

Public Spaces as Borders:

How city parks have created a racial divide in
Minneapolis

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Historical Paper

Senior Division

Paper Length: 2500

Process Paper: 500

Process Paper

I got the inspiration for my topic while running in my neighborhood park. On one side of the park is my house, my school, and a population that is 85% white. On the other, a police station and a population that is 75% people of color. As I (inevitably) stopped for a break, I reflected on the relationship between the two communities. I interact with my neighbors on a daily basis, waving to them as I drive by, attending neighborhood events with them, and going to school with them, yet I knew no one who lived on the other side of the park. Only half a mile away lay a reality entirely separate from my own. The diversity missing from my neighborhood, and the resources missing from theirs suddenly became painfully obvious. This observation compelled me to examine the relationship between green spaces and residential segregation in Minneapolis.

When I began my research, I didn't know where to start. So, I got specific. Initially, I looked into the demographics of neighborhoods surrounding this park near my house. How did my neighborhood become overwhelmingly white? Here, I discovered racially restrictive covenants. My neighborhood was lined with covenants which legally prevented people of color from purchasing the lots. I then noticed a pattern that confirmed my initial observation. Neighborhoods surrounding Minneapolis parklands contained the highest concentration of covenants. Essentially—these public spaces had been used to divide the city.

By researching redlining practices, racial housing covenants, neighborhood park funding, and the historic relationships between adjoining neighborhoods, I have studied the strategic way that parks and public spaces have been used to segregate the city over decades, and have been segregated themselves. Unable to visit library archives in person, I had to find ways around

typical research methods. Online databases helped me find primary sources like newspaper clippings to strengthen my paper.

I recognize my topic doesn't take a typical approach to the theme of communication. Rather, I looked at segregation as an inherent lack of communication. My paper highlights the different ways in which urban planning policies communicated racist ideals. I examined how the culture of division that prevents modern-day communication was put into effect over a century ago. Additionally, I considered the ways in which racism can be overtly and covertly communicated. From mobs of angry white residents outside Black Minneapolitans' homes to 60 words at the bottom of a housing deed, segregation exists in Minneapolis today because of years of intentional displays of racism.

In my paper, I argue that Minneapolis parks have indirectly exacerbated residential segregation. I then make the connection between segregation and the inherent lack of communication that living in separate realities entails. Though not often identified as a historically significant factor, parks undeniably play a role in the lives of urban residents across the country. The development of Minneapolis parks had a dramatic impact on the racial demographics of the city, and thus deserve to be critically studied in order to get a full understanding of history.

In the late 19th century, Minneapolis, Minnesota was an integrated city. Though the population of people of color was small, it was evenly dispersed.¹ Black and white Minneapolitans lived alongside each other and seemingly communicated without issue. However, this coexistence was not indicative of a lack of racism in the city. The racial tension would soon be made visible as Minneapolis experienced an economic boom and saw the rapid development of infrastructure in the early 20th century. At the same time, the Minneapolis Park & Recreation Board (MPRB) began establishing parks across the city. Accordingly, neighborhoods primely positioned next to these green spaces gained a new appeal, and the competition to be in one of these up and coming communities began. The prestige that came with proximity to these exclusive spaces inevitably brought racial tensions to the surface; with desirability, comes demand. Soon, white residents and real estate developers alike began advocating for the exclusion of people of color from these spaces through any means necessary. A century later, Minneapolis is significantly more segregated than other similarly situated cities like Portland and Seattle.² In 2020, *The Trust for Public Land* once again voted Minneapolis as having the best park system in the country³—but for whom? This accolade fails to acknowledge the years of racist urban planning and development that lie beneath the pristine lakes and green lawns of the city. The Minneapolis park system has indirectly exacerbated residential segregation

¹ Marguerite Mills, "Exodus: Living and Leaving the North Side," ed. Kirsten Delegard, Story Maps, last modified May 22, 2020, accessed November 2, 2020, <https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/695d1dcd10194addb331eebc5a21de73>.

² Peter Callaghan, "Why are the Twin Cities so segregated? A new report blames housing policies — and education reforms," *MinnPost*, March 5, 2015, accessed July 17, 2020, <https://www.minnpost.com/politics-policy/2015/03/why-are-twin-cities-so-segregated-new-report-blames-housing-policies-and-edu/>.

³ Dana Thiede, "Minneapolis park system named best in U.S.," *Kare 11* (Minneapolis), May 20, 2020, accessed March 7, 2021, <https://www.kare11.com/article/sports/outdoors/minneapolis-park-system-named-best-in-us/89-4086fb8b-4fdc-451e-9dca-353734af361a>.

and, in turn, contributed to the culture of division and exclusion that limits cross-racial communication in Minneapolis today.

