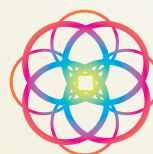# 2016
State of **Students of Color** and **American Indian Students** Report

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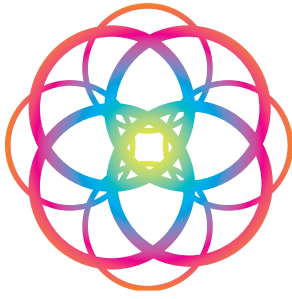Michael Rodriguez
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Minnesota
Education Equity
Partnership

Advancing **Race Equity** & Excellence

MnEEP.org

Minnesota **Education Equity** Partnership

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FOREW0RD

When MnEEP produced its first State of Students of Color Report in 2001, it was a landmark work in Minnesota[1]. Up to then, no one had ever constructed a comprehensive narrative about education involving all communities of color and American Indians covering the educational continuum from preschool through college. That first report pointed to systemic forces at work in our schools and colleges that were consistently and comprehensively resulting in students of color not advancing as well as White students.

We hoped that simply chronicling the hugely disparate outcomes in student success would drive a change in the practices of how Minnesota was delivering educational opportunities. Surely we thought, by being aware on a new scale of the disparate outcomes would be enough for our educators to stop doing what they were doing and work differently.

> We can use the data to "try harder" at making that system work for our racially diverse student body or, we can choose to learn the painful lessons of how structural racism prevents us from having the dignified, high quality educational system most of us want.

In fact, much has changed through the ensuing 15 years of issuing six reports, a period that coincided with both the federal No Child Left Behind Act (NCLB) which produced new assessments and accountability for K-12 student outcomes, and with new national and local college access efforts. This new attention on students of color and American Indian students had schools, colleges and community-based programs targeting their efforts in ways meant to produce higher academic outcomes. "Closing the achievement gap" came to be the catch phrase that represented a new norm for Minnesota's schools, policymakers, philanthropic and private sectors and the public.

But the disparities in educational outcomes have not ended and the aggregate rate of "closing gaps" has been very slow.

This Report is informed by the very persistence of those disparities through a period of intense reform efforts. MnEEP rejects that this persistence is as a result of inherent shortcoming of students of color or of American Indian students. Our first Report powerfully rejected the pseudo social science that had once supported such a racist belief. For that very same reason, over the past several years we have rejected using the term "achievement gap" with its suggestion that these students had deficits that could be

closed with some kind of intervention. MnEEP believes that the true gaps are "opportunity gaps" and that those rest on deep-seated, ingrained practices present in our schools that reflect forces embedded in systems of structural racism resulting in education debts.

To put it plainly; MnEEP believes that our systems need to be fixed and not students. In order to have a better educational system in which all students can be successful requires addressing systemic racism present in our schools and colleges and communities.

This Report goes beyond sharing the data of conventional academic outcomes. To merely do that would simply tell us what we already know: Students of color and American Indian students in the aggregate will have lower outcomes than White students (and often even lower than poor white students). This Report aims to arm the reader with a working frame of how to understand the systemic context that powerfully shapes and produces racial inequities in academic outcomes.

We can use the data to "try harder" at making that system work for our racially diverse student body or, we can choose to learn the painful lessons of how structural racism prevents us from having the dignified, high quality educational system most of us want.

We know that communities of color and American Indian communities have been mobilizing for years to end systemic racism in the delivery of education. MnEEP is inspired by the recent youthful energy and insight of the Black Lives Matter, the Dignity in Schools Campaign, and Undocumented Students' DREAMER movements that have arisen from young people naming the social policies and practices that actively target their racial and cultural communities to destroy their bodies and spirits and that of their families.

MnEEP offers the historical facts, ideas, data, promising efforts, and recommendations included in this Report as an invitation to deep reflection and discussion on how Minnesota can claim and re-design our schools and colleges to be places where our society succeeds by affirming and unleashing the beauty, the power and the genius of American Indian, African American, Latino, Asian American, and immigrant students.

Carlos Mariani
Executive Director

Jennifer Godinez
Associate Executive Director

This report is a call for an approach to education that involves continuous critical reflection about inequity and equity to help guide and influence the implementation of effective racially equitable school policies and practices in Minnesota.

HOW TO USE THIS REPORT AS A TOOL FOR EDUCATION EQUITY

The 2016 *State of Students of Color and American Indian Students Report (SOSOC/AIS)* is a catalyst that informs the attitudes, decision-making, and actions of diverse stakeholders in moving toward increasing racial equity in education. As past reports have done, this report should be used by stakeholders to strengthen collaborative efforts among diverse leaders in the mission to make Minnesota's schools/school districts more racially equitable and inclusive for students of color and American Indian students.

The current state of academic achievement among Minnesota's students of color and American Indian students should implore us to acknowledge and address the historical inequities that continue to influence contemporary injustices. This report is a call for an approach to education that involves continuous critical reflection about inequity and equity to help guide and influence the implementation of effective racially equitable school policies and practices in Minnesota.

The 2016 SOSOC/AIS Report was written with several objectives for readers, including to:

- Examine the current narrative of students of color and American Indian students in Minnesota;

- Provide a historical context of what has occurred in Minnesota in order to capture the root-causes of schooling inequities;

- Establish a common language and framework for a discourse about persistent inequality and what is needed to achieve equity;

- Understand and explore the impact of historical inequities and privileges, as well as colorblind ideology within the many dynamics of school structures (i.e. curricula, school policies, and student discipline within the classroom);

- Present current data, disaggregated by race, of student academic outcomes as demonstrated by conventional measures of success traditionally used to shape public policy;

- Acknowledge approaches in Minnesota to making their schools more equitable and inclusive; and

- Offer recommendations to address the identified schooling inequities.

The conceptual/theoretical literature and school data that we examined for this report came from primary and secondary sources and databases. We utilized Dr. Gloria Ladson-Billings' (2006) concept "education debt" (see definition in next section) as a lens to help reframe the discourse on the academic struggles and experiences of students of color and American Indian students in Minnesota. This departs from other research that has been done before on education in Minnesota because it challenges us to put school successes and failures into the larger context of both institutional and systemic oppression and privilege.

The Research Collaborative Team (RCT) that is made up of diverse stakeholders in Minnesota including teachers, school administrators, community organizers, organizational leaders and scholars. The RCT is a racially and ethnically diverse group of committed men and women who volunteered to work on this report, and they are listed as contributors herein. The RCT started meeting in February 2015 to begin the process of developing this report and held monthly meetings thereafter to plan and develop the report's framework and contributors' reviews of research and promising approaches to move toward education equity.

The vast majority of the material that we found was useful and quite revealing. We reviewed the work of scholars, especially a growing community of scholars of color, in the fields of Critical Race Theory, Critical Race Theory in Education, Critical Whiteness Studies, Social Justice in Education, and Critical Ethnic Studies. This led us to additional sources that examined structural factors in the U.S. that result in the racialization of students and produces racial hierarchies that ultimately created (and continues to create) inequities in K-12 schools and higher education. This report is not extensive and does have some limitations. This report should be considered as a foundation for other researchers of education in Minnesota to build upon.

Readers will note the use of imprecise terms or categories used to identify major racial/ethnic groups. There are significant limitations in how we describe and what language we use when referring to different groups of people. We are very clear in understanding, for instance, that some people of African descent prefer to be called Black while others prefer African American, or some indigenous peoples prefer Native American or Native to American Indian. Likewise, we recognize that terms like Asian is not the same

Drawing on the Ladson-Billings' education debt concept, in addition to themes related to equity, school improvement, education policy, we investigated the following research questions:

- What are the key components that helped create Minnesota's education debt?

- How can the use of data reveal systemic and structural explanations of educational disparities in Minnesota's schools? What does the data reveal about how Minnesota's educational institutions negotiate the politics of race and equity in determining access and opportunities for students of color and American Indian students?

- What are some of the current movements in progress and best practices that can help combat Minnesota's education debt?

as Asian-Pacific Islander nor Asian American, and Latino/Hispanic are also each problematic to various people within each community that is made up of many different specific nationalities or ethnicities. Despite what we end up choosing to label groups—anybody could still make arguable points that goes against our decision and rationale. At the very least, we tried to be consistent throughout this report while acknowledging such limitations and the significance of language as readers try to think more inclusively about diverse group experiences.

The following list of definitions are offered in order to develop a common language around key words and concepts necessary to better understand Minnesota's education debt to American Indian students and students of color. They are also intended to facilitate dialogue around intersecting issues of race, class and language. Thus, we provide them as "working definitions" offered to promote clarity while reading and discussing this report with others. We recognize these definitions are not the only possible interpretations of these words.

WORKING DEFINITIONS OF KEY CONCEPTS USED IN THIS REPORT

Racial Equity: A commitment that resources are distributed based on need, recognizing that "equal" treatment, opportunities, and resources are not enough within a context of historical and structural racism and discrimination that continue to manifest in the economic, sociopolitical, and moral decisions and policies that characterize our society.

Critical Consciousness: Digging beneath the surface of information to develop deeper understanding of concepts, relationships, and personal biases.

Education Debt: The sum of all previously incurred deficits or opportunity gaps in education for American Indians communities and communities of color. The education debt includes four aspects: 1) the historical lack of access to formal public education for certain groups of people (historic debt); 2) historical and contemporary inequities in school funding, income disparities related to different levels of education, and general wealth disparity (economic debt); 3) the disenfranchisement of people of color at local and national levels (sociopolitical debt); and 4) the disparity between what we know is right and what we actually do (moral debt) (see Ladson-Billings, 2006 and pp. 7 of this Report for more explanation).

Race Consciousness: Explicit acknowledgment of the workings of race and racism in social contexts or in one's personal life.

White Supremacy: Is a historically-based, institutionally-perpetuated system of exploitation and oppression of continents, nations and peoples of color by White peoples and nations originating from the European continent for the purpose of maintaining and defending a system of wealth, power, and privilege (for further explanation, see pp. 20).

Segregation: There are two ways that people are separated by race: "de jure segregation" is when government policies and laws are intended and enforced to keep different racial groups separated or using separate facilities; "de facto segregation" is when different racial groups are separated due to policies, practices or individual preferences that result in racial groups being separated regardless of whether or not the policies, practices or preferences intend for people to be separated racially (for further discussion, see pp. 16).

White Privilege: An historically-based, institutionally-perpetuated system of often unwritten rights or advantages, and the institutional processes by which beliefs and values of the White dominant group are "made normal" and universal. In the U.S. white privilege exists even for low-income Whites due to the racial caste system.

Oppression: The attitudes, behaviors, and pervasive and systemic social arrangements by which members of one group are exploited and subordinated while members of another group are granted privileges; it implies a relationship of unequal social, historical, economic, political, and institutional power between at least two groups. Sexism, racism, classism, ableism, and heterosexism are forms of oppression.

Ethnocentrism: Evaluating other peoples' cultures and customs according to the standards of one's own culture—which often leads to the assumption that one is more superior or inferior to the other.

Deculturalization: The process by which American Indians and people of color have been stripped of their language and culture through intentional schooling practices (e.g., boarding schools, English-only policies) designed to enforce White supremacy (Spring, 2007).

Color-blind Racism: A contemporary racial ideology that holds the belief that people, institutions and policy makers should try to ignore race in order to claim a desire to treat all persons equally but having the effect of justifying contemporary racial oppression. Color-blindness uses a set of ideas, phrases, and stories to discount racial oppression. Furthermore, color-blindness plays on the myth that the social realities of race and racism have all but disappeared as a factor shaping the life chances of all Americans (Bonilla-Silva, 2014).

