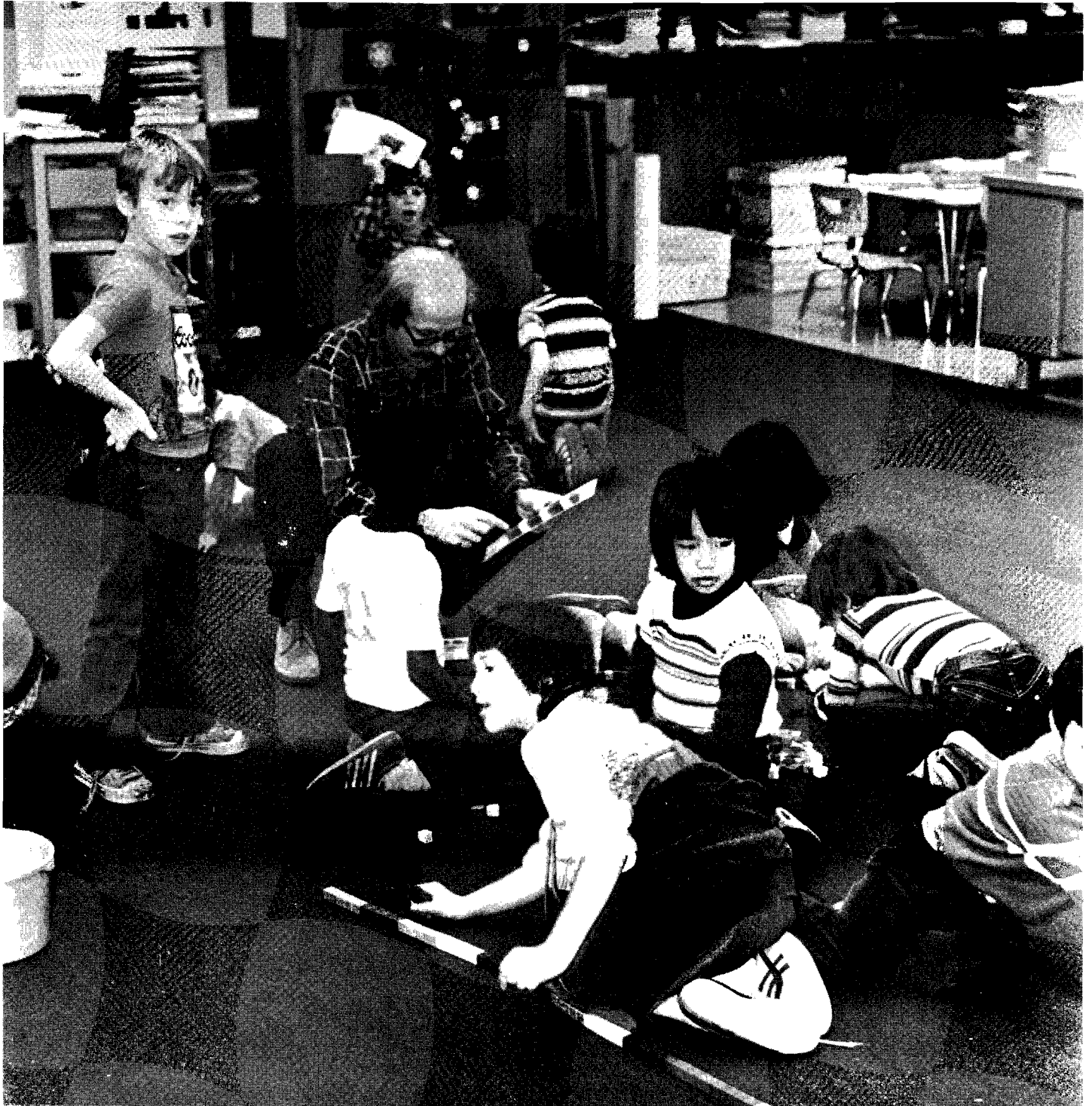


CITIZENS LEAGUE REPORT

Linking a Commitment to Desegregation
with Choices for Quality Schools



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**LINKING A COMMITMENT TO DESEGREGATION
WITH CHOICES FOR QUALITY SCHOOLS**

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**Approved by
CITIZENS LEAGUE BOARD OF DIRECTORS
December 12, 1979**

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MAJOR IDEAS IN OUR REPORT

The effort in this country to do away with racially segregated schools had, from the beginning, a double objective: to realize the ideal of civil and human rights; and to provide a quality education.

Desegregation was, in other words, not only an end in itself, but also a means to an end.

For years the segregationist claim had been that the schools would be—while separate—equal. In *Brown vs. Board of Education* in 1954, the US Supreme Court struck down this argument. Manifestly, the segregated schools had been inferior schools.

The drive for desegregation was cast in terms of equality, but embedded in it was the clear assumption that equal schools would be quality schools.

Progress has been made, but the effort at desegregation must still be pursued.

Minority enrollment is relatively small and concentrated in the central cities. If all minorities (Blacks, Hispanics, American Indians and Asians) were distributed proportionately throughout the state, all but one desk in every classroom would be occupied by whites. Even in Saint Paul and Minneapolis, three out of four pupils are white.

- In the narrow sense of complying with existing legal requirements, Minneapolis and Saint Paul schools have been desegregated. Mechanisms are in place to guard against a return to segregation. However, this does not mean that all schools have a racial mix; some remain virtually all-white.
- Public actions will continue to be necessary to support desegregation and integration in the Twin Cities area.
- School systems should make a more concerted effort to assure that integrated education takes place.

- More attention must be given to hiring minority teachers. State regulations should be revised. The Educational Cooperative Service Unit (ECSU), an organization of metropolitan school districts, should sponsor a cooperative recruiting program to help metropolitan area school districts find applicants from varied racial backgrounds.
- The use of seniority only as a basis for determining the order of teacher layoffs and in assignment to specific buildings has a discriminatory effect. All school districts in the state should be covered by a law which provides that teachers who otherwise would be laid off because of low seniority would be retained, as necessary, to maintain an affirmative action program.
- There is no compelling need to change present rules which don't exempt minorities from desegregation.
- Juggling school attendance boundaries each year produces too much uncertainty and instability. The State Board of Education should allow school districts to "grandfather" pupils in buildings, once these buildings are in compliance with allowable minority percentages.
- School district boundaries should not restrict artificially the most logical geographic areas for carrying out desegregation. The Legislature should remove, at least in the metropolitan area, a prohibition in state law that school districts may not compete with each other for students. The Legislature should permit tuition-free, inter-district transfers to the extent that the number of pupils entering a district is the same as the number from that district who choose to attend school in other districts.
- The achievement of numerical desegregation now makes it possible to focus on issues which are more fundamental: Have desegregated schools been ade-

quately integrated? Does layoff policy discriminate against minorities? Should minorities be required to be covered by the provisions of desegregation? Must desegregation imply the possibility of reassignment of pupils to different schools year by year? What are the appropriate geographic areas for carrying out desegregation? Are children receiving an improved quality of education as a result of desegregation?

Desegregation having accomplished only a part of its objective, there is now a growing effort to attack the issue of quality education directly.

Nothing was clearer in the testimony presented to this study committee than that quality education remains uppermost in the minds of parents today. A common complaint of minority parents is that their children have not been receiving an improved quality of education as a result of desegregation. By "quality" the parents continue to stress two things: genuine racial integration, and genuine excellence in learning. This is clear. The debate in the Twin Cities area at this point is *how to achieve* this double objective. The next stage is a difficult one. Whereas the first stage could be legally required and quantitatively measured, the second cannot, at least, not so easily. And, whereas the first was a challenge mainly for the people of the community, the second is a challenge relatively more for the system of education, and for the people who run it.

An additional approach to quality education now needs to be opened up: a 'choices' approach, that emphasizes the opportunity of families to define 'quality' in terms of their own needs.

There are several possible lines of approach to improving the quality of education.

One concentrates on resources: providing more money, or authority, or management help, to the schools.

A second involves the use of political or community pressure on educators to conduct the educational effort in

certain, and perhaps different, ways.

A third approach, now attracting growing interest and with its potential still largely unexplored, would concentrate on enlarging the scope for parents to select from among a variety of teachers or schools the educational environment they think is 'best' or best quality, for their children. Both in Minneapolis and in Saint Paul the school systems have begun to enlarge the range of alternatives available. This is sound, and should be extended. As the opportunity for family choice expands, the schools' incentive to be responsive, and to offer minorities and other families what they know they need, will grow.

There is a broad opportunity for the introduction of choices at different points in the educational system. Specifically: (a) whether to attend school at all; (b) whether to attend public school or private school; (c) which specific school system to attend; (d) which school building to attend; (e) which room/teacher to be assigned to within the building; (f) whether a pupil should pass or fail; (g) which courses a pupil should take.

We suggest these expansions in choices available, as ways of stimulating the improvement of quality, especially for minority children:

- To avoid social promotions, parents would make the final decision on whether a child should be promoted to another grade.
- Where pupils have elective courses, a parental agreement on pupils' choices would be required.
- Youths who have no desire to remain in school could take advantage of alternative environments in the world of work.
- A private foundation or the Legislature would provide a limited number of grants, allocated by lot, but available only to economically disadvantaged pupils, for tuition at whatever school they desire, public or private.

PREFACE

Desegregation and integration are not the same thing. Desegregation creates the opportunity for integration but does not guarantee that integration will occur. Desegregation has been the subject of a number of US Supreme Court decisions; integration is not a legal concept. This report cannot be understood unless the reader is aware that the two words refer to different concepts. The working definitions for the purpose of this report are as follows:

Desegregation of schools is a procedure to adjust the enrollment in certain buildings to bring the ethnic and racial mix of the student body closer to the ethnic and racial mix of the school population of the entire community. Desegregation was required by the US Supreme Court which ruled that racially-separate schools are inherently

unequal. Desegregation has been advocated by some persons in the belief that it gives greater equality of educational opportunity for minorities and by others for social reasons, that is, making integration possible.

Integration of schools is the fostering of an environment in which students of different ethnic and racial backgrounds learn to work with, understand and respect each other and in which each student is given an equal opportunity to affect the system. The purpose of integration is to foster an understanding of ethnic and racial differences so they will not act as artificial barriers to relationships among students as human beings, but the purpose is not to eradicate the differences.

BACKGROUND

1. MINNESOTA'S PUBLIC SCHOOL MINORITY ENROLLMENT IS RELATIVELY SMALL AND IS CONCENTRATED IN THE CENTRAL CITIES.

Statewide, about one in 21 pupils in Minnesota public schools was identified as a member of a minority group in 1978-79, according to the State Department of Education. In the same year about one in four pupils in Minneapolis and one in five in Saint Paul public school systems was minority. In the suburbs, the figure was about one in 38.

The percentage of minorities in Saint Paul public schools increased from 11.2% in 1971 to 19.9% in 1978. Meanwhile, total enrollment decreased from 47,750 to 34,547. In absolute numbers, minorities in Saint Paul public schools increased from 5,390 in 1971 to 6,867 in 1978. The total number of minorities in Saint Paul may be higher, because of a possible undercounting of American Indians. According to the Saint Paul public schools, a 1977 count of American Indians, based on parents' statements, including tribal affiliation, showed 891 American Indian students in Saint Paul public schools, although the sight count that year showed only 462 American Indian students.

The percentage of minorities in Minneapolis public schools increased from 14.4% in 1971 to 26.1% in 1978, while total enrollment declined from 63,761 to 45,610. Minorities increased in absolute numbers from 9,224 to 12,037 in 1977 and then declined in 1978 for the first time to 11,889.

The percentage of minorities in suburban public schools increased from 1.2% in 1971 to 2.6% in 1978, while total suburban enrollment decreased from 318,362 to 292,182. Minorities increased in absolute numbers from 3,726 in 1971 to 7,718 in 1978.

As a matter of fact, the schools with the highest minority percentage in the metropolitan area today are certain private schools, even though, in total, the minority percentage in private schools is below that of the public schools. One Catholic school in Saint Paul is 93.2% minority. Three Catholic schools in Minneapolis exceed 50% minority. Heart of the Earth Survival School, an American Indian

private school, is almost 100% minority.

A significantly higher percentage of minority pupils in area Catholic schools are non-Catholic than are their white counterparts. During the 1978-79 school year, 31% of minority pupils in Catholic schools were non-Catholic, compared with 3% of the white pupils, according to the Archdiocese of Saint Paul and Minneapolis.