Historian Marguerite Mills writes, “In the case of the Black population, there were emerging communities distributed throughout the city. Some of them, in neighborhoods that would ultimately become almost entirely white and gain an upscale reputation.”⁴ Something changed to segregate a once integrated city; something prompted the deterioration and eventual loss of cross-racial communication in Minneapolis over the next century. Education, business, medicine, and culture could all offer different lenses through which to examine division in Minneapolis, but there is another lens that often gets ignored—parks. The answer to questions about division wouldn't seem to lie in public spaces which are inherently meant to be open to, and enjoyed by, everyone. Though Minneapolis parks never flaunted signs reading “white only,” these technically desegregated public spaces are at the root of Minneapolis’s division.

By 1910, thirteen Black families had established homes in the desirable Linden Hills neighborhood of Southwest Minneapolis.⁵ Around the same time, the Minneapolis Parks & Recreation Board (MPRB), established only years earlier in 1883, had acquired the Chain of Lakes in Southwest Minneapolis and subsequently began the construction of parkways, paths, and pavilions.⁶ Proximity to the outdoors paired with an easy commute into downtown via the new addition of streetcars made this a highly sought-after residential area. With the 1911 celebration of the creation of the Chain of Lakes, Southwest Minneapolis’s reputation as a

⁴ Mills, “Exodus: Living,” Story Maps.

⁵ Marguerite Mills, Kirsten Delegard, and Penny Petersen, “Displaced: A history of race and place in Southwest Minneapolis,” Displaced, last modified 2019, accessed November 4, 2020, <https://umn.maps.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=a0398b8fea0e41659b93fa8da7663f9d>.

⁶ Minneapolis Parks & Recreation Board, “History,” Minneapolis Parks, accessed February 23, 2021, https://www.minneapolis-parks.org/about_us/history/.

desirable and promising neighborhood was solidified in the minds of white residents and realtors.⁷

This prestigious reputation meant that white residents now felt they had something to chase, and something to lose. Intimidation tactics became the popular method to push out Black families already living in the area and ensure that no more would move in. On January 2nd, 1910, the *Minneapolis Sunday Tribune* ran the headline “Race War at Harriet Involving More Blacks” describing the efforts of white residents to prevent a Black minister, W. S. Malone, from moving into a lot at 4441 Zenith Ave. S. in the Linden Hills neighborhood (Appendix A). The article states, “There are several negro families living in the vicinity and a strong attempt will be made to oust them, too.”⁸ Indeed, Malone was not the last Black resident of Southwest Minneapolis to face mobs of white residents threatening violence. As the area’s desirability increased, more and more Black families found themselves unwelcome in their own neighborhood.

It is important to note that the park system was not the root cause of racism against Minneapolitans of color, it was merely a catalyst. Racism in Minneapolis had only been hidden just barely below the surface—and the prospect of prestige and exclusivity offered by the growing park system made it painfully visible once more. The emerging parks offered an opportunity for this racism to transform into a tangible change in the layout of the city. Intimidation tactics were not the only tool that white residents used, though. As early as 1910, the same year white mobs gathered outside 4441 Zenith Ave. S., Edmund Walton introduced the

⁷ Minneapolis Parks & Recreation Board, “History,” Minneapolis Parks.

⁸ “Race War at Harriet Involves More Blacks,” *Minneapolis Sunday Tribune* (Minneapolis, MN), January 2, 1910, <https://www.mnhs.org/newspapers/lccn/sn83016772/1910-01-02/ed-1/seq-1>.

first racial covenant into a Minneapolis property deed.⁹ This language ensured that co-existence and cross-racial communication would be lost in Minneapolis for at least the next 100 years.

A 1919 excerpt from *The Minneapolis Sunday Tribune* provides an example of the kind of language found in racial covenants (Appendix B). This advertisement put in place by Walton's company for lots near Lake of the Isles in the Chain of Lakes reads, "the premises hereby conveyed shall not at any time be conveyed, mortgaged, or leased to any person or persons of Chinese, Japanese, Moorish, Turkish, Negro, Mongolian, Semetic or African blood or descent."

It wasn't long before other real estate developers began experimenting with this tactic and, soon, housing deeds throughout the rapidly-developing city contained this language. In 1913, there were fourteen racial covenants in Minneapolis; a year later, there were 194.¹⁰ Neighborhoods like Linden Hills, where white residents had used violence and intimidation to establish the area as white prior to the arrival of covenants, did not see the same spike.¹¹ Racial covenants quickly became the preferred method of enforcing segregation in urban northern cities such as Chicago, Hartford, and St. Louis.¹² In Washington D.C. for example, most covenants are found in the Northwest quadrant of the city fronting one of the nation's first national parks: Rock Creek Park.¹³ In cities across the country, urban planning was used as a tool to communicate and enforce white supremacy. In a 2019 New York Daily News Article, author Adrien Weibgen

⁹ Edmund G. Walton, "Real Estate Mart: Lake of the Isles Bargain," *The Minneapolis Sunday Tribune* (Minneapolis, MN), January 12, 1919, <https://www.mnhs.org/newspapers/lccn/sn83016772/1919-01-12/ed-1/seq-10>.

