The Unraveling of the American Dream

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- Climate Variability and the Productivity of Barley and Oats in Minnesota
- Increasing Participation in the 2010 U.S. Census in Minneapolis
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Based in large part on the increased availability of new mortgage products that were often aggressively marketed to minority households, a generally healthy economy, and government policies that encouraged homeownership, a substantial number of Black, Hispanic, and foreign-born households became homeowners in the last 15 years. As a result, the homeownership rates for these demographic groups rose dramatically in a relatively short period of time. For example, the Joint Center for Housing Studies at Harvard University has reported that Black households increased their homeownership rate from 42.5% in 1994 to 47.8% in 2007, and Hispanics increased their homeownership rate from 41.2% to 49.7% over the same period. According to a report by the Pew Hispanic Center, the foreign-born homeownership rate increased from 46.5% in 1995 to 53.3% in 2006.

Researchers and policy makers have an acute concern that racial and ethnic minority households that recently became homeowners have disproportionately experienced foreclosures. Large numbers of new minority homeowners have recently used high-risk, high-cost mortgage products, sometimes generically referred to as subprime mortgages, to purchase homes.1 Even after accounting for a variety of factors related to credit risk, housing quality, and other variables, subprime mortgages have been strongly linked to foreclosures.2 Because very little research has focused on the relationship between nativity status (i.e., whether someone was born in the U.S. or outside of the U.S.) and subprime lending, it is not known to what extent foreign-born homeowners have used subprime mortgages to purchase homes and therefore may be at greater risk for experiencing a foreclosure.
Researchers have had difficulty confirming that racial and ethnic minority households have disproportionately experienced foreclosures, in part because publicly accessible foreclosure data do not typically reveal the characteristics of households that lived in the foreclosed units. This article describes my research into the relationship between various household characteristics and residential foreclosures that occurred between July 1, 2006, and June 30, 2008, for a sample of owner-occupied and renter households with children enrolled in public schools in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Specifically, I was concerned with examining where foreclosures occur in Minneapolis, who experiences foreclosures, and where households moved after a foreclosure. The research upon which this article is based was supported by a grant from CURA's Faculty Interactive Research Program.

**The Scope of the Foreclosure Problem**

Foreclosure is a process where a lender seeks possession of a property after the owner has defaulted on mortgage payments. Although foreclosure is not a new phenomenon in the United States, the scale of the current foreclosure crisis in this country is overshadowed only by the foreclosure situation during the Great Depression. The Center for Responsible Lending reports that 4.8 million U.S. foreclosure starts occurred from the beginning of 2008 through the first quarter of 2010. More than one-third of these foreclosure starts occurred in California and Florida.

In the last five years, the number of residential foreclosures has increased dramatically in Minnesota. HousingLink, a Minneapolis nonprofit organization that maintains data on affordable housing in the Twin Cities metropolitan area, reported that residential foreclosures in Minnesota grew from 6,472 in 2005 to 23,092 in 2009, an increase of 257%. In 2009, approximately 63% of the foreclosures in Minnesota occurred in the metro area. Within the metro area, Minneapolis stands out, with more than 8,000 foreclosures between the beginning of 2007 and the end of 2009.3

Foreclosures have negative impacts not only for the individual households that experience foreclosure, but also on the neighborhoods in which the homes are located. Foreclosures can alter the demographic composition of the community, rupture social ties between neighbors, increase crime, and contribute to declining property values. Together, these problems can create a downward spiral for neighborhoods that may be difficult to reverse.

Federal efforts to contain the foreclosure crisis have failed to stem the national foreclosure problem in any meaningful way. The U.S. Department of the Treasury’s Home Affordable Modification Program, which predominantly focuses on first-lien loan modifications to keep a default and foreclosure from happening, has initiated almost 1.4 million trial modifications. However, more than half of these trial modifications have been canceled, meaning that the borrower defaulted again on the modified mortgage, whereas only approximately one-third have been made permanent.4

On the other hand, efforts by foreclosure counselors, who work with households that are in mortgage default and facing an imminent foreclosure, have had some success in preventing


foreclosures. For example, a recent report by the Minnesota Home Ownership Center indicated that foreclosure counselors helped prevent foreclosures for about half of the approximately 16,000 clients that counselors worked with in 2009. However, foreclosures in Minnesota are on the rise, with the latest estimates from Housing-Link suggesting a 13% increase in the number of foreclosures between the beginning of 2009 and the end of 2010. The Center for Responsible Lending estimates that the future looks similarly bleak nationally, as it projects that approximately nine million foreclosures will occur in the United States between the beginning of 2009 and the end of 2012, resulting in nearly $2 trillion in lost home equity.5

Apart from the negative implications that foreclosures have had for the U.S. economy in general, foreclosures are a pressing public problem because they have enormous negative implications for households that experience them. For owner-occupied households, the most obvious effects relate to the loss of a home and any accumulated home equity, declines in credit scores, and the social and economic costs of moving. Households living in rental housing do not lose a financial investment upon foreclosure (although some renters have reported losing their security deposits), and should not have their credit scores negatively affected, but renters do bear the social and economic costs of relocating after foreclosure.

Foreclosures also have negative effects on neighborhoods that are equally problematic. The residential churning that occurs when a large number of households relocate after foreclosure can leave many properties vacant for extended periods of time, significantly alter the demographic composition of a neighborhood, and rupture long-standing social ties between neighbors and friends. Lower- and moderate-income households may be particularly reliant on supportive social ties for everyday help in areas such as childcare or transportation, and moving can mean losing an important source of support. Emerging evidence also suggests that foreclosures have a positive relationship with crime and contribute to declining values for nearby properties.6 Together, these problems can create a downward spiral for neighborhoods that may be difficult to reverse.

Data and Research Methods

Data Sources. This article reports the results of a study of foreclosures in Minneapolis, based on a dataset that incorporated data from four sources: sheriff’s sales (see sidebar above) data from Hennepin County; the Minneapolis Public Schools (MPS) student database, the Hennepin County Assessor’s Office, and the Hennepin County Public Records Division.

Sample Selection and Characterization. I considered 5,383 properties in Minneapolis that were in foreclosure between July 2006 and June 2008. I counted foreclosed duplexes and triplexes two and three times, respectively, in the data to ensure that the number of housing units counted as foreclosed was as accurate as possible. In the case of foreclosed apartment buildings, I could not account for the number of housing units in these buildings, as no information existed on the number of units in these foreclosed properties. Therefore, it is likely that my estimates of rental housing units that were foreclosed were underestimates.

To gain a better picture of the households living in foreclosed properties, I matched the addresses of foreclosed properties to the addresses of properties inhabited by students enrolled in MPS. Because the data covered multiple years and foreclosures likely caused substantial relocations (resulting in changes to the addresses on file at the school system), accurately matching the addresses required a painstaking procedure. I divided the foreclosed addresses into six groups based on the date of the sheriff’s sale. Each group represented the foreclosures that occurred during a four-month period. I then compared the addresses in each group to a snapshot of the school system’s database in the month following the four-month period. Managing the address-matching process as described above minimized but did not eliminate the possibility that the household moved from the foreclosed property prior to the match.

The Foreclosure Process in Minnesota

Most foreclosures in Minnesota are foreclosures by advertisement, which occurs when a lender notifies the borrower of a foreclosure and advertises the foreclosure in a published notice in a legal newspaper. This process is in contrast to a judicial foreclosure that utilizes the court system. In a foreclosure by advertisement, foreclosed properties are sold at an auction called a sheriff’s sale. Once a sheriff’s sale occurs, borrowers have a set period of time, known as a redemption period, where they retain the right to remain in the property and have the option of regaining the title of the property by paying the new owner the amount bid at the sheriff’s sale, plus any accumulated interest or fees. In Minnesota, the redemption period typically lasts for six months. Only nine other states have a redemption period. In these other states, the length of the redemption period varies from 10 days to 12 months. For borrowers who have been through a mortgage default and foreclosure, gaining access to enough capital to regain the title of their property after a sheriff’s sale is extremely difficult, and anecdotal evidence suggests that it rarely happens.

Renter households living in units that are in foreclosure likely have different experiences than homeowners. Starting on May 20, 2009, federal law provided rental households living in a foreclosed property the right to remain in their apartments for 90 days or through the end of their lease. Prior to the enactment of this law, Minnesota state law provided similar protections for renters, but evidence from the media indicates that renters often were unaware of their rights. In some cases, renters have received little, if any, warning of a foreclosure.
When a match between a foreclosed property and a record at MPS occurred, I recorded four pieces of information: the self-reported data on the race of the household where students reside; the primary language spoken in the home; whether students living in the household qualified for free or reduced-price meals; and whether students living in the household were categorized as homeless or highly mobile. After completing the matching process with MPS data, I matched each foreclosed housing unit to parcel data maintained by Hennepin County to determine its homestead status. Owner-occupied households can apply for a homestead status exemption that results in a lower property-tax bill, so I used homestead status as a proxy for owner-occupied housing. From the parcel data, I also captured the year the structure was built, the most recent date of sale for the property, a property-use code (single-family residence, condominium, etc.), and the estimated market value of the property in the year prior to the sheriff's sale. For homesteaded properties included in the foreclosure sample, I consulted deed data maintained by the Hennepin County Public Records Division to record the following information: the name of the financial institution that originated the foreclosed loan; the date of origination for the foreclosed loan; whether the foreclosed loan was a homepurchase mortgage or a refinanced mortgage; whether the property had a second lien in addition to the primary mortgage; whether the foreclosed mortgage had a fixed rate, adjustable rate, or some kind of “exotic” loan terms (e.g., interest only, negative amortization, etc.); and the amount of principal originally borrowed for the primary mortgage (and, if present, the second mortgage).

Subset Sample Selections. To explore the relationship between foreclosures and race, ethnicity, and nativity status, I analyzed a subset of the sample described above that consisted of owner-occupied foreclosed properties. I used language spoken in the home as a proxy for nativity status, where English-speaking households were assumed to be native born and non-English-speaking households were assumed to be foreign born. To create a comparable group of non-foreclosed owner-occupied properties, I drew a random sample of Minneapolis properties from 2008 Hennepin County parcel data and conducted a matching process with MPS and deed data identical to the one described above. I created a logistic-regression model that used household characteristics, as well as information about the property, neighborhood, and mortgage to predict the likelihood that a property in the sample was foreclosed. Together, the foreclosed and non-foreclosed properties considered in this part of the analysis created a sample of 1,231 properties.

To examine the locations where households in the sample moved after foreclosure, I analyzed a subset of the 5,383 foreclosed properties in the original sample. To determine the next address for households in the sample following a foreclosure, I compared the foreclosed address with the addresses on file at MPS at the end of the school year in 2007 and 2008. When a household’s children remained in MPS, a new address appeared in the database. On the other hand, when a household’s children left MPS, no updated address was available in the database. I limited my analysis to foreclosed properties in Minneapolis with addresses that previously matched a record at MPS and sheriff’s sales that occurred between July 1, 2006 and December 31, 2007. Limiting the sample in this way reduced the possibility that a household had not moved from the foreclosed property by June 2008 (approximately the end of the school year). After removing observations with incomplete data and valid exit codes (e.g., graduation), the final sample contained 1,296 foreclosed properties.

I report results from analyses using the sample and subsamples described above. Sample 1 is comprised of all of the owner-occupied and rental properties in Minneapolis that underwent a sheriff’s sale that occurred between July 1, 2006, and June 30, 2008 (5,383 properties). Sample 2 is comprised of foreclosed and non-foreclosed owner-occupied properties in Minneapolis that had children enrolled in MPS (1,231 properties). Foreclosed properties in this sample underwent a sheriff’s sale between July 1, 2006, and June 30, 2008. Non-foreclosed properties in this sample were drawn randomly from 2008 parcel data for the city of Minneapolis. Finally, sample 3 is comprised of foreclosed owner-occupied and rental properties in Minneapolis with addresses that previously matched a record at MPS and that underwent a sheriff’s sale between July 1, 2006, and December 31, 2007 (1,296 properties).
**Foreclosure Rate Calculation.** To construct the foreclosure rate for each community in Minneapolis, I divided the number of foreclosed housing units that occurred in each community between July 2006 and June 2008 by the total number of housing units in the community at the time of the 2000 U.S. Census. Because the number of housing units from the 2000 U.S. Census does not account for the net increase of housing units that may have taken place between 2000 and 2007, these foreclosure rate estimates likely represented overestimates.

**Results**

**Where Do Foreclosures Occur?** Based on sample 1, the residential foreclosures in Minneapolis that occurred between July 2006 and June 2008 were concentrated in several communities. By far, the largest numbers of foreclosures in Minneapolis occurred in the Camden and Near North communities in northwest Minneapolis (Figure 1). Together, foreclosures in these two communities accounted for more than 50% of the total number of foreclosures in Minneapolis during this two-year period. Approximately 20% of the foreclosures occurred in the Phillips and Powderhorn Park communities in south central Minneapolis. Fewer foreclosures occurred in other Minneapolis communities.

The foreclosure rates for Minneapolis communities confirm that foreclosures had the most substantial effect on northwest Minneapolis (Table 1). In the Near North community, 13.0% of the housing units were in foreclosure, with foreclosures nearly as common in the Camden community, where 11.4% of housing units were in foreclosure. The rate of foreclosure dropped precipitously in the nine other Minneapolis communities, ranging from 4.3% in the Phillips community to 0.3% in the University community.

**Who Experiences Foreclosures?** Foreclosures in Minneapolis were disproportionately associated with rental households, households with school-aged children, and native-born minority households.

**Households with Renters.** Based on sample 1, foreclosures in Minneapolis have disproportionately affected households living in rented housing. An examination of all residential parcels in Minneapolis in 2008 revealed that approximately 25% contained non-homesteaded properties, and the remainder contained homesteaded properties. In comparison, approximately 61% of the parcels with foreclosed properties were classified as non-homesteaded, with the remainder classified as homesteaded in 2008. Given these data, renter households were disproportionately represented among foreclosed parcels by a factor of 2.4. Reports of widespread fraud among speculators that purchased investment properties in Minneapolis, particularly on the north side of Minneapolis, may help to explain the large proportion of
non-homesteaded properties in foreclosure during this time period.

Households with Children. Minneapolis foreclosures considered in this analysis disproportionately affected households with school-aged children. The matching process between the addresses of foreclosed housing units and addresses of students enrolled in MPS indicates that 39.4% of the foreclosures in the sample affected a household with a child in MPS. An estimate based on data from the 2005–2007 American Community Survey pooled sample indicated that roughly 17% of households in Minneapolis had a child enrolled in public school. Therefore, households with children enrolled in MPS were disproportionately represented among foreclosed housing units by a factor of 2.3.

Households by Nativity Status or Racial/Ethnic Identity. Households with children enrolled in MPS that experienced a foreclosure between July 1, 2006 and June 30, 2008 reflected a number of racial groups, but Black and Hispanic households were most numerous. Approximately 80% of foreclosed addresses that matched a record at MPS were inhabited by Black or Hispanic households at the time of the foreclosure. On the other hand, White households were substantially underrepresented among households with children in MPS that experienced a foreclosure.

By far, English was the most prevalent language spoken in the home for households with children enrolled in MPS that experienced a foreclosure. More than three-quarters of the households with children enrolled in MPS that experienced a foreclosure spoke English in the home. Non–English-speaking households represented 24.2% of the households with children enrolled in MPS that experienced a foreclosure. Among non–English-speaking households that experienced a foreclosure, Spanish was the most common language spoken in the home. The concentration of non–English-speaking households that experienced a foreclosure was highest in the Phillips and Powderhorn Park communities, but a substantial proportion of the foreclosures that occurred in most Minneapolis communities involved non–English-speaking households.

To determine whether foreclosure disparities exist between racial, ethnic, or nativity groups, I compared the characteristics of owner-occupied households that had experienced a foreclosure to owner-occupied households that had not (sample 2). Because previous research suggests that racial and ethnic disparities in foreclosure may differ for refinance and home-purchase mortgages, I analyzed the incidence of foreclosure separately for these two types of mortgages.

