

# 2011 MINNESOTA LEGISLATIVE REPORT CARD ON RACIAL EQUITY



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## ORGANIZING APPRENTICESHIP PROJECT

The Organizing Apprenticeship Project works to advance racial, cultural, social and economic justice in Minnesota through organizer and leadership training, policy research and strategic convening work.

# Now Is Not the Time to Shut Down

The news about racial disparities in education, unemployment, health, and incarceration may seem overwhelming. But shutting down is not the answer. We do not need government to pull back. Instead, we need government to step up and lead for racial equity. Now, more than ever, with the growing racial disparities in our communities, we must pay attention to how race interacts with opportunities in Minnesota. We need courageous and creative leaders working to dismantle those disparities and build racial justice.

Here is a starting point: Organizing Apprenticeship Project's sixth Legislative Report Card on Racial Equity. This report holds Minnesota's legislators accountable for pursuing racial equity through the leadership we—the many communities in Minnesota—granted them. We are asking our legislators to lead the cause of closing racial disparities that cut across all areas of community life. We are asking them to work with communities of color to build an inclusive Minnesota.

# OUR DISPARITIES ARE GROWING

It used to be that Minnesotans could brag about having the best education system, great employment opportunities, and the healthiest population. But those days are over, because that story is no longer true.

Minnesota has some of the highest racial disparities in the country.

- The poverty rate has increased, but so have disparities. For communities of color, the poverty rate is as high as five times that of whites, and much higher than the national average for those communities. Minnesota's overall poverty rate in 2010 was 11.6 percent. But it was 17.8 percent for Asians, 24.4 percent for Latinos, 37.2 percent for Blacks, and 39.5 percent for American Indians.<sup>1</sup>
- The Twin Cities has one of the highest unemployment gaps in the country. African Americans, with a 22 percent unemployment rate, are more than three times as likely to be unemployed than whites.<sup>2</sup> The Latino unemployment rate is nearly double the white rate.<sup>3</sup>
- A disproportionate number of people of color are in prison. The prison population in Minnesota has tripled over the last 30 years. People of color and American Indians make up 47 percent of inmates, but only 16 percent of our state population.<sup>4</sup> A criminal record makes it difficult to get past the initial review stage of a job application—and difficult to make a fresh start in life.
- Minnesota has one of the largest educational achievement gaps in the country. In Minneapolis, fewer than half of students of color are reading at grade level by third grade. Statewide, only half of African American, Latino, and American Indian students graduate from high school within six years. On a visit to the state, U.S. Education Secretary Arne Duncan noted Minnesota's situation: "The achievement gap in this state is one of the largest, if not the largest, in the country. That is not something that anyone should take pride in."<sup>5</sup>

We are not proud of this story. Is this the Minnesota we want for ourselves and for our children? This kind of data is a wake-up call for all Minnesotans to pay attention to race and how it interacts with the structures of our society. The systems we have in place—from education, to employment, to housing—are interrelated. Racial disparities permeate all of these and multiply their effect across the opportunities that matter in our society. These structures will have to change and learn how to operate in a racially diverse world. Otherwise, Minnesota will find itself at the bottom of the list on all measures of success.

## HOW DO WE CHANGE?

We can change this story. But building an equitable state, one where all people have genuine access to the opportunities that could make Minnesota great, requires intentional, targeted action. Examples of this kind of thinking exist, and in a year when our economy, jobs, and budget challenges dominated the legislative session, these efforts matter more than ever. We see it in bills that would improve our literacy programs, that target job

training in high poverty communities, and that would prevent employers from asking about criminal backgrounds on an initial job application. Not many of these kinds of bills became law. But they do open the door to more equitable policymaking at all levels of government.

We can hold all of these levels of policymaking accountable by asking them to pay attention to how policy proposals will impact communities of color, American Indians, and low-income communities. A racial equity impact analysis at the beginning of the process shines a light on the existing disparities, and then asks how a proposed policy will affect communities living in these inequities. Does it make the condition worse? Or does the policy make things better? These are important questions that require the engagement of leaders and of the communities impacted. Including communities of color in the process will allow our perspectives to shape solutions for equity. We want a better Minnesota.

## 2011 KEY LESSONS AND FINDINGS

### THE LEGISLATURE RECEIVED A **D** OVERALL

The Legislative Report Card on Racial Equity selected 28 bills that would have advanced racial equity. Of those, eight (29 percent) became law. Looking at different opportunity areas points to the legislature's attention to some issues more than others. Of the education equity bills chosen, three of seven (43 percent) passed. In economic equity, two of five bills (40 percent) passed. Of bills advancing equity for American Indian communities, three of five (60 percent) passed. But no bills advancing equity became law in the areas of criminal justice (0/5) and health equity (0/6). Legislators pushed forward several bills that would have advanced structural racism rather than racial equity. The Report Card looked at seven of these bills. Of those, two were vetoed by Governor Dayton and one became law.

### THE LEGISLATURE RECEIVED AN **F** FOR BUDGET EQUITY

The budget debates dominated the session and we treated that area differently for the purposes of grading. Rather than highlighting positive budget bills, we are telling the truth of this session—that responsible budget policymaking was absent and that had a negative effect overall across issue areas. Like the Report Card's structural racism section, the budget policymaking section—titled Budget (In)Equity this year—shows a negative impact on building racial equity. The budget is the heart of policymaking, but the legislature has failed in keeping this central component healthy.

### THE GOVERNOR RECEIVED A GRADE OF **B-**

The governor worked to advance racial equity, but was not successful. He signed few positive bills into law, but few made it to his desk. He vetoed many bills that would have resulted in greater harm to communities of color, American Indians, and low-income people. His budget compromises had an overall negative result. But he is using his executive power to address some equity issues, including in education and health care.



IMAGE COURTESY OF THE MINNESOTA SENATE PHOTOGRAPHER'S OFFICE

### Remembering a Voice for Equity—Senator Linda Scheid (DFL-Brooklyn Park)

Minnesotans mourned the loss of State Senator Linda Scheid, who died in June after a six-year struggle with ovarian cancer. Scheid received an A for her leadership on bills that would advance racial equity in the 2009 and 2010 Legislative Report Cards on Racial Equity. She was a 30 plus year public servant, having served six terms in the Minnesota House and in her fifth term in the Senate. She was known for her work in business, insurance, education, and election reform. Most recently, Scheid was working to prevent mortgage foreclosures by encouraging mediation between lenders and homeowners.

## LEGISLATORS ARE LEADING FOR RACIAL EQUITY

Leaders for racial equity were busy in both the House and the Senate and in both parties. They introduced bills that would improve access to health care, allow people with criminal records a better chance in the job market, and help close the achievement gap. In a year when very few bills that advanced racial equity passed—or even moved very far at all—leadership became especially important in evaluating legislators. Eight members of the Senate received a grade of A for racial equity, and in the House 21 representatives received an A. In the Senate, 18 members received a B for racial equity; in the House 21 members received a B.

## LEADERS EMERGED EVEN IN DISTRICTS WITH LOW PERCENTAGES OF CONSTITUENTS OF COLOR

Legislators are seeing that race matters in Minnesota, and that we cannot continue on a path of huge disparities if we are to thrive as a state. Leaders in districts with 10 percent or fewer people of color, still demonstrated their commitment to improving opportunities for all Minnesotans.

## RACIAL JUSTICE HONOR ROLL

### LAWMAKERS EARNING AN A

**SENATE:** Linda Berglin (DFL-Minneapolis), Terri Bonoff (DFL-Minnetonka), John Harrington (DFL-St. Paul), Linda Higgins (DFL-Minneapolis), Ron Latz (DFL-St. Louis Park), John Marty (DFL-Roseville), Linda Scheid (DFL-Brooklyn Park), Patricia Torres Ray (DFL-Minneapolis)

**HOUSE:** Jim Abeler (R-Anoka), John Benson (DFL-Minnetonka), Kathy Brynaert (DFL-Mankato), Bobby Joe Champion (DFL-Minneapolis), Karen Clark (DFL-Minneapolis), Jim Davnie (DFL-Minneapolis), Kerry Gauthier (DFL-Duluth), Marion Greene (DFL-Minneapolis), Mindy Greiling (DFL-Roseville), Bob Gunther (R-Fairmont), Jeff Hayden (DFL-Minneapolis), Phyllis Kahn (DFL-Minneapolis), Carlos Mariani (DFL-St. Paul), Carol McFarlane (R-White Bear Lake), Carly Melin (DFL-Hibbing), Rena Moran (DFL-St. Paul), Joe Mullery (DFL-Minneapolis), John Persell (DFL-Bemidji), Sandra Peterson (DFL-New Hope), Nora Slawik (DFL-Maplewood), Linda Slocum (DFL-Richfield)

### LAWMAKERS EARNING A B

**SENATE:** Thomas Bakk (DFL-Cook), John Carlson (R-Bemidji), Scott Dibble (DFL-Minneapolis), Barb Goodwin (DFL-Columbia Heights), David Hann (R-Eden Prairie), Michael Jungbauer (R-East Bethel), Tony Lourey (DFL-Kerrick), Doug Magnus (R-Slayton), James Metzen (DFL-South St. Paul), Geoff Michel (R-Edina), Carla Nelson (R-Rochester), Gen Olson (R-Minnetrista), Kathy Sheran (DFL-Mankato), Katie Sieben (DFL-Newport), Rod Skoe (DFL-Clearbrook), LeRoy Stumpf (DFL-Thief River Falls), David Tomassoni (DFL-Chisholm), Charles Wiger (DFL-North St. Paul)

**HOUSE:** Tom Anzelc (DFL-Balsam Township), Denise Dittrich (DFL-Champlin), Pat Garofalo (R-Farmington), Alice Hausman (DFL-St. Paul), Debra Hilstrom (DFL-Brooklyn Center), Frank Hornstein (DFL-Minneapolis), Thomas Huntley (DFL-Duluth), Carolyn Laine (DFL-Columbia Heights), John Lesch (DFL-St. Paul), Tina Liebling (DFL-Rochester), Leon Lillie (DFL-North St. Paul), Diane Loeffler (DFL-Minneapolis), Jenifer Loon (R-Eden Prairie), Erin Murphy (DFL-St. Paul), Mary Murphy (DFL-Hermantown), Michael V. Nelson (DFL-Brooklyn Park), Kim Norton (DFL-Rochester), Bev Scalze (DFL-Little Canada), Steve Simon (DFL-St. Louis Park), Steve Smith (R-Mound), John Ward (DFL-Brainerd)

## OMNIBUS BILLS ARE NOT TRANSPARENT

Many policies, including some that were positive for racial equity, were compiled in omnibus packages that were largely negative for communities of color and American Indians. This strategy of lumping bills together makes it difficult to judge how legislators are advancing the interests of their constituents. Sometimes legislators made the choice to vote against overall negative omnibus bills even when they contained racial equity provisions they originally supported or even authored. As in other settings in which we assign grades, a simple letter grade cannot tell the whole story.

**SENATORS FROM DISTRICTS WITH 10 PERCENT OR FEWER PEOPLE OF COLOR AND RECEIVING AN A FOR RACIAL EQUITY ARE:** Linda Higgins (DFL-Minneapolis) and Terri Bonoff (DFL-Minnetonka).

**HOUSE MEMBERS FROM THESE DISTRICTS WHO RECEIVED AN A ARE:** Carly Melin (DFL-Hibbing), John Benson (DFL-Rochester), Carol McFarlane (R-White Bear Lake), Jim Abeler (R-Anoka), Bob Gunther (R-Fairmont), Kathy Brynaert (DFL-Mankato).

**SENATORS FROM DISTRICTS WITH 10 PERCENT OR FEWER PEOPLE OF COLOR AND RECEIVING A B FOR RACIAL EQUITY ARE:** David Tomassoni (DFL-Chisholm), Gen Olson (R-Minnetrista), Michael Jungbauer (R-East Bethel), Leroy Stumpf (DFL-Thief River Falls), Kathy Sheran (DFL-Mankato), Katie Sieben (DFL-Newport), Tony Lourey (DFL-Kerrick), Doug Magnus (R-Slayton), Geoff Michel (R-Edina), David Hann (R-Eden Prairie).

**HOUSE MEMBERS RECEIVING A B ARE:** John Ward (DFL-Brainerd), Thomas Huntley (DFL-Duluth), Tom Anzelc (DFL-Balsam Township), Steve Smith (R-Mound), Pat Garafalo (R-Farmington), Mary Murphy (DFL-Hermantown), Denise Dittrich (DFL-Champlin), Frank Hornstein (DFL-Minneapolis).

# Racial Equity Bills

# EDUCATION EQUITY

The focus in education continues to be on the achievement gap—the disparity in test scores between white students and students of color. Efforts to close the achievement gap that focus on the shortcomings of students and their families ignore the deep structural roots of the disparities we are seeing. Minnesota’s test scores for white students are among the highest in the nation. Meanwhile, we have one of the largest achievement gaps in the country. Our schools are failing a significant and growing number of students. And these students matter. They are the future of our state, our communities, and our economy. We can do better. One strategy is to shift our focus from the achievement gap to the equity gap, the ways in which we—our leadership and our institutions—are coming up short in educating every child. The legislature must play a leadership role by creating policies and allocating resources that make our schools work better for all children.



## 2011 EDUCATION EQUITY BILLS

**SF 40/Olson (R-Minnetrista), HF 63/Garofalo (R-Farmington)**

### **CREATING ALTERNATIVE PATHWAYS TO TEACHER LICENSURE**

Minnesota joins 47 states and the District of Columbia in offering an alternative route to teacher licensure. Minnesota’s new law requires that the Board of Teaching approve alternative programs to “improve academic excellence, improve ethnic and cultural diversity in the classroom, and close the achievement gap.”<sup>6</sup> Teachers of color make up only 3.5 percent of all teachers in Minnesota. But our enrollment of students of color in public schools is at 25.7 percent statewide.<sup>7</sup> In some districts, like Minneapolis, St. Paul, and a growing number of suburbs, students of color are in the majority. Alternative licensure provides an opportunity to increase the numbers of teachers of color so that students are exposed to more role models that reflect our changing community. Research links this role model effect to better outcomes for students of color.<sup>8</sup> And making teaching a career option for a broader population is a plus for the teaching profession.