¹⁰ Kirsten Delegard et al., eds., "Mapping Prejudice," *Mapping Prejudice*, <https://www.mappingprejudice.org/index.html>.

¹¹ Greta Kaul, "With covenants, racism was written into Minneapolis housing. The scars are still visible.," *MinnPost*, February 22, 2019, accessed February 11, 2021, <https://www.minnpost.com/metro/2019/02/with-covenants-racism-was-written-into-minneapolis-housing-the-scars-are-still-visible/>.

¹² Kirsten Delegard et al., eds., "Mapping Prejudice," *Mapping Prejudice*, <https://www.mappingprejudice.org/index.html>.

¹³ Mara Cherkasky, Sarah Jane Shoenfeld, and Brian Kraft, "From Restrictive Covenants to Racial Steering," *Mapping Segregation DC*, accessed May 15, 2021, <http://www.mappingsegregationdc.org/#maps>.

explains how racist policies, like covenants, have segregated New York City “not by accident, but by design.”¹⁴ The language in covenants offered a way to guarantee the exclusion of “undesirable” groups, thus protecting property values while sparing the effort of angry white residents. These covenants that played on the fears and desires of white homeowners became an integral part in shaping the demographics of Minneapolis in the early 20th century.

The explosion of racial covenants in Minneapolis after 1910 was partially a result of the sudden availability of and access to the park system. As the MPRB took on project after project to improve the infrastructure of parks, the public suddenly had access to well-developed green spaces across the city. One way the MPRB made parks accessible was the acquisition and subsequent construction of paths on the land bordering all bodies of water in the city. These sixty miles of paths, which have been wildly popular since their creation, became known as the Grand Rounds.¹⁵ Though this infrastructure was an exciting advancement, these paths also created sixty miles of real estate now primed for racial covenants.

As real estate developers, like the infamous Edmund Walton, searched for neighborhoods with potential to become some of the most affluent in the city, the neighborhoods along the Grand Rounds became an easy target. In fact, Edmund Boulevard, named after Walton himself, runs parallel to West River Parkway (a section of the Grand Rounds) and is lined with covenants. This street, like so many others primely positioned next to parks, was, and still is, overwhelmingly white.¹⁶ Based on 2017 US Census data, Edmund Boulevard is still 90.2% white

¹⁴ Adrien Weibgen, "Racist planning shaped our city; conscientious planning can help undo its mistakes," *New York Daily News* (New York City), April 11, 2019, accessed May 15, 2021, <https://www.nydailynews.com/opinion/ny-oped-racist-planning-shaped-our-city-20190411-pkobnblgejhbdjitqpdhflxj6u-story.html>.

¹⁵ Kirsten Delegard and Kevin Ehrman-Solberg, "'Playground of the People'? Mapping Racial Covenants in Twentieth-century Minneapolis," *Open Rivers: Rethinking Water, Place and Community*, no. 6 (Spring 2017), accessed October 4, 2020, <https://doi.org/10.24926/2471190X.2820>.

¹⁶ Kirsten Delegard and Penny Peterson, "Notes from the Archives: Edmund Boulevard," University of Minnesota Libraries: Mapping Prejudice, last modified January 24, 2019, accessed November 4, 2020, <https://mappingprejudice.umn.edu/stories/edmund-blvd-nfa/index.html>.

and only 1.7% African American.¹⁷ Those sixty words in the housing deeds of lots lining these desirable spaces ensured that no people of color could make a home there; a century later, though they can now legally move in, they still do not.

Beyond Linden Hills and Edmund Boulevard, other well-known green spaces in South Minneapolis like Diamond Lake, Lake Nokomis, and Minnehaha Creek demonstrate the correlation between parks and racial covenants on a larger scale. As these spaces emerged, real estate developers took full advantage. A 1923 real estate advertisement published in *The Minneapolis Star* reads, "Come out to Lake Nokomis and see the Wonderful park improvements" (Appendix C).¹⁸ Developers successfully used the appeal of these new parks, combined with the assurity of whiteness provided by racial covenants, to attract potential buyers.