Relationships of foreclosure and racial-minority and foreign-born households were different depending upon whether the mortgage was a refinance or was for a home purchase. For refinanced mortgages, native-born minority households were more likely to experience a foreclosure compared with native-born White households. Foreign-born Hispanic households were less likely to experience a foreclosure of a refinanced mortgage compared with native-born White households. Similar to the results for refinanced mortgages, native-born minority households were more likely to experience a foreclosure for home-purchase mortgages compared with native-born White households. In contrast to the results for refinanced mortgages, foreign-born Hispanic households were more likely to experience a foreclosure for a home-purchase mortgage compared with native-born White households. These racial disparities in foreclosures remained even after controlling for a number of other factors known to be associated with foreclosures.

Where Do Households Move After a Foreclosure? In Minnesota, a household that experiences a foreclosure rarely remains in the foreclosed home for longer than six months after a sheriff’s sale has occurred (see sidebar, p. 5), indicating that mobility is an ultimate outcome of the foreclosure process. To date, no evidence exists to indicate how extensive this mobility is for households that experience a foreclosure. To explore mobility following foreclosure, I used sample 3 to determine the next address for households following foreclosure. The majority of households in this subset sample moved outside of the MPS district following the foreclosure. Moving outside of MPS represented a major move, because it involved placing children in a new school system and may have had implications for employment options and social relationships for those living in the household. Of this subset experiencing foreclosure (1,296 households), only 550 (42.4%) had an updated address on file with MPS.\(^9\) According to a recent research

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\(^9\) Of the 550 households for which a new address was available, 57 moved to an address outside of Minneapolis, but remained in MPS because of a policy that allows students who have moved outside of Minneapolis prior to the end of the school year to finish the school year in MPS.
project that focused on the effects of residential stability in MPS on academic achievement, approximately 45% of students enrolled in MPS leave at some point during the school year. When seen in this context, having close to 58% of the sample leave MPS was less dramatic than it first appeared, but still notable. This kind of mobility is important to understand because it can have detrimental effects on academic achievement. For example, The Kids Mobility Study undertaken by Minneapolis Public Schools, Hennepin County, the University of Minnesota, and the Family Housing Fund in the late 1990s found that elementary students who moved residences three or more times in a school year had average reading scores only half that of students who did not move.

Households that remained in MPS and those that left MPS following a foreclosure had characteristics that differed in important ways (Table 2). One striking difference between households that left MPS following the foreclosure and those that remained is the proportion of households that owned the foreclosed property. Among households that left MPS, more than 37% owned their foreclosed residence, compared with only 23% of households that remained in MPS. I had expected a higher proportion of homeowners among households remaining in MPS given the high level of place attachment that theory predicts for homeowners. Economic disparities also seem to have some influence on who remained in MPS and who left MPS following a foreclosure. Households that left MPS following a foreclosure were less likely to qualify for free or reduced-priced meals or be classified as H/HM compared with households that remained in MPS following a foreclosure. Households that left MPS following a foreclosure and those that remained is the proportion of White households that left and stayed in MPS following a foreclosure, meaning there is a less than 0.1% probability that the differences shown are a result of chance.

Table 2. Selected Characteristics of Households with School-Aged Children That Left and Remained in Minneapolis Public Schools (MPS) Following a Foreclosure between July 1, 2006, and June 30, 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Left MPS</th>
<th>Remained in MPS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number (N)</td>
<td>1,296</td>
<td>746</td>
<td>550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Owner-occupied unit (%)***</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Qualify for free or reduced-price meals (%)***</td>
<td>65.2</td>
<td>54.7</td>
<td>79.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Classified as homeless/highly mobile (%)***</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>15.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-born minority (%)</td>
<td>69.4</td>
<td>68.5</td>
<td>70.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-born minority (%)</td>
<td>21.8</td>
<td>20.4</td>
<td>23.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native-born White (%)***</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*** Statistically significant at the 0.001 level (p < 0.001) based on t-tests for differences in means between portions of the sample that left and remained in MPS following a foreclosure.

Most foreclosures in Minnesota are foreclosures by advertisement, where a lender notifies the borrower of a foreclosure and advertises the foreclosure in a published newspaper notice, and the property is sold at auction at a sheriff’s sale. Borrowers then have a six-month redemption period during which they can regain title to the property by paying the new owner the amount bid at the sheriff’s sale, plus any accumulated interest or fees. In reality, gaining access to enough capital to regain title to the property after a sheriff’s sale is extremely difficult.

For households remaining within MPS, the distance between the address of the foreclosed property and the address of the new home varied widely. On average, these households moved 2.4 miles, but the minimum distance moved was 0 miles (e.g., moving to another unit in the same condominium building), whereas the maximum distance moved was 19.9 miles. Approximately 91% of households experiencing a foreclosure and moving to a new address within Minneapolis moved to a different census tract. Aside from the conclusion that the 746 households without an updated address moved somewhere outside of the MPS district, it is unclear from the data available for this study where these households resettled.

Households that remained in MPS following a foreclosure tended
to relocate to neighborhoods that differed in relatively minor ways from their former neighborhoods (Table 3). Specifically, the neighborhoods where households relocated had slightly lower concentrations of racial minorities, slightly better educated residents, lower unemployment rates, and owner-occupied housing with slightly higher values.

Despite the marginal neighborhood changes that relocated households experienced, in comparison with the average characteristics of Minneapolis the new neighborhoods had higher levels of racial segregation, less educated residents, higher unemployment rates, a larger proportion of residents living in poverty, less valuable properties, and a higher proportion of residents receiving public assistance. Thus, households staying within MPS following a foreclosure relocated to neighborhoods that largely resembled their former neighborhoods, but differed from the overall city in important ways.

Summary and Policy Implications
The research results presented in this article have some limitations. Specifically, my analysis considered only foreclosed properties inhabited by a household with one or more children enrolled in MPS. As a result, it cannot be assumed that these research results are representative of foreclosures in other cities, much less all of the foreclosures that have occurred recently in Minneapolis. Still, these results do provide some insights into the vexing questions of who experiences foreclosure and where households move following a foreclosure.

The research results presented in this article suggest five key findings. First, foreclosures disproportionately affect households with children attending public schools. Second, among native-born households, minorities are more likely to experience a foreclosure than White households, even after controlling for mortgage terms, household characteristics, housing quality, and neighborhood characteristics. Third, foreign-born Hispanic households were more likely than native-born White households to experience a foreclosure for a home-purchase mortgage, but less likely than native-born White households to experience a foreclosure for a refinanced mortgage. Fourth, households with modest economic means and households with histories of residential instability were less likely to move out of Minneapolis following a foreclosure compared to wealthier, more historically stable households. Fifth, households that did not leave Minneapolis following a foreclosure tended to move to neighborhoods that closely resembled their former neighborhoods, and were characterized by a high degree of racial segregation, poverty, and unemployment.

These findings have at least three important implications for policy. First, the over-representation of households with children that experienced a foreclosure suggests that public schools could play a prominent role in reaching out to households that are in imminent danger of mortgage default and foreclosure, or are attempting to recover following a foreclosure. The schools could serve as a channel of communication to the parents of students about the resources available from foreclosure-prevention counselors and other services that can help households repair damaged credit records or identify high-quality, affordable housing. A particular focus on households with children may be especially appropriate given that compelling evidence has indicated that involuntary residential instability for children is associated with poor educational outcomes.

Second, first-time homebuyer classes should be expanded and offered in languages that match the profile of households ready to enter homeownership. Although the market for mortgage products has changed significantly since the housing crisis, lenders continue to offer a dizzying array of products for home purchase and mortgage refinances. Understanding the level of risk associated with these mortgage products in particular and educating borrowers about residential real-estate finance in general would help future homebuyers avoid some of the mistakes made by households in the years leading up to the housing crisis. These resources may be particularly important to offer to immigrant households, given demographic projections that point to their increasing presence in the United States and the fact that their lack of fluency in English could make them

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### Table 3. Former and Current Neighborhood Characteristics of Households with School-Aged Children Experiencing a Foreclosure and Moving within Minneapolis between July 1, 2006, and December 31, 2007 (N = 550)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Former</th>
<th>Current</th>
<th>Minneapolis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Non-White population (%)***</td>
<td>60.6</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>34.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic population (%)**</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign-born population (%)</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Residents older than age 25 with a high school degree or less (%)***</td>
<td>55.4</td>
<td>53.0</td>
<td>35.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unemployment rate (%)**</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>5.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean household income ($)</td>
<td>34,448</td>
<td>35,058</td>
<td>37,974</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Population living in poverty (%)</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>22.9</td>
<td>16.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Homeownership rate (%)***</td>
<td>62.2</td>
<td>56.7</td>
<td>51.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Median value of owner-occupied housing ($)***</td>
<td>81,395</td>
<td>87,529</td>
<td>113,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Households receiving public assistance (%)</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>6.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: Block-group and city-wide data from the 2000 U.S. Census

** Statistically significant at the 0.01 level (p < 0.01) based on t-tests for differences in means between former and current neighborhoods inhabited by households that relocated within Minneapolis following a foreclosure, meaning there is a less than 1% probability that the differences shown are a result of chance.

*** Statistically significant at the 0.001 (p < 0.001) based on t-tests for differences in means between former and current neighborhoods inhabited by households that relocated within Minneapolis following a foreclosure, meaning there is a less than 0.1% probability that the differences shown are a result of chance.
more susceptible to predatory lending schemes.

Third, cities should dedicate resources to programs that facilitate relocation following a foreclosure to complement existing programs that attempt to prevent foreclosures. Many foreclosures are extremely difficult to stop once they have begun. The evidence presented in this article suggests that large numbers of households move out of Minneapolis after experiencing a foreclosure. Evidence about this outmigration also suggests that these households are likely to be more economically secure than households that do not leave the city following a foreclosure. In other words, the most marginalized households experiencing foreclosures in Minneapolis are the ones most likely to remain in the city. Should this trend continue in the future, it could result in substantial challenges for Minneapolis that compound problems already associated with concentrated foreclosures.

Cities can more proactively approach the foreclosure crisis by providing relocation assistance for households forced to move following a foreclosure, similar to a rehousing grant program currently operated by the Minnesota Home Ownership Center. Ideally such a program would accomplish two goals. First, it would help households identify high-quality housing and reduce some of the difficulties associated with moving, regardless of where the households choose to move. Second, the program could reduce the outmigration of households by reserving funding for moving expenses and security deposits for households that choose to relocate locally.

Although many topics related to foreclosure deserve further exploration, I believe that two issues are especially critical. First, we know very little about where households move following a foreclosure. The research described in this article has made some headway in answering this question, but the limited geographic scope of the research provides policy makers and researchers with little purchase on understanding household mobility patterns in varied locations throughout the United States. Second, we do not yet understand how households cope with the financial challenges that accompany a foreclosure. This is a key question for future research given that foreclosures continue in communities around the country and the fragile, “jobless” recovery that has followed the recent economic recession.

Ryan Allen is assistant professor of community and economic development in the urban and regional planning program at the Hubert H. Humphrey School of Public Affairs. His research focuses on the community and economic development processes of immigrants in the United States. In particular, Allen is interested in how immigrants use social capital and how its use can help and hinder the community and economic development of immigrant communities. His recent research focuses on how foreclosures affect minority and immigrant households and the residential mobility patterns of households following foreclosure.

The research upon which this article is based was supported in part by a grant from CURA’s Faculty Interactive Research Program (FIRP). The program was created to encourage University of Minnesota faculty to conduct research with community organizations and collaborators on issues of public policy importance for the state and community. These grants are available to regular faculty at the University of Minnesota and are awarded annually on a competitive basis.

University Metropolitan Consortium–Twin Cities Public Television Documentaries Available

The University Metropolitan Consortium, in partnership with Twin Cities Public Television, has produced three half-hour documentaries that are available free from CURA on DVD. Shaping the Urban Environment explores the challenges and choices facing communities developing land in an environment of scarce and fragile natural resources. Roads, Rails, and Urban Change examines how transportation planning and design have transformed and defined the Twin Cities metropolitan area for 150 years. Mysteries of Public Financing explains the basics of how public funding works, including how governments raise money, how it is spent, who benefits, and who pays.

All three documentaries are useful resources for classrooms, community groups, or others interested in urban and metropolitan issues in the United States. To order a copy of the DVDs, contact CURA at cura@umn.edu or 612-625-1551. Be sure to include your name, telephone number, complete mailing address, and the title of the DVD(s) you would like to order. Please allow 2–3 weeks for delivery.
Minnesota’s crop economy, which totaled more than $12.7 billion in 2009, depends largely on corn and soybeans. However, a variety of other crops, including wheat, sugar beets, dry beans, alfalfa, sunflower, potatoes, oats, and barley, are also frequently grown in Minnesota. All of these crops are important in Minnesota in large part because its climate is conducive to their growth. The term climate in this context refers to long-term conditions, such as the expected date of the last spring freeze or the expected number of days with temperatures above 90°F; weather, on the other hand, refers to short-term conditions, such as the occurrence of a hail storm, heat wave, or cold snap. One convenient way to think of the distinction is via the adage “Climate is what you expect, and weather is what you get.” Cropping systems in Minnesota have been developed based on “what we expect”—the climate—whereas farmers are well aware that crop yields will depend on “what we get”—the weather. Year-to-year variability in weather conditions is a given in Minnesota. The Minnesota climate, however, also may be changing. For example, long-term observations across Minnesota have provided evidence for higher mean temperatures (particularly at night), higher summer dew points, and higher total precipitation. If Minnesota is experiencing a change in “what we expect,” how might that affect the productivity of individual crops and, consequently, the cropping systems now commonplace in Minnesota?

In this work, we investigated how variations in climate—both temperature and precipitation—may affect crop productivity by analyzing long-term records of barley and oat yields in Minnesota. According to the United States Department of Agriculture’s National Agricultural Statistics Service, Minnesota was the nation’s top producer of oats in 2008 and ranked sixth in the nation in that same year in the production of barley, which is a particularly important crop in the

Variations in climate—both temperature and precipitation—may affect the productivity of small grain crops such as barley (pictured here) and oats.
northwestern part of the state. Minnesota farmers routinely rotate cereals like oats and barley with other crops, such as sugar beets, soybeans, and dry beans, to reduce disease and insect and weed pressure. Both barley and oats are cool-season annual grasses: their optimum growth temperature is between 68 and 70°F, and their growth and development are substantially reduced at temperatures above 82 to 86°F (see sidebar, p. 14). As a result, we expect that both crops will be particularly sensitive to an increase in temperature. Although we studied the effects of both temperature and precipitation on Minnesota barley and oats, temperature effects were of particular importance, as temperature increases in Minnesota have already been observed during the past few decades and are projected to continue into the next several decades. The research on which this article is based was supported in part by a grant from CURA’s Faculty Interactive Research Program. Additional funding was provided by the College of Liberal Arts at the University of Minnesota.

Methodology

Barley Production in Western and Northwestern Minnesota. The University of Minnesota’s Northwest Research and Outreach Center in Crookston and West Central Research and Outreach Center in Morris (Figure 1) have been the sites of barley field trials for many years. We analyzed 26 years (1980–2005) of temperature and precipitation data for Crookston and Morris, available from the Minnesota State Climatology Office, and compared them with the corresponding yield-trial data recorded by the University of Minnesota’s spring-barley breeding project. We computed mean monthly values of maximum and minimum daily temperatures as well as total monthly precipitation for all months in the dataset. The yield-trial data included in this analysis were for a single variety, Robust (a six-row barley), one of the most widespread malting single varieties, (a six-row barley), Robust than 25 years ago.

That the genetic makeup of the variety has been the same since its release. Similarly, the agronomic practices and methodologies used in these variety trials have not changed substantially over the past three decades. Consequently, we hypothesize that the changes in productivity of Robust observed in the annual yield trials result from climate variation, rather than variation in crop type or agricultural practices.

