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Access to Growing Job Centers in the Twin Cities Metropolitan Area

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Director
Thomas M. Scott

Associate Director
William J. Craig

Editor
Michael D. Greco

Figure and Map Design
Jeffrey Matson

Production and Layout
Michael D. Greco

Printing
University Printing Services

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Correspondence to the editor:
Michael D. Greco
CURA
University of Minnesota
330 HHH Center
301—19th Avenue S.
Minneapolis, MN 55455
curaedit@umn.edu

General inquiries:
phone: 612-625-1551
fax: 612-626-0273
e-mail: cura@umn.edu
web: www.cura.umn.edu

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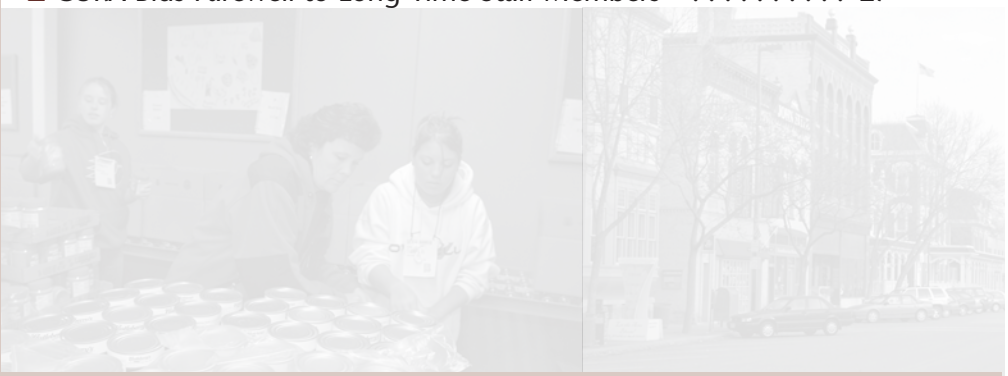


University of Minnesota

Access to Growing Job Centers in the Twin Cities Metropolitan Area

by Thomas Luce, Myron Orfield, and Jill Mazullo

Photo © Daniel Kieffer, 2005.

The Twin Cities was among the metropolitan areas with the greatest increases in traffic congestion during the 1990s. Job decentralization and deconcentration contribute to traffic congestion by reducing the viability of transit and forcing workers to commute farther to more scattered job locations.

Like most metropolitan areas, the Twin Cities has seen significant decentralization of population and jobs during recent decades. Although these trends have not been as dramatic in the Twin Cities as in many other metropolitan areas, development in the region has been unbalanced: growth in a few suburban areas has outstripped the urban core and the rest of the suburbs. These areas have attracted much of the wealth of the region, including high-end housing, transportation funding, and many of the new high-paying employers.

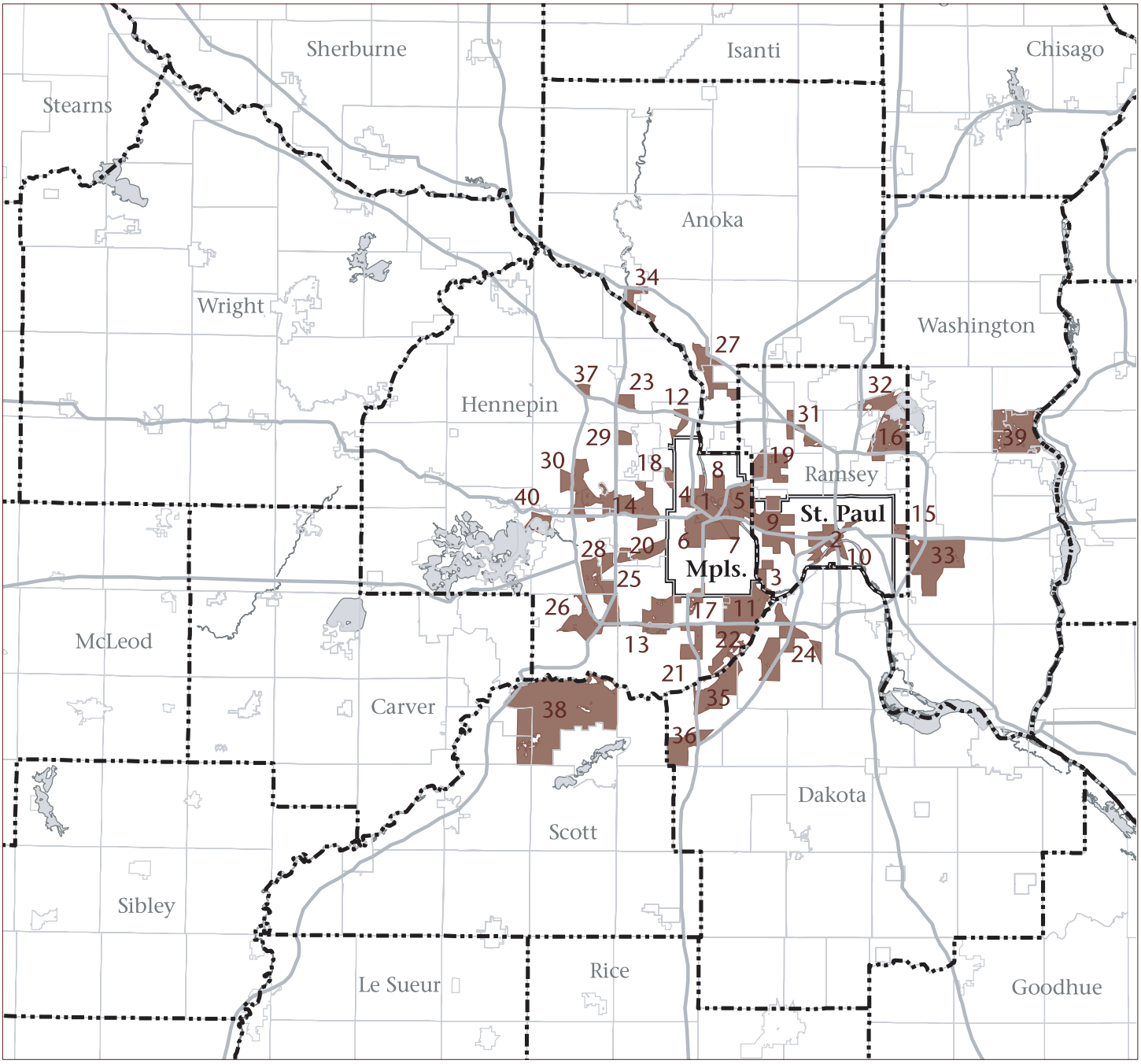
There are regional disadvantages to having a handful of suburbs capture a high share of the region's tax base. For instance, affluent communities may enact exclusionary zoning to limit new low- and moderate-income housing and residents. These places are also in the best position to compete for new job development because their high tax bases and low social needs mean that they can afford to provide high-quality public services at relatively low tax rates. Meanwhile, other parts of the region must charge higher tax rates yet provide lower levels of services. As Myron Orfield has noted in *American Metropolitics: The New Suburban Reality* (2002), communities of color are usually disproportionately represented in the high-tax/low-service places.

As john powell noted in a 1998 article in *The Brookings Review* titled "Race and Space: What Really Drives Metropolitan Growth," a frequent outcome of this disproportion is a mismatch between where job growth is occurring and where low-income households and people of color reside. This outcome maintains or exacerbates historic patterns of unequal opportunity. A February 2005 Brookings Institute Survey Series publication by Michael Stoll titled "Job Sprawl and the Spatial Mismatch between Blacks and Jobs" finds that metropolitan areas with the highest levels of job decentralization show the greatest spatial mismatch between job locations and Black residents.[1] Job decentralization and deconcentration can also contribute to traffic congestion by reducing the viability of transit and forcing workers to commute farther to more scattered job locations. When accompanied by overall regional growth, as in the Twin Cities, the resulting increases in traffic congestion can be dramatic.

The research we present here uses a unique data set to investigate job growth, job deconcentration, and commuting patterns in the Twin Cities during the 1990s and includes where the job growth is greatest, how suburban jobs have clustered or become

[1] Editor's note: Although inconsistent with CURA's house editorial style, the terms *Black* and *Hispanic* have been retained for consistency with the racial/ethnic categories used by the U.S. Census Bureau, from which the bulk of the data used in this article was obtained.

Figure 1. Minneapolis–St. Paul Region Job Centers



Note: To identify job centers by number, please refer to the "Map No."and "Job Center" columns of Table 1.

more scattered, and commuting patterns. The work focuses particularly on how these patterns affect the opportunity structures—that is, the ease of access to growing job centers and adequate, affordable housing—facing people of color and lower income households. The policy implications are also explored with particular focus on the implications for planners.

The research upon which this article is based was supported by a Faculty Interactive Research Program grant from CURA, as well as grants to the Institute on Race and Poverty from The McKnight Foundation and The Minneapolis Foundation.

Methods

Our analysis first documents the region's job centers (Figure 1)—where they are and how they grew during the 1990s. We used Census Transportation Planning Package (CTPP) data compiled by traffic analysis zone (TAZ) in 1990 and 2000 to find both small- and large-scale job clusters, to examine commuting patterns to the job centers, and to show the racial breakdowns of the workers commuting to each center. *Job centers* were defined as adjacent TAZs with greater-than-average numbers of jobs per square mile and total employment exceeding 1,000 jobs. Large job clusters like those in the centers of Minneapolis and St. Paul were divided into multiple job centers based on job densities in different parts of the larger clusters.

The job centers were divided into five categories based on location to facilitate the analysis of access to jobs: (1) *central business district* (CBD) *job centers*

Table 1. Twin Cities Metropolitan Area Job Centers

Map No.	Job center	Job center type	Total jobs 1990	Total jobs 2000	Pct. growth 1990–2000	Jobs per sq. mi.
1	Minneapolis CBD	central business district	128,395	140,930	10	52,919
2	St. Paul CBD	central business district	40,278	38,140	-5	60,857
3	Highland	other central city	3,294	5,140	56	4,570
4	Minneapolis—North	other central city	6,886	7,200	5	4,876
5	Minneapolis—Northeast	other central city	14,301	19,900	39	8,903
6	Minneapolis—Phillips/Whittier	other central city	33,361	29,305	-12	6,524
7	Minneapolis—University of MN	other central city	48,276	42,645	-12	12,361
8	St. Anthony	other central city	7,726	8,475	10	5,477
9	St. Paul—Midway	other central city	43,163	48,245	12	6,915
10	St. Paul Center	other central city	40,402	45,150	12	11,672
11	Airport/Ft. Snelling	inner suburban	12,769	24,415	91	4,041
12	Brooklyn Center	inner suburban	8,756	8,660	-1	7,830
13	Edina	inner suburban	43,963	53,490	22	10,676
14	Golden Valley—I-394	inner suburban	40,913	43,710	7	5,365
15	Maplewood—3M	inner suburban	9,674	8,855	-8	9,374
16	Maplewood—I-694	inner suburban	2,693	3,875	44	7,142
17	Richfield—Crosstown	inner suburban	4,252	3,260	-23	3,067
18	Robbinsdale	inner suburban	3,918	3,815	-3	5,022
19	Roseville	inner suburban	23,080	26,580	15	6,260
20	St. Louis Park	inner suburban	13,604	17,905	32	7,486
21	Bloomington—I-35W	middle suburban	17,407	19,765	14	7,518
22	Bloomington—Mall of America	middle suburban	30,870	21,080	-32	4,444
23	Brooklyn Park	middle suburban	4,831	8,755	81	6,824
24	Eagan	middle suburban	19,466	25,715	32	3,546
25	Eden Prairie—Hwy 169	middle suburban	23,002	33,730	47	10,183
26	Eden Prairie Center	middle suburban	11,335	14,715	30	3,489
27	Fridley/Coon Rapids	middle suburban	14,524	21,005	45	5,438
28	Minnetonka/Hopkins	middle suburban	10,947	14,000	28	3,928
29	New Hope	middle suburban	4,430	4,325	-2	4,743
30	Plymouth—I-494	middle suburban	19,088	25,255	32	6,042
31	Shoreview/Arden Hills	middle suburban	9,196	11,475	25	5,763
32	White Bear Lake	middle suburban	9,689	10,650	10	2,792
33	Woodbury	middle suburban	1,315	3,805	189	2,408
34	Anoka	outer suburban	9,516	8,995	-5	5,046
35	Burnsville—Hwy 13	outer suburban	2,560	2,305	-10	5,569
36	Burnsville Center	outer suburban	7,280	9,940	37	2,355
37	Maple Grove	outer suburban	283	2,815	895	5,033
38	Shakopee	outer suburban	7,089	12,965	83	2,016
39	Stillwater—Hwy 36	outer suburban	8,082	10,910	35	7,944
40	Wayzata	outer suburban	2,609	3,175	22	4,229
	Total for all job centers		743,223	845,075	14	
	Non-clustered jobs		596,045	783,405	31	
	Full region		1,339,268	1,628,480	22	

Source: Compiled from 1990 and 2000 Census Transportation Planning Package, U.S. Bureau of Transportation Statistics.

were the highest density portions of the job clusters in the cores of Minneapolis and St. Paul; (2) *other central city job centers* are those in the remainder of the two central cities; (3) *inner suburban job centers* are those in suburbs that border one of the central cities; (4) *middle suburban job centers* are the job clusters in suburbs bordering inner suburbs but not a central city; and (5) *outer suburban job centers* are the rest—the outermost job centers in the region. All remaining jobs were classified as *non-clustered*.