In 2014, the Mapping Prejudice project began documenting the locations of housing lots across Minneapolis that once contained a racial covenant. Their findings clearly visualize how parks in Minneapolis played a role in segregating the city, and were themselves segregated. This map looks specifically at the neighborhoods surrounding Lake Nokomis and Minnehaha Creek, with Diamond Lake partially pictured on the lower left (Appendix D).¹⁹ Each red box represents a lot that contained a racially restrictive covenant preventing any people of color from purchasing it. Co-founders of Mapping Prejudice, Kirsten Delegard and Kevin Ehrman-Solberg, have concluded that "South Minneapolis, especially the neighborhoods around Lake Nokomis and Diamond Lake, had the highest concentration of racial covenants the project has found thus far."²⁰ This map, and so many others that show green spaces lined with red, indisputably show

¹⁷ "Edmund Boulevard, Minneapolis, MN, US," knowyour.place, accessed March 3, 2021, <https://www.knowyour.place/en/us/edmund-boulevard-minneapolis-mn/>.

¹⁸ "Opening Nokomis Lot Sale," *The Minneapolis Star* (Minneapolis, MN), June 9, 1923, <https://www.newspapers.com/clip/28618889/the-minneapolis-star/>.

¹⁹ Kevin Ehrman-Solberg, "Lake Nokomis and Minnehaha Creek," map, 2017, <https://editions.lib.umn.edu/openrivers/article/mapping-racial-covenants-in-twentieth-century-minneapolis/>.

²⁰ Delegard and Ehrman-Solberg, "'Playground of the People?'"

the correlation between parks and segregation in Minneapolis. Though Lake Nokomis, Diamond Lake, and Minnehaha Creek are some of the most prominent public spaces in the city, this influx in covenants occurred around parks of all sizes; Delegard and Ehrman-Solberg state that, in general, “Neighborhoods fronting parklands exhibit the highest concentration of covenants we have found thus far.”²¹ It is no coincidence that covenants skyrocketed alongside the rapid development of the Minneapolis park system, and it is no coincidence that neighborhoods surrounding parks remain overwhelmingly white today. This map paints the picture clearly—Minneapolis parks indirectly exacerbated residential segregation, shaping the demographics of the city and leading to a culture of exclusivity and division for generations.

Finding themselves shut out of neighborhoods, Black Minneapolitans, along with the other ethnicities listed in the covenants, searched for homes elsewhere. One community that emerged as one of the first majority-minority neighborhoods was Near North Minneapolis. Black and Jewish families, both of whom found themselves excluded from whiteness and thus displaced by covenants, could claim Near North as their own. Near North soon became a thriving epicenter of Black life in the city—but nevertheless an epicenter far from the parks and prestige of Southwest Minneapolis.

During the remainder of the 20th century, residential segregation was stitched into every aspect of the city. Urban planning was strategically used as a “tool of white supremacy.”²² As other low-income diverse neighborhoods, like Near North, gained their reputation, practices like redlining and the construction of affordable housing only solidified the dynamic. Redlining deemed areas like Near North as “Definitely Declining” or even “Hazardous,” making it nearly

²¹ Delegard and Ehrman-Solberg, “‘Playground of the People’?”

²² Julian Agyeman, “Urban planning as a tool of white supremacy – the other lesson from Minneapolis,” *MinnPost*, July 27, 2020, accessed February 11, 2021, <https://www.minnpost.com/politics-policy/2020/07/urban-planning-as-a-tool-of-white-supremacy-the-other-lesson-from-minneapolis/>

impossible for residents to obtain a housing loan. Meanwhile, the neighborhoods in South Minneapolis were deemed as “Best” or “Still Desirable” and thus considered low-risk areas for banks to provide loans.²³ While residents around Diamond Lake benefitted from the financial security that comes with home-ownership, Near North residents who were denied loans missed out on this generational wealth.

Even after the Fair Housing Act of 1968 brought redlining and racial covenants to a legal end, the damage was done. Urban planning in the second half of the century continued to uphold segregation.²⁴ University of Minnesota Law professor Myron Orfield hypothesizes that the construction of affordable housing solely in low-income neighborhoods has maintained Minnesota's “segregated living patterns” in the years since the Fair Housing Act.²⁵ Years of calculated urban planning have cemented a culture of division into the layout of Minneapolis.

By the 21st century, the once integrated city had been segregated. Black and white residents no longer lived alongside each other or even shared the public spaces of the city. Though segregation was legally obsolete, culturally, it was as alive as ever. Segregated housing had led to segregated schools, recreational activities, jobs, and ultimately segregated lives. Two isolated realities had formed and communication among residents had stopped.

