

Looking Back, Thinking Ahead:

Strengthening Minnesota's Public-Policy Process

A Civic Caucus Report
November 27, 2016

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I. SUMMARY

Minnesota will be able to maintain its well-earned quality-of-life position among the 50 states only with a renewed commitment to solving its pressing public-policy challenges. This report calls on everyone to do a better job on public policy. But it issues a specific challenge to Minnesota's philanthropic community to take the lead in fostering

better study and analysis of community problems and development of better proposals for resolving them.

Commitment to enhancing the quality of life in Minnesota has a long history. The state's indigenous Native Americans took on preserving the natural environment as their responsibility. New Englanders settling in Minnesota in the mid-19th century brought their Yankee culture of civic engagement with them. That commitment to quality of life remains strong today. It is demonstrated by the importance of education at all levels; respect for history, music and the arts; protection of natural resources; a well-trained work force; leadership by businesses of all sizes, including both small and Fortune 500 companies; respected news and information coverage; voting; civic and political activity; strong institutions of government and cooperation among individuals and groups.

The commitment remains strong, even as unprecedented challenges have emerged. Major shifts in ethnic, racial and age make-up of the population have taken place in recent years. The state has dramatic differences in educational attainment and rising inequality of incomes. New jobs have opened up, while old ones are declining. Some regions are growing faster than others. Revolutionary change has affected how information and knowledge are generated and shared. There has been a decline in relevance of community organizations that formerly brought people together.

A significant, perhaps sometimes overlooked, element in sustaining the state's quality of life-and the main subject of this report-has been how people and organizations in the state go about identifying community issues early; learning about them; rethinking them; looking for underlying causes of problems, not just obvious symptoms; analyzing and debating; and coming up with well-reasoned, specific proposals for action-all of what we identify as the "Minnesota Process." This report recommends how to further strengthen that process.

Following the issuance of this report, the Civic Caucus will pursue in greater depth at least two areas of ongoing concern: (a) what kinds of arrangements for analyzing issues and developing proposals are needed in Minnesota, given today's changed environment of communication, changed attitudes, particularly among millennials and other young people, about participation in organizations and vastly different makeup of the population; and (b) how proposals are presented to, considered by and acted upon by the Legislature and other governing bodies.

Just a glance at unfinished business in Minnesota illustrates that the state faces immense challenges now and in coming years. Pick any issue: distributing state dollars among local governments, fixing under-performing schools, matching available jobs with trained workers, preserving natural resources, funding transportation, and on and on. We must find the best ways possible to meet these challenges. The state has significant assets, but lacks some, such as a less temperate climate, that some other states have used to their advantage to help move toward a more optimistic social, economic and political future. As in the past, Minnesota's future will depend on its creativity in public policy.

Creativity doesn't emerge automatically. It's all part of hard work-learning how things work, defining and redefining a problem, addressing causes and not symptoms, listening carefully to knowledgeable people, gathering and analyzing data, seeking input and sharing information widely, challenging conventional wisdom, and understanding current incentives and how they might be changed. It's a nonpartisan, civil approach, without rancor or political rhetoric. It takes time. Cutting corners by saying, "We all know what the problem is," rarely works. Nor is it productive to put advocacy groups in a room and let them duke it out.

This report is a call to action for all Minnesota citizens, elected officials at all levels of government, all businesses and all public-policy organizations to renew attention to how the Minnesota tradition has reached across all areas to improve the quality of life of all citizens. That call ought not be eclipsed nor superseded by the report's recommendation that the philanthropic community serve as a catalyst.

Members of Minnesota philanthropic community already are leaders in public policy. They possess essential characteristics of being inherently dedicated to the health of Minnesota and its citizens, being unaffiliated with interest groups, being nonpartisan, and, very important, having financial resources. We urge the philanthropic community to make a commitment to support targeted public-policy studies that will probe deeply for underlying causes, that will be open to redefining issues, and that will offer action-specific proposed solutions.

To act on this high priority, we recommend that the philanthropic community take on or facilitate the following tasks:

- Prepare and widely distribute ongoing, narrowly defined descriptions of the 25 to 50 most critical public-policy issues that need to be addressed in the state. These should be Minnesota-focused issues only, not national or international issues, except as they affect Minnesota.
- Identify a small group of issues of highest priority, including those that are about to emerge, but aren't necessarily already widely discussed in popular media.
- Encourage individual foundations or individual donors to invite applications for study of those issues and development of specific recommendations for innovative ways to address them.
- Give preference to applicants who illustrate that new kinds of organizations-that is, either brand-new organizations or established organizations willing and able to adapt-utilizing new kinds of methods, will be needed to accommodate dramatic changes in Minnesota's demographics and communications and how people come together to make decisions. Include in the process and outcomes all people who are impacted.

- Avoid assignments that are too general. Relate the assignments to precise concerns. For example, if the area of inquiry is education of youth, the assignment could be to look specifically at the performance of alternative schools for students with behavioral problems.
- Require recipients to follow well-established principles of the Minnesota Process outlined in this report in learning about issues, shaping and analyzing them and developing creative, action-ready proposals.
- Measure and report the following results: (a) how well the completed studies followed those principles and (b) the ultimate outcomes from reports, in terms of implementation of recommendations.
- Give special recognition to completed studies that are exemplary in following the principles, stimulate widespread community discussion and produce concrete results.

We recommend that the philanthropic community, perhaps through an individual or a foundation or through several foundations acting together, set up a means to carry out the approach described above. A catalyst might be needed to get discussion going within the philanthropic community. We recommend that, if necessary, one or more of the larger foundations with respected public-policy experience serve as a catalyst to bring together leaders in the philanthropic community to review and act on recommendations in this report.

During 2017 the Civic Caucus will use this report and Civic Caucus interviews to help create a statewide consensus on next steps in strengthening Minnesota's public-policy process.

II. INTERVIEW GROUP AND PEOPLE INTERVIEWED

The Civic Caucus interview group prepared this report. Members participating in the report's preparation were John Adams, Steve Anderson, David Broden, Audrey Clay, Janis Clay, Pat Davies, Paul Gilje, Randy Johnson, Ted Kolderie, Dan Loritz, Paul Ostrow, Bill Rudelius, Dana Schroeder, Clarence Shallbetter, T. Williams, and Fred Zimmerman.

Since beginning its study of the public-policy process in Minnesota in September 2015, the Civic Caucus has conducted 39 interviews with people involved in some aspect of Minnesota public policy. The interviewees are listed below. In addition, the Civic Caucus interview group has held some 10 meetings exclusively devoted to internal discussion of what we have learned in this study. Detailed accounts of these interviews, along with reader comments, can be found at <http://civiccaucus.org>.