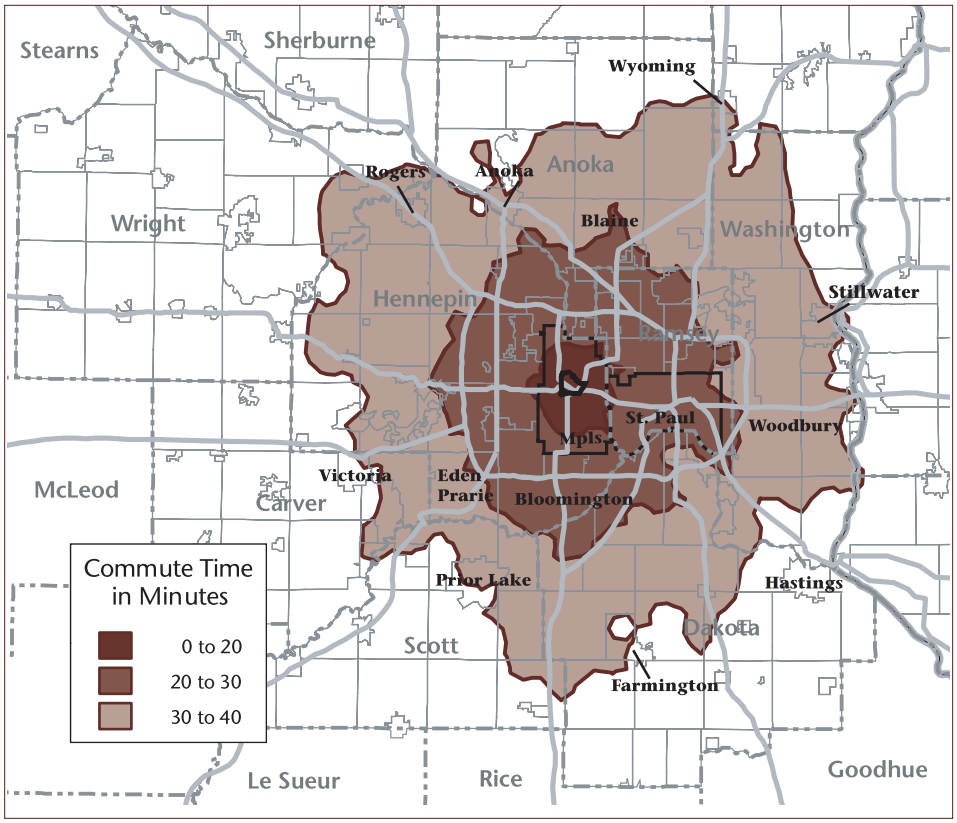
Access to job centers was examined using analysis of the areas accessible to each center within particular time frames. The CTPP provides the region-wide journey-to-work matrix compiled at the TAZ level. The matrix shows how many resident workers from each TAZ work in every other TAZ in the region; the median travel time for each pair of TAZs; and various characteristics, including race, of the workers commuting between each pair of TAZs. Geographic information systems (GIS) techniques were used to derive the area around each job center accessible within 20, 30, and 40 minutes. These *commuter sheds* were then overlaid on housing

Table 2. Job Growth by Type of Job Center

Job center type	Number	Total jobs 1990	Pct. of regional jobs	Total jobs 2000	Pct. of regional jobs	Pct. growth 1990–2000
Central business district	2	168,673	13	179,070	11	6
Other central city	8	197,409	15	206,060	13	4
Inner suburban	10	163,622	12	194,565	12	19
Middle suburban	13	176,100	13	214,275	13	22
Outer suburban	7	37,419	3	51,105	3	37
Total—all job centers	40	743,223	55	845,075	52	14
Non-clustered employment		596,045	45	783,405	48	31
Total—Twin Cities Metropolitan area		1,339,268	100	1,628,480	100	22

Source: Compiled from 1990 and 2000 Census Transportation Planning Package, U.S. Bureau of Transportation Statistics

Figure 2. Minneapolis Central Business District (CBD) Job Center Commuter Shed, 1990



Data Source: 1990 Census Transportation Planning Package

and demographic data to compile the characteristics of housing and workers located within each commuter shed.

Description of the Job Centers

The analysis of job densities for each TAZ in the region yielded 40 job centers (Figure 1, p. 4). The job centers are scattered across the region but are more likely to be in the western and southwestern parts of the region. The higher job concentrations in the west and southwest are not surprising. These areas are home to disproportionate shares of the region's highest-income households and most valuable homes. They have also benefited from the distribution of infrastructure spending. From 1992 to 2002, the bulk of highway projects were west of the Minneapolis–St. Paul border with many of the larger projects facilitating commutes to and from the farthest reaches of the Twin Cities metropolitan area.

Table 1 (p. 5) shows the full list of job centers, the job center types, total jobs in 1990 and 2000, job growth from 1990 to 2000, and job density. The job centers are very diverse. They range in size from 140,930 to 2,305 jobs in 2000, demonstrate dramatically different growth rates, and range in density from 2,016 to 60,857 jobs per square mile. There are 2 central business district job centers, 8 other central city job centers, 10 inner suburban job centers, 13 middle suburban job centers, and 7 outer suburban job centers.

Table 2 summarizes the job and growth data by job center type. The data show several striking, and very important, patterns. First, only a bit more than half of the total regional jobs are located in the job centers, and this share is falling. This is important for several reasons. Clustering allows for more efficient use of infrastructure such as highways, major roads, and even sewer and water lines. Public services can be delivered at lower costs, and services such as daycare can be provided in or near office buildings, enabling working parents to maintain reasonable commute times. Clustering is also necessary for agglomeration effects to occur, such as when complementary businesses locate near each other for ease of transactions. Finally, clustering is a necessary precondition for the viability of transit. If transit is a viable option, access is enhanced for lower income workers without access to an automobile every day. The increasing share of non-clustered jobs implies that everyday access to an automobile has become more and more important, further disadvantaging lower income workers.

Table 2 also shows that job growth rates were much higher in the outer parts of the region than in the urban core—outer suburban job centers grew more than five times faster than the CBD job centers and more than three times faster than other central city job centers. As a result, the share of total

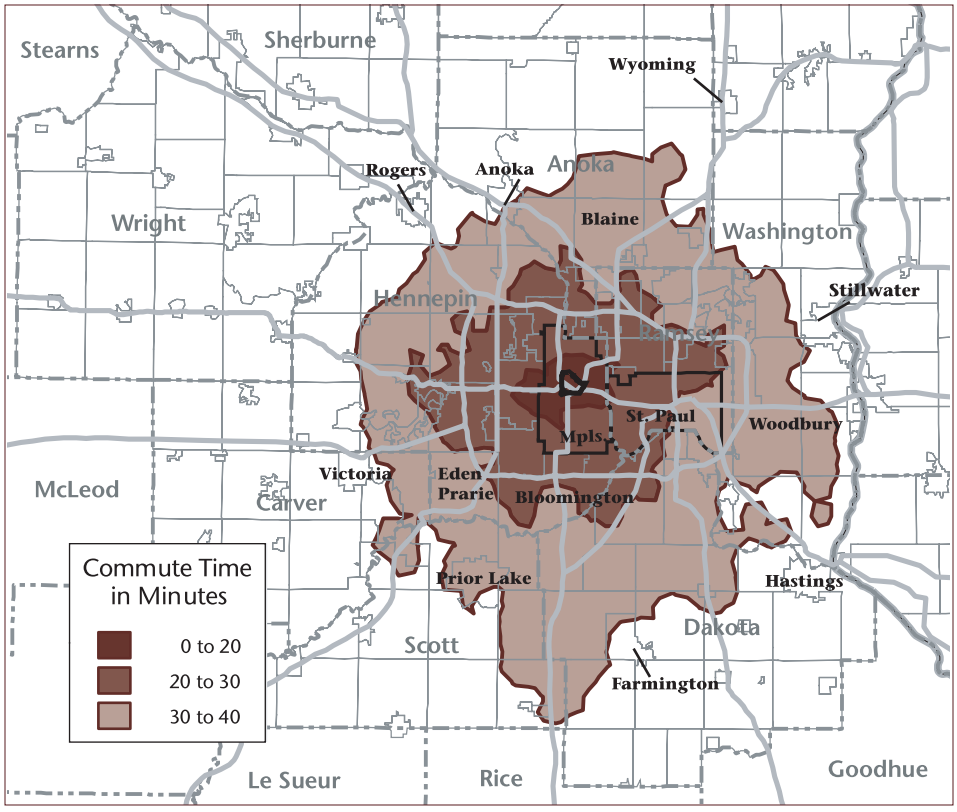
Table 3. Racial Breakdown of Workers by Type of Job Center

	Racial breakdown of workers in 2000 (%)				Percentage of total regional workers			
	Non-Hispanic				Non-Hispanic			
Job center type	White	Black	Other	Hispanic*	White	Black	Other	Hispanic*
Central business district	85	6	5	3	11	19	13	12
Other central city	83	6	7	4	12	21	19	17
Inner suburban	88	4	5	3	12	12	13	12
Middle suburban	89	3	6	3	13	11	15	13
Outer suburban	93	1	3	2	3	1	2	3
Total—all job centers	87	5	6	3	51	65	62	57
Non-clustered employment	91	3	4	2	49	35	38	43
Total—Twin Cities Metropolitan area	89	4	5	3	100	100	100	100

Source: Compiled from 1990 and 2000 Census Transportation Planning Package, U.S. Bureau of Transportation Statistics.

*Hispanic is an ethnic category and is shown separately. People of Hispanic origin can be of any race.

Figure 3. Minneapolis Central Business District (CBD) Job Center Commuter Shed, 2000



Data Source: 2000 Census Transportation Planning Package

regional jobs that was in job centers in the central cities fell from 28% in 1990 to 24% in 2000. This clearly implies decreasing opportunities for groups in the population disproportionately located in the core, such as lower income households and people of color.

Racial Distribution of Workers in the Job Centers

Table 3 shows the racial breakdown of workers broken out by the type of job center they work in. The left-hand panel shows that workforce diversity decreases very significantly with distance from the urban core. In 2000, 14% and 17% of workers in the CBD and other central city categories, respectively, were non-white. This percentage declined to just 6% in outer suburban job centers, the fastest-growing category.

The implication is that people of color are much more likely to work in job centers in the urban core. The right-hand panel of Table 3 shows this clearly; 40% of Black workers work in job centers in the central cities—the slowest-growing categories—compared to only 23% of White workers. The other side of this is that Black workers are much less likely to work in the two fastest-growing categories: outer suburban job centers and non-clustered jobs. Just 36% of Black workers work in these jobs compared to 52% of White workers. Workers of Hispanic origin or other racial/ethnic backgrounds are also disproportionately represented in job centers in the urban core, but to a lesser extent than Blacks.

These patterns have clear implications for the opportunity structure facing different kinds of workers. Workers who disproportionately work in slow-growing areas—that is, non-white workers, especially Black workers—have fewer opportunities for upward mobility achieved either by changing jobs or within growing firms than those in faster-growing parts of the region.

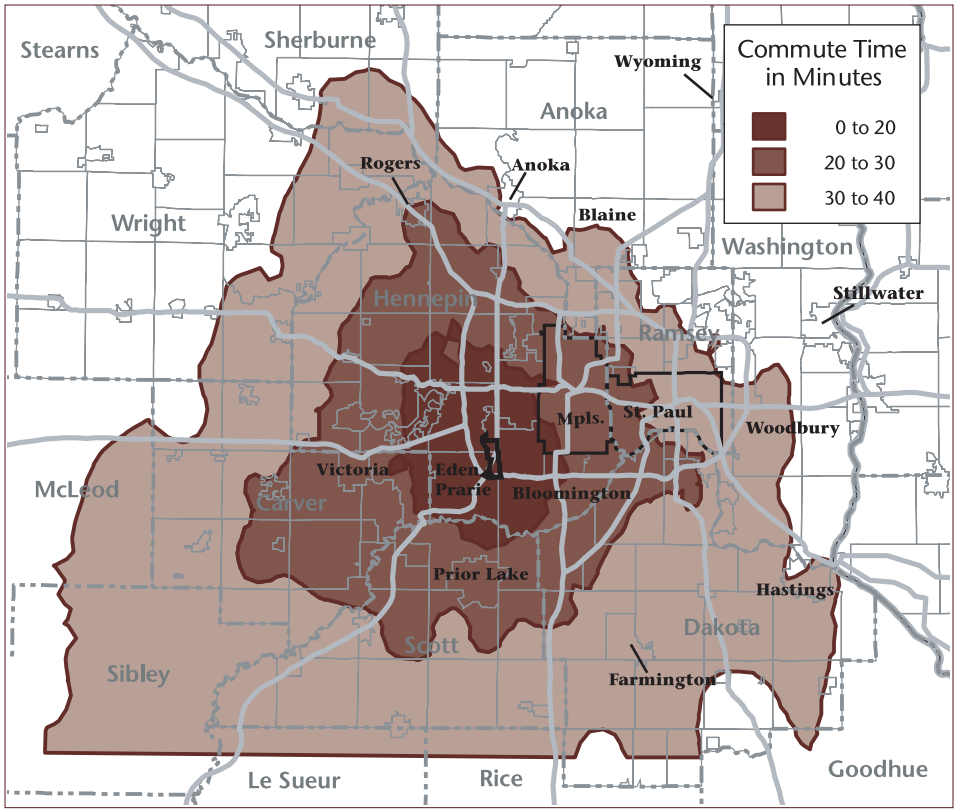
Why is this pattern so pronounced? A key determinant, of course, is residential location. If housing markets are segregated by race and/or income, then systematic geographic variations in job growth rates like those evident in Table 2 may generate corresponding variations in access to jobs. The analysis of commuter sheds and how accessibility to different job centers varies with location is intended to reveal this linkage.

