment, and resources (e.g., only 67% of respondents reported having the space and furniture necessary for flexible instructional activities); ineffective administrative leadership (only 79% of respondents rated their principal an effective leader); and little control over curriculum (only 69% of respondents said that they were encouraged to design their own courses). Despite this, almost all respondents (94%) reported they were committed to the teaching profession (with 75% of respondents indicating that they plan to teach more than 10 years) and 91% of the respondents reported that they believed the rewards of teaching are worth the efforts they put into becoming a teacher.

### Teachers' Perceptions of Their Teacher-Preparation Program

The first-year teachers reported a high level of satisfaction with their overall teacher-preparation program. When asked whether they would choose the same program again if given the opportunity, 80% said yes. The teachers generally reported they had been well prepared to meet core aspects of the Minnesota Standards of Effective Practice (Table 1). More than 90% of survey respondents said that their program had prepared them to align

instruction with state subject matter standards of what students should know and be able to do (standard 1); identify student-learning needs (standard 2); use instructional strategies that promote active student learning (standard 4); develop and maintain a productive learning environment (standard 5); plan instruction by using the combined knowledge of student learning, subject matter, and curriculum (standard 7); and use a variety of formal and informal assessments (standard 8).

In our interviews with the teachers, we asked them if any aspect of their teacher-preparation program had been particularly helpful to them in their first year of teaching. Most of the teachers mentioned their field experiences (student teaching and/or practicum), or a combination of their field experiences and coursework. A junior high science teacher said:

I think probably the student teaching experience was certainly the best preparation because there is nothing like trial by fire to figure it all out. In terms of content outside of that, I'd say the program focused a lot on creating quality, inquiry-based science lessons.

An elementary teacher mentioned that her program's focus on becoming a reflective teacher was particularly helpful:

Because we practiced [reflecting on our teaching] so much, it just comes incredibly naturally to me as a teacher. It was a part of our course and fieldwork. It was part of the assignments and anytime we did anything, it was just required that we did this formal reflection.

When teachers were asked *general* questions about the degree to which their teacher-preparation program had prepared them to work in diverse settings and contexts, they also reported that their programs had been fairly successful. For example, the teachers responded that as a result of their teacher-preparation program, they were prepared to develop learning communities in which individual differences are respected (92%), to respond appropriately to issues of bias and discrimination (82%), and to actively seek to eliminate the negative impact of bias and discrimination on students and their families (84%).



**During the past decade, more than half the total population growth in the state—in urban, suburban, and rural areas alike—has occurred among Asian, Native American, Latino, and African American populations, including substantial Hmong and Somali immigrant refugee populations.**

Teachers also reported that they felt prepared to design culturally responsive instruction (85%) and to develop a curriculum that includes the perspective, experiences, and contributions of different cultural groups (84%).

When first-year teachers were asked more *specific* questions about particular groups of students with special needs, their responses indicated that in general their teacher-preparation programs had been less successful in preparing them. For example, only 73% of the teachers surveyed responded that their programs had prepared them to design instruction for English language learners. One of the high school math teachers we interviewed said:

We have about 40% [English language learners] in St. Paul/Minneapolis and that was something I totally wasn't prepared to deal with. What do you do with somebody that doesn't speak English now? That was one area in which I really felt I needed much more training.

Only 47% of the teachers surveyed reported that their program had prepared them to understand the unique needs of refugee students.

Similarly, although the first-year teachers overwhelmingly agreed that their programs prepared them to differentiate instruction to meet the

learning needs of all students (91%), they were less positive when asked more specifically about their preparation for working with students with special cognitive, physical, emotional, behavioral, or sensory needs. Of these areas of special needs, teachers reported that their programs were most successful in preparing them to work with the cognitively impaired (73%) and least successful in teaching them to work with young people with sensory (visual, auditory) impairments (46%). Only about two-thirds (65%) of the teachers reported that they were prepared to meet the needs of gifted and talented students.