2. THE MAKEUP OF THE MINORITY POPULATION DIFFERS WIDELY THROUGHOUT THE STATE.

Each fall in school districts throughout the state, school staffs count pupils by racial/ethnic category, using visual identification only. Pupils are not asked to identify themselves. The categories are prescribed by the federal government as follows:

- **American Indian or Alaskan Native:** A person having origins in any of the original peoples of North America, and who maintains cultural identification through tribal affiliation or community recognition.
- **Asian or Pacific Islander:** A person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, the Indian sub-continent, or the Pacific Philippine Islands, and Samoa.
- **Black:** A person having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa.
- **Hispanic:** A person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American or other Spanish culture or origin, regardless of race.
- **White:** A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, North Africa or the Middle East.

"Minority" encompasses much more in Minnesota than persons identified as Black. Statewide, only a plurality, not a majority, of minority pupils in public schools is Black. In the central cities, however, Blacks make up a majority of the minorities. In suburbs, Asians are the dominant minority.

**MINORITY ENROLLMENT
1978-79 SCHOOL YEAR**

	Statewide	St. Paul	Minneapolis	Suburbs
Black	38.2%	56.7%	67.5%	24.6%
American Indian	31.7	9.0	21.6	19.2
Asian	15.5	8.0	5.7	36.9
Hispanic	14.6	26.3	5.2	19.2
TOTAL				
Minority	37,747	6,867	11,889	7,718

SOURCE: State Department of Education

3. ALTHOUGH THE NUMBERS ARE SMALL, SOME DISPERSAL TO SUBURBS IS OCCURRING.

The numerical increase in minority enrollment between 1971-72 (the year minority sight counts were first taken statewide) and 1978-79 in the seven-county metropolitan area was 8,134. Of that amount, 3,992, or just under one-half of the total increase in minority enrollment, took place in the suburbs.

The following table illustrates the distribution, by each minority group, of the increase in minority enrollment between 1971-72 and 1978-79:

**INCREASE IN MINORITY ENROLLMENT
1971 to 1978**

	Central Cities	Suburbs	Total Metro Area
Black	2,610	1,301	3,911
American Indian	438	157	595
Asian	775	1,879	2,654
Hispanic	319	655	974
TOTAL			
Minority Increase	4,142	3,992	8,134

SOURCE: State Department of Education

Suburban minority enrollment includes a few "disadvantaged" pupils. About 5.9%, or one in 17 minority pupils, was classified as Title I (that is, they were a year or more behind grade level in reading or math) in 1978, according to data collected by the State Department of Education. By contrast, among minority pupils in the central cities, about 32.7%, or one in three minority pupils, was classified as Title I. Title I is a federal program aimed at improving education of the disadvantaged.

4. THE PRESENCE OF MINORITIES ON PROFESSIONAL STAFFS IS VERY LOW IN SUBURBS AND IS SIGNIFICANTLY HIGHER IN THE CENTRAL CITIES.

Only one in 143 certified staff persons in suburban school districts was identified as a member of a minority group in the 1978-79 school year, according to the State Department of Education. This is significantly less than the minority student enrollment in the suburbs, which was about one in 38. By contrast, in the central cities, about one in ten certified staff persons was a member of a minority group in 1978-79. Even in the central cities, however, the proportion of certified staff who are minority was below the minority student proportion, which was about one in four.

5. THE PUBLIC AGENCIES CHIEFLY RESPONSIBLE FOR DESEGREGATION IN MINNESOTA EACH ADOPTED POLICY STATEMENTS SEVERAL YEARS AGO TO PROVIDE A CONTEXT FOR THEIR SPECIFIC ACTIONS.

In 1973 the State Board of Education adopted regulations guiding desegregation in Minnesota public schools. A portion of the preamble to the regulations states:

"The state board recognizes many causes for inequality in educational opportunity, among which is racial segregation. The state board agrees with the US Senate Report of the Select Committee on Equal Educational Opportunities that the evidence, taken as a whole, strongly supports the value of integrated education, sensitively conducted, in improving academic achievement of disadvantaged children, and in increasing mutual understanding among students from all backgrounds. The state board recognizes its duty to aid in the elimination of racial segregation in Minnesota public schools and therefore adopts these regulations..."

The Saint Paul School Board first adopted a statement on racial segregation in the public schools in 1964 and revised the statement in 1967. A portion of that statement reads as follows:

"The Board recognizes the evidence that concentration of racial groupings in schools from whatever causes is one of the factors which inhibits the educational development of the children involved, and that the existence of de facto segregation is inconsistent with the democratic principle of equality of educational opportunity. The Board of Education in accepting its share of responsibility will initiate, support and implement practical and feasible ways of eliminating de facto segregation in the schools of Saint Paul."

The Minneapolis School Board adopted a statement on human relations guidelines in 1970. A portion of that statement reads as follows:

"Lack of interracial contacts leads to fear, ignorance, prejudice, and racism. Students without interracial contacts will develop an inaccurate view of society and will be poorly prepared to participate effectively in a multi-racial community. To forego opportunities to educate students for a multi-racial society would be to fail them. Public schools have the moral and educational obligation to deal deliberately and directly with the issues and problems of race, for the quality of our human relations is a key ingredient of good education."

6. THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION RECENTLY LOOSENEED ITS REGULATIONS ON DESEGREGATION FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE REGULATIONS WERE ADOPTED.

The new regulations, which are applying in the 1979-80 school year for the first time, define a school building as segregated if the minority racial composition in the building exceeds the district average for those grades by more than 15 percentage points. The Commissioner of Education is permitted to approve a variance from this standard for educational reasons provided that no school building may exceed 50% minority enrollment. The State Board regulations deal only in total minorities, without a maximum level for any type of minority group.

Previously the State Board regulations provided that no school building could contain more than a maximum of 30% minority, with a variance to a maximum of 40% permitted if school boards could justify an educational reason.

School districts are required to submit data on racial composition to the Commissioner of Education. If the Commissioner finds segregation in any school, a district is given 90 days to prepare a comprehensive plan for compliance with state regulations, but unless the district is formally cited by the Commissioner of Education to correct the situation, it wouldn't be required to change.

Public school districts in the state are subject to State Board regulations, including Minneapolis, which also is under court order to desegregate. Private schools are not subject to the regulations. While Minneapolis has questioned the authority of the State Board of Education to adopt such regulations, no formal challenge has been made.

The State Board of Education has had regulations concern-

ing school desegregation in effect since 1973. Regulations are binding on school districts. The regulations make no reference to socio-economic differences.

However, prior to 1973, the State Board's guidelines—which were advisory only, not mandatory—called for desegregation both by race and socio-economic category. The advisory guidelines on socio-economic desegregation still are in effect.

7. THE U.S. DISTRICT COURT RECENTLY LOOSENEED ITS DESEGREGATION REQUIREMENTS IN MINNEAPOLIS.

Since 1972 Minneapolis has been under orders from the U.S. District Court to desegregate. The Court currently requires that no school in Minneapolis may have more than 46% total minority, nor more than 39% in any single minority. At first the Court ordered a maximum of 35% total minority in any one school. In 1975 the limitation was raised to 42% total minority, and 35% in any single minority. The current limits were set in May 1978.

The U.S. District Court also requires desegregation of the teaching staff in Minneapolis. The Court requires (a) that there be at least one minority teacher in all elementary schools before there can be two minority teachers in any one school and (b) that the proportion of minority teachers in each secondary school shall be approximately 6% of the staff of the school. School officials could be subject to jail sentences or fines for failure to comply with the Court. Or, as in the case of another city, the Court could appoint someone to take over the schools to implement an order.

In the summer of 1979 the U.S. Supreme Court rejected an appeal by the Minneapolis School Board that the seven-year-old Federal District Court case against the School Board be dismissed. The School Board had argued that the federal court no longer was needed to enforce desegregation in Minneapolis.

8. THE DEGREE OF SEGREGATION IS LESS TODAY THAN IT WAS SEVERAL YEARS AGO IN SAINT PAUL AND MINNEAPOLIS.

In 1973, seven schools in Minneapolis and five schools in Saint Paul exceeded 50% minority. One school in Saint Paul was at 99%; two schools in Minneapolis were at 87-88%. According to the latest count of minorities available—taken in the fall of 1978—the highest minority percentage in any one school was 46.7% in Saint Paul and 47.9% in Minneapolis.

The following chart illustrates changes over a recent five-year period in minority enrollment in elementary schools:

**ELEMENTARY SCHOOL MINORITY
ENROLLMENT TRENDS**

	Saint Paul		Minneapolis	
	1973	1978	1973	1978
Elementary Schools	56	40	66	54
Schools under 10% minority	64.3%	12.5%	48.5%	16.6%
10-19.99% minority	23.2	37.5	21.2	11.1
20-29.99% minority	1.8	22.5	12.1	18.5
30-39.99% minority	1.8	15.0	4.5	22.2
40-49.99% minority	0	12.5	3.0	31.5
over 50% minority	8.9	0	10.6	0

SOURCE: Saint Paul and Minneapolis Public Schools

Within elementary schools in Saint Paul and Minneapolis the room-by-room desegregation percentages do not deviate very much from the building-wide averages.

In secondary schools the variance is considerable. Few students take the same group of courses, and a great deal of individual choice is available as to which courses to take. Inevitably, such choices produce variances in the room-by-room percentage of minorities.

9. WITH A FEW EXCEPTIONS, SAINT PAUL AND MINNEAPOLIS APPEAR TO SATISFY THE LATEST REGULATIONS OF THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION.

In the absence of an approved variance, no school should be more than 15 percentage points above the city-wide average of the grade levels in the school. In 1978, the overall elementary school minority percentage in Saint Paul was 22.4%, with four schools more than 15 percentage points above that level. The overall junior high percentage was 18.8%, with one school more than 15 percentage points above that level. The overall senior high percentage was 14%, with one school more than 15 percentage points above that level. Were the previous, stricter, State Board regulations still in effect, eight elementary schools, three junior highs and one senior high in Saint Paul would be in non-compliance. No school exceeded 50% minority enrollment, the ceiling for any variance granted by the State Commissioner of Education.

The Saint Paul School Board anticipated non-compliance

for the fall of 1979 and received permission from the Commissioner for a variance and approval of a plan for future compliance.

In Minneapolis the overall elementary school minority percentage in 1978 was 29.9%, with one elementary school more than 15 percentage points above that level. The overall secondary minority percentage was 22.2%. Seven schools were more than 15 percentage points above that level. Were the previous State Board regulations still in effect, 19 elementary schools and eight secondary schools would be in non-compliance, although there is some question, apparently, whether Minneapolis is subject to the State Board regulations while it is under court order.

Minneapolis was in compliance with the U.S. District Court for the 1978-79 school year. The Court permits no more than 46% total minority in a building and no more than 39% of one minority. According to the 1978 sight count, one school, North High would have been in non-compliance, because it had 47.9% total minority, and 42.1% Black. However, that count does not consider the period-by-period desegregation statistics resulting from pupils in North, Edison and Henry High Schools taking some course in each others' buildings. As of March 30, 1979, the North Area office reported that the transfers for that week had produced an overall minority percentage at North High of 44.4%, with 39.9% Black.

Several mechanisms have been used by Saint Paul and Minneapolis to accomplish desegregation. "Pairing" elementary buildings has been popular in both cities. Under this approach, the lower elementary grades will be concentrated in one building and the upper grades in another building. In at least one situation, "tri-pairing," involving three different buildings, is utilized. Sometimes the school districts have constructed new buildings in different locations as part of desegregation plans.

Both districts have modified or enriched the curriculum in certain schools, in an effort to attract a desegregated population, voluntarily. They also have offered different types of learning environments, such as open schools and fundamental schools.

In both districts a pupil may transfer to any school building elsewhere in the district, provided that the transfer improves racial balance in both the sending and receiving schools.

Saint Paul has operated a comprehensive system of "learning centers" for eight years, under which pupils go to certain locations for part of a day for specialized training in different fields, such as art, science and world culture. These centers make it possible for every pupil in the

system to be in a desegregated environment at least for some time during each week. However, the State Board of Education has not accepted the learning center approach as a way to meet its desegregation regulations. The State Board requires desegregation in the "home" school.

10. IN COMING YEARS, MINORITY PERCENTAGES IN THE CENTRAL CITIES ARE LIKELY TO INCREASE GRADUALLY.

Saint Paul public school enrollment may drop from 34,547 in 1978-79 to 26,893 in 1982-83, according to a projection prepared by the Saint Paul City Planning Department. A projection of minority enrollment was not made. But if total minority enrollment were to remain the same in absolute numbers, the percentage of minorities in Saint Paul public schools would increase from 19.9% in 1978-79 to 25.6% in 1982-83.

Minneapolis enrollment may drop from 45,610 in 1978-79 to 35,741 in 1982-83, according to the Information Services Center of the Minneapolis Public Schools. The Information Services Center also projects that minority enrollment may increase in absolute numbers from 11,889 in 1978-79 (26.1% in 1978-79) to 12,886 in 1982-83 (36.2% in 1982-83).