Commuter-Shed Analysis

Data for travel time to work were used to derive the areas around each job center representing 20-, 30-, and 40-minute commutes. Two examples are shown to illustrate the analysis: the Minneapolis CBD job center and a middle suburb job center in Eden Prairie, a growing, high-income suburb.

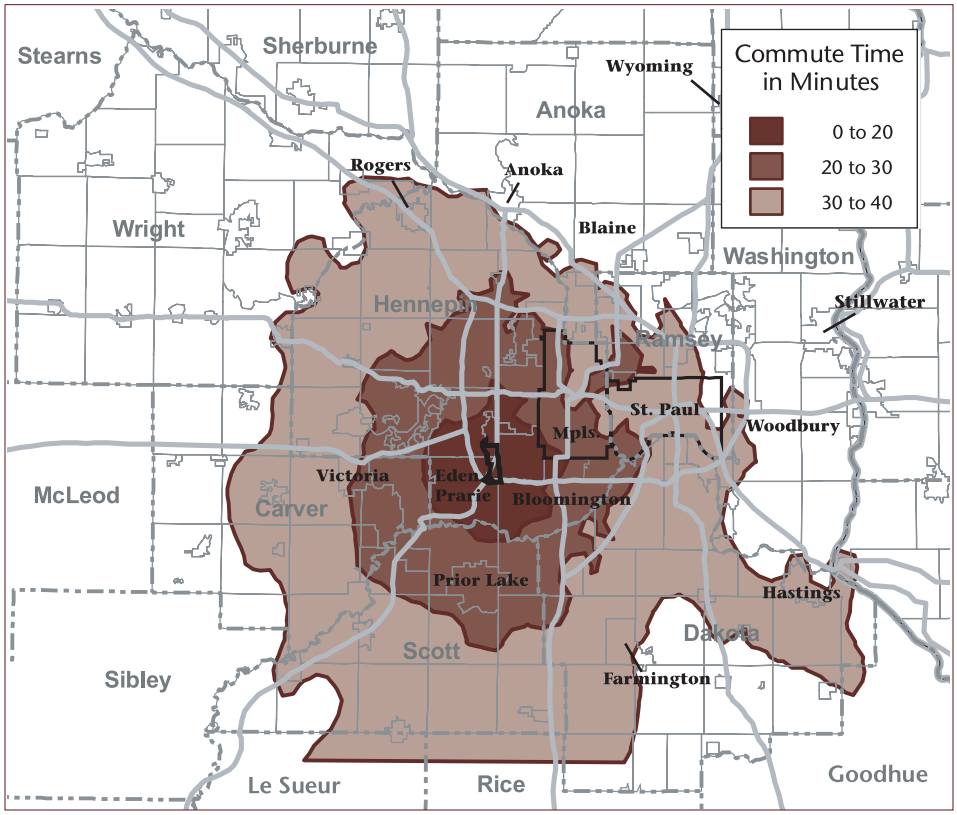
Figures 2 and 3 show the 1990 and 2000 commuter sheds for the

Figure 4. Eden Prairie/U.S. Highway 169 Job Center Commuter Shed, 1990



Data Source: 1990 Census Transportation Planning Package

Figure 5. Eden Prairie/U.S. Highway 169 Job Center Commuter Shed, 2000



Data Source: 2000 Census Transportation Planning Package

Minneapolis CBD job center. This job center (the first one in Table 1) is the region's largest and grew moderately during the 1990s. The 1990 commuter sheds (Figure 2) are relatively circular, reflecting the fact that interstate highways from all four compass points could reach the job center. The 20-minute commuter shed is relatively small—less than 10 miles in diameter—because in 1990 the roads in the immediate vicinity were the most heavily congested in the region. The 20- to 30-minute commuter shed extends more than twice as far from the job center, whereas the 30- to 40-minute zone extends nearly 30 miles in all directions.

The 2000 commuter sheds (Figure 3) differ from 1990 in several important ways. First, all three time zones contracted significantly—by 24, 26, and 22%, respectively. This reflects dramatic increases in traffic congestion during the decade. By any measure, the Twin Cities was among the metropolitan areas with the greatest increases in traffic congestion during the 1990s, as reflected in the Texas Transportation Institute's "2001 Urban Mobility Report."

A second important change is in the shapes of the commuter sheds, especially for the two inner contours. Each of these became elongated along their east-west axis. This reflects two factors: the opening of I-394, which extends westward from the CBD job center to the high-income suburbs to the west, and significant increases in congestion on I-35W, the major access route from the north and south.

Figures 4 and 5 show the 1990 and 2000 commuter sheds for one of the Eden Prairie job centers (the 26th job center in Table 1), roughly 10 miles southwest of the Minneapolis CBD job center. Eden Prairie is a fast-growing, high-income suburb. The job center reflects these characteristics—it was the eighth largest job center in the region in 2000 and grew by 47% during the 1990s.

Eden Prairie's commuter sheds are significantly larger than those for the Minneapolis CBD job center, reflecting lower overall congestion levels in the suburbs. This is especially true for the inner-most contour. In 1990 (see Figure 4), the 20-minute commuter shed was more than four times larger than the CBD job center's—173 square miles compared to 42 square miles. However, even this relatively large commuter shed barely touched the southwest corner of Minneapolis.

Like the CBD job center, the most dramatic change in the Eden Prairie commuter sheds from 1990 to 2000 was the decrease in size resulting from greater traffic congestion (see Figure 5). However, the decreases were even more dramatic in Eden Prairie. The two innermost contours contracted at nearly twice the rate of the CBD job center's—by 42% and 40%, respectively. Clearly, traffic congestion was increasing at greater rates in this part of the region than in the urban core. An important implication of this is that this fast-growing job center became less accessible from the core of the region.

Table 4 shows the results of overlaying the commuter shed on block-group level data from the 2000 U.S. Census of Population to derive the characteristics of the population and housing within the contours. The differences between the two job centers are striking. First, the racial compositions of the populations with greatest access to the job centers—the 20-minute commuter sheds—are dramatically different. The population in the CBD job center's 20-minute commuter shed was very diverse in 2000 by Twin Cities standards. Just 61% of the population was White. In contrast, 90% of the population with the best access to the Eden Prairie job center was White.

The income and poverty data show similarly dramatic patterns. Median household income was lowest in the areas closest to the CBD job center and increased with distance, whereas Eden Prairie shows the opposite pattern. Similarly, poverty rates decline with distance from the CBD job center and climb with distance from the Eden Prairie job center.

The income and poverty patterns are reflected in the affordability of the housing stock in each of the commuter sheds. More than half (55%) of the housing in the CBD job center's 20-minute commuter shed was affordable to a household earning 50% of the regional median income in 1999.[2] This percentage declined with distance from the job center. In contrast, just 13% of housing with the best access to the Eden Prairie job center was affordable at 50% of the regional median income, and the rate increased with distance from the job center. Housing patterns in the region clearly make it more difficult for low-income households to live near this fast-growing middle suburb job center.

Table 4. Job Center and Commuter-Shed Characteristics: Minneapolis CBD and Eden Prairie, 2000

	Minneapolis CBD	Eden Prairie
Jobs	140,930	33,730
Job growth 1990–2000	10%	47%
Racial breakdown		
0–20 minute commuter shed		
White	61%	90%
Black	18%	3%
Other	21%	7%
20–30 minute commuter shed		
White	78%	79%
Black	8%	9%
Other	14%	12%
Median household income		
0–20 minute commuter shed	$48,849	$83,821
20–30 minute commuter shed	$64,084	$70,045
30–40 minute commuter shed	$76,710	$61,276
Percentage of households in poverty		
0–20 minute commuter shed	22%	4%
20–30 minute commuter shed	8%	8%
30–40 minute commuter shed	4%	9%
Percentage of housing affordable to a household at 50% or less of the regional median income*		
0–20 minute commuter shed	55%	13%
20–30 minute commuter shed	30%	27%
30–40 minute commuter shed	18%	32%

Sources: Compiled from 2000 Census Transportation Planning Package, U.S. Bureau of Transportation Statistics; and 2000 U.S. Census of Population, Bureau of the Census.

* The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) uses three standard categories to measure income levels of the population: 80%, 50% and 30% of regional median income. To better reflect the mid-range housing needs of the low-income population in the Twin Cities metro area, we chose 50% or less of the regional median income as a threshold to capture households that are demonstrably in need of affordable housing but are not extremely low income.

The analysis for the Minneapolis CBD and Eden Prairie job centers described above was repeated for all 40 job centers.[3] The results of overlaying the commuter-shed contours on block-group level race and affordable housing data for the entire region bear out the findings from the two job centers described above. The two left-hand panels of Table 5 shows that populations with the greatest access to job centers in the central cities are much more racially diverse than those with the best access to job centers in middle and outer suburbs. A total of 35% of the population within 20-minute commutes of the two CBD job centers is non-white, compared to just 14% and 9% for middle and outer suburban job centers, respectively.

This pattern is reflected in the breakouts in the three right-hand panels of Table 5. These results show that, on average, 23% and 25% of the region's Black population lives within a 20-minute commute from the CBDs

[2] Housing was defined as affordable if the rent or mortgage plus tax costs were less than 30% of gross income.

[3] The data for two of the smallest job centers—Maple Grove, the second smallest job center, and Maplewood–I-694, the seventh smallest center—produced anomalous results for the commuter-shed contours. In addition to the small number of jobs they provide, each of these centers contains just a single TAZ. This means that they were particularly susceptible to data modifications meant to preserve confidentiality. The resulting estimates of the commuter sheds were discontinuous. These centers, therefore, were excluded from the region-wide analysis of the characteristics of the commuter sheds, although their job counts are significant enough to warrant their inclusion in the rest of the analysis.

Table 5. Racial Breakdowns by Type of Job Center and Commute Times

Job center type	Racial composition of population within a 20 min. commute (%)				Racial composition of population within a 20–40 min. commute (%)			
	Non-Hispanic				Non-Hispanic			
	White	Black	Other	Hispanic	White	Black	Other	Hispanic
Central business district	65	13	14	8	84	5	7	3
Other central city	71	12	11	6	84	5	7	3
Inner suburban	67	8	9	4	83	6	8	4
Middle suburban	86	4	7	3	81	7	8	4
Outer suburban	90	2	5	2	81	7	8	4
Total—all job centers	80	7	9	4	82	6	8	4

Job center type	Percentage of regional White population		Percentage of regional Black population		Percentage of regional Hispanic population	
	Within 20 minutes	Within 20–40 minutes	Within 20 minutes	Within 20–40 minutes	Within 20 minutes	Within 20–40 minutes
Central business district	7	68	23	74	22	74
Other central city	9	71	25	73	20	76
Inner suburban	12	68	19	79	15	77
Middle suburban	11	65	9	86	10	80
Outer suburban	8	62	3	83	5	76
Total—all job centers	10	67	16	81	15	78

Sources: Compiled from 2000 Census Transportation Planning Package, U.S. Bureau of Transportation Statistics; and 2000 U.S. Census of Population, Bureau of the Census.

or other central city job centers, respectively, compared to 7% and 9% for Whites.[4] In contrast, just 9% of the region's Black population is within 20 minutes of middle suburban centers, on average, and the percentage falls to 3% for outer suburban centers, compared to 11% and 8%, respectively, for Whites. Similar, although not as marked, patterns are evident for Hispanics.

The affordable housing results for all the job centers shown in Table 6 also support the results from the two examples at the beginning of this section. Housing with the shortest commute times to job centers in the two central cities is much more affordable in general than is the housing nearest the faster growing centers in the middle and outer parts of the region. For instance, 14% of the housing within a 20-minute commute of the two CBD job centers—the slowest growing group of job centers—was affordable to a household at 30% of the regional median income in 2000, compared to just 4% in the areas most accessible to the outer suburban centers—the fastest growing group. The results at 50% of the regional median income show a similar contrast: 50% of housing close to the CBD job centers was affordable compared to just 14% for housing close to the outer suburban centers.

One of the factors affecting how accessible growing job centers in the suburbs are to affordable housing and minority populations in the core is traffic congestion in the suburbs. Reverse commuting has become an important feature of metropolitan economies, and many major arteries are now as congested in the morning in the lanes going from cities to suburbs as they are in the lanes serving the traditional inward commute. The commutershed analysis yields a statistic—the decrease in the scope of commuter sheds—that is a good indirect measure of increasing traffic congestion.