But, looking across the country, not all alternative licensure programs offer the same opportunity for increasing the diversity of the teaching force. In states with genuine alternative programs, the number of teachers taking advantage of the programs is high. In states with only symbolic programs that do not differ markedly from traditional licensure, few participate in the program.<sup>9</sup> Alternative licensure programs have the potential to increase the number of men, people of color, and older, more life-experienced teachers. Many of these teachers say they would not have entered the profession if not for the alternative licensure option. Data shows that of those entering the teaching profession through alternative routes, 30 percent are people of color.<sup>10</sup> So Minnesota stands to benefit from an alternative licensure program that seeks to build a more inclusive teaching force.

Are teachers certified through alternative routes as effective as teachers with traditional certification? Most research shows little, if any, correlation between teacher effectiveness and type of certification. Good teachers can arise from multiple avenues. In states with genuine alternative licensure programs, test scores have improved.<sup>11</sup> Minnesota's Board of Teaching, which now must create a framework for the alternative licensure program, has an opportunity to implement a genuine and rigorous program that reflects intentional efforts to open the doors to teaching for more candidates.

*Signed by Democratic Governor Dayton (Chapter 5)*

**SF 331/Michel (R-Edina), HF 669/Loon (R-Eden Prairie)**

**IMPROVING ACCESS TO EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION  
WITH PARENT AWARE RATINGS SYSTEM**

Experts agree that early childhood education is a key component of preparation for school and a strong indicator of academic success.<sup>12</sup> The Parent Aware Ratings System, first introduced as a four-year pilot program in 2007, helps to bridge the gap in access to high quality early education programs for low-income families by tying scholarship assistance to high quality programs. Parent Aware applies a ratings system to child care and preschool programs, looking to criteria such as teacher training, teaching materials, family partnerships, and school readiness. The pilot program allowed its Quality Rating and Improvement System (QRIS) to evolve and work to address the concerns of providers and families. Efforts to include ELL providers and be attentive to the cultural concerns of families were a large part of the development of the program.<sup>13</sup> Following through with those early efforts will work to strengthen the program and ensure that it is beneficial to diverse communities. Parent Aware providers include family child care programs as well as Head Start programs and child care centers.

The legislature approved funding of \$4 million for early childhood scholarships, but not the Parent Aware program, which would give low-income families information to access high quality early education options. The Governor's executive order that extended the program helps close equity gaps—in later school success, in access to higher education, in employment—by making important early childhood programs more widely available.

*Died in Senate Committee on Health and Human Services and House Committee on Education Finance; program extended by executive order of Governor Dayton*

**HF 1187/Greiling (DFL-Roseville), SF 902/ Stumpf (DFL-Thief River Falls)**  
**HELPING EVERY CHILD ACHIEVE THIRD GRADE LITERACY**

The ability to read proficiently by the end of third grade is a known indicator of later school success. And failure to reach that mark makes it difficult to ever catch up.<sup>14</sup> But one in four Minnesota third graders are not reading at grade level. For children of color, the proficiency rates are even lower. In Minneapolis Public Schools, only 38 percent of African American, 34 percent of Latino, 43 percent of American Indian, and 47 percent of Asian American students were reading at grade level by third grade in 2010. This compares with 88 percent of white students at proficiency by third grade. Legislation that supports the goal of every child reading at or above grade level by the end of third grade can help close this gap. Adopted as part of the K-12 Omnibus Education Bill, the Third Grade Literacy legislation requires regular assessments and intervention and at least annual notification of parents of students not at proficiency, as well as support for parents to help students succeed. Teachers must be able to implement reading instruction programs and will receive development support to do so. They must recognize the needs of students in cross-cultural settings and be able to meet the needs of students who are English Language Learners. Attention to the equity issues helps to make this legislation a positive step for students of color.

*Signed by Governor Dayton as part of the K-12 Omnibus Education Bill  
(Chapter 11/HF 26/SF 11 Sec. 43 Special Session)*

### **Literacy Programs that Work**

Solutions exist to close both the equity gap in access to programs and the achievement gap in reading proficiency. Minnesota has some successful models in place already.

The Minnesota Reading Corps (MRC) works with students below grade level in reading to help them get back on track to being successful readers. By analyzing outcomes data for their students, the MRC determined that students who come from low-income households need additional time-on-task to be able to sustain their growth once they graduate from the MRC program. So these students remain in the program until they have met higher benchmarks and continue to be tested periodically to ensure they stay on target. The MRC is now working with the Minnesota Department of Education to determine which

schools are struggling most with achievement test scores and will focus more outreach on those schools. The program is already engaged in connecting more deeply to schools with high concentrations of American Indian students. Minnesota Reading Corps received additional funding from the Minnesota legislature last year, but now faces the threat of federal budget cuts that propose eliminating the program.

The Words Work program in Ramsey County is a partnership between Head Start and the St. Paul Foundation that aims to reach preschool-aged children with intensive literacy-enhancing programming in a way that respects differences in culture and language. All participants are from low-income families and Head Start eligible. Of those participants,

40 percent are children of color and 21 percent are not fluent in English. Words Work literacy mentors work to support Head Start classroom programming, but also engage with families to provide suggestions and materials that support home learning. Respect for multiple languages is evident in how mentors label objects in the classroom in different languages to encourage connecting objects with their names. The results of the program have been promising. Words Work students have scored better than other students with similar demographic backgrounds, not just in the early years in both reading and math but also later through fifth grade.<sup>15</sup> The Words Work program closes the equity gap, tailoring a program to benefit the population it wants to reach, and it closes the achievement gap with demonstrable results.

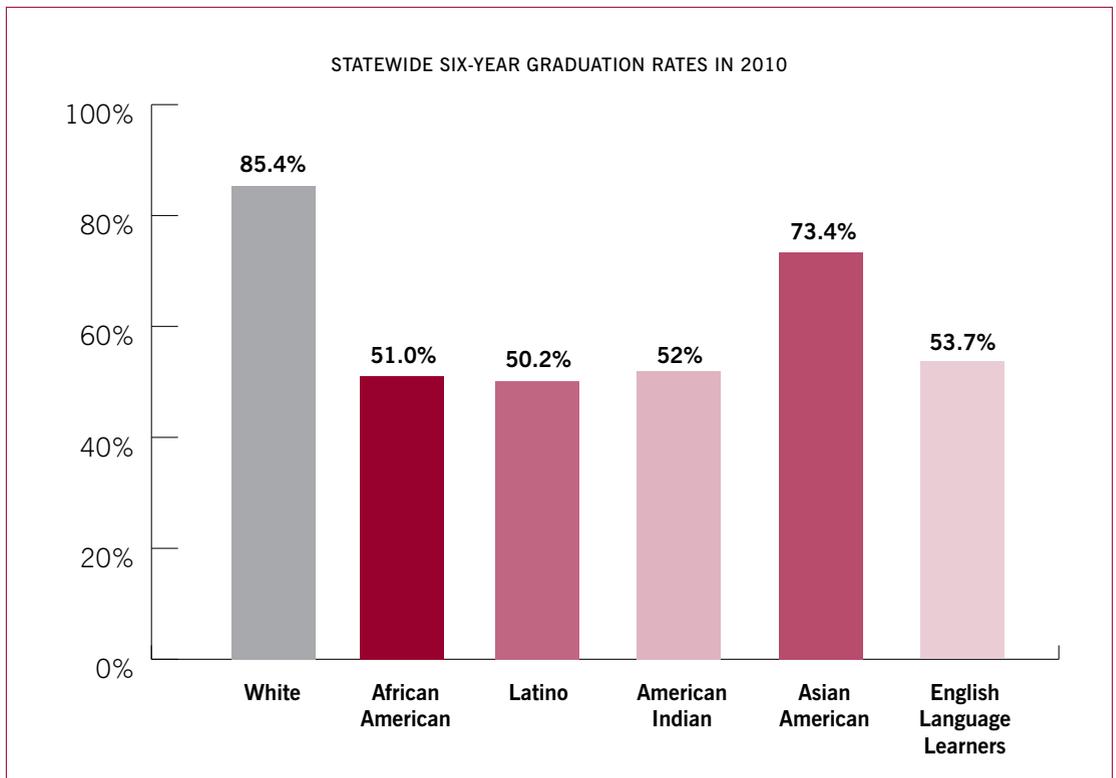
**LEGISLATORS WERE GRADED ON FOUR ADDITIONAL EDUCATION BILLS, FOR SEVEN TOTAL:**

**SF 285/Torres Ray (DFL-Minneapolis), HF 822/Davnie (DFL-Minneapolis)** removes the arbitrary five year limit for students receiving ELL instruction, as profiled in the 2007 Report Card. *Died in Senate Committee on Education and in House Education Reform Committee.*

**SF 456/Torres Ray (DFL-Minneapolis), HF 641/Slocum (DFL-Richfield)** requires teachers, when renewing their teacher license, to undergo cultural competency training, similar to the 2007 Report Card's bill focusing on cultural competency for child care workers. *Died in Senate Committee on Education and in House Education Reform Committee.*

**HF 563/Moran (DFL-St. Paul), SF 372/Harrington (DFL-St. Paul)** introduces Full Service School Zones, a pilot program for St. Paul's Promise Neighborhood developing new methods of operating social services with schools. *Signed by Governor Dayton as part of Chapter 11/HF 26/SF 11 Special Session Omnibus Education Bill.*

**SF 511/Scheid (DFL-Brooklyn Park), HF 751/Mariani (DFL-St. Paul)** prohibits school boards from withholding student grades due to outstanding school fees debt. *Died in Senate Committee on Education and House Committee on Education Reform.*

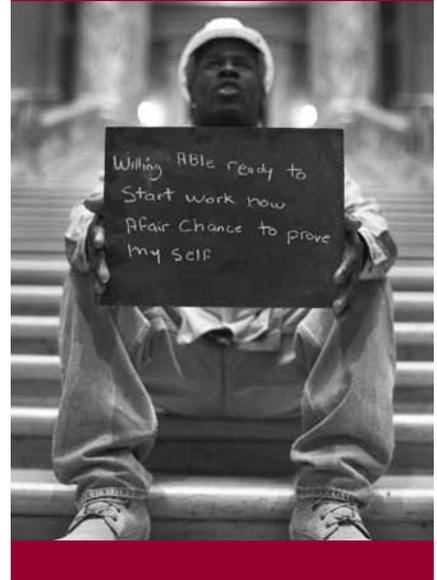


Source: Minnesota Department of Education.

# ECONOMIC EQUITY

The nation's economic recovery has been slow, but for communities of color, the economic reality was dire before the recession and is worse now. Minnesota has a median household income that is higher than the median U.S. income, but the income gap between families of color and white families is nearly double here than the national average. The gap between white households and those of color for the U.S. is 200.6 percent, compared to 396.4 percent in Minnesota.<sup>16</sup> The unemployment rate for African Americans is three times that of white Minnesotans.<sup>17</sup> And the asset poverty rate—the measure of economic security that allows families to make it through hard times, invest in housing, and pay for education—is substantially higher for households of color. The asset poverty rate for white households in Minnesota is 17.7 percent compared to 58.5 percent for African Americans, 42 percent for Latinos, and 43.3 percent for American Indians.<sup>18</sup>

At the same time, communities of color bring economic growth to many areas of the state. For example, Latino-owned businesses increased 25.8 percent from 2002 to 2007.<sup>19</sup> Latino businesses have brought life to once dying business areas in the Twin Cities and in Greater Minnesota. That business growth brings energy to other important aspects of community life. In 2008, more than 51 percent of incoming kindergarten students in Willmar were Latino. Supporting the economic potential of our communities of color to invest in education, housing, and businesses is good for our communities and good for the whole state. Policies that promote economic security and development, employment, and wealth creation for communities of color will bring prosperity to our communities and help to close income and wealth gaps.



## 2011 ECONOMIC EQUITY BILLS

**SF 694/Tomassoni (DFL-Chisholm), HF 838/Gunther(R-Fairmont)**

### **SUPPORTING JOB TRAINING THROUGH OPPORTUNITIES INDUSTRIALIZATION CENTERS**

The high unemployment rate, especially for communities of color, has meant that job training programs that provide relevant skills are more important than ever. The appropriation of \$1,375,000 in each of the next two fiscal years for opportunities industrialization centers (OICs) doubles the state funding for these important programs. The five OICs in Minnesota work intentionally in some of the poorest communities of color to offer training that respects culture and provides strong community connections. Minnesota's OICs train 3,000 people annually and successfully place graduates in jobs. Summit Academy OIC reports that it had a 94 percent job placement rate in 2010.<sup>20</sup> OICs pay attention to the market and train program participants accordingly, including building skills and connections to work on the Central Corridor Light Rail Project, preparing for the health care needs of our aging population, and learning the

skills necessary for a green economy.<sup>21</sup> Programs like these provide an important link to opportunity and self-sufficiency, but with more than 175,000 unemployed Minnesotans, we will need even more investment in human capital to turn our economy around.<sup>22</sup>

*Signed by Governor Dayton as part of Omnibus Transportation Bill  
(Chapter 4/HF 2/SF 3 Special Session Sec. 3, Subd. 3c)*

**SF 17/Higgins (DFL-Minneapolis), HF 15/Champion (DFL-Minneapolis)  
Special Session**

**EFFORTS TO REPAIR TORNADO DAMAGE IN A STRUGGLING COMMUNITY**

The tornado that struck North Minneapolis on May 22, 2011 bore down on a community already struggling with high poverty rates, unemployment, and the foreclosure crisis. Over a third of the households in the impacted area were living below the poverty level. People of color and American Indians make up two-thirds of the population in North Minneapolis, with the majority being African American. About 60 percent of the housing in the area had some level of damage. And of the 232 structures that sustained major damage, 44 percent were occupied by people receiving public assistance.<sup>23</sup> HF 15 would have appropriated \$13.7 million to the relief effort in North Minneapolis, for the purposes of redevelopment, public infrastructure repair, replacement of trees, mental health services, and satisfying the matching fund requirement to receive FEMA funds for damage to public property. The state would provide \$4 million of the total \$16 million in funds directed to North Minneapolis as part of the FEMA program.