Assuming no changes in attendance areas and schools,

several schools would exceed 50% minority enrollment by 1982-83, according to the Information Services Center.

11. THE DEFINITION OF WHAT CONSTITUTES SEGREGATED SCHOOLS VARIES FROM PLACE TO PLACE.

Some metropolitan areas, such as Milwaukee, identify only two categories of persons for purposes of desegregation, Black and non-Black. Thus American Indians and Hispanics are lumped in with whites with no attention given there to the degree of segregation, if any, of those two groups.

Within Minnesota, of course, the rules of the State Board of Education, by definition, affect districts differently. The State Board rule states that a school is segregated if it exceeds a district-wide average by more than 15 percentage points. This means, for example, that a school with 30% minority enrollment could be in compliance in one city but not in another, depending on the overall minority percentage in each city. Conceivably, a school could be segregated, under State Board rules, if it had as few as 16% minorities. Or, at the other extreme a school conceivably could be 100% minority and still not be defined as segregated, if that also were the district-wide average. Of course, no multi-building school district in Minnesota remotely approaches such a concentration of minorities.

FINDINGS

A TODAY'S SCHOOL DESEGREGATION DEBATE IS PART OF A MAJOR CIVIL RIGHTS EFFORT SPANNING ALMOST FOUR DECADES.

In 1942, the Swedish social economist Gunnar Myrdal wrote his classic report on American race relations: *An American Dilemma*. The dilemma for white Americans was the conflict between their ideals of liberty and equality and the actual way in which Blacks were being treated. Myrdal said the "Negro problem" was essentially the white person's problem, with the fundamental need being one of changing the hearts and minds of white Americans.¹

In 1954, the US Supreme Court in the historic case of *Brown versus the Board of Education* said that separate schools for Blacks and whites were inherently unequal.² It is probable that many northern schools, such as Saint Paul and Minneapolis, felt that decision and its implications were not applicable here, since dual school systems were not in operation nor was there obvious evidence that Blacks had been deliberately isolated in drawing attendance boundaries. Blacks were heavily concentrated in a few schools, but those schools were part of the same school system which whites attended. Moreover, the percentages of minorities in Saint Paul and Minneapolis were significantly below what they are today.

Quality education was a central part of the *Brown* decision. "(Education) is the very foundation of good citizenship," the Court said. "Today it is a principal instrument in awakening the child to cultural values, in preparing him for later professional training, and in helping him to adjust normally to his environment. In these days, it is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity, where the state has undertaken to provide it, is a right which must be made available to all on equal terms . . ."

In 1964, the time of passage of the Civil Rights Act in Congress, some changes were being made locally. For example, the Minneapolis School Board had embarked on a school rebuilding program which included the elimination of a school with almost 100% Black enrollment and dis-

persed the Black enrollment among four other elementary schools.

In 1968, the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, the Kerner Commission, established by the President in the wake of racial riots in the summer of 1967, concluded much the same as Myrdal had some sixteen years earlier, that the racial problem was a problem of white Americans. "What white Americans have never fully understood—but what the Negro can never forget—is that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it," the Commission said.³

In 1969, Minnesota, like other states, was beginning to respond in the wake of assassinations and riots. First came state human relations "guidelines." The new superintendent of the Saint Paul Public Schools, in 1971, started learning centers designed to integrate children voluntarily city-wide for portions of each week. In 1971, a Black school and a white school in Minneapolis were "paired," voluntarily, without outside requirements. That is, one building took all Black and white pupils in grades K-3 and the other school, 4-6. But there still remained schools in both cities which were predominantly minority.

In 1972, a federal court ruled that the Minneapolis Public Schools were segregated, and ordered the school system to implement its own previously-prepared desegregation plan.⁴ In 1973, the State Board of Education adopted binding regulations, requiring Saint Paul to desegregate its schools.

In the fall of 1974, both Minneapolis and Saint Paul put into effect several different programs which brought all their school buildings below 50% minority enrollment and within or very close to the limits prescribed by the federal court and the State Board of Education.

Over the last five years, the school systems have continued to attempt to be in compliance with the regulations. Meanwhile, total school enrollment has continued to decline. Minority enrollment, in total numbers, has remained quite stable, but its composition has been changing. American Indians in Minneapolis and Hispanics in Saint

Paul are making up larger proportions of the minority population.

There is mixed evidence today over the degree of progress in civil and human rights since Myrdal's book was written, since the Supreme Court decision, since the riots of the 60s or since mandatory desegregation was enforced. Some ominous signs: interest in Congress in a constitutional amendment to prohibit busing, the reputed re-emergence of the Ku Klux Klan, and, recently on the local scene, confrontation between Blacks and whites at a suburban high school. There is other evidence to indicate some change in attitudes. In 1978, according to the Gallup Poll, 38% of Northern white parents would object to sending their children to schools where more than one-half of the pupils were Black.⁵ Five years earlier, a Gallup Poll showed 63% would object. A similar decline during the same period was evident among southern white parents. The 1978 Gallup Poll revealed, however, that many more whites believed Blacks are being treated fairly than do the Blacks themselves. The poll showed that 71% of the whites but only 34% of the Blacks believed that Blacks are treated the same as whites.

While there is dispute about progress in integration, it seems ever more apparent that desegregated schools are being accepted as permanent fixtures in Saint Paul and Minneapolis. Some persons still oppose desegregation and others don't think it is very important, but we see no evidence of a broad desire to return to pre-1974 segregation. In the narrow sense of moving pupils to achieve a certain mathematical balance of races, the era of *whether* to desegregate is over for Saint Paul and Minneapolis.

B. NUMERICAL DESEGREGATION WAS ACCOMPLISHED HERE WITH RELATIVELY LITTLE ACTIVE OPPOSITION.

Although we don't underestimate the degree of effort which was required, and while we recognize that many persons were opposed, the fact remains that numerical desegregation, the movement of pupils to achieve certain standards of racial balance, has been accomplished here in a relatively peaceful fashion. Unlike the desegregation process in certain other parts of the nation, this area was spared racial protest, confrontations at picket lines and violence. Many parts of the nation still are segregated, particularly in the North. In the Northeast and Midwest states 59% of the Black pupils were in virtually all-Black schools in 1976, according to the US Department of Health, Education and Welfare.⁶

While some households chose to move or to send their

children to private schools, there is no evidence of a massive exodus from Minneapolis and Saint Paul. An enrollment decline caused by a lower birth rate has been common to all school districts, with some suburban districts experiencing even larger percentage losses than the central cities. For example, between 1969-70 and 1978-79, Saint Louis Park dropped 40.5% in enrollment; Richfield, 39.6%; Minneapolis, 34.7%; Bloomington, 30.4%; Robbinsdale, 28%; Saint Paul, 26.9%, and Edina, 26%.

The Saint Paul and Minneapolis Public Schools had made careful plans to prepare pupils and parents (both majority and minority groups) for the elimination of segregated schools. In some cases the initiative on solutions was taken by parents themselves. Perhaps the relatively small number of minorities in this metropolitan area as compared to other metropolitan areas is a contributing factor to the peaceful transition. Perhaps, too, much of the opposition diminished during the two decades which elapsed between the US Supreme Court's decision outlawing deliberately-segregated schools and the accomplishment of numerical desegregation here. Nevertheless, many persons believe that a substantial amount of low-level resistance to desegregation remains in this area and that families have moved their residences to avoid desegregation.

C. NUMERICAL DESEGREGATION HAVING BEEN ACCOMPLISHED HAS HELPED THE COMMUNITY TO FOCUS ATTENTION ON MORE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES.

Numerical desegregation, while an accomplished fact in the Twin Cities area, may have uncovered more issues than it settled. The second generation of issues may be more complex, harder to resolve, and more difficult to measure than desegregation. Desegregation, in the narrow sense of achieving a certain racial mix in each school, is accomplished in a straightforward manner by assigning pupils to specific schools and is measured mathematically against specific standards. Perhaps out of necessity desegregation first had to come to grips with assignment of pupils to school buildings. That, in turn, has produced the following additional issues:

1. HAVE DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS BEEN ADEQUATELY INTEGRATED?

While progress has been made, integration is not an accomplished fact. There is no doubt that integration is much more widespread than it was when desegregation began in the Twin Cities. The Saint Paul and Minneapolis school systems have carried out several human relations training

programs for their staffs. Integration seems to be more successful with students who have attended desegregated schools since kindergarten than with older students. However, it is not universal. At some desegregated schools students from particular minority groups have little interaction with students and teachers from other groups. Some majority and minority students tend to take the same classes and participate in the same extra-curricular activities (or fail to participate in extracurricular activities) as other members of the same group. They are likely to refrain from social contact with students from other groups. At other schools classes and extracurricular activities are integrated and social relationships between students from different groups take place.

Paradoxically some minority students may not be able to do well in situations where a "critical mass" of students from their group is not present. American Indians and Hispanics have shown limited interest in integration.

Much of the school curriculum remains to be integrated. For example, some parents have urged that Black and Indian history should be integrated into American history rather than taught as separate one month subjects.

Some teachers may not have a sufficient understanding of the cultures of minority students in their classes. Also, teachers may "track" minority students and make them aware that less is expected from them than from majority students.

An issue raised by some persons is whether expectations of schools to achieve integration are too high, since society itself is not integrated.

2. SHOULD DESEGREGATION APPLY TO THE STAFF, TOO?

Officially, the answer has been mixed. The Federal District Court is requiring Minneapolis to distribute its minority teaching staff proportionately among school buildings. School districts are covered by the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Federal regulations under that act require school districts to hire and assign teachers and other staff in a nondiscriminatory manner. The Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare may cut off federal aid to school districts which are not complying with its regulations.

The State Board of Education requires nothing of school districts in this regard. Neither the Federal District Court nor the State Board of Education has anything to say about

minority recruitment in all-white school districts. Minneapolis and Saint Paul are the only districts with significant number of minority teachers, and even there the proportions are about one-half the minority proportion in the student body.

3. DOES LAYOFF POLICY DISCRIMINATE AGAINST MINORITIES?

The prevailing practice in suburban and central city school districts is that teachers are laid off in inverse order of seniority during periods of declining enrollment. Beginning in 1971 Minneapolis and Saint Paul recruited large numbers of minority teachers. These teachers, because they are among the most recently hired, and, therefore, have the least seniority, are more subject to layoffs than are white teachers. In Minneapolis, for example, about 20% of the teachers being laid off each year are minority teachers, which is twice the overall percentage of minority teachers in the entire system, according to the school superintendent.

State laws governing teacher layoffs are not the same in all districts. Duluth has a law of its own, which empowers the teachers and school board to determine layoff policy by collective bargaining. The current agreement in Duluth provides for layoff in inverse order of seniority, with no mention of affirmative action. Another law applies only to Minneapolis and Saint Paul. It requires layoff in inverse order of seniority, with no mention of affirmative action. A third law applies to all other school districts in the state. Ironically, that law makes it possible to over-ride the seniority provision if a school district has an affirmative action program in effect (that is, it is hiring minority teachers). But since Minneapolis, Saint Paul and Duluth are not covered by this law, the affirmative action over-ride applies only where there hardly are any minority teachers to take advantage of the provision.

A provision in the collective bargaining agreement between the Saint Paul teachers and school board gives the school board the right to utilize affirmative action in layoffs. No such provision exists in the Minneapolis teachers' contract.

The essential question is whether declining enrollment—which is having the effect of making the pupil enrollment "Blacker"—is, at the same time, having the effect of making the teaching staff "whiter."

Some school districts give their teachers preference in assignment to school buildings based on seniority. Teacher-assignment provisions are not covered in state law; they exist in selected teacher-school board bargaining contracts.

Sometimes the terms "seniority" and "tenure" are used interchangeably, as if they were the same, which they are not. Seniority concerns the application of a teacher's length of service in a school system as a basis for certain employment-related conditions. Tenure means a situation in which a teacher may not be dismissed except for cause and after certain due process procedures. A teacher reaches tenure after two years in suburban school systems and after three years in Saint Paul and Minneapolis. Until a teacher is placed on tenure, the teacher is on probation and may be dismissed for whatever reason the employer may choose.

Some persons claim that tenure should be retained because it protects teachers from arbitrary dismissal. Others say tenure should be modified or repealed because they believe it doesn't give teachers enough incentive to want to do a good job and because it makes it very difficult for school districts to dismiss teachers who are not performing satisfactorily.