Table 7 shows the geographic areas of the 20-minute commuter sheds in 1990 and 2000 and how much they contracted during the 1990s for each of the job center types.[5] Commuter sheds are substantially larger in the suburban categories in both years, reflecting the lower absolute levels of congestion in these areas. In 1990, for instance, the average area of the 20-minute commuter shed in outer suburban job centers was 4.1 times larger than in the CBD job centers. However, the areas converged significantly during the decade as contraction rates were much greater in the suburbs—48% in the outer suburban centers compared to just 25% in other central city centers. By 2000, suburban commuter sheds were scaled much more like their urban counterparts—the ratio of the largest to smallest fell to 2.8. The clear implication is that traffic congestion worsened much more rapidly in the suburbs. As already noted, this means that access to the growing job centers on the fringe decreased for residents in the urban core, where the bulk of the region's minority population and affordable housing can be found.

Policy Implications for Planners

Perhaps the most significant policy implication of our findings is that, if current patterns continue, the

[4] These percentages were calculated as weighted averages of the percentages for each of the job centers in the groups. For instance, 25% of the region's Black population lives within 20 minutes of the Minneapolis central business district and 22% lives within 20 minutes of the St. Paul central business district. The weighted average of the two percentages is 23%.

[5] Contraction rates for the 30- and 40-minute commuter sheds are distorted by the fact that many of them extend beyond the 13-county metropolitan area covered by the TAZ-level data in the CTPP. As a result, the sizes of these commuter sheds are understated, especially for middle and outer suburban job centers closest to the edge of the region. If the portions of these commuter sheds that are *(con't)* outside the 13-county boundary contracted during the 1990s then the change calculation understates the extent to which these commuter sheds contracted. Table 7 therefore shows only the 20-minute commuter sheds, none of which suffer from this problem. However, even with this bias, all of the commuter sheds for the affected suburban job centers contracted during the 1990s.

Table 6. Housing Affordability in Commuter Sheds (CS) by Type of Job Center, 2000

Job center type	Number*	Pct. affordable at 30% of RMI		Pct. affordable at 50% of RMI		Pct. affordable at 80% of RMI	
		0–20 min. CS	20–40 min. CS	0–20 min. CS	20–40 min. CS	0–20 min. CS	20–40 min. CS
Central business district	2	14	6	50	24	82	63
Other central city	8	12	6	44	24	79	62
Inner suburban	9	7	7	29	27	68	64
Middle suburban	13	5	8	21	28	61	65
Outer suburban	6	4	8	14	29	54	66
Total—all job centers	38	7	7	29	27	68	64

Sources: Compiled from 2000 Census Transportation Planning Package, U.S. Bureau of Transportation Statistics; and 2000 U.S. Census of Population, Bureau of the Census.

* The data in the column "Number" differs from the data presented in Table 2. Although the total number of job centers considered in this study is 40, data for two of the smallest job centers—Maple Grove and Maplewood–I-694—produced anomalous results for the commuter-shed contours. In addition, they were particularly susceptible to data modifications meant to preserve confidentiality. These centers, therefore, were excluded from the region-wide analysis of the characteristics of the commuter sheds, although their job counts are significant enough to warrant their inclusion in the rest of the analysis

potential for transit in the Twin Cities will decline. This will exacerbate the inequality in opportunity that this work documents. If jobs continue to migrate to low-density job centers at the fringe of the region and to non-clustered settings, job opportunities available to workers who rely on transit—lower income workers who are disproportionately people of color—will decline. In addition, support for further enhancement of transit will decline as fewer and fewer jobs are accessible in this manner.

A variety of smart growth policies are available to counter or slow this process. Incentives to encourage higher density job development in the suburbs and a mix of housing, retail, and services around newly emerging job centers are one path. New town centers are gaining in popularity in developing suburbs in Minnesota. If new town centers become centers of gravity for future employment clusters in the planning stages, transit becomes more feasible. Planners should seek opportunities to cluster new development with an eye toward job and housing density required to support transit. Economic development should be tied to city plans for job hubs. Without adequate planning, unclustered employment is the result.

This work also highlights the continuing problem of serious shortfalls in affordable housing in many suburban areas, especially near fast-growing job centers. Like most metropolitan areas, the Twin Cities has a long way to go in this regard. In one way, the region has an important step up compared to most other metropolitan areas—it already has a regional planning agency, the Metropolitan Council, with the power to review local comprehensive plans

Table 7. Change in Commuter-Shed Areas by Type of Job Center, 1990–2000

Job center type	Number	Average area (sq. miles) of 0–20 minute commuter sheds		Pct. change 1990–2000
		1990	2000	
Central business district	2	30	23	-22%
Other central city	8	38	29	-25%
Inner suburban	9	66	49	-26%
Middle suburban	13	85	54	-36%
Outer suburban	6	117	60	-48%
Total—all job centers	38	73	47	-36%

Source: Compiled from 1990 and 2000 Census Transportation Planning Package, U.S. Bureau of Transportation Statistics

Commercial office and retail development in a portion of the Eden Prairie job center, centered around Prairie Center Drive and Flying Cloud Drive.

with an eye to regional policy objectives such as more equitable distribution of affordable housing. The Council's jurisdiction, however, includes only 7 of the 11 Minnesota counties in the metropolitan area, leaving out of the mix the fringe areas where sprawl concerns are greatest. In addition, the Metropolitan Council has shown little willingness in recent years to push hard for reforms in this policy area.

The lack of racial diversity in the outer suburban job centers may also reflect steering or other discrimination in the housing market. Local and regional planners should be advocates for more aggressive studies to determine the presence of any racial steering by realtors and discrimination in the mortgage industry.

Finally, there are social equity implications for people working in declining job centers, too. Place-oriented strategies should accompany policies to enhance access to growing job centers with transit and housing market strategies. A place in decline defines a worker's future opportunities, limits their networks, and lessens their potential for higher earnings in the future. Planners must combat job losses creatively, which may come in the form of localized job training geared toward the emerging mix of industries reflected in the growing job centers.

Thomas Luce is research director at the Institute on Race and Poverty, where his work is focused on economic development and fiscal issues in U.S. metropolitan areas, including analyses of the effects of tax-rate disparities on metropolitan growth, the Twin Cities Fiscal Disparities Tax-Base Sharing Program, and infrastructure provision and pricing. Luce was a faculty member at the University of Minnesota's Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs at the time this research originally received support from CURA.

Myron Orfield is the 2005–2006 Fesler-Lampert Chair in Urban and Regional Affairs, the executive director of the Institute on Race and Poverty, a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington, D.C., and associate professor at the University of Minnesota School of Law. A former Minnesota state legislator, Orfield is an authority on civil rights, state and local government and finance, land use, and the legislative process.

Jill Mazullo is a research fellow at the Institute on Race and Poverty, where she develops and conducts social science research on commuting patterns and urban planning issues. Mazullo is a graduate of the Master of Urban and Regional Planning program at the University of Minnesota's Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, where she received the American Institute of Certified Planners outstanding achievement award.

This study was supported 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 through grants to the Institute on Race and Poverty from The McKnight Foundation and The Minneapolis Foundation.

Open House for Community-University Partnerships April 5th

The University of Minnesota's third annual Year-End Open House Celebration of Community-University Partnerships will take place Wednesday, April 5, 2006, from 4:00 to 6:00 p.m. in the Great Hall of Coffman Memorial Union on the East Bank of the University of Minnesota Twin Cities campus. The event is free and is open to the public.

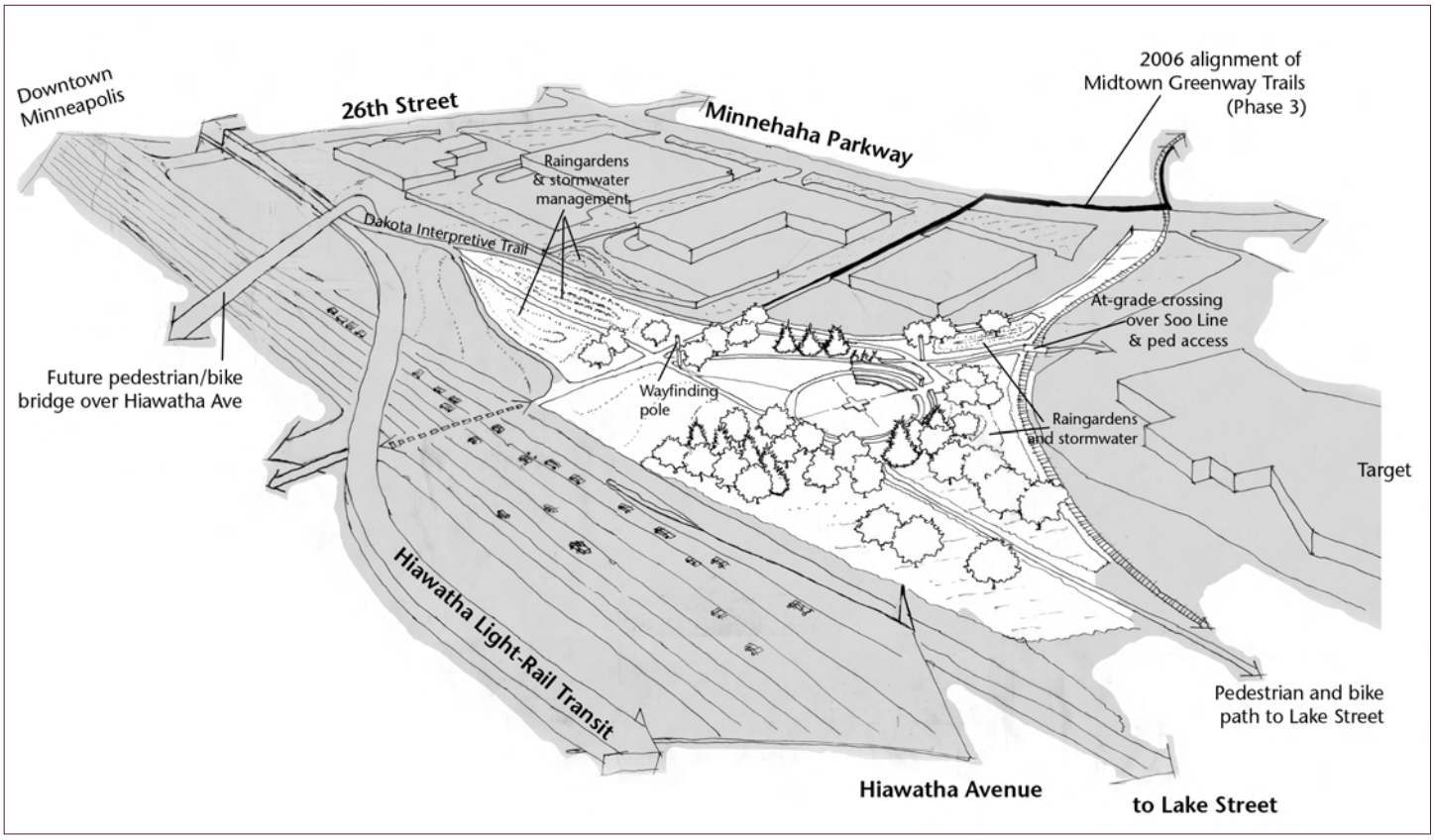
This annual year-end event offers an opportunity to share information about the wide array of community engagement programs and opportunities on the University of Minnesota campus, acknowledge the time and energy that University and community staff have devoted to collaborative work for the public good, and inspire attendees to think about ways to initiate or expand community-university partnerships. This year's event is being organized by members of the Campus Community Coordinators Alliance, a network of University staff who work in partnership with community-based organizations and other public institutions.

The structure of the open house is informal, and attendees are invited to enjoy hors d'oeuvres and cake while viewing posters and other displays that showcase examples of service-learning, community-based research, volunteer tutoring and mentoring, student consulting, internships, and active citizenship programs. One display will recognize individuals named by the Campus Community Coordinators Alliance as "Outstanding Partners in Engagement" for the 2005–2006 academic year. The event will also include a brief program of remarks from members of the University administration, faculty, and student body, as well as a community partner with a long history of collaborating with the University to address community needs.

University sponsors of this year's event include Business and Community Economic Development, Career and Community Learning Center, Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, Council on Public Engagement, Healthy Youth Development–Prevention Research Center, Konopka Institute for Best Practices in Adolescent Health, Literacy Initiative, Office for Public Engagement, Regional Sustainable Development Partnerships, Student and Community Relations, and the University branch of the Minneapolis YMCA. For more information, contact the Career and Community Learning Center at 612-626-2044.

Creating Public Open Spaces: The Midtown Greenway

by Jeff Liljegren and Jeff Corn



***Proposed public open space east of Hiawatha Avenue, from* Midtown Greenway Public Open Space Vision Plan, 2005.**

The Midtown Greenway is a six-mile-long multimodal transit route in south Minneapolis connecting Lake Calhoun to the Mississippi River. An old entrenched rail corridor, the Midtown Greenway currently provides bicycle and pedestrian access, with future plans for a streetcar transit line. The third and final portion of the corridor is scheduled for completion during the summer of 2006. This segment of the greenway will provide a cross-route for the Grand Rounds, a 50-mile-long National Scenic Byway in Minneapolis, as well as access to the corridor for some of the city's most culturally diverse neighborhoods.

