

Organizing Apprenticeship Project

Our mission: to advance racial, cultural, social and economic justice in Minnesota through organizer and leadership training, policy research and strategic convening work.

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RACE AND BUDGET MATTERS IN MINNESOTA: A Mid-Term Progress Report

By Jermaine Toney

Race and budget matters.

Over the past few months, Minnesota has debated competing budget proposals from the governor and leadership in the House and Senate. Clearly, all the proposals differ in what we should invest in and how. But the one thing the budgets and public messages about these budgets share is a resounding silence on their potential impact on communities of color and American Indians.

This silence is potentially damaging to racial equity. It stands “colorblind” in the face of the well documented racial disparities and barriers to American Indian well being that are rooted in complex structures and institutions.ⁱ Whether intended or not, “colorblind” budget proposals, without explicit attention and commitment, will fail to anticipate disparate racial outcomes and only exacerbate the racial disparities. On the flip side, when budget proposals are race-conscious they can help to reduce and eliminate structural and institutional racism,ⁱⁱ the greatest challenge to racial equity and opportunity in Minnesota.

The prevailing silence also stands in stark contrast to Minnesota’s values. State budgets are not just checkbooks, they are moral documents. They reveal whether our values of fairness and justice, our national reputation as a leader in work for equity and inclusion and our policy outcomes match our state’s egalitarian tradition and vision. It follows that budget proposals have to explicitly document and address race-based disparities to ensure equitable outcomes for all. Race and budget matters.

In November 2006, the Organizing Apprenticeship Project and partners released the Minnesota Legislative Report Card on Racial Equity. It is the first report of its kind to hold state policymakers accountable for leadership and action to end racial disparities in the state. A major finding of this report was that legislators on the honor roll cut across racial, party and geographic lines. In addition, the report card highlighted a number of legislative missed opportunities.

This Mid-term Progress Report applies the principles of racial equity to the state budget. First, we examine the racial impact of central elements of the governor’s FY 2008-09 budget proposal in areas of health and education.ⁱⁱⁱ While these central elements are highlights of the governor, they

are also areas of great interest and concern for communities of color and American Indians. Second, we pose policy questions on the proposals that we believe should be considered by the governor, House and Senate as they move into final negotiations and conference committees to adopt the budget. Finally, we highlight 40 critical racial equity bills that we are watching during the 2007 legislative session. We have raised and highlighted some tough challenges and great opportunities for action. Our values, reputation and economic future depend on breaking the silence, by making racial equity a priority in budget decisions.

FINDINGS

We selected 10 high-profile budget priorities of the governor for FY 2008-09 in health and education that appeared to have a positive impact on communities of color and American Indian communities.

- I. Whether intended or not, 8/10 proposals had elements that could maintain or actually exacerbate race-based disparities in education and health.
- II. Numerous funding proposals appeared to be promising on the surface. Yet 4/10 proposals were inadequately funded, which could help to maintain or exacerbate the race-based disparities.
- III. Since funding decisions are tied to policy directions, we raised 44 policy questions that could positively improve the racial impact of the governor's proposals. The questions act as frameworks for proactively discussing and making budget decisions that lead to eliminating race-based disparities in Minnesota.
- IV. To avoid reinforcing race-based disparities, we believe that state budget proposals have to explicitly document and address these disparities.

EDUCATION EQUITY

The governor describes his education proposal as "moving Minnesota from a nation leading education system to world competing" with "world class students." To get there, the governor proposes an education budget increase of over \$700 million. We think that world class education in Minnesota must address the glaring racial disparities that are the result of barriers to opportunities. It must also recognize and value the tremendous assets of American Indian students, immigrants and students of color.

Overall, the governor proposes just a two percent increase per year (\$292 million) for the basic education formula. Much of the governor's investment is in special programs or one time initiatives. In order to get a sense of the racial equity impact of these proposals, we need to take a hard look and ask some questions about these proposals. The truth is that the governor's education proposal largely ignores and may actually exacerbate race-based disparities.^{iv} We can have investment strategies that exacerbate current disparities or ones that create educational equity and opportunity for all.