People Interviewed:

Tawanna Black, director, Northside Funders Group.
Bill Blazar, senior vice president for public affairs, Minnesota Chamber of Commerce.
Bruce Corrie, professor of economics, Concordia University, St. Paul.
Tom Dennis, editorial page editor, *Grand Forks Herald*.
David Durenberger, former U. S. Senator, Minnesota.
Devin Foley, co-founder and president, Intellectual Takeout
Peter Frosch, vice president, Strategic Partnerships, GREATER MSP.
David Hann, Minnesota State Senator, Eden Prairie, and Senate minority leader.
Jeff Hassan, executive director, African American Leadership Forum.
Jody Hauer, program evaluation coordinator, Minnesota Legislative Auditor.
Judith K. Healey, former foundation president.
Lisa Hills, executive director, Minnesota Newspaper Association.
Chris Ison, associate professor, School of Journalism, University of Minnesota.
Sarah Jackson, program director, Minnesota Newspaper Association.
Steve Kelley, senior fellow, Humphrey School of Public Affairs, University of Minnesota.
Sean Kershaw, executive director, Citizens League.
Ted Kolderie, co-founder and senior fellow, Education|Evolving.
Marina Lyon, former director, Pohlrad Family Foundation.
Ken Martin, chair, Minnesota DFL Party.
Walt McClure, chair, Center for Policy Design
Richard D. McFarland, business executive and board member of several foundations.
Jon McTaggart, president and CEO, Minnesota Public Radio.
Jeremy Miller, Minnesota State Senator, Winona.
Ann Mulholland, vice president of community impact, Minnesota Philanthropy Partners.
Mitch Pearlstein, founder, Center of the American Experiment.
Tim Penny, president and CEO, Southern Minnesota Initiative Foundation.
R.T. Rybak, president and CEO, Minneapolis Foundation.
Bill Salisbury, political reporter, *St. Paul Pioneer Press*.
Justin Schardin, associate director, Federal Regulatory Reform Initiative, Bipartisan Policy Center, Washington, D.C.
Clarence Shallbetter, Roman Catholic deacon specializing in prison ministry.
Don Shelby, retired television news anchor.
Dane Smith, president, Growth & Justice.
Melissa Stone, professor, nonprofit management, University of Minnesota.
Paul Thissen, Minnesota State Representative, Minneapolis, and House minority leader.
Susan Sheridan Tucker, executive director, Minnesota League of Women Voters.
Charlie Weaver, executive director, Minnesota Business Partnership.
Bob Wedl, senior associate, Education|Evolving.
Matthew Weil, associate director, Democracy Project, Bipartisan Policy Center, Washington, D.C.
T. Williams, education and community development consultant.
Jeff Zlonis, director, Re: DESIGN project, Center for Policy Design

III. DEFINITION OF PUBLIC POLICY

We find it beneficial to distinguish between *public-policy design* and *public-policy action*.

- **Public-Policy Design:** We see public-policy design as a *proposal* for the steps that should be taken, for a given period of time, based on a given set of circumstances, to influence future decisions and actions.
- **Public-Policy Action:** We see public-policy action as the *actual steps* taken to make changes in current policy for a given period of time, based on a given set of circumstances.

Our current activity is working more on the design side, as we review the development of actionable public-policy proposals in years past, today and in the future. Our work is based on the premise that strong, well-considered, actionable proposals will help yield good public-policy action.

IV. OBJECTIVES OF THIS REPORT

The Civic Caucus had the following objectives in mind when it drafted this report:

- To define and clarify the role of the community sector in improving public policy in Minnesota.
- To describe the key elements and principles of the "Minnesota Process" of developing public policy over the past 50 years.
- To highlight characteristics of the current public-policy environment and organizations.
- To underline key issues and concerns in Minnesota today.
- To summarize specific strengths and challenges of public policymaking in Minnesota today.
- To recommend specific actions to improve the state's public-policy process, so it will have a positive impact on the quality of life of all Minnesotans.

V. INTRODUCTION

In this section, the Civic Caucus highlights definitions of public policy in the community sector.

A humorous TV ad shows a dentist informing a patient that some cavities have been discovered, with the dentist claiming to be responsible only for identifying the problem. The astounded patient is told go elsewhere to fix the cavities.

A diagnosis or partial diagnosis without a prescription is not acceptable. Nor is the opposite, a prescription without a diagnosis. Nor is a misdiagnosis. Nor is a bad prescription. Nor, obviously, is receiving, but neglecting to implement, a valid prescription.

When it comes to public policy in Minnesota, which is our topic, the TV ad's simple message still applies, but in a much different context. Public policy covers a multitude of areas, including education, health care, housing, job seeking and economic development, public safety, public assistance, taxes and transportation, all at the federal, state and local levels. It's mainly the discussion before the vote is taken. Never-ending problems demand attention (diagnosis), sometimes accompanied by recommendations for fixing the problems (prescription) and sometimes without. And in public policy, sometimes a lesser-quality choice is adopted and a better approach is passed up. On some occasions, great results emerge.

Thankfully, the state has an abundance of diagnosis and prescription in public policy. A significant part of Minnesota's quality of life can be traced to identifying opportunities and problems early, learning all about them, redefining the opportunities and problems, subjecting them to intensive analysis, evaluating options for solutions, recommending a preferred option, and, finally, gaining action by decision-makers, whether in the Legislature, in other levels of government or in the private sector.

The state is fortunate to have a broad and deep assortment of highly competent organizations, including-but clearly not limited to-radio and television, college and university entities specializing in public affairs, community foundations covering all regions of the state, news and editorial leadership from daily papers statewide, think tanks and civic organizations of all interests and shades. These groups might be lumped into a category and identified as a "community sector".

A key strength in Minnesota's process can emerge when informal, ad hoc partnerships emerge that concentrate on effective solutions to public-policy issues in a way that weighs both the nongovernmental and governmental interests. And then these partnerships, including an assortment of those from the community sector, from business and labor, from advocacy groups, elected officials, staff members and government agencies lend their efforts to enact the solutions by the relevant bodies dealing with the issue.

Everyone is involved in public policy in one way or another. It can be through voting; making a comment on a controversial topic via letters to the editor, instant surveys on electronic media or public opinion polls; reading or listening to learn about an issue; or protests and rallies. It can include attending a meeting or seminar, contributing to disaster victims or expressing dismay over an event or the implications of Census data. The list is endless.

And, of course, people line up on all sides of an issue.

A major opportunity or problem might not be fully, or easily, understood. Extensive learning and civil dialogue are essential. The problem needs to be shaped, and maybe redefined, requiring intensive analysis. Truth needs to be separated from fiction. Different possible responses need to be evaluated. Implications of a preferred option need to be evaluated: Does it seek the public good? Does it look at various interests and populations? Who benefits and who loses?