The Midtown Greenway Coalition, a community-based nonprofit organization, represents 16 neighborhoods adjacent to the Midtown Greenway corridor. In the summer and fall of 2005, University of Minnesota student Jeff Liljegren worked with the coalition through a grant from CURA's Neighborhood Planning for Community Revitalization (NPCR) program. As the first step in a long-term discussion concerning development of land adjacent to the corridor, Liljegren, a graduate student in urban and regional planning and landscape architecture, facilitated a community planning process and created a Public Open Space Vision Plan for 12 potential open space sites along the Midtown Greenway corridor. The 12 sites were chosen based on current development, adjacent vacant lots, publicly owned adjacent lots, and existing and future planned access points for the greenway corridor.

Approximately 200 people participated in the Midtown Greenway community planning process, which extended over 46 public meetings. Participants included local neighborhood residents, community councils, local nonprofit development corporations, and business associations. The purpose of the community process was to educate participants about the anticipated growth of housing stock and human population along the corridor, highlight the need for further public investment along the corridor during the next 30 to 50 years, and provide participants with opportunities for input and dialogue. The process included PowerPoint presentations, site visits, questionnaires, individual interviews, and focus groups.

Community input coalesced into three general viewpoints about future public open space along the corridor. Some participants were eager to imagine what "could be," and provided design ideas for the 12 specified sites. Others had reservations about envisioning future use of adjacent parcels

of land, either because of concerns about land ownership or because of the existing physical condition of the parcels. Finally, the political climate surrounding a few specific sites impeded the process and prevented thorough exploration of alternatives.

The community outreach and participation process laid the foundation for development of the Midtown Greenway Public Open Space Vision Plan, which provides a framework for further public discussion about the proposed plans for the 12 open space sites. The plan includes a PowerPoint presentation and a set of seven 42-inch by 30-inch presentation boards which, taken together, provide a complete and comprehensive look at the proposals for all 12 sites. Tim Springer, executive director of the Midtown Greenway Coalition, calls the plan "an important tool to educate the public and gain support for a vision that includes parks and plazas along the Greenway." The City of Minneapolis Community Planning and Economic Development office has reviewed the vision plan and is considering including the 12 identified sites as public open space in its Midtown Greenway Land Use and Development Plan, which is currently under development.

Setting aside adjacent lands as public open space can enhance multimodal transit corridors by providing better access, offering a range of activity destinations, and improving safety and aesthetics. Because of the increasing availability of federal funding for development along transit corridors, private land developers are finding new markets for property adjacent to such corridors. Ensuring that open space along these corridors remains a valued public good requires careful planning and supportive land-use policies. The Midtown Greenway Public Open Space Vision Plan acknowledges adjacent properties as public amenities, provides a framework for successfully incorporating them into the public space, and demonstrates the potential for a community-driven model to attain these objectives.

For more information about this project, see "Midtown Greenway Coalition: Public Open Space Vision Plan" (NPCR Report #1230), available online at www.cura.umn.edu/publications/NPCR-reports/npcr1230.pdf

Jeff Liljegren is a joint degree student in the Master of Urban and Regional Planning program at the Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs, and the Master of Landscape Architecture program in the College of Architecture and Landscape Architecture. **Jeff Corn** is community program assistant at CURA.

This project was supported by CURA's Neighborhood Planning for Community Revitalization (NPCR) program, which provides student research assistance to community organizations in Minneapolis, St. Paul, and metro area suburbs that are involved in community revitalization.

Fifth Community GIS Expo June 5th

Are you a local government planner, county GIS specialist, land-use planning consultant, neighborhood organizer, faculty member, or student with an interest in geographic information systems (GIS) technology? Then the fifth Community GIS Exposition is for you!

Intended for everyone interested in community applications of GIS, this year's day-long expo will explore the theme "The Future of Community GIS: Moving to the Internet," with the goal of building collaboration among GIS users in the Twin Cities metropolitan area and advancing a comprehensive GIS agenda for the region.

The expo will be held June 5, 2006, at the Continuing Education and Conference Center on the University of Minnesota's St. Paul campus. Highlight's of this year's expo include:

- keynote address by Josh Kirschenbaum, associate director of planning and development for PolicyLink
- panel discussion on public use GIS titled "Challenges and Opportunities of Moving to the Web"

- showcase session for Minnesota 3D (M3D), a Web-based GIS program
- poster sessions highlighting local and regional GIS projects
- hands-on workshops

This year's expo is sponsored by the Minneapolis Neighborhood Information System (MNIS), St. Paul Community GIS Consortium, Neighborhood Planning for Community Revitalization (NPCR), and CURA.

More information about the expo, including information on how to register, will be available soon at www.cura.umn.edu/GISExpo2006.php.

Help Guides Aid Understanding of Minnesota's Environmental Review Process

by April M. Loeding and Terence H. Cooper

Thanks to a recent CURA-supported project, nine new help guides are now available from the Minnesota Environmental Quality Board (EQB) to help local governments, citizens, and developers better understand Minnesota's environmental review program, as well as their respective roles within the review process. This article provides an overview of environmental review in Minnesota, discusses a previous CURA-supported project related to the environmental review process, and explains the purpose and outcomes of the recent EQB help guides project.

Environmental Review in Minnesota

The Minnesota Environmental Policy Act of 1973 established a formal review process for investigating the environmental impacts of development projects. The purpose of the review is to provide information about a project's environmental impacts before approvals or necessary permits are issued. Unanticipated environmental impacts can be costly to undo, and environmentally sensitive areas may be impossible to restore, so environmental review creates the opportunity to anticipate and correct these problems before major projects are undertaken.

Although the environmental review process operates according to rules adopted by the state Environmental Quality Board, it is actually carried out by local governments (cities, counties, or townships), state agencies, or joint powers organizations. The organization responsible for overseeing the preparation and analysis of an environmental review document is called the responsible governmental unit (RGU), and is usually the governmental unit with the most authority to otherwise approve or deny the plans or permits for a project. The primary role of the EQB is to advise governmental units on the proper procedures for environmental review and to monitor the effectiveness of the process in general.

Environmental review applies to public and private projects such as government building projects, shopping centers, and residential developments. There are generally three types of analysis documents prepared through environmental review:

1. environmental assessment worksheet (EAW)—provides basic information about a development project that may have the potential for significant environmental effects, and is used by the RGU to determine whether an environmental impact statement should be prepared.
2. environmental impact statement (EIS)—a thorough study of a development project with potential for significant environmental impacts, including evaluation of alternatives and possible mitigation plans.
3. alternative urban areawide review (AUAR)—a substitute review process based on review of development scenarios for an entire geographic area rather than for a specific project.

Some projects of a certain type or size are required to undergo an environmental review. In addition, governmental units have the ability to order discretionary review if they determine that a project, because of its nature or location, may have the potential for significant environmental effects. The rules also provide for a citizen petition process, in which 25 individuals can formally request that an EAW be prepared for a project.

Perceptions of the Environmental Review Process

In 2002, CURA supported the work of graduate student Beth Anderson and professor Terence Cooper, both from the University of Minnesota, who analyzed the perceptions of individuals who read, write, and collect data for EAWs. Because these individuals implement environmental review, understanding their perceptions is important in evaluating the consistency and effectiveness of the process. In an article titled "Perceptions of the Environmental Review Process in Minnesota," published in the Summer 2003 issue of the CURA Reporter, Anderson and Cooper reached the following conclusions:

- The Environmental Quality Board website should include information to assist EAW preparers, aid citizens who wish to participate in the EAW process, and educate all participants about the importance of environmental review for development projects.
- Providing easy access to information that addresses questions most asked by EAW preparers can significantly reduce confusion about the environmental review process.
- If citizens had a better understanding of both their role and the purpose of public participation in the environmental review process, they would be less likely to participate simply to delay or prevent a project.
- Educating developers and RGUs would help to counter the perception that environmental review and public participation only stall projects.

Providing Assistance to Environmental Review Stakeholders

In 2005, CURA's New Initiative program funded an undergraduate research assistant to help Environmental Quality Board staff implement the suggestions from the Anderson and Cooper study, and create additional educational and training materials for the EQB website. Through interviews with process experts, consultations with EQB staff, and an analysis of the Anderson and Cooper study, the research assistant identified educational opportunities to assist RGUs, citizen participants, and project proposers in developing a better

understanding of environmental review rules, terms, and procedures. The goals of this effort included the following:

- fostering a better understanding among stakeholders of the environmental review program's purpose, and clarifying common misunderstandings;
- providing procedural guidance for citizens, project proposers, and local government staff who are first-time participants in the environmental review process and who may be unfamiliar with environmental rules and requirements;
- increasing the efficiency of environmental review administration for local government staff members so they have more time to examine project data, reply to comments, and make appropriate decisions regarding environmental review documents;
- providing quick access to environmental review information and freeing EQB staff to answer more complex questions;
- addressing the problems that frequently lead to negative perceptions regarding the value of the environmental review process; and
- helping to develop more expertise in environmental review rules, procedures, and requirements among Minnesota citizens, local government staff, and project proposers.

As a result of this project, nine guidance documents were created in 2005 to help interested parties develop a better understanding of the environmental review process (see sidebar). Although these documents were designed for specific audiences, they are useful for anyone interested in learning more about the purpose and administration of environmental review in Minnesota. To promote easy public access to the information, the educational documents were created in portable document format (PDF) and are now available on the EQB's website. This electronic format also makes it possible for EQB staff, citizen groups, and RGUs to easily e-mail the information to interested parties upon request.

Pilot tests of the materials took place during the summer of 2005, and the documents were revised and updated based on comments and suggestions received during this process. In addition, process stakeholders reading the materials are invited to complete a brief survey regarding their effectiveness and e-mail their responses to EQB staff, who will use this input to develop future editions of the guides.

April M. Loeding was an undergraduate student in the Department of Work, Community, and Family Education at the time this project was undertaken. She graduated in spring 2005 with a bachelor of science degree in human resource development and a minor in management. **Terence H. Cooper** is a Morse-Alumni Distinguished Teaching Professor in the Department of Soil, Water, and Climate at the University of Minnesota. He currently teaches a course at the University of Minnesota on preparing environmental assessment worksheets and environmental impact statements.

The research upon which this article is based was supported in part through a New Initiative grant from CURA. These grants support projects that are initiated by faculty, community organizations, government agencies, or students and that are not appropriate for consideration under another CURA program.

Educational Documents on Environmental Review Now Available

Nine guidance documents designed to help stakeholders better understand their roles in the environmental review process are now available as PDF documents from the Environmental Quality Board Web site at www.eqb.state.mn.us/program.html?Id=18107. The following documents are available:

For local government RGUs:

- Reviewing Petitions: A Procedural Guide for Local Government RGUs
- Coordinating EAWs: A Procedural Guide for Local Government RGUs
- Working with Consultants: A Guide for Local Governments
- Establishing Local Government Policies and Ordinances for EAWs

For citizens interested in environmental review public participation:

- A Citizen's Guide: An Introduction to Environmental Review
- A Citizen's Guide: The Petition Process
- A Citizen's Guide: Commenting on Environmental Review Projects
- A Citizen's Guide: Environmental Review and Local Government Decision-making

For project proposers:

- Working with Consultants: A Guide for Project Proposers

Evaluating the Impact of No Child Left Behind in Minnesota

by Scott F. Abernathy

Photo © Daniel Kieffer, 2005.

The third academic year of life under No Child Left Behind (NCLB) in Minnesota began on an encouraging note. The number of schools failing to make the grade in 2005 under the law declined by nearly 50% from the year before, from 464 to 247 schools, according to data released by the Minnesota Department of Education in August 2005. Reading and mathematics scores on the Minnesota Comprehensive Assessments, the tests used to evaluate schools, were higher in all grades tested. "These results," reported Governor Tim Pawlenty, "show that the hard work of Minnesota educators is paying off with real and measurable improvements in the classroom."[1]

The results of this study can neither confirm nor disconfirm that good things are happening in Minnesota's schools, and that is precisely the point. Minnesota, like the rest of the country, is currently measuring educational quality in a very indirect way. What has been missing from much of the debate about No Child Left Behind is the realization that measuring educational quality is difficult, given the many factors that contribute to a given student's performance on a particular test, on a particular day. Accepting this complexity challenges researchers and policy makers to be cautious and contemplative in assessing how well Minnesota's schools are doing.

My purpose is to explore the relationship among NCLB's evaluative tools, the determinants of student achievement (those that schools can and cannot control), and the behaviors and perspectives of those closest to the actual moment of educational production. My focus is on Minnesota's public school principals, the relationship between their leadership and success and failure under No Child Left Behind, as well as their perceptions of the law's effects on their leadership. I argue that the tools with which we measure achievement within Minnesota need to be rethought. By extracting what we really care about—excellence in educational leadership and teaching—from a set of test-based snapshots, we only capture part of what is really going on in schools and in classrooms. Moreover, the data that we do receive from these tests are probably biased against schools in high-need communities.

[1] Minnesota Department of Education, press release, August 29, 2005.