Oat Production in and near Minnesota. Our data for oat yields came from a network of oat nurseries in and near Minnesota. Our early-season oat data were from the nurseries at Rosemount and Waseca, Minnesota, and at Beresford and Brookings, South Dakota, and our mid-season oat data were from the nurseries at Rosemount and Morris, Minnesota; Fargo, North Dakota; and Brookings and Watertown, South Dakota (Figure 1). We analyzed 14 years (1996–2009) of temperature and precipitation data at the nursery sites, available from the Minnesota State Climatology Office, and compared them with the corresponding yield-trial data recorded by the oat nurseries. We computed mean monthly values of maximum and minimum daily temperatures as well as total monthly precipitation for all months in the dataset. As with the barley-variety trials, the agronomic practices and methodologies used in the oat-variety yield trials have not changed substantially over the years in our dataset, and we have assumed that changes in yield were not confounded by changes in agricultural practices.

Glossary of Terms

Floret: An individual flower within the head.

Glumes: The pair of leaf-like bracts located at the base of a spikelet in the head.

Grain fill: The plant development phase during which seeds are formed.

Kernel: Seed

Panicle: A branched cluster of flowers in which the branches carry single flowers.

Spikelet: A flower of a grass consisting of a pair of glumes and one or more enclosed florets; a subdivision of the head.

Tiller: A shoot originating from the base of the plant.

Tillering: The development phase during which tillers are formed.

Each year, a range of oat varieties are field-tested at the nurseries, and the trials include checks (genetically stable varieties) that represent a baseline against which to compare the performance over time of newer oat varieties. Within the oat-variety trials, entries are grouped by relative maturity into early- and mid-season groups. Early-season oats mature more quickly than the mid-season varieties, and often they are planted at climatically warmer locations where they can mature before temperature (and thus heat stress) reaches its peak in July and August. Mid-season varieties take longer to mature and typically are planted at cooler locations, where the plants can take advantage of a longer growing season without the risk of heat stress during plant development. Early- and mid-season oats are harvested 90–120 days after planting, depending on the variety, the planting date, and the weather during the growing season. For early-season oats, we examined the yield data for four check varieties (Andrew, Clintford, Don, and Otee) at all sites; for mid-season oats, we examined three check varieties (Clintland 64, Gopher, and Ogle) at all sites. For consistency, we used only check varieties in our analysis because the data for these checks were available for each year of our dataset.

Statistical Analyses. We used a stepwise multiple regression procedure to estimate how climate affects barley and oat yields. Multiple regression is a statistical technique that allows us to examine the extent to which a particular outcome (in this case, crop yield) can be predicted based on information about a set of “predictors” (here, temperature and precipitation). Multiple regression helps us to identify the particular aspects of the climate (too-warm maximum temperatures or too little precipitation in a given month, for example) that have the most influence on crop yield at our sites. Stepwise regression is a useful technique when there are many possible predictors (in this case, climate variables), because it allows us to test how different predictors—alone or in combination—are related to crop yield. Because our “predictors” are, to some degree, related to each other (for example, a month with warm maximum temperatures typically also has warm minimum temperatures)—a condition known as multicollinearity—the stepwise regression procedure also allows us to minimize multicollinearity and thereby produce more statistically robust results. The “predictor” variables we use in the stepwise procedure include monthly maximum and minimum temperatures and precipitation during the April–August growing season, as well as precipitation during the prior winter (November–March) because spring snow-melt provides additional soil moisture that may be beneficial for yield.

Research Findings: Analysis of Climate-Crop Yield Relationships
Barley. For the Crookston and Morris yield-trial sites, the stepwise multiple regression results showed, as hypothesized, that climate does have a statistically significant impact on barley yield, with the relationship at Morris being stronger than the relationship we found for Crookston.

At Crookston, our statistical model showed that the mean maximum temperature in May is negatively associated with barley yield and accounted for approximately 12% of the variance in barley yield (Table 1). Early warmth promotes plant growth, but unusually high temperatures also can stress the plant. Therefore, too-warm temperatures at the early stages of barley development can lead to reduced numbers of tillers and fewer spikelets, negatively affecting yield (see sidebar below).

Our results for Morris showed a much stronger climate effect, with the

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Barley and Oat Planting and Growth

Barley is a cool-season annual grass. It is typically planted by mid-April in Morris and by late April in Crookston, and reaches maturity approximately 90–110 days later. The rate of development is primarily driven by temperature, but is also influenced by day length. Barley is a so-called facultative long-day species, meaning that barley requires less than a certain number of hours of darkness in each 24-hour period to trigger a switch from vegetative growth to reproductive growth. Under the climatic conditions encountered in Minnesota and its production practices (such as the recommended window for planting date and recommended seeding rate), the development of six-row barley cultivars can be well predicted by temperature only. It is only in the case of extreme late planting that the growth and development of barley would be negatively affected by having short nights trigger reproductive growth too soon after the seedling emerges. In such an instance, very short plants with fewer leaves would be produced, ultimately resulting in lower grain yields.

The growth and development of barley can be subdivided into a series of sequential phases starting with germination and emergence, followed by the vegetative growth, reproductive growth, and grain-fill phases, and ending with ripening. The minimum temperature for germination is 34–36°F and emergence occurs approximately 3–7 days after planting. Leaves and tillers appear during the vegetative growth stage, and tillering generally starts in early to mid-May in Minnesota. Immediately following the formation of tillers, barley moves into the reproductive growth phase and the initiation of spikelets. Spikelet initiation occurs near the end of May or in early June. Grain fill commences as soon as the fully developed spike has emerged, which in Minnesota typically occurs in late June to early July.

High temperatures during one or more growth phases will result in reduced yield. High temperature coupled with water stress is even more detrimental to yield, because photosynthesis is curtailed as stomata close to preserve water, thereby preventing plant leaves from exchanging oxygen and carbon dioxide. For example, temperature and/or water stresses that hamper photosynthesis during the grain-fill period can result in arrested grain development (lower kernel weight) and in fewer kernels per spike. Crop water usage itself is a function of temperature, nearly doubling with a 20°F increase in temperature.

Oats are also a cool-season crop, with growth and development characteristics and climatic tolerances similar to those of barley as described above.

The three main components of total grain yield for barley and oats are the number of tillers per unit area, the number of spikelets, and the number and weight of kernels.

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3 In Minnesota, both early- and mid-season oats are planted in early to mid-April, and are harvested between early July and mid-August.
The positive relationship between yield and accumulated November–March precipitation, which largely falls as snow, to indicate that springtime snowmelt is an important source of moisture for the growing season at Morris, thus helping to increase yield.

Why do we find a different climate–barley yield relationship at Morris than we do at Crookston? The climate at Crookston is slightly cooler than that at Morris (Table 2), with, on average, fewer days with high temperatures near barley’s upper threshold. Any increase in mid- to late growing-season temperatures at Crookston would thus be less likely to cause an increase in the frequency of exceeding those threshold temperatures; instead, the extra warmth may even promote plant development and grain fill. Despite Crookston having a slightly drier climate than Morris, the data suggested that early-season moisture is more important for yields at Morris compared with Crookston because the overall warmer temperatures at Morris

Note: Only those climate variables that have a statistically significant influence on crop yield are shown in the table.

### Table 1. Climate Variables Used in the Stepwise Multiple Regression Analysis; Standardized Regression Coefficients* for Barley, Early-Season Oat, and Mid-Season Oat Yield Data; and Statistics for Regression Models at Each Study Site

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th><strong>BARLEY</strong></th>
<th><strong>EARLY-SEASON OATS</strong></th>
<th><strong>MID-SEASON OATS</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Crook</td>
<td>Morris</td>
<td>Brook</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr Tmax</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May Tmax</td>
<td>-295.8</td>
<td>-5.61</td>
<td>-12.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun Tmax</td>
<td>-426.1</td>
<td>-10.83</td>
<td>-17.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul Tmax</td>
<td>-313.0</td>
<td>-10.83</td>
<td>-17.81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug Tmax</td>
<td>-10.77</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr Tmin</td>
<td></td>
<td>6.38</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May Tmin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun Tmin</td>
<td>-12.64</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul Tmin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug Tmin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apr Prec</td>
<td>-6.84</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May Prec</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jun Prec</td>
<td>-4.17</td>
<td>25.97</td>
<td>-12.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jul Prec</td>
<td>-5.26</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug Prec</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nov–Mar Prec</td>
<td>351.8</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjusted <strong>r</strong>$^2$†</td>
<td>0.12</td>
<td>0.41</td>
<td>0.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>p-value</strong>‡</td>
<td>0.0678</td>
<td>0.0045</td>
<td>0.0005</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* For each site, the magnitude of the standardized regression coefficient reflects the relative importance of each variable for that site’s regression model. Negative coefficients (highlighted in blue) indicate that an increase in that variable results in reduced yield; positive coefficients (highlighted in yellow) indicate that an increase in that variable results in higher yield. Standardized coefficients have a different magnitude for barley as compared with oats because barley yields were available in kilograms per hectare, whereas oat yields were available as bushels per acre. Consequently, for a specific crop, it is important to focus on the relative magnitude of the coefficients more so than their actual values.

† The adjusted $r^2$ represents the percentage of variation in crop yield that can be explained by variations in the climate variables used here. For example, the $r^2$ value of 0.12 (the barley model for Crookston) means that the variation in mean May maximum temperature can explain (account for) about 12% of the variation in barley yields.

‡ The $p$-values represent the probability that there is no statistical relationship between (in this case) crop yields and climate. A $p$-value of 0.05 or lower is typically considered to indicate statistical significance (that is, there is only a 5% chance that climate has an effect on crop yield; stated another way, the relationship that is observed has only a 5% probability of occurring by chance). The symbol # indicates a $p$-value <0.0001, meaning there is less than a 0.01% chance that the statistical relationship is a result of chance. Note: Only those climate variables that have a statistically significant influence on crop yield are shown in the table. An empty cell indicates that the addition of those climate variables to the regression model did not improve the model’s representation of the relationship between climate and crop yield and thus excluded from the final model results.

Abbreviations: Tmax is mean monthly maximum temperature (in °F), Tmin is mean monthly minimum temperature (in °F), and Prec is total monthly precipitation (in inches). Sites are Beresford, SD (Beres); Brookings, SD (Brook); Crookston, MN (Crook); Fargo, ND (Fargo); Morris, MN (Morris); Rosemount, MN (Rsmt); Waseca, MN (Waseca); and Watertown, SD (Water).
also increase evaporation, and the extra soil moisture at the start of the growing season helps to offset this evaporative loss. It is possible that we do not see the same relationship at Crookston because its (generally) cooler temperatures result in slightly lower evaporative losses.

In sum, our statistical analyses of the relationship between climate and barley yields for Crookston and Morris suggest that barley is growing well within its climatic tolerance at Crookston, whereas barley at Morris is growing in an environment that is closer to its climatic limits. As a result, barley yield at Crookston had a weaker relationship to climatic variability than at Morris. Nonetheless, if growing-season temperatures were to increase, we would expect future barley yields to decrease at both Morris and Crookston.

**Early-Season Oats.** At each nursery site, we used stepwise multiple regression to develop a statistical model to relate the yield of four check varieties to the suite of climate variables that we expected to have an influence on oat yields. The results showed that climate did have a statistically significant impact on the early-season oat yield at all four sites. Our statistical model showed that climate variability accounted for 30% of the variation in yield at Brookings, approximately 65% of the variation at Beresford and Rosemount, and 84% of the variation at Waseca (Table 1). At three of the four sites, we observed that early-season oat yields were reduced when mean maximum temperatures were unusually warm during the growing season. This relationship was strongest at Waseca, as indicated by its having the largest standardized regression coefficients of all the sites, indicating that the amount of variation that can be explained by the climate variables we examined is highest at this site.

The relationship between yield and mean minimum temperature and total monthly precipitation was more mixed across the sites. For Beresford, increased May precipitation was conducive to higher yields at this somewhat dry location, whereas warm June minimum temperatures were associated with reduced yields, possibly because of the increased respiration (and thus loss of plant biomass) that occurs with higher nighttime temperatures. Brookings was the coolest of the four study sites, but it also was the driest (Table 2), and the fact that precipitation did not emerge as an important factor for early-season oat yields was an unexpected result. One possible explanation is that the cooler climate at Brookings resulted in less evaporative stress during the relatively shorter early-season oats growing season, with the result that temperature had more of an effect on yield than did precipitation. At Rosemount, warm April minimum temperatures promoted higher yields, whereas high April precipitation had a nearly equal and opposite effect. Warm conditions may promote germination of early-season oats, which are planted in early to mid-April, but wet conditions may inhibit it. Yield at Rosemount was also negatively affected.
by high precipitation in June and July, but was increased with higher values of November–March accumulated precipitation. High precipitation on the sandy soils of the Rosemount site can promote leaching of soil nutrients during the growing season (thus reducing yield), whereas increased soil moisture at the beginning of the growing season (reflected by the positive relationship between yield and November–March precipitation) can offset the generally limited amount of water available in these sandy soils. The results for Waseca show that, in combination with cool maximum temperatures during June and July, warm August minimum temperatures had a strong positive effect on yield, as did increased June precipitation (Table 1).

For our 1996 to 2009 analysis period, Brookings was the coolest (and driest) of the four early-season oat sites, Beresford was warm and dry, and Rosemount and Waseca were warm and moist (Table 2). Taken together, our regression results showed a similar pattern to what we found for barley: cooler sites (Brookings for early-season oats, Crookston for barley) had a weaker (but still important) relationship between climate and yield, and warmer sites had a stronger relationship (Table 1). We interpreted our early-season oat results as additional support for our hypothesis that cool-season crops grown at climatically cooler sites (Brookings, Crookston) are less likely to encounter temperatures near physiological thresholds, and thus the climate–yield relationship is not as strong as it is at sites that are climatologically warmer. Stated another way, early-season oats grown at warmer sites are more likely to be negatively affected by increasing temperatures than are early-season oats grown at cooler sites, because higher temperatures at already-warm sites are more likely to produce days with temperatures above physiological thresholds than would already-cool sites.

**Mid-Season Oats.** We used stepwise multiple regression to estimate the extent to which climate may affect the yield of three check varieties at five nursery locations in Minnesota, North Dakota, and South Dakota. We found some similarity to the results observed for early-season oats, but we also found some interesting differences.

As for our previous analyses, our regression model for mid-season oats showed that climate has a statistically significant impact on yield at all of the sites. Climate variability accounted for 36% of the variation in yield at Rosemount, 55% at Fargo, approximately 65% at Brookings and Morris, and 77% of the variation at Watertown (Table 1). In general, warm early-season maximum temperatures were associated with increased yield at these sites, whereas warm maximum temperatures later in the season, when temperatures already are high, were associated with decreased yield. Warmer minimum (nighttime) temperatures during the growing season also led to reduced yields because plant growth fueled by photosynthesis (which increases plant biomass and thus yield) was offset by losses due to an increase in plant respiration (a temperature-dependent “breaking down” process, dominant at night, that reduces plant biomass). In contrast to what we found for early-season oats, our mid-season oat analysis showed that, at most of the drier sites we analyzed, yield increased with April precipitation, which helps to increase soil moisture at the start of the growing season.6

For mid-season oats, the relationship between climate and yield was strongest at the drier sites, whereas for early-season oats the relationship was strongest at the warmer sites. For our period of record (1996–2009), mean April through August precipitation at Rosemount was at least five inches higher than at the other sites (Table 2). The Rosemount regression model was the only one of the five mid-season oat models that did not include a precipitation variable; in contrast, the regression model for Brookings, the driest site, included nearly all of the precipitation variables. Mid-season oats emerge and develop under warmer conditions than do the early-season varieties. At many of the drier sites, precipitation appears to be an important predictor of mid-season oat yield, because increased precipitation can help maintain higher soil moisture by offsetting the evaporative losses that occur during these warm (and dry) months. By this reasoning, it seems odd that the regression model for Fargo showed a negative relationship between June precipitation and mid-season oat yields. The 1996–2009 climate record shows that Fargo normally experienced its highest monthly precipitation in June, and excess precipitation can cause temporary flooding. Temporary flooding is not an uncommon occurrence in the Red River Valley basin, with its flat topography and the preponderance of

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5 Mean maximum temperatures for Waseca in June and July had a negative relationship with yield, meaning that cooler temperatures had a positive relationship with yield.