When an opportunity isn't captured or an issue doesn't get resolved, it's popular to blame the political process or elected leaders. This report, while not giving our leaders a pass, focuses more on what happens outside, before and even without legislative debate and decision. At critical times, with a seemingly intractable impasse among contending parties, what really might be needed is a creative new idea from the outside.

We'll now review what's happened in Minnesota's past and what's happening today and suggest what should happen tomorrow.

VI. BACKGROUND:

THE PUBLIC-POLICY PROCESS IN THE PAST

In this section, the Civic Caucus highlights the "Minnesota Process," those major principles that have defined public-policy leadership in Minnesota over the last 50 years.

It would require massive resources to take a comprehensive inventory of creative actions affecting Minnesota that have been made by the almost-countless groups, formal and informal, volunteer and staff, in Minnesota's community sector. But a look at the [Citizens League](#), founded in 1952 and still operating today, can help illustrate that contribution. Its website contains a complete inventory of all its reports to the present day.

During the 1960s and early 1970s, Citizens League recommendations were adopted in several areas of city-county relationships, education, government structure, metropolitan affairs, and state and metropolitan tax policy. As a consequence, many other states became interested in how the Citizens League functioned. The *National Civic Review* published a report on the Citizens League. A national conference on the Citizens League took place in the Twin Cities area. In 1976, the Citizens League published a 21-page manual, "[The Citizens League Itself](#)," to help others locally and nationally learn more about its process, which has been utilized in other contexts and now could be called the Minnesota Process.

Broad principles of the Minnesota Process remain central today:

1. It is critically important to help a state understand what its problems are and what ought to be done about them.

2. The job is to look ahead at problems before they become crises and at opportunities before they are lost and to create a climate of opinion in which the community and its governmental system will respond.

3. To start with, people must educate themselves about the problem before starting to talk about solutions.

4. This process should result in an imaginative, realistic, innovative, specific, actionable proposal or recommendation, not vague desires for change.

5. Often action results after a broad range of organizations and individuals, public and private, concur in the problem and its solution.

Key features of the Minnesota Process, as outlined by the Citizens League in 1976, are as follows:

- **Nongovernmental, independent, nonpartisan, non-special interest, citizen-based.** An independent organization, not part of government or of other groups or organizations locally or nationally, has an advantage. It is strictly nonpartisan in its leadership, membership and activities and welcomes people of all political persuasions and interests. It urges individuals to participate in the study of public issues as generalists representing themselves, as distinct from a political party, profession or interest group. While not ignoring the exceptional contribution that people with professional or occupational credentials can offer as resources in the exploration of an issue, the credentials and perspectives of interested and active citizens willing to commit to working on policy issues are equal or greater.
- **General purpose, Minnesota-focused.** Take a broad view of opportunities and problems and don't be restricted to any one subject area. Focus on state and local issues in Minnesota. Recommendations can occasionally involve the national government, but only as they affect or are related to a state or local issue.
- **Professional staffing, but not targeted expertise.** Professional staffing with organizational, writing and investigative skills is essential, but a particular staff member shouldn't necessarily be assigned to a committee because of that person's expertise in a certain field. That would make the committee defer to staff. The committee, its chair and its staff learn together. It should be noted that many organizations without paid or professional staff make significant contributions to public-policy proposals.
- **Appoint chairs who are more than moderators.** Select chairs for study committees who are articulate, able to manage group discussion, willing to learn and able to speak for the final product of the committee to the community, public agencies and policy bodies.
- **Set priorities.** The list of urgent public-policy problems in Minnesota will always

be much longer than any group can ever undertake. Place the emphasis where the need is greatest-consistent with the group's own abilities. Moreover, certain subjects, for example, those with some prospect of being settled by fact and reason, are better suited for learning and analysis than are subjects where emotion and dogmatism rule the day. Assemble a large list of possibilities from which groups can make their selection. Sometimes a topic might not be regarded in the larger community as being the most critical, but a group is free to select the topic for other legitimate reasons.

- **Make the assignment as specific as possible.** Craft the assignment, or the charge to the committee, to address a specific, often limited, concern. Such action reduces the likelihood that a committee, after a few weeks of learning, will find itself uncertain about direction or feel overwhelmed. As helpful as a specific assignment can be, it's not easy to fulfill, because the temptation always is to be "comprehensive," to look at the "big picture." A specific assignment is more likely to yield a specific, actionable proposal. A vague assignment often produces a vague proposal that is not actionable. Further, some problems are so complex that it is futile to look at more than a portion.
- **Learn first: education and information are key.** It's not uncommon for groups addressing knotty questions of public policy to skip the learning process and move immediately to discussing recommendations. Perhaps more often than not, people will say: "Let's not waste time. We know what the problem is. Let's get on with the solution." That's not the right approach to take. People will come to a study with a variety of knowledge and possibly opinions about a subject. Those who think they know everything are required to cool their heels while everyone else learns about the issue. Insist that information be gathered first, that knowledgeable individuals be invited to share their contending views and be questioned themselves.
- **Capitalize on the value of the generalist.** It's not unusual for the generalist participants, who have had no advanced specialized knowledge on a subject, to offer the essential outside perspective that enables a new, compelling approach to be taken to a problem, something that "experts" never would have considered.
- **Search for what is fundamental.** It's an advantage to be unaligned with any advocacy group and, therefore, not required to accept the parameters of popular debate on a current issue. Be free to ask basic questions, to get to the root of a problem. If the debate is over symptoms, what are the real causes? Might incentives be changed so that, for example, an individual or group acting in their own self-interest will actually further the public interest?
- **Think ahead.** Utilize independence and freedom to think ahead, even to vision, about long-range implications of current actions. Don't be constrained by two-year budget cycles that always demand immediate attention and interfere with looking at a bigger picture. The fiscal implications of long-term visions, their expenses and benefits, also need to be estimated and identified. Often only short-term fiscal

implications are considered without looking also at long-term benefits. It's hard to get the public to focus on what is building up and will become a truly big problem down the road. For example, climate change has been recognized for years as truly important, but even today many people remained unconvinced, building sea-level houses on coastal Florida.