- **Under-funding Students of Color (\$150 million in one time payment).** The governor's largest one-time education investment is in the "Successful School" initiative. This budget proposal rewards schools that meet a certain standard with a two percent one time increase over the base per pupil increase.^v In effect, this means that some schools and districts will get a four percent increase and others would get a two percent increase. This proposal looks "colorblind." But when we reveal the impact on communities of color it indicates that schools with significant numbers of students of color are under-represented in schools that would get the four percent increase. Students of color are over-represented in schools that would get only two percent increase.^{vi} **Though this may not be the intent of this proposal, it may reinforce racial disparities in education. It also does not target funding around real assessment of quality in schools. Though we would all agree that high expectations and results are important, the governor himself recognizes the limit of not rewarding growth. This is why he is asking the federal government to consider a growth model, one that measures students' growth from year to year.^{vii}**
- **Early Childhood Trap (\$29 million).** A centerpiece of the governor's proposal, the "Early Childhood Scholarships" program is designed for low income parents with four year old children.^{viii} Starting in FY 2009, the scholarships will allow up to \$4,000 per child to participate in a state-approved public or private early childhood program. These scholarships could help an important area if one wants to close the racial gaps. According to the Minnesota Department of Education, kindergarteners of color were rated "not yet" prepared by four percentage points more in language/literacy and by seven percentage points more in mathematical thinking than white children.^{ix} However, this proposal raises the same kind of deep questions that need to be raised about some voucher programs that are touted as solutions to racial disparities. **The scholarship amount would not even cover the cost of reimbursement which could reach up to 12,000 - \$13,000.^x How will all parents have equal access to the information on the scholarship program? If parents of color select a private early childhood program will that child be denied based on tuition rates or explicit or implicit racial and cultural discrimination?^{xi} Many families of color prefer the culturally grounded family, friend and neighbor network (FFN) as a program option; will this proposal allow the scholarship to be used in the FFN as an option? Finally, how will this proposal lead to equal outcomes in student achievement?**
- **College Track Opportunities for All (\$15.4 million).** According to the Minnesota P-16 Council, Minnesota has failed to build a solid statewide college access system.^{xii} The governor proposes to nearly triple the funding for Advanced Placement and International Baccalaureate programs. Since the 2003 legislative session, funding for AP/IB has been rising. At the same time, students of color and American Indian students continue to be underrepresented in both the AP and IB programs.^{xiii} **How successful will raising the bar to encourage students to take AP/IB at the middle and high school level without investing in lower levels of K-12 education system? How will this funding be explicitly used to expand statewide access for underserved students (i.e. low income and students of color)? How will more qualified teachers be available to teach AP/IB in poorer schools and those largely represented by students of color?**

- **Special Education Graduation for All (\$35 million).** The governor proposes a two percent increase for special education funding. Headlines have focused on how special education has been under-funded by both the federal and state government and how heavy of a financial burden it is for school districts.^{xiv} A limited number of headlines have pointed out,^{xv} however, that students of color are only 16 percent of the K-12 enrollment yet well over 19 percent of the special education population.^{xvi} Black students, in particular, are the most overrepresented group in special education. What is more, there has been silence on the racial gaps in graduation rates for those who receive special education services. Having an arm's length approach to racial disparities in access and outcomes in special education could further disadvantage students of color. **Anecdotal evidence links the gap in graduation rates for special education to access to health insurance coverage; since parents of color are more likely to be uninsured, they are less likely to access educational assistance outside of the K-12 system.^{xvii} How will funding be used to ensure that all students graduate from special education? How will funding be used to ensure that referrals to special education are a last resort? What incentives will be developed to penalize those districts who misuse referrals, who overload their special education rolls with students of color?**
- **Lifting the Limited English Proficiency Time Limit (\$6 million).** The governor's proposal increases funding by two percent per year for the limited English proficiency formula. This funding is a step in the right direction. According to the Minnesota Department of Education, students who are proficient in English score more than twice as high as students still learning the language on the Minnesota Basic Skills Test.^{xviii} Experts studying the issue claim that these gaps are due to current LEP policy; the policy should be adjusted from five to at least seven years to financially assist students. According to the Minnesota Department of Finance, 15,860 students would benefit each year if the time limit was lifted.^{xix} Ninety-six percent of these students are immigrants of color. **This funding amount does not reflect the cost of removing the five-year funding limit which is estimated at \$29.5 million for FY 2008-09.^{xx} Does the governor's amount even cover the five year limit? Since LEP students are expected to learn using the same textbooks as students who are fluent in English, how will funding be used to provide adequate textbooks to instruct LEP students?**
- **Attracting and Retaining Low Income Students of Color (\$12 million).** The governor provides the Minnesota State Colleges and University system with funding to attract and keep low income students and students of color. Students of color constitute 21 percent of the K-12 population yet only 14 percent (18,898) of the population in the MnSCU system.^{xxi} With the funding, MnSCU plans to attract an additional 6,700 underrepresented students, 1,500 students of color and boost the retention rate particularly for students of color from 44 to 48 percent.^{xxii} **This is a laudable and race-conscious proposal, but will it get to the root causes of low academic achievement such as subtle and overt steering of low income and students of color out of college access opportunities. How will it raise the expectations of all students to take college level classes? How will it increase financial aid for low income students? How will it expand college access programs state-wide? How will this ensure that students of color not only enter college but also receive the mentors and support systems necessary to be graduate**