Introduced on July 19 during the special session and in the midst of the state government shutdown, HF 15 did not make it past a first reading. Despite efforts by the Governor and the City of Minneapolis, the North Minneapolis tornado damage did not lead to federal disaster relief for individuals. Private donors stepped in to meet some of the need. Immediately after the tornado, The Minneapolis Foundation, Greater Twin Cities United Way, and GiveMN created the Minnesota Helps—North Minneapolis Recovery Fund, resulting in \$1.5 million raised from individuals, corporations, and foundations. These funds have been distributed to nonprofit organizations and public agencies to provide assistance in North Minneapolis.<sup>24</sup> The special session tax bill (HF 20) did appropriate the \$4 million necessary to meet the FEMA matching requirements. The federal Quick Start program, administered by the Minnesota Housing Finance Agency, provides \$1 million in forgivable loans (up to \$30,000 per home) for home repairs, but as of October, with winter approaching, only five homeowners had received the loans, while 500 homes remained unrepaired.<sup>25</sup>

With damage estimated at \$166 million, these efforts help but cannot completely meet the needs of a community already struggling before the tornado hit. The bill (HF 15) authored by Rep. Champion, though not successful, would have moved our community a step closer to providing the assistance North Minneapolis requires.

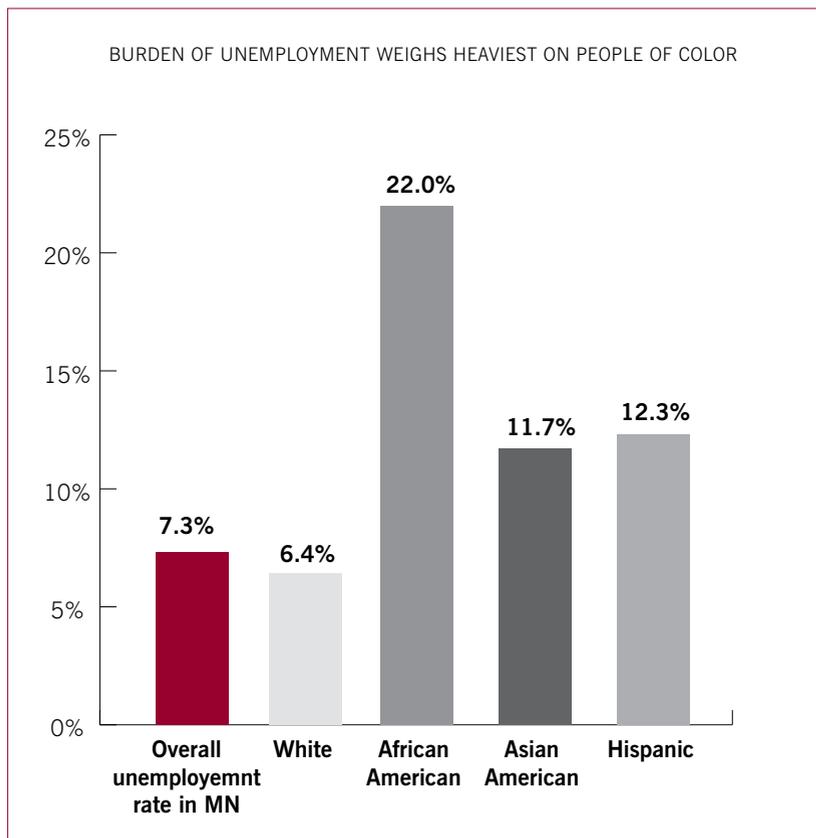
*Died in Senate Committee on Rules and Administration and in the House*

**GRADES BASED ON THREE ADDITIONAL ECONOMIC BILLS, FOR FIVE TOTAL:**

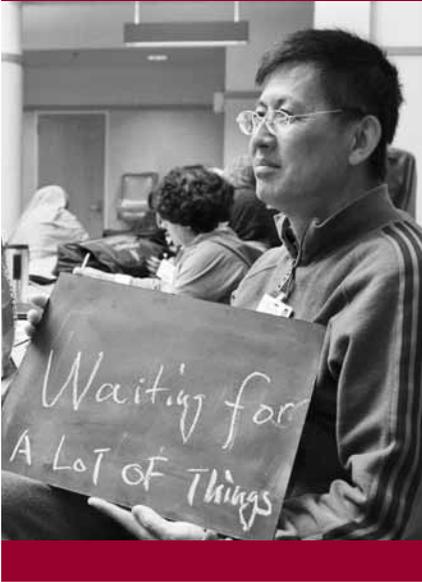
**HF 531/Clark (DFL-Minneapolis), SF 353/Berglin (DFL-Minneapolis)** provided funding for an African American History Museum, as was discussed in the 2010 Report Card. *Signed by Governor Dayton as part of Chapter 12/HF 23/SF 9 Special Session Bonding Bill.*

**SF 1328/Marty (DFL-Roseville)** proposed reform to welfare and MFIP, increasing access for those hardest hit by the recession. *Died in Senate Committee on Health and Human Services.*

**SF 70/Goodwin (DFL-Columbia Heights), HF 475/Benson, J (DFL-Minnetonka)** allocated money for outreach programs for food stamps—an equity policy with one in seven Americans now relying on food stamps. *Died in Senate Committee on Health and Human Services and in House Committee on Health and Human Services Finance.*



Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, 2010.



## CIVIL RIGHTS AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE

Disparities run throughout our systems in Minnesota—from education outcomes, to criminal convictions, to employment. Not only are these racial disparities high, but ours are among the highest in the country in all of these key areas. Breaking the connection between these inequities will require affirmative policies that interrupt these patterns. One area where engaging in reconstructing the system can pay off is in criminal justice. American Indians and people of color make up 47 percent of the prison population in Minnesota, but only 16 percent of the statewide population.<sup>26</sup> But the disparity in conviction points backwards to the initial contact that individuals have with law enforcement officials. According to the Council on Crime and Justice, in Minnesota “law enforcement officers stop Blacks, Latinos and American Indians all at a greater rate than White drivers; search Blacks, Latinos and American Indians all at a greater rate than White drivers; and find contraband as a result of searches of Blacks, Latinos, and American Indians all at a lower rate than in searches of White drivers.”<sup>27</sup> Disparities also carry into the future. Minnesotans with a criminal record face many challenges to fully participating in their communities, including being banned from employment and volunteer opportunities. Changes to the criminal justice system will have to reach both deeply and broadly, crossing the multiple challenges that American Indians and people of color face in their interactions with the law.

### 2011 CIVIL RIGHTS AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE BILLS

SF 1122/Magnus, (R-Slayton), HF 1448/McFarlane (R-White Bear Lake)

#### **OPENING EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES WITH THE MINNESOTA HIRING ADVANTAGE**

Landing a job is challenging these days. But for Minnesotans with a criminal record, an early barrier to employment is a question about their criminal background on job application forms. Currently, under Minnesota law, questions about criminal records on initial employment applications are allowable for private employers. In 2009, Minnesota enacted legislation, commonly known as Ban the Box, to remove questions about criminal records from public employment applications so that not until an applicant is invited for an interview could a potential employer ask about criminal records. This legislation opened the door a little more to opportunity, an important step considering the deep disparities in criminal convictions between whites and people of color. Minnesota’s disparity between African Americans and whites with criminal records is four times greater than the national average.<sup>28</sup> The Minnesota Hiring Advantage would have extended that same chance to private employment for people with criminal records.<sup>29</sup> For employers, this means having the opportunity to assess the true qualifications of an applicant before making a decision on whether to interview. For job applicants, this policy would

prevent the door to future employment from being shut prematurely. In a time of high unemployment, applicant pools can be large. But it is in the interest of all parties to create the best match possible between job and employee. It is in the interest of all of us for Minnesotans to have real opportunities to build a new future after a difficult past.

*Died in Senate Committee on Jobs and Economic Growth and in House Committee on Commerce and Regulatory Reform*

SF 602/Jungbauer (R-East Bethel), HF 876/Smith (R-Mound)

### **PROMOTING FULL REHABILITATION BY LIMITING ACCESS TO JUVENILE RECORDS**

The juvenile justice system was created to encourage rehabilitation of young people who have committed offenses.<sup>30</sup> But even if systems are in place to help juveniles reform past behavior, other structures exist to limit their opportunities in the future. As in other areas of the criminal justice system, Minnesota’s juvenile justice system has a disproportionate impact on communities of color and American Indians—although only 18 percent of the state’s overall youth population, youth of color represent 38 percent of those detained in juvenile detention, and 46 percent of youth receiving a court order for placement in a residential facility.<sup>31</sup> In Minnesota, most juvenile records are inaccessible to the general public. But state law requires that people seeking employment or volunteer work in certain fields or facilities are subject to a criminal background check that includes juvenile records. And 16 and 17 year olds charged with felony level offenses have public hearings and public records. Even before determination of innocence or guilt, a 16 or 17 year old charged with a felony has a record that can prevent full rehabilitation, including access to education and employment. Most states presume privacy of juvenile records unless the felony is at a violent level. This bill would have created a similar presumption of privacy for 16 or 17 year old juveniles in Minnesota. Courts would have the discretion to make juvenile court hearings public in the case of violent felonies and when the interest in public safety requires public hearings. But the presumption of privacy would protect many juveniles who have committed or even just been charged with non-violent or first-time offenses and give them the chance to truly move their lives in a different direction.<sup>32</sup> Minnesota’s current process is particularly damaging and far-reaching, especially for youth of color, but solutions exist that would align our state with many other states and the true purpose of a juvenile justice system.

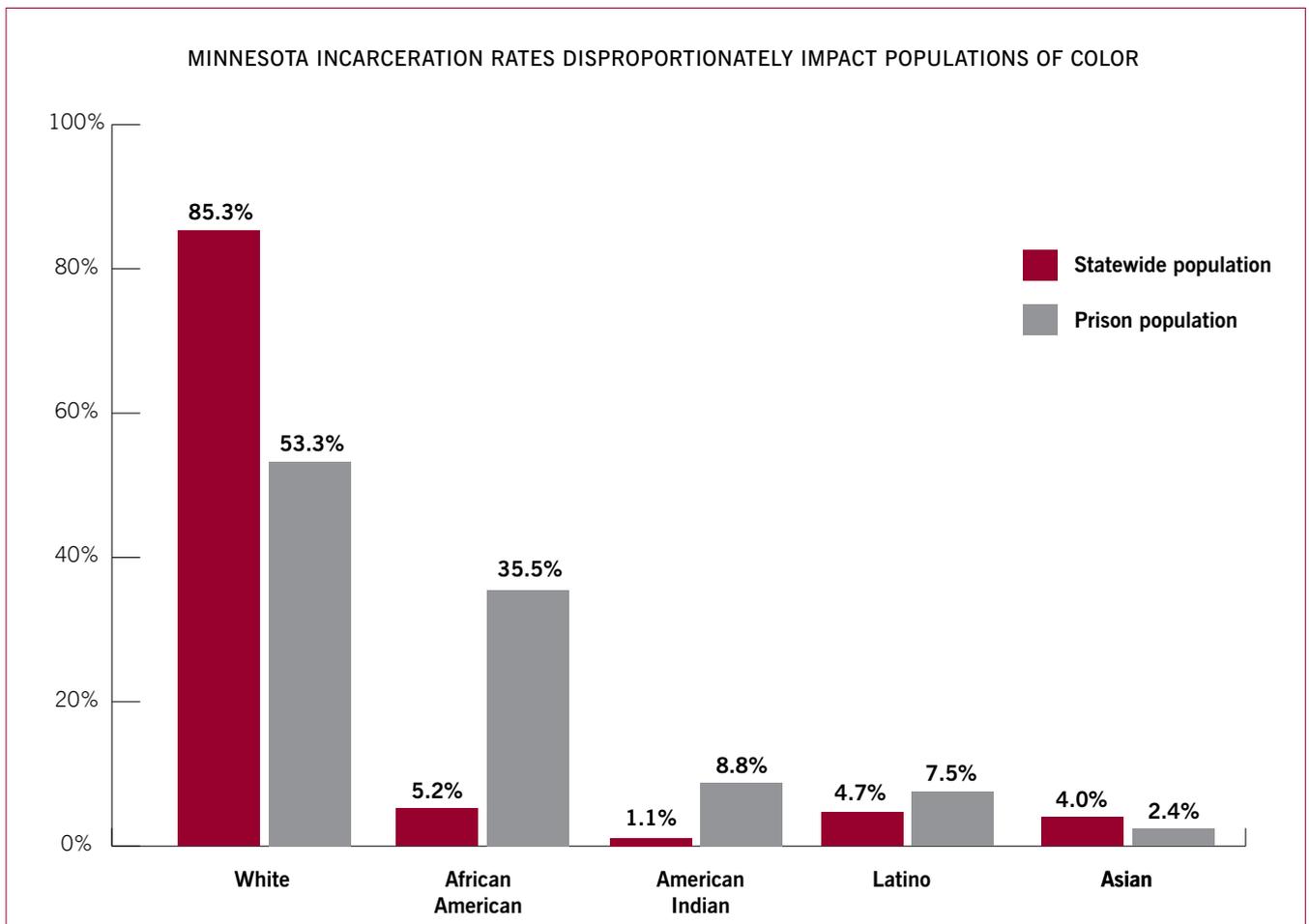
*Died in Senate Committee on Judiciary and Public Safety and in House Committee on Judiciary Policy and Finance*

**LEGISLATORS WERE GRADED ON THREE OTHER CRIMINAL JUSTICE BILLS, FOR FIVE TOTAL:**

**SF 1375/Latz (DFL-St. Louis Park), HF 1600/Melin (DFL-Hibbing)** prohibits employers from firing an employee or choosing not to hire an applicant due to an expunged record. *Died in Senate Committee on Judiciary and Public Safety and in House Committee on Commerce and Regulatory Reform.*

**SF 824/Higgins (DFL-Minneapolis), HF 718/Champion (DFL-Minneapolis)** would notify ex-felons when their right to vote has been restored and would end nearly all cases of voter fraud according to the Secretary of State. *Died in Senate Committee on Judiciary and Public Safety and in House Committee on Public Safety and Crime Prevention Policy and Finance.*

**SF 823/Higgins (DFL- Minneapolis), HF 710/Champion (DFL-Minneapolis)** offers expungement reform for cases involving diversion and adjudication. *Died in Senate Committee on Judiciary and Public Safety and in House Committee on Judiciary Policy and Finance.*



Source: Minnesota Department of Corrections 2011.