6 High April precipitation can also be detrimental to crops in Minnesota, as often occurred at Morris, when increased early-season soil moisture resulted in delayed planting.
heavy clay soils with slow permeability. Yield declines when fields are at or above field capacity because an acute lack of oxygen in the root zone disrupts basic physiological processes such as water and nutrient uptake. Unfortunately, it is unclear from the available data whether temporary flooding or biological stresses, such as the incidence of crown rust, impacted mid-season oat yield negatively at the Fargo site.

Discussion

Although we understand that temperatures that are too warm and precipitation that is too scarce will have detrimental effects on oat and barley yields, we also understand that weather and climate are not the only factors that affect yield. For example, weeds, disease, and pest outbreaks are also important variables. Our objective with this work was to try to clarify the specific role of climate on crop yield because, although farmers can use herbicides, pesticides, and fungicides to mitigate the impacts of weeds, insects, and disease, climate is less amenable to control. Climate also can affect the likelihood of some insect and disease outbreaks. The reproduction of the Fusarium head blight fungus, for example (which affects barley and oats, as well as wheat, rice, and maize), is favored by temperatures in the range of 65°F to 86°F and by extended periods of moisture.

Although some variations existed across the sites, taken together our results showed that barley and oats (both early- and mid-season varieties) have similar sensitivities to warm temperatures, as we might expect based on past research and experience. We found, however, that poor yields were associated not only with too-warm maximum temperatures, but also (particularly for oats) with too-warm minimum temperatures. Data from the Minnesota State Climatology Office indicate that between 1980 and 2007 the mean maximum temperatures within the state have increased by approximately 1.4°F, but that mean minimum temperatures have increased even more, by approximately 2.2°F. Based on our barley and oat analyses, it is reasonable to conclude that this increase in minimum temperatures could contribute to a decrease in yields over time within Minnesota. Increases in precipitation, on the other hand, could partially offset the effects of warm minimum temperatures, because our results showed that higher springtime precipitation often led to higher yields.

Projections of future climate change produced by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) and by the U.S. Climate Change Science Program (CCSP) suggest that spring and summer temperatures are highly likely to increase in the upper Midwest, and that minimum temperatures are likely to increase more than maximum temperatures. If these changes in temperature profiles were to occur, cool-season crops such as barley and oats would be subjected to increased frequencies of unusually warm temperatures that our results show are detrimental to the yields of both crops. In addition to changes in temperatures, both the IPCC and CCSP point to the potential for decreases in available growing-season moisture over time, which our results show would also lead to decreases in barley and oat yield.

Conclusions and Future Directions

Federal farm policies, market demands, and/or disease outbreaks often have been touted as the primary reasons why Minnesota farmers have reduced their acreage of barley and oats in favor of other crops. Although these factors are no doubt important, our research shows that Minnesota’s changing climate also may be contributing to the decline in yields of both crops and, in turn, a decline in acreage. Concerns about future increases in both temperature and drought frequency have spurred efforts to develop crop varieties that are better adapted to a changing climate. As one example, the American Malting Barley Association is funding research (at the University of Minnesota and elsewhere) to develop winter varieties of barley that can mature earlier in the growing season, thereby reducing the likelihood of heat-related declines in yield. Our work to date is an important step toward identifying the primary climatic factors affecting barley and oat yields, and we plan to extend our work to include research on how breeding more climatically tolerant varieties may prevent these and other cool-season crops from disappearing from Minnesota’s landscape.

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The research on which this article is based was supported in part by a grant from CURA’s Faculty Interactive Research Program. The program was created to encourage University faculty to conduct research with community organizations and collaborators on issues of public policy importance for the state and community. These grants are available to regular faculty at the University of Minnesota and are awarded annually on a competitive basis. Additional funding was provided by the College of Liberal Arts at the University of Minnesota.


Connecting Where It Counts: The 2011 Hennepin-University Partnership Symposium

by Peggy Rader and Anna Schlesinger

The Hennepin-University Partnership (HUP) was created in 2005 to catalyze and strengthen collaborations between Hennepin County and the University of Minnesota. Such collaborations aim to develop new knowledge through joint research, increase the sharing of both academic and practitioner expertise, and provide students with real-world experiences as they pursue their studies.

Each year, the partnership sponsors a symposium to showcase collaborations from the past year, form new connections between University and County employees, and explore the direction and impacts of the partnership. The 2011 symposium, which focused on how this partnership impacts communities, took place in the atrium of the Hubert H. Humphrey Center on the morning of February 4. It began with addresses from members of the HUP management team, including Ed Goetz, CURA director and Hubert H. Humphrey School of Public Affairs faculty member; Jan Callison, Hennepin County commissioner for the Sixth District; and Richard Johnson, Hennepin County administrator. The welcoming address concluded with keynote speaker Jennifer Godinez, associate director of the Minnesota Minority Education Partnership. In her keynote, Godinez talked about how such a partnership can and does impact communities, and highlighted two programs supported by HUP, one involving changes in county truancy enforcement to improve educational outcomes and the other using University of Minnesota students to help with data collection and analysis around homelessness.

The symposium also included breakout sessions that featured work being done in the partnership’s five focus areas: child well-being, educational attainment, ending homelessness, the impacts of an aging population, and transitway impacts. The breakout sessions included presentations from University researchers and County staff highlighting recent results from collaborations, followed by interactive discussions with participants.

The theme of the symposium’s closing panel was, “Are we connecting where it counts?” Gail Dorfman, Hennepin County commissioner and panel member, cited numerous examples of HUP activities that have benefited the University, the County, and the community, but focused on the future. “We need to evolve our partnership even further to ask not only what the research tells us, but also what the community tells us,” Dorfman said. “We need to go beyond surveys and work with the community as a true partner, not as a service receiver. We need to go from Hennepin-University Partnership to Hennepin-University-Community Partnership.”

Heidi Barajas, associate dean of the College of Education and Human Development and part of the leadership team for the University’s Urban Research and Outreach/Engagement Center (UROC) in north Minneapolis, praised the County’s willingness, through the A-GRAD initiative (Accelerating Graduation by Reducing Achievement Disparities—an effort to increase Hennepin County high school graduation rates), to rethink how its services could work in sync with educational goals. “For many of us at the U, it has been hard to see how higher education can become more involved in the community. [The question now becomes] ‘How can more people at the University begin to make the same kind of slight cultural shift that the County did?’” said Barajas. Mikkel Beckman, executive director of St. Stephen’s Human Services and a symposium panel member, added, “What we do has to touch the ground.” Beckman said that HUP is critically important to his work with the homeless and more broadly to the Twin Cities metropolitan region. “My organization is so busy with day-to-day crises that we need the Hennepin-University connection to help us quantify our results, to help us discover what we’re doing right, and to help us tell our stories.”

In addition to the keynote speaker, breakout sessions, and closing panel, the symposium provided networking opportunities for University and County employees to get to know each other and discuss their work. The symposium concluded with a luncheon where Collaborator of the Year awards were given to Lisa Thornquist from Hennepin County and Yingling Fan from the University for their contributions to the community using key collaborations between Hennepin County and the University.

For more information about the Hennepin-University Partnership, visit www.umn.edu/hup.
Counting on Everyone: Increasing Participation in the 2010 U.S. Census in Minneapolis

by Margaret Kaplan

Minneapolis is a diverse community, with more than 80 languages spoken in the homes of Minneapolis school children. However, due to concerns about privacy and safety, apathy, language barriers, and a lack of awareness in hard-to-count communities, a potential risk existed that this diversity would not be reflected in the 2010 U.S. Census. History supported this concern. In 2000, a dedicated group of community leaders from across the city were part of the Minneapolis Complete Count Committee, but, despite their hard work and dedication, the final U.S. Census mail-in participation rate for the city was 73%, lower than the numbers for both the state (81%) and the country (74%). In addition, not all neighborhoods were counted equally in 2000. Whereas the higher income, predominantly white neighborhoods had response rates in excess of 80%, a large number of poorer and more ethnically diverse neighborhoods in north Minneapolis and south Minneapolis had participation rates well below 50%.

An undercount in Minneapolis in 2010 would have had serious implications for both the city and the state as a whole. The City of Minneapolis was facing the prospect of receiving an inequitable share of the more than $400 billion in federal funding that is distributed every year based on Census data. The state of Minnesota was facing the prospect of losing a congressional district. According to the Office of the State Demographer, the margin between retaining and losing a district was narrow, and an undercount in Minneapolis could have made the difference.


2 U.S. Census Bureau, Take 10 Map, available at 2010.census.gov/2010census/take10map/.

Through a coordinated Census outreach and engagement effort led by CURA and using the Minneapolis Complete Count Committee as the primary vehicle for outreach, the Census mail-in participation rate for the city of Minneapolis rose from 73% in 2000 to 78% in 2010 (Table 1). Among cities with populations of more than 300,000, Minneapolis had the highest response rate, as well as the largest gain in response rate, in the country. The key to the overall response rate increase rests firmly with the increased response rate from some of the very areas that had the lowest response rates in the 2000 Census. For example, whereas the 2000 response rate in the Harrison neighborhood was 38%, the 2010 mail-in participation rate was 61%. Some tracts in the Phillips neighborhood increased from 40 to 61%, and one of the Dinkytown tracts near the University of Minnesota increased from 47 to 67% (Figure 1).4

This article describes the historical context within which the Minneapolis 2010 Census outreach and engagement efforts were undertaken, the outreach approaches used to achieve the gains in Census participation in the city, and the lessons learned from the experience that may have relevance for future Census outreach campaigns, as well as other community outreach and engagement programs more broadly. The work described in this article was supported by the City of Minneapolis and the McKnight Foundation.

Table 1. U.S. Census Mail-in Participation Rates, 2000 and 2010

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>2000</th>
<th>2010</th>
<th>Percent Increase</th>
<th>Percentage Increase 2000–2010</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Minneapolis</td>
<td>73%</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>+5</td>
<td>6.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Minnesota</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>81%</td>
<td>+0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>United States</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>74%</td>
<td>+0</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Take 10 Map, 2010.census.gov/2010census/take10map/

Background and Outreach Efforts
This section provides some background about Census outreach efforts and describes the outreach approach used in Minneapolis.

Challenges in U.S. Census Outreach Efforts. The U.S. Census poses some unique problems for outreach and engagement. Because it only occurs every 10 years, the lessons of past outreach campaigns can easily be lost over time. This 10-year gap between Census efforts also causes the momentum built up from the previous Census to be lost by the time the next Census occurs. Community leaders who worked on the Census in the past may have moved on to different organizations or communities. In addition, cities change significantly in the course of 10 years. For example, between the 2000 and the 2010 Census efforts, the city of Minneapolis faced the foreclosure crisis, new waves of immigration, and, in the wake of the September 11 attack, a changed relationship between the general public and the government. A final challenge for Census outreach efforts is that, unlike many outreach efforts where immediate feedback on the results is available, Census outreach efforts only begin to show success or failure almost a year into the engagement process, when daily return rates begin to be posted by the U.S. Census Bureau. At that point, little opportunity exists to significantly modify outreach efforts.

Minneapolis’s Commitment to Census Outreach for 2010. Given these issues surrounding the process, Minneapolis was not unique in its concern about the upcoming 2010 Census. Across the country, state and local governments, foundations, and nonprofit organizations were trying to plan for outreach for the 2010 Census, while at the same time were facing a struggling economy and tight budgets. As a whole, local governments allocated fewer resources to the 2010 Census effort than they had in 2000. Cities such as Boston, Atlanta, and Pittsburgh had allocated no money to Census outreach efforts as late as fall of 2009.5 By contrast, in December 2008 the Minneapolis City Council approved funding support for 2010 Census outreach efforts. Even before this funding was secured, Minneapolis began its work on the 2010 Census, starting with city efforts in 2006 to redraw Census tracts to more closely align with city neighborhoods. The redrawn tracts acted both as a tool for matching hard-to-count areas with place-based organizations and as a means of ensuring that the

4 U.S. Census Bureau, Take 10 Map, available at 2010.census.gov/2010census/take10map/.

final data were meaningful to the local community-based organizations.

Once Minneapolis allocated funds to the Census outreach effort, a method needed to be identified that would best use those resources to ensure that the communities that had been the most undercounted in the 2000 Census participated in the 2010 Census. Rather than hire a city staff member to lead the Census outreach efforts, Minneapolis chose to contract with CURA to lead the Census outreach and engagement efforts. With a 40-year history of working with the community and as a past collaborator with the city of Minneapolis, CURA was uniquely positioned to coordinate engagement efforts. The rationale was that CURA, a trusted organization with relationships throughout the community, would be able to reach out to organizations in a different way, as opposed to one government agency telling community members that they should trust another government agency.

One of the lessons of the 2000 Census in Minneapolis was that trusted community voices and trusted community-based organizations were the key to reaching hard-to-count communities. In addition, CURA staff could bring a different set of skills and expertise to the table. The Minnesota Center for Neighborhood Organizing program within CURA coordinated the 2010 Census outreach project. Contributions made by CURA ranged from efforts by work-study students to technical assistance from CURA staff across its programs.

**2010 Census Outreach Methodology.** The primary vehicle for outreach to communities about participating in the 2010 Census was the Minneapolis Complete Count Committee (CCC; see sidebar, p. 23). All CCC members, even those who did not regularly attend committee meetings, were active in leading the 2010 Census campaign and were connected through trainings and collaboration with CCC members and CURA organizers. Members of CCC worked to actively recruit additional committee members to fill gaps in representation; in addition, CCC was an open committee that anyone was welcome to join at any point in the process. City of Minneapolis, Hennepin County, and U.S. Census Bureau staff attended CCC meetings in a listening and advisory role. Monthly CCC meetings were hosted by a different organization each month and took place throughout the city, rather than in city offices, which created a greater sense of ownership of the committee by community members.

Beginning in May 2009, the committee used four strategies in its 2010 Census outreach efforts:
Developing tailored target messages that tapped into individual communities’ unique interests and utilizing outreach strategies that were culturally relevant and connected to community centers and everyday activities. Because the Census as an abstract concept is difficult to generate enthusiasm around, outreach messaging linked the Census to the issues that people cared about the most, whether it was education, civil rights, transportation, housing, social services, or some other issue. Because the Census affects political representation and funding, messaging promoted community investment in the Census by logically linking community-identified concerns and participation in the Census.

Promoting the Census continually at community events and through community media, as well as through countless community meetings, trainings, forums, and many outreach and action days, including canvass events covering the hardest-to-count communities. Outreach events were structured around the places and spaces that were the heart of the community, and outreach workers distributed Census forms and materials at churches and mosques, marketplaces, businesses and restaurants, bus stops and street corners, schools, campuses, and parks. As an example, a Census outreach event was held at a local salsa dancing night in Dinkytown, an event that generally draws a crowd of around 250 predominantly Latino community members from across the city. By creating a partnership with the event coordinators, as well as providing incentives for individuals to bring their completed Census forms to the event (in this instance, free admission to a popular event in exchange for a completed form), hundreds of people were exposed to Census messages (and more than 60 completed forms were collected). The use of these types of incentives, including Census promotional items and food, throughout this effort brought people into contact with community Census volunteers who could then follow up with community-centered messages. Both community partners and CCC spent a year taking the message about Census participation out into the community through these types of venues. The amount of work the committee was able to accomplish was only possible because such a large number of leaders and organizations from multiple undercounted communities took ownership of the Census campaign.

Connecting with the community through Census outreach materials delivered in the languages spoken in Minneapolis. One of the significant gaps in Census outreach efforts that CCC identified was the lack of effective promotional materials presented in the various languages spoken in Minneapolis, and in particular a lack of any Census promotional materials in Somali and Oromo. Staff at CURA and CCC members created materials such as flyers and posters in Somali, Hmong, Oromo, and Spanish. Not only were the materials useful on a local level, but, due to the lack of availability of such resources on the federal level, other states used the Somali posters as a template for their outreach materials. Committee members and CURA staff also partnered with local community-based media outlets to arrange interviews and announcements with key local radio and TV outlets, such as La Invasora, KMOJ, and Somali Voices, as well as multiple Somali TV shows. This strategy included both free and paid media to fill some of the gaps in the U.S. Census Bureau’s media strategy.