4. SHOULD MINORITIES BE REQUIRED TO BE COVERED BY THE PROVISIONS OF DESEGREGATION?

Among American Indians and Hispanics, but also among Blacks, some parents are urging that they have the right to send their children to the same schools as other members of the same minority group, even though this would serve to further segregate the school systems. A plea by the Indian community to be governed by different percentages was rejected by the Federal District Court. Interestingly, another branch of the federal government, Congress, is providing funds for all-Indian private schools in Minneapolis and Saint Paul. Enrollment practices in Saint Paul and Minneapolis both have had the effect, on occasion, of denying minority group members the opportunity to send their children to schools they preferred because such choices would have produced unacceptable levels of segregation. Some minority members are outspoken in their desires to be exempt. This is true of some leaders of the Hispanic and American Indian communities. We made no attempt to obtain a full sample, and undoubtedly differences exist in all groups, but the message we received is that (a) in some cases desegregation seems to be denying minorities access to the best schools, (b) desegregation is denying some minorities the desires they have to be educated in classrooms with other members of the same minority group. Some minority parents believe that removing their children from neighborhood schools is harmful to learning because children may be placed in unfamiliar settings or where their cultural identity is not

respected. One leader stated flatly that desegregation is detrimental to quality education for American Indian children. Others said that Indians are not a minority but a political entity. Historically and legally they have been treated differently, for example, entering into treaties with the US government. Therefore, they should be treated differently, irrespective of whether they are located on reservations or elsewhere, some persons say.

On the other hand a substantial, and perhaps still majority, view is that desegregation, by itself, is valuable for youth, in that they are given the chance to experience what it is like to life in a multi-racial world. According to this viewpoint, a desegregated education is an inseparable part of quality education.

Additionally, others in the minority community are deeply concerned about any retreat from a commitment to desegregation because they feel, as minorities, that the physical presence of a substantial number of majority group persons assures greater attention on the part of the majority group to the quality of education, thereby helping minorities too. They fear that a retreat from desegregation might also mean a retreat from such a commitment.

Few persons deny that quality education is possible in an all-minority school system. But there is lack of unanimity as to whether the quality there is better than in a desegregated system. Definitions of quality vary. Some of us visited an all-Indian private school. We were quite impressed with the enthusiasm and dedication of the staff. We also visited with parents. Both staff and parents believe education is better in the all-Indian environment. We also have seen a recently-completed study of Indian education in Minnesota prepared by Educational Management Services, Inc., which offers a different point of view. That study cites, among other things, higher rates of absenteeism for all-Indian schools than for Indians in public schools. The study found that "test scores" for Indian students in both public schools and all-Indian schools reveal "developmental delays lagging from one to two years behind the non-Indian population." These viewpoints illustrate that different yardsticks are being used by different groups, both seeking quality education.

On a national basis, education of Hispanics is becoming increasingly a major issue, because of the growing immigration to the United States from Mexico. This issue affects Minnesota because of the influx of migrant farm workers. There is a small, but growing, Hispanic community in the Twin Cities area, concentrated mainly on Saint Paul's west side. Many persons in the Hispanic community do not support desegregation. In addition, they are pushing hard for incorporating bilingual programs in the public schools.

Among Blacks we sense a much greater commitment to desegregated schools, but even there questions were raised. Some Blacks oppose desegregation. More often, however, the questions related to whether the effort to desegregate is as important as the effort to provide a quality education. Some persons, we found, are extremely reluctant to face these questions because they fear that whites will exploit Blacks' attitudes and use them as an excuse to avoid desegregation.

Some persons in the minority community simply object to being classified as "minority" automatically because of some categories established by the federal government. They are not given an opportunity to exempt themselves from being counted as minority for desegregation purposes.

For one minority group, Asians, we found virtually no issue in desegregation. Perhaps this is because the Asian population is distributed throughout the central cities and suburbs, with no residential concentration as is true for Blacks, American Indians and Hispanics.

5. MUST DESEGREGATION IMPLY THE POSSIBILITY OF REASSIGNMENT OF PUPILS TO DIFFERENT SCHOOLS YEAR BY YEAR?

A repeated concern of parents is the uncertainty over which school their children will be attending from year to year. This perceived lack of stability in attendance areas seems to be of greater concern than the initial assignment to a desegregated school.

What concerns parents is the possibility that their children will have to be reassigned in order to keep the level of desegregation in line with approved percentages. Because of mobility of children and families, a given attendance area may be in compliance one year, but because people move, the area may not be in compliance the next year. Yet school officials feel they have no alternative but to redraw boundaries continually to keep schools in compliance.

This question becomes particularly controversial when other public policies apparently are inconsistent with the goals of school desegregation. For example, public-owned housing is not subject to desegregation requirements. In one publicly assisted townhouse project, 95% of the units were occupied by Black households. In another project 93% of the units were occupied by Indian households.

In the summer of 1979 the Federal District Court dismissed a suit brought by the Minneapolis School Board which asked that the Minneapolis Housing and Redevelopment Authority and the Federal Department of Housing and

Urban Development be made third-party defendants in its desegregation case. The School Board made the request because it felt that public-assisted housing policies were contributing to the desegregation problem. The percentage of minority occupants in many housing projects is high and, in some cases, rising, according to documents filed with the Federal Court.

6. WHAT ARE THE APPROPRIATE GEOGRAPHIC AREAS FOR CARRYING OUT DESEGREGATION?

In a 5-4 decision the US Supreme Court declined to order cross-district transfers in the Detroit metropolitan area, despite the fact that the Detroit School District was 70% Black, while the overall metropolitan percentage was only 18%. "Before the boundaries of separate and autonomous school districts may be set aside by consolidating the separate units for remedial purposes or by imposing a cross-district remedy, it must first be shown that there has been a constitutional violation within one district that produces a significant segregative effect in another district," Justice Burger wrote for the majority of the court. "Thus an inter-district remedy might be in order where the racially discriminatory acts of one or more school districts caused racial segregation in an adjacent district or where district lines have been deliberately drawn on the basis of race. . . . Conversely, without an inter-district violation and inter-district effect, there is no constitutional wrong calling for an inter-district remedy."⁷ In some cases the Court has required reorganization of district boundaries, particularly in the South, where it was deemed that the boundaries had served to deliberately segregate the school systems. In Minnesota, the State Board of Education and the Federal District Court have limited their regulations to the boundaries of the school districts.

The possibility of a central city school district being merged with a suburban district was raised a few years ago when the Golden Valley district began exploring its future. However, an effort to include Minneapolis in the merger discussions was rejected by the State Department of Education as being politically impractical. Recently the district agreed to merge with Hopkins, even though its pupils will be bused a much longer distance to high school than if they had merged with Minneapolis.

Perhaps surprisingly, a degree of "natural" desegregation seems to be occurring in Twin Cities area suburbs. As noted earlier, one-half of all the increase in minority enrollment in the metropolitan area public schools since 1972 has occurred in the suburbs.

a. Inter-district student movement, for reasons

other than desegregation, has occurred in the past.

The metropolitan area has a long history of students from one district attending school in another. For example, until their own high school districts built high schools, pupils from Maplewood attended Johnson High in Saint Paul; pupils from Roseville attended Washington High in Saint Paul; pupils from Circle Pines attended Marshall High in Minneapolis; from Richfield, Roosevelt and Washburn in Minneapolis; from Golden Valley, West High in Minneapolis; and from Edina, Southwest High in Minneapolis.

b. State law has allowed limited cross-district movement in agricultural areas.

Children from a farm household have been allowed to attend school tuition-free in an adjacent district provided the household owned at least 40 acres in the neighboring district, and provided the district boundary was less than two miles away. The Legislature has begun to phase out the effect of that law, by making all such transfers depend upon the pattern of land ownership as of January 1, 1978.

c. State law allows school districts to enroll pupils from other districts but prohibits school districts from competing with each other.

A school district may enroll a pupil in another district if it is impractical to keep the pupil in the home district, provided the two districts can agree on a payment for tuition, which is paid by the home district. This approach often is followed in connection with educating handicapped pupils. Parents are permitted to enroll a child in another district, provided they pay whatever tuition is set, irrespective of whether the home district approves. But, while permitting cross-district movement, the law explicitly prohibits school districts from competing with each other for enrollment.

A pupil is assigned to a public school district based on residence. Unless some other arrangement can be worked out, the pupil must attend in the home district. Conceivably, a pupil could move to another district, even though the parents did not move, and live with relatives or friends.

d. A voluntary inter-district transfer program for purposes of desegregation was tried briefly in the early 1970s.

In January 1973, with the help of a \$50,000 grant

from the state, seven suburban white students began attending a racially-mixed school in Minneapolis. Three came from Saint Louis Park, two from Edina, one from Eden Prairie and one from Maple Plain. The state funds were used to defray tuition and transportation expenses. The program was discontinued after a short time. Prior to the beginning of the voluntary program, the superintendent of schools in Minneapolis had proposed mandatory two-way transfers with suburban schools for desegregation.

e. Wisconsin and Massachusetts have laws that promote inter-district desegregation.

The Wisconsin law promotes inter-district transfers through incentives both to the sending district and the receiving district. The losing district is entitled to count the student for state aid purposes as if the student were enrolled in that district. In the 1978-79 school year approximately 800 Milwaukee pupils transferred to the suburbs and 150 suburban pupils transferred to Milwaukee.⁸ Massachusetts law promotes metropolitan remedies through an extensive system of magnet schools.⁹ About 3,700 students from Boston and the suburbs were involved in voluntary magnet programs in 1977-78. In addition an inter-district transfer program has been in operation in the Boston area for about ten years, according to the National Task Force on Desegregation Strategies.¹⁰

f. Some metropolitan desegregation programs are in effect elsewhere in the nation.

In September 1978 the city school district of Wilmington, Delaware, merged with ten suburban school districts in a court-ordered plan that ended 22 years of litigation, according to a recent status report on desegregation prepared by the US Commission on Civil Rights. That same report said that ten of the fifty largest school systems in the nation were operating under court-ordered metropolitan desegregation plans: Charlotte, Las Vegas, Louisville, Nashville, Clearwater (Florida), Ft. Lauderdale, Jacksonville, Miami, Orlando, and Tampa. Most of these already were county-wide school systems. Apparently, in all of these cases, school districts actually were consolidated. We are unaware of any mandatory metropolitan desegregation effort which is carried out without reorganization of the school districts involved.

g. Some programs are designed to affect the locations people pick for their residences in the first place.

Public hearings in Minneapolis were held in the summer

of 1979 on a comprehensive plan for the city that is designed explicitly to stabilize population of the city and to make more housing available for households with children present. Similar goals exist in Saint Paul. If these programs are successful, more majority group households would choose to live in these cities. In an effort to disperse low-income population throughout the region, the Metropolitan Council for the last several years has been giving priority attention to providing subsidies for low and moderate income households in the suburbs.

D. BUT QUALITY EDUCATION REMAINS UPPERMOST IN THE MINDS OF PARENTS.

1. A COMMON COMPLAINT OF MINORITY PARENTS IS THAT THEIR CHILDREN HAVE NOT BEEN RECEIVING AN IMPROVED QUALITY OF EDUCATION.

Desegregation was ordered by the US Supreme Court to improve equality of educational opportunity for minorities. Although technically that is not the same as improving the quality of education, minorities justifiably saw desegregation as a route to a better quality of education. We were told repeatedly that minorities are deeply disappointed with the results. It may be that parental expectations were too high, that teachers' and administrators' expectations were not high enough, or that results have not been interpreted correctly. But the point is inescapable that a substantial portion of the minority community today is dissatisfied with the education their children are receiving.

Many minorities, particularly Blacks, have not been opposed to transporting their children out of their own neighborhood schools because they expected that the chances for quality education would be enhanced in schools with substantial numbers of white pupils.

The minorities also have recognized, and appreciated, the benefits to members of the white majority in learning inter-racial respect and understanding.

But for many of them, their patience is coming to an end. They no longer are accepting whatever educational environment to which they are assigned. The improvement they expected in quality of education doesn't seem to have happened. Some concerns are unique to minorities: a feeling that some teachers may not expect as much learning from minority pupils as from majority pupils, or a feeling that the curriculum fails to recognize the needs of minorities. Other concerns are common to majority and minority parents: a feeling by some that children aren't mastering

essential skills, or a feeling that too many children are automatically promoted from grade to grade.

The Urban Coalition of Minneapolis recently criticized the public schools for "not effectively educating poor and non-white students." The Urban Coalition called for (a) more attention to the basic skills of reading, writing and mathematics, (b) systematic evaluation of teachers, principals and administrators, and (c) a management-by-objective model of educational planning and evaluation to hold the school system accountable to the community for the provision of quality education to all students.¹¹

In addition, members of the minority community believe that quality education includes a concern for developing and maintaining racial identity and ethnic pride. Because of a lack of role models due to the small numbers of minority staff, because of pupil reassignment practices, and because of some perceived indifference to curriculum modification, several minority groups feel schools fail to develop cultural pride in their children.