school/work ready?^{xxiii} Will other higher education institutions follow this example? What about passing the Dream Act, a solution to attracting 600 hardworking immigrant students of color per year, as part of this package?

HEALTH EQUITY

Aside from education, another centerpiece of the governor's budget proposal is health care. The governor says that his health proposal makes the investments for "better health care." Carrying a price tag of \$188 million, the overall goals of the proposal are to reduce health care costs and boost health insurance coverage and quality. We believe that better health care entails eliminating race-based disparities and ensuring that the public health care system, used disproportionately by communities of color, will be there and work for all.

Minnesota leads the nation on key health indicators. Yet Minnesotans of color are more likely to live in substandard housing with exposure to health hazards, and less likely to have access to health insurance and quality treatment.^{xxiv} Budget decisions will determine who has or does not have health care access and quality care.

In order to get a sense of the racial equity impact of the health proposals, we have to take a closer look and ask tough questions. As it stands, his health proposals remain silent when it comes to addressing racial disparities and could reinforce the racial disparities. The state government must ensure that health care is funded properly -- in ways that will develop a high performing public health system and close the race-based gaps in health care.^{xxv}

- **Healthy Connections for All (\$31 million).** Though the bulk of investment in health care is in other programs, this proposal makes *two* interesting gestures. (1) This proposal, primarily funded through TANF, expands health insurance coverage for children and subsidizes private coverage. His current proposal covers only 15,000 of the estimated 70,000 uninsured children. Despite the fact that children of color and American Indian children are disproportionately uninsured, this has not been explicitly mentioned in the proposal.^{xxvi} Without careful attention to racial impacts, this proposal could further exclude children of color from access to insurance coverage. Nearly 60 percent of the kids that are eligible for government health care programs are not covered.^{xxvii} Advocates claim that parents do not know that they are eligible. This poses some tough challenges for the implementation of this proposal. **Some questions to strengthen this proposal: Policies that medically insure kids do not address the problem of their parents being uninsured. Will this proposal cover children that are undocumented? How will all families that are eligible get access to information and insured? Since more children will have access to the system will more trained interpreters be available to help those with limited English proficiency?^{xxviii} How will there be improved access to traditional and non-western treatments for American Indian children?^{xxix} How will this proposal ensure that doctors do not engage in racial profiling when making diagnoses or deciding how to treat?^{xxx} Community health workers (bi-lingual and cultural) have worked to increase the trust in the health system and improve health outcomes for communities of color and American Indians; how will this proposal expand the number of statewide community health workers?^{xxxi}** (2) It requires businesses with more than 10 employees that do not offer insurance to purchase private

market health care coverage. They can set up pre-tax accounts for their employees that would cost about \$300 per year for firms. **Since workers of color are more likely to be underemployed or unemployed how will this guarantee that they and their families receive quality insurance coverage?**^{xxxii} In 2005, the Commonwealth of Massachusetts implemented a similar approach to the governor's proposal. Their plan built up governmental health care as well as facilitated access to private insurance coverage. **Will the governor's proposal use this approach? While we applaud the approach of Massachusetts, the results have been less than encouraging. The products were not on the market when the program was launched. Private insurance companies have not been able to offer affordable coverage options (low deductibles and coverage).**^{xxxiii} **How will the Massachusetts approach have more success in Minnesota?**