This study combines the results of a mailed survey of nearly 1,000 Minnesota public school principals with extensive state data on student and school characteristics, achievement test scores, and status under No Child Left Behind in 2003 and 2004. When a particular principal was responsible for more than one school, a survey was sent to only one of the schools. The response rate was very high, with just under 70% of the principals surveyed responding during the study period. I also conducted follow-up e-mail interviews with a small group of these principals. The survey was conducted in the fall of 2003 with support from a grant from CURA's Faculty Interactive Research Program, in association with the Minnesota Center for Survey Research, and with assistance from the Minnesota Association of Secondary School Principals and the Minnesota Elementary School Principals' Association.

Closing the Achievement Gap

At 670 pages long, and with many of its key provisions being modifications of parts of other laws, No Child Left Behind is as large and ponderous as it is ambitious. However, two basic goals define the law. The first goal is "closing the achievement gap between high- and low-performing children, especially the achievement gaps between minority and non-minority students, and between disadvantaged children and their more advantaged peers." The second goal is to create and implement an assessment regime with significant consequences for those who fail, by "holding schools, local educational agencies, and States accountable for improving the academic achievement of all students" (20 U.S.C. § 6301).

The heart of the testing and sanctions regime under NCLB is something called *adequate yearly progress* (AYP). Making AYP is a defining quest for schools and districts under No Child Left Behind. Make AYP one year, and then you can start worrying about not making it next year. Fail to make AYP, especially for two or more years in a row, and the consequences become increasingly severe, eventually including reconstituting the persistently failing school as a charter school, replacing all or most of the school personnel, or contracting out for private management.

Adequate yearly progress is based on the results of standardized test scores, administered once a year. Achieving AYP means that either a sufficiently high percentage of the students in a school or district meet the state's standards for academic proficiency or that the school or district demonstrates "continuous and substantial academic improvement for all students" (20 U.S.C. § 6301). Test results under No Child Left Behind are looked at in aggregate for all of the students in a grade level and for eight subgroups of students: five racial and ethnic identifiers (White, Black, Hispanic, American Indian, and Asian or Pacific Islander),[2] students who are eligible for free and reduced lunch, students with limited English proficiency, and students who qualify for special education services. The idea of subgroup test proficiency is absolutely central to NCLB, both in its goals and in its implementation. Schools are judged by the performance of all of their students and by the performance of each of these eight subgroups.

Critically, the proficiency test targets for adequate yearly progress apply to a specific subgroup of students only if a school or district has enough students to trigger AYP evaluation for a subgroup, in a specific subject, at a given grade level. The more qualifying subgroups that a school has, the more chances it has to fail, regardless of how it is doing in producing high-quality educational services or how successful it is with other subgroups of students. Large schools with diverse populations are, therefore, at a significant disadvantage.

Challenges to and critiques of No Child Left Behind are coming from many directions—from state governments worried about the costs of implementation, educators worried about the narrowing of curricula in response to extensive testing, school officials concerned about the lack of flexibility in the law, and policy makers worried about the possibility of massive closures of public schools as the requirements of the law gradually increase to mandating that every child demonstrate academic proficiency. What has received less attention, however, is a critical consideration of the core assumption underlying No Child Left Behind: That it is possible to assess the quality of education being delivered to the student by any "objective" measure, above and beyond all of the myriad factors that contribute to academic achievement during the lifetime of the student. Educational quality is a very difficult thing to observe, and its production involves many actors and many factors outside of what happens within the classroom.

Three risks arise from basing school quality assessments solely on the results of standardized tests, no matter how carefully constructed. The first risk is that success or failure to make adequate yearly progress may have more to do with the rules of assessment than with what schools are actually doing. The second risk is the possibility that our evaluations of successful and failing schools are based mostly on things that schools cannot control, including the ways in which these test scores are used. A closer look at patterns of success and failure in Minnesota's public schools reveals that both of these risks are real, and that they should be a cause for concern and reflection. The third risk arises from the fact that the results of these tests may change the behaviors and relative influence of various actors in Minnesota's educational system. This may be a good thing, if our evaluations of school quality are based on measures of what is really happening within those schools. If our evaluations are incorrect or unintentionally reflect the influence of other factors, then we run the risk of making these changes using faulty data.

Success and Failure Under No Child Left Behind

Based only on the number of schools making or failing to make adequate yearly progress during the past three years, it is not yet possible to say that NCLB is or is not working. In fact, a closer inspection of the trends in the number of schools failing to make adequate yearly progress reveals that the dramatic decrease in failure rates between 2004 and 2005 may be due mostly to changes in how No Child Left Behind is implemented.

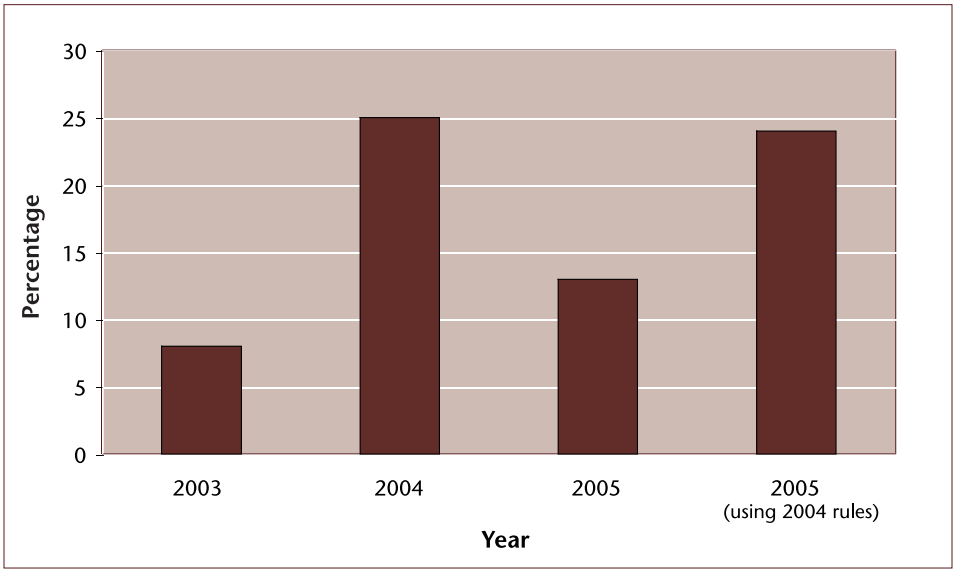
Figure 1 presents the percentage of Minnesota's public schools that failed to make adequate yearly progress in 2003, 2004, and 2005. Just as the state witnessed a drop in the number of failing schools between 2004 and 2005, it also witnessed a sharp increase in failure rates between 2003 and 2004. Rather than evidence of deteriorating educational quality, however, this early rise in failure rates is likely due primarily to changes in how NCLB was implemented in the second year. Adequate yearly progress status in 2003

[2] Editor's note: Although inconsistent with CURA's house editorial style, the terms Black and Hispanic have been retained for consistency with the racial/ethnic categories used in the No Child Left Behind Act.

was based on the results of grades 3 and 5 reading and math tests for elementary schools, attendance for middle schools, and graduation rates for high schools. In 2004, however, adequate yearly progress calculations also included the results of grade 7 reading and math tests, along with the results of grade 10 reading and grade 11 math tests. Given the role of qualifying subgroup categories in assessing adequate yearly progress, including more grade levels makes it more likely that schools will fail, regardless of how well they are doing. It only takes failure in one group, in one subject, in one grade level to qualify a school as having failed to make adequate yearly progress for that year.

Just as the dramatic increase in failing schools that occurred between 2003 and 2004 likely reflected changes in the implementation of the law, the sharp decrease in failure rates between 2004 and 2005 may have been due mostly to two changes in the law made in 2004. First, schools were allowed to use one- to three-year averages of test scores rather than the current year only, to smooth out the inevitable bounces in test score results between years. Second, the academic achievement of students with limited English proficiency was examined separately only if the schools had at least 40 limited English proficiency students in the grade level, compared to a cutoff of 20 students in the previous year. A higher cutoff means that fewer schools qualified and, therefore, failed. These two changes alone resulted in 197 schools being removed from the list of failing schools in 2005, according to Minnesota Department of Education data. If one applies the 2004 rules to data for the 2005 school year, the failure rates of Minnesota's public schools would decline only from 25% percent to 24%, making it very difficult to tell if genuine changes in school quality actually took place.

Figure 1. Percentage of Minnesota Public Schools* Failing to Make Adequate Yearly Progress, 2003–2005



Source: Minnesota Department of Education, "2005 AYP Consequence History" (press release), August 29, 2005

* Includes all public, alternative, and charter schools in Minnesota.

Photo © Nancy Johnson, 2001.

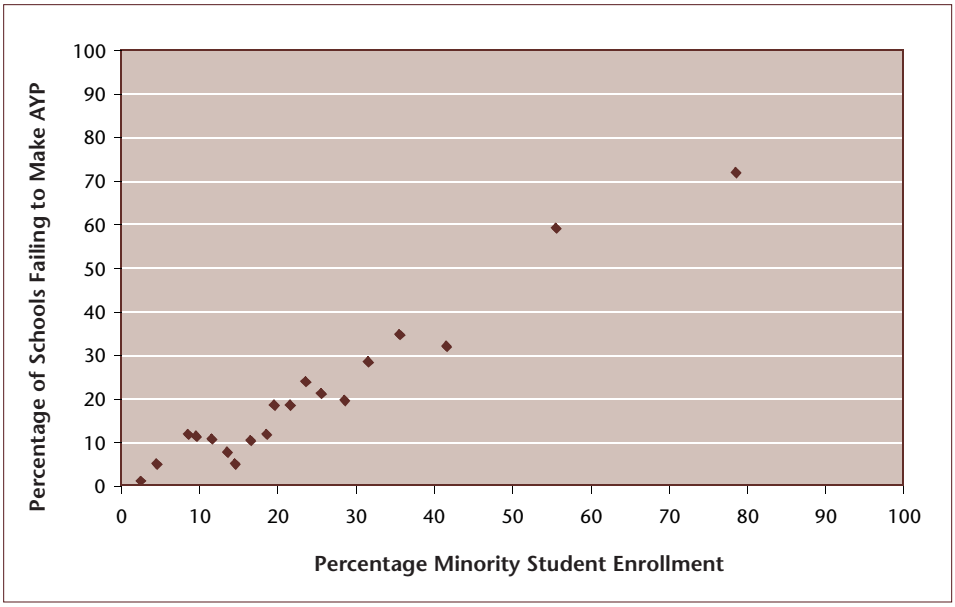
Sanctions under No Child Left Behind are based not on what a school is adding to the achievement of individual students, but rather on the aggregate peer performance of students as a whole or within a group. Basing sanctions on these snapshot assessments risks sanctioning schools based mostly on the characteristics of the students, rather than the school's contribution to students' academic achievement.

Adequate Yearly Progress and Student Characteristics

The second risk of relying on No Child Left Behind's method of assessments for evaluations of school quality is that these objective measures may be capturing many contributors to educational quality that principals and teachers cannot control, particularly resource inequalities between students, schools, and communities.

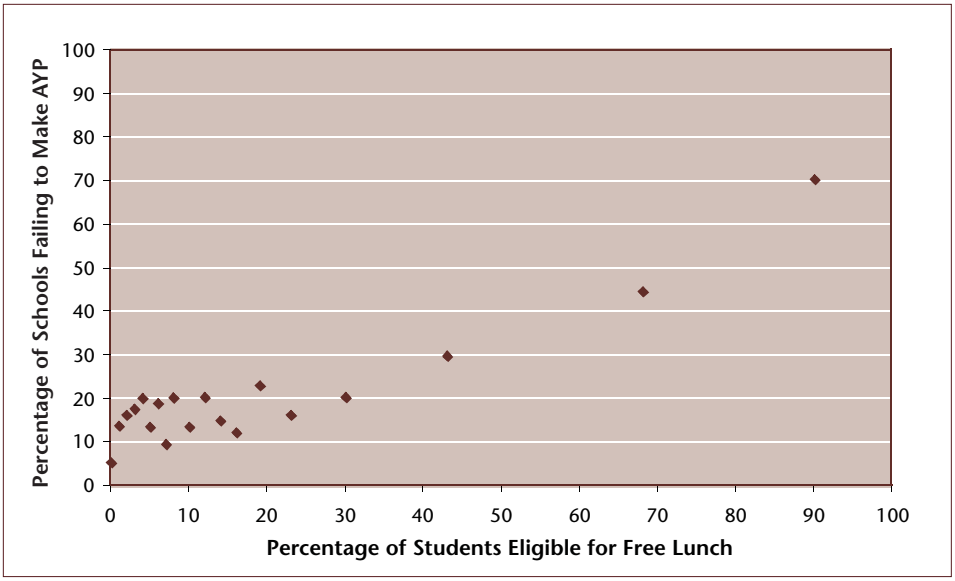
Having diverse student populations increases the likelihood of AYP failure for two reasons. The first is that diversity in student populations typically also means resource inequalities, with all of the attendant negative consequences for test score results. The second reason is more prosaic, but just as important. Because test score results are disaggregated by eight racial, ethnic, and need subgroups, larger and more diverse schools have a higher probability of failure, even when test scores between schools are exactly the same. The test results currently used under NCLB are cross-sectional, meaning that they take a snapshot of students (in aggregate or within a subgroup) at one point in the year. Consequently, sanctions under NCLB are based not on measuring what a school is adding to the achievement of individual students, but rather on the aggregate peer performance of students as a whole or within a group. Schools are measured and weighed by their students, not their services.