Leveraging individual outreach efforts. Some of the most valuable efforts within the Minneapolis Census participation campaign connected individual CCC volunteers directly to community members. Several organizations received financial resources to do direct outreach in the community using a variety of methods tailored to individual communities. Organizations used small targeted grants, provided by the City of Minneapolis and administered by CURA, to fund outreach activities for some of the hardest-to-reach constituencies. For example, Twin Cities Community Voicemail conducted individual outreach to members of the homeless community at shelters and soup kitchens, whereas other organizations, such as Mad Dads, focused on street outreach events. Other efforts included a joint door-knocking in the Phillips community by La Asamblea Derechos Civiles and Somali Action Alliance. Another organization, Asian Media Access, concentrated its efforts on the schools.

Sharing Census Outreach Strategies and Lessons Learned

The Minneapolis outreach efforts both drew on and contributed to broader Census outreach and engagement efforts within the city, county, state,
and nation. Along with regular coordination with Hennepin County and the U.S. Census Bureau, CURA became connected to national outreach efforts through the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights. The Leadership Conference had identified 13 areas across the country as the focus of their efforts. Although Minneapolis was not one of those areas, because of its connection to the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, CURA was able to access its resources and tap into national conversations about Census outreach efforts.

On a local level, CURA coordinated with two organizations to share information, strategies, and resources: the Civic Engagement Table, which provided training and organized a door-knocking event in North Minneapolis; and the Main Street Project, which was working in both urban and rural areas.

In January 2010, CURA and the Main Street Project hosted a Census Training and Leadership Conference. The conference was held in English, Somali, and Spanish simultaneously, and included more than 100 community leaders, many of whom had not previously been involved in Census efforts. The conference was also an opportunity for CCC members to lead conversations and training sessions about the importance of the Census and about strategies that worked. These conversations and sessions provided opportunities for new connections to be made; some of these connections facilitated the building of relationships with additional organizations and leaders, who in turn were able to coordinate and support outreach efforts in hard-to-count areas of the city.

**Final Thoughts**

The 2010 Census outreach efforts in Minneapolis were not without gaps and frustrations. Both CCC members and CURA staff were sometimes frustrated by the challenge of trying to relate a grassroots community approach built by community members to the approach and materials that were developed by the U.S. Census Bureau without local input. The financial and human resources available also limited the amount of work that could be done. In addition, even though the city council and the mayor had chosen carefully to represent the diversity of the city in initially forming CCC, some outreach and engagement gaps remained, and some communities became engaged very late in the process. However, despite these gaps, CCC, the City of Minneapolis, and CURA achieved not only an effective collaboration, but significantly contributed to the more than 6% increase in Census participation for Minneapolis in 2010 over 2000 levels. Ultimately, Minnesota retained its eighth congressional district by a margin of 8,739 people.

Beyond the participation numbers, the 2010 Census outreach and engagement efforts in Minneapolis created connections between community-based organizations, CURA, and the City of Minneapolis. Even though the City did not itself lead the outreach efforts, an evaluation of the outreach process showed that community partners felt a stronger connection to the City of Minneapolis as a result of the work, as well as a stronger sense of the relevance of city government in addressing community concerns. On a community level, organizations that had never connected in the past had the opportunity to work with each other, creating the potential for future collaborations.

Based on the outcomes of the 2010 Census outreach effort in Minneapolis, the 2020 Census outreach effort can build on lessons learned. Components of the 2010 effort that should be replicated in 2020 are a focus on community ownership of Census outreach, strong city financial and staff support, engagement with local media, direct grassroots outreach, and targeted messaging and materials. Areas that could use additional resources in 2020 include more dedicated financial resources to community-based organizations, additional staff capacity for communications and media, enhanced efforts to engage policy makers in Census outreach efforts, and continued investment in developing relationships with underrepresented constituencies across the city.

**Margaret Kaplan** is operations director for the Minnesota Center for Neighborhood Organizing, a program of CURA. Funding for the 2010 Census outreach and engagement effort described in this article was provided by the City of Minneapolis and the McKnight Foundation.
To keep our readers up-to-date about recent CURA projects, this issue of the CURA Reporter features capsule descriptions of several newly completed projects. The projects highlighted in this issue were made possible through one of CURA’s four community-based research programs, which provide graduate student assistance for community-based applied research projects, program planning and development, program evaluation, and other short-term projects. These projects represent only a portion of those that received support from CURA and its partners during the previous year.

- **The Northside Healthy Eating Project:** Transportation Access to Affordable Fresh Produce. NorthPoint Health and Wellness Center is a multi-specialty medical, dental, and mental health center and human-service agency located in north Minneapolis. North Minneapolis has been described as a food desert, and its residents lack access to healthy foods. In north Minneapolis, a disproportionately low number of African American households have access to vehicles compared with more affluent neighboring portions of the Twin Cities metropolitan area. Although a few large-scale grocers are located within driving distance, a substantial portion of north Minneapolis residents are not able to set out in a vehicle to purchase groceries for themselves and their families. Sarah Swingel, an urban and regional planning graduate student at the Hubert H. Humphrey School of Public Affairs, developed methods for improving access to fresh and affordable produce via transportation. The results are being used to guide in planning and implementing a transportation strategy to improve access to affordable fresh produce in North Minneapolis. **Program:** Northside Seed Grant

- **Medical Needs and Healthcare Services for the Somali Community in the Twin Cities.** The Confederation of the Somali Community in Minnesota is a 501(c)(3) nonprofit mutual-assistance association created in 1994 by Somali leaders to assist in meeting the self-sufficiency needs of Somali refugees. The medical and healthcare needs of Somali people residing in the Twin Cities have not been well examined. The key research focus for the study was to determine whether a discrepancy exists between medical needs and available healthcare services within the Somali community. Ifrah Mohamed, a graduate student in the School of Social Work, conducted a literature review and held interviews and focus groups with Somali residents. The results are being used to advocate for different or improved services to meet the healthcare needs of the Somali community. **Program:** Communiversity

- **Social-Media Use and Evaluation in Nonprofit Organizations.** The Minnesota Council of Nonprofits was founded in 1987 to meet the increasing information needs of nonprofits and to convene nonprofits to address issues facing the sector. The past five years have revealed a new era in the United States and around the world—the era of social media. Because of the popularity and viral use of social media, nonprofit organizations have begun to invest time and money into using social-media tools, often with little to no understanding of the potential impact on their organizations. Many nonprofits believe that their social-media use is positively impacting the organization, but they have no understanding or knowledge in how they can measure this. Kristin Cici, a doctoral student in evaluation studies, developed and administered an online survey of Minnesota nonprofit organizations and conducted phone interviews with staff from these organizations. Project findings will be shared with the community through a variety of means, such as trainings, seminars, webinars, and conference sessions. In addition, an e-handbook will be created that highlights best practices for evaluating social media. **Program:** Communiversity

- **Farmland Preservation in Minnesota.** Farmers’ Legal Action Group, Inc. (FLAG) is a 24-year-old nonprofit law center that has helped many thousands of independent family farmers succeed in their struggle to maintain their livelihoods and stay on their land. FLAG believes it is important to develop statewide policies that will preserve agricultural lands throughout Minnesota. Currently, laws affecting farmland preservation are a patchwork of local, county, and state laws. Colin Cureton, a public policy graduate student in the Humphrey School, compiled research and reviewed primary documents regarding selected Minnesota counties on transfers of land from agricultural to nonagricultural use. Project findings were used to propose a model legal framework to create a consistent, effective plan to protect the natural resource that is Minnesota’s agricultural lands. This project will be used to assist the State in devising a broader strategy to preserve rapidly diminishing farmland, particularly on the urban fringe. **Program:** Community Assistantship Program (CAP)

- **Clinton-Grace-Beardsley School Greenhouse Project.** For several gardening seasons, students of Clinton-Grace-Beardsley School (C-G-B) School in north central Minnesota have been involved in a community-school garden in which they grow vegetables for the senior citizen meal programs in town. The success of this project, through which 136 youth in 2008 and 150 in 2009 raised two dozen different kinds of vegetables in amounts sufficient to provide a meal for at least 30 senior citizens at a time, produced a positive reaction in both the school and in the community. This initial success led to the need to research the feasibility of a greenhouse at the C-G-B School site. Molly Eagan, a graduate student in the College of Design, worked with the Center for Sustainable Building Design to research siting, sizing, lighting, and heating issues and to develop a schematic design for the greenhouse. This research is being used to advocate for building an attached greenhouse at C-G-B School that will benefit students both nutritionally and educationally. **Program:** Community Assistantship Program (CAP)

- **West Broadway Farmers’ Market Study.** The West Broadway Business and Area Coalition works to change the
economic conditions of North Minneapolis by engaging in activities designed to transform West Broadway into a place where neighborhood residents have access to goods, services, and amenities to meet their social and entertainment needs. The coalition planned to start an outdoor urban market in the summer of 2011 and needed research assistance in site selection, successful business models, and available funding sources. The new market will provide economic development opportunities for local farmers and entrepreneurs and provide improved access to fresh fruits and vegetables and other healthy food options. Alicia Uzarek, an urban and regional planning graduate student at the Humphrey School, researched potential sites, business models, and vendors for the market. The results are being used to identify funding opportunities and inform how to create the market. **Program:** Neighborhood Partnerships for Community Research (NPCR)

**Public Parking in a Minneapolis Neighborhood in Transition.** The Corcoran Neighborhood Organization (CNO) is a citizen-participation organization that strives to strengthen, improve, and protect the unique character, livability, and social fabric of the neighborhood. The supply, demand, and cost of public parking have become central issues in the public conversation about the dense urban development under way on sites to the west of the Lake Street/Midtown light-rail transit station. These sites are currently vacant, underutilized, and/or used for temporary surface parking, reflecting the established “suburban” land-use patterns of the larger Hiawatha-Lake area. This pattern stands in sharp contrast, however, to the dense, urban, transit-oriented land-use pattern that is coming to the project area. A coordinated solution to parking is paramount to the success of the Corcoran neighborhood, and the successful realization of CNO’s land-use plan. Sasha Bergman, an urban and regional planning graduate student in the Humphrey School, defined and articulated the demand for parking in the project area and researched various solutions. The results are being used to guide and inform the community process around new development in the project area. **Program:** Neighborhood Partnerships for Community Research (NPCR)

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**David Forrest Awarded CURA Dissertation Research Grant**

CURA is pleased to announce David Forrest, a doctoral student in the Department of Political Science, as the first recipient of the CURA Dissertation Research Grant. The grant provides one year of support to a Ph.D. candidate in good academic standing at the University of Minnesota for the purpose of completing dissertation research on a significant issue or topic related to urban areas in the upper Midwest region.

Joe Soss, Cowles Professor for the Study of Public Service at the Hubert H. Humphrey School of Public Affairs, praised Forrest in his letter of support as “one of the most impressive graduate students I have worked with.” He noted that Forrest’s dissertation research “has the potential to make significant contributions to the scholarly literatures on policy advocacy, political representation, and the positioning of marginalized populations in U.S. politics,” as well as to “yield some important lessons and warnings for people who work on poverty and housing advocacy.”

Against the backdrop of the recent housing crisis and recession, Forrest’s research explores the role that political activists play as representatives of marginalized groups of urban poor people, focusing specifically on anti-poverty activists in Minneapolis and their efforts regarding housing and the foreclosure crisis, public education, and welfare rights. Using field research and drawing on contemporary democratic theory, Forrest investigates how political activists’ efforts serve to construct the “urban poor” as a political group with a shared identity, and position them as stakeholders in relation to institutions such as school boards and banks. Ultimately, Forrest is interested in understanding how these constructions impact both the voice of the urban poor in the policy-making process and the larger structural causes of poverty in the United States.

An article summarizing Forrest’s dissertation research will appear in a future issue of the CURA Reporter. For more information about the CURA Dissertation Research Grant program, visit www.cura.umn.edu/Dissertation.php.
As reports of foreclosures and job loss began to increase with the recent downturn of the economy, concerns about the economy’s impact on children also emerged. Articles such as “Recession exacts an emotional toll on children” (New York Times, 11/12/09) and “140,000 of state’s kids in poverty” (Star Tribune, 10/01/09) suggested that children had become “hidden casualties” of the recession. Many of these reports also noted that an increasing number of families caught up in the economic downturn were experiencing the hardships of income loss for the first time. The most striking observation reported about “newly poor” families struggling with foreclosures, job loss, reductions in income, and loss of access to healthcare was that they were newcomers to the social-services landscape.

There is a poignant history to the experiences of children in newly poor families—a circumstance that is not unique to our own times, having appeared almost a century ago during the Great Depression and as recently as the 1980s with the dislocation of workers that accompanied the restructuring of the U.S. economy. Each of these events has been accompanied by particular responses on the part of communities, religious institutions, and social welfare organizations. With respect to our current economic crisis, our interest is in examining both the impact of the crisis on children in newly poor families and responses by the community.

We began to track daily headlines in print editions of local and national newspapers. We also convened small groups of school social workers, homeless liaisons, and community agency staff members in the Twin Cities metropolitan area to conduct interviews. We used a set of questions to guide these discussions and to solicit responses by e-mail. This inquiry occurred during fall 2009 and spring 2010, when the economy was in a marked downturn. However, as the economic recovery is still uncertain, the issues raised in this article are still relevant. Ultimately, we used the information we collected to create an edition of Practice Notes titled "Children in “Newly Poor” Families in the Twin Cities: Coping with the Current Economic Crisis" by Esther Wattenberg and Ann Beuch.
“Children in Newly Poor Families: Coping with the Economic Crisis.”¹ The edition of Practice Notes upon which this article is based was supported in part by CURA. Additional support was provided by the University of Minnesota’s Center for Advanced Studies in Child Welfare.

Issues Encountered by Twin Cities’ Families During the Current Economic Crisis and Community Responses

The Landscape of Financial Distress. As we began collecting information, news articles and other reports provided context and statistics related to the economic downturn. A report by the JOBS NOW Coalition titled The Cost of Living in Minnesota (2009) noted that a single parent raising one child in Minnesota and working full-time would require an hourly wage of $18.75 to cover the cost of basic needs such as food, housing, healthcare, transportation, childcare, clothing, and taxes; however, 55% of jobs in Minnesota paid less than this amount. A two-parent family with two children and both parents working full-time would require an hourly wage of $14.03 for each parent to cover basic needs, and 39% of Minnesota jobs paid less than this amount. Other reports noted that in 2009, 25% of the children in Minnesota were living in families in which no parent held a full-time year-round job (Star Tribune, 10/01/09), and nearly 14% of the households in Minnesota reported that they did not have enough money to buy food (MinnPost, 01/26/10).

Our interviewees reported that, as an increasing number of families began to seek assistance with the deepening of the economic downturn, they observed the emergence of a number of help-seeking behaviors of newly poor families. For example, families facing financial difficulties for the first time were often reluctant to ask for help or to identify themselves as victims of the economic downturn. Further, newly poor families do not always know how to access social services and do not always have friends who know how to direct them. Some families chose to seek help in ways that allowed them to avoid being observed by neighbors (such as by attending church dinners or VFW dollar-taco nights outside of their own communities, or by grocery shopping at 2:00 AM so that others would not see they were using food stamps). Although some families may have hesitated to seek assistance, hungry children often drove them to look for help. Food-support programs appeared to be a particularly important source of support that newly poor families in the Twin Cities pursued. The widespread use of food support was captured in headlines such as “Hard times, hard choices: The decision to go on food stamps” (Star Tribune, 12/06/09). Articles such as this note that, since 2000, the number of people on the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP; previously Food Support) has grown by 50% in Hennepin and Ramsey Counties and by 167% in the other five Twin Cities metropolitan area counties (Pioneer Press, 12/06/09), and that millions in the United States are getting by on food stamps alone without any income (Star Tribune, 01/03/10). Interviewees and media reports also noted significant increases in the use of food shelves during the recent downturn.