Today, inequalities can be clearly seen in the place where it all started—parks. Funding for parks in North Minneapolis, where some of the city's poorest communities and a high concentration of ethnic minorities are found, has been consistently lower than areas like the affluent Southwest Minneapolis. According to 2015 data from the MPRB, three out of the twelve parks in North Minneapolis received less than \$25,000 in funding while four received less than

²³ Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America, accessed November 4, 2020, <https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=5/39.1/-94.58>.

²⁴ Deleard and Ehrman-Solberg, “Playground of the People?”

²⁵ Callaghan, “Why are the Twin.”

\$85,000. Meanwhile, every park in Southwest Minneapolis received a minimum of \$150,000.²⁶ Disparities in funding mean less resources for residents, and specifically children, who live in the area. According to a MPRB list, 23 of the 25 neighborhood parks rated as in need of most attention are in racially concentrated low-income neighborhoods and eight have equipment or buildings that were due to have been replaced years ago.²⁷ While the abundant funding in Southwest Minneapolis boosts property values and unites the community, people of color and low-income families in other neighborhoods are robbed of the sense of community these spaces are intended to provide.

The racial divide in Minneapolis has been written into housing deeds, advertised in newspapers, and cemented into parkways across the city. With the murder of George Floyd and the civil unrest during the summer of 2020, it is clear that Minneapolis's legacy of racism stems far beyond parks. Segregation is embedded in the city's makeup, but many organizations, including the MPRB, have finally begun to push for change. Local organizations like Parks and Power, Voices for Racial Justice, and the Minneapolis NAACP have drawn attention to the issue of park inequity and urged the MPRB to take up the cause.²⁸ In early 2021, the MPRB released their "Parks for All: Comprehensive Plan" for public comment. Will Sylvain, high school student and former member of the MPRB Youth Design Team (YDT), was involved in the planning process. According to Sylvain, "Parks for All" is an "equity-centered comprehensive plan that will guide the MPRB's decision making throughout the next decade."²⁹ In this plan, the MPRB

²⁶ Alexia Fernandez Campbell, "Inequality in American Public Parks," *The Atlantic*, September 29, 2016, Business, accessed July 10, 2020, <https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2016/09/inequality-in-american-public-parks/502238/>.

²⁷ Cristeta Elizabeth Boarini, "Years of inequities lead to 'extremely rare' racial lens applied to Minneapolis parks planning," *Daily Planet* (Twin Cities, MN), August 18, 2016, accessed October 4, 2020, <https://www.tcdailyplanet.net/years-of-inequities-lead-to-extremely-rare-racial-lens-applied-to-minneapolis-parks-planning/>.

²⁸ Boarini, "Years of inequities."

²⁹ Will Sylvain, interview by the author, Minneapolis, March 3, 2021.

clearly acknowledges the relationship between segregation and the park system. While outlining their goal to “foster belonging and equity,” they acknowledge how “Historic inequities have impacted park development through land use patterns, legal systems and investment like redlining and racially restrictive covenants.”³⁰ By releasing the plan for public comments and developing teams like the YDT, the MPRB has prioritized community feedback as they begin this change and opened a new line of communication. The MPRB is making a genuine and systemic effort to address the long-standing disparities in this nationally-acclaimed park system. After over a century of neglect, communities across Minneapolis now have the power to weigh in on urban planning. Minneapolis parks may have been the spark that began years of racial division, but it seems they may also be the spark to finally change it.

³⁰ Madeline Hudek, "Parks for All: The MPRB 2021 Comprehensive Plan," Parks for All: The MPRB 2021 Comprehensive Plan, accessed February 10, 2021, <https://minneapolisiparks.maps.arcgis.com/apps/MapSeries/index.html?appid=d015be295d3f48329278bb23acf65552>.

Appendix A

Race War at Harriet Involves More Blacks

Lake Residents Say They
Seek to Oust Two
Families.

Malone Does Not Move Into
the Bungalow, as He
Declared.

Negress Wants Gilt Edge
Price for Property,
'Tis Said.

A spread of the race war in the Lake Harriet district is the latest development in the fight of the residents against W. S. Malone, negro elder, making his residence in the bungalow at 4441 Zenith avenue south, which he purchased from Mrs. Marie Canfield last week.

There are several negro families living in the vicinity and a strong attempt will be made to oust them, too. According to one of the neighbors, a woman named Jackson lives at Forty-sixth and Zenith, with her daughter and the latter's children.

Appendix B

LAKE OF THE ISLES BARGAIN

A fellow cannot interest the dollar without using dollar instincts, and this lot is purposely slashed in price to attract the dollar. The map shows you where it is and what it looks at. The lot has curb and gutter, stone sidewalk, city water, gas and electricity. It is a beautiful lot, high and commanding, with a frontage of 75 feet and a depth of 140 feet. Mr. Stiff lives next door, at 2815 Benton boulevard.