# HEALTH EQUITY

Minnesota is one of the healthiest states in the nation with extensive park systems and bike trails, high health insurance coverage, and long life expectancies.<sup>33</sup> But these bragging rights apply to our white population far more than to American Indians and communities of color. Over 20 years, the proportion of communities of color in Minnesota has grown from five percent of the population to almost 16 percent. This growth in population makes our health disparities stand out. From infant mortality, to teen pregnancy, to diabetes, rates are three to five times higher for American Indians and people of color than for whites.<sup>34</sup> How could so many people of color be suffering from health issues in such a healthy state?

The problem is that all of those things that make our state so healthy are not available to everyone. Children of color are less likely to live in neighborhoods with safe parks and easy access to healthy food. Communities of color are more likely to live in neighborhoods forced to face the harmful effects of dangerous emissions, lead poisoning, and arsenic contamination.<sup>35</sup> The infant mortality rate for American Indian and African American infants is more than twice as high as for white infants. But American Indian women are nine times more likely to not have access to prenatal care compared to white women. People of color are less likely to have employer-sponsored health coverage, which has an impact on receiving important preventive care. African American children are twice as likely, and Latino children are four times more likely to be uninsured as white children.<sup>36</sup>

Solutions will have to target these disparities and reach across issues such as housing, nutrition, employment, and health insurance coverage. Health disparities result from multiple barriers; achieving health equity will require multi-faceted approaches.



## 2011 HEALTH EQUITY BILLS

SF 1288/Hann (R-Eden Prairie), HF 1498/Liebling (DFL-Rochester)  
HF 1550/Liebling (DFL -Rochester), as reintroduced

### PROMOTING EQUITY THROUGH A HEALTH DISPARITIES REDUCTION ADVISORY COUNCIL

A bill introduced in the House in April would have mandated a Health Disparities Reduction Advisory Council, with the purpose of reducing “racial and ethnic disparities in service access and outcomes for programs funded by the Department of Human Services.” The bill recognizes the significant health disparities in Minnesota and takes a proactive, targeted approach to reducing disparities. It would require the Commissioner of Human Services to create guidelines for the make-up and work of the Council in consultation with the communities of color and American Indian communities impacted by health disparities. The bill defines disparities across programs of the Department of Human Services, from access, to participation rates, to outcomes, “that are considered to

be unfair, unjust, or inequitable.” Though the bill did not progress past the Health and Human Services Reform Committee, it includes the kind of clear language that would codify acknowledgement of deep disparities and promote real steps for creating racial and cultural equity.

*Died in House Committee on Health and Human Services Reform and Senate Committee on Health and Human Services*

#### **HF 1757/Hayden (DFL-Minneapolis)**

##### **EFFORT TO PROVIDE COMPREHENSIVE ASSISTANCE FOR HOMELESS CHILDREN**

In our troubled economy, homelessness is on the rise despite the efforts to end homelessness in Minnesota.<sup>37</sup> One constant in data on homelessness is the disproportionate impact of homelessness on families of color. According to the Wilder Foundation, “African American and American Indian families are more than 30 times as likely to be homeless as their white neighbors in Minnesota.”<sup>38</sup> African Americans, who made up five percent of the statewide population of parents in 2009, were 48 percent of homeless parents. These disparities “reflect persistent and systematic biases in educational, housing, and job opportunities.”<sup>39</sup> The impact of homelessness on children is deep and long lasting. Children in unstable housing have trouble in school, have higher rates of emotional and behavioral issues, and suffer in nutrition and health. About one-third of homeless parents were homeless themselves as children.<sup>40</sup> Representative Hayden’s bill would have created comprehensive evaluation and assistance services for young homeless children that include mental and physical health treatment, developmental programs, early childhood education, and resources for families. With children and their parents the fastest growing homeless population, comprehensive interventions like those proposed could help to interrupt a persistent problem.

*Died in House Committee and Health and Human Services Reform*

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**The Health and Human Services Omnibus bill (HF 25) included a one-time appropriation of \$700,000 from the federal TANF fund to provide long-term homeless services for homeless families.**

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#### **SF 917/Berglin (DFL-Minneapolis), HF 1204/Murphy, E (DFL-St. Paul)**

##### **ESTABLISHING A MINNESOTA HEALTH BENEFIT EXCHANGE**

A health insurance exchange program would allow consumers to compare health insurance plans in an online marketplace. The federal health care law requires such exchanges to be in place by January 1, 2014. The Minnesota bill would have started the process of developing the system and working with communities to ensure that the exchange program was an effective tool for accessing health insurance. The bill called for involving communities of color in the planning process and stated that at least six board members must represent groups served by the exchange program. It also directed the board to consult with stakeholders in the community, including “advocates for enrolling hard-to-reach populations.”<sup>41</sup>

Although the bill did not progress in the legislature, Governor Dayton issued an executive order in October establishing a task force to work with the Commerce Department in developing a state health insurance exchange. The Governor’s action allows the state to

move forward with planning for health care reforms that will benefit communities facing disparities in access to health coverage and medical care.<sup>42</sup>

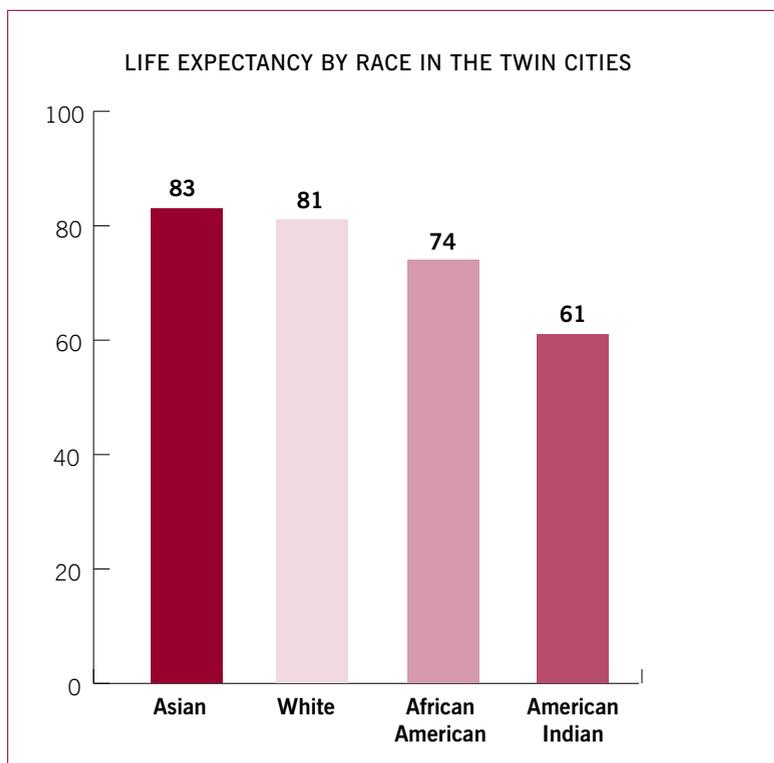
*Died in Senate Committee on Commerce and Consumer Protection and House Committee on Health and Human Services Reform; task force to develop exchange established by executive order of Governor Dayton*

**LEGISLATORS WERE GRADED ON THREE ADDITIONAL HEALTH BILLS, FOR A TOTAL OF SIX:**

**SF 1020/Higgins (DFL-Minneapolis), HF 1071/Norton (DFL-Rochester)** to require health insurance companies to cover autism. *Died in Senate Committee on Commerce and Consumer Protection and in House Committee on Health and Human Services Reform.*

**SF 99/Berglin (DFL-Minneapolis), HF 167/Clark (DFL-Minneapolis)** requires the Department of Health to study autism in Minnesota, recognizing that children in the Somali community are being diagnosed with autism at twice the statewide rate. *Died in Senate Committee on Health and Human Services and in House Committee on Health and Human Services Reform.*

**SF 8/Marty (DFL-Roseville), HF 51/Hayden (DFL-Minneapolis)** creates the Minnesota Health plan, ensuring healthcare access for all Minnesotans. *Died in Senate Committee on Health and Human Services and House Committee on Health and Human Services Reform.*



Source: Wilder Research on behalf of the Blue Cross and Blue Shield of Minnesota Foundation.



## AMERICAN INDIAN COMMUNITIES AND TRIBAL SOVEREIGNTY

Among the layers of government that work for its people is one that is often overlooked—that of tribal government. Minnesota is home to seven Anishinaabe (Chippewa and Ojibwe) reservations and four Dakota (Sioux) communities.<sup>43</sup> These communities provide a rich connection to an important part of Minnesota culture and history. But they also operate every day as living sovereign nations working to provide its members with the opportunities to education, health, housing, and justice that matter to all Minnesotans.

Tribal sovereignty is the legally recognized status of American Indian tribes to govern themselves.<sup>44</sup> Tribal governments operate independently as their own sovereign nations, and have a government-to-government relationship with the United States. Protecting that sovereignty is a central mission of tribal governments and Minnesota's Indian Affairs Council, a state agency created in 1963 to act as a liaison between the 11 tribal governments and the state.<sup>45</sup> Part of that mission is being sure that our state government's interaction with American Indian people does not limit tribal sovereignty and that American Indian people enjoy the full benefit of membership in their tribes as well as the benefits of U.S. citizenship. Like communities of color, American Indian communities experience disparities in income, education achievement, employment, and incarceration rates. We must recognize the shared interest between tribal and state governments in building equity for American Indian people.

### 2011 AMERICAN INDIAN & TRIBAL SOVEREIGNTY BILLS

#### HF 1112/Abeler (R-Anoka)

#### **IMPROVING ACCESS TO CULTURALLY APPROPRIATE HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES**

Members of the White Earth Band of Ojibwe receive access to health and human services that are culturally appropriate and that recognize the role of tribal government as a result of passage of HF 1112 (as part of the Health and Human Services Omnibus Bill HF 25 Special Session). Health care and services that do not respect the language and culture of recipients can have a detrimental effect on overall health and well-being. Health disparities among American Indian communities, like that of communities of color, are large, and studies indicate that offering more culturally competent services can increase positive outcomes.<sup>46</sup> American Indians who have been committed (due to mental illness, developmental disability, or chemical dependency) in the White Earth Tribal Court will be able to receive state services—sooner and with fewer administrative obstacles. Red Lake Band members had already acquired this recognition and now with two Tribal Courts recognized in this process, the Department of Human Services will be working with other tribes to expand this recognition. Another aspect of the legislation will transfer human services programs and funding from Mahnom County to the White Earth

Band which will improve tribal members' access to culturally appropriate human services. The legislation also authorized a study to explore the feasibility of the White Earth Band assuming responsibility of child protection cases involving children and families living in Hennepin County, with the goal of addressing the disparity of White Earth children in out of home placement.

*Signed by Governor Dayton as part of Special Session  
Health and Human Services Omnibus Bill (Chapter 9/HF 25)*

**SF 1294/Skoe (DFL-Clearbrook)**  
**SF 6, HF 6 Special Session (added to omnibus Legacy bill)**

**LEGACY AMENDMENT APPROPRIATIONS  
FOR AMERICAN INDIAN CULTURAL PRESERVATION**

The Legacy Amendment, adopted by voters in 2008, increases sales taxes by three-eighths of one percent and distributes that revenue to protect the environment, maintain parks and trails, and preserve arts and cultural heritage. The legislature's appropriations of this tax revenue in the 2011 session included support of American Indian historical and cultural interests. Four parts of the Legacy bill included these provisions, two first introduced in SF 1294 and two additional provisions included in the Special Session Omnibus Legacy bill HF 6/SF 6. A statewide survey of historical and archaeological sites includes a representative appointed by the Indian Affairs Council for an oversight board. The Indian Affairs Council also receives funding to continue its work to preserve native languages, including continuation of the Working Group on Dakota and Ojibwe Language Preservation. The Council receives an appropriation for grants to programs that preserve Dakota and Ojibwe Indian languages, including programs presented in these languages. Two language immersion schools also receive funding. These efforts to preserve language are important to American Indian communities, and to all Minnesotans, on multiple levels: "For students and other American Indians who negotiate lives in wider communities where their cultural identities are largely invisible, language instruction is a source of strength that, among other benefits, provides the possibility of addressing the educational achievement gap that exists between American Indian and white students."<sup>47</sup> Finally, the Legacy appropriations support all four Councils of Color (the Council on Asian Pacific Minnesotans, the Council on Black Minnesotans, the Indian Affairs Council, and the Chicano Latino Affairs Council) in cooperation with the Minnesota Humanities Center for community programs to celebrate artistic, historical, and cultural heritage.

