

FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Rapid Health Impact Assessment of School Integration Strategies in Minnesota



April 15, 2013

Conducted by: Human Impact Partners and ISAIAH
In conjunction with a panel of stakeholders



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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

BACKGROUND

The goal of school integration is to provide all of Minnesota's students with an equal opportunity for a good education. But integrated schools also promote better health.

We know that the more education one has, the better are one's chances of getting and keeping a good job. But there are also established links between education and health beyond career and income, and integration strengthens those links. Studies show that students who attend integrated schools stay in school longer, have access to better resources, do better in the classroom, are less likely to be incarcerated and are better prepared for life in an increasingly diverse society.^{1 2}

In turn, a large volume of research has established a strong correlation between the quality, amount, richness and diversity of educational experience and improved health – longer life, fewer illnesses, improved mental health, and better personal habits. These factors promote health not just while students are in school, but in adulthood and even for future generations.³

Those findings are the consensus of a Health Impact Assessment (HIA) by Human Impact Partners, a nonprofit research group in Oakland, Calif., and ISAIAH, a faith-based organization working for racial and economic justice in Minnesota, in collaboration with a panel of teachers, a school district administrator and a school board member, parents, public health practitioners, racial justice advocates, and a member of the state's Integration Revenue Task Force.

The HIA team evaluated the projected health effects of Minnesota Bill HF0247/SF0711, which proposes to reauthorize integration funding and guide how schools use it, thus addressing racial integration in Minnesota schools by supporting opportunities for all students to succeed. The legislation would require schools that receive funding to show progress toward integration and equity in educational opportunities. The bill also has the potential to make progress towards *true integration* – defined as not simply placing different races in the same school but, in the words of one civil rights scholar, "bringing students together under conditions of equality, emphasizing common goals, and de-emphasizing personal competition."⁴

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

FINDINGS

The bill's passage is crucial to maintaining and improving the programs, plans, and policies currently in place that support school integration and, through its benefits to educational achievement and cross-race understanding, promote better health for all Minnesotans. Failure to pass HF0247/SF0711 would be a significant setback for integration, educational achievement, cross-race connection and, ultimately, health.

Evidence of the connection between integration and health cited by the Health Impact Assessment includes:











- Children of color who attend integrated schools tend to have higher incomes as adults.⁵ Higher incomes make it easier to obtain health care, healthy food and physical activity, and a home in a neighborhood with resources like supermarkets, parks and playgrounds. All of these, combined with knowledge of the importance of healthy habits, better support a healthy lifestyle.
- The effects of education on health are passed down through generations, as the educational attainment of adults is connected to the health of their children.⁶ Lower educational attainment for parents limits their ability to create healthy environments for their children and to model healthy behaviors. These factors impact children's health directly and indirectly through cognitive and behavioral development.^{7 8}
- The social consequences of low educational attainment include losses in workforce productivity, lower economic growth from having an inadequately skilled workforce, and more crime and thus more victims. One study in Colorado found that the costs to society for each student who fails to graduate from high school are more than half a million dollars.⁹
- A comprehensive approach to integration leads to increased cross-race connection in classrooms, which then results in lower levels of prejudice in children, adolescents, and adults.¹⁰ This can lead directly to improved mental and physical health for people of color.¹¹ It also contributes to greater comfort in future multiracial settings for people of all racial/ethnic backgrounds, contributing to increased success in the workplace and in civil society.¹²

RECOMMENDATIONS




While the HIA research and stakeholder panel concluded that there are indeed health benefits associated with the passage of HF0247/SF0711, the study also found that the bill could be improved and a broader range of programs and strategies could be included to ensure that school districts can achieve true integration. As written, the bill would allow districts to maintain critical progress on measures such as test scores. If amended, it would set the stage for a more holistic approach that considers not just racial balance but the comprehensive policies and programs that are needed to achieve equity.

HF0247/SF0711 is only one component of building an equitable education system. If the bill is passed and other policies that fully support children of color in integrated schools were also to be implemented, educational achievement and cross-racial connection would increase significantly. If these policies were fully implemented, health outcomes for all of Minnesota's children would improve.

SUMMARY

THE IMPACTS OF SCHOOL INTEGRATION FUNDING ON HEALTH (HF0247/SF0711)*		
	THROUGH EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT	THROUGH CROSS-RACE CONNECTION
HEALTH OUTCOMES	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improved life-expectancy and mortality Improved health behaviors (e.g., exercise, nutrition, timeliness of health care check-ups) Increased job income and access to benefits, which have many health impacts (e.g., lifespan) Decreased overweight and obesity Decreased stress Improved housing, which has many health impacts (e.g., reduced asthma) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Improved mental health (e.g., reduced anxiety, depression, stress) Decreased trauma (physical and mental) Improved health behaviors (e.g., smoking) Improved physical health (e.g., high blood pressure, low birth weight births) Improved social health (e.g., sharing, cooperation, comfort in multiracial settings)
MAGNITUDE OF IMPACTS	High (220,000 children)	High (840,000 children)
SEVERITY OF IMPACTS	Affects lifespan and daily function	Affects lifespan and daily function
DIRECTION OF IMPACTS:		
HF0247/SF0711 does not pass		
HF0247/SF0711 as introduced is passed		
HF0247/SF0711 is amended and passed	 	 
HF0247/SF0711 is amended and passed and other policies supporting educational equity are also passed		

* See full report for details.

-  = positive health outcomes not realized
-  = some positive health outcomes realized and some positive health outcomes not realized
-  = positive health outcomes realized

ENDNOTES

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Human Impact Partners

HIP believes that health and equity should be considered in all decision making. We raise awareness of and collaboratively use innovative data, processes and tools that evaluate health impacts and inequities in order to transform the policies, institutions, and places people need to live healthy lives. Through training and mentorship we also build the capacity of impacted communities and their advocates, workers, public agencies, and elected officials to conduct health-based analyses and use them to take action.

ISAIAH

ISAIAH, a non-profit coalition of over 100 congregations from various faith traditions working in the Twin Cities, St. Cloud and greater Minnesota, is committed to establishing racial and economic justice.

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1 Introduction and Background

1.1 HEALTH IMPACT ASSESSMENT

Minnesota Bill HF0247/SF0711^a (introduced in the House by Representative Carlos Mariani in 2013) proposes to address racial integration in Minnesota schools to support opportunities for all students to achieve improved educational outcomes. This bill would reauthorize integration revenue funding, guide how schools are using it, and build off of recommendations developed by the Integration Revenue Replacement Advisory Task Force in 2011-12. The legislation would require schools eligible for funding to develop a comprehensive plan for achieving integration and closing the achievement gap.

Although HF0247/SF0711 is about education and education equity,^b it is also about health and health equity. The bill could have far reaching effects on the health of all Minnesotans. We know that the more education one has, the better are one's chances of getting and keeping a good job; however, there are also established links between education and health beyond career and income benefits. People who have experienced more years of school are likely to live longer, experience fewer health problems, and have better health habits like regular exercise, not smoking, and getting regular and preventative medical care. The effects of education on health are also passed down through generations, as the educational attainment of adults is connected to the health of their children.

A Rapid Health Impact Assessment (Rapid HIA) was conducted to provide a comprehensive analysis of the bill's impacts on health and to highlight the importance of education for our health. Health Impact Assessment, as defined by the National Research Council, is:

...a systematic process that uses an array of data sources and analytic methods and considers input from stakeholders to determine the potential effects of a proposed policy, plan, program or project on the health of a population and the distribution of those effects within the population. HIA provides recommendations on monitoring and managing those effects.¹

A "Rapid HIA" is an HIA conducted within a short decision-making timeline. This *Rapid HIA of School Integration Strategies in Minnesota* was led by Human Impact Partners (HIP) and ISAIAH. HIP's mission is to increase the consideration of health and equity in decision-making. As a leader in the field of HIA in the U.S., HIP has conducted HIAs on local, state and federal policies with communities across the country. ISAIAH is a congregation-based community organization

^a Bill text is provided at <https://www.revisor.mn.gov/bills/text.php?session=ls88&number=HF247&version=list>

^b In this analysis we focus on the goal of "education equity" rather than the goal of "closing the achievement gap." House Bill HF0247/SF0711 uses the latter term, and while the intention behind this term is likely based on a goal of equity, the authors of and collaborators in this HIA decided that the term "achievement gap" could be perceived in a way that can be harmful to health and equity. For instance, a focus on "closing the achievement gap" may lead to an emphasis on test scores as the only indicators of progress, and such a narrow focus may deprive students of a more holistic breadth of instruction in the classroom. Our use of "education equity" intends to describe the value that all students deserve equal opportunities for an outstanding education.

in Minnesota that strengthens the ability of people of faith to address local and regional community issues such as education, health, affordable housing, transportation, and racial inequity.

Rapid HIA Process

ISIAH and HIP convened a Stakeholder Panel to guide the scope, assessment, and development of conclusions and recommendations for this HIA process. The 12-member Stakeholder Panel included ISIAH members, teachers, a school district administrator, a school board member, parents, academic researchers, racial justice advocates, and a member of the Integration Revenue Replacement Task Force.

February 2013 – The Stakeholder Panel convened for a one-day scoping meeting in which the Rapid HIA process was introduced, goals for the project were developed and agreed upon (final goals are presented in Appendix A), potential pathways between HF0247/SF0711 and health outcomes were discussed, and research questions were determined.

February-March 2013 - Following the scoping meeting, HIP conducted a literature review and an analysis of existing conditions for each of the research questions. HIP developed a draft existing conditions report and submitted it to the Stakeholder Panel for review.

March 2013 - After HIP completed the literature review and existing conditions analysis, the Stakeholder Panel, subject matter experts, and HIP held a second meeting with the goal of coming to consensus on the likely health impacts of HF0247/SF0711 and on recommendations that would improve impacts. During this second meeting, stakeholders:

- Reviewed information from the scoping meeting;
- Heard presentations from the subject matter experts (described below) about school integration and discussed the data with them; and
- Reviewed existing conditions data and research literature.

The group used this information to deliberate and come to consensus on the likely health impacts of the proposed bill related to the two main research questions, and on recommendations that would improve these impacts.

The subject matter experts at the second meeting were:

- 1) Vina Kay, Director of Research and Policy, Organizing Apprenticeship Project - *discussed education equity broadly;*
- 2) Myron Orfield, Professor of Law and Director, Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity, University of Minnesota - *discussed the history and current state of integration in Minnesota public schools; and*
- 3) Kathleen Thiede Call, Professor and Director of Graduate Programs, University of Minnesota School of Public Health, Health Policy and Management and State Health access Data Assistance Center - *discussed the links between education and health.*

Conclusions and recommendations developed collaboratively by the Stakeholder Panel, ISAIAH, and HIP, are presented in this report.

1.2 DEFINITION OF SCHOOL INTEGRATION

Much of the school integration conversation surrounds whether or not schools and districts are “segregated” or “integrated.” Often these definitions are based on proportions of students of various races at a school, or how the proportions in a school or district compare with those in the surrounding community or districts. During the initial struggle to integrate schools during the 1950’s, 60’s, and 70’s, these basic definitions made more sense. But in today’s reality, there are several nuances that are important to take into account, and doing so shows that most public schools in the U.S. are not truly “integrated.”²

For example, an entire school can be “integrated” because it has a racial balance that reflects the community in which it resides, but its classrooms – and the resources and opportunities provided within them – are still “segregated” by race or socioeconomic class. Alternatively, a classroom could be racially integrated, yet if its predominant culture is upper class white, then non-white cultures and customs could be marginalized. There is a very broad range of possible levels of integration that go beyond statistics.

Civil rights scholar John Powell describes “true integration” as the following:

True integration moves beyond desegregation -- beyond removing legal barriers and simply placing together students of different races. It means bringing students together under conditions of equality, emphasizing common goals, and de-emphasizing personal competition... True integration in our schools, then, is transformative rather than assimilative. That is, while desegregation assimilates minorities into the mainstream, true integration transforms the mainstream.³

Because this HIA relies on best available evidence, in many cases “integration” is discussed in a simplistic way. For example, this report presents an analysis of available data from the Minnesota Department of Education to classify Minnesota schools or districts by their levels of racial integration or isolation. We recognize that aspects of this analysis do not fully honor the multi-faceted definition of “true integration” as defined above.

It is also worth noting that the discussion of integration often lacks a cogent critique of the implicit normative assumption that white is the standard or the ideal. For example, the term “racially isolated” becomes code for schools populated mostly by children of color, rather than describing the many more schools in Minnesota that are populated almost entirely by white children. Strategies to achieve racial integration therefore are often understood – whether correctly or not – to place the burden on children and families of color to move into an otherwise predominantly white school. In essence, like many discussions about race, the “problem” that integration seeks to solve gets attributed to people of color, while the historical context and current reality remain that there tends to be a power differential favoring white families.

1.3 HISTORICAL CONTEXT

Today's persistent racial segregation in schools is the result of a long and deep-rooted history of various forms of racism in the United States. Four centuries of the Atlantic slave trade and 250 years of slavery came to a nominal conclusion in 1865. The shameful legacy of slavery, as well as years of discriminatory public policies and social injustices, has resulted in inequities that continue to this day. Jim Crow laws in southern states, which segregated public schools, public places, and public transportation, continued until 1965. During this time, segregation was alive and well in northern states too, where racism was carried out through *de facto* segregation, as well as home loan lending practices, job discrimination, and other unfair practices that made it impossible for African American citizens to enjoy the status and opportunities of their white compatriots.