Coping with Homelessness. During the economic downturn, those working in schools have observed firsthand the impact of the economy on students. The school social workers we interviewed and communicated with for this project provided insights on these impacts.

¹ Practice Notes is a publication of the Center for Advanced Studies in Child Welfare at the University of Minnesota that provides information on current research and best practices to social-work practitioners. To view the Summer 2010 edition of Practice Notes upon which this article is based, visit www.cehd.umn.edu/sw/CASCW/attributes/PDF/practicenotes/PracticeNotes23.pdf.
With foreclosures at the center of the economic crisis, homelessness has been a key concern in the school system, and school staff members have been working to identify children who lack a “fixed, regular, and adequate nighttime residence” in order to provide support. According to data compiled by the Minnesota Department of Education, the number of enrolled students identified as homeless in Minnesota increased from 7,297 students during the 2005–2006 school year to 8,417 students during the 2008–2009 school year. School social workers highlighted some of the clues that suggest a child is experiencing homelessness, including missing school, arriving late, falling asleep in class, wearing the same clothes several days in a row, lacking regular access to showers, and coming to school unprepared and without homework or supplies.

One school social worker noted that educational neglect may become a problem for families who have lost their homes. After a family loses its home, they may move in with relatives, and parents may try to bring the children back and forth to their home school in an attempt to not disrupt the children’s lives any further. However, such an arrangement is often difficult to maintain, particularly as families quickly wear out their welcome and have to change houses repeatedly. In these instances, the children begin arriving to school late or missing too many days, resulting in the family being referred to county child protection workers for educational neglect. Although the district has some funds to provide assistance to these families, and staff members work hard to keep students of homeless families in their home school, it can be difficult to offer services as families move quickly from one home to the next.

School social workers also described the particular impacts faced by high-school students in this economic environment. In some families, older children feel pressure to find a job in order to contribute to the household income. In response to increased stress, some students have acted out behaviorally, resulting in threats by parents to be kicked out of the home upon turning 18 years old. In some cases, families with limited resources struggle to make sure younger kids are secure, leaving older kids to fend for themselves. Some teens have decided to leave their families altogether. In these instances, the teen may stay with friends or relatives and couch-hop from one home to the next as they wear out their welcome. These teens often get to school infrequently. Some suburban kids come into the Twin Cities to live. When shelters are full, homeless youth may seek bus tokens from outreach workers in order to stay safe and warm at night by riding the bus.

In response to the growing number of children facing homelessness...
For some families, the embarrassment of not being able to pay for school lunch keeps them from enrolling their children in the school-lunch program. Other families who have experienced a significant reduction in income struggle to afford even reduced-price meals or are just outside the reaches of the program, yet are unable to provide the funds needed to purchase school lunch. In these instances, children may bring cold lunches, charge the school lunch (which then incurs a debt for the family), or go hungry. According to school social workers, in some schools, lunchroom staff members observe how often students charge lunch and play an important role in connecting students with the subsidized-lunch program. However, if a student continues to charge lunch without later paying the bill, the school may decide to stop providing lunch to this student. Many schools used to try to absorb these costs, but they are also under financial strain and may no longer feel able to forgo receiving the fee. School social workers and the media have reported that some schools have used collection agencies to recover these fees.

In response to the challenges some families face in accessing school lunch, two Minnesota legislators, U.S. Senator Al Franken and U.S. Representative Keith Ellison, introduced bills in Congress last year to expand the subsidized school-lunch program and to increase access. These policy responses are described in the final section of this article.

Coping with Family Economic Distress. The school social workers we interviewed confirmed that children feel, hear, and know the pressures their families are under. They noted that children worry about not being able to buy things, about parents not being able to keep their jobs or pay bills, and about the well-being of their parents. One school social worker provided an illustration of a family in which there had been a lot of arguing between the parents after both had lost jobs. The student in this family started to have attendance issues at school because she wanted to stay at home to “protect” her mother. Another school social worker noted situations in which children lost access to medication for attention deficit disorder/attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADD/ADHD) because their parents could no longer afford it or lost medical coverage and felt they needed to put the money toward food, gas money, or other medications such as those for asthma or insulin. These students struggled with behavioral issues and started to feel frustrated, thereby affecting relationships with their peers.

Parents’ altered work arrangements also impact children. In some cases, a parent’s work schedule requires that children prepare for school on their own. As the school social workers and homeless liaisons we interviewed noted, experiences with the school-lunch program vary. For students who qualify, although the program strives to ensure anonymity, the desire to avoid stigma may impact their use of the program. In some schools, a la carte items (such as nachos with cheese or soft-serve ice cream), which are not covered under the program and which must be purchased with cash, are more popular among peers than typical hot lunches. Some students who do not have the cash needed to buy a la carte items choose to go hungry rather than be singled out as different from peers.

4 The McKinney-Vento Act began as the Stewart B. McKinney Act of 1987. Today the act is designed to ensure that homeless students have access to school, with priority placed on the student’s school of origin, and access to services to maintain attendance and succeed.

5 One metro area public school noted on their website in 2009 that up to 45% of the middle-school students and 55% of the high-school students chose to purchase a la carte items rather than school lunch.

Those who assist newly poor families must be able to recognize a child’s coping style. In nurturing families with a strong social-support network, the coping style will be realistic. However, for children who see the family collapse under the stress of continuing economic crises, the child’s need for reassurance may be more significant.
own. If a child gets up late and misses the school bus, the parent cannot always leave work or afford the extra gas money needed to bring the child to school. For some children, this sets up a pattern of school absences that lead to charges of truancy. In one case, a parent needed to take a job far from home, spending large amounts of time away from the family. The stress of this situation caused the child to lose focus and to become easily frustrated by school work and peers. In other cases, parents have decided to relocate the family due to a job change or a search for jobs. For some children, adapting to a new environment has been stressful, as they have had to work to form friendships in a new school and in a new neighborhood.

In response to these circumstances, school social workers who we interviewed told us that staff members at schools have made a concerted effort to “keep eyes and ears” open to the changing needs of students and have made adjustments as necessary to assist students in newly poor families. In some schools, staff members have encouraged students to have the free breakfast and to take leftover cereal and fruit to the classroom for snacks. Staff members also have organized support efforts. At one school, a school social worker distributed more than 100 backpacks filled with supplies at the start of the school year. Furthermore, schools have begun to use electronic correspondence with parents in newly poor families, who are often computer savvy, to provide information on available resources. In addition, when school social workers are concerned with the well-being of children of the “newly poor,” they can consult with the Minnesota Department of Human Services’ Child Protection program. In this consultation, child protection staff may make a number of resources available for responding to parents’ depression and anxiety. Initiating crisis-intervention strategies to assure the safety of the children may also be appropriate.

Policy Responses
The experiences shared by those we interviewed for this project remind all of us engaged in assuring the well-being of children how acute the suffering may be of a child whose expectation of a safe, comfortable, predictable world has been shattered when parents lose their homes, their jobs, and their roles as providers. Those who interact with children in newly poor families on a daily basis in the schools have initiated significant and targeted responses—for example, because a large portion of newly poor families are known to be computer savvy, some schools have begun sending information on available resources via e-mail. In an example from the broader community, at least one local church has created a link on their website to information on social services and “safety-net” financial resources to better reach these families. At the same time, lawmakers have attempted to introduce broader responses. The following policies had been proposed at the time this inquiry originally took place in late 2009 and early 2010:

**The Educational Success for Children and Youth Without Homes Act of 2009** (S. 2800) was introduced by U.S. Senators Patty Murray and Al Franken to reinforce and expand key provisions of the McKinney-Vento Act’s Education for Homeless Children and Youth program. In particular, this legislation focused on promoting school stability, providing homeless students access to a full range of academic-support opportunities, enhancing school districts’ ability to identify and serve homeless students, assisting unaccompanied homeless youth, and increasing access to preschool

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### Resources to Help in an Economic Downturn

The University of Minnesota Extension Service’s website offers *Getting Through Tough Times*, a series of 17 fact sheets. The series includes the following:

**Getting help**
- Community Agencies That Can Help
- Looking for a Job

**Financial decisions with less**
- Keeping a Roof Overhead
- Bartering
- Meeting Your Insurance Needs
- Deciding Which Bills to Pay First

**Dealing with stress**
- Communicating Under Pressure
- Controlling Stress
- Identifying Sources of Support and Friendship

**Figuring out how to do more with less**
- Stretching Your Food Dollar
- Setting Spending Priorities
- Strategies for Spending Less
- Talking With Creditors
- Making the Most of What You Have

**Children and tough times**
- How You Can Help Mom or Dad
- Deciding if Teens Should Work
- Helping Children Cope

For the complete set of fact sheets, visit www.extension.umn.edu/resourcemanagement/toughtimes.html.
programs for young children who experience homelessness. This bill was introduced in the U.S. Senate on November 19, 2009, and was referred to the Senate Committee on Health, Education, Labor, and Pensions.

The School Meals Stigma Reduction Act of 2010 (H.R. 5167) was introduced by U.S. Representative Keith Ellison and aimed to reduce stigma associated with school meals by requiring that schools refrain from implementing policies that would penalize students with unpaid school-meal bills. In addition, districts would be prohibited from using debt-collection agencies to collect these unpaid fees. This bill was introduced in the U.S. House on April 28, 2010, and was referred to the House Committee on Education and Labor.

The Expand School Meals Act of 2009 (S. 1737; H.R. 3705) was introduced by U.S. Senator Al Franken in the Senate and U.S. Representative Keith Ellison in the House. This bill aimed to expand access to free school meals by making all children whose family income falls at or below 185% of the federal poverty guidelines eligible for free meals. In other words, children who are eligible for reduced-price meals would become eligible for free meals. This bill would amend the Richard B. Russell National School Lunch Act (1946) and the Child Nutrition Act of 1966. It was introduced on October 1, 2009, in both the U.S. Senate and the U.S. House and was referred to committees in each. Ultimately, on December 13, 2010, President Obama signed the Healthy, Hunger-Free Kids Act of 2010 into law. This law aims to increase access to school-meal programs and to improve nutrition of school meals to address childhood obesity.

**Recommendations**
Children in newly poor families present a challenge to be on the alert for their coping capacities. Those who interact with and assist newly poor families must be able to recognize different coping styles used by children. In families with an environment of emotional warmth, consistency in upbringing, and a social-support network, the coping style will be realistic. There will likely be a focus on success at school and an openness regarding how the parents are coping. The strengths and assets of children will be at the forefront, and children will appreciate their parents, who may serve as models of resilience under adverse circumstances. However, for children who see the family collapse under the stress of continuing economic crises, the child’s need for reassurance may be primary. The parents’ availability for reassuring responses may be limited by depression or the eruption of domestic violence. The support network for the child must particularly be on the alert in these situations.

To strengthen coping in these families, social workers must be available with relevant responses for mental health and strengths-based social services for the parents; search for and appreciate the assets that the child brings; be alert to behaviors indicating serious distress, such as bizarre behaviors or neurological tics, hair pulling, or deep sleep intervals; develop mental-health referral resources for seriously disturbed children; and recognize that school absences are often signs of distress. For students who are missing from school, school social workers should attempt to locate these children and plan for school reentry.

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For more information on the Center for Advanced Studies in Child Welfare at the University of Minnesota, visit www.cehd.umn.edu/ssw/cascw/.
Project Assistance Available from CURA

The Center for Urban and Regional Affairs supports research and technical assistance through a number of individual programs, each with their own deadlines and application procedures. If you represent a community organization and are unsure which program listed below is most suitable for your project proposal, simply complete a general Community-Based Research Program Application Form at www.cura.umn.edu/Programs/curaappform.html and we will route your request to the appropriate program.

■ The Community Assistance Program (CAP) matches community-based nonprofit organizations, citizen groups, and government agencies in greater Minnesota with students who can provide research assistance. Eligible organizations define a research project, submit an application, and if accepted, are matched with a qualified student to carry out the research. The application deadline for fall semester 2011 assistantships (early September to mid-January) is June 30, 2011. For more information, to discuss potential projects, or for assistance with applications, contact CAP coordinator Will Craig at 612-625-3321 or w craig@umn.edu, or visit www.cura.umn.edu/cap.php.

■ Neighborhood Partnerships for Community Research (NPCR) provides student research assistance to community organizations in Minneapolis, St. Paul, and metro-area suburbs that are involved in community-based revitalization. Projects may include any issue relevant to a neighborhood's or community's needs and interests, including planning, program development, or program evaluation. Priority is given to projects that support and involve residents of color. Applications from organizations collaborating on a project are encouraged. The application deadline for fall semester 2011 assistantships (early September to mid-January) is June 30, 2011. For more information, contact NPCR program director Kris Nelson at 612-625-1020 or ksn@umn.edu, or visit www.cura.umn.edu/npcr.php.

■ The Communiversity Program funds quarter-time graduate student assistantships for one semester to help community-based nonprofit organizations or government agencies with a specific project. The application deadline for fall semester 2011 assistantships (early September to mid-January) is June 30, 2011. For more information, contact CURA community program assistant Jeff Corn at 612-625-0744 or curacr@umn.edu, or visit www.cura.umn.edu/communiversity.php.

■ Northside Seed Grants support community organizations that operate programs serving residents of Minneapolis’ Northside community by providing student research assistants and faculty researchers to carry out neighborhood-initiated and neighborhood-guided projects. The application deadline for fall semester 2011 assistantships (early September to mid-January) is June 30, 2011. For more information, contact program director Kris Nelson at 612-625-1020 or ksn@umn.edu, or visit www.cura.umn.edu/NSG.php.

■ The Community Geographic Information Systems (CGIS) program provides technical assistance in mapping, data analysis, and GIS to community-based organizations and nonprofits in the Twin Cities metropolitan area. CGIS staff specialize in parcel-level mapping, demographic analysis, and Internet-based GIS technologies. There is no formal application process or deadline to apply. Project requests can be made by phone or e-mail, and generally can be turned around within two weeks. For more information, to discuss potential projects, or for assistance with data needs, contact CGIS program coordinator Jeff Matson at 612-625-0081 or jmatson@umn.edu, or visit www.cura.umn.edu/CGIS.php.

■ The Minnesota Center for Neighborhood Organizing trains people to work effectively in organizing and staffing neighborhood organizations. It trains new organizers and increases the skills of existing neighborhood staff through internships, workshops, and other programs. For more information about the program and the training opportunities available, contact Jay Clark at 612-625-2513 or clark037@umn.edu, or Margaret Kaplan at 612-624-2300 or mkaplan@umn.edu, or visit www.mcno.umn.edu.

■ The Faculty Interactive Research Program is designed to encourage University of Minnesota faculty to carry out research projects that involve a significant issue of public policy for the state or its communities, and that include interaction with groups, agencies, or organizations in Minnesota involved with the issue. Ideal projects will have an applied orientation, as well as serve the research interests of the faculty member. Awards cover the faculty member’s salary for one month during the summer, and support a half-time graduate research assistant for one year. Deadline for applications for the 2011–2012 academic year competition is April 1, 2011. For more information, contact CURA director Ed Goetz at 612-624-8737 or egoetz@umn.edu, or visit www.cura.umn.edu/Programs/FIRP/announce.php.
From Risks to Assets: Toward a Strengths-Based Approach to Juvenile Justice Reentry into the Community

by Joshua Page and Shelly Schaefer

Scholars and policymakers with an interest in the justice system have increasingly turned their attention to the movement of prisoners back into society upon completion of their sentences. The enormity of the prison population in the United States (approximately 1 in 100 adult Americans is currently behind bars), combined with the ever-growing number of ex-offenders returning to communities and extremely high recidivism rates, has fueled interest in “reentry.”