- **Listen to all sides.** Membership on a given study group usually isn't representative of the larger population. Nor on any given study will it be possible to include representatives of all groups with legitimate interests. For example, despite using vigorous recruitment efforts, how can a study on education possibly include a balance of students, parents, teachers, workers, employers, age groups, income levels, geographic locations and various ethnic groups? Try to attract participants of various backgrounds without worrying about achieving perfect balance.
- **Don't allow advocacy groups to have undue influence.** It is very common that a greater problem in committee membership is with persons affiliated with advocacy groups that are trying to protect or advance a certain point of view. Such groups must be respected and listened to as resources to the study group for the valuable background and insight they offer. The challenge is to allow them to be involved in that way, but not exert excess influence by actually being members of the study group. Again, here's where a good interview process is invaluable, by giving advocacy groups the fullest opportunity to provide input, but not undue influence over the result.
- **Resist temptation to take shortcuts.** Inevitably, many people will be looking for results immediately. But shortcuts won't work. It takes time to understand the current definition of a problem; it takes more time to determine that a given definition might be faulty; analysis takes time; coming up with a good solution takes time. Nevertheless, the process must go on with all deliberate speed, recognizing that undoubtedly there will always be demand for prompt completion.
- **Share what is learned.** There's no need for proprietary control over the information gathered as the study committee does its work. Share the knowledge that has been gained along the way widely in the larger community, including by use of electronic media, giving others a chance to learn as the committee learns. That can go a long way toward cultivating and adding legitimacy to the field of debate that might well occur when a final report with recommendations is issued. It has been normal for individuals thinking about running for office, whatever their political affiliation, to join study groups to learn more about public issues.
- **Issue informative, readable, defensible final reports.** Final reports should address current issues thoroughly. And, via the background information they include-most often in a list of findings of the study group-the reports can have a more timeless quality. Reports will have valuable background that can be helpful years on. They should be written in plain language for the benefit of both persons

who are uninformed and persons intimately involved in a subject. Reports also help journalists needing background on an issue quickly. The best reports also include a set of conclusions that identify direction or the particular insight of the study group, the recommendations for action, and discussion of the pros and cons of different solutions and reasoning behind the preferred selection.

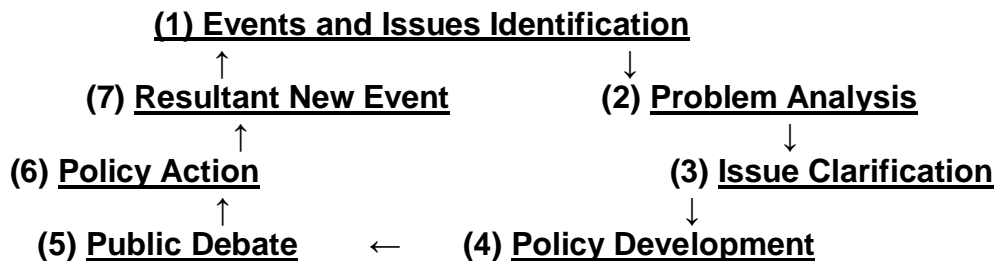
- **Provide an internal check on quality.** Study groups benefit from some check on their autonomy. For example, before reports are published, they might need to gain approval from a board that evaluates final reports based on (a) whether the conclusions flow from the findings and the recommendations flow from the conclusions; and (b) whether the recommendations are both creative and feasible.

VII. FINDINGS:

THE PUBLIC-POLICY PROCESS TODAY

In this section, the Civic Caucus highlights the public-policy environment in Minnesota today.

We've found it very helpful to keep in mind a [policy cycle](#) developed by former Citizens League Executive Director Ted Kolderie: (1) events occur and issues are identified; (2) problem analysis takes place; (3) issue clarification follows; (4) policy proposals are then developed; (5) public debate occurs; (6) policy action takes place; and (7) the action creates new events that become apparent, starting a new cycle of policy discussion and policymaking.



Our key findings:

1. The environment for public-policy discussion has changed. Public-policy organizations are challenged today by demographic shifts, including newer ethnic and cultural groups making up an ever-larger share of the population, new generations of young people with new attitudes, persistent income shortfall for many people, an unwillingness to participate in policy development or implementation (once strengthened by Minnesota businesses and law firms and by people's willingness to run for election), more single-parent families and varying understanding of public policymaking.

A huge growth in programs, especially at the federal level, has occurred, along with lobbying by various interest groups, including units of state and local government.

Funding sources for public policy have shifted dramatically: less general-purpose funding; more funding directed at specific studies; major corporations, formerly owned locally, now multi-national corporations with less interest in focusing on Minnesota; and significant growth in foundations, which appear to give greater priority to funding direct social services than to attacking the underlying causes of the need for those direct social services.

How people get their information about public-policy issues is profoundly different today. The print version of the daily newspapers formerly served as an agenda-setter, as well as the major source of information. Appearance on the front page meant a certain issue was really important. As circulation has dropped and as more and more people get their news online, top news today is determined by what people *want* to read, not necessarily what an editor thinks they *should* read.

2. Civics isn't the highest priority course in school. An [essay](#) for the American Academy of Arts and Sciences identifies five challenges: (1) *It is not a state or federal priority to ensure that the quality of civics education is high;* (2) *Social studies textbooks do not facilitate the development of needed civic skills;* (3) *Upper-income students are better served by our schools than are lower-income students;* (4) *Cutbacks in funds available to schools make implementing improvements in civics education difficult;* and (5) *Reform efforts are complicated by the fact that civics education has become a pawn in a polarized debate among partisans.* Another factor is that mandated testing programs emphasize language arts, math and science but not civics.

3. Statistics on voter turnout are nothing to brag about. While Minnesota ranks consistently high among states in voter turnout, its own statistics aren't all that great, particularly in non-presidential elections. For example, barely 50.5 percent of eligible Minnesota voters cast ballots in the 2014 elections.

4. Nevertheless, public-policy activity never has been greater. Think of the serious discussions every day on the print and online editions of weekly papers around the state, Minnesota Public Radio, Fluence Media, BringMeTheNews, the weekly *Almanac* program on Twin Cities Public Television (TPT), the major newspapers' stories on key issues, the public affairs specialization by *MinnPost*, the opinions on the editorial pages, the constant give-and-take in social media, the blogs and so on.

And there has been a proliferation of public-policy organizations over the years, including Growth & Justice, Center of the American Experiment, Itasca Project, Jefferson Center, Center for Policy Design, MSPWin, GREATER MSP, African American Leadership Forum, the Center for Rural Policy and Development, Wilder Research and Compass, Minnesota Center for Fiscal Excellence, Voices for Racial Justice, the longstanding Citizens League and League of Women Voters and, of course, the Civic Caucus. However, the sheer magnitude of special interest and advocacy groups and their lobbyists on every conceivable issue virtually dwarfs the efforts of these organizations.

Organizations frequently use "summits" (formerly known as conferences), to call together various leaders to highlight knotty issues. Fees can prevent some people from attending. For those unable to attend these meetings, access to summaries of such meetings and their dialogues often is limited.

Ad hoc protest groups emerge constantly to focus on the most persistent, and difficult, public-policy questions of the day, such as jobs, housing, income, health, treatment of various ethnic groups and so forth.