Institutional Racism: Policies and practices in institutions or organizations that result in oppressing people of color and American Indians while maintaining White supremacy regardless of the intent or consciousness of individuals in the institution.

Structural Racism: Embedded into the fabric of society are structures and policies that oppress people of color and American Indians while maintaining White supremacy.

Systemic Racism: Systems (e.g., educational, economic, criminal justice, health care, etc.) that oppress people of color and American Indians while maintaining White supremacy.

Decolonize: Efforts to overcome White supremacy and assert self-determination by American Indians and people of color.

Anti-Racism: Efforts and ideas that challenge and resist racism of all types with an emphasis on institutions, structures and systems rather primarily focusing on individuals who are socialized in a society built on racist ideologies, policies and practices.

INTRODUCTION:
MINNESOTA'S "EDUCATIONAL DEBT"

In 2006, renowned scholar Dr. Gloria Ladson-Billings gave her presidential address at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association annual conference. Ladson-Billings challenged her colleagues in education research to "reconceptualize this notion of the achievement gap and to begin to think about the incredible education debt we, as a nation, have accumulated" (Ladson-Billings, 2007, p. 316). Specifically, Ladson-Billings' describes the "educational debt" as a logical outcome due to the construction and compilation of historical, economic, sociopolitical, and moral decisions and policies that have structurally and systematically shaped institutions. Thus, schools are mediums through which inequality is manifested.

More directly, in the words of critical race and education scholar Dr. David Stovall "What is owed to the young people who have been historically underserved and disenfranchised in a space that has largely built themselves on the back of their ancestors? What are those young people owed?" (2011). These salient questions provide a backdrop for Ladson-Billings' (2006) concept of the "education debt"— a term that more accurately describes the educational situation inflicted upon students of color and American Indian students, rather than the misplaced "all-out focus on the "Achievement Gap" [which] moves us toward short-term solutions that are unlikely to address the long-term underlying problem" (Ladson-Billings, 2006, p. 4). Ultimately, the achievement gap uses a language of deficit thinking by "suggesting that some groups of students are doing just fine and we have to find a way to get the groups that are not doing fine to catch up with them" (Ladson-Billings, 2007, p. 316). This way of thinking presents two problems, Ladson-Billings shares,

First, student academic performance is not static. Those students who are achieving at acceptable levels are not waiting for those who are lagging to catch up with them. Thus, the primary premise of closing the gap rests on a notion of slowed performance at the top while there is simultaneous increased performance at the lower levels (2007, p. 316).

As educators and members of society, we must challenge ourselves to rethink the language we use "when discussing and explaining disparities that exists between different groups of students in education" (Milner, 2013, p. 3). Doing so will result in reframing the problem, considering of new critical questions, and ultimately developing and carrying out plans of actions.

The following sections provide a discussion and understanding regarding how and why the notion of an "educational debt" owed to American Indian communities and communities of color re-conceptualizes and challenges context-blind discussions of the current unequal status and achievement of students. Such rethinking is necessary to close opportunity gaps and achieve educational equity.

> "First, student academic performance is not static. Those students who are achieving at acceptable levels are not waiting for those who are lagging to catch up with them. Thus, the primary premise of closing the gap rests on a notion of slowed performance at the top while there is simultaneous increased performance at the lower levels."
>
> —(Ladson-Billings, 2007, p. 316)

"Change requires more than words on a page— it takes perseverance, creative ingenuity and acts of love."

—(Anzaldúa 2002, p. 574)
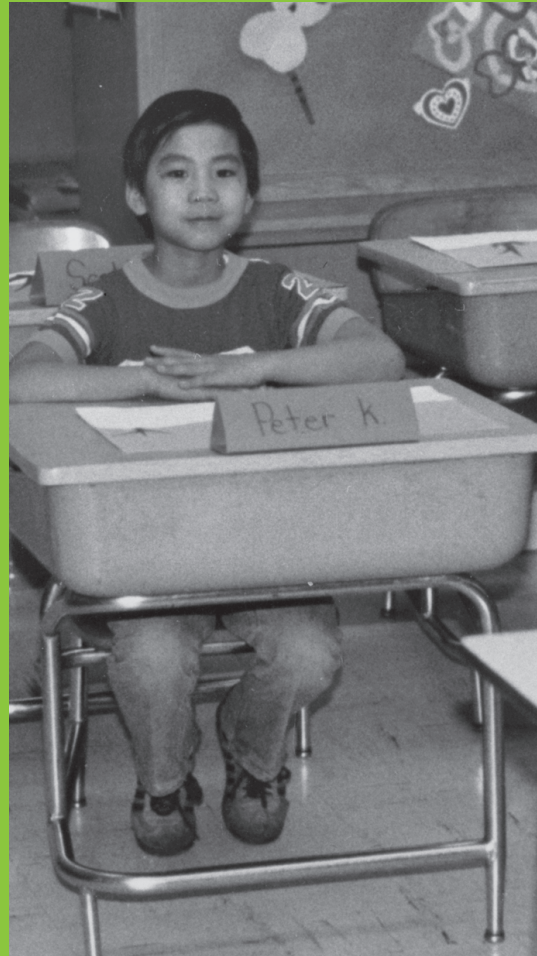
HISTORICAL TIMELINES

To help visualize and understand the educational debt concept (Ladson-Billings, 2006), we constructed relevant historical timelines to showcase the key nuances that have occurred over time and shaped the history of education in Minnesota—particularly the educational experiences of students of color and American Indian students.

(Fraser, 2010; Spring 2011; Green, 1996; Moran & Carbado, 2008; Minnesota Indian Affairs, 2013; Olson, 2013).

NATIONAL EDUCATION TIMELINE

1618 - Henrico College was chartered to be the first college in the United States in Henric Town, VA. This school never officially opened, due to the Anglo-Powhatan War. Henrico College's mission was to Christianize Indian children and train them in "true Religion, moral virtue, and civility".

1790-1809 - U.S. Presidents George Washington and Thomas Jefferson advocate schooling/education as a peaceful way of acquiring Native American lands.

1800 - Boston, Massachusetts establishes segregated school for Africans.

1830 - U.S. Indian Removal Act, was passed by Congress which create access for white settlements and the development of schools from taking over American Indian lands. Many promoters of the policy believed that only if the Indians were removed beyond contact with whites could the slow process of education, civilization, and Christianization take place.

1800-1835 - U.S. Southern states make it a crime to educate enslaved Africans, and therefore ban education of enslaved Africans.

1855 - California, acquired from Mexico and populated with Spanish speakers, requires all school instruction to be conducted in English.

1865 - Congress establishes the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands (commonly known as "Freeman's Bureau'), a U.S. Federal government agency to help allocate work, supplies, and establish schools for former slaves and settle freed black people on abandoned and confiscated southern lands from confederate rebels.

1867 - Indian Peace Commission the Indian Peace Commission, deculturalization through reservations and schooling/education.

1870 - Texas, formerly a Mexican state and populated with Spanish speakers, legally requires English as language of school instruction.

1875 - Carlisle Indian School established, beginning of boarding school movement, deculturalization through removal from family and schooling.

1885 - Tape v Hurley Decision, California Supreme Court, Asian Americans provided access to public schools "To deny a child, born of Chinese parents in this state, entrance to the public schools would be a violation of the law of the state and the Constitution of the United States."

1885 - California legislature creates segregated schools for Chinese Americans.

1887 - The Dawes Severalty Act of 1887, introduce private land ownership to American Indians in order to "civilize" them. This act proved to be devastating by taking millions of acres from the existing land base, broke up tribes as communal units and threatened tribal sovereignty.

1895 - Plessy v. Ferguson decision allowing for racially segregated schools under the "separate but equal," doctrine.

1906 - San Francisco School Board creates segregated schools for Chinese, Japanese, and Korean students.

1909 - National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) is founded, major goal is to end racial segregation.

1912 - Puerto Rican Teachers Association organized to defend Spanish as language of instruction in Puerto Rico, territory governed by the U.S.

1915 - Student strike at Central High School, San Juan, demanding Spanish as language of instruction.

1918 - Texas makes it a criminal offense to use any language but English in school instruction.

1924 - Mississippi courts segregate Chinese students from whites.

1927 - U.S. Supreme Court rules in favor of Japanese language schools in Hawaii.

1928 - Meriam Report submitted to the U.S. Secretary of the Interior criticizing Indian boarding school system.

1929 - League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) supports bilingual instruction and maintenance of Mexican cultural traditions.

1930 - Texas courts uphold right to segregate Mexican Americans for educational purposes.

1946 - Mendez et al. v. Westminister School District of Orange County, California. 9th Circuit U.S. Court of Appeals held that the segregation of Mexican and Mexican American students into separate "Mexican schools" was unconstitutional. It was the first ruling in the United States in favor of desegregation.

1948 - Delgado v. Bastrop Independent School District, U.S. District Court undermined the rigid segregation of Mexican Americans in Texas and began a ten-year struggle led by the American G.I. Forum and LULAC ending in 1957 case of Herminca Hernandez et al. v. Driscoll.

1951 - In U.S. governed Puerto Rico, Spanish is restored as language of instruction.

1954 - U.S. Supreme Court Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka decision, ending "separate but equal" doctrine that supported racial segregation of public schools.

1957 - Herminca Hernandez et al. v. Driscoll Consolidated ISD ended pedagogical and de jure segregation in the Texas public school system.

1960 - 6-year-old African American Ruby Bridges makes national news when she attends the formerly de jure white segregated William Frantz Elementary School in New Orleans.

1964 - Civil Rights Act is passed, outlawing institutions receiving federal funds cannot discriminate based on race, color, sex, religion, or national origin.

1965 - Voting Rights Act is passed, forcing the South to give up literacy tests, poll taxes, and other methods use to prevent black people from voting. It also empowered federal officials to register voters in areas with a history of denying black voter rights.

1965 - Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) is passed as a part of the "War on Poverty". It provided the first major federal funding for K-12 education, especially Title I, which provided funding to serve low achieving students.

1968 - Bilingual Education Act (Title VII) is enacted which provided funding for non-native English speakers to improve their academic English skills.

1969 - Indian Education: A National Tragedy Report of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate, condemned educational policies of the federal government that severely impacted Native Americans.

1970 - Office of Civil Rights (OCR) position that the native languages of minority students should not inhibit their participation in the educational system.

1972 - Indian Education Act was the landmark legislation establishing a comprehensive approach to meeting the unique needs of American Indian and Alaska Native students from pre-school to graduate-level education. It recognizes that American Indians have unique, educational and culturally related academic needs and distinct language and cultural needs.

1972 - U.S. Emergency School Aid Act is passed to provide federal funds to support school desegregation.

1974 - In Lau v Nichols the U.S. Supreme Court affirms the OCR position that the native language of minority students should not inhibit their participation in the educational system.

1975 - U.S. Indian Self-Determination and Education Assistance Act. Tribes would have authority for how they administered federal funds, which gave them greater control over their education schools.

1975 - Public Law 94-142 (Education for All Handicapped Children Act).

1981 - In Castañeda v. Pickard, Mexican American families in Raymondsville, TX alleged that the district was discriminating against them through segregation and tracking, and was not providing them with an equal education as stipulated by Lau v. Nichols. The outcome eventually established accountability criteria for districts serving Limited English Proficient students.

1983 - "A Nation at Risk: The Imperative for Educational Reform" report of U.S. President Ronald Reagan's National Commission on Excellence in Education.is published which argued that the nation's K-12 educational system required reform.

1984 - U.S. Emergency Immigrant Education Act: Congress partially reimburses districts with high numbers of immigrant students for services.