Interestingly, teachers who had previous experience with specific types of learners prior to their entry into their teacher-preparation program were more likely to report that the program prepared them to meet the needs of that particular group of learners than those who reported having no experience with these learners. For example, teachers' previous experience with new immigrants was associated with teachers rating their program higher on preparing them to design instruction for English language learners.<sup>1</sup> Teachers' previous experience with students with specific disabilities was

<sup>1</sup> This finding was statistically significant at the  $p < 0.005$  level, meaning there is a less than 0.5% probability that the statistical relationship is a result of chance.

associated with teachers rating their program higher on preparing them to work with special needs students.<sup>2</sup>

### Diversity in the Classroom through Three Lenses

When asked about the diversity of students within their classrooms, the first-year teachers we interviewed reported a variety of ways that diversity was manifested. Most commonly, teachers talked about ethnic and cultural diversity, which is not surprising given the changing demographics in Minnesota. Immigrant populations were identified as bringing particular elements of diversity into the classroom, including a variety of languages and often limited proficiency in English. Among the immigrant students, interviewees reported that students identified as refugees sometimes arrived in classrooms with little to no formal school experience, had low literacy and computational skills in their native languages, were sometimes much older than their grade-level peers, and sometimes did not know the social norms and expectations of attending school.

Teachers also identified the socioeconomic status of their students as a dimension of diversity. A few teachers described having a range of socioeconomic statuses represented in the same classroom. One teacher made a distinction between having “city kids” and “farm kids” (in this case, meaning students with fewer resources at home) in the same class. This heterogeneity of economic backgrounds posed challenges for the teachers, such as determining what resources the students had to draw on for completing assignments in their home (e.g., access to computers, adult assistance with school work, or time away from job or family responsibilities), for determining the appropriate placement for students in course sequences, and for absenteeism and staying up-to-date in their work. Finally, teachers identified a wide range of special learning needs among their students, including autism, being deaf or hard of hearing, speech development issues, and gifted learners. One teacher taught a modified physical education class for students with a range of physical challenges.

When we asked the teachers how their teaching meets the diverse needs of their students, we found that the teachers addressed this question through three lenses: the teacher, the curriculum, and students’ learning needs.

**The Teacher Lens.** From the perspective of the teacher, responses ranged from survival strategies such as trying to learn some of the students’ languages to embracing the uncertainty of working with a heterogeneous group of students every day, as this high school math and science teacher reported:

You should be flexible. You should be willing to get outside of the box. It’s an overall approach that I use towards teaching. Every day I have to say, “Okay, this isn’t working for you today. Let’s find something else that will work for you today so that we can figure this out so that you can learn this material.”

Teachers also suggested that by building strong and personal relationships with their students, they got to know them better and felt more successful with them as a teacher. One teacher also discussed the need to be aware of the diversity in his class “so I don’t necessarily step on any toes or anything.”

**The Curriculum Lens.** For most of the teachers, addressing ethnic and cultural differences among students was a matter of relating curricular concepts to students’ particular backgrounds. Teachers reported using a variety of techniques, including asking their students to bring artifacts or stories of their culture to the classroom for discussion or to do presentations about their home cultures, comparing the U.S. government to the home countries of the students, or using a variety of languages in classroom rituals.

Although these teachers are well intentioned in their attempts to be inclusive of their students’ experiences, these kinds of activities may have the opposite effect. Selectively examining the home cultures of students of color has the potential to depict them as foreign or exotic while simultaneously privileging the White culture as the norm to which “the Other” is compared. By contrast, this high school English teacher used the existing curriculum to help the students examine race and culture, both through literary analysis and by relating it to their own experiences as cultural beings.

We talk a lot about [socioeconomic] issues and issues of race and one of the books we teach with freshman year is *To Kill a Mockingbird* and we talk about issues of gender, race, and economics, and kids sort of feel like race is a bigger issue and gender is a bigger issue at our school than socioeconomics.... We examine it through the Marxist lens, through the general lens, and through the cultural lens and then talk about how those issues affect the characters in the book and then also how they affect us in our world. So, it’s so cool to see the light come on in 15-year-olds’ heads who go, “Oh, my gosh! They’re different than I am and they get treated differently,” and talk about White privilege. I love being a part of that.

### The Student-Learning Lens.

Some teachers described getting to know their students and what they needed as learners before designing a lesson. In this way, they could better target what the students would be successful in learning, as noted by a middle-school math teacher working in a mixed-ability classroom.