5. Minnesota has respected scholarly enterprises dedicated to the study of public policy. The Humphrey School of Public Affairs at the University of Minnesota doesn't stand alone. There are also Hamline University's Master's and Doctorate of Public Administration programs, St. John's University's McCarthy Center for Public Policy and Civic Engagement, the University of Minnesota-Duluth's Center for Ethics and Public Policy, St. Olaf College's Institute for Freedom and Community, the University of St. Thomas's Public Policy and Leadership program, and undoubtedly more.

6. The list of subjects that need inquiry, analysis and proposals is long. To illustrate the kinds of broad public-policy inquiries needed in Minnesota, here are some examples shared with the Civic Caucus in its interviews:

- Address racial disparities across the board, including education, employment and income.
- Determine how to assure a greater economic future for Minnesota that emphasizes the importance of economic development, growth and technology, and involves broad coalitions in the nongovernmental and governmental sectors.
- Craft innovative proposals to help lawmakers reach agreement on budget and finance.
- Match available job openings and their skill sets to qualified job seekers and communicate the skills that are needed to the educational institutions able to provide the needed training to under-qualified job seekers.
- Review, understand and attack causes of poverty-level incomes.
- Understand the root cause and eliminate educational achievement gaps among various groups.
- Counsel students about all available options, including occupational options, to make postsecondary education more relevant, affordable and accessible.
- Link high schools and postsecondary education with their communities and with employers.

- Review compensation for legislators to broaden the pool of potential candidates.
- Improve mental health services to school-aged youth.
- Improve training practices among police forces working in diverse communities.
- Sort out nongovernmental and governmental roles in economic development.
- Integrate immigrants into the state's social and economic life.
- Improve the process of identifying, endorsing, nominating and selecting the state's elected and appointed officials.
- Attract new residents to the state; discourage exodus.
- Help workers travel from home to work and back in a reasonable time.
- Change approaches to incarceration.
- Protect the state's natural resources.
- Plan for and adjust to climate change.
- Examine movements of tax dollars among different levels of government with resultant effects and limitations.
- Review Minnesota's approach to protection of its water resources.
- Determine the influence of federal and state funding of state and local services.

7. Major concerns about the state's public-policy process have emerged from Civic Caucus interviews:

- People in different demographic groups and age segments participate in civic life in new and different ways today. Special focus is needed on how people of all groups obtain, process, and utilize information (data presented in some context), and knowledge (making sense out of information). Effective policy flows from reliable knowledge.
- Even though no comprehensive review of all public-policy reports throughout the state has been conducted, it seems clear that the state has fewer such reports today than in the years when the Citizens League was issuing reports much more regularly.
- Much of Minnesota's quality of life has been maintained as a result of creative

public-policy decisions.

- No public, ongoing inventory of major unresolved issues facing the state is readily available.
- Study groups appear less and less representative of the population as the state's demographic nature continues to change.
- Few study committees are given specific, targeted assignments.
- There is a widespread tendency of study groups to make overly optimistic assumptions about the advance knowledge of participants, so the groups tend to underestimate the amount of study required.
- Studies appear to have great urgency attached to them, with the likelihood that quick answers will be sought.
- The attraction of nationalizing issues seems to take precedence over keeping the focus on state and local issues, which often are deemed to be less important.
- Proposals often are made ignoring their financial implications, despite the fact that the financial questions and levels of spending/taxes frequently are a major cause of deadlock by policymakers. It also might be true that a focus on financial constraints illustrates an absence of consensus on the underlying problem being addressed.
- Organizations often are reluctant to make proposals too specific, feeling they don't know enough or even fearing they'll be subject to too much criticism.
- Advocacy groups seem to be far more energized and involved than general-purpose, non-special interest, nonpartisan groups.
- The statement of the problem often is accepted as defined by the contending parties, without an effort to ask whether there might be a more significant underlying problem.
- Long lists of recommendations often are made without indication as to which merit highest priority, leaving policymakers wondering about a central message.
- Massive new changes in media need to be viewed as opportunities for everyone to utilize in building effective public policy.

8. Commitment to issues unique to Minnesota is not as clear. There's no question that academic institutions pay attention to national and international issues. It's not so evident that Minnesota issues receive sufficient attention in the research and studies by faculty and by students in advanced degree programs in the state. As the world has

become interconnected to a much greater extent than 50 or 60 years ago, it becomes harder to distinguish distinctly Minnesota issues or uniquely rural or Twin Cities regional issues.

9. Political parties in Minnesota have changed. In years past it wasn't unusual for political parties in Minnesota to sponsor task forces of their members to look in depth at issues before developing resolutions of support. The parties are involved in substance today, but positions seem to be taken more by quick votes on resolutions at caucuses and conventions, where views of organized special interests can, and usually do, easily prevail.

10. Ironically, newer technologies for communicating information aren't always utilized. Countless public meetings and conferences occur where public policy is discussed, usually led by a knowledgeable speaker. But the beneficiaries of learning from such gatherings frequently don't extend beyond fee-paying attendees. Major media cover fewer speeches today and few organizations take steps to inform non-attendees by sharing summaries of meetings inexpensively, broadly and quickly via social media or other electronic means.

11. Polarization and legislative impasse are causing great concern.

The Civic Caucus undertook its review of the public-policy process in light of growing polarization and impasse in legislative bodies. It decided to concentrate on a lesser-mentioned idea for reducing the impasse: whether outside groups might be better able to develop the creative breakthrough ideas so essential to breaking legislative deadlocks. That's been the main inquiry of the Civic Caucus to date. Nevertheless, the Civic Caucus interviews have revealed deep concern with failure of legislative bodies to act on urgent public problems, regardless how innovative a solution might be. The interviews and discussions have raised many potentially fruitful ways to correct the impasse:

- Holding more public hearings that seek participation by general citizens.
- Reducing the extent to which entirely different subjects are thrown together in omnibus bills.
- Bringing openness and accountability to campaign finance.
- Making it easier for elected officials of different parties to get to know one another and work more closely together.
- Making it more difficult for legislative committees to be the captives of advocacy groups. More involvement by nonpartisan, public-policy-oriented groups would make it possible for legislative committees to consider proposals that don't come mainly from special-interest advocacy groups.
- Giving office seekers the incentive to appeal to a broader constituency.

VIII. CONCLUSIONS:

VALUE JUDGMENTS ABOUT THE PROCESS TODAY

In this section, the Civic Caucus states its conclusions, that is, value judgments, on strengths and challenges of the public-policy process in Minnesota today.

1. Enlightened public-policy discussion never has been more important, particularly in light of so much poisoned political rhetoric today. The community sector need not be preoccupied by the paralysis and downright demagoguery that afflict so much political discussion today. And it's not just inflamed rhetoric. It's playing with the truth. Unfortunately, too often individuals and organizations are saddled with the same afflictions. Those outside the direct political fray and 24-hour-a-day online chats and blogs need to continually hold themselves to far higher standards.