2. SOME STUDIES REVEAL EDUCATIONAL GAINS MADE BY BLACKS.

The number of Blacks age 18 to 24 who left high school without graduating fell from 35% in 1967 to 24% in 1977, according to a recent Census Bureau Survey reported by US News and World Report.¹² In the same period, the survey showed, the dropout rate for whites went down from 18% to 15%. The number of Blacks in colleges is now about 11% of the nation's college enrollment, a proportion that nearly equals the proportion of Blacks in the total population, 12%. The Census Bureau found that in 1977, 10% of all Black students age 16 and 17 were at least two years behind the proper grade for their age. A decade earlier, 18% were behind the norm.

A 1978 Brookings Institution report mentioned the results of some studies which seem to indicate progress by Blacks. The author of the report, Gary Orfield, said the progress cannot now be linked directly to desegregation but eventually may be.¹³ One study cited was by the National Assessment of Educational Progress, in 1978, which indicated young southern Blacks were making stronger relative progress in reading and science than either whites or Blacks in other regions. The study showed that the southern Blacks had a 2.8% gain in science achievement while northern Blacks declined 3.5%; whites also declined. Blacks performed best in schools with large white majorities, according to the report. The report on reading showed that almost all the national gains in primary school reading levels during 1971-75 took place in the South, where the scores

of young Black students rose four times as fast as those of whites, substantially shrinking the Black-white achievement gap.¹⁴ The Brookings report also mentioned a 1977 report prepared for the National Review Panel on School Desegregation Research, which found consistent and substantial education gains when desegregation had existed since the first grade, a finding which, if confirmed, Orfield said, "could have major policy implications."¹⁵

3. OTHER STUDIES CLAIM DESEGREGATION HAS NOT CONTRIBUTED TO AN IMPROVEMENT IN QUALITY OF EDUCATION.

No widespread gains in achievement, some slight gains, no gains, and some slight losses were reported by sociologist James S. Coleman in 1978 following a wide-ranging review of the effects of desegregation on Black achievement.¹⁶ "No longer should we look solely, or even primarily, to racial balance in the schools as a solution to inequality of educational opportunity," Coleman said. A decade earlier Coleman had headed a group of scholars who produced a report for the US Office of Education which found that children from disadvantaged backgrounds perform better when they attend school with children from more affluent homes. Because of that study, Coleman had argued that desegregation would bring about achievement benefits.

Research on achievement levels after desegregation is inconclusive, according to Clifford P. Hooker, professor of educational administration, University of Minnesota, an author of several books and articles on desegregation and a witness in several court cases concerning desegregation.¹⁷

4. WHITES MAY NOT BE AFFECTED ACADEMICALLY BUT ATTITUDES ARE IMPROVED.

The desegregation process itself has little if any effect on the academic success of white students, as measured by achievement test scores, according to the 1978 Brookings report.¹⁸ "Researchers operating from very different scholarly and ideological starting points support this general finding," said Gary Orfield, author of the report. "Unlike research on other vexing social policy questions, these data present almost a model of consensus." Orfield said that racial attitudes are improved when there is strong leadership by the principal and teachers in a school. He cited studies which illustrated that improvement in attitude was closely related to the number of years a student had attended an integrated school.

E. WHILE IT ISN'T DIFFICULT FOR PEOPLE TO REACH GENERAL AGREEMENT ON THE NECESSARY INGREDIENTS OF QUALITY EDUCATION, THERE IS LITTLE CONSENSUS ON HOW TO REACH THAT GOAL.

A common list of prescriptions for quality education is likely to include one or more of the following:

- More teachers' meetings with parents.
- More in-service training for teachers.
- Changes in curriculum, such as adding or deleting courses or changing texts or other teaching materials.
- More accountability by the teachers for the performance of their pupils.
- Changes in grading procedures.
- More attention to individual needs of pupils.
- More community involvement in decision-making.
- Better discipline.

Much of the debate centers on what is necessary to accomplish these changes or improvements.

1. ONE APPROACH INVOLVES THE USE OF POLITICAL OR COMMUNITY PRESSURE ON EDUCATORS TO CONDUCT THEIR BUSINESS IN CERTAIN WAYS.

Supporters of certain changes will try to convince the appropriate officials to take action. They may meet with teachers, administrators and school boards. They may form advisory committees. They may seek to pass laws. One result of such efforts is a law passed a few years ago which requires that each school district set up an educational planning, evaluation and reporting (PER) system. Under this approach the weight of public opinion ultimately will determine whether certain steps will be taken by the officials in charge. This approach is a logical part of a system in which the state or its designated administrative officials make most of the decisions about who should attend school and where.

2. A SECOND APPROACH IS CHARACTERIZED BY GIVING MORE MONEY AND AUTHORITY TO SCHOOL OFFICIALS.

This approach is quite popular with the persons directly involved in setting policy, managing and teaching. Their response to concerns about improved quality education may be that more money is needed, to hire staff so class size can be reduced or to increase salaries so more competent personnel can be hired. They also may say that they need to be protected from outside pressures so that they can be free to run the schools in the best professional manner.

3. A THIRD APPROACH INVOLVES SETTING UP A FRAMEWORK IN WHICH EDUCATORS ARE STIMULATED TO BE MORE RESPONSIVE, ON THEIR OWN INITIATIVE.

This approach seeks to establish a framework within which teachers and administrators have a greater incentive to take steps that will improve the quality of education. This approach recognizes that "quality" usually is defined by the person receiving the service. This type of approach stresses giving choices to parents/pupils on the educational environment for children. It assumes that school systems will seek to be more responsive to parents' desires for quality education in order to maintain and increase enrollment and revenues.

There are several areas where a parent or someone else makes a choice affecting the ultimate placement of a pupil in a specific classroom:

- **Whether to attend.** The state requires persons to attend school between the ages of seven and sixteen. Attendance is optional for other age levels.
- **Whether to attend public school or private school.** This choice supposedly is open to everyone, except that for most households a financial incentive is present to attend public school. Or, to put it another way, many households can't afford to send their children to private school. Some private schools make grants available to low income households.
- **Which school system to attend.** Assuming the public school system is selected, the state makes the decision, by requiring attendance in the school system where residence is maintained. A household could elect to attend school in another district, but it would pay tuition, just as if that school district were a private school, unless the district of residence made arrange-

ments to pay the household's tuition. If the household pays the tuition, no state aid is made available either to the sending or the receiving district. If the sending district pays the tuition, then that district can receive the full state aid allotment for that pupil.

- **Which school building to attend.** Each individual school district decides its own policy. The prevailing practice is that the school district assigns each pupil to a building, usually the one nearest home, unless there are other factors involved, such as desegregation or the need for special education. Each school district can decide how much, if any, freedom it gives to individual households in choosing which school buildings their children attend.
- **Which room/teacher to be assigned within a building.** This decision usually is made by the principal in each building. Each school district fully controls its own policy on how pupils should be assigned to a given room/ teacher.
- **Whether a pupil should pass or fail.** This decision traditionally has been thought to rest only with the teacher. Frequently, teachers have been criticized for so-called "social" promotions, that is, moving the pupil to the next grade irrespective of performance. A few school districts have taken the step of leaving the decision on promotion to the parents. The teacher makes a recommendation, along with informing the parent of all relevant data, but the final decision is given to the parent.
- **Which classes a pupil should take.** Generally, a high degree of choice seems to be available for high school pupils throughout the metropolitan area. This, more than any other educational decision, involves a great deal of choice by the pupil. Some persons wonder whether too much choice has been given here, and think that teachers and parents should have more influence.

F. THE IDEA OF MORE CHOICES FOR FAMILIES HAS BEEN BECOMING MORE POPULAR IN THE TWIN CITIES AREA IN RECENT YEARS.

Most of the quality-of-education effort still seems to be concentrated in (1) trying to persuade or mandate educators to undertake certain activities or methods and (2) more spending. The "choices approach" represents a supplement to, rather than a replacement of, the other approaches. Even though options are not too widespread,

there are some significant examples to indicate that the choices approach to quality of education is becoming more popular:

1. MINNEAPOLIS AND SAINT PAUL ALLOW THE MOST CHOICE OF BUILDING.

The Minneapolis and Saint Paul School Districts allow more choice for residents on which building to attend than do other districts in the metropolitan area. Both permit a pupil to attend anywhere in the city, so long as a choice of building doesn't contribute to racial segregation in either the building selected or the building to which the pupil would otherwise have been assigned. Minneapolis and Saint Paul provide elementary schools which offer different educational settings, depending upon preference of the parents/pupils. For example, a parent/pupil in Minneapolis may select one of the following: (a) fundamental, (b) contemporary[traditional], (c) continuous progress, (d) open, and (e) free. Saint Paul has an extensive system of learning centers available to pupils throughout the city.

2. SOME CHOICES ARE PRESENT IN SUBURBAN DISTRICTS TOO.

Several Twin Cities area suburban school districts allow some form of open enrollment among the buildings within their respective boundaries, according to a recent survey conducted by the Educational Cooperative Service Unit, an organization of Twin Cities area school districts.¹⁹ In most cases a special program offered in one school building may be offered to pupils throughout a district. Few, if any, examples exist where a parent must make a conscious

decision on the building to which a child should be assigned.

3. A FEW SUBURBAN DISTRICTS ARE GOING FURTHER, ALLOWING PARENTS TO REQUEST SPECIFIC TEACHERS.

Most districts in the metropolitan area, including Minneapolis and Saint Paul, allow very little, if any, choice of teacher by the parent/pupil. In many cases parents may make requests because of special situations, but it is not widely recognized as being an option. We are aware of two exceptions to the rule. One suburban district in the eastern part of the metropolitan area makes it known, informally, that it welcomes parents' expressing a preference for a given teacher. That system reports that parents' requests are honored in about 80% of the cases. Another suburban district in the western part of the area allows parents/pupils to select teachers, to the extent that the total enrollment in a classroom does not exceed the district-wide average class size for that grade.

4. VOLUNTARY INTER-DISTRICT TRANSFERS ARE RECEIVING SOME CONSIDERATION.

The possibility of pupils from one school district taking some classes in another district or transferring to another district voluntarily was considered in a recent report to the State Commissioner of Education by a metropolitan-wide task force of school board members.²⁰ The report listed voluntary inter-district transfer as one of several methods of inter-district cooperation.

CONCLUSIONS

1. WE CONCUR WITH THE ADOPTED POLICY STATEMENTS ON DESEGREGATION OF THE MINNEAPOLIS AND SAINT PAUL SCHOOL BOARDS AND THE STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION.

While words alone are only a partial test of commitment, these agencies adopted policy statements several years ago which stress that segregation is inconsistent with equality of educational opportunity. Thus, while we may have concerns about specific programs of implementation, we fully agree with the policy objectives. For us, desegregation is an inseparable part of a pupil's education because it gives the child an opportunity to gain experience in real-life situations with persons of other races, thereby promoting the process of integration.

2. PUBLIC ACTIONS WILL CONTINUE TO BE NECESSARY TO SUPPORT NUMERICAL DESEGREGATION IN THIS AREA.

While numerical desegregation has been accomplished, and while it is only part of a larger answer, we believe that it must continue to be supported. Many of us look forward to the day when it no longer will be necessary to take special steps to assure a certain mathematical mix of races in schools. While progress has been made, we believe that day still is some time away.

We know and accept that desegregation involves transportation (the pejorative term is "busing") and that strictly "neighborhood" schools are incompatible with desegregation as long as neighborhoods themselves are segregated. Almost one-half of all children in America ride a bus to school already. With decline in enrollments and shifts in population it is inevitable that the "luxury" of a neighborhood school will be available to fewer and fewer persons, irrespective of desegregation.

3. SCHOOL SYSTEMS MUST MAKE A MORE CONCERTED EFFORT TO ASSURE THAT INTEGRATION TAKES PLACE IN DESEGREGATED SCHOOLS.

- a. School principals and teachers should be held

responsible for the extent to which classes and extra-curricular activities are integrated. Differences in integration between schools may be traceable to the attitude of the principal. Principals should inform their teachers that integration is an important part of their job and that they will be held accountable for what they do or fail to do to facilitate it.

- b. Curricula should be integrated.

- c. Teachers should receive continuing special human relations training concerning the cultures of the minority students in their classes. Without such training desegregation may hurt rather than help students.

- d. Teachers should have the same expectations and make the same demands of minority students that they do for majority students.

- e. Programs such as Saint Paul's learning centers and the distinct alternatives offered in Minneapolis should be encouraged.

4. MORE ATTENTION MUST BE GIVEN TO HIRING MINORITY TEACHERS.

In central city schools, where substantial numbers of minority pupils are present, a continued effort is needed to attract minority teachers, for the benefit of both minority and majority pupils. In suburban schools more minority teachers are needed to provide something of an inter-racial experience for white students.