Figure 2. Relationship between a Minnesota Public School's Failure to Make Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) and Minority Student Enrollment, 2004



Source: Author's analysis, based on data from the Minnesota Department of Education.

Figure 3. Relationship between a Minnesota Public School's Failure to Make Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) and Free Lunch Eligibility of Students, 2004



Source: Author's analysis, based on data from the Minnesota Department of Education.

Basing sanctions on these snapshot assessments runs the considerable risk of identifying and sanctioning schools based mostly on the characteristics of the students, rather than the school's contribution to students' academic achievement, because many things outside of a school's control show up in the cross-sectional aggregation of student test scores. Determining a school's success or failure based on these kinds of cross-sectional tests results incorrectly singles out schools with high-need populations, a consequence that researchers John Novak and Bruce Fuller—in their 2003 policy brief, "Penalizing Diverse Schools?"—call being "dinged for diversity."

Figure 2 presents the relationship between the percentages of Minnesota public schools that failed to make adequate yearly progress in 2004 and the racial and ethnic diversity of their student populations. Schools are ordered from left to right, divided into equal increments of 74 schools (roughly 5% of schools in each group). The x-axis depicts the percentages of minority students in each of these 20 groups of schools. As one moves to the right on the graph, schools have increasingly higher percentages of minority students. The y-axis shows average percentages of Minnesota public schools in these groups that failed to make AYP in 2004.

The first thing to note is that the percentage of minority students is not evenly distributed among Minnesota's public schools, but concentrated instead in a relatively small number of schools with high percentages of students of minority ethnicity. Within these schools, AYP failure rates are much higher. These patterns are also evident when one examines the AYP probabilities for schools based on the percentage of students at the schools who are eligible for free lunch (Figure 3).

Unless one assumes that education is uniformly and progressively worse in Minnesota's most diverse public schools, then it appears that these schools are being disproportionately identified and, eventually, sanctioned. The problem is that it is not possible to say if this identification is misplaced or unfair because the system of measurement is not designed to distinguish between schools of varying quality that serve similarly diverse student populations. After all, if we simply look at failure rates among very different schools, we cannot ascertain if a school has failed to make adequate yearly progress because of the number of categories for which it qualifies, the resource inequalities of the school and community, or the performance of the teachers and principals. The question, then, is whether diverse and low-income schools, in Minnesota or anywhere else, are doomed to sanction under No Child Left Behind because of their demographic composition, or if their teachers and principals can make any difference at all.

Leadership, Success, and Failure Under No Child Left Behind

Given the strong correlation between student characteristics and AYP failure, can principals make any difference under NCLB's snapshot method of quality evaluations? My goal in this section is to see if principals' leadership patterns can make it more or less likely that a school will make or fail to make adequate yearly progress in the following spring, above and beyond the myriad student characteristics that we know factor into achievement test scores. In other words, I am curious if the best schools and worst schools

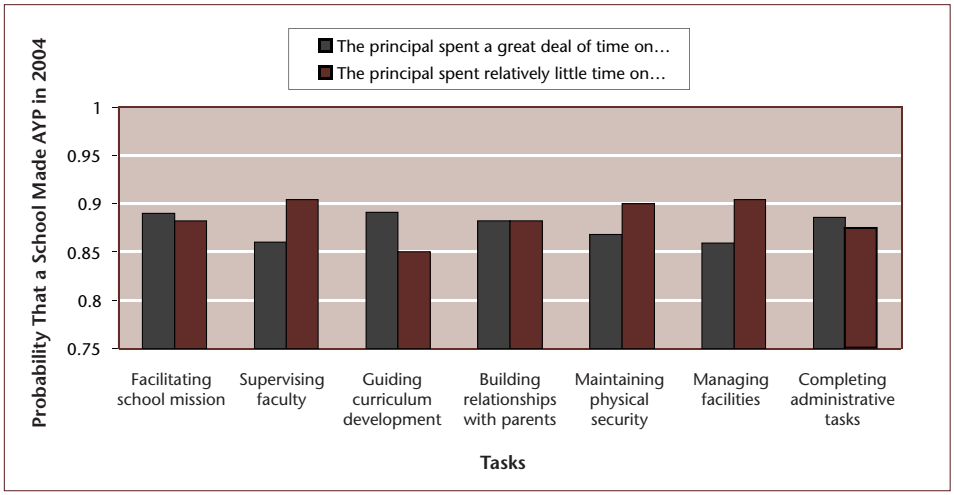
in this system differ in terms of the primary focus of their leaders or only in the composition of their student bodies.

I used a measure of how Minnesota school principals spent their time at work to see if the allocation of time on core or peripheral tasks affects a school's progress under No Child Left Behind. In the survey, I asked the principals, "During the past month, about how much of your time was spent on the following activities?" Using a five-point scale, the principals reported the relative time they spent on the following tasks: facilitating the school's mission, supervising faculty, guiding curriculum development, building relationships with parents, maintaining the physical security of students and staff, managing facilities, and completing administrative tasks.

In addition to measuring how principals reported their time, the regression analyses that underlie the results reported here also accounted for the demographic characteristics of the student population (including the percentage of students that were of minority ethnicity, eligible for free lunch, of limited English proficiency, and enrolled in special education). The statistical models also took into account the principal's administrative experience, his or her teaching experience, the school's status as a rural school, the number of students, the highest grade offered in the school, the average teacher salary, and the percentage of teachers with master's degrees.

Figure 4 presents the results of a simulation based on my statistical analysis. The simulation incorporated both principals' self-reported time allocation to various tasks and the characteristics of the student populations with whom they work. This produced a set of predicted probabilities that a principal's allocation of time to specific tasks would impact the likelihood of a school making adequate yearly progress. These data are estimated probabilities, rather than actual percentages. This approach was necessary to try to control for factors that are highly predictive of success on NCLB's tests but that are unrelated to the actual behaviors of public school principals, such as enrollment, grades offered, and student and community composition. The gray black bars represent the simulated probabilities that a given school will make AYP if that school's principal spends more time on the specific activity than 75% of his or her colleagues. Conversely, the maroon bars represent the predicted probabilities that a given school will make AYP if that school's principal spends less time on the specific activity than 75% of his or her colleagues at other schools.

Figure 4. Estimated Probability* that Principal's Allocation of Time to Tasks† Would Impact Likelihood of School Achieving Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) in 2004



Source: Author's analysis based on data from the Minnesota Schools Survey (2003).

* A probability of 1.00 means there is a 100% probability.

† For purposes of this analysis, a principal was considered to have spent "a great deal of time" on a task if he or she spent more time on the task than 75% of his or her colleagues, and "relatively little time" on a task if he or she spent less time than 75% of his or her colleagues.

Although I observed earlier in relation to Figures 2 and 3 that student population matters critically to AYP success and failure, the results in Figure 4 indicate that there is also an important and significant association between the allocation of a principal's time, and whether or not his or her school passes or fails the spring round of tests. In short, principals can matter. Mission-oriented principals and those who spend relatively more of their time guiding the curriculum are less likely to have their schools labeled as failing to make AYP the following year. These relationships are statistically significant.

It is important to note that, although spending more time on security and facilities is associated with higher AYP failure rates, this does not mean that principals should or can choose to devote less time to these efforts. Time is a very finite commodity in the principalship, and energy devoted to one area must be taken away from another. Principals' time is not always theirs to spend. Although few principals would choose to spend a great deal of their time managing facilities, many have to, particularly those in older facilities often found in Minnesota's urban areas.

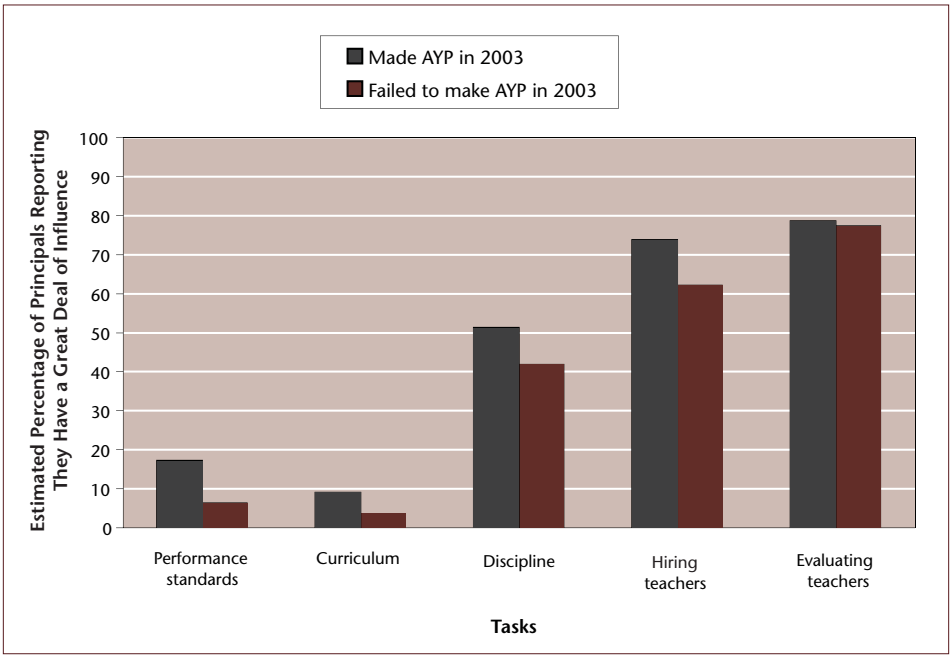
What these results do suggest, however, is that there is an important correlation between principals' activities and the performance of their students, after controlling for all other likely influences on test-score performance. This relationship, however, may be masked by the correlation between test score outcomes and the social and economic conditions under which the schools operate.

The Effects of AYP Failure on Leadership

The third risk identified earlier is that the results of these tests may have real consequences for the behaviors of principals and teachers. There has been much discusion about whether or not teachers teach to the tests. Much less discussion has been devoted to whether or not principals lead to the tests, and whether or not this would be a desirable outcome. Although the underlying study I conducted focused on many aspects of the connection between NCLB and leadership, here I focus on the connection between principals' perceptions of their own influence and their status under AYP at the beginning of the school year.

Figure 5 presents the results of a simulation based on a different, but related, set of statistical analyses. This figure shows the predicted percentages of principals who report that they have "a great deal of influence" on the specific policy area identified, broken down by whether or not they were the

Figure 5. The Effects of Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) Success or Failure on Principals' Perception of Influence on Specific Tasks, 2003



Source: Author's analysis based on data from the Minnesota Schools Survey (2003).

principal of a school that made or failed to make AYP the previous August. Principals were asked to rate their own influence on setting performance standards in their schools, guiding the curriculum, and implementing discipline policy, as well as hiring and evaluating teachers within their schools.

Based on the results of these simulations, principals of schools that have failed to make AYP are 63% less likely to report that they have a great deal of influence in setting performance standards in the school and 59% less likely to report that they have a great deal of influence in guiding the curriculum within the school. Both of these relationships are statistically significant.

During the follow-up interviews, principals—both those who felt that there were positive aspects to No Child Left Behind and those who were more critical—repeatedly mentioned that the law was altering their behavior and influence. Refocusing efforts invariably means time taken away from other tasks, and having a bigger stick with which to motivate teachers has the very real potential of eroding the consensus-building aspects of the public school principalship. As one principal stated:

> NCLB is just one small aspect of my leadership. However, it has challenged me to move mountains in short order. It has challenged me to become an expert in best practices in curriculum and instruction. It has challenged me to provide learning opportunities for all staff to increase student achievement. These challenges are very exciting . . . however, they are also very time consuming and draining. . . . The day-to-day operations, being in the hallways with kids, etc., suffer.

Another principal agreed with the leadership consequences, but was much less optimistic:

> I've been more directive—top-down decisions, even though I have a site team. The pressure is on me from my superintendent to produce higher achievement too. It trickles down to teachers and students and parents. I feel that it puts me in a position to "enforce" rather than "support" good teaching. The mandate of NCLB has become a "do it or I'll hurt you" model . . . make the progress or you'll end up on the dreaded list.

If one believed that principals were not doing a good job setting performance standards or guiding the curriculum, then this would be exactly the result that one would want to see. The problem is, given that many factors outside the principals' control affect the test scores under NCLB, we cannot say if this co-opting of principals' powers is based on a true measure of the quality of services within the schools.

Recommendations

Based on the challenges inherent in extracting school quality from cross-sectional test results that I have discussed here, I suggest several actions and modifications to Minnesota's implementation of No Child Left Behind.

First, Minnesota's policy makers should continue with efforts to incorporate methods of assessment that track students over time. Two alternatives to the cross-sectional model currently in use have been proposed and discussed or implemented. The first model, usually referred to as a "growth" model, involves looking at the year-over-year changes in percentages of students who achieve academic proficiency rather than the percentages of students who are or are not meeting the targets. The second model, called the "value added model," attempts to extract the value that a school is adding to a given student's achievement by tracking the changes in test scores over time for individual students.