The landmark Supreme Court case *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 abolished intentional segregation ("separate but equal"), and plaintiffs hoped that giving black children access to the same classrooms as white children would help to equalize educational resources and outcomes. However, implementation of this court order was slow. In reality, most school integration in the South actually took place after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 prohibited discrimination in all schools receiving federal dollars, and after other desegregation court orders took effect in the late 1960s and early 1970s.⁴ Due to residential segregation, busing students to schools outside their neighborhoods was a principal tool used in the 1970s and 1980s for balancing the racial make-up of schools.

While schools became more integrated initially, and especially integrated in the south and Border States, desegregation of US public schools peaked in the 1980s.⁵ The level of integration generally remained until the early 1990s, when the courts began vacating their previous decisions. Since that time, while both whites and non-whites have suburbanized in large numbers, severe and unredressed discrimination in the form of steering,^c mortgage lending discrimination, racial gerrymandering of suburban school boundaries,^d and the disproportionate placement of low income housing in non-white neighborhoods has perpetuated and enhanced segregation.⁶ Though they attend schools with more resources and wealthier students, whites are the most racially isolated of all and attend schools where the vast majority of students are from their own race.⁷

As more immigrants have entered the US, they have become segregated in schools as well. In particular, Latinos attend severely segregated schools. Segregation by race is very strongly

^c Residential segregation can be supported through the practice of real estate "steering," mortgage lending practices, and the higher availability of affordable housing in already distressed urban areas. Steering refers to when real estate agents "steer" otherwise similar (apart from their race/ethnicity) potential homebuyers towards different neighborhoods based on their race/ethnicity. While this practice is illegal, it is difficult to prove unless it is tracked, which is not done consistently or sufficiently.

^d Refer to Figure C-3 in Appendix C for an example of gerrymandered school boundaries: two suburban Minnesota school zones have pulled students from non-contiguous area, thereby coalescing non-white students in one school (and avoiding white students living between), or combining the white students (and avoiding non-white students living between).

related to segregation by class and income; black and Latino students attend schools with more than twice as many poor classmates as white students.⁸

While busing and other mandatory desegregation strategies have declined and/or been ruled illegal by the courts,^{9 10} many districts have tried other strategies to integrate schools. For example, districts around the country have introduced magnet schools, which specialize in particular courses or curricula and intend to eliminate or reduce minority group isolation. Some districts have taken an additional step to reduce segregation in magnet schools, and have set target goals for the proportion of minority enrollment in each school and assigned students accordingly. Recent legal cases have shifted the tide on such school integration strategies. In *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School Dist. No. 1* in 2007, the Supreme Court held unconstitutional race-conscious student assignment plans developed to reduce patterns of segregation and promote student diversity. However, this ruling outlined clear tools that states and local districts can use to integrate their schools. Based on this ruling, race-conscious strategies for integrating schools are permissible if individual students are not admitted or denied admission solely on the basis on their race. Race can be used as one of many factors in admissions decisions, as long as it's not the sole factor. Moreover, race-conscious strategic site selection of new schools, drawing attendance zones with recognition of the demographics of neighborhoods, and recruiting students and faculty in a targeted race-conscious fashion, are still allowable and are likely to become more important strategies in the future.¹¹

1.4 SCHOOL INTEGRATION AND SEGREGATION IN MINNESOTA

History of School Integration and Segregation in Minnesota

Minnesota has a long history of valuing the benefits of racial integration, and since the 1960s the state has proactively pursued policies that would eliminate racial separation of students.¹² However, non-enforcement of civil rights laws and suburban housing discrimination has occurred in Minnesota as they have elsewhere in the U.S.

The timeline outlining the “History of Desegregation in Minneapolis Public Schools” (Appendix B)¹³ illustrates the state’s difficult past, fraught with promising developments and many setbacks. Despite various efforts to desegregate schools, including a court order in 1972 prohibiting the Minneapolis Public School (MPS) district from discriminating on the basis of race and national origin, a desegregation/integration plan, and the creation of task forces on racism and ethnic studies, countervailing forces have prevailed.

The 1980s saw promising developments, such as the adoption of the 1982-87 Desegregation/Integration Plan and the creation of magnet schools with limits on the proportion of minority enrollment, which proved to be an attractive option in line with goals of integrated school environments, educational excellence, and the ability of parents to exercise choice in where their children went to school. However, inequities continued in the use and manifestation of choice programs.^{14 15} The Desegregation/Integration Plan came under fire from the white community because of the limits it placed on parental choice, and at the same time the MPS district was released from the 1972 court order, which made the state responsible for monitoring desegregation efforts.

The 90s continued this mix of hopeful developments and setbacks. In 1995 the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) filed a lawsuit alleging that MPS deprived its students of an adequate education.¹⁶ The state and the NAACP settled the lawsuit with the creation of a program called “The Choice is Yours,” that included voluntary busing of low-income Minneapolis students to suburban schools. The Legislature also established the Integration Revenue program in 1997, which provides state funds to qualifying school districts for developing plans to integrate schools. Meanwhile, in preparation for the development of new desegregation rules in the early 90s the (then) State Board of Education, in cooperation with the legislature, convened a group of leaders who determined that “segregation in schools prevents equal educational opportunity and contributes to segregation in the broader society.”¹⁷ The group was on track to propose rules that would go beyond voluntary integration measures based entirely on the system of open enrollment, but in the face of political opposition, they withdrew the proposal in favor of the non-binding rule that went into effect in 1999.¹⁸

The State Desegregation Rule that went into effect in 1999 essentially gutted most of Minnesota’s previous integration accomplishments. First, it falsely asserted that racial integration was no longer a compelling governmental interest that a district could pursue absent of intentional racial discrimination. Second, it made the standard of proof for such discrimination improperly high. It did not create incentives for integration or penalties for non-compliance, and it allowed districts to use integration funds for frivolous conferences and consultants, or simply as another source of general revenue.¹⁹ Thus, by the end of the 1990s, much of the progress that had been made around school integration and educational equity in Minnesota was essentially halted.

Over the entire period the proportion of students of color in MPS went from 13% in the 1970s to 71% in the 1990s; like the rest of the country, Minnesota schools have moved toward re-segregation.²⁰

In Appendix C, Figures C-1 and C-2 show the changing enrollment and demographics of schools in Minneapolis between 1995-1996 and 2010-2011. Between 1995 and 2011 many elementary schools closed and those that remained are both larger and more segregated. By 2011 the primarily white schools were located in the southwestern part of Minneapolis, schools with more Latino students were located in the center, and there were more primarily black schools in the northern part of the city.

School Integration and Segregation in Minnesota Today

Today there continue to be many complex social, political and economic forces that challenge those who seek to integrate Minnesota’s schools.

An example of school district practices that have contributed to segregated schools are gerrymandered attendance zones. Figure C-3 in Appendix C shows two suburban Minnesota school zones that pull students from non-contiguous areas to either coalesce non-white

students in one school (and avoid white students living between), or combine the white students (and avoid non-white students living between).

There are, however, examples of districts that have used attendance zones to *create* more integrated schools. The Eden Prairie school district is a famous example of this tactic because of the controversy it created in the community. The Superintendent of Eden Prairie schools, Melissa Krull, along with a committee of educators and community members, redrew the district's attendance boundaries to accomplish a number of goals, one of which was to desegregate one particular school. Parents reacted with protests and petitions, threats to sue the district, and by moving their children to nearby districts or schools. Krull lost her position as Superintendent and a new School Board was elected. Time will tell if the new Board will uphold the boundaries. This case study highlights the complexities and high stakes that are so characteristic of efforts to change the racial/ethnic composition of school student bodies.²¹

Open Enrollment

The state of Minnesota currently has an Open Enrollment (OE) policy, giving students and their families a choice of schools. For over ten years a program called "The Choice is Yours" gave low-income students support in attending suburban schools.²² However, even in spite of options for subsidized transportation, it is important to note that "choice" means something different for everyone. Families with more financial and transportation resources or more time available outside of work, for example, have more choice than families who don't have these resources. Due to disparities in income, wealth, employment, and other resources that are correlated with race, access to choice becomes racialized.

In 2012, Myron Orfield and Thomas F. Luce conducted an extensive evaluation of the OE policy used in the Twin Cities metro area, through the lens of its effects on racial integration. They report that in the 2009-10 school year, 35,145 students in the 69 school districts of the study chose to attend a school outside of their home school district.²³ They found that OE *increased segregation* in schools in the region, with the segregative trend growing stronger over time. Student movements over time, for each racial/ethnic group, are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Percentage of students who moved between school districts, by race/ethnicity and type of movement. (Adapted from Orfield, 2012)²⁴

Group	2000-01		2009-10		% Point Change	
	Integrative	Segregative	Integrative	Segregative	Integrative	Segregative
White	12%	20%	19%	36%	7%	16%
Non-White	29	36	36	38	7	2
Black	28	40	26	32	-2	-8
Hispanic	NA	NA	6	12	NA	NA
Asian	NA	NA	13	14	NA	NA
Total	16	23	24	36	8	13

- **Integrative:** A move by a white student from a district where the white percentage of students is more than 10 percentage points higher than the white share in the receiving district. The equivalent calculation is made for each racial/ethnic group.
- **Segregative:** A move by a white student from a district where the white percentage of students is more than 10 percentage points lower than the white share in the receiving district. The equivalent calculation is made for each racial/ethnic group.

The percentage of segregative moves grew significantly during the decade from 23 percent to 36 percent, and was driven mostly by the movement of white open enrollees. While the percent of total integrative moves also grew in the decade, from 16 percent to 24 percent, this growth was slower than that of segregative moves.

The movement patterns of students varied between urban and suburban districts. The three large city districts of Minneapolis, St. Paul, and St. Cloud especially, all had significantly more students leaving them compared to enrolling into them, and a majority of these students were white. Overall, students who moved out of the central cities were more likely to be white and non-poor than those who stayed behind, and students who open enrolled into the cities were less likely to be white and non-poor than students in the districts that sent students.

Suburban districts losing the most students to OE include a group of diverse inner- and middle-suburban districts, which lose substantial numbers of white students to neighboring districts that have a higher proportion of white students enrolled than their source district. The districts that are gaining the most students from OE are these predominantly white districts.

Integration Revenue Funding in Minnesota

In the November 2005 report by the Minnesota Office of the Legislative Auditor (OLA), the authors evaluated the State's Integration Revenue Funding program.²⁵ They found a wide range in the ways that the school districts used their integration revenue; they report that while many of the expenditures made by districts were generally reasonable, some were questionable. For example, a few districts used the funding to purchase items that are already the general responsibility of the school district, such as U.S. history or social studies textbooks, or even computers.

The report noted that from 2000-2005, with the exception of the Twin Cities school districts, there has been an increase in racial concentration in school districts receiving integration

revenue funding relative to their adjoining districts. Thus, integration revenue funding has had a segregating rather than an integrating effect in Minnesota. Other problematic issues around the Integration Revenue program that were raised include lack of a clear documented purpose for the program and inconsistent oversight, as well as adverse incentives (i.e., achieving integration would lead to a reduction in funding).

As a result of this OLA report and other considerations, in 2011, the legislature asked the commissioner of education to convene an advisory task force “to develop recommendations for repurposing integration revenue funds to create and sustain opportunities for students to achieve improved educational outcomes.” Based on the recommendations of the task force, which were released on February 15, 2012, Representative Carlos Mariani drafted and introduced House Bill HF0247 in the 2013 legislative session.

2 Impacts of School Integration

Based on literature research and input from the Stakeholder Panel at the February 2013 scoping meeting, three research pathways were initially determined:

- School integration’s impact on ***educational achievement, health, and equity***,
- School integration’s impact on ***cross-racial connection, health, and equity***, and
- School integration’s impact on ***social cohesion, health and equity***.

The third analyzed pathway between school integration and *social cohesion, health, and equity* was ultimately abandoned. We searched for evidence on how transporting students to schools outside of their communities to achieve racial integration (i.e., busing) may affect a family’s social cohesion and connectedness to their residential neighborhood. However, evidence in the literature for this topic area is very sparse, and our review did not illuminate any solid connections.

The Stakeholder Panel came to consensus on the impacts described in Sections 2.2.3 and 2.3.3. These findings are supported by HIP’s understanding of HF0247/SF0711, historical and existing conditions data, and the education and public health literature.

This rapid HIA process considered four scenarios related to this bill:

- 1) HF0247/SF0711 is not passed by the legislature or signed into law by the governor;
- 2) HF0247/SF0711 as introduced by Representative Mariani is passed by the legislature and signed into law by the governor;
- 3) HF0247/SF0711 is amended slightly (see recommendations in Section 3) and then passed by the legislature and signed into law by the governor; and
- 4) An equitable and integrated school system that fully supports children from all races, ethnicities and cultures is implemented through passage of an amended HF0247/SF0711 and implementation of other policies (see recommendations in Section 3). (Stakeholders involved in the HIA believe that this scenario would be very difficult to achieve in that it requires tremendous political will, power, and societal changes.)

2.1 BASELINE DEMOGRAPHICS AND HEALTH IN MINNESOTA

The breakdown of racial/ethnic background of Minnesota public school (K-12) students is included in Table 2 below. In addition, proportions of students in each racial/ethnic category qualifying for free/reduced price lunch are indicated.