5. THE USE OF ONLY SENIORITY AS A BASIS FOR DETERMINING THE ORDER OF TEACHER LAY-OFFS AND IN ASSIGNMENT TO SPECIFIC BUILDINGS HAS A DISCRIMINATORY EFFECT.

It is unfair to newly-hired minority teachers and is contrary to affirmative action policy to allow seniority to be the only basis for determining the order of teacher layoffs. It may discourage minority teachers from applying in the first place. We cannot accept a state law on use of seniority

which is the most restrictive in the districts which have the largest minority enrollment and which is not the same for all districts.

Seniority in teacher assignment may leave more inexperienced teachers in schools with the most "problems," if more experienced teachers gravitate to other schools. Younger, more inexperienced teachers may be every bit as capable of dealing with problem youngsters as their more experienced counterparts. But school districts should steer from adopting practices which restrict their ability to assign teachers where they can do the most for pupils, irrespective of their seniority.

We considered the implication of the teacher-tenure law which, while not related to desegregation as such, is controversial in connection with quality of education. We believe administrators and school boards should pursue aggressively all rights they now have under the existing tenure law. If these steps are not satisfactory for removal of unqualified teachers, then it may be necessary to determine whether the tenure law should be changed.

6. THERE IS NO COMPELLING NEED TO CHANGE PRESENT RULES WHICH DON'T EXEMPT MINORITIES FROM DESEGREGATION.

This question is particularly sensitive to American Indians and Hispanics, some of whom object to being counted as minorities for purposes of desegregation. We accept the distinction made by the federal court for schools on Indian reservations, where 100% minority enrollment may be accepted because of the quasi-nation status of reservations. But we are unable to support a change at this time in the already-established system of desegregation, at least as it is applied to the public schools, according to widely accepted minority categories. The categories conform to those established by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. We don't think nationally-consistent categories are necessarily perfect, but we see no compelling need to use some other basis for desegregation, for the following reasons:

- There continues to be a risk that, within the public system, a predominantly-minority school would not receive the same degree of attention, and resources, from a school district controlled by persons from the majority group.
- Allowing separate schools might delay, not hasten, the day when racial identification no longer would be needed. In the long run we look to doing away with

the necessity of pupil assignment based on race. If the public schools were to set aside certain buildings for minority group members, such action would likely harden racial distinctions.

- Desegregated schools benefit minority and majority pupils. It is important for the public schools to provide an educational environment for pupils which is consistent with the idea of a pluralistic society.
- A reason some minorities don't want to be subject to desegregation is their desire for improved quality of education. The issue of quality education is being faced in other ways in this report.

In addition, of course, it is questionable whether separate public schools for minorities are permitted under the constitution, in light of rulings by the federal court.

7. JUGGLING SCHOOL ATTENDANCE BOUNDARIES EACH YEAR PRODUCES TOO MUCH UNCERTAINTY AND INSTABILITY.

It would not be difficult, mathematically, for Minneapolis and Saint Paul to change their school attendance areas each year so that every school is in technical compliance with regulations of the State Board of Education or the federal court. It would satisfy a statistical measurement of desegregation, nothing more. We think such a degree of "perfection," or "purity," in this metropolitan area's approach to desegregation produces too much uncertainty and instability in school systems. They already are forced to redraw attendance areas regularly because of declining enrollment. If changes are made too frequently in boundaries, more households are likely to seek other locations to live or otherwise remove their children from public schools. The pupils, parents, teachers and administrators who remained would become increasingly disillusioned. It is doubly unfortunate when boundary changes are necessitated by growing segregation of residential housing, often financed with public funds.

8. SCHOOL DISTRICT BOUNDARIES SHOULD NOT RESTRICT ARTIFICIALLY THE MOST LOGICAL GEOGRAPHIC AREAS FOR CARRYING OUT DESEGREGATION.

The Twin Cities metropolitan area has many characteristics of being a single "city," in terms of where people live, work, shop and attend school. School district boundaries here are too restrictive. They deny pupils the opportunity

to take advantage of educational programs in neighboring districts. Furthermore, if a household moves, a pupil is required to attend school in the new district of residence, even though the child may prefer to continue in the other district. Even more disturbing, school districts now are prohibited by state law from encouraging non-residents to take advantage of their educational programs.

9. THE TWIN CITIES AREA COMMUNITY MUST ADDRESS THE ISSUE OF QUALITY EDUCATION, ELUSIVE AS THE TERM IS.

We were profoundly affected by the repeated comments to us that *the* issue today is quality of education. We weren't too eager to deal with the issue of quality because the term is so difficult to define. But the concern—in both minorities and majorities—runs very deep.

10. AT THIS TIME A "CHOICES APPROACH" TO THE QUALITY OF EDUCATION ISSUE NEEDS TO BE EMPHASIZED.

The approach recognizes that people's definitions of quality vary. By making choices, people's definitions of quality are made clear.

The various approaches to quality education—political accountability, financing and choices—are not mutually exclusive. All are needed. The choices approach has not received as much attention as the other two.

In education, as in many other fields, the final decisions need to be left to the consumers themselves. Some educators may feel that others do not always choose good quality. The educators should assist consumers in making informed choices through information and persuasion, but educators should not try to force on others their own definitions of quality. This requires a system of schools that offers alternatives and choices reflecting the diversity of family needs and desires. It would empower the disadvantaged to walk away from schools that are not performing and into schools that will offer them what they want, which would give all schools the inducement to deal with tough problems of curriculum change, pupil achievement and teacher evaluation.

Much more attention would be required to providing consumers with information to make informed choices, as well as to get them accustomed to thinking about making choices. Such an opportunity in education is not contemplated today by many consumers.

It is possible that a larger program of choices would produce greater concentrations of minorities than would be permitted by present rules. We can accept this risk with less discomfort than if our community had made no significant progress toward desegregation, generally. The gains likely from a movement toward quality education through choices are worth the risk today—particularly when it is likely that other steps can be taken to avoid abuses.

Some persons might argue that disadvantaged children would suffer under a choices approach, on the assumption that parents of other children are more highly-motivated. Thus, according to this line of thinking, the disadvantaged would receive only "left-overs" after others had made their choices. We reject this argument. If more of a choices approach already were in place, would anyone suggest that someone else make the choices for parents of disadvantaged children? Parents of all types of children will need to learn how to make choices, and errors in judgment probably will occur now and then.

11. A GOOD FOUNDATION ALREADY HAS BEEN LAID IN THE TWIN CITIES AREA FOR FURTHERING THE CHOICES APPROACH.

We are pleased and encouraged to find that the schools in the central cities of the metropolitan area are leaders, in the region and probably in the nation, in moving toward arrangements offering alternatives and choices. This fact often is overlooked in all of the discussion about problems facing these school systems. The work is far from finished. Much more could be done. But the movement is in the right direction: toward choices, and, therefore, toward greater pursuit of varied definitions of quality.

12. THE CHALLENGE, THEREFORE, IS TO DESIGN AN IMPROVED APPROACH STRESSING QUALITY OF EDUCATION AND INTEGRATION.

The initial steps weren't wrong. They were appropriate for the circumstances at the time. Thus, as first steps, they emphasized numerical compliance and compulsion, with educational quality and choice receiving less attention. They stressed desegregation of pupil enrollments as first priority over desegregation of teaching staffs. They covered only those portions of the central cities which were needed to accomplish numerical compliance, rather than an entire school district or the entire urban area. The improved broader approach should try to include:

- A continued commitment to desegregation, working

toward integration.

- More parental choice for quality education.
- More attention to multi-racial teaching staffs.
- More flexibility in geographic scope without being restricted artificially by school district boundaries nor necessarily by interfering with autonomy of local school districts.
- More stability in attendance areas from year to year.
- More flexibility in accommodating desires of minorities

but no exemption for anyone from desegregation.

It isn't possible to carry out desegregation "perfectly," with strict limits on enrollment of pupils of different races in each school, and, simultaneously, to allow families full freedom of choice where to attend. We recognize these conclusions are not fully consistent with each other, but we also believe they are not fundamentally incompatible. We see the necessity of blending these two objectives, with some compromise on either side. Thus we believe desegregation must be maintained, but there can be some flexibility in meeting standards. We also support parental choice, but with some limitations.

RECOMMENDATIONS

1. Except for Recommendation No. 4, to "grandfather" existing pupils in desegregated schools, the State Board of Education should stick with its present regulations and not loosen them further.

2. We recommend that the scope of desegregation in the Twin Cities metropolitan area be enlarged to encompass teaching staffs, through the following specific actions:

a. That the State Board of Education amend its desegregation regulations to require metropolitan area school districts to follow teacher recruiting procedures which will give maximum assurance that minority applicants will be considered.

b. That school districts in the metropolitan area be required to expand their minority sight counts to include the racial composition of all persons interviewed for jobs, in order to measure the extent to which school districts are seeking minority applicants.

c. That the Educational Cooperative Service Unit (ECSU), an organization of metropolitan school districts, sponsor a cooperative recruiting program to help metropolitan area school districts find applicants from varied racial backgrounds. Perhaps ESCU representatives could seek to interest possible applicants from other parts of the nation, bringing them to the Twin Cities area where individual school districts would do the actual interviewing and make their own hiring decisions, as they do now.

d. That the Legislature provide that Minneapolis, Saint Paul and Duluth be protected from having to lay off a disproportionate percentage of minority teachers during times of declining enrollment. This could be accomplished by applying the same law to these three cities which now applies to all other school districts in the state. That law provides that teachers who otherwise would be laid off because of low seniority would be retrained, as necessary, to maintain an affirmative action program.

e. That local school districts avoid giving teachers preference in assignment to school buildings based only

on seniority. Districts should include other factors, too, such as need to balance teaching staffs by age, sex, race, experience and competence.

3. We recommend the following steps to insure that integration takes place in desegregated schools:

a. Each school principal should be required to submit an annual report to the superintendent on what has been done to facilitate integration in the principal's school during the past year and what is planned for the coming year. The report should include the following:

- Information on integration of classes and extra-curricular activities.
- Information on human relations training of individual teachers.

b. Each school system should review its curriculum and should integrate it as necessary.

c. Principals should urge that teachers do make equal demands of majority and minority students, rather than make any assumption that a student's potential has to do with race. Teachers should be required to submit whatever supporting evidence is available—for example, annual student-by-student grade level progress in reading—to assure that equal demands are being placed on all students.

4. To avoid a situation where school districts are required to reassign pupils year after year only to meet desegregation quotas, we recommend that regulations of the State Board of Education allow school districts to "grandfather" pupils in buildings, once these buildings are in compliance with allowable minority percentages. This means that once assigned to a desegregated building a pupil would not be reassigned to another building to meet desegregation quotas. As pupils progress from grade to grade the minority percentage for these grades might go higher than otherwise allowable. Limits would be enforced strictly at the entry level grade for that building each year,

except that brothers and sisters of grandfathered pupils would be grandfathered, too.

5. To give majority and minority households more opportunity to choose from *among* school systems and to help support desegregation through voluntary—not just compulsory—movement, we recommend:

a. That the Legislature remove, at least in the metropolitan area, the existing prohibition in state law that school districts may not compete with each other for students. This would make it possible for all school districts to encourage non-residents to take advantage of their programs, full-time or part of a day, week or year.

b. That the Legislature permit tuition-free, inter-district transfers to the extent that the number of pupils entering a district are the same as the number from that district who choose to attend school in other districts. Such groups as the Educational Cooperative Service Unit (ECSU) might be assigned to handle details, including the establishment of deadlines for applications and the balancing of in and out movements for every district. Equal movement in both directions would not affect any district's financial situation and, therefore, would not necessarily require any change in payment of state aids. It would be essential that such movement enhance, or at a minimum maintain racial balance in the sending and receiving schools. Appropriate records should be kept of the number of pupils who seek such transfers but are turned down because of lack of transfers from other districts. This will provide the necessary data to evaluate whether a more extensive inter-district program would be desirable.

c. That a private foundation or the Legislature provide a limited number of grants, allocated by lot, but available only to economically disadvantaged pupils, for tuition at whatever school they desire,

public or private. (A person may be required to pay tuition in a public school other than one of residence.) Institutions choosing to participate would be required to accept whomever applies under such a program. The grants might come exclusively from public or private sources or some combination thereof.

d. That the Legislature make it possible for youths who have no desire to remain in school to take advantage of alternative environments. We challenge businesses and unions to devise alternatives that would attract these youths. The assumption is that after being in such environments for a time these young people would then have an interest in returning to the school system.