2. Public-policy leadership is a key to Minnesota's high national ranking. In part because of its leadership on public policy, Minnesota has become the great state it is, despite its location far from more climate-friendly and economically attractive states on the East and West coasts and the South.

3. But the state's position is threatened if the community sector doesn't do better. Elected officials in Minnesota urgently need the best, most creative public-policy ideas that can be crafted if this state is to maintain its position. Some ideas certainly will come from the officials in the executive branch, from the state departments and from the administrative agencies. Others will come from advocacy groups.

But what Minnesota needs most are proposals that emerge from serious, nonpartisan, non-special interest, information-based, thorough analysis of current and long-range opportunities and problems, led by concerned citizens, supported by quality professionals. This has been Minnesota's strength, but a renewed commitment is urgently needed.

Creative ideas are no guarantee of better public-policy performance. But creative ideas are essential if our lawmakers are to do better. Moreover, it does little to benefit the state for outsiders to continually complain about legislative performance. We should roll up our own sleeves and challenge elected officials with the best proposals we can craft. And, yes, it's essential to overcome legislative polarization.

4. Lawmakers are better equipped to respond than to propose. Some people mistakenly think that coming up with proposals is government's job, not theirs. More often than not, legislators are understandably reluctant to become advocates for new ideas. Legislators must gain support from voters to stay in office and many voters aren't receptive to what otherwise might be deemed creative proposals. The Legislature itself, with its committee organization, is structured much better for review of others' ideas than for coming up with its own.

5. Advocacy groups and government agencies ought not be the only source either.

Individuals and groups with a vital personal or occupational interest in and intimate knowledge of a given governmental function can be expected to offer their share of ideas. But that interest, while often very important, ought not be regarded as the only public interest.

6. Keep public-policy discussions on the merits, not the politics. A good way to assure civil interchange over difficult public-policy issues is to concentrate on the merits of the issues in question. That's far better than getting into whether this or that individual or group is advocating or opposing a given position or to quickly assess the political merits or feasibility of a proposal. Concentrate on the substance of the issues, not the political positions of individuals involved in the issues. Look more to facts than feelings. One respected sage tries to listen carefully for the knowledge and reasoning behind any position, rather than the more common approach of suspecting an ulterior motive and making a snap judgment.

7. The past is not a sufficient model for public-policy organizations in the future.

We should not think for a minute that public-policy organizations can successfully continue to operate as they have. People of different generations possess different perspectives and must be included. So must people of different cultural and ethnic groups and genders, using today's definitions. But it's not just the people. It's how we gain our information today. Millions of us never turn to a print newspaper. It's also how, when and where we learn and discuss. Something entirely new-never contemplated or even imagined by an existing organization-might emerge.

8. Disinterested outsiders are critically needed, but are often overlooked and might lack a sense of their own potential.

Individuals and groups who have no personal or occupational interest, just desire for the good of the people of the state, must play the major role. They are much more likely to sense longer-term implications, not only the next budgetary cycle. They are likely to be more open to new ideas than are people with preconceived notions of how to solve a given problem.

9. Scholarly enterprise by Minnesota's colleges and universities is key to addressing state and local issues.

Almost any recognized opportunity or knotty problem in the state would benefit greatly from thorough research. Our academic institutions are continually producing a flood of reliable, scholarly work from faculty and students. Some, perhaps even all, of these institutions have clear obligations for assuring a high-quality future for the state. Knowing as they do the critical issues facing the state, they should always have a strong portfolio of quality research on these state and local issues. As a check on their own priorities, academic institutions would clearly benefit from knowing what portion of their scholarly work is specifically directed at solving Minnesota issues, as distinct from national and international issues. Such information would help institutions themselves, as well as the general public, evaluate how well they are serving their home state.

10. Minnesota media that specialize in reporting significant public-policy developments are invaluable, but they could use help. No institutions can lay greater claim to public policy than Minnesota's electronic and print media, people's first source for information. Furthermore, through major investigations and editorial-opinion pages, the media help enlighten the public about causes and proposals. Efforts are still under way to live up to the words of John Cowles, president of the *Minneapolis Star and Tribune*, at the dedication of its new offices in May-June 1949:

"We are trying to serve the highest common denominator of our readers' interest, not the lowest, and we are constantly trying to raise that common denominator."

The media are forced to make difficult choices every day about what to cover and what to leave behind. Plenty remains on the cutting room floor, so to speak. Budgetary problems have resulted in reduced numbers of reporters. Yes, the media could use our help. All sorts of groups sponsor meetings on public issues that the media are unable to cover. Attendees receive the benefit of those meetings, but what of the larger, interested community? One slight extra effort that sponsors of public meetings could undertake is to prepare summaries of the main points and circulate the knowledge via social media and other inexpensive means.

11. The community sector needs both (a) organizations that primarily learn, analyze and make proposals and (b) organizations that provide direct service.

Providing for direct service, say, a retraining program for underemployed adults, might appear to be more attractive to a donor than a study to determine the best strategies for matching jobs with job seekers. Both approaches are needed. But it's increasingly difficult for disinterested, general-purpose, nonpartisan organizations engaged in thinking and proposing to receive needed financial support.

12. An ongoing inventory of unresolved public-policy issues in Minnesota is sorely needed. It's unfortunate that many organizations and individuals in Minnesota assert that the most critical problems are obvious and that it's unnecessary to put together any list of issues needing attention. However, without such a list, setting priorities isn't really possible. Many groups in public policy, eager to make some kind of contribution, would be anxious to know where on any list the topics they select might lie. Such an inventory also would help scholars, policy-research organizations and the media.

13. Some public-policy questions are important even if nothing nefarious is suspected. Often a good issue arises because certain groups in the population are being harmed, because tax dollars are being squandered, or because of some other headline-grabbing development. Sometimes, however, no villain is present. It's just very difficult to know what is the best way, for example, to educate a child, train a worker or organize state government.

14. General expressions of the need for change, while certainly not without some value, usually don't markedly advance the discussion. It's not uncommon for people to decry a situation, possibly citing some oft-repeated data to illustrate how urgent

corrective action is. Even some thoughtful reports from reputable organizations will call for action, but leave specificity for someone else. *Exactly what needs to be done, by whom and how?* If money is involved, as usually is the case, *how will the proposal be financed?* Those questions are left unanswered way too often. Someone has to come up with specific answers. A way to identify what it means to be specific is whether a proposal is sufficiently detailed to be placed in legal form by a bill-drafter for legislative consideration.

15. Good information and analysis, not shortcuts, are key to creative proposals.

Some people, perhaps frustrated by other situations where no action was taken, will assert that everyone understands the problem, so all they need to do is to move to action, or "get it done," whatever "it" refers to. But it is the gathering of information and its analysis that provide the necessary fertile ground within which a creative idea can emerge.