Table 2. Demographics of Students in MN Schools

	Enrollment (2012)	Students Receiving Free/Reduced Price Lunch (2007)*
White students	619,092 (74%)	20%
Black/African American students	85,844 (10%)	75%
Hispanic/Latino students	59,625 (7%)	72%
Asian	56,076 (7%)	54%
American Indian students	18,789 (2%)	68%
Total	839,426	

*Source: Center for Health Statistics, Division of Health Policy, Minnesota Department of Health. The Health and Well-Being of Minnesota's Adolescents of Color: A Data Book (2012).

The number of people of color in Minnesota is increasing. According to the Minnesota State Demographics Center,²⁶ by 2035, people of color will make up more than 25% of the state's population, up from 14% in 2005. The number of Latino, black, and Asian people will more than double, while the white population is projected to grow slowly and will decline in some parts of the state. All regions will become more racially and ethnically diverse. In addition, the number of children enrolled in Minnesota public schools is also projected to increase.²⁷ While total public school enrollment is predicted to rise by 7% between 2008 and 2018, increases in K-6 enrollment are projected to increase by 11 to 12% over the same time period.

These increases indicate that the number of children of color in currently poor-performing segregated schools will increase. The number of children in integrated schools will also increase and schools and teachers that are not accustomed to having many children of color will need to build their capacity to serve these children.^{28 29}

Painting a picture of racial disparities in health in Minnesota, Table 3 below reveals that African-Americans and Native Americans have lower life expectancies than other racial groups in the state.

Table 3. Life Expectancy at Birth (in years) by Race/Ethnicity (2007)³⁰

	Minnesota	United States
White	81.1	78.7
African-American	75.4	74.3
Latino	83.2	83.5
Asian-American	85.3	87.3
Native American	68.0	75.1

2.2 IMPACTS OF SCHOOL INTEGRATION ON EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT, HEALTH, AND EQUITY

2.2.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

Impact of educational achievement on health and equity

Through its connection to educational achievement, integrated schools can improve health.

As part of its Commission to Build a Healthier America, the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation compiled an extensive amount of research to explain and support the relationship between educational attainment and health. The national independent, non-partisan commission came together several years ago to review the research evidence, collect new data, and gain the expertise of leaders and residents from around the country about the factors that influence our health outside of the health care system. The effort, among other outcomes, resulted in a research brief on Education – one of the key determinants that the Commission explored – and this has served as a primary source for this analysis.³¹

This research outlines three major interrelated pathways through which education is linked to health:

1. Health knowledge and behaviors;
2. Employment and income; and
3. Social and psychological factors, such as a sense of control or power, social standing, and social networks.

Health Knowledge and Behaviors

Education can increase people's knowledge, problem-solving, and coping skills, enabling them to make better-informed choices among the health-related options available for themselves and their families, including those related to obtaining and managing medical care. People with more education (in addition to the connection to employment and income) are also more likely to live in health-promoting environments that encourage and enable them to adopt and maintain healthy behaviors.

Employment and Income

The connections between education and health through employment and income are seen because education leads to a greater likelihood of being employed; having better working conditions; and having better employer benefits such as health care, paid sick days and higher wages.

For example, increases in unemployment rates over the past year have been greatest for adults who have not completed high school: the unemployment rate for high school dropouts is 50% higher than for high school graduates.³² People who are unemployed experience poorer health and higher mortality rates. More years of school have been shown to lead to higher incomes. Higher incomes afford a person and his or her family the benefit of economic security and wealth accumulation, which make it easier to obtain health care when needed, healthy food,

physical activity, and a home in a neighborhood with resources like supermarkets, parks, and playgrounds. All of these, combined with knowledge of the importance of healthy habits, better support a healthy lifestyle. On the downside of this connection between income and health, the lower a person's income the greater the likelihood they will experience stress because lower-paid workers have fewer financial resources to cope with everyday challenges.

Social and Psychological Factors

The connections between education and health through social and psychological factors are seen because education may have an influence on a person's ideas about their ability to control their life circumstances (their sense of control), their position within the social hierarchy (social standing), and the level of social support they have.

Research indicates that more education is associated with a greater sense of personal control and self-determination and this may be because education can lead to better problem solving, perseverance, and confidence. These beliefs have associations with better self-rated health and less physical impairment and risk of chronic diseases. Positive beliefs about personal control are also linked to better health-related behaviors. Separate from its employment and income benefits, more education is also linked to a higher status in society and this is associated with better health outcomes. Higher educational attainment also contributes to the development of beneficial social networks and these are linked to better physical and mental health outcomes.

The effects of education on health are also passed down through generations, as the educational attainment of adults is connected to the health of their children. Lower educational attainment for parents limits their ability—because of knowledge, skills, time, money, and other things—to create healthy environments for their children and behaviors that kids can model. Children's health then affects their cognitive and behavioral development, which affects physical health directly and health behaviors indirectly. There is also a direct link between being healthy and having the capacity to engage in school, to learn and attain more education.

There are social gains seen with more high school and college graduates, and conversely, social burdens seen when students do not graduate or go on to college. In an analysis for the State of Colorado,³³ economist Hank Levin quantified the social burden of low educational attainment, including losses in workforce productivity, any lacks in economic growth from having an inadequately skilled workforce, and any burdens on victims of crime. He found that these social burdens represent \$524,400 per student. Annually, for an entire class of students in Colorado, this totals \$6.03 billion.

The following summarizes some of the key findings in the above and other research:

- People with more education are likely to live longer and healthier lives than their less educated peers.³⁴ (This trend is illustrated in Figure 1 in Section 2.2.2 below.)
- Highly educated people have healthier behaviors (e.g., exercise, not smoking, obtaining timely health care check-ups and screenings) and are less likely to be overweight or obese.³⁵

- Educational attainment directly impacts income. One year of education, for example, leads to roughly an 8% increase in earnings.^{36 37 38} Higher income is a very strong predictor of better health outcomes.
- Education improves people's access to social networks of support, reducing social stressors, improving community cohesion, and increasing social capital.³⁹ These have all been shown to have clear positive impacts on health.
- Parents' education is strongly linked to their children's health and development.⁴⁰
- An educated society is also a more productive and economically healthy society. There are social burdens associated with a less educated society.⁴¹

Impact of integration on educational achievement

There is an extensive body of research on the benefits of racial/ethnic integration on educational achievement and evidence from this supports the conclusion that racial/ethnic integration is important for education equity, contributes to greater college and career success, and could help with breaking cycles of intergenerational poverty.

A report by the National Academy of Education that was commissioned following a 2007 U.S. Supreme Court decision regarding two related cases (*Crystal D. Meredith v. Jefferson County Board of Education* [Louisville, KY] and *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District*) reviewed and summarized the evidence that informed the Court's decision. The 2007 report outlines some conclusions that can be drawn from the body of research on the effects of racial diversity on academic achievement.⁴² These are:

- "Racial diversity, particularly when accompanied by an otherwise beneficial school environment, can avoid or mitigate the harms of racial isolation."
- No educational harm to white students has been found by efforts to integrate schools racially.
- The achievement of African American students is improved by less segregated schools.
- The positive achievement effect for African American students is likely to be greater in earlier grades than in later grades and researchers using stronger experimental designs (i.e., longitudinal data rather than cross-sectional data and no control group), find larger effects as well.
- Earlier studies showed greater variation in achievement effects. This may reflect the fact that earlier studies focused on the effects of court-ordered desegregation, thus their findings may have reflected a combination of the effects of various desegregation policy actions with the impacts of racial composition. Later studies that just focused on the effects of variations in racial composition, holding other factors constant, have found more consistent and positive achievement effects.

Research has also found definite negative achievement effects of racial isolation above and beyond the effects of a student's own poverty level or racial group.⁴³

A recent study published in 2011 by Rucker Johnson confirmed and added to the National Academy of Education's report by addressing the impact of integration on educational achievement using novel data and methods.⁴⁴ Johnson followed children born between 1950

and 1970, who had been exposed to court ordered desegregation. He estimated the long-term impacts of the desegregation plans on likelihood of graduating from high school, educational attainment, adult earnings and poverty, likelihood of incarceration, and adult health status.^e His research methods^f allowed him to conclude how school desegregation influenced the quantity and quality of the education received by students of color and how this in turn influenced health-related outcomes later in life.

Johnson found that for black students, school desegregation significantly increased educational attainment and adult earnings, reduced the probability of incarceration, and improved adult health status; desegregation had no effects on white students across each of these outcomes. He also concluded that the mechanism through which school desegregation led to these outcomes for black students was improvement in access to school resources reflected in reductions in class size and increases in per-pupil spending. He finds that education and health outcomes among black students were particularly affected by changes in access to school resources associated with desegregation, not simply changes in exposure to white students.

He estimated the following specific effects of exposure to court-ordered desegregation:

- Each additional year of exposure leads to a 2.9 percentage-point increase in the likelihood of **graduating from high school**.
- Each additional year of exposure leads to between a 0.11 and 0.15 increase in **years of education** for blacks.
- An additional year of exposure significantly increases **black men's annual earnings** by roughly 5-6 percent and reduces the **annual incidence of poverty** in adulthood by 1.3 percentage points.
- Exposure to desegregation beginning in the elementary school years leads to a 9.7 percentage-point reduction in the **annual incidence of incarceration** and a 16.9 percentage point decline in the **probability of incarceration** by age 30.
- The average effects of a 5-year exposure to court-ordered desegregation yield about a 3-point increase in the **adult health status index**, which represents substantial improvements in adult health status.

Integration, Graduation, and College Attendance

In addition to Johnson's research above, inquiry into the effects of integration on high school graduation rates and college attendance and completion indicates there are benefits of integration on these indicators of achievement and these are associated with a greater likelihood of life success.

- A study in Cleveland, OH found desegregated high schools were more effective than segregated schools in helping students to graduate and this effect was greater if African

^e Johnson used the Panel Study of Income Dynamics (PSID) dataset and data from multiple other linked sources that described the desegregation plans, school quality resources, neighborhood attributes, and family characteristics.

^f Johnson used a quasi-random research design that was facilitated by the variation in the timing of the court orders that allowed him to disentangle the relative importance of childhood family, neighborhood, and school quality factors.

American and Latino students attended more integrated schools before high school. In fact, attending a segregated school until late in high school was associated with a 20% increase in African American or Latino student's odds of dropping out in the first year of high school.⁴⁵

- Attending integrated K-12 schools increases the likelihood of attending college, particularly for youth from underrepresented minority communities.⁴⁶
- Attending an integrated school is associated with higher GPA in college and so contributes to success in college.⁴⁷
- Researchers conclude that integrated education contributes to increased occupational attainment, less involvement with the criminal justice system, and an increased likelihood of living and working in more diverse workplaces.^{48 49 50}

All of this research points to clear short- and long-term benefits of racial diversity for student achievement.

How Does the Achievement Effect Happen?

Theories for how increasing racial diversity influences achievement focus on the school environment and peer-to-peer interactions and influences.

Researchers suggest that compared to segregated schools serving students of color, racially integrated schools have less violence, more stable and highly qualified teachers, smaller class sizes, more college preparatory classes, more academically oriented peers, lower drop out rates, and more parents involved with higher expectations that put more pressure on schools.⁵¹
52 53 54 55

Peer-based theories are less validated in empirical evidence; however, they suggest that interactions with students from different backgrounds create opportunities for more complex thinking. Peers influence each other through knowledge spillovers and when students follow the lead of other classmates with whom they identify. One finding to note, though, is that even in an integrated school, the practice of “tracking” or “ability grouping” (where students are separated in different classrooms based on prior achievement) has the potential to diminish the positive effects of peer influences, if peer interactions are not realized.^{56 57}

2.2.2 SCHOOL INTEGRATION AND EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT IN MINNESOTA – CURRENT CONDITIONS

The following represents existing conditions in Minnesota for indicators of integration, student academic achievement, school resources and environments, and health status.

We accessed data from the Minnesota Department of Education on schools and districts and the students and teachers in the schools. Included in our analysis were 1,601 public elementary, middle, junior high, senior high, secondary, and combined elementary and secondary schools and distance learning programs in 488 districts. All data in this section is from MDE⁵⁸ unless otherwise noted.

The Office of the Legislative Analyst's (OLA) report⁵⁹ informed our understanding of the extent to which MN schools are integrated. The OLA report identifies the following four categories by which a school district could qualify for state integration funding:

- Racially isolated district – A district in which the average percent of non-white students is 20 percentage points higher than that of any neighboring district.
- Adjoining district – A district in which the average percent of non-white students is at least 20 percentage points less than that of a neighboring district.
- Voluntary district – A district that is not racially isolated or adjoining, but that joins an integration collaborative and files an integration plan with the MDE.
- Racially identifiable school – A school in which the average percent of non-white students is 20 percentage points higher than that of the district. Both the district is identified as having a racially identifiable school and the school itself can be identified. (Other [non-racially identifiable] schools in the same district as the identifiable schools are included in this analysis.)

We used the OLA's report designations of isolated, adjoining and voluntary districts, while we conducted our own analysis with 2012 school year data to identify the specific identifiable schools. We cross-referenced these with the districts identified as having identifiable schools in the OLA report. The following tables present averages for selected indicators by these categories across all schools that qualify for integration funding, and compare them to statewide averages.

Table 4 shows that 3% of districts include an identifiable school, 11% are adjoining or voluntary districts, and 5% are isolated.