1984 - Magnet School Assistance Program is enacted replaces the Emergency School Aid Act and provides Federal funds to support a specific model for school racial desegregation.

1990 - Native Languages Act passed by Congress who stated "the status of the culture and languages of Native Americans is unique and the United States has the responsibility to act together with Native Americans to use, practice and develop these languages."

1991 - Indian Nations At Risk Report published which recommends: establishing the promotion of students' tribal languages and culture; training more American Indian teachers; and creating more scholarly work on curricula and textbooks that incorporate Native perspectives.

1996 - In Proposition 209 in California, voters approved amending the state constitution to prohibit governmental institutions from considering race, sex, or ethnicity specifically in public employment, public contracting, and public education. Thus, opposing Affirmative Action.

1998 - In Proposition 227 in California, voters approved controversial changes requiring Limited English Proficient students to be taught in English only in public schools.

2001 - No Child Left Behind (NCLB), was a U.S. Act of Congress signed by President G.W. Bush reauthorizing the ESEA of 1965 with standards-based education reform and high-stakes testing into an accountability system disaggregating student outcome by race as a condition for federal funds.

2001 - English Language Acquisition, Language Enhancement and Academic Achievement Act (Title III, Part A) enacted under NCLB which aimed to ensure that English language learners (ELL) and immigrant students attain English language proficiency and meet the state's challenging academic achievement standards.

2000 - Rice v. Cayetano Supreme Court decision, ruled that the state of Hawaii could not restrict the eligibility to vote for the Board of Trustees of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs to person of non-native Hawaiian descent. This court case was ironically filed in the name of "civil rights", through twisting the language of equality to deny indigenous Hawaiians' claim to the international human right of self-determination.

2015 - Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA), is the latest reauthorization of ESEA that has replaced NCLB. ESSA intends to modify periodic standardized testing and to shift federal accountability provisions to states.

MINNESOTA SOCIAL HISTORY TIMELINE

Thousands of years ago - Dakota people are created at Bdote where the Mississippi and Minnesota Rivers meet.

Early 1600s - Ojibwe start migration from East Coast toward Great Lakes.

1837 - Dakota, Ojibwe and U.S. sign the first major treaty ceding land to the U.S. for cash and goods.

1849 - As Minnesota attained territorial status, the first legislature limited civic participation and suffrage to white males only.

1851 - Treaty of Traverse des Sioux Dakota people sold most of their land to the U.S. in exchange for $3.75 million to be paid over decades. Little of the payment was received. The treaty stipulated that they would retain a strip of land 20 miles wide along the Minnesota River.

1854 - St. Paul legislators sponsored a bill intended to discourage black settlement.

1858 - Minnesota became the 32nd state in the United States of America.

1861 - The Union (now called "St Cloud Times") was Minnesota's first and only pro-slavery newspaper.

1862 - Dakota-US War begins due to Government policies causing starvation among the Dakota. War lasts 3 months. Gov. Ramsey declares genocide or forced removal policy. U.S. Army hangs 38 Dakota in Mankato in what remains the largest mass execution in U.S. History. Dakota women and children marched to concentration camp at Fort Snelling before being deported from state.

1868 - Minnesota voters approved and amended the state constitution to extend full voting rights to black males, Indians, and mixed-bloods who "have adopted the customs and habits of civilization".

1920 - In Duluth, three black men are lynched by a white crowd. As a result, the small black community fled the city and an anti-lynch law was passed in the state.

1934 - Minneapolis Teamster's Strike paved the way for the organization of over-the-road drivers and the growth of the Teamsters labor union.

1961 - I-94 construction destroys Rondo neighborhood which was the center of St. Paul's black community.

1967 - Minneapolis North side riots as business and homes burned along Plymouth Avenue due to a lack of jobs and economic inequality.

1968 - The American Indian Movement is founded in Minneapolis. Initially they fought for the well being of urban Indians in the Twin Cities but over the years have expanded to address global indigenous concerns.

1968 - In the Selby/Dale riot in four policemen were shot and 20 injured, hundreds of youth were tear-gassed, and 11 fires were set in the area. The event was the worst racial disturbance in St. Paul's history.

1975 - After the Vietnam and Secret War ends, the migration of Hmong refugees around the world begins. Many move to Minnesota and Wisconsin.

1991 - After the collapse of Somalia's government, many Somalis relocated to Rochester, St. Cloud, St. Paul, and Minneapolis. The latter is sometimes referred to as Little Mogadishu.

2013 - Over 150 high school students at Hopkins High School stage a walkout to protest the lack of a culturally affirming learning environment, hostile school culture, and inequitable disciplinary practices that disproportionately impacted students of color.

2015 - Jamar Clark is killed by Minneapolis police, sparking Black Lives Matter protests and occupations of the MPD 4th precinct and city hall.

MINNESOTA EDUCATION TIMELINE

1857 - St. Paul Board of Education formally segregated its schools by adapting a school policy that require a minimum of 30 black pupils to establish a segregated school.

1859 - St. Paul Board of Education re-established it's previous school policy, now requiring only a minimum of 15 black pupils to establish a segregated school.

1865 - St. Paul Board of Education passed a resolution that instructed the superintendent to provide a suitable teacher and accommodations for black school children, while no longer allowing children of African descent to be admitted into any other public school.

1865 - A "School for Colored Children" resided in St. Paul at the beginning of the 1865-1866 academic school year.

1869 - The state of Minnesota legislature forced the city of St. Paul to end school segregation.

1887 - The Morris Indian Boarding school was established to "civilize" and assimilate American Indian students through a process of forcing many to abandoned their cultures, names, languages, and identities.

1891 - Pipestone Indian Boarding School was established to "civilize" and assimilate American Indian students through a process of forcing many to abandoned their cultures, names, languages, and identities. The school closed in 1953.

1896 - the federal government took over the Morris Boarding School, calling it the Morris Industrial School for Indians making it one of the largest Indian boarding schools in Minnesota.

1936 - Minnesota State Board of Education entered into a contract for $80,000 with the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to educate American Indian students in public schools in northern Minnesota.

1954 - Minnesota State Legislature appropriated $5,000 for scholarships for American Indian students.

1967 - Minnesota State Board of education adopts policy that recognizes racial imbalance as educationally harmful.

1969 - National Indian Education Association (NIEA) created by Indian Educators in Minneapolis, MN. NIEA is the largest and oldest Indian Education organization in the nation (advocacy and policy).

1970's - Minnesota State Legislature appropriation for grants to school districts for specialized Indian Education programs.

1972 - Civil rights lawyer Charles Quaintance, Kenwood mother Barbara Bearman Schartz, and President of the Minneapolis chapter of the NAACP and Spokesman writer Curtis Chivers represent three students and successfully sue Minneapolis Public Schools to integrate schools.

1973 - Minnesota State Board of Education adopts a desegregation rule and plan for St. Paul, Minneapolis, and Duluth.

Late 1970's - began special education home/school liaison program (IHSL).

1982 - Minnesota State Board of Education adopted a policy statement on Indian Education.

1986 - A Minnesota statewide needs assessment on Indian Education was conducted and a comprehensive plan was developed.

1988 - Minnesota State Legislature adopted the Indian Education Act.

1987 - Minnesota Legislature enacts Compensatory Revenue, which provides funds to support increased support for low-achieving students.

1995 - In Minneapolis Branch of NAACP v. Minnesota, Minneapolis Public Schools are forced desegregate.

1996 - Conducted statewide Indian Education needs assessment.

1999 - After Xiong v. Minnesota, Minneapolis policy is shifted to focus on school choice as method for desegregation.

2000 - Indian Education, Post Secondary Preparation (PSPP), and American Indian Language & Culture Education (AILCE) grants were combined to form the "Success for the Future" program.

2001 - Minnesota State Legislature amended the Indian Education Act of 1988.

2002 - Due to a large State budget deficit, the three Indian Education offices were combined and located in Roseville, MN.

2013 - Minnesota Legislature appropriation of $4,250,000 for Indian Education programs, grants, contracts, and support.

2014 - Minneapolis Public Schools enacts a moratorium on nonviolent suspensions for students in pre-K through 1st grade.

2015 - Minneapolis Public Schools extends the moratorium on nonviolent suspensions for students in pre-K through 5th grade.

2015 - Legislature passes Statute 124D.861 ACHIEVEMENT AND INTEGRATION FOR MINNESOTA for funding "to close the academic achievement and opportunity gap".

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I. HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS AND CONTEMPORARY CONTEXTS:

THE NEED TO UNDERSTAND SYSTEMIC RACIAL INEQUITY IN MINNESOTA AND ITS EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

ACCUMULATED EDUCATION DEBT

PERSISTENT OPPORTUNITY GAPS IN SCHOOL + SOCIETY

MAINTAINING A LEGACY OF WHITE SUPREMACY
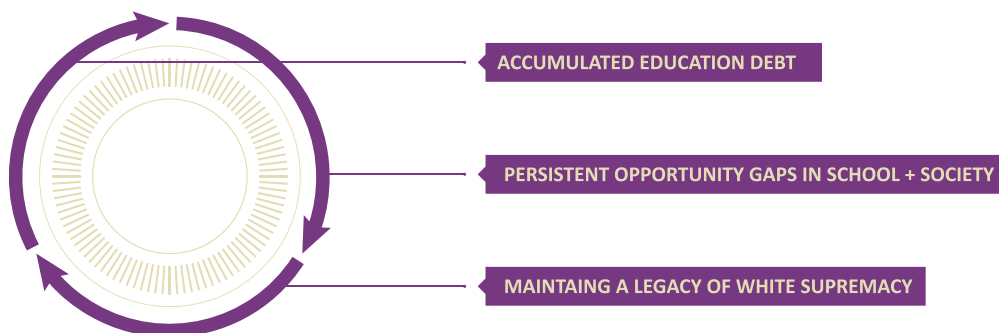
"We can only understand the present by continually referring to and studying the past: when any one of our intricate daily phenomena puzzles us; when there arises religious problems, political problems, race problems, we must always remember that while their solution lies in the present, their cause and their explanation lie in the past."

— W.E.B Dubois 1905, p. 104-105

Our individual and collective past has a tremendous bearing on our present-day realities. To dismiss this notion is like saying a person's childhood has no connection to their adult identity. At the center of Minnesota's historical and cultural inheritance are unresolved legacies of both the conquest of American Indian nations, including broken treaties, the stealing of land and attempted genocide, and the enslavement and continued oppression of Blacks as evidenced by massive incarceration rates, suspensions from school, unemployment, etc. Asian Americans, Latinos, African and Arab immigrants and refugees also face forms of discrimination similar to earlier times in our state's and nation's history by not being able to become "White" like previous European or Scandinavian immigrants and settlers. Minnesota's legacies are much like the rest of the United States of America. Despite the

constant struggle and fight against past and current forms of oppression, what we choose to tell and include in our history has profoundly influenced the way we view the educational progress made by students of color and American Indian students.

This section provides an introduction to understanding Minnesota's historical and contemporary forms of oppression that greatly impact students of color and American Indian students today. Such oppression defines the "opportunity gaps" that challenge thousands of students and their families in and beyond school. If we are serious about our work for equity in education, we must take into account broader systemic issues of segregation and integration, intersections of race and economic class, and White dominance in K-12 and teacher education.