I scaffold the lessons to understand where [the students] are, what their previous knowledge is. For example, in math right now, we’re doing fractions and some students are proficient at fractions so they’re a couple steps ahead of the other students. I work with small groups. Some of my students, this is the first time they’ve ever heard about dividing a whole into smaller parts. So, I kind of split them up into groups and so they’ll all be working on fractions. They’ll be working at their level.

Identifying what motivates students was frequently cited as an instructional challenge. A high school technology teacher reflected:

[For] both my American and immigrant kids, how do I tap into what’s motivating for them?... I’m having a hard time finding reading that they can get motivated to read. Something that could tap into their interests and it’s really difficult.

Some challenges in the classroom require an individualized rather than a whole-class plan for success. One elementary/middle-school math teacher

<sup>2</sup> This finding was statistically significant at the  $p < 0.05$  level, meaning there is a less than 5% probability that the statistical relationship is a result of chance.

recounted this story when we asked her about successes she had this year:

Our one little guy, he came to us, he couldn't read at all and his mom, in our first meeting she just broke down crying and she said that they couldn't afford this school and they were in the refugee camp and we didn't have the resources at our school to meet his needs. So, at the beginning of the year, we really debated on sending him to another school where they had a wider population and more ELL services. Ultimately, we decided against it and we got community partnerships and worked with him for a couple of hours every day. So, every day, somebody committed to an hour of time and he would get two hours [of tutoring] every day. Through the school year now, he's reading at the second grade level.

This story demonstrates the intensity of time and effort that this teacher and her school colleagues were willing and able to commit to this one student to help him be successful in school. The teacher also commented that this experience itself was a learning experience for her. When faced with such learning challenges, she chose several different strategies to work with this student.

### **A Closer Look at the Transition to Teaching**

Research has shown that beginning teachers bring to their classrooms a host of beliefs and experiences that will help shape their classroom instruction and relationships with students. As noted above, preservice teachers' previous experiences are associated with the way in which they interpret and evaluate their teacher-preparation program curriculum and experiences. From our analysis, it appears that teachers' prior experience with a particular group of learners (e.g., cognitively impaired students) makes them attuned to the relevance of this aspect of the teacher-preparation program. Their experiences may reflect an interest in working with a specific group of learners that extends into their experiences with their teacher-preparation program. It is also possible that the curriculum and instruction within the teacher-preparation program is a better match for people with some prior experiences with specific learning groups.

Regardless, teacher-preparation programs need to ensure that preservice



***Teachers interviewed for this study generally felt they had been well prepared by their preparation programs to meet core aspects of the Minnesota Standards of Effective Practice for Teachers, but felt less prepared to meet the needs of particular groups of students such as English language learners, students with special education needs, and students with refugee status.***

teachers have direct experiences with specific groups of learners either prior to or as a part of their teacher-preparation programs. For example, admissions requirements could require documented experiences with a variety of diverse groups of learners and student-teaching placements could be strategically located at schools with diverse populations. Given the already existing high demand for such placements, however, teacher-preparation programs might also consider partnerships with community centers, after-school programs, and youth organizations that would bring preservice teachers into relationships with children for the purposes of learning about children's lives and their communities. Finally, many teacher-education programs are moving to a professional development school model, in which schools and higher education institutions create partnerships for the professional education of teachers. In these models, preservice education is integrated within the school site. Classroom practice and the theoretical underpinnings of subject-matter knowledge, learning, and child development are woven together through school-based courses taught by both university faculty and experienced teachers. Professional development schools could be selected strategically to provide opportunities to work with diverse student populations.

Based on first-year teachers' evaluations, Minnesota's teacher-preparation programs are largely preparing them with the general knowledge base, theoretical frameworks, and reflective practice they need to launch their careers. However, when reporting on their preparation to work with specific kinds of diverse student needs, the first-year teachers that we surveyed indicated that they felt less prepared. These data suggest that Minnesota's teacher-preparation programs need to attend to the general issues of preparing teachers while also providing enough specific examples and experiences to build beginning teachers' instructional repertoires with diverse student populations.

Pedagogically, the use of case studies in teacher-preparation programs has proven to be an effective means of engaging preservice teachers on specific complex issues drawn directly from practice. Case narratives, multimedia cases constructed from classroom teaching video, student work samples, and teacher commentaries have become more widely available to teacher-education programs. Similar to the use of case pedagogy in business schools and law schools, case studies and case pedagogy allow preservice teachers to encounter specific pedagogical dilemmas, consider and evaluate potential actions, and connect their thinking to appropriate theories of subject matter, teaching, and learning.