*Signed by Governor Dayton (Chapter 6)*

### American Indian Communities Face Some of the Greatest Structural Inequities

We need to pay attention.

- 35 percent American Indians fall below the poverty line.
- Their average life expectancy is 61 years old.
- The six-year high school graduation rate is 52 percent.
- American Indians are only 1.1 percent of the state population, but 8.8 percent of the prison population.

### LEGISLATORS WERE GRADED ON THREE ADDITIONAL BILLS, FOR FIVE TOTAL:

**HF 1461/Abeler (R-Anoka), SF 1305** amends the Department of Human Service's licensing process and adds an exception for American Indian medicine men and women. The chief author of companion bill SF 1305 removed this language from the Senate version; no leadership points were awarded in the Senate. *Died in the House Health and Human Services Reform Committee and Senate Committee on Judiciary and Public Safety.*

**SF 674/Carlson (R-Bemidji), HF 941/Persell (DFL-Bemidji)** appropriates money for the Bemidji Headwaters Regional Center for Science, a building already used by American Indian groups and community members. The addition to the building would include American Indian history and culture. *Died in Senate Committee on Capital Investment and in House Committee on Jobs and Economic Development Finance.*

**SF 3/Ingebrigtsen (R-Alexandria), HF 5/McNamara (R-Hastings) Special Session** appropriates money to the University of Minnesota to research genetic diversity in wild rice, and directs the Department of Natural Resources to work with Indian Tribes to establish water quality standards for waters containing natural beds of wild rice. *Signed by Governor Dayton (as part of Chapter 2/SF 3/HF 5 Special Session Environment, Energy, and Commerce Omnibus Bill).*

Legislating  
Structural  
Racism  
and Budget  
(In)Equity



# LEGISLATING STRUCTURAL RACISM

Structural racism permeates our culture, going far beyond the interpersonal racism that results in individual bias, bigotry, and even hate crimes. It digs deeper than the institutional racism that is alive in schools, businesses, and other key opportunities in our society, resulting in racial profiling, predatory lending, and disparities in education and health. Structural racism is embedded throughout our institutions and connects disparate outcomes across schools, housing, employment, and health, so that the overwhelming result is enormous barriers to racial equity.

How do we dismantle these barriers? First, by paying attention. Studying the impact of policies and programs and looking to any inequitable outcomes, even if unintended, is one way to attack structural racism. Then, acting on that knowledge and calling out the disparate impact is key. Finally, create alternatives. Build strategies and policies that make progress toward racial equity. The Legislative Report Card on Racial Equity has highlighted some of these initiatives. Solutions exist.

But some proposals take us backwards. Even if unintended, they have the effect of adding to structures of racism.

## 2011 STRUCTURAL RACISM BILLS

### **HF 26/ Garofalo (R-Farmington), SF 11/ Olson (R-Minnetrissa) Special Session PHASING OUT SCHOOL INTEGRATION REVENUE FUNDING**

Minnesota's School Integration Revenue funding was created in 1987 and expanded in 1997 as a way to support districts with large populations of students of color.<sup>48</sup> In the last year, the program provided 139 districts with \$90 million in funding. Criticism of integration funding has centered on the unclear purpose of the program, lack of oversight and accountability, and a funding formula that has some unintended negative consequences. The program does have issues with clarity and purpose. An emphasis on "interracial contacts" has come to mean a broad range of strategies, from supporting interdistrict magnet schools to one-day multicultural festivals.<sup>49</sup> The variety of strategies and little analysis of their impact means that it is difficult to assess what the funding program has achieved. Districts that successfully integrated under the program no longer qualified for funding, creating a financial disincentive to fully integrate.

That the Integration Revenue funding program has problems does not merit abandoning its goals. Efforts to restructure the program and improve its outcomes could have promoted greater racial equity. But phasing out the program in 2013, as the legislature has voted, has the danger of also phasing out our attention to building a more racially equitable education system in Minnesota. The legislature also removed the stronger desegregation law, and replaced it with weaker language stating that the state does not condone segregated schools. With one of the highest achievement gaps in the country, our state must focus its attention and resources on strategies that educate all children

effectively. The Integration Revenue Funding program was not as effective as it could be, but legislators and now the task force that will decide how to repurpose the integration money must maintain a focus on racial disparities in education. Their task should be to create a system of funding that intentionally works to serve students of color better. That will mean supporting efforts to reduce segregation of schools and education opportunities, but also creating and maintaining programs that promote better education outcomes for students of color. Failing to commit to students of color specifically will only work to increase our disparities and the structural barriers to education.

*Signed by Governor Dayton (Chapter 11)*

#### **HF 358/Barrett (R-Shafer): PREEMPTION OF LOCAL ORDINANCES**

#### **SF 1143/Ortman (R-Chanhassen): ENFORCEMENT OF FEDERAL SECURE COMMUNITIES INITIATIVE**

Efforts in the legislature to put pressure on local police and prosecutors to enforce federal immigration law would add to structural racism and exclusion. One bill (HF 358), only introduced in the House, would prevent local governments from creating policies prohibiting employees from sharing immigration status data with federal authorities. This would undermine the separation ordinances that prohibit local government officials from asking about immigration status of individuals unless that status relates to a crime. The result would hamper the relationship between police officers and immigrant communities. According to St. Paul Police Chief Tom Smith, crime has decreased in St. Paul since the city adopted a separation ordinance in 2004 because of the trust established between immigrant communities and police.<sup>50</sup>

SF 1143 would have enforced the federal Secure Communities initiative, a controversial program that compares fingerprints of all individuals arrested and booked by police—even for very minor offenses—with Department of Homeland Security data on any immigration contact with the federal government. According to federal Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE), “nearly two-thirds of the 77,000 immigrants deported were not convicted of serious crimes.”<sup>51</sup> The federal government is investigating the program’s effectiveness and several states have withdrawn from the program in response to its overly broad impact.<sup>52</sup> The Secure Communities provision was added to a data practices bill at the last minute and the Senate unanimously approved the bill. The governor’s veto prevented a questionable federal program from becoming a part of our Minnesota landscape.

*HF 358 Died in House Committee on Judiciary Policy and Finance*

*SF 1143 Vetoed by Governor Dayton*

*(as part of Chapter 37/HF 440/ SF 958 Omnibus Public Safety and Judiciary Finance Bill)*

#### **Structural Exclusion: Constitutional Amendment to Define Marriage**

A proposed constitutional amendment that limits marriage to heterosexual couples will go to voters in the 2012 election. Those who have been fighting for racial equity know the experience of discrimination and exclusion from the opportunities that make community life whole. And only since 1967, when the Supreme Court called anti-miscegenation unconstitutional, have interracial couples been free to marry in the United States. Excluding gay and lesbian couples from the chance to marry also excludes them from full acceptance in other opportunities and creates a state-sponsored stigma on their identity as individuals, couples, and families. Communities at the intersection of race, culture, and sexual identity experience even further discrimination. The National School Climate Survey found that a majority of LGBT youth of color experienced harassment or assault because of their sexual identity or race.<sup>53</sup> These youth must also navigate cultural and familial barriers to acceptance, meaning that exclusion operates on multiple levels for them.<sup>54</sup>

Although all communities do not agree on this issue, the Organizing Apprenticeship Project believes that the passage of the marriage amendment in the legislature adds to the web of structural barriers limiting full participation for all members of society. Legislators who opposed the amendment spoke passionately of the importance of acceptance and inclusion. The Star Tribune reported that among them was Republican Rep. Tim Kelly, an Iraqi war veteran, moved by the story of a fellow Minnesota soldier killed in Afghanistan. Kelly spoke on the House floor, holding a photo of the soldier, Andrew Wilfahrt, who was gay: “I cannot look at this picture ... and say ‘you know what, Corporal, you were good enough to fight for this country and give your life, but you were not good enough to marry the person you love.’”<sup>55</sup>

**SF 509 ch. 69/ Limmer (R-Maple Grove), HF 210/ Kiffmeyer (R-Big Lake)**

### **CREATING BARRIERS TO VOTING THROUGH PHOTO IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENT**

Over the last year, more than a dozen states have passed laws that create barriers to full voter participation. These have included limitations on early voting, restrictions on voter registration drives, and requirements that people show photo identification at the polls. The Brennan Center for Justice has found that these laws could make it more difficult for more than five million eligible voters to participate in elections in 2012.<sup>56</sup> Concerns about fraud are fueling the passage of these laws, but the actual incidence of fraud is very rare.<sup>57</sup> Yet the impact of these restrictions falls disproportionately on people of color, people living in poverty, and the elderly.

Minnesota's attempt to limit voter participation was a bill that would require voters to present photo identification at the polls. Proponents of the bill argued that an identification card is easy to acquire and is already required for many things, like airport security. But these claims disregard the racial impact of creating an additional barrier to voter participation which unlike taking a flight, is a right and a value that we deem fundamental to citizenship. Nationwide, 25 percent of African American voters do not have valid government-issued ID, compared to only eight percent of whites. And 15 percent of voters earning less than \$35,000 per year do not have photo identification cards. The bill would not accept tribal identification cards at the polls, instead requiring tribe members to use their tribal ID as a way to obtain a state ID—creating an extra step and barrier for American Indian tribe members. Minnesota's Secretary of State estimates that 140,000 Minnesotans, many of them senior citizens, do not have photo identification.<sup>58</sup> The photo ID requirement would have added significantly to the structural barriers that prevent full participation in our democratic society.

*Vetoed by Governor Dayton (Chapter 69)*

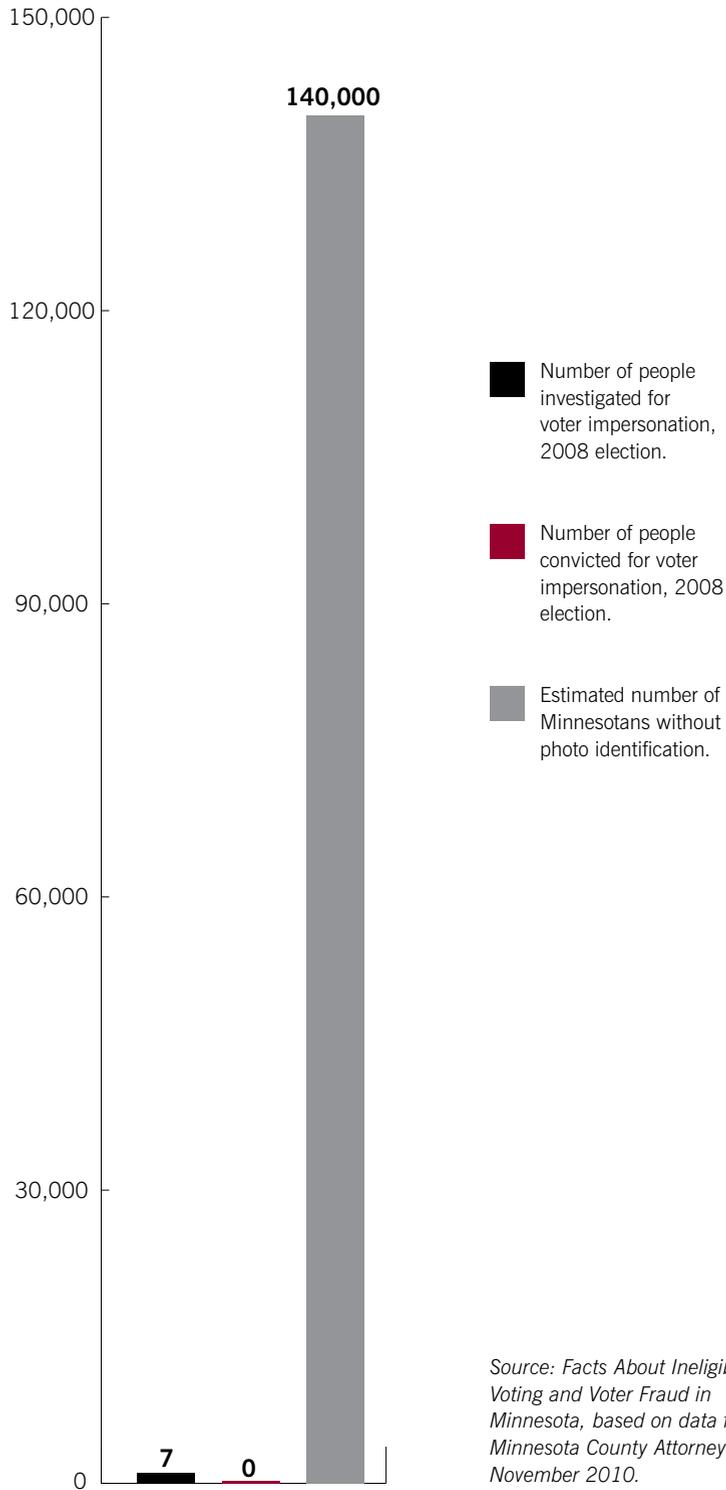
### **IN ADDITION TO THE FOUR DISCUSSED HERE, LEGISLATORS WERE GRADED ON THE FOLLOWING THREE BILLS, FOR SEVEN TOTAL:**

**SF910/Jungbauer (R-East Bethel), HF1080/Woodard (R-Belle Plaine)** would disqualify applicants for MetroTransit jobs due to a criminal record. *Died in Senate Committee on Judiciary and Public Safety and in House Committee on Public Safety and Crime Prevention Policy and Finance.*

**SF1001/Ingebrigsten (R-Alexandria), HF939/Westrom (R-Elbow Lake)** would move towards privatizing Minnesota's prisons and create a financial incentive to lock up more Minnesotans. *Died in Senate Committee on Judiciary and Public Safety and in House Committee on Public Safety and Crime Prevention Policy and Finance.*

**SF175/Ingebrigsten (R-Alexandria), HF64/Drazkowski (R-Mazeppa)** would make English Minnesota's official language, despite a continuing history of multiple languages spoken throughout the state. *Died in Senate Committee on State Government Innovation and Veterans and in House Committee on Transportation Policy and Finance.*

**VOTER PHOTO IDENTIFICATION REQUIREMENT:  
A SOLUTION IN SEARCH OF A PROBLEM**





## BUDGET (IN)EQUITY

The budget-making process of the 2011 session left a bad taste. The voices of those most impacted by proposed cuts were not at the table. The option of raising revenue responsibly was taken off the table completely. The budget borrowed money from our most important investment and those we should feed first—school children. What was left on the table was a meal that satisfied few, that turned many away, and that we will pay for later.