SEGREGATION AND INTEGRATION: The Case of Minneapolis

Over the past half-century since the 1954 landmark U.S. Supreme Court case Brown v Board of Education, Minnesota and its school districts have made intentional steps towards both integrating its schools and segregating its schools. In the middle of the 20th century Minnesotans convinced themselves, despite the facts described in this section and others, that their schools were equitable and integrated. Due to legal pressure, the 1970s and 1980s achieved progress and enjoyed the greatest integration of schools. However as the 1990s and 2000s came upon us, schools began to re-segregate in which students of color are being educated once again in separate and often unequal environments.

For example, in 2015 Lake Harriet Lower Elementary School in south Minneapolis was 88.6% White with only 6.3% low-income students qualifying for free/reduced lunch. In contrast and only 2.6 miles away on the south side of the city, Lyndale Elementary School's population was 75% students of color and American Indian students with 71.9% of all students being low-income who qualify for free/reduced lunch. In the same year, 87.5% of Lake Harriet's 3rd grade students demonstrated "proficiency" on the MCA Math test in contrast to the state rate of 70.9% and 52.7% of Lyndale Elementary's students. In reading, 67.5% of Lake Harriet's 3rd graders were proficient in contrast to 44.9% of Lyndale's students (State Report Card, 2015). Pointing out these public data are not meant to suggest anything other than these are two schools in close proximity within the same city and district with very different racial and socio-economic demographics and unequal student outcomes.

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"With All Deliberate Speed"

When the Brown vs. Board of Education Supreme Court decision was handed down in 1954, Minneapolis schools and its citizens were excited to show the world how integrated education was possible and that it had been happening in their communities for decades. Minneapolis' Black and White communities proudly pointed out that the city's schools had been free of de jure segregation since 1869, only 11 years after Minnesota became a state. In reality, Minneapolis Public Schools in the early 1960s were not integrated and the Minneapolis Human Relations Task Force warned the city in 1962 to curb housing segregation, especially of African Americans (Sevetson, 2001). In effect, the city had been following the Supreme Court's guidance that school desegregation could occur "with all deliberate speed." This strategic reluctance to intregrate was common throughout the country in both southern and northern states (Douglas Horsford, 2011).

Throughout the rest of the decade, Minneapolis Public Schools became more segregated. Portable classrooms were created on school grounds in communities of color instead of sending students of color to nearby predominantly White schools. The opposite was also true: In 1967, Washburn High School was overcrowded, wealthy and White; it had an addition built instead of portable classrooms or redirecting some of its students to the nearby under-crowded school of color, Central High School. Central was closed 15 years later. Over time, housing in the city became more and more segregated and neighborhood schools reflected that trend (Sevetson, 2001).

As the Black community grew in the Twin Cities they also became more politicized as they sought better results from their schools. In response to community activism like this, Minneapolis Superintendent John B. Davis instituted a voluntary desegregation policy in 1967. This policy proved to be divisive as it fueled white flight and failed to integrate the schools. The district began to implement more desegregation policies but Superintendent Davis desired buy-in from the White community. Yet, staunch disapproval from the White community prevented many parts of the district's plans from being implemented. Mayor Charles Stenvig rallied White parents against the plan and public forums presenting the plan generally turned into racially-charged shouting matches. The new Human Rights Commissioner, Conrad Balfour, attended a polarized forum and said "vote it up or down, it doesn't matter to me. The issue doesn't come close to the problem. The issue is you — it's White America." (Sevetson, 2001).

In 1972, a lawsuit was brought against the district over its segregated schools, the district lost the court case and was forced to desegregate. Eventually, magnet schools began to open which attracted students to new areas, and busing introduced new avenues to students of color seeking better educational opportunities. Neighborhoods also began to integrate because parents of all races wanted to live closer to their children's schools (Orfield, Gumus-Dawes, Luce & Finn, 2010).

"Choice is Yours"

Two decades later in 1995 Minneapolis Mayor Sharon Sayles Belton and Superintendent Carol Johnson (both African American women) pushed for "community schools" and 67% of residents supported their move. As a result, the NAACP sued the school district again. Eventually, however, the two sides reached a settlement which led to the "Choice is Yours" inter-district program in which Minneapolis students could open enroll to attend predominantly white schools in one of eight suburban districts (Kraus, 2008). As was the case in previous desegregation efforts, students of color would carry the transportation and psychological burden of integration by traveling long distances to enter predominantly White spaces.

In the first five years of the program, the Choice is Yours program experienced challenging issues as well as promising growth towards integration. Asian American and Latino students disproportionately were not included in the program, most of the students who used it did not previously attend Minneapolis Public Schools, and nearly two-thirds of students elected to return to Minneapolis after one year in their suburban setting. Nevertheless, of the parents and students who remained in suburban schools, most found their experience favorable, and rated their experience with the schools higher than families who stayed in the Minneapolis district (Kraus, 2008). Academic outcomes for students who have participated are currently mixed depending upon on the data set and source.

The Growth of Charter Schools, Increased Immigration, and Impact on Racial Integration

Data show that integration policies and programs like Choice is Yours have not reduced racial separation. Between 1992 and 2002, the number of elementary schools in the Twin Cities where students of color were the majority, increased from 9 to 109 schools and the number of students of color in those schools skyrocketed from 2,832 to 29,788. In that same period, 56% of formerly integrated schools once again became segregated, which indicates a turnover much greater

8.5X

Segregated schools of color are 8.5 times more economically impoverished than segregated White schools.

than the national average of 35% (Orfield, Gumus-Dawes & Luce, 2013).

One factor contributing to racial homogeneity in schools in Minnesota is the emergence of charter schools. Racially homogeneous charter schools validated by communities of color may reflect their self-determination choices by seeking culturally responsive educational opportunities and ownership over the education of their students. Their intent is not driven by a desire to advance racial segregation historically promoted to support institutional racism and preserve white privilege. The creation of these schools have however, raised the question of whether the type of racial segregation that has been legally adjudicated against (see: Brown v. Board) is being affirmed in a different way. It must be noted, however, that White families and communities throughout the state and over time have advocated for and ensured that their students are in racially isolated schools and classrooms.

By the 2000s, court mandates against school districts to desegregate were no longer politically popular and many of Minnesota's schools were re-segregating by socio-economic status. Orfield and colleagues (2010), found that segregated schools of color are 8.5 times more economically impoverished than segregated White schools.

For the last two decades, many students of color have left the segregated and failing schools of big urban school disricts for charter schools and first-ring suburban and more racially integrated schools. For example, this has partly driven such student enrollment in Brooklyn Center, Columbia Heights, Hopkins, Richfield, Robbinsdale, and St. Louis Park among others. Many charter schools represent self-segregation choices for families because they offer a culturally specific and relevant setting that honor students' home cultures. Furthermore, many first-ring Twin Cities suburban schools now enroll large majorities of students of color and in some cases greater percentages than in several Minneapolis and St. Paul district schools. Even more dramatic are the sudden demographic changes in several Greater Minnesota towns and schools that have large concentrations of students of color due to recent Somali, Hmong and Latino immigrants filling a need for workers.

LACK OF OPPORTUNITY BASED ON INTERSECTIONS OF RACE AND CLASS

Researcher Dr. Pedro Noguera (2008) has described the achievement gap as "disparities in test scores and academic outcomes that tend to follow well-established race and class patterns...." (p. 1). These intersections denying equal as well as equitable educational opportunities to students of color and American Indian students have a long history in the United States and in Minnesota. Forty years ago a seminal

study conducted by economic researchers from the Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia concluded "our sample findings suggest...that most of the effects of family income and race can be tagged to differential impacts of school resources..." (Federal Reserve Bank of Philadelphia, 1974, p. 26). That is, the gaps are not the result of race or poverty, but rather caused by denied opportunities based on intersections of race and class.

Much focus is made of the racial achievement gap, and some researchers point to class as the most important factor, "Studies have consistently shown that poverty is the single most important out-of-school factor in predicting student

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TABLE ONE — **2015 Grade 7 Minnesota Comprehensive Reading Assessment, Percent Proficient**

AMERICAN INDIAN
- SPPS — 30.8%
- MPS — 18.4%
- MN STATE — 32.6%

ASIAN
- SPPS — 30.5%
- MPS — 40.8%
- MN STATE — 51%

LATINO/HISPANIC
- SPPS — 23.1%
- MPS — 23.0%
- MN STATE — 32.2%

BLACK
- SPPS — 20.9%
- MPS — 18.9%
- MN STATE — 30%

WHITE LOW INCOME
- SPPS — 42.3%
- MPS — 45.8%
- MN STATE — 45.6%

WHITE
- SPPS — 67.7%
- MPS — 74%
- MN STATE — 63.6%
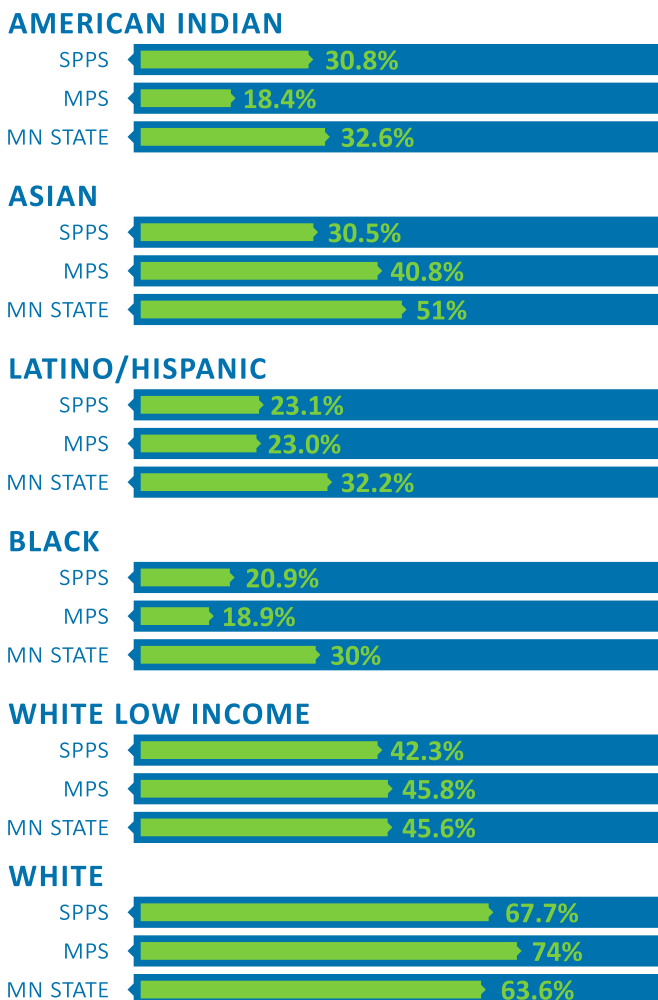
TABLE TWO — **2015 Grade 11 Minnesota Comprehensive Mathematics Assessment, Percent Proficient**