Learning technologies also offer a number of possibilities for developing beginning teachers' repertoires of practice. Teacher-preparation programs, professional education organizations, and teacher support networks can host online mentoring programs through blogs, chat rooms, list-servs, and e-mail exchanges, allowing teachers to interact with and gain feedback from experts and peers about the specific challenges they are facing in their schools. Courses that focus on strategies for working with specific student-learning needs also could be offered online, allowing greater flexibility for beginning teachers to select and schedule the kind of support they need.

The work context for the beginning teacher clearly plays an instrumental role in the early career performance of teachers. First-year teachers reported supportive collegial environments in their schools, but as noted above they also reported many challenges to meeting the learning needs of diverse populations of students in their classrooms as well as the specific needs of individual students. As we saw from Cathy's experience at the beginning of this article, classrooms are not always stable populations, preparation cannot always predict the teaching assignment that a teacher will be "thrown into," and beginning teachers can face much uncertainty and emotional stress when they feel they are learning on the job. Currently, the Minnesota Teacher Support Partnership, a collaboration among Education Minnesota, the Minnesota Department of

Education, Minnesota State Colleges and Universities, and the University of Minnesota, is creating guidelines for developing induction programs based on empirical research and effective program models. These guidelines have the potential to set a standard of quality for such programs in schools and districts. In addition, the Minnesota Association of Colleges for Teacher Education is emphasizing as one of its three legislative priorities the development of state-supported teacher-induction systems for Minnesota.

The transition to teaching, then, is best viewed as a joint enterprise of professional preparation and early career support in schools. Teacher-preparation programs in Minnesota need to better prepare teachers with curricular models that are culturally relevant without trivializing ethnic and cultural backgrounds of students through token lessons, and prepare teachers to work with students who are learning English. Simultaneously, state policy and schools need to create structures and opportunities that sustain beginning teachers as they enter teaching assignments that are heterogeneously unpredictable, emotionally demanding, and instructionally complex.

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# New Publication: Transforming Community Development with Land Information Systems

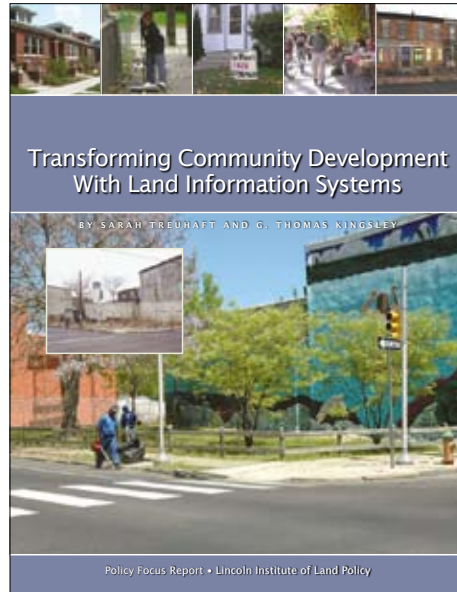
*Transforming Community Development with Land Information Systems.* Sarah Treuhaft and G. Thomas Kingsley. Cambridge, MA: Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, 2008. 48 pp. Paperback. \$15.00.

A new era of data democracy has arrived, enabling tremendous improvements in land information systems and opening up a wealth of opportunities for the practice of community development and the management of community resources. Geographic information systems (GIS) and Web services have dramatically expanded the ability to access, analyze, disseminate, and display vast quantities of data. These powerful technologies make it possible for cities, counties, and even regions to integrate their administrative databases and make parcel-level information available to the public via the Internet.

Community organizations that gather and analyze data, together with the national networks that support them, also play a crucial role in the democratization of data—serving as bridge-builders for technology, government, and the community. With this extensive information infrastructure in place, community development practitioners now have greater access to the detailed property data that are so vital for analyzing and monitoring changes in neighborhood real estate markets.

This report is part of a multiyear research and action project by PolicyLink, the Urban Institute, and the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy to advance the field of parcel data systems and their application to community revitalization and equitable development. It describes how pioneering organizations and partnerships are turning robust, integrated parcel data systems into powerful tools for guiding community change.