6. To enlarge the influence of majority and minority households in educational decisions affecting their children *within* a given school system and to help support desegregation through voluntary—not just compulsory—movement, we recommend:

a. That school districts guarantee the rights of parents to request placement of their children in specific school buildings and, if a request is denied, that school districts be required to explain why.

b. That individual school districts guarantee that parents have the right to request that their children be assigned to certain teachers in a school building and, if a request is denied, that school officials be required to explain why.

c. That to avoid so-called "social" promotions from grade to grade, teachers be required to advise parents of the reasons why a pupil should be promoted, but that parents be permitted to make the final decision.

d. That school districts require a parental agreement on choices by pupils of elective courses.

DISCUSSION OF RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this section is to anticipate questions which might arise in readers' minds as they read the recommendations.

1. Were other possibilities for cross-district movement of pupils considered?

Yes. We ultimately decided to recommend a fairly limited approach to cross-district movement, that the number of pupils leaving a district equal the number coming in. We considered, but rejected, freedom for all pupils to select whatever public school district in the metropolitan area they want without regard to whether districts gain or lose enrollment. It seemed better to us to take some small steps at the outset, without jeopardizing staffing or financing of a given district. We don't yet know the extent of potential interest in cross-district movement. If many more pupils desire to change districts than can be accommodated by a provision which requires equal movement in and out, then it would be necessary to grapple with the more difficult questions of adjustments for districts which gain or lose enrollment.

Another possibility is reorganization of school district boundaries in the metropolitan area, perhaps combining some districts and splitting others. A variation of such an approach might be to leave boundaries alone but require that pupils be reassigned to certain schools. These kinds of solutions usually are suggested as ways to accomplish desegregation throughout the metropolitan area. But they are incompatible with the overall thrust of this report, which stresses more choices for parents/pupils instead of mandatory assignment. Moreover, they are more drastic solutions than seem to be warranted by the statistics on racial composition of pupils in the Twin Cities area.

2. Why are non-school options being suggested for some youths?

We are recommending that some youths who have no desire to remain in school be given opportunities in other settings in the world of work. Such persons might now be simply "serving time," doing neither themselves nor the school

system any good.

We'd like to see labor unions and businesses challenged to provide environments which would make the youth more productive and, hopefully, be inclined to return to school and seek graduation later on.

Another benefit is that school districts might be stimulated to make extra efforts to provide a learning environment which is more attuned to the needs of potential dropouts. So long as students are "captives" of the system, the enrollment and financing of school districts are guaranteed. If attendance were less certain, this might set up incentives for school districts to make special efforts to provide programs that would entice pupils to remain, thereby benefitting the district and its pupils.

3. What is the nature of the "choices approach" recommended in this report?

Several recommendations are directed at the idea of broadening the rights of parents/pupils to select their own educational environments:

On whether to attend school, the report does not take the radical step of suggesting that compulsory attendance be repealed, but it does suggest a relaxation of the requirement for teenagers who might be better served in different environments.

On whether to attend private school or public school, we recommend a limited program, available only to some economically disadvantaged pupils, which would give them the economic power to select the schools of their choice.

On whether pupils should be assigned automatically to the public school district of residence, we are recommending that barriers be lowered, but not removed, between and among districts. We would allow districts in the metropolitan area to compete with each other for students. Students would be allowed to attend schools in other districts, tuition-free, provided that equal numbers of students moved in both directions and provided that such movements would not add to racial segregation.

On which school building to attend, we propose a relatively modest change—one which may be in effect already in many locations—that parents be informed that they have the right to request placement of their children in specific school buildings and be entitled to a reason if a request is denied. One other recommendation addresses a different dimension of this issue—whether pupils in desegregated schools should be reassigned from year to year for purposes of maintaining desegregation. We are recommending that school districts be allowed to “grandfather” pupils in buildings, once these buildings are in compliance with allowable percentages.

On which room/teacher a pupil should be assigned, we also propose a modest change which is in effect in at least one district. Individual school districts should let parents know that asking for a specific room/teacher is a normal and acceptable procedure.

On which grade level a pupil should be assigned, we would also enlarge the role of parents by requiring their approval for a child to be promoted from one grade to the next. This is designed to avoid so-called “social” promotions. We would not, however, give parents the right to overrule a teacher who decided to hold back a pupil.

On which elective courses a pupil in junior or senior high school should take, we would enlarge the role of parents by requiring a parental agreement on these courses. This would have the effect of limiting some of the choice now available to pupils.

4. If a ‘choices’ strategy would best stimulate movement toward the objective of quality education, why didn’t the report recommend starting now toward a full-scale voucher system?

The committee was, of course, aware of this idea, and of the fact that it has been proposed in a number of states. We did consider, for the Twin Cities area, a plan which might have run along the following lines:

- Pupils would attend school where they choose. If applications exceed available space, selection would be made by lot.
- Public funds would follow the pupils, wherever the pupil chose to enroll in school.
- A grant for each child would be set by the Legislature

and provided to children on an equal basis for equal circumstances. The amount of the grant would be higher for children with special needs, such as visually handicapped or economically disadvantaged. The grant would be paid to the public or private school system where the pupil is enrolled.

- Schools which choose to participate would not be permitted to charge tuition except in the form of a second voucher which parents could purchase from the state, with the price set according to a family’s ability to pay. This would allow all families with high educational aspirations to do something more for their children.
- The expenses of transportation would be allowed within a reasonable distance.
- As deemed necessary, limits on minority enrollment in any school could be imposed.

The committee, in its report to the Board, proposed that the Citizens League undertake a full-scale study of a fairly comprehensive voucher program.

The Board has some sympathy for this idea. In the light of the changing situation in education, some fairly dramatic changes in the traditional format of schools might be appropriate, and certainly might appropriately be considered. For this, a study and recommendation by the Citizens League could be important.

The sense of the Board was, however, that the Citizens League is putting before the community, and before the educational profession, in this present report, a substantial agenda for action; and that the question of a study of the voucher idea ought to be held, while discussion proceeds on the immediate recommendations. It should be an item raised for consideration, as the CL regularly reviews items that might become a part of its annual study program.

5. In areas where the choices approach may conflict with desegregation, which objective will take precedence?

In the next few years, probably desegregation will take precedence, but out of necessity, not by design. In the long term, we would like to see the issue of color diminish in importance. A system of choices, fully operable, would bring pupils together in the same system, building and room for reasons other than color of skin. We believe a great deal

of natural desegregation will occur in that process. Moreover, in a system of choices, we also might expect that precise racial balancing isn't as important as it once was. But in the short run, we are limiting the choices approach and sticking with the desegregation regulations. Thus we were unable to support, now, a full-fledged freedom-of-choice approach, where it would conflict with the principle of desegregation.

6. *How does "grandfathering" relate to "controlled enrollment?"*

The concepts are closely related, but they are not the same.

We are recommending that once a school is in compliance with desegregation regulations that the pupils in that school would not be reassigned to another building to meet desegregation quotas. They would be "grandfathered" in their buildings, once desegregated.

"Controlled enrollment" is being used by the Minneapolis Public Schools in locations where minority percentages are very close to the limits allowed by the federal court. Pupils who were in a controlled enrollment school the previous year are allowed to remain or be "grandfathered." If new pupils in the attendance area would throw a controlled enrollment school out of balance, those pupils are diverted to other schools.

The difference between the two concepts is that under our proposal, pupils still would be grandfathered if school attendance area boundaries are changed, while the controlled enrollment approach does not protect pupils from being moved because of changes in boundaries. It would not be possible under either approach to protect pupils from being moved if their school is closed.

7. *How does the report speak to economic segregation?*

As a policy matter we feel it is important that pupils not be segregated by economic class. Segregation by income may have the effect of concentrating low achievers in a few schools. That, in turn, denies opportunity to the low achievers. Pupils performing at grade level or lower perform better when they are in a school with more high achievers, according to a study conducted by economists Anita Summers and Barbara Wolfe, summarized by the Institute for Research on Poverty, University of Wisconsin.

Our recommendations on widening the opportunities for

choice would further the goal of reducing economic segregation. One of our proposals, a limited voucher, would be available only to economically disadvantaged youth. We do not believe that a compulsory approach to correcting economic segregation is desirable.

8. *How does the report address the issue of ability and performance of teaching staffs?*

Our recommendations for change in seniority laws concern the issue of desegregation of teaching staffs, not the issues of ability and performance of teachers. We are recommending that school systems be protected from having to lay off a disproportionate number of minority teachers when enrollment declines. Our recommendation would modify, but not repeal, existing state laws which require teachers be laid off in inverse order of seniority. According to our proposal, school districts would follow the seniority provision except where such an action would reduce the proportion of minority teachers in the school system. On the issue of assignment to school buildings, we are urging that school districts use other factors besides seniority, such as the need to balance teaching staffs by age, sex, race, experience and competence.

Some persons believe other changes in seniority and tenure should be considered in light of the impact of such laws on ability and performance of teaching staffs, irrespective of race. In a sense, seniority and tenure are opposite sides of the same coin. Seniority laws affect a school board's freedom in deciding which teachers should be retained. Tenure laws affect a school board's freedom in deciding which teachers should be dismissed.

School districts should evaluate the relationship between these laws and the districts' efforts to attract and retain qualified teachers. They should make whatever changes are deemed necessary to make the system work better under the existing laws or seek additional authority if they feel their existing authority is not adequate. If all other efforts fail, a change in the laws may be needed.

9. *Are the report's recommendations assumed to be carried out within the framework of the existing public school system?*

Yes. A recommendation by the research committee which called for a separate demonstration school in quality integrated education was not adopted by the board of directors.

The committee in its report to the board, recommended a demonstration school to give pupils, parents, teachers and administrators the opportunity to be part of a school giving special attention to quality integrated education without the organizational or structural restrictions of existing school systems. The school, which was proposed to serve the entire seven-county metropolitan area, would have a wholly voluntary enrollment. It would be designed to develop and promote the best in integrated education, including curriculum materials, teaching techniques, interpersonal relationships and respect and understanding among persons of all races. It would be a demonstration about teacher/administrator relationships and teacher/parent relationships as well as student/student or teacher/student relationships. The school would be sponsored by some public entity: the study committee did not make a specific recommendation. It was expected that there would be the fullest possible consideration of non-traditional forms,

including the possibility of a new kind of school in which teachers hire administrators. In serving the entire metropolitan area, the school would be the only one of its kind geographically. There are several examples of demonstration schools within existing school districts: for example, the Webster Elementary School in Saint Paul.

The Board deleted the recommendation. During the Board debate some members feared that such a school would draw resources away from the regular school classroom situation, attract children of highly-motivated parents and leave out underprivileged children. In effect, the school might benefit the children who need it the least, they argued. Parents of children who attend the demonstration school might show less interest in the regular public schools, thereby reducing pressure to maintain quality in those schools, some members said.

FOOTNOTES

¹Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, (Harper and Row, 1944, 1962), p. lxxv.

²*Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 US 483 (1954).

³*Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders*, (Bantam, 1968), p. vii.

⁴*Booker v. Special School District No. 1*, 351 F. Supp. 799 (D. Minn., 1972).

⁵*Minneapolis Tribune*, August 28, 1978.

⁶US Department of Health, Education and Welfare, *The Condition of Education*, (1979), p. 56.

⁷*Milliken v. Bradley*, 418 US 717 (1974).

⁸ *Wisconsin Voluntary Inter-District Transfer Program*. Milwaukee Public Schools, June 1978.

⁹US Commission on Civil Rights, *Desegregation of the Nation's Public Schools: A Status Report*, February 1979, p. 27.

¹⁰National Task Force on Desegregation Strategies, *Metropolitan School Desegregation*, March 1979, p. 23-4.

¹¹Report of the Education Task Force of the Urban Coalition of Minneapolis, *Quality Education for All*, May 29, 1979.

¹²*US News and World Report*, May 14, 1979, p. 51.

¹³Gary Orfield, *Must We Bus? Segregated Schools and National Policy*, (Brookings Institution, 1978), p. 126.

¹⁴*Ibid.*

¹⁵*Ibid.*

¹⁶James S. Coleman, "Can we Integrate Our Public Schools Without Busing?" *Chicago Tribune*, September 17, 1978.

¹⁷Citizens League, minutes of School Desegregation Committee, January 2, 1979.

¹⁸Orfield, *Op. cit.*, p. 124.

¹⁹Educational Cooperative Service Unit, letter to Citizens League, July 17, 1978.

²⁰Region XI Educational Planning Task Force, *The Areawide Plan of the Twin Cities Metropolitan Area*, p. IV-31.

BACKGROUND ON PREPARATION OF CITIZENS LEAGUE REPORTS

Each year the Citizens League Board of Directors adopts a research program with about six study topics. The Board makes its selection following a recommendation from its Program Committee, a standing committee of the Board. The Program Committee spends about four months in trimming a list of possible projects, which may have as many as 200 possibilities at the outset.