Old price \$4,000. Today's discount \$1,250. New price \$2,750. Terms, \$750 down, balance on or before 3 years; 6% interest.

I appeal to the instincts of those about to marry. Isn't this the most remarkable offering you ever heard of. Restrictions—

The party of the second part hereby agrees that the premises hereby conveyed shall not at any time be conveyed, mortgaged or leased to any person or persons of Chinese, Japanese, Moorish, Turkish, Negro, Mongolian, Semetic or African blood or descent. Said restrictions and covenants shall run with the land and any breach of any or either thereof shall work a forfeiture of title, which may be enforced by re-entry.

Appendix C



This is
Nokomis Year

LAKE NOKOMIS

NOKOMIS SOUTH SHORE

Opening Nokomis Lot Sale
Biggest Days Today and Sunday

Come out to Lake Nokomis and see the Wonderful park improvements. The greatest and most significant development ever known in Minneapolis are concentrated in this famous district today. Buy while prices are within reach. They will rapidly advance after the sale. The time to inspect our NEW LOTS is Saturday or Sunday, our greatest sale days! Salesmen on the property until dark every day.

Legend

- Racially Restricted Lots (Red outline)
- Non-Restricted Lots (Blue outline)

The map displays a grid of streets in Minneapolis, MN, with various water bodies and parks. The legend indicates that red-outlined lots are racially restricted, while blue-outlined lots are non-restricted. The map shows a high concentration of racially restricted lots in the central and northern parts of the city, particularly in the areas around Lake Nokomis and Lake Hiawatha. Non-restricted lots are more prevalent in the southern and eastern parts of the city, particularly in the areas around Lake Hiawatha and Lake Nokomis. The map also shows several parks and green spaces, including McRae Park, Pearl Park, and Todd Park. Major water bodies include Lake Hiawatha, Lake Nokomis, Lake Hiawatha, Lake Nokomis, and Lake Hiawatha. The map is oriented with North at the top.

Kevin Ehrman-Solberg, 2017.
 Basemap data from Minneapolis Open Data Portal
 Projection: UTM Zone 15N

Annotated Bibliography

Primary sources

Hudek, Madeline. "Parks for All: The MPRB 2021 Comprehensive Plan." Parks for All: The MPRB 2021 Comprehensive Plan. Accessed February 10, 2021.
<https://minneapolisparcs.maps.arcgis.com/apps/MapSeries/index.html?appid=d015be295d3f48329278bb23acf65552>.

This document is the Parks for All: MPRB 2021 Comprehensive Plan, a plan meant to prioritize equity and inclusion in the MPRB's future decision and policy making.

The Minneapolis Star (Minneapolis, MN). "Opening Nokomis Lot Sale." June 9, 1923.
<https://www.newspapers.com/clip/28618889/the-minneapolis-star/>.

This newspaper article from 1923, in the midst of the spike of racial covenants, is an ad for new housing lots around Lake Nokomis. The advertisement attracts readers by stating "Come out to Lake Nokomis and see the Wonderful park improvements." I will be using this article to demonstrate how real estate developers used the developing park system to appeal to potential home buyers. I will describe how advertisements like these gave way to racially covenanted neighborhoods.

Minneapolis Sunday Tribune (Minneapolis, MN). "Race War at Harriet Involves More Blacks." January 2, 1910.
<https://www.mnhs.org/newspapers/lccn/sn83016772/1910-01-02/ed-1/seq-1>.

This is a newspaper showing an article about race relations in the Linden Hills neighborhood around Lake Harriet in South Minneapolis. I will use this article to show how white intimidation tactics were used to segregate previously-integrated areas of Minneapolis in the early 20th century.

Sylvain, Will. Interview by the author. Minneapolis. March 3, 2021.

Will Sylvain is a high school student and former member of the MPRB Youth Design Team (YDT) from May 2019 to August 2020. The YDT was founded with the intention of bringing youth, the most-frequent park users, into the planning process. In collaboration with MPRB staff, Will Sylvain was involved in community engagement and outreach, policy workshopping, and Community Action Committee meetings. He was also involved with the development of the Parks for All Comprehensive Plan, an equity-centered plan intended to guide the MPRB's decision making throughout the next decade.

Walton, Edmund G. "Real Estate Mart: Lake of the Isles Bargain." *The Minneapolis Sunday Tribune* (Minneapolis, MN), January 12, 1919, 10.
<https://www.mnhs.org/newspapers/lccn/sn83016772/1919-01-12/ed-1/seq-10>.

This is a newspaper article that provides the racial covenant language in the advertisement. This is a real estate advertisement for houses around Lake of the Isles, so it further makes the connection between exclusion and the park system.