Table 4. School and District Representation by Integration Category

	Districts with racially identifiable schools		Isolated Districts and their Adjoining Districts**		Total
	Other schools in the districts	Identifiable schools*	Adjoining/Voluntary Districts	Isolated Districts	
Number of schools	129	17			
Percent of all schools	8%	1%			
Number of districts	17	17	55	24	96
Percent of all districts	3%	3%	11%	5%	20%

*Determined with 2011-2012 data. We identified 87 racially identifiable schools, but since many of these schools fall in the OLA report's adjoining, isolated or voluntary districts, only those that did not overlap these other district categories are reported here. The total for the number of districts with identifiable schools does not include the districts that are also isolated, adjoining or voluntary (these district totals are reported in those categories only - adjoining/voluntary and isolated).

** From the OLA report

The results in Table 5 are not surprising, considering these categories were created based on racial/ethnic imbalances in districts and schools. Indeed, these averages reflect this imbalance.

Table 5. Average Student Racial/Ethnic Composition by Integration Category

	Districts with racially identifiable schools		Isolated Districts and their Adjoining Districts	
	Other schools in the district	Identifiable schools	Adjoining/Voluntary Districts	Isolated Districts
White	74%	30%	80%	40%
Black/African-American	9%	38%	7%	27%
Hispanic/Latino	8%	17%	5%	16%
American-Indian	4%	10%	1%	2%
Total non-white	21%	66%	14%	45%

Achievement by Level of Integration

Table 6 shows that there is significant variation in indicators of academic achievement by the different integration categories. In districts with one or more identifiable schools, the graduation rate of the racially identifiable secondary school is much lower than the other schools in the district and the state average graduation rate. Likewise, the math and reading proficiency in these racially identifiable schools is lower than the other schools in the district and the state average. Voluntary districts and those that adjoin isolated districts have higher graduation rates and math and reading proficiency, compared to the isolated districts and the state average.

Table 6. Averages for Indicators of Achievement by Integration Category

	State Average	Districts with racially identifiable schools		Isolated Districts and their Adjoining Districts	
		Other schools in the districts	Identifiable schools	Adjoining/Voluntary Districts	Isolated Districts
Graduation Rate*	85%	85%	19%**	90%	73%
Math Proficiency (Percent proficient on MCA test in math)***	60.4%	61%	49%	68%	48%
Reading Proficiency (Percent proficient on MCA test in reading)****	74.6%	78%	57%	81%	63%

* Includes 307 secondary schools

** There is only one school of this type (racially identifiable secondary school)

*** Includes 1,515 schools with scores

**** Includes 1,512 schools with scores

Educational Attainment by Race in Minnesota

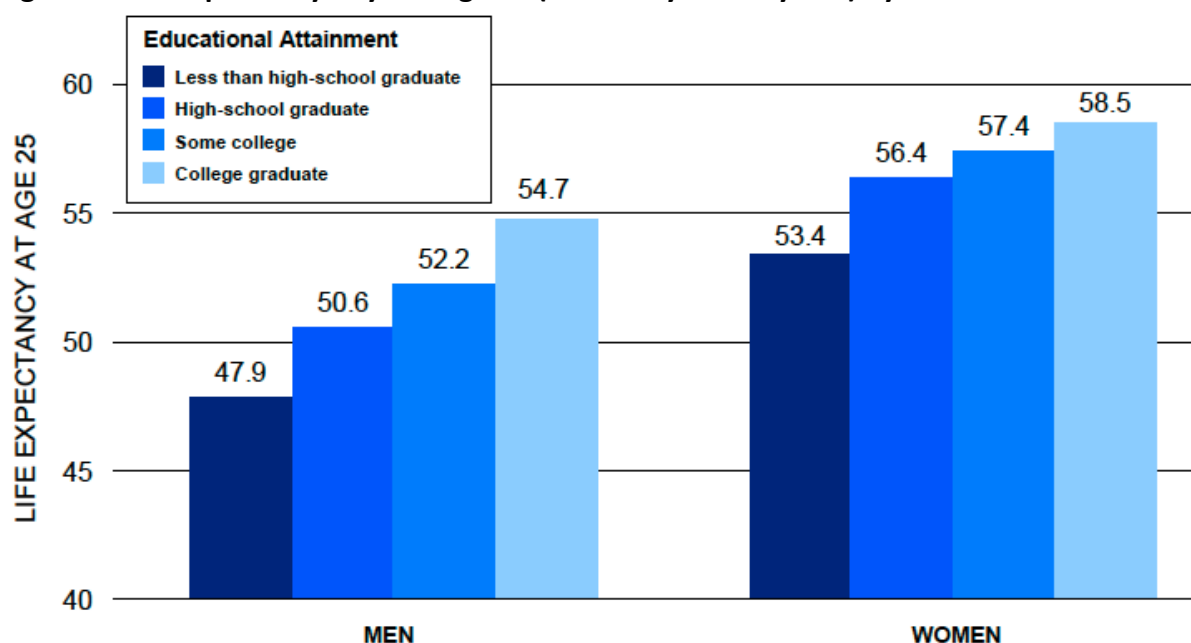
Census educational attainment varies greatly by race/ethnicity in Minnesota. As can be seen in Table 7, only 6% of the adult white population has not completed high school, compared to approximately 20% of the African American, Native American, and Asian adult populations and 36% of the Latino adult population. While only 11% of Native Americans, 14% of Latinos, and 18% of African Americans have Bachelor's degrees, 33% of the white population and 43% of the Asian population do. The seeming contradiction in the Asian population – large numbers of those who have not finished high school as well as large numbers who have finished college – may reflect different Asian populations living in the state.

Table 7. Educational Attainment in Minnesota by Race/Ethnicity⁶⁰

	White (%)	African American (%)	Native American (%)	Asian (%)	Latino (%)
Less than high school diploma	6	21	20	21	36
High school graduate, GED, or alternative	27	26	34	16	31
Some college or associate's degree	33	36	35	20	19
Bachelor's degree or higher	33	18	11	43	14

Figure 1 shows that men in the United States with a college degree can expect to live on average 6.8 years more than men who did not graduate from high school and women college graduates live on average 5.1 years more than women who did not graduate from high school.

Figure 1. Life Expectancy Beyond Age 25 (nationally and in years) by Educational Attainment⁶¹



Source: National Longitudinal Mortality Study, 1988-1998.

† This chart describes the number of years that adults in different education groups can expect to live beyond age 25. For example, a 25-year-old man with only a high-school diploma can expect to live 50.6 more years and reach an age of 75.6 years.

Because people with more education are likely to live longer and healthier lives, we researched broad indicators of health status of Minnesotans by county,⁶² and looked for any correlation with categories of school integration. Appendix D shows counties ranked from the best to the worst in terms of a composite health outcomes measure that combines mortality (how long people live) and morbidity (how healthy people feel) along with the representation from the different integration funding categories in each county. However, no clear patterns could be discerned. One potential reason for the lack of patterns is that health status may correlate with integration category at a much finer level than the county level; for example, this data would not reveal a correlation between an individual school that is segregated and poorer health outcomes of students and families at that school.

School Resources by Integration Category

Given that theories explaining how increasing racial diversity influences achievement focus on the school environment, the following shows how indicators related to teachers and schools are represented in the different integration categories.

Table 8 shows the majority of teachers in Minnesota schools are white, while Table 9 shows that there is a slight racial imbalance in the proportion of white and non-white teachers in racially identifiable schools and in isolated districts. There are slightly more non-white teachers in the schools and districts that are identifiable or isolated compared to the non-racially identifiable schools and districts, so the teachers are slightly more reflective of the increased

non-white student population. However, there are fewer teachers from non-white racial/ethnic groups represented in these schools and districts compared with the racial composition of the state's general population.

Table 8. Overall Racial/Ethnic Breakdown of Teachers in MN Schools (48,547 teachers in 1,601 schools)

		State population
White teachers	97%	83%
Black/African-American teachers	0.9%	5%
Hispanic/Latino teachers	0.9%	5%
Native American teachers	0.4%	1%

Table 9. Average Teacher Racial/Ethnic Composition by Integration Category

	Districts with racially identifiable schools		Isolated Districts and their Adjoining Districts	
	Other schools in the districts	Identifiable schools	Adjoining/Voluntary Districts	Isolated Districts
White teachers	98%	95%	97%	90%
Black/African American teachers	0.5%	2%	0.4%	3%
Hispanic/Latino teachers	0.5%	1%	0.8%	2%

Table 10 shows teacher characteristics by integration category of the schools/districts. The state average student-teacher ratio is 16; identifiable schools have fewer students per teacher. Average years of experience for all categories is similar to the state average, although teachers in racially identifiable schools have on average one less year of experience. There are slightly more teachers who have less than five years of teaching experience in racially identifiable schools compared with teachers in schools of all other integration categories, and compared to the state average. However, higher proportions of teachers in isolated districts and adjoining/voluntary districts have more than five years teaching experience than the state average. The last indicators of teacher quality (degree qualifications) do not reveal any obvious patterns by level of integration. Overall, the patterns for these indicators are not obvious.

Table 10. Averages for Teacher Characteristics by Integration Category

		Districts with racially identifiable schools		Isolated Districts and their Adjoining Districts	
	Statewide average	Other schools in the districts	Identifiable schools	Adjoining/Voluntary Districts	Isolated Districts
Student- Teacher Ratio	16 students to every teacher	17	11	17	16
Years Experience	14 years	15 years	13 years	14 years	14 years

Less than 5 years Experience	21%	15%	25%	18%	18%
Bachelors Degree (highest degree)	51%	38%	46%	44%	42%
Masters Degree (highest degree)	47%	61%	51%	55%	55%

To examine whether schools with different amounts of integration have different resources, district expenditures were analyzed.^g Table 11 shows district expenditures by a few of the different spending categories and in terms of total dollars and percents of total expenditures. Expenditures per student are less than the state average for all integration categories except for in the isolated districts, which have on average the highest spending per student relative to the other categories. Isolated districts also have the highest general fund expenditures.

Activities and athletics spending is intended to be a proxy for any differences in the extracurricular opportunities available to students by levels of integration. Districts in all integration categories spend considerably more than the state average.

Capital expenditures spending is intended to be a proxy for any differences in the school infrastructure by level of integration. Isolated districts spend the most in percentage terms. The other district types are all similar to each other and to the state average.

^g District expenditures are not necessarily an accurate indicator of school quality, a student's perception of school value, or equality in funding between schools. The costs of running a school can vary based on several factors that are unrelated to the school's quality. For example, staff salaries can vary based on cost of living.

Table 11. District Averages for Expenditures and Percent of Total Expenditures by Integration Category

	Integration District Types			
	With racially identifiable schools	Adjoining	Voluntary	Isolated
General Fund Operating Expenditures per Student (Statewide = \$10,115 per student)	\$9,927/ student	\$9,611/ student	\$9,542/ student	\$10,644/ student
General Fund Operating Expenditures (Statewide = \$16,888,837 / 95%)	\$62,116,781	\$33,112,170	\$55,483,972	\$72,290,796
	95%	95%	94%	92%
Activities and Athletics (Statewide = \$464,072 / 2.6%)	\$1,481,928	\$958,119	\$1,153,338	\$1,129,940
	3%	4%	2%	2%
Capital Expenditures (Statewide = \$897,610 / 5%)	\$2,815,398	\$1,427,973	\$3,531,807	\$2,603,303
	5%	5%	6%	8%

Disciplinary Incidents by Integration Category

Another measure of a school's environment is the level of disciplinary incidents. Disciplinary action can be a response to violence or disorder, but students can also be disciplined for non-violent incidents. Research has shown that school discipline is disproportionately directed at students of color for non-violent behaviors.^{63 64 65 66} Table 12 shows the disciplinary incidents by integration category. Districts with racially identifiable schools have far more disciplinary incidents per student than districts in other integration categories. Racially isolated districts have the next highest disciplinary incidents per student, and adjoining and voluntary districts have the least. This may be a sign of a greater amount of violence or disorder in districts with racially identifiable schools, or it may be a sign of nonviolent behaviors or even teacher bias in how students are disciplined.

Table 12. District Average Number of Disciplinary Incidents per Student by Integration Category

	Statewide	Integration District Types			
		With racially identifiable schools (n=17)	Adjoining (n=45)	Voluntary (n=6)	Isolated (n=22)
Total Disciplinary Incidents (of all types) Per Student	0.17	2.4	0.04	0.03	0.12

2.2.3 PREDICTED IMPACTS OF SCHOOL INTEGRATION ON EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT, HEALTH AND EQUITY

The Stakeholder Panel came to consensus on the impacts described below. These findings are supported by HIP's understanding of existing conditions and the research literature.

Educational achievement is a highly important issue for Minnesotans. Significant inequities have resulted from policies and practices that have led to persistent segregation and discrimination in education.

Strong evidence supports the finding that school integration can lead to improved educational achievement among children of color when integration is implemented well.^h

There is also strong evidence that increased educational achievement leads to: longer lifespan and reduced mortality; improved health behaviors (e.g., increased exercise, better nutrition, timely health care check-ups); increased access to benefits (e.g., health insurance, sick leave); reduced overweight and obesity; reduced stress; higher income, which results in many positive health outcomes (e.g., lifespan); better housing, which also results in improved health (e.g., reduced asthma). Many of these health issues are severe in that they impact life expectancy and daily function. Many of these issues are also permanent and, as children grow up to become adults, the health benefits or impacts will continue to manifest.