Under the League process, the Board submits an assignment to a committee made up of members of the Citizens League who have been given the opportunity to participate through an announcement in the League's bi-weekly newsletter. The Board approves membership on all committees and appoints the chairman.

The committee then goes to work and, after a period of six months to a year, submits a report with background, findings, conclusions and recommendations to the Board of Directors.

A period of time after the committee has begun meeting, but before it has reached its conclusions and recommenda-

tions, the Board of Directors names a panel of about the Board. That panel meets with the study committee chairman and committee members to review how the committee is progressing and to raise questions which might subsequently be raised at the Board level. The Board panel may submit a list of questions for consideration by the Board when the committee's report is submitted.

Under the League's constitution and by-laws, the Board approves all League reports and position papers before they become official League policy and are released to the public. The Board may take whatever action on the report it deems desirable, including approval, modification or rejection. Once a report is approved by the Board, it becomes the full responsibility of the Board as official policy of the Citizens League.

The study committee officially disbands when the report is acted on by the Board. The chairman and others from the committee frequently are asked to help explain the report to the community.

CHARGE TO SCHOOL DESEGREGATION COMMITTEE

ASSIGNMENT

The committee shall have the broad general assignment of recommending a school desegregation policy for the Twin Cities area in coming years. As part of its assignment, it shall address the following issues:

* Whether the goals of desegregation are or should be changing. The most frequently expressed goals are (a) improving the education of minority youth and (b) improving mutual understanding, respect and interaction between majority and minority groups. Which goal was predominant when desegregation was first undertaken? Which should be predominant today?

* Whether the definition of a minority race is or should be changing. Is desegregation essentially a Black-white issue or does it apply to all racial groupings?

* Whether desegregation should continue to apply only to racial groupings or whether it should be expanded to include socio-economic groupings, too.

* Whether desegregation should be binding on affected majority and minority groups or whether some minority groups should have the right not to be included.

* Whether desegregation should be confined to the boundaries of existing school districts or whether neighboring districts should be a part of any solution.

* Whether unplanned consequences, such as deterioration of neighborhoods or the core cities, have occurred or are likely to occur in the future. If so, which value should take precedence, desegregation or community preservation?

PROCEDURES

The committee shall begin by reviewing the original purposes of desegregation of Twin Cities area schools, and

actions which were taken. In connection with this first step it is essential that the committee become familiar with relevant background information:

(a) Actions by the Legislature, the State Board of Education, local school districts, the federal government, and the courts.

(b) Similarities and differences between the desegregation programs in Saint Paul and Minneapolis.

(c) Changes in the educational system which have been taking place separate from, but which may have impacted upon, desegregation, including the physical plant and modes of teaching, such as alternative schools and magnet schools.

Second, the committee shall review the data on the number of school-age persons by residential location in the Twin Cities area, by income, racial and ethnic groupings, including both past trends and projections for the next several years. It shall review school attendance patterns by income, racial and ethnic groupings, with particular emphasis on the mix of these groupings within entire school districts, within school buildings and within individual classrooms. It shall review changes in pupil achievement and the connection, if any with desegregation.

The committee shall review information concerning the degree of racial understanding, respect and interaction in the Twin Cities metropolitan area and the role of desegregation in these respects.

The committee shall review changes in housing patterns and the likely impact, if any, which desegregation may have had on these patterns.

The committee shall consult broadly with persons in the community about the impact, intended and otherwise, of desegregation policy. The committee shall try to determine general community attitudes towards the success of desegregation and whether the original objectives remain valid today.

COMMITTEE MEMBERSHIP

The original roster of the committee included 48 persons, of whom thirty actually attended meetings. Some dropped off during the year. In the end, seventeen members participated in the deliberations:

Gordon Stephenson, chairman	
Elizabeth Archie	Maxine Nathanson
Wallys Conhaim	Michael Peroz
Br. Theodore R. Drahmann	Beverly Propes
Holly Frost	William Quinn
Jerome L. Getz	Sandra Roe
Linda Lee Jean	Chester Sorensen
Charles P. Lutz	Dorothy Suomala
Sam Myers	Judith Weir

One member, Janis H. Sarles, was active early in the deliberations but moved out of town and was not present for the recommendations.

The committee was assisted by Paula Ballanger, Karen Peterson, Donna Keller, Margo Stark (resigned March 1979), Hertha Lutz and Paul A. Gilje of the Citizens League staff.

COMMITTEE PROCEDURES

The committee began its work January 2, 1979, and held its final meeting October 30, 1979, when the report was approved for submission to the Citizens League Board of Directors. A total of 39 meetings were held during this time. The committee rotated its meeting locations between Saint Paul and Minneapolis for the convenience of members and resource persons. A limited number of copies of minutes of meetings and background materials are available on request from the Citizens League office.

During the first several months of activity, the committee met with parents, teachers, administrators, school board members, students, community leaders and academicians. In late spring the committee began working on background papers which provided factual material plus a description of issues in controversy. Through the summer and into the fall the committee debated conclusions and recommendations and finally, the full report, which went through several drafts.

About seventy resource persons provided valuable assistance to the committee, either by meeting personally with the committee or in informal contacts outside the regular committee meetings. The committee is deeply grateful for their help. An asterisk (*) before a name indicates that the person did not meet with the committee but provided informal assistance outside the regular committee meetings. Titles of some persons may have changed since they met with the committee.

Ray Arveson, superintendent, Minneapolis Public Schools
Emery Barrette, chairman, Saint Paul Board of Education
Mel Bates, teacher, Edison High School
Jan Berg, teacher, North Star School
***Kenneth Berg**, deputy superintendent, Saint Paul Public Schools
Charles W. Breese, president, Saint Paul NAACP
Robert D. Burke, director of research and planning, Catholic Education Center
Oliver Byrum, director, Minneapolis Planning Department
Rosilyn Carroll, member, Saint Paul Board of Education
***Howard Casmev**, commissioner, State Department of Education

Mabel Cason, assistant director of personnel, Saint Paul Public Schools
Norman Coleman, special assistant attorney general
John Coons, professor, University of California
Carrie Day, graduate, The City, Inc.
Gilbert DeLaO, youth worker, Neighborhood House
Ken Ford, Saint Paul Planning Department
Sister Pauline Fritz, principal, St. Matthew's Catholic School
Sister Giovanni, director, Guadalupe Area Project
Mary Lou and Carl Grahek, parents
Julie Grahek, student
Katrina Green, urban affairs department, Saint Paul Public Schools
***Richard Green**, west area superintendent, Minneapolis Public Schools
Howard Guthmann, member, Saint Paul Board of Education, 1968-1976
George Hage, plaintiff, original Minneapolis desegregation lawsuit
***Archie Holmes**, director, equal opportunities section, State Department of Education
Carl Holmstrom, director, elementary education, North Saint Paul-Maplewood School System
Cliff Hooker, professor, educational administration, University of Minnesota
***Vernon Indehar**, deputy superintendent, Minneapolis Public Schools
***Randall Johnson**, director, school district organization, State Department of Education
Michael Jones, co-chairman, Saint Paul Integration Review Committee
Duane Krohnke, legal counsel for Minneapolis Board of Education
Raymond Kroll, director, transportation services, Minneapolis Public Schools
***Ralph Lieber**, superintendent, Edina Public Schools
Carol Lind, member, Minneapolis Board of Education
Roger Mahn, dropout prevention project, Minneapolis Public Schools
***Gerald Mansergh**, executive director, Educational Cooperative Service Unit

Elaine Martin, adult education director, Heart of the Earth Survival School
Jack Mason, member, Minneapolis Board of Education
Geoffrey M. Maruyama, assistant professor, University of Minnesota
Charles McKissack, teacher, Webster Elementary School
Katie McWatt, Saint Paul Urban League
Roberta Megard, co-chairman, Saint Paul Integration Review Committee
Brenda Monchamp, parent
Michael Munson, research program manager, Metropolitan Council
David Nasby, director, The City, Inc.
Ken Nelson, state representative
***Lloyd Nielsen**, superintendent, Roseville Public Schools
James O'Brien, director, Heart of the Earth Survival School
***Alan Ostendorf**, superintendent, Columbia Heights Public Schools
John Poupart, activist
David Rampp, teacher, Jordan Junior High School
F. Thomas Randall, research coordinator, Minneapolis Public Schools
August Rivera, director, information services, Minneapolis

Public Schools
Antonio Salinis, elementary-secondary education director, Heart of the Earth Survival School
Belle Scott, parent
Peter and Russell Scott, students
Rev. Douglas Simpson, Saint Paul Ministerial Alliance
Robert Sloan, parent
Louis Smerling, member, State Board of Education
Kathy Tarnowski, education chair, Saint Paul League of Women Voters
***Von Valetta**, deputy commissioner, State Department of Education
Karen Weaver, legal assistant
Eleanor Weber, member, Saint Paul Board of Education
Ken Webster, community activist
Rufus Webster, director, intergroup education, Minneapolis Public Schools
Van White, member, Willard-Homewood Organization
T. Williams, state ombudsman for corrections
William Wilson, commissioner, Minnesota Department of Human Rights
***George Young**, superintendent, Saint Paul Public Schools

WHAT THE CITIZENS LEAGUE IS

Formed in 1952. The Citizens League is an independent, nonpartisan, nonprofit, educational corporation dedicated to understanding and helping to solve complex public problems of our metropolitan area.

Volunteer research committees of the Citizens League develop recommendations for solutions after months of intensive work.

Over the years, the League's research reports have been among the most helpful and reliable sources of information for governmental and civic leaders, and others concerned with the problems of our area.

The League is supported by membership dues of individual members and membership contributions from businesses, foundations and other organizations throughout the metropolitan area.

You are invited to join the League, or, if already a member, invite a friend to join. An application blank is provided for your convenience on the reverse side.

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Frank Walters

*John W. Windhorst

*Deceased

WHAT THE CITIZENS LEAGUE DOES

RESEARCH PROGRAM

- Four major studies are in progress regularly.
- Each committee works 2½ hours per week, normally for 6-10 months.
- Annually over 250 resource persons made presentations to an average of 25 members per session.
- A fulltime professional staff of seven provides direct committee assistance.
- An average in excess of 100 persons follow committee hearings with summary minutes prepared by staff.
- Full reports (normally 40-75 pages) are distributed to 1,000-2,000 persons, in addition to 3,000 summaries provided through the CL NEWS.

CL NEWS

- Four pages; published every other week; mailed to all members.
- Reports activities of the Citizens League, meetings, publications, studies in progress, pending appointments.
- Analysis, data and general background information on public affairs issues in the Twin Cities metropolitan area.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS ACTION PROGRAM

- Members of League study committees have been called on frequently to pursue the work further with governmental or nongovernmental agencies.
- The League routinely follows up on its reports to transfer, out to the larger group of persons involved in public life, an understanding of current community problems and League solutions.

COMMUNITY LEADERSHIP BREAKFASTS

- Held from September through May at 7:30 - 8:30 a.m.
- Minneapolis breakfasts are held each Tuesday at the Grain Exchange Cafeteria.
- Saint Paul Breakfasts are held every other Thursday at the Pilot House Restaurant in the First National Bank Building.
- South Suburban breakfasts are held the last Friday of each month at the Northwestern Financial Center Cafeteria, Bloomington.
- An average of 35 persons attend each of the 64 breakfasts each year.
- The breakfast programs attract news coverage in the daily press, television and radio.

QUESTION-AND-ANSWER LUNCHEONS

- Feature national or local authorities, who respond to questions from a panel on key public policy issues.
- Each year several Q & A luncheons are held throughout the metropolitan area.

PUBLIC AFFAIRS DIRECTORY

- A directory is prepared following even-year general elections and distributed to the membership.

INFORMATION ASSISTANCE

- The League responds to many requests for information and provides speakers to community groups on topics studied.

Citizens League non-partisan public affairs research and education in the St. Paul
Minneapolis metropolitan area. **84 S. 6th St., Minneapolis, Mn. 55402 (612) 338-0791**

Application for Membership (C.L. Membership Contributions are tax deductible)

Please check one: ☐ Individual (\$20) ☐ Family (\$30) ☐ Contributing (\$35-\$99) ☐ Sustaining (\$100 and up)
Send mail to: ☐ home ☐ office ☐ Fulltime Student (\$10)

NAME/TELEPHONE

ADDRESS

CITY/STATE/ZIP

EMPLOYER/TELEPHONE

POSITION

EMPLOYER'S ADDRESS

CL Membership suggested by

(If family membership, please fill in the following.)

SPOUSE'S NAME

SPOUSE'S EMPLOYER/TELEPHONE

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