AMERICAN INDIAN
- SPPS — 15.4%
- MPS — 6.8%
- MN STATE — 23.8%

ASIAN
- SPPS — 29.3%
- MPS — 52.7%
- MN STATE — 48%

LATINO/HISPANIC
- SPPS — 21.3%
- MPS — 12.4%
- MN STATE — 24.2%

BLACK
- SPPS — 11.7%
- MPS — 14.6%
- MN STATE — 19.1%

WHITE LOW INCOME
- SPPS — 36.4%
- MPS — 36.5%
- MN STATE — 35.3%

WHITE
- SPPS — 56.1%
- MPS — 52.6%
- MN STATE — 55.1%
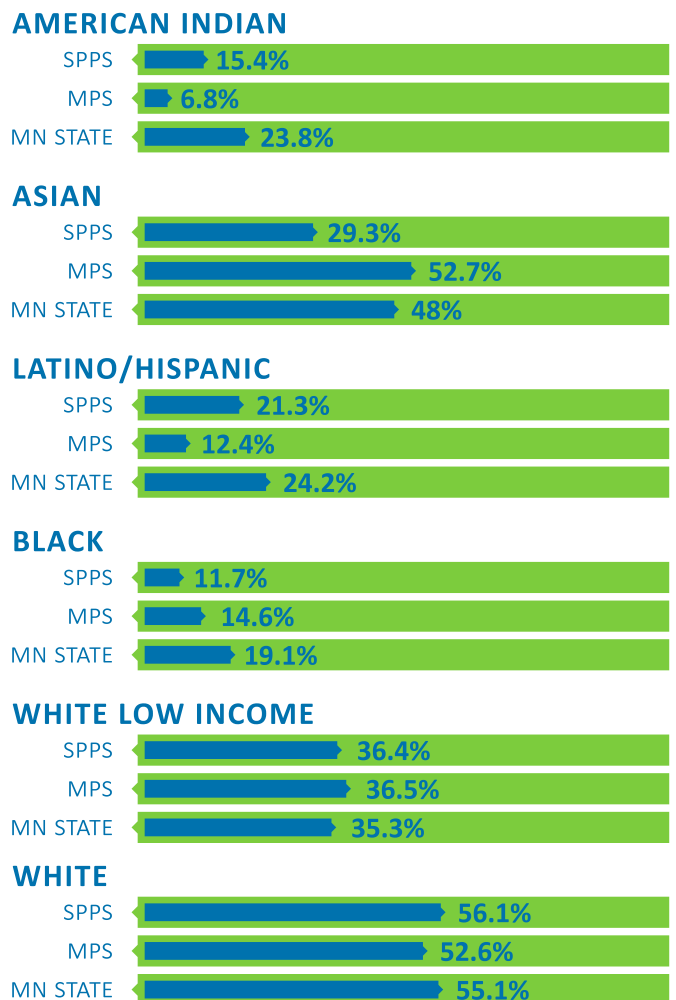
Source: Minnesota Department of Education; low income is defined as students eligible for free or reduced-price meals

performance" (Gardner, 2012, p. 1). To be clear, neither poverty nor wealth nor race nor ethnicity determine student performance. Likewise, correlation is not causation. What is true is that both race and class predict average test scores due to the historic and current opportunity gaps in society based on race and class.

Tables 1 and 2 are examples of how it is important to look at test score data as examples of the racial achievement gap in light of both race and class. Given that students of color and American Indian students come from families and communities that are disproportionately (not entirely) low-income compared to White students because of societal inequities, it is important to look at intersections of race and class when comparing test scores rather than only comparing racial groups without regard to family income.

For example as seen in Table 1, the gap ranges from 33-37% when comparing 7th grade reading score proficiency between White and Asian American students in both Minneapolis (MPS) and St. Paul (SPPS). However, when comparing percent proficiency for all Asian American students versus low-income White students in both districts, the gaps close to between 5-12%. Likewise, whereas White students as a whole in Minnesota outperform Asian students on the MCA 11th grade math test 55.1% to 48%, Asian students as a whole outperform low-income White students in the state 48% to 35.3%.

Just as a race-only lens is insufficient when looking at disparities in test scores between groups of students, it is also insufficient to use a class-only lens. If economic class alone were simply the best predictor of student performance, than one would expect that all low income groups would score similarly regardless of race/ethnicity or that White low-income students would have lower average proficiency scores than American Indian students and students of color who do not live in poverty. In fact, low-income Whites have much higher average percent proficiency rates on both reading and math tests than the entire populations of American Indian, African American, and Latina/o students. One must look at the continued effects of historic and contemporary institutional racism in schools and society to explain such gaps.

As described earlier in this report, the cumulative effect of generations of social, political and economic injustice creates an unpaid "education debt" from society that results in larger percentages of students of color and American Indian students persistently achieving less than their white peers (Ladson-Billings, 2006). The longer Minnesota and

The cumulative effect of generations of social, political and economic injustice creates an unpaid "education debt" from society that results in larger percentages of students of color and American Indian students persistently achieving less than their white peers.

its districts and schools allow these annual disparities to continue between the achievement of White students and the achievement of students of color and American Indian students, the greater the overall educational debt becomes because disparities reinforce and produce disparities.

As the Annie E. Casey Foundation has stated, "The consequences of failing to ensure educational success are far-reaching. The adverse impact is long term and reflected in future employment prospects, poverty and incarceration rates, as well as limited capacity to participate in the world community (2006). The national economic value of addressing racial inequities is reinforced by the Center for American Progress (2014).

These large gaps, in combination with the significant demographic changes already underway, are threatening the economic future of our country. Thus, closing racial and ethnic gaps is not only key to fulfilling the potential of people of color; it is also crucial to the well-being of our nation.... there are enormous payoffs to closing the gaps through public policies. If the United States were able to close the educational achievement gaps between native-born white children and black and Hispanic children, the U.S. economy would be 5.8 percent—or nearly $2.3 trillion—larger in 2050. The cumulative increase in GDP from 2014 to 2050 would amount to $20.4 trillion, or an average of $551 billion per year. Thus, even very large public investments that close achievement gaps would pay for themselves in the form of economic growth by 2050.

PERSISTENT REALITIES IN A SOCIETY AND SYSTEM BUILT UPON WHITE SUPREMACY

In conjunction with our conscious efforts to moving our discussions and actions toward addressing Gloria Ladson-Billings' concept of "education debt", it is equally important to also name the existence of "White supremacy" in order to understand the outcomes of both intentional and unintentional policies and practices that impact the daily lives and futures of students of color and American Indian students (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Gillborn, 2008; Leonardo, 2013; Vaught, 2011).

The remainder of this section describes White supremacy and its effects in society and in the schooling of American Indian students and students of color in Minnesota. Ansley (1989) defined White supremacy as the following:

> By 'white supremacy' I do not mean to allude only to the self-conscious racism white supremacist hate groups. I refer instead to a political, economic, and cultural system in which whites overwhelmingly control power and material sources, conscious and unconscious ideas of white superiority and entitlement are widespread, and relations of white dominance and non-white subordination are daily reenacted across a broad array of institutions and social settings.

Critical scholars have detailed the depth and manifestations of White privilege in our current society (e.g., Delgado and Stefancic, 1997). It would be simply disingenuous to continue to only allow talk around "White privilege" and "cultural/racial bias" within neo-liberal dialogues in Minnesota, without examining the root-cause of what makes White privilege possible—the entrenched nature of White supremacy (Leonardo, 2009; Mills, 2011).

While there are many perspectives on history, the fact is that the histories of the United States and of Minnesota from the beginning of White settlement to the present day are histories steeped in racism and White dominance (for example, see Bennett, 1987; Feagin, 2013; Spring, 2013; Takaki, 2008; Zinn, 1995). From the genocide of Native peoples beginning in 1492 with Columbus and in 1862 with Alexander Ramsey as Minnesota's first governor who declared that "The Sioux Indians must be exterminated or removed forever from the boarders of the state" (Waziyatawin, 2008) to present day killing of unarmed Black men by police in Minnesota and throughout the country, all lives do not matter equally in our White-dominated society.

Feagin (2013) describes an overarching "White racial frame" in society that influences institutions and individuals in ways that have "long legitimated, rationalized, and shaped racial oppression and inequality in this country" (p. x).

> ...the white racial frame includes a broad and persisting set of racial stereotypes, prejudices, ideologies, interlinked interpretations and narratives, and visual images. It also includes racialized emotions and racialized reactions to language accents and imbeds inclinations to discriminate. This white racial frame, like most social frames, operates to assist people in defining, interpreting, conforming to, and acting in everyday social worlds (p. xi).

By introducing the term 'White supremacy' in this report, we are not assuming that all White people are the same—but rather, all White people are implicated in White supremacy just as all people of color and American Indians in the U.S. are impacted by White supremacy. As Gillborn (2008) argues,

> "All White-identified people are implicated in these relations but they are not all active in identical ways and they do not all draw similar benefits—but they do all benefit, whether they like it or not." (p. 34)

While there are many perspectives on history, the fact is that the histories of the United States and of Minnesota from the beginning of White settlement to the present day are histories steeped in racism and White dominance.

Nor do we assert that all White people have conscious beliefs that espouse White supremacy or act with intentionality to maintain and strengthen White supremacy. We realize that this analysis and examination of White supremacy is challenging, possibly even offensive to those in Minnesota that suspect racism is a marginal problem perpetuated by a few extremist hate groups who have the malign intent to hurt and harm people of color and American Indians as well as others based on their religious and spiritual affiliations (e.g., Muslims, Jews, Sikhs). Through the following examination and understanding of White supremacy, as defined by scholars, it is our hope to demystify how educational inequities were created and are sustained in our state and nation.

Conceptualization and Scope of White Supremacy

According to critical race theorists and ethnic studies scholars, White supremacy is the effect of an historically-based, institutionally-perpetuated global and national system of exploitation and oppression of peoples of color by White peoples of European descent for the purpose of maintaining and defending a system of wealth, power, and privilege based on whiteness (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Feagin, 2014; Jung, Vargas, & Bonilla-Silva, 2011; Leonardo, 2009; Mills, 1994; Vaught, 2011).

Critical scholar, Sabina Vaught (2011) in her book, *Racism, Public Schooling, and the Entrenchment of White Supremacy* states that White supremacy "describes the white socio-cultural, material domination that structures the United States," and that "racism is a mechanism of white supremacy; it operates as the means of participation in the larger structure of white supremacy" (p. 10). Her distinction between racism and white supremacy demonstrates the need to recognize racism as being systemic rather than something thought or done by individuals. In mainstream discourse and media, the term racism can often lead to dead-end debates about whether an individual's particular remark or action was really racist or not. However, if we analyze how a certain action relates to the system of White supremacy, we can obtain a more thorough and relevant understanding of racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Gillborn, 2005; Leonardo, 2013).

Unfortunately, mainstream White American discourse rejects the notion of White supremacy being a current reality because the term is couched in historical lexicon that is often restricted to extreme things of the past like: Hitler and Nazi Germany resulting in the Holocaust, the genocide

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of American Indians by European explorers and colonists, chattel slavery and Jim Crow segregation, or the military conquest of Mexico. This way of thinking allows many people to be comforted and even believe that we live in a post-racial society in the U.S. due to the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation, the Civil Rights Movement, and the election of our first Black president in U.S. history. However, scholar Charles Mills (2003) warns us by stating, "power relations can survive the formal dismantling of their more overt supports" (p. 36). Mills' (1994) reminder that "white supremacy evolves over time" (p. 111) is essential and sets the foundation for why there continues to be a need for conceptual and theoretical frameworks that address current and evolving manifestations of White supremacy.

For example, in *Racism without Racists: Color-blind racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in America*, scholar Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2014) describes "color-blind racism" as the current dominant racial ideology. He explains that color-blind racism now serves as "the ideological armor for a covert and institutionalized system…that aids in the maintenance of white privilege without fanfare, without naming those who it subjects and those who it rewards" (pp. 3-4). Color-blind racism is a contemporary racial ideology that perpetuates White supremacy by using a set of ideas, phrases, and stories to justify contemporary racial oppression. It plays on the myth that the idea of race has all but disappeared as a factor shaping the life chances of all people who live in the United States, and that to avoid being racist is to claim to avoid race. The similarities between the common "Minnesota Nice" passive aggressive behavior, and the "slippery, apparently contradictory, and often subtle" coded mannerisms of color-blind racism should be noted (p.101).