^h It is important to note that while there is significant evidence supporting the finding that children of color on average perform better in integrated schools, many scholars and community members question the benefits of integration and other aspects of civil rights efforts based on a Critical Race Theory perspective and their own lived experience. This view contends that desegregation has not succeeded: the actions of many white people have continued to ensure that schools are not integrated (e.g., by leaving schools that make progress toward integration, by fighting school administrations and boards that attempt to make significant policy change, and through continued housing segregation); more than 50 years after *Brown v Board of Education*, there are still very significant gaps in many measures of school achievement; and integrated schools often only poorly serve children of color (as demonstrated, for example by high rates of suspension, expulsion, and drop-out among children of color). Based on this, some argue that policies should prioritize improving the quality of education for children of color in any and all schools over integration. Under integration, they argue, people of color must make all sacrifices (e.g., by being bused into white communities; whites in many areas around the country resist being bused into communities of color) and whites retain full power and control over the schools. They believe that, fundamentally, the inequitable distribution of resources between schools needs to be addressed but that, since this requires sacrifice on the part of those in power, this is very difficult to achieve.

Several of the stakeholders involved in this HIA identified with these perspectives and articulated their internal tension and tension in their communities between these views and the view that integration is an important tool in reaching educational equity and improving cross-race relations. In the end, all the stakeholders came down on the side of believing in the benefits of integration but felt that it was only one of many policies needed to ensure educational equity. They also expressed the concern, however, that integration could be used as an excuse to dismantle successful schools primarily serving children of color and that this must not be done.

The HIA authors acknowledge that this is a very brief description of a very complex topic and very nuanced discussions that took place during the course of the HIA process.

A large number of children will be impacted by changes in educational achievement that result from integration. Children of color, of which there are currently approximately 220,000 enrolled in Minnesota public schools, will be directly impacted.

Demographic changes described above – specifically the predicted increase in the number of children of color in Minnesota public schools – indicate that increases in integration funding and in funding for other programs that are targeted toward achieving educational equity for children of color would be needed to even maintain the *status quo*. The approximately \$100M currently allocated to integration will be insufficient to support the changes these demographic trends will necessitate.

If HF0247/SF0711 is not passed, educational achievement is likely to decrease because existing programs (e.g., Advancement Via Individual Determination, also known as AVID) will lose funding. This would have negative effects on the health outcomes listed above.

If HF0247/SF0711 as proposed is passed into law, educational achievement would likely remain similar to today's levels. HF0247/SF0711 as proposed requires districts to annually report on at least one of several metrics. Those potential metrics include proficiency in reading or mathematics and therefore it is possible (and likely) that progress toward integration and closing the achievement and opportunity gap would be judged solely on test results. This would not support whole child development and it is likely that children of color would not thrive under such conditions. A more holistic approach to child development and education equity would yield better impacts.

Because achievement levels would remain the same if HF0247/SF0711 as proposed is passed into law, health impacts (listed above) are very likely to also remain similar to current levels. While these outcomes are better than if the bill does not pass, it is clear that more can be done to improve educational achievement and health.

If HF0247/SF0711 is amended slightly so that progress toward integration and achievement is measured more holistically (see recommendations in Section 3) and then passed into law, educational achievement would likely be slightly improved over today's levels and the health impacts (listed above) are also very likely to improve.

HF0247/SF0711 is only one component of building an equitable education system. *If the bill is passed and other policies that fully support children of color in integrated schools (see recommendations in Section 3) were also to be implemented*, educational achievement would be very likely to increase significantly. The education literature contains extensive evidence-based research regarding changes that must be implemented to achieve educational equity. If these policies were fully implemented, the health outcomes listed above would very likely improve.

2.3 IMPACTS OF SCHOOL INTEGRATION ON CROSS-RACIAL CONNECTION, HEALTH, AND EQUITY

2.3.1 LITERATURE REVIEW

Impact of Cross-Racial Connection on Health

There is a significant amount of literature that shows that school integration can have a positive impact on health through improved cross-race connection.

Much of the research on this topic is based on Intergroup Contact Theory, as described by Allport in 1954.⁶⁷ Allport's theory and a significant body of subsequent research⁶⁸ indicate that increased interactions between groups (e.g., people of different racial/ethnic backgrounds) can improve relations and decrease prejudice if appropriate conditions are in place. Those conditions include that: both groups have equal status in the relationship; they share common goals; there is cross-group cooperation; and the interaction is supported by an authority that both groups recognize. Without those conditions, relations may not improve and may worsen.

Evidence from studies of school integration is generally in agreement that integration has: increased students' exposure to others of different racial background than them; improved students' cross-racial understanding and racial attitudes; and made it more likely that students befriend others of a different race/ethnicity.^{69 70 71 72 73 74}

More specifically, significant research shows that cross-race interaction reduces stereotyping and increases comfort with other races.⁷⁵ A 2006 meta-analysis of over 500 studies found that increased interaction among different groups is associated with lower levels of intergroup prejudice in children, adolescents, and adults.⁷⁶ The analysis shows that experiences with individual members of other groups can lead to more positive attitudes toward members of those groups as a whole. Education has an important role in reducing stereotypes, as implicit biases can become entrenched as youth move into adulthood and studies have shown that integrated schools can reduce such biases.^{77 78} The meta-analysis and further research^{79 80} described above indicates that the positive outcomes of inter-racial contact in schools are especially likely when Allport's conditions (described above) are met.

This reduction in prejudice, which is mediated through reduced anxiety toward, increased knowledge of, and increased empathy toward other groups,⁸¹ has benefits for both white populations and populations of color. White students report that integrated schools prepared them to work and participate in public life in multiracial settings.⁸² Increased positive racial attitudes as a result of school integration are carried throughout the life course,⁸³ and result in greater adult comfort in multiracial settings and a greater likelihood that those people will place themselves into those settings.⁸⁴ Racism has multiple negative health impacts for people of color, including negative mental health outcomes (e.g., emotional distress, depression, anxiety), negative physical health outcomes (e.g., high blood pressure, low birth weight births) and adverse health-related behaviors (e.g., smoking, alcohol use).⁸⁵

Research also indicates that cross-race interactions in school can lead to cross-race friendships⁸⁶ and that such friendships improve social health as measured by, for example, higher levels of acceptance, pro-social behavior (i.e., helping, sharing, co-operating), leadership skills, decreases in peer victimization (i.e., being the target of aggressive behavior), externalizing adjustment problems, and internalizing adjustment problems.^{87 88 89 90 91}

Finally, limited research indicates that crime rates overall, and homicide victimization, homicide offense,⁹² and incarceration rates for black students,⁹³ decreased in the years following court-ordered school desegregation. One study found that, seven years after court-ordered desegregation, police spending decreased as a result of lowered youth crime rates.⁹⁴ These impacts are likely to occur through several mechanisms. Lower crime levels have multiple direct and indirect benefits for health.

2.3.2 SCHOOL INTEGRATION AND CROSS-RACIAL CONNECTION IN MINNESOTA – CURRENT CONDITIONS

The amount of race-based bullying going on in a school or district may tell us something about the quality of cross-racial understanding. We used a question about this from the MN Student Survey as a proxy measure of cross-racial connection, which is a difficult concept to measure, especially with secondary data. Table 13 shows the percent of people by integration category that responded that all/most or some/few students in their school have made fun of or threatened students of different races or backgrounds. All district types are higher than the state average for both levels of bullying. Isolated districts have the most students responding that all or most students engage in race-based bullying, followed by adjoining districts and then districts with identifiable schools. Voluntary districts have the most students who say that some or few students engage in bullying, followed by isolated districts, districts with identifiable schools and then adjoining districts. Despite the differences between these districts types and the state average and each other, there does not appear to be a clear pattern in these figures.

Table 13. District Average MN Student Survey Bullying Responses by Integration Category

		Integration District Types			
		With Identifiable Schools	Adjoining	Voluntary	Isolated
How many students in your school have made fun of or threatened students of different races or backgrounds?	All/ Most % (Statewide = 6)	12%	13%	9%	14%
	Some/ Few % (Statewide = 36)	70%	69%	78%	71%

Mental Health Status

As noted above, negative mental health outcomes are associated with racism and prejudice. An available measure of student mental health is the number of students who feel nervous, worried, or upset most or all of the time. Table 14 shows that students of color feel nervous, worried or upset at higher levels than white students.

Table 14. Percent who feel nervous, worried or upset “all of the time” or “most of the time” during the last 30 days, 2010.

	Percent who feel nervous, worried or upset “all of the time” or “most of the time” during the last 30 days
White students	12%
Black/African American students	20%
Hispanic/Latino students	21%
Asian	17%
American Indian students	21%

Source: Center for Health Statistics, Division of Health Policy, Minnesota Department of Health. The Health and Well-Being of Minnesota’s Adolescents of Color: A Data Book (2012).

2.3.3 PREDICTED IMPACTS OF SCHOOL INTEGRATION ON CROSS-RACIAL CONNECTION, HEALTH AND EQUITY

The Stakeholder Panel came to consensus around the predicted impacts of school integration on cross-racial connection, health, and equity described in this section. These findings are supported by HIP’s understanding of existing conditions and the research literature.

Cross-racial and cross-cultural connection is a highly important issue for Minnesotans. Significant inequities have resulted from past structural inequities, segregation, and discrimination in cross-racial connection.

Strong evidence supports the finding that, when implemented well (e.g., when Allport’s four conditions are in place), school integration leads to better cross-racial connection among all children in both the short and long term.

As described in Section 2.3.1 above, there is also strong evidence that the health impacts associated with better cross-race understanding include: reduced mental health problems (e.g., anxiety, depression, stress), trauma (physical and mental), and harmful health behaviors (e.g., smoking) as well as improved physical health (e.g., high blood pressure, reduced low birth weight births) and social health (e.g., sharing, cooperation, comfort in multiracial settings). Many of these health issues are severe in that they impact life expectancy and daily function (e.g., anxiety impacts many aspects of our lives negatively). Many of these issues are also permanent and, as children grow up to become adults, the health benefits or impacts will continue to manifest.

A large number of children – all 840,000 children in the Minnesota public schools – will be impacted by changes in cross-racial connection that result from integration. Children of color will benefit from reduced racism and prejudice as a result of increased empathy and reduced anxiety toward them. White children will benefit from greater comfort in multiracial settings such as work places.

If HF0247/SF0711 is not passed, cross-race connection is likely to decrease because existing programs will lose funding. This would have negative effects on the health outcomes listed above.

If HF0247/SF0711 as proposed is passed into law, cross-racial connection would likely remain similar to today's levels. As a result, health impacts (listed above) are very likely to also remain similar to current levels. While these outcomes are better than if the bill does not pass, it is clear that more can be done to improve educational achievement and health; children of color could gain from additional supports they need to thrive in integrated schools.

If HF0247/SF0711 is passed and other policies that fully support children of color in integrated schools were also to be implemented, cross-race and cross-culture connection would be very likely to increase significantly. The literature contains extensive evidence-based research regarding changes that must be implemented to achieve improved cross-racial understanding. If these policies were fully implemented, the health outcomes listed above would very likely improve.

3 Recommendations

Before presenting recommendations resulting from this HIA analysis, we must first emphasize that school integration funding is just one component of achieving an equitable education system in Minnesota. The Intercultural Development Research Association has developed six important goals of education equity, and reaching these goals will involve a level of commitment beyond school integration funding. The six goals are:

- Equitable access and inclusion
- Equitable treatment
- Equitable opportunity to learn
- Equitable resource distribution
- Equitable achievement and outcomes
- Shared accountability⁹⁵

These priority goals of an equitable education system have been embraced within a forthcoming community-driven tool for Minnesota, the *Education Equity Rubric*, along with an accompanying process for measuring institutional policies and practices and holding them to a standard of equity. This process, developed by the Organizing Apprenticeship Project with participation by several collaborating agencies in Minnesota, intends to use the six criteria listed above for identifying existing disparities, developing solutions, and assessing equity practices – all with the goal of creating transformative school change. For the 2013-14 school year, select districts and schools in areas representative of Minnesota schools – urban, suburban, and Greater Minnesota – will have the opportunity to pilot this process and the rubric.

With this broader context in mind, and based on this HIA analysis, authors of this HIA and the Stakeholder Panel developed and/or prioritized the following recommendations.