16. There is too much work on symptoms, not enough on causes. It's not easy and can take time, but a proposal will be that much stronger when efforts are made to identify the real cause of the problem and to direct proposals toward the cause. For example, in addition to racial discrimination, what other possibilities might help explain disparities in achievement gaps, variations in unemployment and differences in arrest statistics?

17. Seek to understand new proposals before criticizing them. An initial idea is almost always far from perfect and needs to receive intensive analysis. Thus, honest questions, seeking understanding and probing for implications, ought to be the first approach. Unfortunately, the human psyche seems to lead us to criticize first. More good ideas would be likely to surface if individuals and groups weren't so afraid of what others would say.

Moreover, it's very likely that a fledgling idea will stimulate others to come up with something better. A lesser-quality idea is much better than no idea at all.

18. Those with courage to propose deserve support from others. More of us ought to appreciate the adage, "There's no end to what you can accomplish if you don't care who gets the credit." Inter-organizational competition can lead to an individual or group making a proposal to be left all alone in its defense. Achieving public-policy change is tough, but rallying together around a good idea can help immensely.

IX. RECOMMENDATIONS:

THE PUBLIC-POLICY PROCESS TOMORROW

In this section, the Civic Caucus offers its specific proposals for action to improve the public-policy process in Minnesota.

1. We recommend turning to Minnesota's philanthropic community for leadership

in strengthening the community sector's role in public policy.

Our conclusions have demonstrated why Minnesota's community sector is so vital to the public-policy process in this state. We believe participants in Minnesota's philanthropic community are uniquely situated to strengthen the community sector's role in studying, analyzing and proposing solutions to community problems.

- They might be unique in possessing a combination of the essential qualities of independence, freedom, nonpartisanship, revenue base and being absolutely Minnesota-committed.
- They care deeply about and are heavily involved in the lives of Minnesotans, as a glance at almost any list of grants would reveal.
- They are indispensable in assuring that Minnesota will find, in years to come, the creative solutions in public policy that are so essential to the state's quality of life. They might be more needed than they realize.

2. We recommend that the following public-policy leadership tasks be taken on or at least enabled by Minnesota's philanthropic community:

- Make a commitment to support narrowly targeted public-policy studies that will probe deeply for underlying causes, not automatically accepting obvious symptoms, that will be open to redefining issues and that will offer action-specific proposed solutions.
- Prepare and widely distribute ongoing, narrowly defined descriptions of the 25 to 50 most critical public-policy issues that need to be addressed in the state. These should be Minnesota issues only, not national or international issues.
- Identify a small group of issues of highest priority, including those that are about to emerge but aren't necessarily already widely discussed in popular media.
- Encourage individual foundations or groups of foundations to invite applications for study of those issues and development of innovative, actionable proposals to address them.
- Give preference to applicants who illustrate that new kinds of organizations-that is, either brand-new organizations or established organizations willing and able to adapt-utilizing new kinds of methods, will be needed to accommodate dramatic changes in Minnesota's demographics and communications and how people come together to make decisions. Include in the process all people who are impacted.
- Avoid assignments that are too general. Relate the assignments to very precise concerns. For example, if the area of inquiry is education of youth, an assignment could be to look specifically at the performance of alternative schools for students

with behavioral problems.

- Require recipients to follow well-established principles of the Minnesota Process outlined in this report in learning about, shaping and analyzing issues and in developing creative, action-ready proposals. To accomplish that, we urge that the foundations do the following:
 - Show preference for organizations that are nongovernmental, independent, nonpartisan, citizen-based, general purpose and Minnesota-focused.
 - Focus the assignment, or charge, on a specific, limited concern.
 - Emphasize the importance of undergoing thorough backgrounding on an issue up front.
 - Require that recipients share information broadly with interested parties.
 - Require that recipients listen respectfully to all sides.
 - Require that recipients search for what is fundamental, at the root of a problem.
 - Emphasize the potential of proposals designed to change incentives so that individuals and groups will act in the public interest, even while pursuing private or personal interests.
 - Require that recipients always look for an innovative, actionable solutions.
 - Stress that final reports must be informative, readable and defensible.
- Measure and report results of (a) how well the completed studies follow the principles and (b) the ultimate outcomes from reports, in terms of implementation of recommendations.
- Give special recognition to completed studies that are exemplary in following the principles, stimulating widespread community discussion and producing concrete results.

3. We recommend that the philanthropic community, perhaps through an individual or a foundation or through several foundations acting together, set up a means to carry out the approach described above. A catalyst might be needed to get discussion going within the philanthropic community. We recommend that, if necessary, one or more of the larger foundations with respected public-policy experience serve as a catalyst to bring together leaders in the philanthropic community to review and act on recommendations in this report.

During 2017 the Civic Caucus will use this report and Civic Caucus interviews to help create a statewide consensus on next steps in strengthening Minnesota's public-policy process.

4. We recommend that the following be considered as high-priority, broad topics for study:

- Attacking racial disparities across the board, including education, employment, and income.
- Filling job openings in a time of shortage of workers.
- Developing a better economic future for Minnesota.
- Making postsecondary education and job training more relevant, affordable, accessible and cost effective.
- Improving the efficiency and equity of getting from home to work and back in reasonable time for all workers.
- Achieving a more seamless connection between high school and postsecondary education.

X. DISCUSSION OF RECOMMENDATIONS

This report recognizes that freedom of expression and assembly and other basic rights might be so taken for granted in this country that we can neglect to reflect on how well we carry out responsibilities implicit in those rights.

Consequently, this report analyzes what Minnesotans might do to improve their ability to analyze critical public-policy problems and make creative proposals for solutions to those problems. No individual or group is exempt from these recommendations. Some of us have greater responsibility because we regularly involve ourselves in public policy, by learning, by education, by analysis, by proposals, by advocacy, by action. Whether or not you find a recommendation specifically targeted to you or your organization, you're not exempt.

What is the rationale for recommending leadership by the philanthropic community? We decided we needed to focus on a specific action that will lead to other actions, a "domino effect," as we discussed earlier. We considered several possibilities: create a new public-policy organization; strengthen an existing organization; conduct a "summit," in an effort to bring all "stakeholders" together, as if any building would be large enough; create a new state agency, as if government were the solution; or create a public-policy czar.

We turn to participants in the philanthropic community because of their unique position in Minnesota. They're nonpartisan; they're nonpolitical; they like good ideas; they are fully,

permanently, Minnesotan; every day, their agendas include the toughest public-policy issues in the state; they are dedicated to preserving and improving Minnesota's quality of life; they have extensive public-policy experience; and they have financial resources. No other group in the state possesses all those essential characteristics.

Leadership by the philanthropic community should produce a domino effect that prompts positive action by others: business and labor; the civic organizations; the print, electronic and social media; scholarly enterprises; think tanks; political parties; and governmental bodies, including the Legislature.