In 2016, students of all races and ethnicities in Minnesota schools continue to be miseducated by curriculum that is still predominantly Eurocentric and this lack of broader understanding disempowers all students for life, citizenship and work in the increasingly diverse and interdependent 21st century.

The Minnesota public school system is one cultural system in which White is considered normal and centered. This system fosters entitlement and privilege for many but not all of its students and teachers when considering the experiences of American Indians and people of color in their roles as students, parents/guardians, or teachers. Segregated schools, failed integration attempts, Euro-centric curriculum, and inequitable policies, staffing, testing, behavior discipline practices (referrals and suspensions), academic tracking, teacher preparation programs, and inequitable property tax bases are all effects of White supremacy in society and education (Feagin, 2013; Leonardo & Grubb, 2014; Vaught, 2011). During the boarding school movement of the late 19th and early 20th centuries that caused trauma for American Indian youth, families and communities, the approach was to "kill the Indian and save the man" (Spring, 2013). Dr. Carter G. Woodson in *The Miseducation of the Negro* (1933) stated that "the African has been taught to admire the Hebrew, the Greek, Latin, Teuton, and he has been taught to despise the African" p. 1). In 2016, students of all races and ethnicities in Minnesota schools continue to be miseducated by curriculum that is still predominantly Eurocentric and this lack of broader understanding disempowers all students for life, citizenship and work in the increasingly diverse and interdependent 21st century.

One significant pillar of White supremacy in education has been school funding policies throughout the country that are heavily influenced by property taxes and the disparate abilities of various communities to raise levies to guarantee equitable educational resources (Kozol, 1991; Leonardo & Grubb, 2014). Minnesota has a relatively equitable school funding formula compared to other states. However, under the state's old Integration Plan, Minnesota did not achieve its stated outcomes after more than a dozen years and more than $1 billion spent. The lack of positive outcomes was largely due to appropriated money not being used for intended efforts to actually integrate schools, increase teachers of color and change curriculum. As Magan reported (2013), "the number of 'racially isolated' schools — where minority enrollment is 20 percentage points higher than comparable schools in their districts — has grown by 50 percent. And the state's gap between the academic performance of minority and poor students and their peers continues to be one of the worst in the nation."

It remains to be seen what Minnesota's new Achievement and Integration Plan will actually accomplish. The stated purpose of the program is "to pursue racial and economic integration, increase student achievement, create equitable educational opportunities, and reduce academic disparities based on students' diverse racial, ethnic, and economic backgrounds in Minnesota public schools" as stated in Minnesota statute 124D.861 (2015).

THE PERSISTENCE OF WHITE SUPREMACY IN P-12 TEACHING AND TEACHER PREPARATION

The lack of teachers of color is a national problem. While 50% of the school population in the U.S. is comprised of students of color and American Indian students, just 18% of teachers are of color or American Indian. While the race or ethnicity of a teacher does not guarantee or even predict the teacher's success or failure, the lack of teacher diversity represents a significant opportunity gap for students of color and American Indian students. It also presents a missed opportunity for White students to learn from role models of color.

The United States and Minnesota preK-12 workforce force has historically and presently been catered toward employing and retaining White Americans, particularly White female teachers and White male principals and superintendents. Locally, it wasn't until 1947 when Mary Jackson Ellis was hired by the Minneapolis Public School District as the district's first full-time Black teacher (Furst, 2014). With the exception of intentional efforts during the 1960s and early 1970s in Minneapolis and St. Paul, teachers of color in Minnesota were hired on a fragmented basis without an intentional focus on building a critical mass until the early 2000s.

Using Worner's (1991) report as a recent baseline, only small gains have been made in Minnesota since the 1980s in terms of the recruitment of teachers of color. From all years between 1982 and 1991, fewer than 2% of teachers of color were employed in Minnesota public schools (Boser, 2011). In 2016, the approximately 2,200 teachers of color and American Indian teachers across Minnesota comprise fewer than 4% of the entire teaching force despite American Indian students and students of color representing 30% of the total K-12 population (Sanchez, 2015; Minnesota Department of Education, 2015).

The October 2015 MnEEP Policy Brief "Minnesota Teachers of Color: Modernizing Our Teacher Workforce" outlines the findings and recommendations made in response to the issue of underrepresentation of teachers of color and American Indian teachers in the state. As stated in the Brief, "A non-diverse teaching corps is a consistent barrier to producing strong racially equitable education outcomes in public schools" (p.2). The analysis of this issue forms around a "pipeline" of policies and programs spanning three sections (i.e., candidate recruitment, effective induction, and long-term retention) that are "inextricably linked and necessitate a collaborative effort on the part of leaders, partners and stakeholders" (Sanchez, 2015, p. 11).

Currently, the State Report Card tool on the Minnesota Department of Education's website provides specific data at the school, district and state level about student demographics and teaching staff profiles. However, the teaching profile section does not include racial demographic data. MnEEP's Policy Brief makes nine comprehensive recommendations for several structural changes to increase teachers of color and American Indian teachers, including state laws to create a long term data tracking system disaggregated by racial diversity to monitor Minnesota's workforce needs should be passed and implemented. The barriers described below are also noted with other supporting information in our Policy Brief.

> While the race or ethnicity of a teacher does not guarantee or even predict the teacher's success or failure, the lack of teacher diversity represents a significant opportunity gap for students of color and American Indian students. It also presents a missed opportunity for White students to learn from role models of color.

Institutional and Structural Barriers as Access Gaps to Teaching as a Profession

At the college and university level, teacher-preparation programs also mirror the systems of White dominance that pervade the K-12 schools in terms of who is teaching and who is preparing to teach. For one, the majority U.S. teacher-preparation programs consist of predominantly White faculty and leaders such as department chairs, directors, and deans (Milner, 2010), and many teacher education programs admit students who are less diverse than the total student population at their institution.

In the Minnesota context among 31 higher education teacher preparation institutions, only Metropolitan State University's School of Urban Education has a majority of faculty and staff of color while also being led by a dean of color. Not surprisingly, Metro State's Urban Teacher Program enrolls 50% students of color without special grant or state funding or a designated recruiter. While the University of Minnesota's Curriculum and Instruction Department employs more than 25% faculty of color, they are not all involved in initial teacher preparation and the University's teacher candidates are more than 90% White with the exception of some small, specially-funded programs.

Having a vast majority of White administrators and faculty in teacher preparation programs that aspire to promote diversity, equity, and social justice perpetuates colonizing and exclusionary practices that have long-term implications for widening the disconnection that colleges/schools of education have with communities of color and people of color. That is, within these institutional cultures where Whiteness dominates, the expertise and lived experiences that faculty and staff members of color along with teacher candidates of color are often excluded, neglected or marginalized.
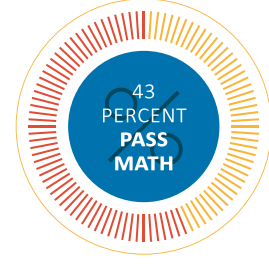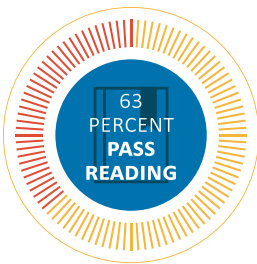
1 of 31

Of 31 teacher preparation institutions in MN, only one has a majority faculty and staff of color

Teacher licensing requirements set by legislative rule and the Board of Teaching as well as requirements in teacher preparation programs also contribute to the shortage of teachers of color. These requirements create racially-biased and discriminatory policies that disproportionately restrict equitable access to the teaching field for teachers of color. Arguably the most significant barrier to the teaching profession are teacher licensing exams. The Minnesota Teacher Licensure Exams or MTLEs include "basic skill" subtests in mathematics, reading, and writing, as well as content and pedagogy exams related to the specific field of licensure.
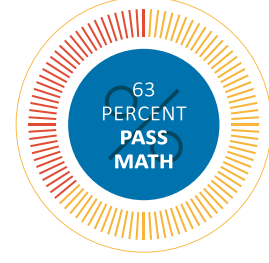
Arguably the most significant barrier to the teaching profession are teacher licensing exams.

One of the problems with the "basic skills" exams is that they do not test basic proficiency but skills that are beyond those needed to do well in college. While variability exists between various subpopulations, as an aggregate, teacher candidates of color and American Indian candidates have much lower passing rates compared to White candidates that look similar to test score gaps at the K-12 level. For example, the MTLE Technical Report 2013-2014 published on the showed data from 2013-2014 that revealed the following: For the MTLE Basic Skills in Reading, the passing rate was as follows: 74% for Whites, 63% for American Indians, 52% for Latinos, 47% for Asian, and 37% for Blacks. As Table 3 below shows, the gaps are worse for Math and Writing exams. A total of 313 prospective teachers of color and American Indian teachers did not pass the reading test compared to 302 who did pass; among White teacher candidates, 3,303 passed the reading exam. Passing rates for content and pedagogy exams are generally much higher for all racial/ethnic groups, although they reveal some smaller disparities by ethnicity/race in the single digits.

Minnesota Teacher Licensing Exam (MTLE) Basic Skills Passing Rates by Race, 2013-14

AMERICAN INDIAN

63 PERCENT PASS READING

41 PERCENT PASS WRITING

43 PERCENT PASS MATH

ASIAN

47 PERCENT PASS READING

45 PERCENT PASS WRITING

63 PERCENT PASS MATH

BLACK

37 PERCENT PASS READING

33 PERCENT PASS WRITING

21 PERCENT PASS MATH

LATINO

59 PERCENT PASS READING

46 PERCENT PASS WRITING

41 PERCENT PASS MATH

WHITE

74 PERCENT PASS READING

73 PERCENT PASS WRITING

73 PERCENT PASS MATH
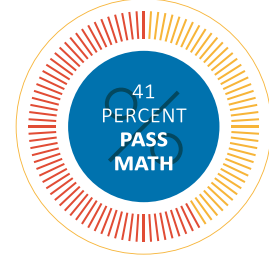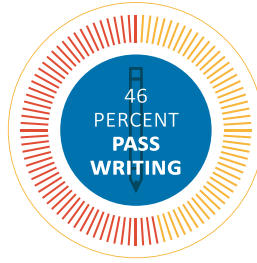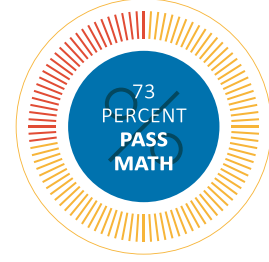
Source: MTLE Technical Report 2013-14

In the fall of 2015, to their credit the Minnesota Board of Teaching created some provisions to address these imbalances by allowing scores from a variety of standardized tests including the ACT, SAT in lieu of the MTLE Basic Skills exam, and agreeing to set new pass scores by summer 2016 that are consistent with skills needed for college and career readiness. Candidates who are working in language-immersion schools are also now exempt from the MTLE Basic Skills, as its reading and writing subparts are shown to disproportionally fail non-native speakers of English and teachers of color.

Another barrier that disproportionately affects candidates of color and American Indian candidates is the need to pay $270 to complete the new Teacher Performance Assessment (edTPA) requirements despite not being held personally accountable for their edTPA score. This edTPA submission fee is in addition to the $300-$500 needed for taking licensure exams until they are passed, criminal background check fee, and licensure application fee.

Teacher preparation programs also have policies and practices that create barriers for candidates of color and American Indian candidates, and their lack of diverse student and faculty can be unwelcoming spaces for candidates of color. For example, at the admissions level, minimum GPA requirements, test scores, as well as criteria that measure one's leadership promise or record, may unfairly disadvantage or disqualify candidates of color who may have experienced significant structural barriers in their K-12 education and postsecondary pursuits that have not allowed them to capitalize on the same opportunities as affluent and middle-class White teacher candidates. Another barrier pertains to how Minnesota teacher-preparation programs are generally structured. While many programs offer courses during the evenings and weekends, daytime requirements such as completing at least 100 pre-student teaching clinical hours creates additional barriers for students who work full-time during the day.