Secondary Sources

Agyeman, Julian. "Urban planning as a tool of white supremacy – the other lesson from Minneapolis." *MinnPost*, July 27, 2020. Accessed February 11, 2021.
<https://www.minnpost.com/politics-policy/2020/07/urban-planning-as-a-tool-of-white-supremacy-the-other-lesson-from-minneapolis/>.

This is an article written in response to the murder of George Floyd by a Minneapolis police officer. Rather than focus on the individual officer or even Minneapolis's history of police brutality, Agyeman says urban planning over the past century deserves some of the blame. He examines the history of racial covenants and other practices that led Minneapolis to be as segregated as it is now. This segregation, and the lack of communication that came with it, led to the explosion of frustration from Minneapolis's long ignored Black residents during the summer of 2020.

Boarini, Cristeta Elizabeth. "Years of inequities lead to 'extremely rare' racial lens applied to Minneapolis parks planning." *Daily Planet* (Twin Cities, MN), August 18, 2016. Accessed October 4, 2020.
<https://www.tcdailyplanet.net/years-of-inequities-lead-to-extremely-rare-racial-lens-applied-to-minneapolis-parks-planning/>.

This article discusses the modern movements by both the MPRB and local organizations like "Parks and Power" to push for "park equity." This is compelling in that it gave me the sense that this issue is being taken seriously and this movement has gained a lot more traction since about 2010. I used this article for the author's analysis of recent actions taken to address park inequity.

Callaghan, Peter. "Why are the Twin Cities so segregated? A new report blames housing policies — and education reforms." *MinnPost*, March 5, 2015. Accessed July 17, 2020.
<https://www.minnpost.com/politics-policy/2015/03/why-are-twin-cities-so-segregated-new-report-blames-housing-policies-and-edu/>.

This article summarizes a report done by Myron Orfield where he hypothesizes that the twin cities are segregated because of "well-meaning but misdirected" housing and education reforms in recent years. Rather than focus on racial covenants, this offers a reason why segregation has persisted in the years since covenants have been prohibited. His main point is that affordable housing was only built in low-income neighborhoods and thus the cycle continued and neighborhood demographics in both race and socio-economic status remained stagnant.

Campbell, Alexia Fernandez. "Inequality in American Public Parks." *The Atlantic*, September 29, 2016, Business. Accessed July 10, 2020.
<https://www.theatlantic.com/business/archive/2016/09/inequality-in-american-public-parks/502238/>.

This article focuses on the disparities in American park systems by looking specifically at Minneapolis. It discusses the drastic inconsistencies in funding for parks in different areas of the city.

Cherkasky, Mara, Sarah Jane Shoenfeld, and Brian Kraft. "From Restrictive Covenants to Racial Steering." Mapping Segregation DC. Accessed May 15, 2021.
<http://www.mappingsegregationdc.org/#maps>.

This website is similar to "Mapping Prejudice" for Minneapolis but instead looks at Washington D.C. It tells the story of racially restrictive housing covenants in the D.C. area. I used this website to visualize and learn about covenants in other cities across the country and show that this issue extends beyond Minneapolis.

Delegard, Kirsten, and Kevin Ehrman-Solberg. "'Playground of the People'? Mapping Racial Covenants in Twentieth-century Minneapolis." *Open Rivers: Rethinking Water, Place and Community*, no. 6 (Spring 2017). Accessed October 4, 2020.
<https://doi.org/10.24926/2471190X.2820>.

This source provides a brief history of racial covenants as well as a look into the founding of the Mapping Prejudice project. Later in the article, the focus shifts to the findings of Mapping Prejudice in relation to parks. They state that their research found the highest number of covenants around parks. I used maps in this source depicting lots with covenants next to parks as well as quotes that clearly support my argument, specifically relating to South Minneapolis.

Delegard, Kirsten, Ryan Mattke, Kevin Ehrman-Solberg, and Penny Petersen, eds. "Mapping Prejudice." *Mapping Prejudice*. <https://www.mappingprejudice.org/index.html>.

This is the official website for the Mapping Prejudice project. The site gives an interactive display of racial housing covenants from 1910-1955. I used this to visualize patterns in the highly-concentrated areas of covenants as well as clearly identify years where numbers spiked.

Delegard, Kirsten, and Penny Peterson. "Notes from the Archives: Edmund Boulevard." University of Minnesota Libraries: Mapping Prejudice. Last modified January 24, 2019. Accessed November 4, 2020.
<https://mappingprejudice.umn.edu/stories/edmund-blvd-nfa/index.html>.