- **Mental Health Access and Quality for All (\$45 million).** The governor's proposal looks to expand access to mental health benefits, while strengthening the quality of benefits, the coordination of services and Minnesota's mental health infrastructure.^{xxxiv} These are admirable "colorblind" goals, but if the racial impacts are not revealed they could exacerbate racial disparities. According to the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, the mental health of families of color and American Indian families is profoundly stressed by racism in our education, housing and employment systems, as well as war and violence faced by immigrants of color.^{xxxv} Yet numerous students of color have undetected mental health disorders (clinical depression, mood disorders) that hinder their economic and academic success.^{xxxvi} **What will be done to ensure that those aged 21 and under on Minnesota Care or Medical Assistance (entitled to a periodic health screening) get a mental health screening?**^{xxxvii} **How will this proposal increase mental health access to low income youth of color who are disproportionately chemically dependent? To what extent will reimbursement rates for providing services to Medical Assistance recipients be increased so that clinics can make ends meet? How will school districts be penalized for inappropriately identifying students as having mental health disorders when they are actually behaving in a culturally appropriate manner?**
- **Long-Term Care for All (\$92 million).** Headlines trumpet a financial crisis for long-term care providers in Minnesota.^{xxxviii} In fact, since 2000, 42 long-term care facilities have closed. While this appears to be "colorblind," when we look at the racial impact it shows that a majority of the closings occurred in or near communities of color in the Twin Cities' metropolitan area. In essence, people of color in urban, and possibly low income elders in rural areas, now have to travel between forty minutes to two hours to the nearest long-term facility. What is more, the long-term care workforce, which is disproportionately made up of workers of color, are losing or on the brink of losing their jobs. The governor proposes a two percent increase for long-term care providers. **This funding amount may not even cover the costs of inflation or make up for numerous sessions where long-term care providers received very limited funding increases.**^{xxxix} **How will this proposal provide adequate incentives to providers to locate and stay in areas dominated primarily by low income residents and people of color? What type of Medical Assistance reimbursement rate increase needs to happen so that long-term care**

providers can make ends meet?^{xi} Other questions include: What attempts will be made to expand access to long term care insurance coverage for people of color?^{xii} What type of relocation training will be available for the skilled workers that are displaced?

- **Expanding Reach of Tribal Government Public Health (\$8 million).** The governor proposes to fund tribal governments and local public health offices so as to carry out home visiting services. These services range from helping new born babies get off to a healthy start to sustaining the health of elders. This is an attractive proposal because health care access is quite literally a matter of life or death for reservation members without a car. **This proposal is critical but it raises some questions: How will information on home visiting be made widely available? What funding level would suffice for all 11 reservations stretching across Minnesota? How will it allow for innovation in home visiting services?**

CONCLUSION: SOLUTIONS ON RACE AND BUDGET EXIST

Despite the visibility and well documented racial disparities in Minnesota, various budget proposals and public messages about these budgets have been silent on their potential impact on communities of color and American Indians. Examining just one of these budget proposals, we found that 8/10 of the governor's FY 2008-09 budget priorities in education and health would maintain or actually exacerbate the racial disparities. Indeed, without explicit attention and commitment to the racial impacts, the other budget proposals of the House and Senate could follow suit. However, the good news is that "colorblind" budget proposals can be challenged and changed through leadership. We have developed this tool to help guide this process. Legislators, the governor and advocates can engage the policy questions that we have laid out to improve the racial equity impact of budget proposals. The questions act as frameworks for the larger public debate, budget decisions and accountability to racial equity. State budgets are not just checkbooks, they are moral documents. They reveal whether our values of fairness and justice and our policy outcomes match up to our state's egalitarian tradition and vision. Race and budget matters...our values, tradition and economic future depend on breaking the silence by making racial equity a priority.

2007 RACIAL EQUITY AND AMERICAN INDIAN LEGISLATION

The following list of proactive racial equity bills are moving through the 2007 Minnesota State Legislature. We chose bills that, if passed by the Legislature and the governor, would have a direct positive impact. With the intention of analyzing state policymakers' commitment to racial equity and American Indian well being, some of these bills will be included in the Minnesota Legislative Report Card on Racial Equity (2007).

The following criteria were used to select the legislation. We asked if the bill:

- Focuses on reducing racial disparities.
- Expands access to institutions and public benefits.
- Advances enfranchisement.
- Protects against race-based violence, profiling and discrimination.
- Preserves and strengthens American Indian tribal sovereignty.
- Has adequate funding.
- Has mechanics in place to monitor the outcomes.

Bills were chosen that best represented at least one of these criteria. While these policies would benefit all Minnesotans, they would particularly benefit all of Minnesota's communities of color and American Indian communities.

EDUCATION EQUITY

SF 653/HF 722 Dream Act grants in-state tuition rate at state colleges and universities to undocumented immigrants.