In the 21st century, Minnesota's educational enterprise has largely perpetuated institutionally racist and segregationist ideologies, policies, and practices. While there are many root causes, one could situate the institution of teacher education as key to either dismantling or perpetuating the status quo.

Tuition costs and increased student debt are another prohibiting factor for people of color who have options to go into more lucrative careers than teaching. However, the most significant financial barrier to diverse teacher candidates is the requirement to pay their host universities full-time tuition and not work outside jobs while completing at least 12 weeks of full-time unpaid labor to complete student teaching. Increasingly, teacher candidates are graduating with education related degrees but do not seek licensure because they cannot afford to quit the jobs they held while completing coursework and practicum experiences when the time comes for their culminating student teaching experience (Brown, 2013). Such is not the case for other alternative pathway candidates who have significantly less preparation prior to being hired as the full-time teacher of record working with predominantly children of color in challenging urban schools.

To be clear, this critique of persistent White supremacy in most of Minnesota's teacher preparation programs is not intended to elevate alternative teacher pathways. Like traditional teacher preparation programs in universities, most alternative pathway programs are also dominated by Whites and racism, including a common mentality towards students and communities of color that they need to be "saved" (Brewer and DeMarrias, 2015).

In the 21st century, Minnesota's educational enterprise has largely perpetuated institutionally racist and segregationist ideologies, policies, and practices. While there are many root causes, one could situate the institution of teacher education as key to either dismantling or perpetuating the status quo. Historically and presently, the bulk of Minnesota's majority-White teacher preparation programs have legitimated ideologies of White dominance and supremacy which have created the severe shortage of American Indian teachers and teachers of color. That is, teacher preparation programs have largely been designed about, by, and for White American teacher candidates, especially those from affluent and middle-class backgrounds whose experiences and

identities align with the colorblind ideologies of the field that ultimately normalize cultures and symbols of Whiteness.

Until Minnesota institutes accountability systems to diversify the ranks among K-12 personnel and teacher-preparation faculty, and considers strategies to decolonize and transform teacher education to provide equitable access to culturally and linguistically diverse individuals who aspire to teach, then "rampant hypocrisy abounds" (Cross, 2005, p. 266) in terms of the state's promise to promote educational, employment, and other social access and opportunities for all Minnesotans.

CRITICAL QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION AND DISCUSSION

- What is the collective responsibility of community, parents, educators, and students in ensuring learning success for every student?

- What are the implications for society if Minnesota does not implement programming to address the accumulating educational debt?

- To what degree is your institution integrated or segregated compared to other institutions and within your institution? Why? How is the integration or segregation now compared to a decade or more ago? In terms of equity, what is the difference between chosen segregation or integration by families of color and chosen integration or segregation by White families? Which families lack choice for their children?

- Which issue presented in this section can your district, school, institution or organization address most easily? How might it be solved? Which

is most difficult? What barriers need to be addressed to solve that difficult issue? Who are the key stakeholders who you would need to involve to address your school or district's racial issues?

- In the 21st century, White supremacy in K-12 and teacher education often manifests itself in both blatant and subtle ways. Using your own organization as a case study, discuss: (a) how policies, practices, and norms appear in one or more of the following spheres (i.e., assessment, classroom management/discipline, curriculum (official, enacted, extra and hidden), and instruction, hiring/personnel policies, parent engagement programs, and school board leadership) in ways that maintain White supremacy (b) what your organization could start doing or do better to create more equitable and inclusive spaces for children, communities, families, leaders, and teachers of color.

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II. PIECES OF THE PUZZLE

A COLLECTION & EXAMINATION OF DATA

Present day educational discourse that involves the examination of student data can be quite perplexing when considering the progression, educational experiences, and achievement of students of color and American Indian students.

Often, context-blind conclusions are made from limited interrogations of student data focused on the "Achievement Gap". In challenging ahistorical perspectives to current educational problems, Gloria Ladson-Billings (2006, 2007) insists that data driven discussions in education should use an historically-contextualized perspective which calls attention to the centuries of racism and exclusion that have shaped current conditions privileging some while oppressing others. Thus, she argues it is misguided to focus on the achievement gap and not the educational debt of opportunity gaps accumulated over time. Our state has failed to close some of the widest achievement gaps in the country over the past 15 years despite much attention to the problem and so-called "accountability measures" directed at districts, schools and teachers. We must situate statistical patterns of student performance within broader socio-historical contexts to not only create effective short-term solutions to long-term problems, but to address the root causes of education inequities as well.

While understanding the historical contexts of the education debt that have been systemically developed for students of color and American Indian students is pertinent as "part of the puzzle" of examining our education system, student academic outcome data that is required by districts and state's to collect and monitor—kindergarten readiness,

reading and math proficiency levels, high school graduation rates, and college readiness—are another part of that puzzle. We must always acknowledge that standardized tests have their biases, but knowing disaggregated statistical trends for each community allows everyone to gauge some measures of progress or set-backs related to achieving education equity between different racial/ethnic groups. We must also look at disaggregated data about measures children well-being which can point to opportunity gaps that influence disparate educational outcomes. **Thus, this section addresses three main questions:**

- **What are current school enrollments by race/ethnicity and how do race and class intersect?**

- **What trends exist in student performance and learning disaggregated by race/ethnicity?**

- **What are post-secondary plans and enrollments disaggregated by race/ethnicity?**

When releasing the 2015 accountability results, the Minnesota Department of Education reported that nearly two-thirds of schools in the state were "on target" to meet the state goal of reducing the achievement gaps by 50 percent by the year 2017. However, much remains to be done as indicated by the data in this section and the table below, especially in the state's two large urban districts—Minneapolis Public Schools (MPS) and St. Paul Public Schools (SPPS). Combined these two districts enroll more than 74,000 students, of whom more than 70% are American Indian or students of color along with more than two-thirds of all students being from families with low-incomes.

Summary of Reported Minnesota Trends Related to Achievement Gaps

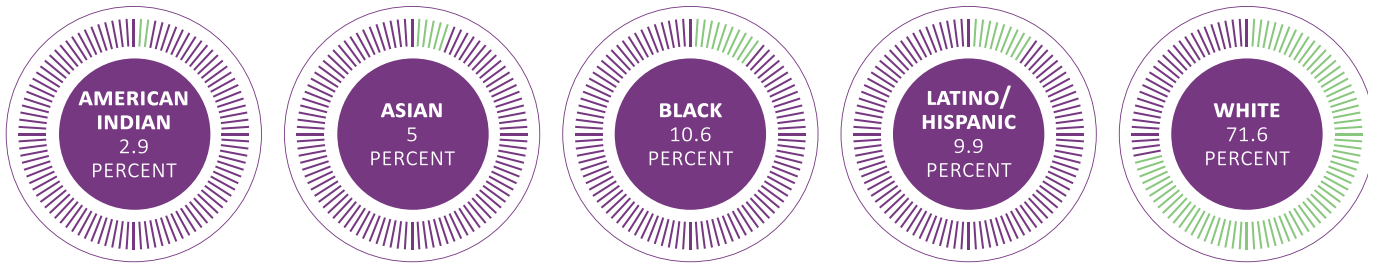| METRIC	DATE RANGE	GAP TREND IN MN
Kindergarten Readiness	2010-12	Gaps Narrowing
Early Childhood Health Screenings	N/A	N/A
K-12 Math Proficiency	2011-15	Small Changes; Mixed Results by Group
K-12 Reading Proficiency	2013-15	Small Changes; Mixed Results by Group
Grade 3 Reading Proficiency	2013-15	Small Changes; Mixed Results by Group
Suspensions, Expulsions, Exclusions	2011-14	Gaps Widening
High School Graduation Rates	2011-14	Gaps Narrowing

Access to Early Childhood Education

Access to high-quality early childhood educational experiences/programs is important to getting our most vulnerable children ready for kindergarten. Currently, there is no population-level indicator that captures the number of students with adequate access to high-quality early childhood programs. However, MDE does keep track of the number of students enrolled in public pre-kindergarten programs, by race/ethnicity and gender. These demographics are roughly similar to the demographics of K-12 enrollment in the state (rc.education.state.mn.us/).

In addition, the Minnesota Head Start Association publishes enrollment data by race/ethnicity for both Early Head Start (ages 0-3) and Head Start (ages 3-5). It is harder to draw conclusions from the Head Start data since fluctuations in enrollment are almost entirely a result of changes to federal Head Start appropriations. However, the demographics shown in the table below demonstrate that American Indian families and families of color disproportionately enroll their children in Head Start programs more often than White families in comparison to the demographic enrollments in public school PreK programs shown above.
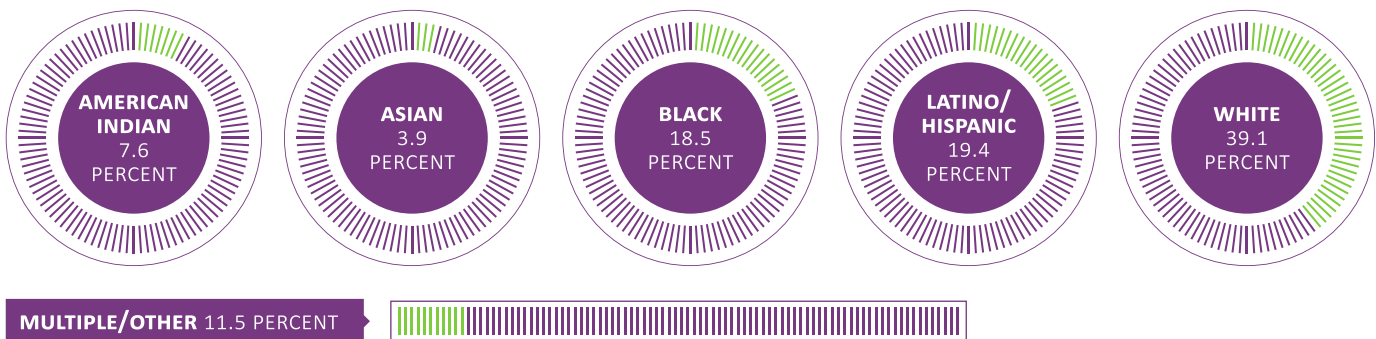
Nearly all school-based and Head Start programs have been designated "high-quality" by Minnesota's Quality Rating & Improvement System, Parent Aware. High-quality programs are those with a 3- or 4-star rating, or are nationally accredited. The purpose of the 1-4 star ratings are to identify programs that have gone beyond basic licensing requirements and have committed to best practices in child development and foundational learning skills[i] as well as encourage program improvements throughout the state. Since the rollout of the Parent Aware rating system in 2012, the number of programs rated as high-quality has increased 183%. Of those rated, approximately 74% of programs are rated as high quality. Unfortunately, there are no publicly available data reporting the race/ethnicity of providers or the race/ethnicity of the families or students attending programs.

Percent of Total Enrollment in School-Based Preschool Programs by Race/Ethnicity — 2014

AMERICAN INDIAN 2.9 PERCENT · ASIAN 5 PERCENT · BLACK 10.6 PERCENT · LATINO/HISPANIC 9.9 PERCENT · WHITE 71.6 PERCENT

Source: MDE, 2014

Percent of Total Enrollment in Head Start Programs by Race/Ethnicity — 2014

AMERICAN INDIAN 7.6 PERCENT · ASIAN 3.9 PERCENT · BLACK 18.5 PERCENT · LATINO/HISPANIC 19.4 PERCENT · WHITE 39.1 PERCENT

MULTIPLE/OTHER 11.5 PERCENT

Source: Minnesota Head Start Association, Inc.