Recommendations demarcated with an “” were developed following the second Stakeholder Panel meeting held in March 2013. These additional recommendations were later approved by a majority of Stakeholder Panelists.*

1. The *Minnesota legislature and governor* should:

- A. Continue and strengthen Integration Funding within and outside of bill HF0247/SF0711.
 - i. Make education equity the central goal and recognize that integration is a necessary yet not sufficient tool toward opportunity and achievement.
 - ii. Define integration holistically to include having children of differing races, ethnicities, and cultures together in schools and classrooms and supported by the policies and programs needed to achieve equity in education, not simply as having a racial/ethnic balance in school districts. Additional policies include those related to: equitable access and inclusion, equitable treatment, equitable opportunity to learn, equitable resource distribution, equitable achievement and outcomes, and shared accountability.
- B. Amend HF0247/SF0711 so that public reports about progress on plans include all of the progress measures described rather than just “one or more.” This will help ensure a more holistic definition of progress on integration plans and not allow one-dimensional definitions of progress. Specifically, amend the bill as introduced by removing the words “one or more” in section 1, subdivision 3, part b (lines 3.3 and 3.4).
- C. Focus future efforts toward educational equity on regional solutions:
 - i. Establish a Work Group to study the feasibility and merit of creating a metro-wide integration district;
 - ii. Strengthen governance of integration collaboratives so those collaboratives are accountable to integration goals, not to desires of individual districts; and
 - iii. Coordinate with the Metropolitan Council on issues related to housing and planning in order to achieve more integration.
- D. In future years, increase funding available for school integration to account for increases in the number of children of color in public schools around the state.*

2. The *Minnesota Department of Education* should:

- A. Change the desegregation rule so that it:
 - i. Defines intentional discrimination accurately and broadly in terms of:
 - Attendance zone boundaries;
 - Staffing assignments; and
 - Transfer policies.
 - ii. Is binding and if it is not obeyed, state aid is reduced;
 - iii. Subjects Open Enrollment to an approved desegregation plan at a regional level;
 - iv. Clarifies the governance structure of suburban integration districts;
 - v. Requires districts, schools, and classrooms to be integrated, allowing exceptions only for particular districts in central cities; and

- vi. Establishes criteria for desegregation plans and provides a model/template desegregation plan.
- B. Increase staffing in the integration department beyond the current single staff person assigned to it.
- C. Create a panel of state and national experts from diverse disciplines (e.g., civil rights, education, health) to support, review, and oversee implementation of integration plans submitted by school districts against a well-defined set of criteria developed by MDE in conjunction with the panel.
- D. Modify the Adequate Yearly Progress (AYP) program so that it addresses educational equity broadly; train AYP staff on equity, Critical Race Theory, and cultural competence.
- E. Train all MDE staff on educational equity practices and cultural competence and apply that training by using a racial equity lens in all department work (e.g., review curriculum standards through an equity lens).
- F. Release funding to districts throughout the year based on progress toward stated goals related to integration rather than all at once before the school year begins.
- G. Require equity audits by school districts receiving integration funding of the factors that determine teacher and school quality (e.g., salary, experience, teacher diversity and cultural competency training, extracurricular activities) and require districts to use the results to create a more equitable distribution of those factors within the district (e.g., by shifting staff and/or creating incentives for teachers).
- H. Identify promising integration practices implemented by school districts around the state and regularly disseminate this information to all participating districts.*
- I. The Commissioner's office should coordinate with other commissioners in the Children's Cabinet to create a joint report about the impact of school integration on healthy youth development in Minnesota.

3. *Schools, districts, and community* should:

- A. Require whole school educational equity and cultural competency trainings at all schools. MDE and/or districts develop this training based on existing models (e.g., from Indiana University). This training should include reviews of relevant local data (e.g., data related to the school discipline referrals disaggregated by race) as well as successful case studies and best practices.
- B. Create a school support mechanism in the community through a community-school engagement and awareness program. Parents and existing organizations should participate in this program to share with the schools the onus of addressing issues of integration, race, and equity. These programs could emulate the "Seeds of Compassion" and an "Adopt a school" program and create opportunities for connection between school and community.
- C. Analyze and address the equity impacts of current and future attendance boundaries, school siting/closures decisions, and magnet schools.*
- D. Place priority on hiring teachers that have been trained on teaching diverse students. Such teachers, for example, should have: practical training experiences in communities/cultures different from their own; interest in teaching students different from themselves; coursework on racism and privilege.*

- E. Monitor the tracking of students by ability level/special education referrals (keep track of whether tracking by ability level leads to racial segregation); ensure that the strongest teachers teach all tracks, not just the track with the most advanced curriculum; and define giftedness using a broader range of abilities. If tracking leads to racial segregation, consider eliminating it altogether.*
- F. Use instructional practices and curricula that promote positive interactions among students of different races/ethnicities in the context of cooperative, equal status activities as well as programs specifically aimed at improving intergroup relationships and reducing prejudice.*
- G. Encourage participation in extracurricular activities by all students and ensure that family resources are not a barrier to participation; monitor membership in extracurricular activities and encourage underrepresented groups to participate.*
- H. During the curriculum review cycle at the district level, ensure educational materials in literacy, mathematics, and social studies at a minimum include fair and accurate representation of different races and ethnic groups (including multiracial characters) and the roles they play in our and other societies; ensure materials explicitly address racism and race relations.*
- I. Encourage the development of racial/ethnic identity of students; practice cultural pluralism rather than assimilation.*

4 Discussion and Conclusion

Discussion

In this analysis we focus on the goal of “education equity” to describe the value that all students deserve equal opportunities for an outstanding education.

Some argue that racial integration is not a prerequisite to achieving education equity. They consider a good school that primarily serves students of one racial/ethnic group to be beneficial for those students if it can encourage the development of the racial/ethnic identity of students at the same time as promoting academic excellence. Examples of such schools exist both in the Twin Cities and elsewhere in the United States and we recognize the successes they have achieved.

However, from before *Brown v. Board of Education* until today, it has been impossible to achieve “separate but equal” schools in this country. While school integration is challenging, the vast majority of segregated schools have not served communities of color well. Successful examples of schools that serve children of one racial/ethnic background well are important, but according to Stakeholder Panelists participating in this HIA, they are few and far between in Minnesota and other places. Until we as a society understand how to reproducibly create such schools and make them the norm rather than the exception, it is vital that we continue to pursue integrative strategies.

In addition, despite the success of such schools, we note that the benefits of cross-racial connection and understanding described in Section 2.3 would not be realized were all our children educated in segregated schools. Our country is becoming increasingly diverse and the

importance of cross-racial understanding will only become more important over the coming decades.

Non-integrated schools may play an important role for many children and be positive and formative experiences. In particular, they may better support the development of students' racial/ethnic identities. However, such supportive environments need to be made available in all our schools so that all students can benefit from learning in an integrated environment. Through teaching curricula, education materials, involvement of parents, counseling that supports race/ethnicity and gender identity, diversification of school staff and other strategies, such environments are achievable. Integrated schools that transform the mainstream rather than assimilate must be our goal.

Conclusion

Those involved in this Health Impact Assessment and many others in Minnesota value equity in education and in health and believe the evidence indicates that the two are inextricably linked. Our research finds that racial integration of schools in the state is an important tool for achieving such equity.

The passage of HF0247/SF0711 is vital to maintaining and improving the programs, plans, and policies currently in place that support school integration and, through its benefits to school achievement and cross-race understanding, benefit health outcomes for all children in Minnesota. The costs associated with HF0247/SF0711 are quite small when compared with the overall budget for education and the bill represents an opportunity to correct a long history of segregation in the state. For these reasons, school integration is an important program to support at this point in time and it is hard to imagine a more important use of our education dollars. If the bill were not to pass, many important programs would lose support and this would have significant negative impacts on integration, school achievement, cross-race connection and, ultimately, on health.

Slight amendments to the bill so that progress toward integration and achievement is measured more holistically (see recommendations above), along with an increase in funding for school integration, would result in improved health outcomes. An increase in funding is particularly important because the population of color in the state will be increasing dramatically over the coming years and integration programs and plans will need additional support. The amended bill would put MDE in a position to implement and monitor better practices with respect to school integration and educational equity.

HF0247/SF0711 is only one component of building an equitable education system. If the bill is passed and other policies that fully support children of color in integrated schools were also to be implemented, educational achievement and cross-racial connection would be very likely to increase significantly. The literature contains extensive evidence-based research regarding changes that must be implemented to achieve educational equity. If these policies were fully implemented, health outcomes for all of Minnesota's children would improve.

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Appendix A.

Goals of Rapid HIA of School Integration Legislation

1. **Define integration** and what needs to be in place to support it, while acknowledging historical harms.
2. **Describe the current state of school integration** in Minnesota as well as the range of impacts of school integration on the health (including physical, mental and social well-being) of students, school staff, families, and communities.
3. **Develop and disseminate recommendations** to improve current and proposed school integration policies so that education, health and well-being outcomes for children and communities of all races/ethnicities are improved and are equitable.
4. **Inform the 2013 legislative processes** about the health impacts of school integration by building public awareness and raising awareness among legislators.
5. **Use the power of this political opportunity** to explore the root causes of racism and the drivers of de-facto segregation (behavioral economics, white choice).
6. **Unmask (for policy makers) how inequity continues through public policy**, and how inequity can be addressed through public policy.
7. **Explore the non-educational attainment benefits of integration** that also honor the value of all cultures.

Appendix B.
History of Desegregation in Minneapolis Public Schools

History of Desegregation in MPS

1970	
State of Minnesota sets 30% as maximum number of students of color in schools.	
Two candidates elected to Board of Education by positioning themselves as anti-busing candidates.	Opposition emerges as district shifts from a focus on schools with high numbers of students of color to thinking about the implications of racial isolation for all schools.
<p>New Human Relations Guidelines adopted to respond to obvious community racism and increasing minority percentages:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Unrepresentative school defined as one with two times the district average of students of color, as well as a significant portion of its student body not meeting acceptable standards for achievement. ❖ Commits the district to boundary changes, paired schools, magnet programs as means to reduce racial isolation. ❖ Recommends decentralized administration ❖ Intensifies use of voluntary urban transfer program. <p>Central Magnet Program established to improve educational programs and attract White students to Central.</p> <p>Southeast Alternatives Program proposed with federal Experimental Schools Program monies.</p> <p>Pratt-Motley and Hale-Field pairing proposed.</p>	<p>Demonstrates a strong commitment to change.</p> <p>This is the first magnet program in Minneapolis.</p> <p>The Southeast Alternatives Program will ultimately serve as a model for alternative choices, which are the backbone of our present choice system to support desegregation.</p>
Ulvog Anti-pairing suit filed. District wins decision.	
State finds 17 schools out of compliance.	John B. Davis asserts need to counteract de facto desegregation.

History of Desegregation in MPS

1971	
(July) Board member Harry Davis calls for a comprehensive desegregation plan.	13% students of color.
(August) Booker, et. al. Files a suit charging that Minneapolis Public Schools are segregated. Suit is supported by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Committee for Integrated Education. Case goes to Judge Larson.	
Dr. John B. Davis raises issues related to interdistrict and desegregation suggests two-way busing with Golden Valley and Robbinsdale as a remedy.	Developing the plan shows the district's commitment to desegregation whatever the outcome of the court decision.
District develops first comprehensive Desegregation/Integration Plan prior to hearing Judge Larson's decision.	
Hale-Field paired schools busing begins.	
Southeast Alternatives Program implemented with Marcy (Open), Pratt and Motley (Continuous Progress), Tuttle (Contemporary), Free School (K-12), Marshall-University Junior –Senior High.	

History of Desegregation in MPS

1972	
<p>(April) The Desegregation/Integration Plan proposed:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Elementary: alternatives, better buildings, paired schools, school clusters ❖ Secondary: Boundary changes, grade reorganization, continuation of the Central Magnet program and the development of a magnet program at North and an Accelerated Program at Franklin ❖ Other: Dr. Davis calls upon stakeholders to develop innovative programs, as long as economically feasible and racially balanced. <p>Hale-Field paired.</p>	<p>15.9% students of color.</p> <p>Although it was a long-range goal, the district did not plan to desegregate all schools under the 1972 plan. Guidelines for the plan included: low expenditure, no cross-town busing, no dispersal of minority students in small numbers, changing attendance areas in ways that affected whole neighborhoods, involving adjoining schools whenever possible, integrate socio-economically, eliminating overcrowding, committing to extended day and community education programs, and providing adequate time to plan for changes for all stakeholders.</p>
<p>(May 24, 1972) Judge Larson declares district to be “permanently enjoined from discriminating on the basis of race and national origin.” Findings include:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Direction against discriminatory assignment of teachers and students. ❖ Notes that small schools were located in White neighborhoods, limiting space for students of color, while large schools were located in minority neighborhoods making it more difficult to disperse students to prevent racial isolation. ❖ Notes that minority teachers were assigned to schools in core city with large numbers of students of color. ❖ One key argument in the conclusions of Judge Larson is that Board of Education members admitted that public pressure kept them from desegregating schools. 	<p>The district was under court order for the next 11 years.</p> <p>Court sets limit of 35% minority enrollment in any school.</p>
<p>(August) Administrators vow support for desegregation /integration plan as the “right thing to do.”</p>	

History of Desegregation in MPS

1972-76	
A variety of other activities occur in the next four years to facilitate desegregation/integration, including: administrative decentralization into three areas, a Task Force on Racism, hiring of additional staff, students/staff workshops, a Task Force on Ethnic Studies, and expansion of the Southeast Alternatives Program approach throughout the district, including a fundamentals program.	
1973	
First movement of students for desegregation under court order.	
1976	
Andersen, Wilder and North Star complexes open.	23% students of color.
1977	
Court orders 35/42% formula.	Requires revised plan.

History of Desegregation in MPS

1978	
District has 6 Limited English Proficiency Centers. 17 schools out of compliance.	26% students of color. Concentrates services for LEP students, helps desegregate schools with high majority numbers.
Desegregation/Integration Plan: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Sets maximum percentage of students of color at 39% for single minority, 46% total minority. ❖ Adds school choice as a desegregation tool ❖ Institutes "controlled enrollment" which gave principals the power to turn away students whose enrollment would result in noncompliance. ❖ Closes 6 elementary schools, 3 junior highs ❖ Initiates the HEN¹⁹ program with Henry, Edison and North. 	The 1978 plan meets with public opposition because parents want predictability and stability.
1980	
Judge Larson orders revisions to 1978 plan to include equitable controlled enrollment. This revision includes 30 schools in two-way controlled enrollment. Larson extends deadline for new plan to accommodate long-range planning.	31% students of color. In addition, issues of equity are raised because more students of color are being bused. In 1980, 96% of the students denied registration in a particular school because of space or racial balance are students of color.
Long-range planning calls for action in 13 areas of concern. The first area to be considered is Desegregation/Integration.	In 1980-81, 82% of students involved in controlled enrollment are students of color.
Administrative Committee for Desegregation established. The committee is charged with creating a plan which would result in release from the court order: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ The plan would incorporate all schools. ❖ The plan would be integrated with the facilities planning. 	A fiscal crisis, declining enrollment and the past decade of instability in the schools result in a crisis of confidence in the schools. Long-range planning is initiated to restore confidence and financial stability.