HF 979/SF 923 Increase in funding for Adult Basic Education (including English as a Second Language and Functional Work English).

HF 976/SF 1223 After school program opportunities for children ages 5 – 18, with \$5 million appropriated per year.

HF 751/SF 788 General Education Development (GED) test fee waiver authorized in cases of homelessness.

HF 981/SF 1230 State special education revenue formulas fully funded, and special education aid appropriation made open and standing.

HF 1198/SF 907 Limited English proficiency programs five-year limit on funding removed.

HF 139/SF 291 Early childhood family education, school readiness, and Head Start programs funding increased, and money appropriated.

SF 398/HF 815 Kindergarten voluntary all day programs funding.

HF 1698/SF 1856 Loan program established to encourage teacher diversity in public schools

ECONOMIC & WEALTH EQUITY

HF 931/SF 988 Predatory mortgage lending practices prohibited, and civil and criminal penalties imposed.

HF 1315/SF 1081 Minnesota Commission on New Americans established, appointments provided, and money appropriated.

SF 442 Housing Solutions Act; deed tax increase.

HF 920/SF 754 Quality child care more accessible and affordable for low-income families.

HF 643/SF 879 Meatpacking industry workers bill of rights and ombudsman position established, and money appropriated.

HF 1616/SF 1214 Legislative Commission to End Poverty in Minnesota by 2020 funding provided, and money appropriated.

HF 1438/SF 984 Drivers' licenses; public safety commissioner prohibited from complying with the Real ID Act.

CIVIL RIGHTS & CRIMINAL JUSTICE

SF 279/HF 1380 Criminal justice data sealed under specified circumstances, legal consequences provided, business screening services required to correct and delete disputed records, and civil penalties imposed.

SF 294/ HF 1548 Expungements of criminal records law recodified and restructured, and eligibility for expungements expanded.

SF 685/HF 1237 Criminal records expungement provisions modification

HF 1827/SF 1651 Voting materials required to be printed in languages other than English.

HF 1148/SF 814 Asian-American juvenile crime prevention grants provided, and money appropriated.

HF 2224 African-American juvenile crime prevention grants provided, and money appropriated.

HF 1496/SF 1551 Ramsey County Juvenile Detention Alternative Initiative pilot project funding provided, and money appropriated.

HEALTH EQUITY

HF 479/ SF 0102 Universal health care system designed by Legislative Commission on Health Care Access

HF 634/SF 462 Resolution for state children's health insurance program authorization.

HF 574/SF 863 Children's mental health grants and work group established; mental health provisions modified; trauma-focused, evidence-based practices grants provided; county reimbursement provided; and money appropriated.

HF 1578/SF 1362 Mental health services required under all health plans.

HF 2178/SF 1931 Long-term care programs funding restored, services expanded, new grant programs established, statewide priority created to enhance the mobility of older adults, studies required, tax credit established, and money appropriated.

SF 2171 Expand use of community health workers and expand health insurance coverage.

AMERICAN INDIAN TRIBAL SOVEREIGNTY

HF 1051/SF 1048 Minnesota Indian Affairs Council membership restructure.

HF 2550 Dakota language teacher training immersion program established at the University of Minnesota, and money appropriated.

HF 2008/SF 1791 American Indian tribal contributions integrated into student learning and teacher preparation and licensing requirements, and committees on American Indian education programs established.

SF 1064/HF 1102 Fond du Lac technical and community college bond issue and appropriation.

HF 1663/SF 2103 Wild rice; genetically-engineered organisms regulation provisions modified.

HF 1662/SF 1652 Wild rice management plan required.

HF 1524/SF 1257 American Indian child welfare project expanded, and money appropriated.

HF 774/SF 597 Bois Forte Band of Chippewa renewable energy facility feasibility grant provided, and money appropriated.

HF 1286/SF 1245 Child maltreatment reporting provisions modified relating to Indian children.

HF 869/SF 659 Urban and tribal Indian housing programs funding provided, and money appropriated.

SF 1925/HF 2227 Veterans, and military affairs funding for tribal service officers.

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Minnesota, Circle of Discipline, Itasca Project, Children and Family Services, White Earth Land Recovery Project, Minnesota Immigrant Freedom Network, All Parks Alliance for Change, Minneapolis Foundation, Otto Bremer Foundation, Minnesota Council of Foundations, Robins, Kaplan, Miller & Ciresi LLP Public Foundation Board of Trustees, Valeng Cha and numerous Minnesota State Legislators.