In 2009, the Organizing Apprenticeship Project and the Minnesota Budget Project engaged in a series of kitchen table conversations about how to balance our state's budget.<sup>59</sup> At those tables were groups representing communities of color, American Indians, low-income people, women, veterans, and formerly incarcerated individuals across the state. The outcome of state budget negotiations mattered to these communities—they all had an interest in seeing Minnesota emerge from the recession as a vibrant, opportunity-rich, inclusive state. And they had all experienced the racial and economic disparities that result from inequitable budget decisions. What emerged from the conversations were principles intended to guide lawmakers in fully engaging community members and making budget policy that reflects the concerns of the community. In summary,

**Tax equitably**—If we need more resources, raise revenue in a way that is equitable and does not disproportionately burden those with the lowest incomes.

**Cut carefully**—Do not trim the budget in a way that places the greatest burden on communities of color and others most affected by our state's disparities.

**Invest wisely**—Spend our money on the most effective measures to improve opportunities and reduce inequities.

The budget policymaking of the 2011 session resulted in heated disagreement between Governor Dayton and the legislature, a three-week state government shutdown, and a special session—with key negotiations closed to the public. It did not result in greater racial equity. Instead, in a time when communities of color are growing in size—the most significant growth in population over the last 10 years has all been in communities of color—we are seeing a disinvestment in the very programs that build our future.

### DISINVESTMENT IN EDUCATION

Among the budget decisions with the most negative impact is a delay of over \$2 billion in payments to school districts, or 40 percent of the annual state aid to schools. This shift in payment forces districts to cut back on current spending across the board—from general operations to important programs like special education and English language learning—and borrow money to make ends meet.<sup>60</sup> With no specified plan for releasing the payment to school districts, schools will have to make do with less indefinitely. With an achievement gap that is among the largest in the nation, delaying investment in education will also delay our investment in the potential of American Indian children and children of color.

The state's disinvestment in education continues into higher education. Budget cuts in the

higher education omnibus bill (HF 4) amount to \$351 million or a 12 percent reduction in support. This brings Minnesota's investment in higher education opportunities to the levels of over a decade ago—at a time when state colleges and universities are serving more students than ever. The number of students of color at all Minnesota colleges and universities has tripled over the last 10 years, from 25,173 in 2000 to 81,747 in 2009.<sup>61</sup> We need to prepare young people for a changing economy and college education is the surest way to do that. Over the last 10 years, tuition has doubled for Minnesota State Colleges and Universities and more than doubled at the University of Minnesota. And Minnesotans who graduated from college in 2010 have the fourth highest student debt in the nation at \$29,058.<sup>62</sup> Loss of state funding has resulted in a big part of the increase in tuition, and puts pressure on financial aid programs.<sup>63</sup> The higher education omnibus bill does not cap tuition increases for the University of Minnesota, but does limit tuition increases to four percent in the Minnesota State Colleges and Universities.

### **FAILING TO SUPPORT BRIDGES TO OPPORTUNITY**

Across the board, our state government budget decisions are having a disproportionately negative impact on communities of color and low-income Minnesotans. The relatively small Family Assets for Independence in Minnesota (FAIM) program allowed low-income participants to receive a matching grant in state and federal funds when they saved to pursue opportunities like education, home ownership, or a new business. The elimination of state funding also results in the loss of the federal matching grant—and an overall loss for people working hard to build a better future. The transportation omnibus bill (HF 2) resulted in a 33 percent cut in general fund mass transit spending. In a difficult economy, more people, and especially those who do not have access to a car, are relying on mass transit to get to work and school.

### **SUNSET PROVISION FOR COUNCILS OF COLOR**

Buried in the state government finance bill (SF 12/HF 27) was a provision that mandates the review of all councils in government and creates the presumption of a sunset to end each council. Included in this mandate would be the default sunset in 2013 of the four councils of color—the Indian Affairs Council, the Council on Black Minnesotans, the Chicano Latino Affairs Council, and the Council on Asian Pacific Minnesotans. A review commission will evaluate these councils in 2012 and make a recommendation to the governor and the legislature. All four councils provide an important connection between American Indians and communities of color and our state government. When only three percent of state legislators are people of color, the councils of color are a link and a voice for growing communities.

### **REGRESSIVE TAX POLICY**

On the income side, instead of raising revenues by increasing taxes for the highest earners, policymakers continue to force low- and middle-income Minnesotans to pay a larger percentage of their income to fund our state programs. And important levelers like the Renters' Credit, which provides property tax refunds to renters with low to moderate incomes, will be cut by 13 percent, though the Mortgage Interest Tax Deduction benefiting homeowners was not cut. As a result, those who can least afford it will pay a higher proportion of their income to housing. The legislature moved to replace the homestead tax credit with a market value exclusion, which results in higher property

taxes for homeowners and a revenue crisis for local governments. Local Government Aid, a leveler across cities that allows cities to pay for essential services like police and fire protection, parks, and libraries, regardless of property tax base, was cut by \$204 million. This continues the downward trend in state support of important community services and puts pressure on local governments to make up for lost revenue through increased property taxes.

### LEGISLATURE FAILS ON BUDGET EQUITY

Legislators did not seem to look to the equity budget principles that matter to communities in Minnesota. The omnibus bills that came out of the special session were difficult to dissect. There were some good measures that fell within the budget principles—and some who worked hard to lead for equity throughout the process—but there was much more bad that takes us backwards, away from achieving racial equity. The legislature lumped many policy and budget provisions into large omnibus packages, creating a transparency and grading challenge. That strategy creates a challenge for assessing separate provisions and legislators, so we, too, will lump the legislature together to grade performance on budget equity: the entire legislature receives a grade of F.

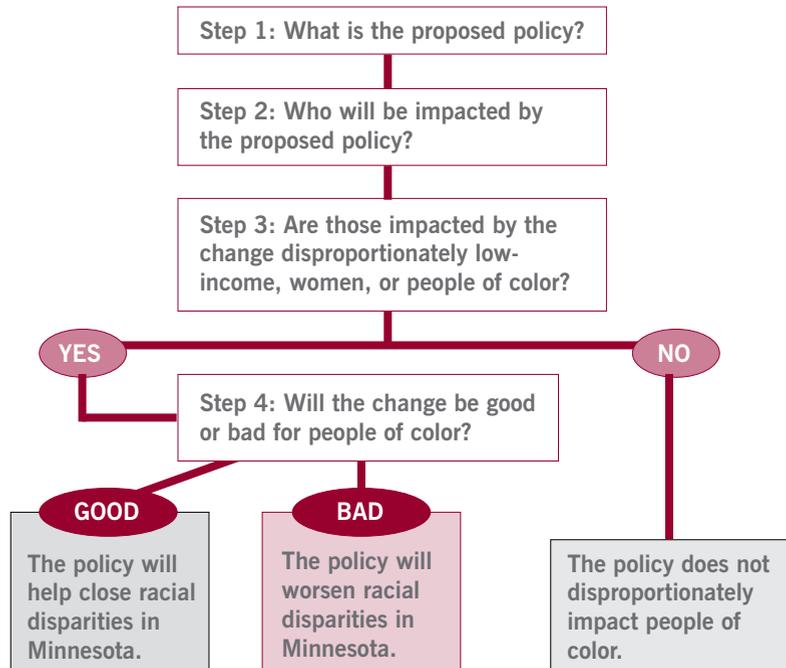
We are in the midst of challenging economic times—all parties agree on that. But in a crisis, we should stick to our principles of justice and tax equitably, cut carefully, and invest wisely with the goal of creating a better future. Investing in education, transit, job training, and health care gives communities what they need to ride the storm. Taking those things away is tantamount to abandonment. This approach does not support our interests in economic growth, in a civil society, and in racial justice.

### HOW TO CONDUCT A RACIAL EQUITY IMPACT ASSESSMENT OF A BUDGET

The Organizing Apprenticeship Project has created a simple guide to help determine the racial equity impact of budget decisions.

It starts with easy questions, but then moves toward a more targeted analysis of how the budget proposal will affect people of color and American Indians.

Although asking the questions might seem simple, answering them requires digging. A negative impact can be unintentional and perhaps harder to uncover on the front end. But not addressing racial equity concerns at the outset can have devastating results, leading to even greater racial disparities, widening our gaps in access to life-changing opportunities.



# Report Card

## **GOVERNOR: B–**

Much of what the governor signed into law was a mix of good and bad for racial justice—wrapped into omnibus packages, especially in the budget dealings of the special session. On the flip side, the governor used his veto power extensively, often preventing the deeper damage to communities of color and American Indians that the legislature would allow. The governor also exercised his executive power to advance programs that support racial justice.

## **LEGISLATURE: D**

The legislature received a D overall. The Legislative Report Card on Racial Equity selected 28 bills that would have advanced racial equity. Of those, eight (29 percent) became law. Looking at different opportunity areas points to the legislature's attention to some issues more than others. Of the education equity bills chosen, three of seven (43 percent) passed. In economic equity, two of five bills (40 percent) passed. Of bills advancing equity for American Indian communities, three of five (60 percent) passed. But no bills advancing equity became law in the areas of criminal justice (0/5) and health equity (0/6).

## **BUDGET: F**

For the budget, which dominated the session, the legislature received a grade of F. The truth of this session was that responsible budget policymaking was absent and that had a negative effect overall on racial equity. The legislature failed in keeping the heart of policymaking healthy.

# GRADING METHODOLOGY

## STATE LEGISLATURE AND GOVERNOR

The governor receives a grade based on whether he signed legislation to advance racial equity. He also receives credit for holding back legislation that would hinder racial justice through his veto power. Another consideration is the governor's use of executive orders to move forward with measures important to communities of color and American Indians.

The legislature's grade is also based on the passage of bills that support racial equity. The Organizing Apprenticeship Project made the choice to include many more bills that would advance equity than in previous years in its analysis, even if those bills did not result in a vote in the legislature. This supports the effort to highlight and reward leadership for authoring bills and provides a larger sample of possible bills for grading.

## LEGISLATORS

Legislators can earn points through the following actions:

- **Leadership.** The first author of any bill is the chief author and the other authors are co-authors. For bills that advance racial equity, we award the chief author 20 points and award co-authors 10 points. However, for bills that would negatively impact communities of color—as identified in our Legislating Structural Racism section—chief authors receive -20 points and co-authors receive -10 points. The House does not limit the number of co-authors; the Senate caps co-authors at six. No leadership points were awarded to the authors of omnibus bills but authors of the original positive racial equity provisions did receive leadership points.
- **Votes.** For bills advancing racial equity, legislators are awarded 4 points for voting affirmatively and -4 points for voting against. If the bill will hurt racial equity in Minnesota, legislators earn -4 points for voting affirmatively and 4 points for voting against.
- **Passage.** The Report Card rewards passage of positive racial equity bills. A legislator who votes for a positive racial equity bill is granted 4 points if the bill passes both chambers. However, legislators who vote against a bill that passes do not receive passage points or penalty.

A legislator's *Final Grade* is a reflection of total points from leadership, votes, and passage. The points are tallied and converted into a letter grade based on the range of points in this year.

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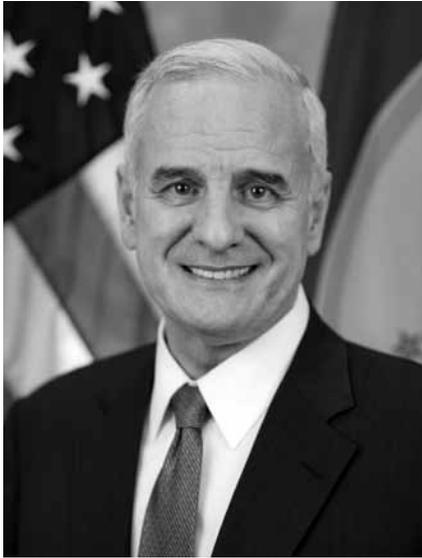
A	B	C	D	F
52+	28–51	14–27	0–13	-1 and below

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The process for selecting and analyzing racial equity legislation includes: (1) Interviews with leaders and organizations that advance racial, economic, and cultural equity; (2) Searches of the legislature's bill database; (3) And identifying bills that meet one or more of the following criteria:

- Focuses on reducing racial disparities.
- Expands access to institutions and public benefits for communities of color.
- Advances enfranchisement for communities of color.
- Protects against discrimination, racial violence and racial profiling.
- Preserves and strengthens American Indian tribal sovereignty and culture.
- Is adequately funded.
- Is enforceable with mechanisms in place to monitor racial justice outcomes.

Because we have added more bills to our analysis, we are including a simplified table for this report. See the full tables, with vote tracking and leadership points at <http://www.oaproject.org/initiatives/reportcard/RCVotes2011.xls>.



## REPORT ON THE GOVERNOR

Because very few bills advancing racial equity landed on Governor Mark Dayton's desk this year, it is difficult to grade him on bills passed. Much of what he did sign into law was a mix of good and bad for racial justice—wrapped into omnibus packages, especially in the budget dealings of the special session. On the flip side, the governor used his veto power extensively, often preventing the deeper damage to communities of color and American Indians that the legislature would allow.