Although adult reentry has received considerable scrutiny, the transition of young people out of juvenile justice facilities and into communities has not. One obvious reason for this blind spot is that the number of adults in prison dwarfs the number of juveniles in “residential placement” (the official term for youth residential correctional facilities). In 2006, the number of youths in residential placement nationally was 92,854, whereas the number of adults in prison was 1,570,861 (Minnesota accounted for 1,221 of the youths and 9,108 of the adults). Although their numbers are much smaller than those for the adult prison population, young people regularly return to communities after months or years under


Transitioning back into the community from a juvenile residential treatment facility, such as the one pictured here, is often a lonely, difficult process. To complete the transition without returning to crime, young men and women need extensive support and resources.
has acknowledged the importance of the relationship between the probation officer (PO) and ex-offender, it has not thoroughly examined that relationship.\textsuperscript{4} To our knowledge, no qualitative longitudinal studies have analyzed this relationship, but from the beginning of our study (particularly as we conducted the first pre-release interviews), it was clear that the PO-probationer relationship was pivotal in the transition process. It was also evident that this relationship differed significantly across the cases, and how it differed mattered. We found that ex-offenders were responsive to and had positive feelings about POs who engaged them in ways that resembled the “strengths-based” approach to juvenile justice reentry. The young men were less responsive to and had more negative feelings about POs who seemed to take a “risks/needs-based” approach. Our findings support recent scholarship that advocates for expanding the use of strengths-based practices in juvenile justice.\textsuperscript{5} 

**Risks/Needs-Based v. Strengths-Based Approach.** That said, the risks/needs-based approach is predominant within contemporary juvenile justice. Here the PO focuses on the ex-offenders’ problems (also called needs, risks, failures, or deficiencies). The PO instructs the young person on what he or she needs to do to fix these problems. If the ex-offender fails to follow the plan, the PO uses threats and sanctions to get him or her back on track. By remedying or shrinking the problems, the ex-offenders become less at risk for committing new crimes. It is a top-down approach in which the PO is the expert who instructs the young person and the probationer’s job is to follow the plan.\textsuperscript{6} 

The strengths-based approach differs from the risks/needs-based approach in key ways. As its name suggests, this method focuses on youths’ strengths or assets. William Barton explains, \textsuperscript{7} 

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\text{“strengths-based practice builds upon an assessment process that seeks to discover strengths and engage in collaborative planning.”} & \text{7 Michael Clark elaborates on this point: “All offenders and families have some resources such as skills, capabilities, interests, positive character traits, even perseverance and hope, that can be brought to bear for exiting our system. It is a simple yet profound truth that solutions are not reached through [an] offender’s weaknesses and failures, but through [an] offender’s strengths and healthy patterns.”} \textsuperscript{8}
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Whereas the risks/needs-based approach is top-down, the strengths-based approach is collaborative. Barton explains: “A fundamental assumption of strengths-based practice is that people are more likely to change when they are fully engaged as partners in the process of identifying goals and strategies for their attainment, rather than when they are the objects of change efforts initiated by others.”\textsuperscript{9} In a strengths-based relationship, the PO listens to the probationer, makes plans with him or her, recognizes progress (however small), and helps the ex-offender find resources that help him or her reach his or her goals. The PO encourages and seeks to empower the probationer, using threats and sanctions only to enforce serious violations of probation guidelines (and even then the PO can use strengths-based practices to ensure future compliance with the guidelines).

By focusing on ex-offenders’ strengths, providing support and recognition, and collaborating with them, POs can build trust and, ideally, increase ex-offenders’ willingness to hear and heed advice and instructions (such as the need to follow probation guidelines). As the next section suggests, POs who adhere to a risks/needs-based perspective risk alienating their charges, enhancing their distrust and resentment of them and the justice system more generally, and encouraging them to withdraw or, even worse, see crime as a reasonable option once again. Strengths-based practice is not a panacea; however, its proponents argue that it can help ex-offenders successfully complete probation and

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become stable and self-reliant, thereby decreasing the risk that they will return to crime.

Research Methodology
To conduct this study, we chose to interview young men who resided in either state or county facilities. The Minnesota Department of Corrections granted approval to interview young men at the state facility, which is located approximately 60 miles from the Twin Cities. For young men residing in county-run facilities, we focused on facilities supervised by Hennepin County, the largest county in the state. A court order from the presiding juvenile court judge in Hennepin County granted approval to interview youth at three county-run facilities. We focused on these particular facilities both because of their location (representing an urban, suburban, and rural location), and also because of their focus on long-term programming that paralleled the length of stay and demographics of the young men residing at the state correctional facility.

To identify young men who were eligible for our study, we solicited the assistance of the transitional case manager at each facility. Eligibility to participate in the study was based on two selection criteria: age (18 years or older) and proximity to release (30 days prior to release). The transitional case manager at each facility contacted us on a rolling basis whenever young men matching our selection criteria were eligible for the study. Participation in the study was completely voluntary.

Our intention was to recruit 50–55 participants for the study. We intended to interview each person 4 times: 30 days pre-release and 3, 9, and 18 months post-release. Ultimately, 54 young men between the ages of 18 and 21 (all of the participants were minors when they entered the facility) agreed to participate in the study. Of the 54 young men we interviewed, roughly half (28) were at the state-run facility, and the other half (26) were at one of the three county-run facilities. Age, race, and type of offense were similar for the young men exiting both facilities.10

The pre-release interviews took place in private rooms provided by the facilities. Upon meeting each young man, we reviewed the purpose of the study and asked them to sign a consent to participate form. Both the pre-transition and follow-up interviews were recorded with a digital recorder and lasted anywhere from 30 minutes to more than an hour. The length of the interviews varied due to the open-ended structure of the interview guide; topics we explored with each individual included:

- **institutional history**—a timeline of current and past institutional placements
- **current institutional structure**—treatment, groups, family therapy, chemical-dependency programming, education, employment training
- **institutional opinion**—critique of current placement, including pros and cons
- **offense history**—both prior offenses and offense leading to placement
- **visitation**—types of contact with family and friends while in placement
- **family life, children, intimate relationships**
- **peers**
- **probation**—the influence of probation supervision on future decision-making
- **goals for the future**

The follow-up interviews took place in the young adult’s community, often at a local coffee shop, restaurant, or public space. During the consent process at the pre-transition interview, we secured contact information for each participant, including personal telephone numbers and addresses, along with phone numbers and addresses for family, friends, and case managers. The post-release interview guide includes general topics related to the participant’s transition, including family, friends, education, employment, probation, and community activities.

We were able to conduct three-month follow-up interviews with 70% of our sample. Of the 20 young men we were not able to interview at the three-month follow-up, only one individual declined to participate. For the remaining 19 young men, we were either unable to locate them after multiple attempts using the contact information provided on their consent form, or they did not show up for three or more scheduled follow-up interviews.

As previously mentioned, we initially planned to interview the entire original sample at least four times; however, we were able to conduct nine-month follow-up interviews with only 40% of the original participants. Because of the small size of our sample after the first post-release interview, we decided it would be more productive.

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10 Of the juveniles exiting the state facility, approximately 86% were minority whereas 88% of the juveniles exiting the county-run facilities were minority. Race and ethnicity were self-reported by each juvenile during the consent process. We classify as minority juveniles who self-identified as Black, Native American, Hispanic, Asian, or Other (non-white).
to follow a small group of participants more closely. We selected six participants (three Black, three White) to follow over time. These six participants were similar in key ways—they had committed serious crimes, had similar sentences, and had been involved in crime for at least a few years before they were apprehended—but differed in their post-release trajectories and experiences. We have interviewed each of the six participants 4–8 times during a roughly three-year period. Our goal is to conduct at least five interviews with each of the six young men, a task we expect to complete in the next few months.

Case Studies
In this section, we provide the case studies of two of the six participants in our study who we followed for almost three years. As noted above, the six young men we tracked had different post-release experiences. The two cases we include here represent two young men who we would characterize as getting through probation but not doing well (although not involved in crime again). The first case is an example of a risks/needs-based PO-probationer relationship and the second is an example of a strengths-based PO-probationer relationship. We do not argue that the POs purposefully tried to develop these kinds of relationships (although they may have). Rather, we maintain that the relationships resemble those we have described above. How the ex-offenders perceive and feel about these relationships, we maintain, had important implications for their reentry process.

Jerome.\footnote{The names used in this article are pseudonyms.} Jerome fits the image of the stereotypical “street criminal.” He is young, black, and stout. He wears baggy pants, hooded sweatshirts, and sneakers. His face and deportment express toughness and fearlessness. His behavior used to match his appearance: he sold drugs, gang-banged, fought, and robbed houses. “Trouble” was a central feature of his life—and, for the most part, he enjoyed it. He explained:

At the time, I just got a kick out of it I guess, kind of liked the trouble.

In early 2007, his criminal escapades stopped when he was locked up for robbery in the first degree with possession of a firearm. Then 17 years old, Jerome was sent to a residential correctional facility, where he would serve an open-ended sentence (i.e., facility staff would release him once he sufficiently completed the treatment program).

When we met Jerome in January 2008, he had been incarcerated for eight months. Although he longed to be home with his mother (he is definitely a momma’s boy), he spoke fondly about his experience in the residential facility. During his time there, he had developed skills for avoiding confrontation, managing his anger, and, to a lesser extent, assuaging his intense grief. His grief was primarily due to the recent murder of his father, who was shot and killed shortly after completing a 16-year prison term.

Jerome was determined to refrain from gang-banging, drug-dealing, and other criminal activities. He was also committed to meeting the expectations of the treatment-facility staff, PO, and judge. He had been a pot-smoker before getting arrested, but now he had not gotten high for more than a year. He aimed to remain sober when he was released—not because he thought he had a drug problem, but because he knew his PO would test him for drugs. He also planned to get his GED and earn a post-secondary degree.

After I get my GED and stuff like that I’m gonna go to a tech school, and I either wanna do mechanics or construction ‘cause I can do a lot of stuff with my hands ... After that I still wanna go to school, like a four-year college or something like that.

Jerome was confident that he would help provide for his family (mother and brother) and establish a conventional, good life “on the outs.”

The young man had a big incentive to stay out of trouble: a four-year adult prison term hanging over his head. The state had sentenced Jerome under a 1995 law called “extended jurisdiction juvenile” (EJJ), which allows judges to blend a juvenile disposition with a stayed adult sentence. Lawmakers envisioned EJJ as an alternative to sentencing young offenders to adult prison for serious crimes. Under the law, judges may sentence juvenile offenders to serve time in juvenile correctional facilities and, upon release, remain on intensive probation (post-release supervision) until their 21st birthday. During this intensive probation period, if the juvenile commits new crimes or technical probation violations, a judge may revoke the juvenile disposition and impose the stayed adult sentence (i.e., send the young person to prison) based on the Minnesota adult-sentencing guidelines for the initial offense. Moreover, if the EJJ sentence is revoked, the juvenile adjudication converts to a felony conviction on their adult (permanent) record. Therefore, for Jerome to stay out of prison and maintain a clean adult record, he had to remain crime-free and follow the rules set forth by the juvenile court.

We met with Jerome again approximately three months after he left the youth correctional facility. He was living with his mother and younger brother in a small apartment. Life on the outside was far harder than he had anticipated. When we asked how he was doing, he shook his head slowly and practically groaned, “Stressful, man.” Stress came primarily from working and providing for his family. The young man had two part-time jobs, one at a fast-food restaurant and the other at a casual restaurant/sports bar. He made slightly more than the minimum wage and worked erratic hours.

Jerome’s mother had been out of work since he was released. Therefore, he was primarily responsible for meeting his family’s financial obligations. Heavy with frustration, he told us:

It’s been hard. All I really do is work. Basically all I do is work to pay rent. All the money goes to the bills.

He had not progressed toward earning his GED. Although he was discouraged and tired, he had not returned to crime. He got along relatively well with his PO; as long as Jerome had a job (or actively sought work) and did not get in legal trouble or flunk a drug test, the PO was hands-off. Jerome did not feel that the PO was helpful, but he was happy the officer did not micromanage his life.

We interviewed Jerome again about six months later, and his situation had not improved. He still had his precarious jobs and was spending the vast majority of his paycheck on bills. He had not earned his GED and his social life was negligible. His relationship with his PO had deteriorated, because Jerome had been smoking marijuana. When we asked why he started smoking marijuana (a probation violation), he said:

I guess when I get stressed out man, that’s what I fall back into it, man.

As a consequence of the violation, Jerome was placed on house arrest for a month (he was still allowed to work).
Even though he had been caught using drugs, Jerome remained confident that he would complete his probation sentence. After all, he was leading a crime-free life (except for smoking marijuana). He had transitioned from a juvenile gangster into a young adult male who (like many other men his age) worked hard and blew off steam by getting high. At the end of the interview, he told us that he felt “like an old man.” Indeed, he looked like he felt. Nevertheless, he remained mildly optimistic about his future. When we asked him what he thought he would be doing in a year, he replied:

Hopefully, probably learning a trade or something like that. Getting a better-paying job, man.

Our third interview with Jerome occurred approximately a year-and-a-half after we first interviewed him (nine months since the previous interview). He was irritable and disheartened, and his physical appearance had not improved since we last met. Three main things contributed to his mental and physical state. First, he was jobless, having been laid off from both part-time jobs. Second, he was homeless. His family was evicted from their apartment for not paying the rent. Jerome had been “couch-hopping” for a couple of months. His mother was staying in a homeless shelter, and his brother was staying in the shelter with his mother on some nights and with friends on others. Finally, he had a new PO, because his previous PO was on temporary leave. Jerome felt the new officer was unhelpful, especially in aiding Jerome’s job search:

I asked my PO for assistance. I go fill out applications every day, I fill ‘em out on the Internet, and there’s nothing.

He also felt that the new PO micromanaged his life and treated him like a child:

I’m tired of my POs trying to tell me what to do. I’m 20 years old, I know what the fuck I’m doing. The only reason they talk to me like that is I’m on this juvenile probation ... Probation will ruin your life.

The PO routinely pressured Jerome to attend chemical-dependency classes and threatened to revoke Jerome’s probation if he did not quit smoking marijuana. Jerome maintained that he did not have a drug problem; rather, marijuana helped him deal with stress, grief, and other emotions. The PO also pressed Jerome to attend GED classes. The young man insisted that he was studying for the GED on his own and did not need the classes. As evidence, he pointed to the positive results of a practice test he took the last time he went to the GED class. As he did in our previous meetings, Jerome insisted that all he needed was a decent job. He could then establish a modicum of stability. As he put it:

I just get tired of just dealing with the whole shit. If I was working, I’d be cool.

In short, Jerome felt that the PO did not listen to him, understand his situation, or provide useful assistance or positive reinforcement. Unlike in our previous interviews, at 18 months out, he was not confident that he would complete his probation term, which would end in approximately eight months (when he turned 21). He was ambivalent about his situation, saying,

I don’t even care no more—sometimes.

After reflecting on his situation for a minute or so, he concluded that he would have to stop smoking marijuana:

If I get off the weed, what can they say?

Once his probation was over, he would reignite his habit. With excitement and defiance, he pronounced:

My 21st birthday, I’m going to have fat blunts waiting for me. I got no problem with it [marijuana]. I still function the same way. When I smoke, I actually sit back and read a book.

Jerome envisioned a mellow, stable post-probation future, in which he worked at a trade, smoked marijuana, and spent time with his family and friends. Gang-banging and serious crime were not part of his vision.

At the insistence of his PO, Jerome completed a court-ordered chemical-dependency outpatient treatment program. He remained drug-free long enough to complete his probation sentence. We met with him several months later and asked him to reflect on probation. He acknowledged that probation was a deterrent:

It gave me something in the back of my head, like if you do this you’re going to get in trouble. It made me not even want to take the risk of
Although he felt probation helped keep him out of prison, he did not think his POs had offered sufficient assistance (particularly with finding the type of work he wanted) or recognized his progress. He was resentful because he felt they had not listened to him.

When he was discharged from probation, Jerome’s POs told him that he could contact them for assistance in the future. We asked Jerome if he would take them up on their offer, and he said:

They didn’t even help me when I was on probation. So it would be a waste of time to call and see when I’m off.

The POs did in fact help him stay out of prison and complete probation but, from Jerome’s perspective, they did not help him find steady work (preferably doing a trade or manual labor) and steady housing, the two things he felt were essential for establishing stability and happiness.