This source from the UMN Mapping Prejudice team takes a look at the history of racial covenants in Minneapolis and the man who brought them here, Edmund Walton. Additionally, it gives the example of Edmund Blvd, a street named after Walton which lines the Mississippi. I used this source to introduce racial covenants in my paper and cite Edmund Blvd as an example of a street next to the city's green spaces that became filled with covenants.

"Edmund Boulevard, Minneapolis, MN, US." knowyour.place. Accessed March 3, 2021.
<https://www.knowyour.place/en/us/edmund-boulevard-minneapolis-mn/>.

This website provides US Census data in geographical context. I used it to find the recent demographics of Edmund Boulevard, a street that was once lined with racial covenants. Based on 2017 Census data, this website stated that 90.2% of the street's residents were white.

Ehrman-Solberg, Kevin. "Lake Nokomis and Minnehaha Creek." Map. 2017.
<https://editions.lib.umn.edu/openrivers/article/mapping-racial-covenants-in-twentieth-century-minneapolis/>.

This map shows housing lots around Lake Nokomis and Minnehaha Creek that contained a racial covenant at one point.

Evans-Nash, Vickie. "No simple solution to funding equity for Mpls parks." *Daily Planet* (Twin Cities, MN), February 4, 2010. Accessed August 18, 2016.
<https://www.tcdailyplanet.net/no-simple-solution-funding-equity-mpls-parks/>.

This article looks at the origin and modern-day consequences of inequitable park funding. It touches on prominent organizations involved in park funding and provides a brief history into the "Elwell law" which prompted the city to construct parks in affluent areas only.

Kaul, Greta. "With covenants, racism was written into Minneapolis housing. The scars are still visible." *MinnPost*, February 22, 2019. Accessed February 11, 2021.
<https://www.minnpost.com/metro/2019/02/with-covenants-racism-was-written-into-minneapolis-housing-the-scars-are-still-visible/>.

This article looks at how housing developers relied on the natural beauty of areas like Lake Nokomis and the whiteness offered by racial covenants to advertise to potential buyers. It also explores long term consequences that can be visible today like average family income and racial demographics of different neighborhoods.

Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America. Accessed November 4, 2020.
<https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=5/39.1/-94.58>.

This is an interactive map that shows the desirability of neighborhoods in terms of redlining. I used this source to identify which neighborhoods in Minneapolis would have been considered risky to provide a home loan to and which would have been deemed reliable.

Mills, Marguerite. "Exodus: Living and Leaving the North Side." Edited by Kirsten Delegard. Story Maps. Last modified May 22, 2020. Accessed November 2, 2020.
<https://storymaps.arcgis.com/stories/695d1dcd10194addb331eebc5a21de73>.

This source tells the story of North Minneapolis, specifically how Black and Jewish people made their homes there after being forced out of other areas by racial covenants. I used this for background information on the Near North neighborhood and I also quoted a statement from author Marguerite Mills on the early racial demographics of Minneapolis.

Mills, Marguerite, Kirsten Delegard, and Penny Petersen. "Displaced: A history of race and place in Southwest Minneapolis." *Displaced*. Last modified 2019. Accessed November 4, 2020.
<https://umn.maps.arcgis.com/apps/Cascade/index.html?appid=a0398b8fea0e41659b93fa8da7663f9d>.

This article describes the history of race in South Minneapolis. It examines the brief history of integration, followed by white efforts to oust Black families and the

arrival of racial covenants. I use this source to provide background knowledge on my topic as well as cite specific information about the Linden Hills neighborhood.

Minneapolis Parks & Recreation Board. "History." Minneapolis Parks. Accessed February 23, 2021. https://www.minneapolisparks.org/about_us/history/.

This source is a timeline of the Minneapolis Park & Recreation Board's developments. I used it to find specific milestones and to compare the growth of the organization alongside the growth of racial covenants in Minneapolis.

Thiede, Dana. "Minneapolis park system named best in U.S." *Kare 11* (Minneapolis), May 20, 2020. Accessed March 7, 2021. <https://www.kare11.com/article/sports/outdoors/minneapolis-park-system-named-best-in-us/89-4086fb8b-4fdc-451e-9dca-353734af361a>.

This article summarizes the decision of The Trust for Public Land to vote Minneapolis as having the best park system in the United States.

Weibgen, Adrien. "Racist planning shaped our city; conscientious planning can help undo its mistakes." *New York Daily News* (New York City), April 11, 2019. Accessed May 15, 2021. <https://www.nydailynews.com/opinion/ny-oped-racist-planning-shaped-our-city-20190411-pkobnblgejhbdjitqpdhflxj6u-story.html>.

This article examines how urban planning was used to intentionally segregate New York City and communicate racist ideals. I quote the author to emphasize my argument that these policies were intentional and segregation did not happen by accident.