¹⁹ The HEN program required that a percentage of students switch attendance to Henry, Edison or North High Schools every trimester.

History of Desegregation in MPS

1982	
<p>Second Desegregation/Integration Plan, 1982-87:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none">❖ Closes 18 schools at estimated savings of \$4 million per year.❖ Opens with new programs in 13 schools.❖ Inserts a “floor” as well as addition of a ceiling in terms percentage of students of color allowable in each school.❖ Closes 3 junior highs, changes boundaries to provide for 7-8 grade configuration.❖ Keeps K-6 configuration for elementary schools, but in K-3/4-6 form unless schools are naturally desegregated, or geographically isolated and hard to pair.❖ Remaining high schools reorganized as 9-12s with enhanced curriculum (full math sequence, at least two world languages, full science sequence), four high schools get magnets (Business and Service Occupations, Academy of Finance at Edison; Radio Broadcasting, Summatech, Advance Technical, Visual and Performing Arts at North; Automotive at Roosevelt). Edison and North desegregated by program with 9-11th graders required to attend both schools each year.	<p>34.8% students of color; 4% students are in Limited English Proficiency Program (LEP).</p> <p>Downsizing facilities was necessary to deal with finance, and increased excellence issues.</p> <p>The 1982-87 plan stresses equity (in transportation and assignments), excellence (high quality programs at all schools), stability (grade organizations and program offering would stay the same), and predictability (attendance areas would remain constant).</p> <p>Edison/North desegregation component is controversial and not favored by Booker Plaintiffs.</p> <p>As part of the planning, the Board of Education adopts a new statement committing them to integrated, quality education for all students.</p> <p>Under the 1982-87 plan, racially balanced enrollments are easier to maintain, freeing administrators to concentrate on educational excellence.</p>

History of Desegregation in MPS

1983	
<p>June 8, Jude Larson releases district from court order to state.</p> <p>The State of Minnesota is now responsible for requiring compliance. The district court orders “no schools would have more than 15% enrollment of students of color above the district average for the grade levels served by the school and that all schools be involved in the effort.” The district’s actions exceed these guidelines by including the 15% minimum as well as the state 15% maximum to ensure diversity in all schools.</p>	<p>Plaintiffs express fear that release from the order is inappropriate since a future school board might be pressured by the community to return to neighborhood schools.</p>
1986	
<p>Programmatic desegregation at North and Edison ends in favor of closing new North to students of color and Edison to White students if they arrive after allowable percentages reached.</p>	<p>42.5% students of color.</p>
<p>The Central Placement and Assessment Center (now called the Student Placement Center) is established at Lehmann Center. The Central Placement and Assessment Center facilitates a desegregation strategy of allotting spaces in schools per majority/minority percentages in order to comply with desegregation guidelines.</p>	<p>The Welcome Center is charged with placing students in elementary schools so that desegregation guidelines are followed, while allowing as much choice for families as possible. In addition, the Center provides initial assessments of achievement levels for school staff. The Center also places all Limited English Proficiency program students.</p>
<p>District conducts survey: Opinions of Parents of Elementary Children about Minneapolis Public Schools Educational Programs. Study reports that program choice is very important.</p> <p>Two new magnet schools open in buildings that had been closed, Longfellow International/Fine Arts and Willard Math/Science/Technology.</p> <p>Putnam’s students move to Sheridan for 4-6.</p> <p>Montessori program expands: Hall opens and Southside program moves to Northrop.</p>	<p>The rationale for opening up the first elementary curriculum-themed magnet schools is to provide additional educational choice and to avoid boundary changes. (It should be noted that what we call “programs of choice” are generally thought of as magnet schools in other parts of the country.)</p>

History of Desegregation in MPS

1987	
Executive Briefing on Desegregation/Integration and parental choice presented to Mayor Don Fraser and City Council. An overview of desegregation issues and the various factors that could constrain parental choice are discussed.	By 1987, the 1982-87 Plan is under fire from the community. The limits on parental choice imposed by the + or – 15% and increasing popularity of elementary magnets and K-6 and K-8 schools make school choice a controversial issue in the city.
Administrators Conference focuses on the educational progress made during the 1982-87 Five Year Plan, including consistent standards for achievement, more than three dozen benchmark assessments, a citywide discipline policy, programs for gifted and talented students in every school, remediation services, curriculum outcomes for all grades and subjects, stronger secondary curriculum, gains in achievement, multicultural curriculum gains, etc.	
Dowling opens as first Urban Environmental Magnet.	
1988	
Minnesota Department of Education initiates metro area Quadrant meetings. Dr. Robert Ferrera meets with Southwest Quadrant (Minneapolis, Bloomington, Eden Prairie, Edina, Hopkins, Richfield and St. Louis Park). Group agrees that options should be voluntary, two-way, student and teacher exchanges.	47.4% students of color. Minneapolis Citizens Committee on Public Education recommends metropolitan desegregation.
I.B. Program started at Henry, Southwest, Washburn and Roosevelt.	Citizens League of Minneapolis recommends redrawing metro area school district boundaries to desegregate.

History of Desegregation in MPS

1989

Program Council Steering Committee on Parental Choice and Desegregation/Integration completes recommendations that would result in 100% parental choice. Board of Education does not accept the recommendations because they rely on the premise that people would be happy to choose programs unrelated to location. Super Steering Committee, comprised of representatives from district-wide planning committees, recommended that certain elementary magnet programs be replicated, that existing elementary magnets be expanded and that elementary attendance areas be eliminated.

The Program Council Steering Committee hears from Program Councils representing each alternative and elementary learning center. Program Councils address: clarity of program description, integrity of program, level of demand, expertise of staff needed, facilities needs, success with outcomes, usefulness for desegregation, and recommendations for change.

The Secondary Magnet Steering Committee, having the same role as the above, addresses: purpose (enrichment, desegregation, retaining city students), limitations, and objectives (achievable, measurable).

1990

The Board expands choice options by:

- ❖ Moving Longfellow International/Fine Arts to Ramsey, expanding enrollment.
- ❖ Reopening Windom School as an open program alternative.
- ❖ Opening a Southside math/science/technology elementary magnet in the Wilder complex.

International Studies Magnet at Washburn initiated.

International Baccalaureate program is redesigned as a magnet at Southwest and Henry, (eliminating IB programs at Roosevelt and Washburn), and expanded to include pre-IB programs at Northeast and Anwatun.

The former Visual and Performing Arts, Radio Broadcasting, and Advance Technical Magnets at North are configured as one magnet called Arts and Communications.

52.2% students of color.

Metro Learning Alliance opens program for 11th and 12th graders at Mall of America (Minneapolis, St. Paul, Bloomington, Richfield, St. Louis Park).

Legislature funds two-year planning effort for pilot projects that would result in interdistrict desegregation involving St. Paul and Minneapolis and one or more adjacent suburbs. Minneapolis forms Cooperative Interdistrict Integration Project (CIIP) with Brooklyn Center, Columbia Heights, Edina, Hopkins, Richfield, Robbinsdale, St. Anthony/New Brighton, and St. Louis Park..

League of Women Voters endorses metropolitan desegregation.

History of Desegregation in MPS

1991	
<p>District expands options to meet space needs due to enrollment growth and lower class sizes mandated by the Better Schools Referendum, which passed in fall 1990.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Opens Four Winds, a K-8 American Indian and French Language School. ❖ Opens Pillsbury Math/Science/Technology (K-6). ❖ Expands Southside Montessori at Seward School. ❖ Opens Ann Sullivan as K-8 continuous progress. ❖ Opens Northrop Environmental Learning Center K-6. ❖ Opens three new early education centers at McKnight, Children's Academy North, and Bottineau, all in leased space. 	<p>The district anticipates that it will be difficult to racially balance classes at Four Winds. Variance sought from state. School is allowed to be 15% out of compliance in 1991-92; 10% in 1992-93; and 5% in 1993-94.</p>
<p>School Board joins other districts involved in Cooperative Interdistrict Integration Project to approve guidelines developed for voluntary, two-way, full-time student exchanges for purposes of desegregation.</p>	
<p>District initiates Afrocentric Academy, a part-time program for 7-8th graders from Lincoln and Franklin Schools where students learn in an Afrocentric style.</p>	<p>State Department of Education challenges concept of Academy as a one-race school. District argues successfully that the Academy is a part-time program, not a school, and that it is open to students of all races.</p>

History of Desegregation in MPS

1992	
School Board approves study of issues related to quality of education, called the Quality Schools Study. Information to be gathered and recommendations made in 1992-93 school year; planning for implementation during 1993-94; with implementation scheduled for 1994-95.	56.6% students of color; 8% students are in LEP program.
<p>District continues to respond to need for more classroom space to accommodate growing enrollment and referendum needs:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ❖ Opens an early education center at Bryn Mawr (former Special Education facility). ❖ Opens new building for Marcy Open School, resulting in more spaces available for open students as well as contemporary students housed at Tuttle. <p>Minnesota State Board of Education drafts new Desegregation/Integration Rules, but delays issuing as proposed rules.</p> <p>Downtown Task Force of Cooperative Interdistrict Integration Project proposes downtown school to serve students from all participating districts.</p>	
1993	
Quality Schools Study completed with recommendations for changes in program, staff development, grade configurations, and school choices.	
1994	
<p>(Fall) District Options Study recommends changes in grade configurations to K-5, K-6, 6-8, K-8, 9-12 and community attendance areas for elementary students.</p> <p>School of Extended Learning opens (K-5); Olson reopens as middle schools (K-8); Jenny Lind School opens (K-6).</p>	

History of Desegregation in MPS

1995	
District joins West Metro Education program as developed from state's Cooperative Interdistrict Integration Project (CIIP) and forms Joint Powers Board with eight suburban districts: Richfield, Edina, St. Louis Park, Hopkins, Robbinsdale, Brooklyn Center, St. Anthony and Columbia Heights.	
City council endorses Housing Principles, which are policy directives to strengthen neighborhoods and the housing market as well as improve distribution of high and low income housing throughout the city.	
Eliminating the Gap (ETG) policy package endorsed by Board of Education with curriculum program, staff development, grade configurations, and attendance area recommendations.	
ETG Phase I endorsed by School Board with detailed implementation; MPS requests State Variance from desegregation rule for system of community and magnet schools.	
NAACP files suit against State of Minnesota charging inadequate education for students of color in Minneapolis Public Schools.	
Lucy Laney School (K-5), Brookside (K-6), Parkview Montessori (K-6), and West Central Academy (K-8) open.	
1996	
State begins rulemaking process on proposed update for Desegregation Rule.	66% students of color.
Commissioner of Education grants variance from existing Desegregation Rule.	District identifies guaranteed attendance areas for community schools beginning with a guarantee for kindergarten and adding one grade level each year. Elementary magnet programs and partner school areas become desegregation strategies for elementary students. District commits to increasing guarantee areas and equalizing the guarantee for students of color and White students.
District begins community school implementation with kindergarten; this class enrolling 70% students of color. Elementary grade configurations move to K-5, K-6, and K-8.	
Broadway School opens (K-8).	