Michael. Michael’s story overlaps with Jerome’s in key ways. Both transplants from Chicago, these young black men grew up in poverty and without fathers. They became involved with gangs and crime at young ages and were locked up before finishing high school. After receiving EJJ sentences, they ended up at the same residential treatment facility at about the same time. It was the first long-term out-of-home placement for both of them.

Although both young men sold drugs and were in gangs, their criminal activities differed. Michael was a gang member but, unlike Jerome, he was not heavily involved with gang activity, such as fighting rivals. He also did not rob people or homes. Instead, Michael was a drug-dealer who became involved in the illicit trade at 16 when his mother, who had a long-term addiction, introduced him to the gang. She didn’t know when she might go, and this is her baby boy, so she wants her baby boy to be okay.

As he got deeper into the drug game, his life spiraled out of control—“too much fast money, a lot of drama, a lot of violence.” He routinely made a choice to get out of the game:

Every day I’d wake up and probably throw all my stuff out and just say, “I quit.” And I’d just leave all my stuff there on the floor for a couple of hours.

However, the choice never stuck, and he continued dealing. His run came to a surprising end at age 17 when police officers stopped and searched him because he was smoking a cigarette in a phone booth. He had both drugs and money in his coat pockets. Convicted of selling narcotics, he received an EJJ sentence. He was sentenced to serve an open-ended term in a residential correctional facility and remain on probation until he turned 21.

Like Jerome, Michael felt he benefited greatly from the treatment program. He learned skills to manage his anger and received grief counseling (his mother had passed away right after he was arrested). Moreover, he made progress toward earning his GED and gained work experience at a local fast-food restaurant. After about a year in the treatment facility, Michael chose to participate in the facility’s transition program (TP) rather than go home.12 Participants in TP live together, work and go to school, pay bills, and hold each other accountable for their actions. A transition counselor advises and monitors the young people in the program. Michael says the TP helped him immensely:

They helped me establish like a job history, and how to do a resume and how to volunteer at places and stuff like that to put on my resume.

The TP provided structure as Michael transitioned from being locked up to living independently in the community.

Upon leaving the TP at age 19, Michael returned to the Twin Cities, rented a cheap apartment, and settled into a routine. He worked two jobs (one at a fast-food restaurant and the other at a tree-trimming business), took care of his daughter several days a week, regularly checked in with his PO, and spent time with his new girlfriend (a straight-laced young woman who lived with her parents in the suburbs). In his limited time away from work, he also hung out at his cousin’s apartment. Although he was drug-free, his cousins and brother (who also lived in the apartment) were not. Because of his continued abstinence, Michael was shocked when his PO told him that trace amounts of cocaine had shown up on a drug test.

The only explanation Michael could render was that he had handled money that people in his cousin’s apartment had rolled up and used to snort cocaine. Michael’s PO did not formally sanction him; he could have asked a judge to revoke Michael’s probation or forced the young man to enroll in a chemical-dependency treatment program. Rather, Michael and his PO agreed that Michael would not hang out at the apartment with his cousins and brother, and would move out of the city. The PO connected the young man with a community program that provided financial resources for housing. With that money, Michael rented a small place in a nearby suburb.

When Michael told us the story about the dirty drug test, he emphasized that his PO was understanding and very helpful locating resources to help him move. He was also grateful that his PO did not formally punish him. The relationship between Michael and his PO was far different from that of Jerome and his POs. Jerome repeatedly said that his POs did not listen to him, but Michael lauded his PO for being a good listener:

Everyone who goes through [probation] or that EJJ thing has got a story to tell. I got a story to tell. As long as you listen to the youth and not try to say “do this” or “do that” and just listen to them, you might get a few good ideas in their life. That they want to do. And that’s what [names

[12] Jerome chose to go home rather than participate in the TP.
PO] do, he just sit there and listen. Now, he’ll give you input on if it’s the right thing or not, but he’s going to leave the option up to you. He’ll never force anything on you. So that’s what I liked about him.

Michael appreciated that his PO did not force him to follow a particular path. Michael and his PO worked far more collaboratively than did Jerome and his POs.

Michael also felt that his PO provided concrete help, such as connecting him with the program that provided housing assistance. His PO also was a source of emotional support. In this regard, Michael said:

Yeah, I can just call him anytime I want to, it don’t matter. I can call him at nighttime, anytime I want.

Michael summed up his feelings about his PO:

He help me out a lot. He don’t treat me like a criminal, he treat you like you got dignity and respect. That’s how it is with me and him.

As a testament to the supportive relationship, Michael continued to rely on his PO after he finished his probation term. When we asked if he considered his PO (now former PO) a friend, he replied:

Yeah, I consider him a good friend.

We met with Michael again several months after he finished probation. He was still doing well, even though he no longer had the deterrence of a prison sentence hanging over his head. The vast majority of his time was spent working; he referred to himself as a “workaholic.” When not at either of his two jobs, he spent time with his daughter and girlfriend, wrote and recorded rap songs, and, every once in a while, attended a party. He still had not earned his GED, which kept him from going to college—one of the goals he had when we first met him nearly three years ago at the residential facility. When we asked if he was happy, he said:

I’d say life is like a roller coaster, so I might be up and cheerful some days and some days I might go down. It depends on the day and how I’m feeling. I am only 21, and I’ve got a lot of weight on my shoulders.

Although his life was by no means easy, crime no longer seemed necessary or appealing. And, for the first time, he had stability.

Discussion

Michael’s relationship with his PO does not explain his success. His voluntary participation in the transition program, persistence in finding employment, willingness to find housing away from potential trouble, and his long hours doing low-wage work highlight the extent of his determination to remain crime-free, finish probation, and become self-sufficient and stable. Although not the reason for Michael’s success, the relationship between him and his PO was important. The PO connected Michael with community resources—most importantly, financial assistance for housing. Moreover, the PO provided emotional support, recognized and encouraged Michael’s accomplishments, and listened to the young man’s concerns and plans. Rather than force Michael to follow a fixed path forward, he created a path with Michael that fit Michael’s strengths and desires. The PO did not fixate on Michael’s “risks” or “deficiencies”; rather, he helped him develop his strengths (e.g., work ethic, commitment to his daughter, and his burgeoning positive self-perception as a changed individual with an increasingly bright future). The relationship between Michael and his PO typifies a strengths-based approach to juvenile reentry.

Jerome’s relationships with his POs (particularly his second PO) resembled the risks/needs-based approach to juvenile reentry. The POs focused on Jerome’s risks, needs, and deficiencies. Moreover, his second PO micromanaged his transition process. According to Jerome, the POs did not recognize his progress—and not returning to gang-banging, selling drugs, and robbing people were major strides for Jerome (even if he still smoked marijuana now and then). His reluctance to quit smoking marijuana and finish his GED, his precarious living situations, and his off-again, on-again work situation seemingly frustrated his POs. In response, the POs relied primarily on threats and sanctions, hoping to deter Jerome from crime long enough for him to get off probation.

Jerome did in fact finish probation. However, at that point, he still did not have work, a place to live, transportation, or his GED. Months after finishing probation, he was desperate for money and considering crime as a possible option—although he explained through tears that he desperately wanted to find a job and avoid breaking the law. When we reviewed our interviews with Jerome, we were struck that, in every discussion, he said he just wanted to learn a trade or get a manual-labor job, such as moving boxes in a warehouse. More than anything, he sought to make enough money to get an apartment with his mom and younger brother (when we last spoke, his mom was in a shelter and his brother was homeless). Rather than help him find the kind of work he wanted (or a training program that would eventually lead to that type of employment), his POs made him go to drug treatment and GED classes and apply for jobs at fast-food restaurants and similar types of establishments. Because he felt that his POs (particularly the second) did not listen to him or recognize his progress (however limited), he resented and sought to avoid them. Besides providing a deterrent to serious crime, the PO-probationer relationship did not help Jerome become stable or self-sufficient. He remains at risk of returning to crime.

We cannot know if Jerome’s POs could have helped him more had they taken a strengths-based approach with him. However, we are confident that such an approach would have strengthened the relationship between Jerome and his POs, making collaboration more likely. It is undeniably easier for POs to take a strengths-based approach with highly motivated ex-offenders like Michael, but it is arguably more important that POs adopt this approach when working with more difficult cases such as Jerome.

Counties can encourage strengths-based probation through training. At least one organization, the Center for Strengths-Based Strategies, provides such training throughout the United States and in other countries.13 Once trained, experienced POs could in turn train new POs through classroom education and on-the-job supervision and instruction. Ideally, all probation officers would receive strengths-based training before beginning their careers, as well as participate in periodic refresher courses.

We believe that probation officers, if given the opportunity, would

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13 This organization was previously called the Center for Strengths in Juvenile Justice. The organization can be found online at www.buildmotivation.com/index.php?option=com_frontpage&Itemid=1.
probation, but also gain a semblance of stability and self-reliance so that they are no longer at risk of re-offending.

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Will Craig Named UCGIS Fellow

W illiam J. Craig, associate director of CURA, has been named a fellow of the University Consortium for Geographic Information Science (UCGIS), a consortium of more than 70 U.S. universities that focus on research and education related to geographic information systems (GIS). Craig was honored along with six other newly named fellows in a ceremony held on February 4 in Washington, D.C., as part of the UCGIS annual winter meeting. According to the organization’s website, the title of fellow is bestowed on “a geographic information scientist, engineer, or practitioner of unusual professional distinction, with outstanding and extraordinary qualifications and experience in the field of geographic information science and technology.”

Craig was one of the early pioneers in GIS as project director (1973–1975) and systems director (1974–1977) of the Minnesota Land Management Information System (MLMIS) at the University of Minnesota. Along with the Canadian Geographic Information System and New York’s Land Use and Natural Resources Inventory System, MLMIS was one the world’s early operational GIS. The MLMIS research and development project was fully developed and transferred to the State of Minnesota in 1977.

In addition to his work in Minnesota, Craig has been active at the national level, having served as president of three of the major GIS organizations: the Urban and Regional Information Systems Association (URISA; 1986–1987), UCGIS (1995–1996), and the National States Geographic Information Council (NSGIC; 2009–2010). He was UCGIS’s second president, leading the largest growth in the organization’s history. Subsequently he chaired UCGIS’s Policy and Legislation Committee (2000–2003), organizing meetings in Washington, D.C., that drew significant numbers of congressional staff members and executive-agency representatives.

As URISA’s representative, Craig chaired the program committee for the first Geographic Information Systems/Land Information Systems (GIS/LIS) conference (1988), a multorganizational conference that ran for a decade. He chaired the Association of American Geographers’ Census Advisory Committee (2006–2007) and helped transform it into the Government Data and Employment Committee. He led NSGIC’s Address Work Group (2006–2008), focusing on the release of the U.S. Census Bureau’s master address file, especially its geographic coordinates. He has served on the National Research Council’s Mapping Science Committee and two of its study committees, most recently producing National Parcel Data: A Vision for the Future.

Professionally, Craig has led many significant efforts in the GIS field. His 2002 book Community Participation and Geographic Information Systems, edited with Trevor Harris and Daniel Weiner, was the culmination of two decades of organizing, practicing, and writing on public-participation GIS. His 1993 URISA Journal article, “A GIS Code of Ethics: What Can We Learn from Other Organizations?” led to his chairing the committee that developed the GIS Certification Institute’s code of ethics, which closely aligns with Craig’s interpretation and organization of material taken from those other organizations. His 2005 URISA Journal article, “White Knights of Spatial Data Infrastructure: The Role and Motivation of Key Individuals,” documents the value of individuals in achieving the National Spatial Data Infrastructure and, more importantly, makes recommendations on how to encourage such behavior in others.

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Each issue of the CURA Reporter features a few capsule descriptions of new projects under way at CURA. The projects highlighted in this issue were made possible through one of CURA’s community-based research programs, which provide graduate-student assistance for community-based applied research projects, program planning and development, program evaluation, and other short-term projects. These projects represent only a portion of those that will receive support from CURA and its partners during the coming year.

■ Scaling Up Local Foods for Institutional Demand in West Central Minnesota. Carol Ford and Chuck Waibel own and operate Garden Goddess Produce, a unique winter community-supported agriculture organization in Milan, Minnesota. They are working with the University of Minnesota West Central Partnership to “scale up” local food production for institutions and retailers in the west central Minnesota region. Produce and commodity farmers need help transitioning to produce and meat production for local markets, as well as assistance with cooperative business models. Sarah Goodspeed, a science, technology, and environmental policy student at the Hubert H. Humphrey School of Public Affairs, will perform an intensive market study of institutions in the region that will provide solid data and aid in the creation of a network of relationships. The results will assist local farmers to find institutional markets for their produce and meat products, and determine the real demand for local food in the region. Program: Community Assistance Program (CAP)

■ Understanding Alcohol Use in the Karen Community. The International Institute of Minnesota (IIM) is an interracial, nonpolitical, nonsectarian social-service agency founded in 1919 to serve both foreign- and native-born clients. Refugee-resettlement staff and caseworkers have identified high alcohol use among the Karen, a community of Burmese immigrants, as negatively impacting the daily stability of their Karen clients. Although alcohol use has been identified as an area of concern for this population, not enough information is available to assess the scope of the problem. Kaela Glass, a joint degree student in the School of Social Work and the Humphrey School, will investigate the scope of alcohol use, the attitudes and beliefs surrounding alcohol, and the problems stemming from overuse in the Karen community, and make recommendations for how to address this issue. IIM will use the results to determine how best to address the problem of alcohol use in the Karen community. Program: Community University

■ Somali Legal Asset Assessment. The Legal Rights Center (LRC) has provided community-based criminal and juvenile defense services to low-income Hennepin County residents since 1970. Providers of legal services to Somalis often find themselves unable to locate the best resource referral for a client with a specific need. Specific resources are often hard to track down, and providers need a robust resource guide to help them efficiently locate appropriate services. Leah Entenmann, a public policy student at the Humphrey School, will assess the barriers Somalis face in seeking legal help, conduct surveys and one-on-one interviews, and develop a resource guide. LRC will use the results to better provide high-quality legal services to their Somali clients. Program: Community University

■ Cultural Institution Historic Preservation Project. The Center for Communication and Development (CCD)/KMOJ Radio (KMOJ) was established in 1976 to serve as an information and communications vehicle for the African American community in and around north Minneapolis, and to increase the representation of African Americans in the broadcast industry through training and on-the-job experience. CCD/KMOJ has significantly contributed to the rich legacy of African American cultural values and traditions in north Minneapolis. However, many of the station’s stakeholders are aging, and this history is at risk of being lost. Tim Quan, a student in the School of Public Health, will document the history of CCD/KMOJ. The results will allow this history to be preserved and shared, and will aid in the organization’s future development efforts. Program: Northside Seed Grant

■ Social-Media Tools. Lind-Bohanon Neighborhood Association (LBNA) is a nonprofit neighborhood organization established in 1994. LBNA’s mission is to improve and enhance the neighborhood in the areas of housing, business, safety, and community involvement. In today’s busy world, many neighborhood groups are using social media to communicate with residents, but no citywide summary data are available regarding how Minneapolis neighborhoods are using social media. Kristin Cici, a doctoral student in evaluation studies, will research how neighborhood organizations in Minneapolis are using social media to engage residents. The results will help neighborhood organizations such as LBNA learn from their peers and better utilize existing and emerging social-media technologies. Program: Neighborhood Partnerships for Community Research (NPCR)

■ Building a Cooperative Loan Fund. The Minneapolis Consortium of Community Developers (MCCD) is an association of community-development organizations committed to expanding the wealth and resources of neighborhoods through housing and economic-development initiatives. The MCCD has a large, underutilized loan fund, as well as members that need short-term bridge loans for commercial and housing real-estate projects. However, these loan funds are currently not available to members. An MCCD member-accessible loan fund could help members to achieve their development projects. Justin Ellers, an urban and regional planning student in the Humphrey School, will identify best practices for creating a member-administered loan fund. MCCD will use the results to determine the viability of and approach to setting up a cooperative loan fund. Program: Neighborhood Partnerships for Community Research (NPCR)
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