Case studies of five cities and regions—Chicago, Cleveland, Minneapolis–St. Paul, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C.—detail some of the nation’s most promising applications of



property-level information. They were selected to demonstrate how land information systems can be used to address a wide range of community development challenges on both an urban and regional scale, such as the following:

- ▶ **Providing decision support for major initiatives.** In Cleveland, parcel data are being used to inform land acquisition decisions and model block efforts in six neighborhoods targeted for revitalization.
- ▶ **Informing foreclosure prevention strategies.** A university-community partnership in Cleveland and a partnership between CURA and community organizations in Minneapolis–St. Paul are both developing systems to identify properties at risk of foreclosure and to design effective interventions.
- ▶ **Targeting outreach to low-income homeowners.** Community organizations in Chicago and Philadelphia have used parcel data to target services and resources to

help low-income owners maintain and improve their homes.

- ▶ **Planning commercial district revitalization.** Using Web-based GIS tools, community groups in Chicago have surveyed local commercial districts to support economic development and transit-oriented development planning.
- ▶ **Supporting community organizing.** A resident task force in one of Cleveland’s most distressed neighborhoods used data on loan transactions to identify and take legal action against property flippers.
- ▶ **Monitoring and preserving affordable housing.** An enhanced parcel data system is supporting collaborative efforts to preserve Section 8 units and manage the affordable housing stock in Washington, D.C.

These and other advanced applications described in this report demonstrate the vast potential that integrated parcel data systems hold for the creation of equitable and sustainable communities. Fulfilling this promise, however, requires ongoing investments in systems, institutions, and processes. In particular, the support of government at all levels and of institutions and foundations is needed to bring emerging solutions to scale, disseminate best practices in the use of parcel data, and foster continued innovation in land information systems to support community change.

To order a hardcopy of *Transforming Community Development with Land Information Systems* for \$15.00, or to download a free PDF version of the report, visit [www.lincolnst.edu/pubs/PubDetail.aspx?pubid=1356](http://www.lincolnst.edu/pubs/PubDetail.aspx?pubid=1356).

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# CURA and Humphrey Institute Establish Krusell Community Development Fellowship

**C**harles R. Krusell was a pioneer in urban renewal and city development. Throughout his career, he led organizations to lift up and redefine neighborhoods, and his leadership helped create programs that have been replicated around the country. As the executive director of the Minneapolis Housing and Redevelopment Authority, he pioneered the employment of African American residents in Minneapolis city government and developed the city's first affirmative action program. His efforts to engage the Minneapolis community in the restoration of local neighborhoods led to the creation of the Greater Metropolitan Housing Corporation (GMHC) where he served as president from 1970 to 1991.

When Mr. Krusell passed away in 2006, his family, friends and colleagues partnered with the University of Minnesota's Center for Urban and Regional Affairs and the Hubert H. Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs to honor his lasting contributions to the Twin Cities community. Their support created the Charles R. Krusell Fellowship in Community Development, which provides scholarship funds for University of Minnesota graduate students enrolled in urban and regional planning and public policy programs at the Humphrey Institute.

The Krusell Fellowship is the most comprehensive scholarship program for students interested in community development. Krusell Fellows are recruited from diverse backgrounds. During the two years of their academic program, students receive a full scholarship plus three paid field placements with community agencies. The Center for Urban and Regional Affairs is responsible for arranging the placements with local community development agencies, providing the opportunity for students to work side-by-side on real projects with professionals in the field prior to graduation. Fellows also participate in an integrative seminar to reflect on all aspects of their academic and work experiences.

The Charles Krusell endowment has been established by the University to



**Charles Krusell**

fund the program in perpetuity. The McKnight Foundation recently made a \$500,000 contribution to the endowment. In addition, significant contributions have been made by the Family Housing Fund, the Richard M. and Mary Jo Kovacevich Family Foundation, and

family, friends, and colleagues of Mr. Krusell. The University is seeking additional contributions to fully establish the endowment. For information about contributing to the Krusell Fellowship endowment, contact Julie C. Lund at [Julie@umn.edu](mailto:Julie@umn.edu) or 612-624-1190.

Photo courtesy of Greater Metropolitan Housing Corporation



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