History of Desegregation in MPS

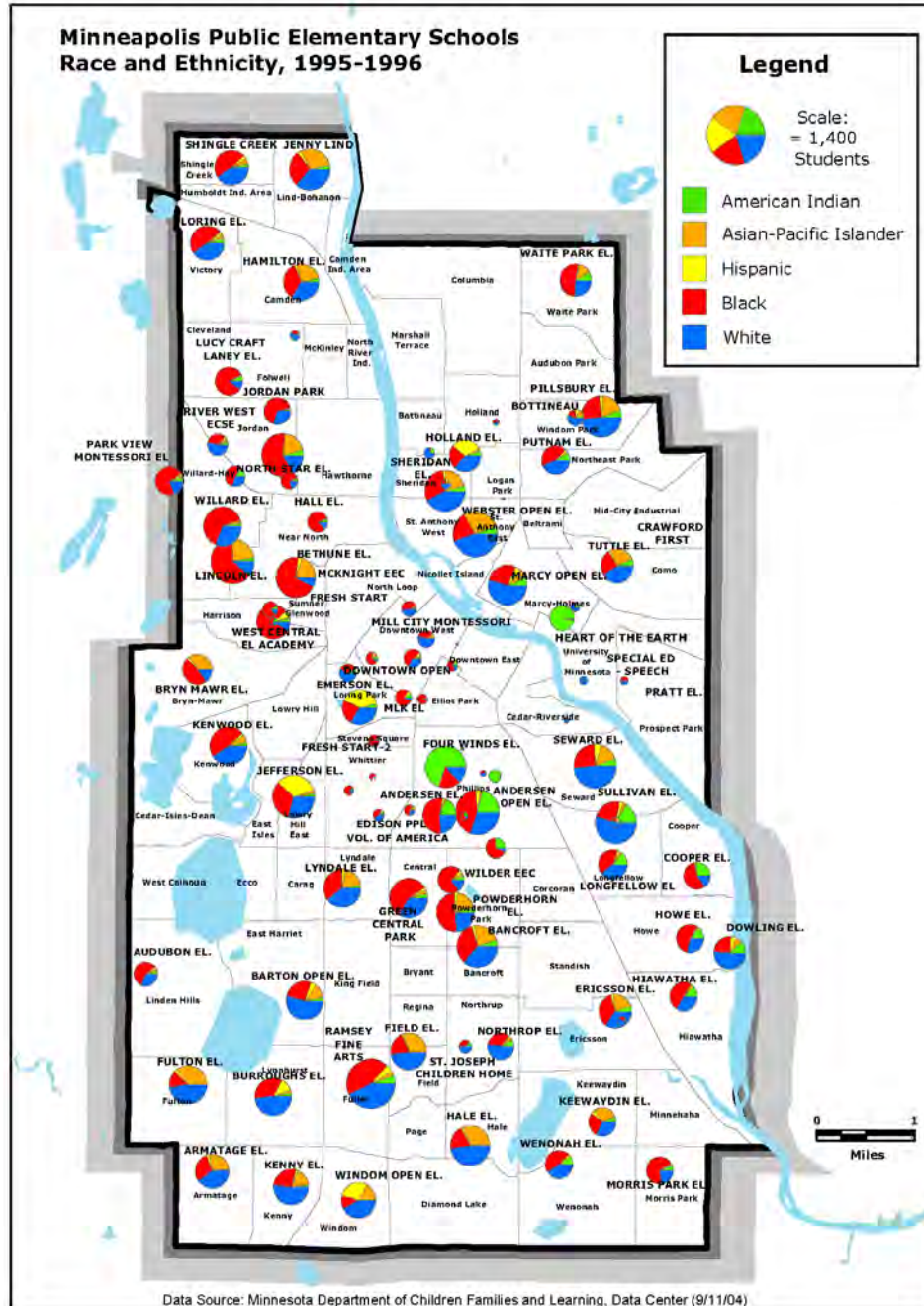
1997	
Community schools implementation continues kindergarten and grade one, each year adding an additional grade level for a guaranteed attendance area.	
Whittier School opens (K-5.) State Legislature mandates new Desegregation Rule completed by January 10, 1999.	
1998	
First West Metro Education Program (WMEP) interdistrict school opens in downtown Minneapolis as the Interdistrict Downtown School, K-12, in partnership with University of St. Thomas.	71.4% students of color; 18% students are in English Language Learner program.
Sullivan School expansion opens.	
Board endorses grade configurations of K-5, K-8, 6-8, 9-12 and Pathways for elementary to middle schools.	
1999	
State Desegregation Rule effective July 1999.	New Desegregation Rule requires desegregation plans from larger number of school districts throughout the state, requires contiguous districts to submit cooperative plans, and restricts districts from making decisions about student placements in schools solely on the basis of race.
Elementary school choice requests are processed without using racial identity for placement decision.	
Cityview School opens (K-8). Jordan School opens (K-8).	

History of Desegregation in MPS

2000	
NAACP lawsuit settled with State of Minnesota requiring expanded choice programs over four years for Minneapolis students, K-12, to eight suburban districts and within district beginning fall 2001.	Priority for spaces and full transportation costs will be provided for students qualifying for free and reduced price lunch and/or living in an elementary attendance area with 90% or greater students of color.
District Desegregation Plan filed with State in September; WMEP Desegregation Plan is also filed with state.	Plan for district is the expanded school choice agreement in the NAACP settlement.
Board adopts revised Desegregation Policy emphasizing student achievement as the primary goal of the district and school choice as the primary strategy to ensure diverse learning communities.	
Lucy Laney/Cleveland School opens (K-8); Pratt reopens as K-1 Schools configured as K-8's: Hale-Field, Jefferson, Lincoln, Powderhorn, Lake Harriet (Audubon-Fulton).	
Complete changing schools with K-6 configuration to K-5.	

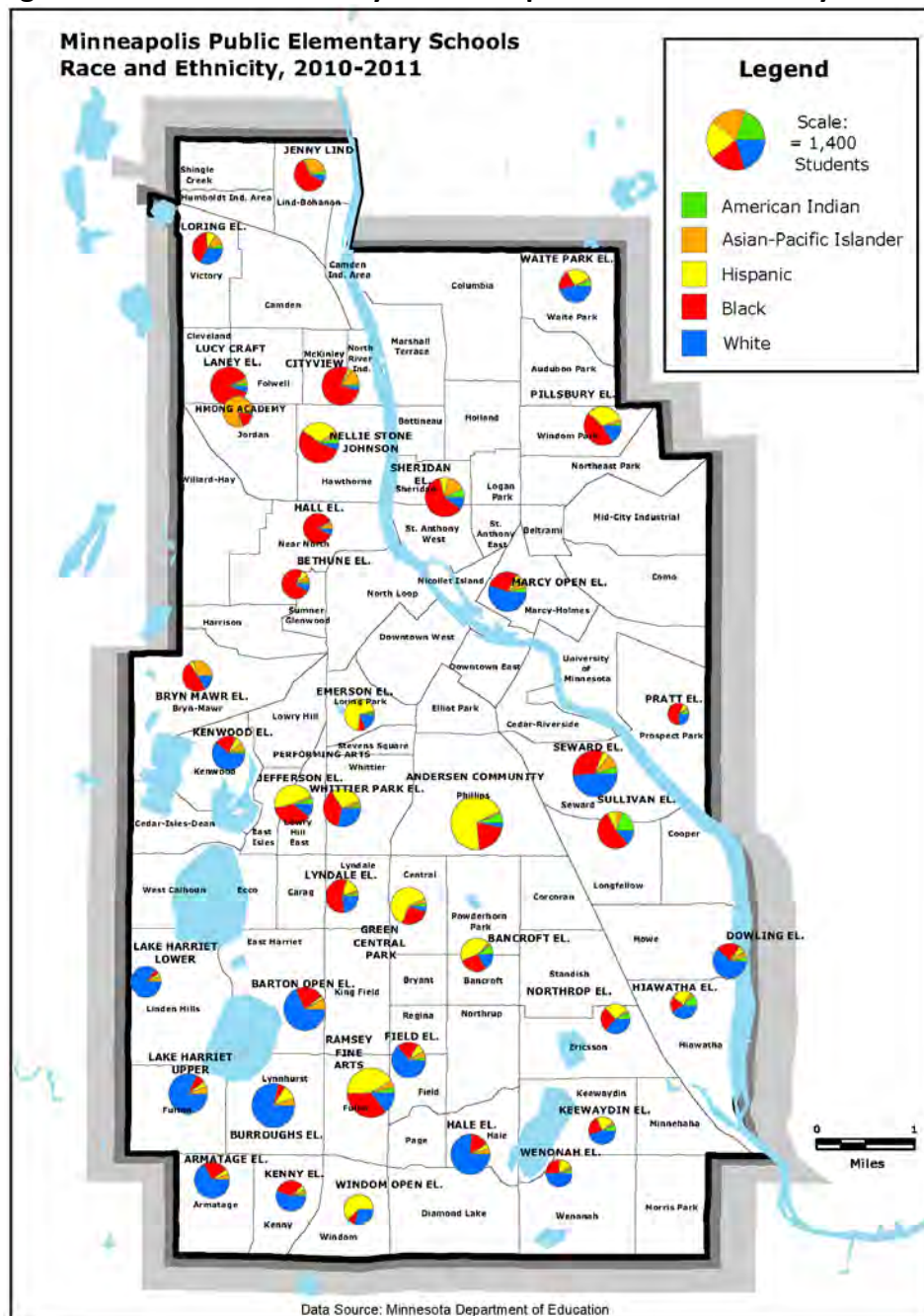
Appendix C. Figures

Figure C-1. Race and Ethnicity in Minneapolis Public Elementary Schools, 1995-1996



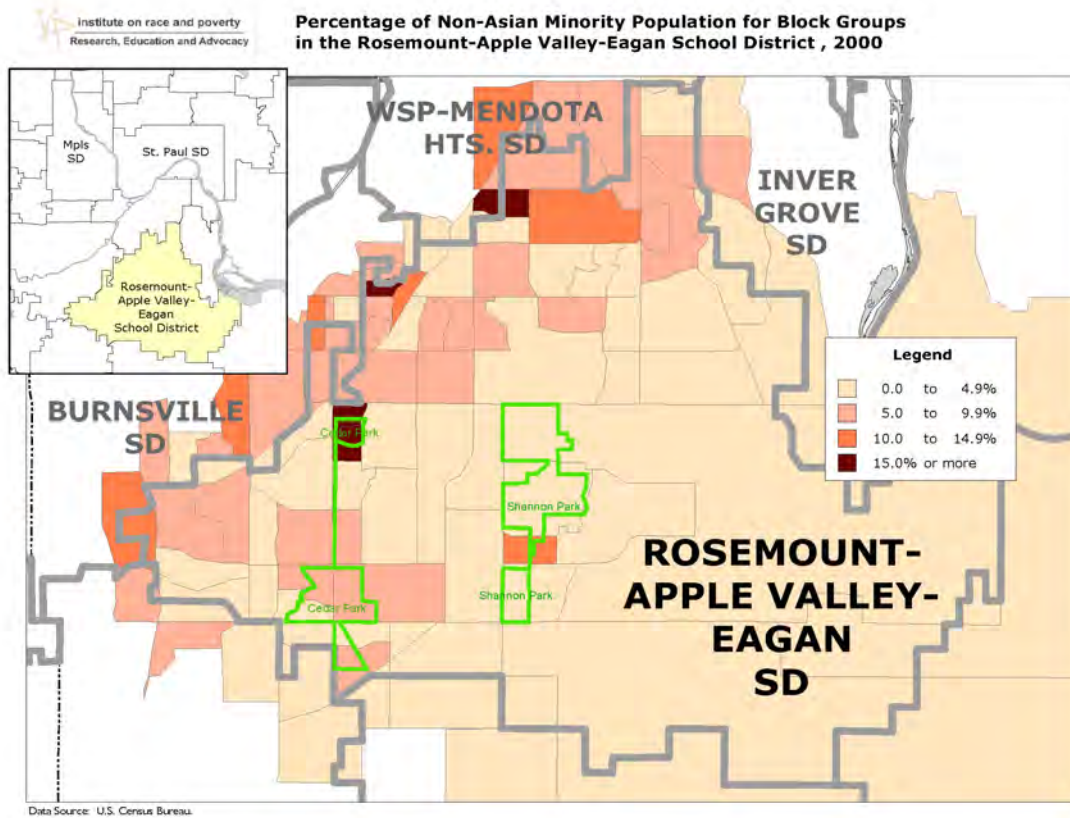
Map courtesy of Myron Orfield with the Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity at the University of Minnesota Law School

Figure C-2. Race and Ethnicity in Minneapolis Public Elementary Schools, 2010-2011



Map courtesy of Myron Orfield with the Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity at the University of Minnesota Law School

Figure C-3. Non-Contiguous School District Attendance Boundaries, Rosemount-Apple Valley-Eagan School Districts



Appendix D.
County Health Rankings and Numbers of Districts in Each County and
Integration Funding Category

County	Health Outcomes Rank	Not Receiving Integration Funding	Districts Receiving Integration Funding for these Reasons			
			# of Voluntary Districts	# of Adjoining Districts	# of Isolated Districts	# of Districts with Identifiable Schools
Steele	1	4				
Carver	2	6				
McLeod	3	5				
Douglas	4	5				
Fillmore	5	5				
Jackson	6	1		1		
Washington	7	8	2	1		
Dakota	8	8	1	1		3
Le Sueur	9	6				
Scott	10	6				
Marshall	11	4				
Lac qui Parle	12	2				
Wright	13	9		2		
Chippewa	14	1		1		
Clearwater	15	2				
Houston	16	5				
Brown	17			3	1	
Nicollet	18	2				1
Sibley	19	3		1		
Winona	20	7				
Wilkin	21	3				
Lincoln	22	4				
Olmsted	23			4	4	
Waseca	24	4				
Meeker	25	2		1		
Pope	26	3				
Otter Tail	27	6		1	1	
Sherburne	28	2		1		
Blue Earth	29	3		2		
Big Stone	30	2				
Dodge	31	3				
Rice	32	6				
Stearns	33	10				1

Pennington	34	2				
Kandiyohi	35			1	1	
Aitkin	36	4				
Red Lake	37	2				1
Anoka	38	8		2	1	
Isanti	39	2				
Swift	40	2				
Hubbard	41	3				
Cook	42	4				
Redwood	43	1		4		
Nobles	44			4	1	
Martin	45	2		2		
Mower	46	4				1
Wabasha	47	4				
Stevens	48	2				
Murray	49		1	1		
Kanabec	50	2				
Roseau	51	3				1
Hennepin	52	54	1	5	6	2
Goodhue	53	5				
Polk	54	6				1
Benton	55	2				
Chisago	56	4				
Pine	57	5				
Koochiching	58	3				
Renville	59	2		1		
Itasca	60	5				
Ramsey	61	33	1	3	2	1
Crow Wing	62	5				
Carlton	63	7				
Clay	64	2		2		1
Faribault	65	2				
Freeborn	66	3				
Todd	67	5				
Watsonwan	68				3	
Yellow Medicine	69	4				
Grant	70	3				
Becker	71	2		1		1
St. Louis	72	15				1
Mille Lacs	73	4				
Rock	74	2				
Lyon	75	2		1	2	
Cottonwood	76			2	2	
Beltrami	77	6				1

Morrison	78	5				
Lake	79	1				
Wadena	80	4				
Norman	81	3				
Pipestone	82	2				
Mahnomen	83	2		1		
Cass	84	6				
Kittson	NR	3				
Lake of the Woods	NR	1				
Traverse	NR	2				