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ⁱ Minnesota Minority Education Partnership, "2006 State of Students of Color," 2006; Rebecca Sohmer, "Mind the Gap: Disparities and Competitiveness in the Twin Cities," Brookings Institution, October 2005; Minnesota Department of Health, "Minnesota Health Access Survey for 2001 and 2004," 2006; Laura Smith, "Native American Trust Land Transfers in Minnesota," Center for Urban and Regional Affairs, University of Minnesota, Spring 2004; Minnesota Housing Finance Agency, "Emerging Markets Homeownership Initiative," 2004; Institute on Race and Poverty and Council on Crime and Justice, "Minnesota Statewide Racial Profiling Report: All Participating Jurisdictions, Report to the Minnesota State Legislature," 2003.

ⁱⁱ Poverty and Race Research Action Council, "Structural Racism," Volume 15, Number 6, November/December 2006; Glen C. Loury, *The Anatomy of Racial Inequality*, Harvard University Press, 2002.

ⁱⁱⁱ In total, the governor's budget proposal is \$34.4 billion, balanced and contains no tax increases.

^{iv} Minnesota Minority Education Partnership, "2006 State of Students of Color," 2006; Rebecca Sohmer, "Mind the Gap: Disparities and Competitiveness in the Twin Cities," Brookings Institution, October 2005.

^v This proposal rewards schools with a two percent (above the annual two percent) increase to those that satisfy the reading and math testing standards on the Minnesota State School Report Card.

^{vi} OAP research analysis of the best available data from Minnesota Department of Education. We looked at schools with at least 200 enrollment; 143 high schools, 154,920 students, overall. These high schools included 13 schools from Minneapolis/St. Paul, 41 in metropolitan area suburbs, 89 in greater Minnesota. Sixty-three percent (97,599) of the 154,920 were enrolled in schools that would get the two percent increase. Of the students receiving the two percent increase, 31 percent of students are kids of color yet students of color make up only 22 percent of the total K-12 population. Of the kids receiving the four percent increase, less than 10 percent are students of color.

^{vii} Minnesota Department of Education, "Recommendations for the Reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act," March 2007.

^{viii} Parents with three or four year olds with a household income at or below 180 percent of the federal poverty level.

^{ix} Minnesota Department of Education, "Minnesota School Readiness: Two Year Study," February 2004.

^x Charles Hallman, "School Vouchers: Who Stands to Gain At What Cost?," *Minnesota Spokesman Recorder*, March 14, 2007.

^{xi} Applied Research Center, "Vouchers: A Trap, Not a Choice – California School Vouchers will Increase Racial Inequality," October 2000.

^{xii} Minnesota P-16 College Access Working Group, "Raising the Expectations for College Access in Minnesota," June 2006.

^{xiii} The Education Trust, "Minnesota: Key Facts and Figures," Fall 2006.

^{xiv} Laura McCallum, "Special Education is Bigger Priority at Capitol," Minnesota Public Radio, March 1, 2007. "When Congress first passed the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) more than 30 years ago, it pledged to cover 40 percent of special education costs. But the federal government has never paid more than 17 percent of those costs. Education groups say the funding gap for school districts widened four years ago, when Minnesota lawmakers capped special education funding during the state's budget crisis."

^{xv} Laura McCallum, "Special Education is Bigger Priority at Capitol," Minnesota Public Radio, March 1, 2007.

^{xvi} U.S. Government Accountability Office, "Special Education: Federal Action Can Assist States in Improving Postsecondary Outcomes for Youth," July 2003. Nationally speaking, in 2000-2001 only 57 percent of special education students received a high school diploma, while 11 percent received a GED or other alternative diploma; The

Education Trust, "Minnesota: Key Facts and Figures," Fall 2006. This total student population and special education percentages reported here are for 2002, the most recent available data.

^{xvii} Interview with Mary Ceconi, executive director, Parents United for Public Schools, March 29, 2007; Minnesota Department of Health, "Health Insurance Coverage in Minnesota, 2001 vs. 2004," February 2006. American Indians, Asians, Blacks and Latinos are far less likely to have group insurance yet more likely to have public insurance.

^{xviii} The Minneapolis Foundation, "All Kids Learn: A Minnesota Meeting Series on K-12 Education," February 2004. The source for the state-wide estimate is the Minnesota Department of Education.