The analysis boils down to three questions:

- Did the governor advance racial equity by proposing positive policy?
- Did Governor Dayton work to limit the negative impact of structural racism and deep racial disparities by signing into law or vetoing bills?
- Did the governor pursue other strategies available to the executive branch to pursue racial and economic equity?

On the first point, the governor made a budget proposal that would have combined spending cuts with revenue increases, arguing that the investment in opportunities was crucial in difficult economic times. His proposal was rejected in the legislature and, in the end, the compromise budget package that the governor signed abandoned the balanced approach of increasing revenue while imposing cuts to spending.

Second, the governor's limited opportunity to sign positive racial equity bills into law was balanced by his willingness to veto bills that would have further limited racial justice. Included in his vetoes were bills that would require voter identification at the polls, create a redistricting plan without bipartisan support, and eliminate Medical Assistance for very low-income adults. The result was not an advancement of racial equity, but defensive measures to prevent deterioration on some important issues.

Third, since the close of the 2011 session, the governor has pursued alternative avenues for policies that support our community interest in providing opportunities to all Minnesotans. For example, he continued the Parent Aware Ratings System for early education programs so that a proven and well-supported program could carry on its work. The governor created a task force to begin the planning of a health insurance exchange program that will ensure that Minnesota is ready for new federal health care requirements in 2014. The governor should make it a priority to appoint members to any task force who are representative of the communities impacted by policies.

Did Governor Dayton work to improve opportunities for communities of color, American Indians, and low-income people in 2011? Yes. But was he successful? No. For this reason, the Legislative Report Card on Racial Equity gives the governor a grade of B-.

# House and Senate Grades

# HOUSE

LEGISLATOR	PARTY AND DISTRICT	GRADE	POINTS	DISTRICT DEMOGRAPHICS (%)					
				AMERICAN INDIAN	API	BLACK	LATINO	MULTI-RACIAL	CONSTITUENTS OF COLOR
Jim Abeler	R-48B, Anoka	A	66	0.8	1.4	1.2	1.6	1.3	6.1
Bruce Anderson	R-19A, Freeport	F	-8	0.4	0.2	0.5	1.4	0.8	3.2
Diane Anderson	R-38A, Eagan	D	6	0.8	4.7	4.3	2.3	3.2	15.2
Paul Anderson	R-13A, Plymouth	F	-4	0.1	0.2	0.2	1.3	0.3	1.9
Sarah Anderson	R-43A, Buffalo Township	C	16	0.4	4.2	2.8	1.7	1.3	10.3
Tom Anzelc	DFL-03A, Balsam Township	B	32	1.6	0.2	0.3	0.5	1	3.6
Joe Atkins	DFL-39B, Inver Grove Heights	D	12	0.5	1.7	1.9	4.2	2	9.7
King Banaian	R-15B, St. Cloud	D	8	0.8	2.6	2.2	1.2	1.8	8.6
Bob Barrett	R-17B, Shafer	F	-14	1	0.7	0.4	0.9	0.9	3.8
Michael Beard	R-35A, Shakopee	D	6	1.5	1.7	1	2.9	1	8.1
John Benson	DFL-43B, Minnetonka	A	76	0.4	2.3	2.7	1.3	1.2	7.6
Mike Benson	R-30B, Rochester	F	-14	0.1	1.4	0.9	1.4	1.1	4.8
Kurt Bills	R-37B, Rosemount	D	2	0.4	1.8	2.1	2.2	3	9.2
Kathy Brynaert	DFL-23B, Mankato	A	52	0.3	2.3	2	1.7	1.2	7.4
Mark Buesgens	R-35B, Jordan	F	-14	0.4	3.1	0.8	1.9	1.1	7.1
Lyndon Carlson Sr.	DFL-45B, Crystal	C	18	0.6	2.5	4.8	2.1	2	11.9
Bobby Joe Champion	DFL-58B, Minneapolis	A	180	1.4	15.2	49.9	4.8	5.1	75.8
Karen Clark	DFL-61A, Minneapolis	A	90	6.9	5.7	24.5	19.8	8.1	62.7
Tony Cornish	R-24B, Good Thunder	D	4	0.2	0.3	0.4	1.5	0.7	3.1
Roger Crawford	R-08B, Mora	D	6	1.7	0.3	0.8	1.5	0.9	5.1
Kurt Daudt	R-17A, Crown	D	10	0.6	0.3	0.3	0.8	1	3
Greg Davids	R-31B, La Crescent	F	-6	0.1	0.4	0.2	0.6	0.5	1.7
Jim Darnie	DFL-62A, Minneapolis	A	80	2.7	3.7	8.8	7.9	4.3	26.6
Matt Dean	R-52B, Dellwood	D	6	0.1	1.1	0.3	1	0.6	3
Bob Dettmer	R-52A, Forest Lake	F	-8	0.5	0.6	1.5	1.2	1.2	4.9
David Dill	DFL-06A, Crane Lake	D	12	3	0.2	0.2	0.4	1.1	4.9
Denise Dittrich	DFL-47A, Champlin	B	36	0.6	1.6	2.4	1.1	1	6.8
Connie Doepke	R-33B, Wayzata	C	22	0.2	0.8	0.6	1.2	0.7	3.4
Keith Downey	R-41A, Edina	C	22	0.4	1.7	0.9	1.3	1.3	5.6
Steve Drakowski	R-28B, Mazeppa	F	-38	0.3	0.6	0.4	1.1	0.7	3.1
Kent Eken	DFL-02A, Twin Valley	D	12	9.9	0.5	0.1	1.2	3.3	14.8
Sondra Erickson	R-16A, Princeton	C	16	2.5	0.3	0.2	1.1	1	5
Dan Fabian	R-01A, Roseau	C	16	1	1.2	0.3	0.7	0.7	3.8
Andrew Falk	DFL-20A, Appleton	C	22	0.2	0.9	0.7	1.2	1.3	4
Mary Franson	R-11B, Alexandria	F	-4	0.5	0.4	0.2	1.5	0.8	3.4
Patti Fritz	DFL-26B, Faribault	C	22	0.4	1.2	1.4	5.9	1.4	9.6
Pat Garofalo	R-36B, Farmington	B	36	0.2	0.7	0.6	1.6	0.9	3.9
Kerry Gauthier	DFL-07B, Duluth	A	52	3.8	1.1	2	1.4	2.1	10.1
Steve Gottwalt	R-15A, St. Cloud	D	6	0.6	2.6	1	1.5	1.6	7.1
Marion Greene	DFL-60A, Minneapolis	A	58	1.3	2.5	9.3	4.1	3.1	19.7
Mindy Greiling	DFL-54A, Roseville	A	78	0.6	5.3	2.2	2.1	1.5	11.7
Glenn Gruenhagen	R-25A, Glencoe	F	-18	0.4	0.3	0.2	3.4	0.8	4.9
Bob Gunther	R-24A, Fairmont	A	54	0.5	0.3	0.3	5	0.6	6.5
Tom Hackbarth	R-48A, Cedar	D	2	0.6	0.4	0.3	1	1.1	3.3
Rod Hamilton	R-22B, Mountain Lake	C	20	0.4	3	0.9	7.1	1.2	11.8

LEGISLATOR	PARTY AND DISTRICT	GRADE	POINTS	DISTRICT DEMOGRAPHICS (%)					
				AMERICAN INDIAN	API	BLACK	LATINO	MULTI-RACIAL	CONSTITUENTS OF COLOR
David Hancock	R-02B, Bemidji	D	6	15.2	0.6	0.1	0.8	1.4	18
Rick Hansen	DFL-39A, South St. Paul	D	8	0.3	2.5	1.8	7	2.1	12.6
Alice Hausman	DFL-66B, St. Paul	B	38	1.2	6.6	7.3	3.8	2.7	21
Jeff Hayden	DFL-61B, Minneapolis	A	150	2.1	5.9	28.9	20.7	6.8	62.3
Debra Hilstrom	DFL-46B, Brooklyn Center	B	42	0.4	10	12.4	3.1	3.2	28.6
Bill Hilty	DFL-08A, Finlayson	C	18	5.4	0.4	0.9	1	1.8	9.5
Mary Liz Holberg	R-36A, Lakeville	D	6	0.5	1.9	1	1.2	1.7	6.4
Joe Hoppe	R-34B, Chaska	C	16	0.2	2.1	0.9	3.9	1.1	7.9
Frank Hornstein	DFL-60B, Minneapolis	B	28	0.5	2.8	2.1	1.7	2.4	9.3
Melissa Hortman	DFL-47B, Brooklyn Park	D	12	0.4	5.7	4.4	1.5	2.8	14.6
Larry Hosch	DFL-14B, St. Joseph	C	22	0.1	0.7	0.3	1.1	0.5	2.7
Larry Howes	R-04B, Walker	C	16	1.7	0.3	0.1	0.5	1	3.5
Thomas Huntley	DFL-07A, Duluth	B	32	1	1.5	1.5	0.9	1.5	3.5
Sheldon Johnson	DFL-67B, St. Paul	C	14	1.3	13.2	13.6	7.8	4.8	39.3
Phyllis Kahn	DFL-59B, Minneapolis	A	78	0.9	10.2	12.8	4.1	4.7	32.2
Kory Kath	DFL-26A, Owatonna	C	26	0.4	0.7	1.9	4.1	1.4	8.3
Tim Kelly	R-28A, Canon Falls	D	6	1.6	0.5	0.7	1.1	0.5	4.3
Andrea Kieffer	R-56B, Woodbury	C	16	0.2	5	2.1	2.4	2	11.6
Debra Kiel	R-01B, Crookston	C	16	1	0.6	0.4	4.5	1.1	7.3
Mary Kiffmeyer	R-16B, Big Lake	F	-4	0.3	0.5	0.1	1.1	0.5	2.6
Kate Knuth	DFL-50B, New Brighton	D	12	0.5	3.9	2.5	1.9	2.1	10.2
Lyle Koenen	DFL-20B, Clara City	D	12	1.2	0.2	0.2	3.5	0.8	5.6
John Kriesel	R-57A, Cottage Grove	C	16	0.6	0.7	2	3.7	1.8	8.4
Carolyn Laine	DFL-50A, Columbia Heights	B	36	1.1	3.3	4.1	2.7	3.1	14.4
Morrie Lanning	R-09A, Moorhead	C	26	1.3	1	0.6	4	2.1	8.8
Ernie Leidiger	R-34A, Mayer	D	12	0.2	0.9	0.3	2.5	0.8	4.4
Mike LeMieur	R-12B, Little Falls	F	-4	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.5	0.5	1.9
Ann Lenczewski	DFL-40B, Bloomington	D	8	0.7	3.8	3.3	2	1.7	11.3
John Lesch	DFL-66A, St. Paul	B	30	1.3	22.8	14.6	9.3	5.5	51.6
Tina Liebling	DFL-30A, Rochester	B	30	0.6	5.4	4.1	4.2	2.5	16.5
Leon Lillie	DFL-55A, North St. Paul	B	42	0.6	3.6	2.3	2.7	2.5	11.1
Diane Loeffler	DFL-59A, Minneapolis	B	28	1.9	3.2	7.8	7	3.7	23.1
Kathy Lohmer	R-56A, Lake Elmo	D	2	0.7	2.5	2.8	2	1.9	9.5
Jenifer Loon	R-42B, Eden Prairie	B	36	0.2	5.8	2.3	2	1.3	11.6
Tara Mack	R-37A, Apple Valley	F	-4	0.3	3	2.2	2.2	1.8	9.1
Tim Mahoney	DFL-67A, St. Paul	D	10	1.1	18.2	8.7	9.2	3.5	39.7
Carlos Mariani	DFL-65B, St. Paul	A	90	2	6.8	9.2	18.5	5.2	39.3
Paul Marquart	DFL-09B, Dilworth	D	12	2.1	0.2	0.2	1.6	1	5.1
Pat Mazorol	R-41B, Bloomington	C	16	0.3	5.1	2	1.1	1.4	10
Joe McDonald	R-19B, Delano	D	6	0.2	0.1	0.4	1	0.8	2.4
Carolyn McElfatrick	R-03B, Deer River	D	6	1.7	0.3	0.3	0.6	0.9	3.7
Carol McFarlane	R-53B, White Bear Lake	A	56	0.1	2.1	1.1	1.3	0.7	5.2
Denny McNamara	R-57B, Hastings	D	12	0.3	1.1	1	1.5	1.1	4.8
Carly Melin	DFL-05B, Hibbing	A	62	0.8	0.2	0.3	0.8	0.9	2.9
Rena Moran	DFL-65A, St. Paul	A	140	1.5	26.1	26.3	7.1	6.9	65.9