Considerable efforts to move down these alternative paths are already under way in Minnesota and other states, and these efforts should continue. Neither alternative model is perfect, and each raises its own challenges. However, either is preferable to the cross-sectional model typically used. The main issue is whether one of these alternatives will be used alone or in combination with NCLB's current methods in determining AYP. Most likely, it will be in combination with existing methods. If we were to adopt only a growth model or value-added model of assessment, then wealthy schools would be sanctioned in roughly the same disproportion as poorer and high-minority schools under the current model, given that these students would probably be starting from a relatively high level of achievement. More attention needs to be paid to the actual details of how alternative test-based models will assist or conflict with the snapshot models that will still be in place.

Second, policy makers need to consider adding more direct measures of principal (and school) quality to No Child Left Behind. No matter how well-designed the test, test scores are indirect measures of the quality of leadership and teaching in a school which is, after all, what policy makers are trying to encourage. The dominance of student

Photo © Daniel Kieffer, 2005.

John Ahern, a Minnesota National Distinguished Principal, confers with faculty members at Edgerton Elementary School in Maplewood. Principals' leadership involves many things that are difficult to measure, such as inspiring excellence in the teaching staff.

demographics in adequate yearly progress calculations attests to this problem. Perhaps policy makers would be better served by trying to measure the quality of leadership and teaching as directly as possible, rather than trying to extract it from the results of tests given to a group of students on a given day. Parent, teacher, staff, and student surveys might all be incorporated into such a system. The goal would be to supplement No Child Left Behind's exclusive use of test score results with more experience-based data, in a way that allows one to identify those schools with excellent leaders confronting monumental tasks. Unfortunately, and in spite of decades of research into what kind of principalship produces quality education, currently these options are not on the table. Identifying excellent schools in disadvantaged communities and providing them with more autonomy and resources as rewards for their excellence might allow policy makers to get more accurate readings of school quality, distinguish the best schools in the communities that need them the most, and help No Child Left Behind live up to its ambitious promises.

Scott F. Abernathy is assistant professor of political science at the University of Minnesota. Prior to earning his Ph.D. from Princeton University in 2002, he worked as a public school teacher in Wisconsin and as an outreach counselor with homeless adolescents in Boston. His research interests include education politics and policy, public administration, and political development.

This article is based on a larger research project that became the basis for a book titled *No Child Left Behind and the Public Schools,* which is currently under review with the University of Michigan Press. This research was supported 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.

The author would like to thank Robert J. Schmidt, executive director of the Minnesota Association of Secondary School Principals, and P. Fred Storti, executive director of the Minnesota Elementary School Principals' Association. In addition, the author would like to thank Rossana Armson, Pam Jones, and Marc Wagoner from the Minnesota Center for Survey Research.

The Community Development Work Study Program: A Commitment to Change

by Kris Nelson and Jamie Proulx

Photo © Daniel Kieffer, 2005.

CDWSP fellow Shalaunda Holmes (center) working with staff at Northside Residents Redevelopment Council.

It only takes one voice to make a change, and students who take part in a new initiative at the University of Minnesota are getting the opportunity to find that voice within themselves. The Community Development Work Study Program (CDWSP), a national effort of the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD), provides financial support to educational institutions to recruit and support economically disadvantaged students of color committed to community development. Students accepted into the program are provided tuition and internships in planning and community development. Through the program, a new generation of community planners, policy analysts, and specialists will become trained to solve some of the most pressing issues facing our inner cities.

Beginning in 2004, CURA partnered with the University of Minnesota's Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs to bring CDWSP fellows to the University. Fellows pursue a graduate degree in urban and regional planning or public policy. During their degree program, they also gain practical experience through an internship with a community development agency. The program is jointly funded through CURA, the Humphrey Institute, HUD Community Work Study grants, and the organizations in which fellows are placed.

The critical need for rising stars in planning and community development—especially those from communities of color—was outlined in a recent report sponsored by the Ford Foundation titled *University Education for Community Change*. Researcher Andrew Mott found that "there is a severe shortage of people who are fully prepared for key positions in the field [of community-based development]," and that "the shortage is especially great among people of color." The CDWSP has potential to provide a significant step toward meeting that need.

Five students have been accepted as CDWSP fellows for 2005–2006. Each fellow has been placed in an internship

that allows them to practice their skills and learn what their degree will allow them to do in their own communities. The local agencies where these fellows have been placed range from local community development corporations and housing resource centers to a mortgage foreclosure prevention agency and a city housing department. Fellows also participate in a seminar that helps them integrate their practical experience with classroom education and learn about each other's experiences.

Community development staff members who have hosted the CDWSP fellows are impressed by the students' enthusiasm and eagerness to understand the issues and challenges of community development. Marcia Cartwright, a real estate director with HOPE Community, takes great pleasure in seeing young students work at her organization and take interest in community development. "I want to know there will be someone willing to carry on this work when I am gone, who has the same passion for the community, and also new skills," said Cartwright.

The internships the CDWSP provides mold students' learning experience, shape their practical skills, and—according to the students themselves—allow them to achieve goals beyond their reach. In addition, each fellow brings his or her own life experiences and sense of commitment to the program.

Tibesso Dayassa escaped from the war-torn region of Oromia in Ethiopia with his family in the early 1990s and relocated to Minnesota. After earning his degree in planning, he hopes to help his family and members of his community live a better life in the Twin Cities. Currently, he is working with Seward Redesign, a nonprofit community development corporation in Minneapolis, where he is helping with outreach to the East African community. Dayassa admits that it is "much harder to create change in the community than reading about it might suggest." However, by talking with local residents and understanding their needs, he has been able to identify for local development and planning officials what resources are most needed in the area.

Acooa Lee, another CDWSP fellow, is studying public policy and has enjoyed the responsibility she has been given at her job at HOPE Community, a Minneapolis-based community outreach center, and is particularly proud of the contributions she has made to the organization. Lee notes that she has gained a great deal of insight into economic and community development through her participation in the CDWSP. "My internships have afforded me the opportunity to work and form relationships with organizations and people that have motivated my work and participation in class," Lee said. "I now feel like I have practical experience to make me an asset in both the workforce and my class discussions. This experience has shaped the way I view possible solutions to the economic inequities that spurred my interest in public policy."

Makeheda Zulu-Gillespie, community organizer at Northside Residents Redevelopment Council (NRRC), was thrilled to work with **Shalaunda Holmes**, a planning student who is in her final semester and her third placement through the CDWSP. "Shalaunda helped us to reflect on how we approach our work," said Zulu-Gillespie. "She helped bridge our internal communication through her work with staff involved in different program areas. Her planning perspective contributed to the success of several projects."

Holmes has taken on several opportunities like the one at NRRC, some of which may not have been available to her without the fellowship program. "I have gained a lot of valuable experience. I wrote a grant, filed a rezoning application, and was involved in project management," said Holmes. "I am using my experience on the cultural transitions public art project for my professional paper required for my planning degree."

Paul Singh, a first year planning student working with the Greater Frogtown Community Development Corporation (CDC), is also participating in the program. His planning skills and abilities in geographic information systems (GIS) analysis have given the organization ideas and opportunities that were not available before. "They have appreciated my GIS skills, but it has not yet been fully integrated into the CDC's day-to-day work," said Singh. "I hope this semester that will happen." His experience has shown how much of an impact University of Minnesota students can make in surrounding communities when a business or community organization is willing to engage in such partnerships.

Terra Cole, a second-year planning student who has been working with Greater Metropolitan Housing Corporation, explained that her CDWSP fellowship will give her skills that she can bring back to her own community. "I have learned a lot about the complexities of communicating between residents and organizations. It is challenging to explain to residents the resources available to help them with their housing issues," said Cole. "It has been invaluable to learn about the complexity of funding affordable housing. I am looking forward to learning more about development funding in my work on housing redevelopment in the Hawthorne Neighborhood. This will be particularly exciting since this is the neighborhood where I live."

Not only do the fellows contribute to the communities they work in, but they also bring new energy to the classroom. David Hollister, a University of Minnesota faculty member, has worked with several of the CDWSP fellows through his course on neighborhood revitalization. "Having some of the CDWSP fellows in my class has definitely enriched the discussion, as they are able to bring both personal and work experiences into the class," said Hollister. "Their sophisticated understanding of public and nonprofit housing programs made a substantial contribution. It is particularly important for a class such as neighborhood revitalization to have perspectives from students who come from a wide variety of experience."

For more information about the Community Development Work Study Program, visit the HUD website at www.hud.gov/progdesc/cdwsp.cfm.

Kris Nelson is program director for CURA's Neighborhood Planning for Community Revitalization (NPCR) program, and placement coordinator for the Community Development Work Study Program. Jamie Proulx is assistant director of communications in the Office of Communications at the University of Minnesota's Humphrey Institute of Public Affairs.

Project Funding Available from CURA

The 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 Program Application Form at www.cura.umn.edu/application.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 summer 2006 support (June through August) is March 30, 2006. For more information, visit www.cura.umn.edu/cap.php or contact CAP coordinator Will Craig at 612-625-3321 or capcura@umn.edu.

■ **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 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 collaborating on a project are encouraged. Applications for summer 2006 support (June through August) are due March 30, 2006. Visit www.cura.umn.edu/npcr.php for more information, or contact NPCR program director Kris Nelson at 612-625-1020 or ksn@umn.edu.

■ **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, or contact UNN coordinator Jeff Corn at 612-625-0744 or unn@umn.edu.

■ The **Faculty Interactive Research Program** is designed to encourage University of Minnesota faculty to carry out research projects that involve a significant issue of public policy for the state or its communities, and that include interaction with groups, agencies, or organizations in Minnesota involved with the issue. Ideal projects will have an applied orientation, as well as serve the research interests of the faculty member. Awards cover the faculty member's salary for one month during the summer, and support a half-time graduate research assistant for one year. Applications for the 2006–2007 academic year competition must be received by 4:30 PM, Thursday, April 13, 2006. For more information, visit www.cura.umn.edu/FIRP.php or contact CURA director Tom Scott at 612-625-7340 or scott001@umn.edu.

■ The **Fesler-Lampert Chair in Urban and Regional Affairs** is an endowed position that supports, for one year, the research activities of a University of Minnesota faculty member for work on a project related to urban and regional affairs in Minnesota. Made possible through the generosity and vision of David and Elizabeth Fesler, the endowment generates approximately $36,000 in support. Funds may be used to obtain release time or other support for the project, and may be used for either new or current projects. Applications for the 2006–2007 academic year competition must be received by 4:30 PM Monday, March 20, 2006. For more information, visit www.cura.umn.edu/fesler-lampert.php, or contact CURA director Tom Scott at 612-625-7340 or scott001@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 wcraig@umn.

CURA Bids Farewell to Long-Time Staff Members

Staff members Ed Drury and Peggy Wolfe have moved on from CURA, and we will miss them. Ed and Peggy both retired from the University of Minnesota several years ago, but continued on at CURA under contract on a part-time basis to help us and to serve your needs. Both decided to completely retire during 2005.

Ed Drury started working at CURA in 1972. He was skilled both at conducting research and in working with students and community organizations. Throughout his 30+ years with CURA, Ed was the person we would go to to get something done. His early work focused

Ed Drury

on inventorying and evaluating higher education programs in state and federal correctional institutions with significant results. For the past two decades, he was responsible for directing CURA's Communiversity Program, placing graduate student assistants with organizations and agencies serving diverse communities throughout the state. In addition, Ed administered our Local Planning and State Agency Internship Programs for more than a decade before they were suspended in 2003 because of budget reductions to the University. These programs awarded graduate internships on a competitive basis, providing students with hands-on learning experience and state and local agencies with invaluable research and technical assistance. Ed cared deeply about the students and organizations with which he worked, and their research projects were better because of his attentive involvement.

Peggy Wolfe started at the University of Minnesota in 1969 as librarian of the Urban Transportation Collection, when interdisciplinary urban transportation research at the University was coordinated out of the Department of Civil Engineering and operated under the CURA umbrella. The transportation collection was eventually transferred to the Minnesota Department of Transportation, and Peggy moved to CURA's main office in 1982. She managed our internal library, cataloguing and housing every publication produced by CURA, now numbering more than 2,000 documents. Among her many contributions, Peggy was instrumental in converting our internal catalog of CURA publications to a searchable online database publicly accessible via the CURA website. She also served as a resource person for many CURA projects. Her highest profile work was in

Peggy Wolfe

compiling inventories of key University efforts, including a catalog of "Courses on the Environment," an "Inventory of Public Policy Research Related to Greater Minnesota," the "Guide to Courses in GIS and Land-Related Studies," the "Environmental Events Calendar," and a bibliography of "CURA Research Reports on Underrepresented Groups." No one was more tenacious or better at doing this work.

Ed and Peggy have both been an important part of CURA's heritage. We thank them for their many years of faithful service and wish them well in their retirement.

New Publication Schedule

Beginning with the Spring 2006 issue, the *CURA Reporter* will be numbered and issued as follows:

- Issue No. 1: Spring (mailed in March)
- Issue No. 2: Summer (mailed in June)
- Issue No. 3: Fall (mailed in September)
- Issue No. 4: Winter (mailed in December)

This issue (Vol. 36, No. 1) is the first issue to appear in 2006; the Fall 2005 issue (Vol. 35, No. 4) was the final issue for 2005.

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