^{xix} Minnesota Department of Finance, "Remove the LEP Funding Restriction," Fiscal Note for SF 357," March 28, 2006. This figure is based on documentation that students of color that are foreign born make up 96 percent of the total foreign born student enrollment.

^{xx} Minnesota Department of Finance, "Remove LEP Funding Restriction," Fiscal Note for SF 357, March 28, 2006.

^{xxi} Minnesota Minority Education Partnership, "2006 State of Students of Color," 2006; Minnesota State Colleges and Universities, "Educating Minnesota: Meeting the Challenge Budget Request, 2008-2009," 2007.

^{xxii} Minnesota State Colleges and Universities, "Educating Minnesota: Meeting the Challenge Budget Request, 2008-2009," 2007.

^{xxiii} Minnesota P-16 College Access Working Group, "Raising the Expectations for College Access in Minnesota," June 2006.

^{xxiv} The Minneapolis Foundation, "Opportunity for All: Closing the Racial Disparities Gap in Minnesota," 2006.

^{xxv} Minnesota Department of Health, "Health Insurance Coverage in Minnesota, 2001 vs. 2004," February 2006.

Without government-based insurance coverage people of color and American Indians would be left behind in terms of health care access. The total rate for all groups who have government-based health insurance is 25 percent. For Blacks 45 percent, American Indians 34 percent, Latinos 29 percent and Asians 25 percent, while only 24 percent for whites.

^{xxvi} U.S. Census Bureau, "Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplement," 2000.

^{xxvii} Midwest States Health Reform Summit, Gov. Tim Pawlenty's Remarks, November 14, 2006.

^{xxviii} Minnesota Department of Health, "Health Insurance Coverage in Minnesota, 2001 vs. 2004," 2006; Minnesota Department of Health, "Immigrant Health: A Call to Action," January 2005.

^{xxix} Applied Research Center and Northwest Federation of Community Organizations, "Closing the Gap: Solutions to Race-Based Health Disparities," Summer 2005.

^{xxx} *Colorlines*, "What Your Doctor Won't See...If Conservatives Make Healthcare "Colorblind"," March-April 2007.

^{xxxi} Interview with Nila Gould, Office of Minority and Multicultural Health, Minnesota Department of Health, April 11, 2007.

^{xxxii} Applied Research Center, "Race and Recession: A Special Report Examining How Changes in the Economy Affect People of Color," Summer 2002; U.S. Department of Labor Statistics, "Employment Status of Civilian Noninstitutional Population by Race for Minnesota," 2004.

^{xxxiii} Interview with Menachem Krajcer, Senior Policy Analyst, Applied Research Center, April 12, 2007.

^{xxxiv} This budget package is largely driven by the Minnesota Mental Health Action Group, a public-private venture.

^{xxxv} U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, Office of the Surgeon General, "Mental Health: Culture, Race and Ethnicity," 1999; Richard Sheer, "Surgeon General's Report Highlights Mental Health Problems Among Minorities," *Psychiatric Times*, March 2002; Wilder Research Center, "The Issues Behind the Outcomes: Barriers and Service Delivery Issues that Affect Outcomes for Somali, Hmong, African Americans, and American Indian Participants in the Minnesota Family Investment Program," April 2003.

^{xxxvi} Joint Hearing E-12 Policy Committee and K-12 Finance Division, Testimony from Dr. William Dikel, Minneapolis Urban League, January 30, 2007.

^{xxxvii} *Ibid.* "The Minnesota Department of Human Services has found that, more often than not, no screening occurs."

^{xxxviii} Insight News, "Financial Outlook Worsens for Minnesota Nursing Homes," March 28, 2007; @HomeAlliance website.

^{xxxix} Interview with Patty Cullen, Care Providers of Minnesota, April 11, 2007.

^{xl} Minnesota Public Radio, "Long-Term Care Imperative," April 12, 2007; Minnesota Public Radio, "A Dignified Life: Providing for Long Term Care," January 8, 2007; Interview with Marlene Stum, University of Minnesota, April 11, 2007.

^{xli} Minnesota Department of Commerce, "Long-Term Care Insurance in Minnesota," June 2006; Minnesota Department of Human Services, "Public and Private Long-term Care Financing: Options for Minnesota," February 2005; Paul Krugman, "Children versus Insurers," *New York Times*, April 6, 2007. A report by the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities found that "low income and seniors of color are less likely than the average Medicare recipient to be enrolled in a Medicare Advantage Plan."