If the philanthropic community establishes ground rules that stress the Minnesota Process, groups seeking financial support would be expected to go out of their way to follow those rules. Media representatives would be expected to report how well the Minnesota Process is being followed.

The idea of foundations working together on public policy is not new. Six foundations-the Bush, Blandin, Minneapolis, Saint Paul, Minnesota and Northwest Area-cooperated on two reports on state issues, *Minnesota's Bottom Line* (2009) and [Beyond the Bottom Line](#) (2011). Another example is the Northside Funders Group in Minneapolis, a cooperative organization of a number of foundations and funders.

Most members of the philanthropic community are fiercely independent, accountable not to the public at large, but to the stipulations of their founders and current boards of directors. Possibly this is a drawback. We'll see. They regularly help not-for-profit groups offer direct service. Whether they will support detailed study and proposals on the basic causes that produce the need for direct service is less evident.

Where specifically within the philanthropic community should action be taken? Once we decided to make the philanthropic community a focus of our recommendations, we had to decide where the recommendations should be addressed: To an individual philanthropist? To the almost 200 foundations in the state, in general? To the Minnesota Council on Foundations? To the Minnesota, St. Paul and Minneapolis community foundations? To one foundation, specifically, possibly one that is newer? To a select group of foundations? We have no preference. Maybe even a better way will emerge. Irrespective of which philanthropic participants are selected, is the recommendation addressed to the boards of directors, the professional staff or the founding donors? All of the above.

Were other options considered? Yes. One possibility, re-establishing a state planning agency or setting up a state-level body, perhaps patterned after the [Washington Policy Center](#), has some appeal. Such a proposal, however, depends upon a governmental response. Instead, we concentrated on the community sector.

Another possibility is to turn to the academic community, with highly-respected institutions deeply involved in public policy. One can't help but be attracted in that direction, but we felt that a potential domino effect-stimulating more activity within the

broader public-policy arena-is more likely with philanthropic leadership.

Identifying one civic organization-from among the rich variety already present in Minnesota-was briefly considered. But we felt our recommendations have significant implications for all civic organizations. Suggesting an entirely new organization, created explicitly to implement this report, is appealing, but unrealistic.

What are the implications for other individuals and groups? Our recommendation involves all public-policy participants in one way or another, because all such participants are interconnected in public policy. Thus, our central recommendation must not be misunderstood. The philanthropic role is no more important than that of anyone else: an editorial writer, a program chair for a voluntary organization, a professor helping a grad student select a thesis topic, someone protesting an egregious event or development, parents seeking a better education for their child, a civic organization planning a new study project, a business organization advocating a certain position, a legislator drafting a bill or a voter going to the polls.

XI. BACKGROUND ON THE CIVIC CAUCUS

The Civic Caucus, now in its 12th year, is a Minnesota nonprofit, public-policy learning organization. We hold weekly interviews with thought leaders from all regions of the state and all fields of endeavor, including government, for-profit businesses, nonprofit organizations and academia.

Our interviews constitute a rich, civil and very thorough dialogue that transcends partisan differences. The dialogue encompasses the interests of labor, employers, civic and social organizations and policymakers. We try to consider the impact of policy on every citizen, rural and urban; young, old and in-between; and over the full range of economic and social status. We hear from elected and appointed government officials, college presidents and K-12 educators, large and small employers and a variety of nonprofit social-service providers. Every week, our interviews bring new insights and new perspectives.

We share our findings as widely as possible through frequent e-mailed reports to over 5,000 subscribers and by maintaining our [website archive](#), now offering access to reports on more than 500 public-policy interviews. We are open to all who wish to receive our free weekly e-mails. Our subscribers include interested citizens, members of the media, legislators and local government officials across the state. We welcome suggestions for topics to study, for interviewees, for questions to be asked and for any other improvement to our process. Also, we would gladly help others who might choose to undertake their own interview processes similar to that of the Civic Caucus.

Members of the Civic Caucus Board of Directors are Dan Loritz, chair; Janis Clay, treasurer; Audrey Clay; Bruce Mooty; Dwight Johnson; and Paul Ostrow. The Civic Caucus executive director is Paul Gilje.

XII. SIGNATURES OF SUPPORT

The following individuals have signed in support of this report:

* Indicates member of Civic Caucus Interview Group

John S. Adams* Stephen R. Alderson Donna Anderson Russell A. Anderson Steven Anderson* Ray Ayotte Carrie Bakken Heather M. Bandeen Ellen Benavides Douglas Benson Tom Berg Bill Blazar Craig Brenden David Broden* Robert J. Brown John A. Cairns Dennis L. Carlson Norm Carpenter Kevin Chandler Austin Chapman Audrey Clay* Janis M. Clay* Sheldon Clay Gary Clements Pat Davies* David G. Dillon Bright Dornblaser Mohammed M. Dukuly Sen. Dave Durenberger Paul Ellefson	M Sheridan Embser-Herbert Lars Esdal John F. Evert Heidi Fahning Carole M. Faricy Don Fraser JacQueline Getty Laura H. Gilbert Lynn Gitelis Paul Gilje* Kitty Gogins David Griggs Scott W. Halstead Mina Harrigan Kimberly A. Hartung Paul Hauge John Hayden Judith K. Healey Peter Heegaard Roger F. Heegaard Jan Hively Robert Scott Jacobs Wayne B. Jennings Dwight Johnson Jeffrey N. Johnson Randy E. Johnson* Brian Kanes Alan Kantrud Sallie Kemper Abdullah Kiatamba	Jay Kiedrowski Jean King D. T. (Tom) King Ted Kolderie* John Kostouros Leif E. Kurth Todd Lefko Ray Lewis Dan Loritz* Charles P. Lutz Marina Lyon Gregory Marcus Joe Mansky Jeanne Massey Walt McClure Tim McDonald Dan McElroy Dick McFarland Alan Miller Paul Moe Roger Moe Bruce Mooty Jan Ormasa Gray Orris Vici Oshiro Paul Ostrow* Craig Peterson Robert K. Poch Eric Premack Rachel Quenemoen	Mark Ritchie John A. Rollwagen William Rudelius* Sylvia Sabo Hans Sandbo Sr. David Schaaf Dana Schroeder* Jon Schroeder David A. Schultz Clarence Shallbetter* Dane Smith Jim Solem Tom Spitznagle Melissa Stone Terry Stone Tom H. Swain Jack Swanson Paul Taylor David J. Therkelsen Tom Triplett Susan Sheridan Tucker Mary Vasaly Joe Vene John Ward Bob Wedl T. Williams* Albert Trostel Parker Trostel Michael Van Keulen Barbara Yates Fred Zimmerman* Jeff Zlonis
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