# HOUSE

LEGISLATOR	PARTY AND DISTRICT	GRADE	POINTS	DISTRICT DEMOGRAPHICS (%)					
				AMERICAN INDIAN	API	BLACK	LATINO	MULTI-RACIAL	CONSTITUENTS OF COLOR
Terry Morrow	DFL-23A, St. Peter	C	22	0.1	1.2	0.8	2.9	0.5	5.3
Joe Mullery	DFL-58A, Minneapolis	A	60	1.2	12.8	30.1	3.6	5.7	53.1
Mark Murdock	R-10B, Perham	F	-4	0.5	0.4	0.2	0.9	0.5	2.4
Erin Murphy	DFL-64A, St. Paul	B	48	0.5	2.9	6.7	2.7	3.4	15.7
Mary Murphy	DFL-06B, Hermantown	B	32	1	0.9	0.7	0.5	1	4.2
Rich Murray	R-27A, Albert Lea	C	26	0.1	0.3	0.3	6	0.8	7.2
Pam Myhra	R-40A, Burnsville	C	16	0.8	4.2	3.6	3.1	2.3	14.1
Michael V. Nelson	DFL-46A, Brooklyn Park	B	28	0.9	8.6	19.5	3.9	4.4	37
Bud Nornes	R-10A, Fergus Falls	D	6	0.7	0.3	0.5	2.2	0.8	4.4
Kim Norton	DFL-29B, Rochester	B	46	0.4	5.6	3	1.4	1.7	12.1
Tim O'Driscoll	R-14A, Sartell	C	26	0.2	0.5	0.3	0.6	1	2.5
Michael Paymar	DFL-64B, St. Paul	C	18	0.5	2.6	2.7	4.1	2.2	11.7
Gene Pelowski Jr.	DFL-31A, Winona	D	12	0.3	1.7	0.8	1.3	1.3	5
Joyce Peppin	R-32A, Rogers	F	-8	0.3	1.9	1	0.8	1.1	5
John Persell	DFL-04A, Bemidji	A	62	16.7	1.1	0.3	1.1	2.3	21.2
Branden Petersen	R-49B, Andover	D	6	0.5	1.8	1.6	1.5	1.7	7
Sandra Peterson	DFL-45A, New Hope	A	62	0.4	3.3	4.4	3.2	2.2	13.5
Jeanne Poppe	DFL-27B, Austin	D	12	0.3	1.3	0.6	4.2	0.7	6.7
Duane Quam	R-29A, Byron	D	12	0.1	2.3	0.6	1.9	0.8	5.8
Tom Rukavina	DFL-05A, Virginia	D	0	1.5	0.3	0.3	0.7	1	3.8
Linda Runbeck	R-53A, Circle Pines	D	2	0.5	2.2	0.6	1.4	1.3	6.2
Tim Sanders	R-51A, Blaine	D	6	1	2.4	1	1.7	2	7.5

LEGISLATOR	PARTY AND DISTRICT	GRADE	POINTS	DISTRICT DEMOGRAPHICS (%)					
				AMERICAN INDIAN	API	BLACK	LATINO	MULTI-RACIAL	CONSTITUENTS OF COLOR
Bev Scalze	DFL-54B, Little Canada	B	50	0.5	4.1	2.5	1.3	2	10.1
Joe Schomacker	R-22A, Luverne	C	16	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.9	0.6	3.1
Peggy Scott	R-49A, Andover	F	-8	0.5	0.9	0.4	1.2	1.3	4.2
Ron Shimanski	R-18A, Silver Lake	D	6	0.2	0.6	0.2	3.1	0.5	4.4
Steve Simon	DFL-44A, St. Louis Park	B	40	0.6	3.8	4.9	4.1	1.6	14.8
Nora Slawik	DFL-55B, Maplewood	A	62	0.3	2.6	2.8	2.8	2.4	10.3
Linda Slocum	DFL-63B, Richfield	A	110	0.7	7	7	5.7	3.4	22.7
Steve Smith	R-33A, Mound	B	46	0.2	1.3	0.5	1.1	0.8	3.8
Kirk Stensrud	R-42A, Eden Prairie	C	16	0.4	2.6	1.4	1.1	1.2	6.6
Chris Swedzinski	R-21A, Ghent	F	-4	1.8	1.4	0.9	3	1	7.7
Paul Thissen	DFL-63A, Minneapolis	C	22	0.4	3.4	5.9	4	2.1	15.5
Tom Tillberry	DFL-51B, Fridley	C	20	1	2.6	2	2.7	2.2	10.3
Paul Torkelson	R-21B, Comfey	D	6	0.4	0.4	0.3	3.4	0.6	4.9
Dean Urdahl	R-18B, Grove City	D	4	0.4	0.4	0.3	1.4	0.5	2.7
Bruce Vogel	R-13B, Willmar	D	6	0.2	0.3	0.8	8.8	1.3	10.5
Jean Wagenius	DFL-62B, Minneapolis	C	18	1.5	3	6.6	4.7	3.3	18.6
John Ward	DFL-12A, Brainerd	B	32	0.9	0.5	0.1	0.8	0.8	3
Doug Wardlow	R-38B, Eagan	F	-18	0.2	4.4	3.8	1.9	1.7	12
Torrey Westrom	R-11A, Elbow Lake	F	-14	0.3	0.2	0.6	0.6	0.5	2.2
Ryan Winkler	DFL-44B, Golden Valley	C	18	0.4	3.9	4.1	2.6	1.9	12.7
Kelby Woodard	R-25B, Belle Plaine	D	6	0.6	1.4	0.5	3.3	1.1	6.5
Kurt Zellers	R-32B, Maple Grove	F	-12	0.2	1.8	1.2	1.4	1.2	5.8

# SENATE

LEGISLATOR	PARTY AND DISTRICT	GRADE	POINTS	DISTRICT DEMOGRAPHICS (%)					
				AMERICAN INDIAN	API	BLACK	LATINO	MULTI-RACIAL	CONSTITUENTS OF COLOR
Thomas Bakk	DFL-06, Cook	B	32	1.3	15	10.9	6.5	4.1	36.3
Michelle Benson	R-48, Ham Lake	D	12	0.5	1.4	1	1.4	1.5	5.6
Linda Berglin	DFL-61, Minneapolis	A	90	4.5	5.9	26.7	20.3	7.5	62.5
Terri Bonoff	DFL-43, Minnetonka	A	72	0.4	3.2	2.7	1.5	1.3	9
David Brown	R-16, Becker	D	12	1.4	0.4	0.2	1.1	0.8	3.8
John Carlson	R-04, Bemidji	B	36	9.2	0.7	0.2	0.8	1.6	12.4
Roger Chamberlain	R-53, Lino Lakes	D	12	0.3	2.1	0.9	1.3	1	5.7
Richard Cohen	DFL-64, St. Paul	C	16	0.5	2.8	4.7	3.4	2.8	13.7
Gary Dahms	R-21, Redwood Falls	D	6	1.1	0.9	0.6	3.2	0.8	6.3
Ted Daley	R-38, Eagan	C	22	0.5	4.5	4.1	2.1	2.5	13.6
Al DeKruif	R-25, Madison Lake	D	12	0.5	0.9	0.4	3.3	0.9	5.7
Scott Dibble	DFL-60, Minneapolis	B	44	0.9	2.7	5.7	2.9	2.8	14.5
Michelle Fischbach	R-14, Paynesville	C	16	0.2	0.6	0.3	0.9	0.7	2.6
Paul Gazelka	R-12, Brainerd	F	-8	0.6	0.4	0.2	0.6	0.6	2.5
Chris Gerlach	R-37, Apple Valley	C	16	0.4	2.4	2.1	2.2	2.5	9.2
Joe Gimse	R-13, Willmar	D	6	0.1	0.2	0.5	5	0.8	6.2
Barb Goodwin	DFL-50, Columbia Heights	B	28	0.8	3.5	3.3	2.3	2.6	12.3
Dan Hall	R-40, Burnsville	D	8	0.7	4.1	3.4	2.6	2	12.7
David Hann	R-42, Eden Prairie	B	42	0.3	4.2	1.9	1.5	1.3	9.1
John Harrington	DFL-67, St. Paul	A	114	1.2	15.5	11.1	8.5	4.1	39.5
Linda Higgins	DFL-58, Minneapolis	A	124	0.4	0.3	0.4	1.1	0.7	2.8
Gretchen Hoffman	R-10, Vergas	F	-2	0.6	0.3	0.4	1.6	0.7	3.4
John Howe	R-28, Red Wing	C	16	1	0.6	0.5	1.1	0.6	3.7
Bill Ingebrigtsen	R-11, Alexandria	F	-24	0.4	0.3	0.4	1.1	0.7	2.8
Michael Jungbauer	R-48, East Bethel	B	30	0.7	0.9	0.7	1.3	1.2	4.7
Kenneth Kelash	DFL-63, Bloomington	D	12	0.5	5.1	6.4	4.9	2.8	19.1
Amy Koch	R-19, Buffalo	C	16	0.3	0.2	0.4	1.2	0.8	2.8
Benjamin Kruse	R-47, Brooklyn Park	C	16	0.5	3.6	3.4	1.3	1.9	10.7
Gary Kubly	DFL-20, Granite Falls	D	0	0.7	0.6	0.4	2.4	1	4.8
Keith Langseth	DFL-09, Glyndon	C	26	1.7	0.6	0.4	2.8	1.6	6.9
Ron Latz	DFL-44, St. Louis Park	A	54	0.5	3.7	4.5	3.3	1.8	13.7
Ted Lillie	R-56, Lake Elmo	D	12	0.5	3.8	2.4	2.2	2	10.5
Warren Limmer	R-32, Maple Grove	F	-4	0.3	1.9	1.1	1.1	1.2	5.4
Tony Lourey	DFL-08, Kerrick	B	42	3.5	0.4	0.8	1.3	1.4	7.3

LEGISLATOR	PARTY AND DISTRICT	GRADE	POINTS	DISTRICT DEMOGRAPHICS (%)					
				AMERICAN INDIAN	API	BLACK	LATINO	MULTI-RACIAL	CONSTITUENTS OF COLOR
Doug Magnus	R-22, Slayton	B	28	0.4	1.8	0.7	4	0.9	7.4
John Marty	DFL-54, Roseville	A	52	0.5	4.7	2.4	1.7	1.7	10.9
Mary Jo McGuire	DFL-66, Falcon Heights	C	22	1.3	15	10.9	6.5	4.1	36.3
James Metzzen	DFL-39, South St. Paul	B	34	0.4	2.1	1.9	5.6	2.1	11.1
Geoff Michel	R-41, Edina	B	36	0.3	3.4	1.5	1.2	1.4	7.7
Jeremy Miller	R-31, Winona	C	16	0.2	1	0.5	1	0.9	3.4
Carla Nelson	R-30, Rochester	B	50	0.3	3.4	2.5	2.8	1.8	10.6
Scott Newman	R-18, Hutchinson	D	6	0.3	0.5	0.2	2.3	0.5	3.6
Sean Nienow	R-17, Cambridge	D	12	0.8	0.5	0.4	0.8	0.9	3.4
Gen Olson	R-33, Minnetrista	B	46	0.2	1	0.5	1.1	0.8	3.6
Julianne Ortman	R-34, Chanhassen	F	-4	0.2	1.5	0.6	3.2	0.9	6.2
Sandra Pappas	DFL-65, St. Paul	C	16	1.8	16.4	17.7	12.8	6	53
Mike Parry	R-26, Waseca	C	16	0.4	1	1.7	5	1.4	9
John Pederson	R-15, St. Cloud	D	6	0.7	2.6	1.6	1.3	1.7	7.8
Lawrence Pogemiller	DFL-59, Minneapolis	C	24	1.4	6.7	10.3	5.5	4.2	27.7
Roger Reinert	DFL-07, Duluth	C	20	2.4	1.4	1.7	1.1	1.8	8.3
Ann Rest	DFL-45, New Hope	C	26	0.5	3	4.6	2.6	2.1	12.7
Claire Robling	R-35, Jordan	C	16	1	2.4	0.9	2.4	1.1	7.6
Julie Rosen	R-24, Fairmont	C	16	0.4	0.4	0.4	3.2	0.7	4.8
Tom Saxhaug	DFL-03, Grand Rapids	C	16	1.6	0.2	0.3	0.6	1	3.6
Linda Scheid	DFL-46, Brooklyn Park	A	58	0.6	9.3	15.9	3.5	3.8	32.8
David Senjem	R-29, Rochester	C	26	0.2	4	0.8	1.7	1.3	8.9
Kathy Sheran	DFL-23, Mankato	B	32	0.2	1.7	1.4	2.3	0.8	6.3
Katie Sieben	DFL-57, Newport	B	30	0.4	0.9	1.5	2.6	1.5	6.6
Rod Skoe	DFL-02, Clearbrook	B	32	12.6	0.6	0.1	1	2.3	16.4
Dan Sparks	DFL-27, Austin	D	12	0.2	0.8	0.5	5.1	0.7	7
LeRoy Stumpf	DFL-01, Thief River Falls	B	48	1	0.8	0.3	2.6	0.9	5.6
Dave Thompson	R-36, Lakeville	D	12	0.3	1.3	0.8	1.4	1.3	5.1
David Tomassoni	DFL-05, Chisholm	B	36	1.1	0.3	0.3	0.8	0.9	3.3
Patricia Torres Ray	DFL-62, Minneapolis	A	94	2.1	3.3	7.7	6.3	3.8	22.6
Ray Vandever	R-52, Forest Lake	D	2	0.3	0.8	0.9	1.1	0.9	4
Charles Wiger	DFL-55, North St. Paul	B	42	0.5	3.1	2.5	2.7	2.4	10.7
Pam Wolf	R-51, Spring Lake Park	C	26	1	2.5	1.5	2.2	2.1	8.9

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# ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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Sarah Walker, 180 Degrees and Second Chance Coalition

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Special thanks to Organizing Apprenticeship Project staff:

Julia Freeman

Robert Hemphill

Salvador Miranda

Beth Newkirk

Gwyneth Olson

Allie Stehlin

## OAP'S 2011 MINNESOTA LEGISLATIVE REPORT CARD ON RACIAL EQUITY WAS MADE POSSIBLE BY FUNDING SUPPORT FROM:

The Otto Bremer Foundation

Headwaters Foundation for Justice

The McKnight Foundation

The Minneapolis Foundation

Northwest Area Foundation

Public Interest Projects: Fulfilling the Dream Fund

The Saint Paul Foundation

Spectrum Trust of The Saint Paul Foundation

The Unitarian Universalist Veatch Program at Shelter Rock

The Archie D. and Bertha H. Walker Foundation

## LAYOUT

Heewon Lee, Triangle Park Creative

## PRINTING

Cooperative Print Solutions

## COVER AND INTERIOR PHOTOS

Wing Young Huie



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