K-12 Student Enrollment

The total K-12 enrollment in 2014-15 was 857,039 students. Student enrollment continues to diversify, consistent with state demographics. In the past 5 years, students of color and American Indian student enrollment increased from 25.6% (2011) of the state enrollment to 29.5% (2015). These data can be obtained from the Minnesota Report Card.[ii]

Enrollments based on Race and Ethnicity Data from the 2013 Minnesota Student Survey

Because of the complexity of race and ethnicity, we also know that the population of multi-race and multi-ethnic communities is growing. From the 2013 Minnesota Student Survey (MSS), we obtain a slightly different profile of student diversity. As described more fully in the section on Social-Emotional Learning, the MSS includes grades 5, 8, 9, and 11. The reader should also be aware of several notes about this demographic data from the MSS.[2]

In 2015, we find the following percent of students in three accountability reporting categories:

- English Learners: 8.3% (70,799 students)
- Special Education: 14.9% (128,088 students)
- Free/Reduced Priced Lunch: 38.3% (328,502 students)

Minnesota K-12 Student Enrollment

AMERICAN INDIAN 2.3%
ASIAN 7.3%
BLACK 11.5%
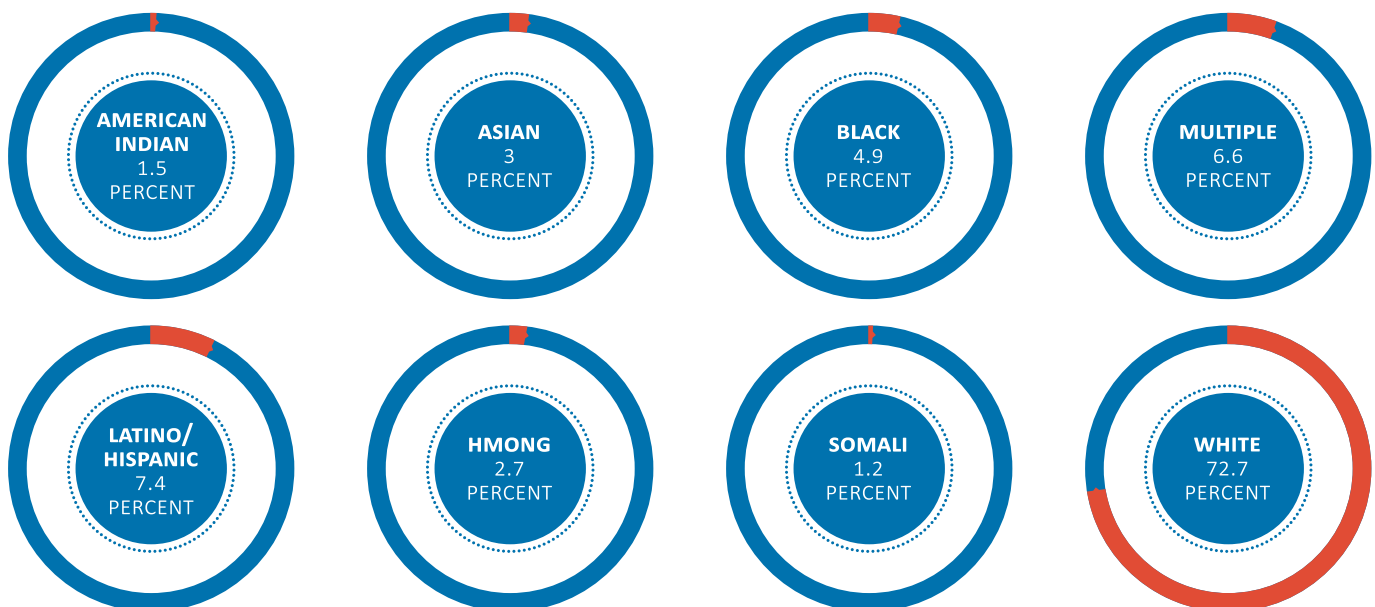LATINO/HISPANIC 8.4%
WHITE 70.5%
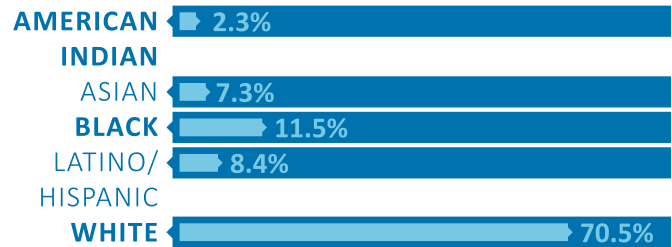
Source: MDE, 2015

[2] Note about American Indian Students: A total of 9491 students (6.2% of the total sample identifying racial membership) identified as American Indian or Alaskan Native. Of these, 75% identified with other racial or ethnic memberships and are included in the "Multiple" category.

In the MSS, respondents were asked if they belong to one general ethnicity (i.e. Latino/Hispanic) and two specific ethnicities in addition to their race. While Hmong represent 2.7% of all students, they represent 47.3% of all Asian/Pacific Islanders. Somali students represent 1.2% of all students but 19.7% of students considered Black in society.

Note about Ethnic membership: Of all Latino/Hispanic students, 42% did not identify with a race. Of all Somali students, 8% did not identify with a race; about 87% also identified as Black, African, or African American. Of all Hmong students, all of them also selected a racial identification; about 95% also identified as Asian.

Note about the Sample: Minneapolis Public Schools did not participate in the 2013 MSS, resulting in a slightly less diverse sample of students than the state population as a whole.

## Enrollments based on Race and Ethnicity Data from the 2013 Minnesota Student Survey

AMERICAN INDIAN 1.5 PERCENT
ASIAN 3 PERCENT
BLACK 4.9 PERCENT
MULTIPLE 6.6 PERCENT
LATINO/HISPANIC 7.4 PERCENT
HMONG 2.7 PERCENT
SOMALI 1.2 PERCENT
WHITE 72.7 PERCENT

Source: MSS, 2013

Number of Children Living in Poverty 2012

DEMOGRAPHIC	POPULATION
American Indian	6,000
Asian American	13,000
Black	43,000
Latino/Hispanic	32,000
Two or More Races	18,000
White	74,000

Source: www.datacenter.kidscount.org

Number of Children in Poverty 2012

American Indian
38%

Asian American
20%

Black
46%

Latino/Hispanic
30%

Two or More Races
23%
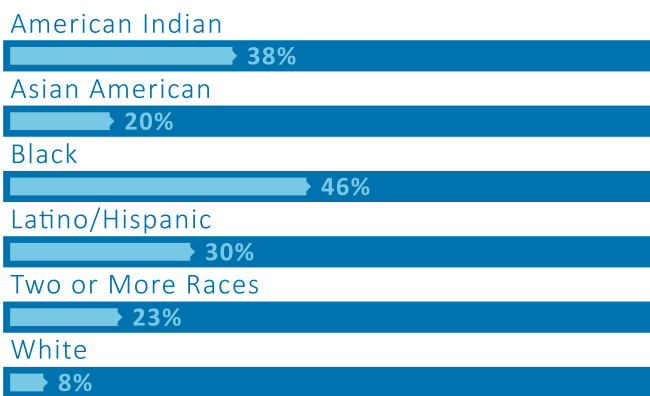
White
8%

Source: www.datacenter.kidscount.org

Number of Children in Title I Schools 2012-2013

DEMOGRAPHIC	POPULATION
American Indian	8,010
Asian American	22,886
Black	41,583
Latino/Hispanic	27,635
Two or More Races	7,341
White	85,045

Source: www.datacenter.kidscount.org

DATA SHOWING INTERSECTIONS OF RACE AND CLASS IN MINNESOTA

The data below give a snapshot of how race and class intersect for children in Minnesota; these intersections have correlations with data that follow about student performance and represent opportunity gaps that must be addressed. Note that the total number of children of color and American Indian children (112,000) in poverty in 2012 exceeded the number of White children in poverty (74,000). Also note that only 8% of White children were in poverty in contrast to between 23-46% of specific communities of color or American Indians. Finally, these data point to the disproportionate concentration of students of color and American Indian students who live in poverty and attend school with other students in poverty as reflected by their schools having Title I designation for federal funding purposes.

Readers of this report are encouraged to access this and other important data using the robust and customizable KIDS COUNT Data Center tool, a project of the Annie E. Casey Foundation available at http://www.datacenter.kidscount.org/
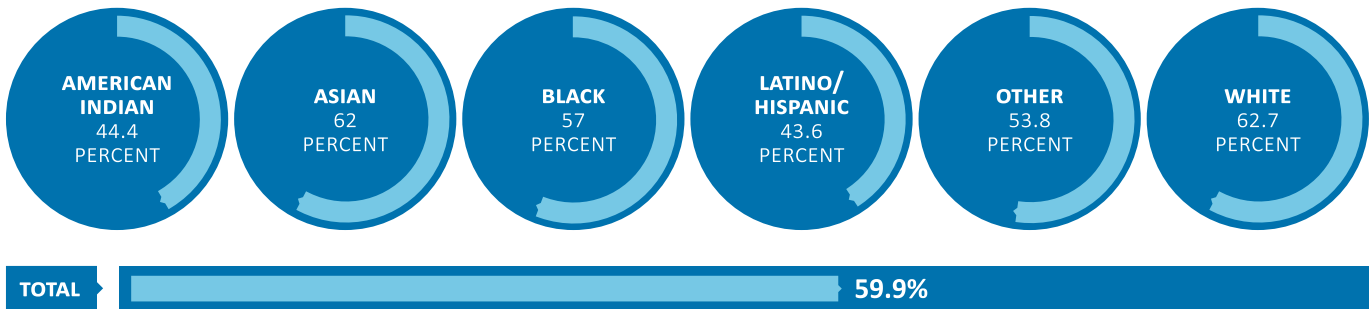
EARLY CHILDHOOD MEASURES OF ACHIEVEMENT

Kindergarten Readiness

Kindergarten Readiness is the milestone by which communities measure the impact of early childhood initiatives. Currently, Minnesota does not have a statewide measure of kindergarten readiness. From 2002-2013, the Minnesota Department of Education[iii] (MDE) recruited districts and schools to participate in its kindergarten readiness assessment, the Work Sampling System. Approximately 10% of students were represented. Readers should note in the table below the significant improvements in readiness made for each racial/ethnic group and that gaps narrowed between the percent readiness of White children versus American Indian and children of color. Currently, MDE is finalizing its Kindergarten Entry Profile project, which will provide districts with guidance on choosing an appropriate assessment of kindergarten readiness as directed under the World's Best Workforce legislation.

Kindergarten Readiness by Race/Ethnicity   2010

| AMERICAN INDIAN 44.4 PERCENT | ASIAN 62 PERCENT | BLACK 57 PERCENT | LATINO/ HISPANIC 43.6 PERCENT | OTHER 53.8 PERCENT | WHITE 62.7 PERCENT |

TOTAL 59.9%

Kindergarten Readiness by Race/Ethnicity   2012

| AMERICAN INDIAN 61.9 PERCENT | ASIAN 82 PERCENT | BLACK 73.7 PERCENT | LATINO/ HISPANIC 67.5 PERCENT | OTHER 75.1 PERCENT | WHITE 78.1 PERCENT |

TOTAL 72.8%
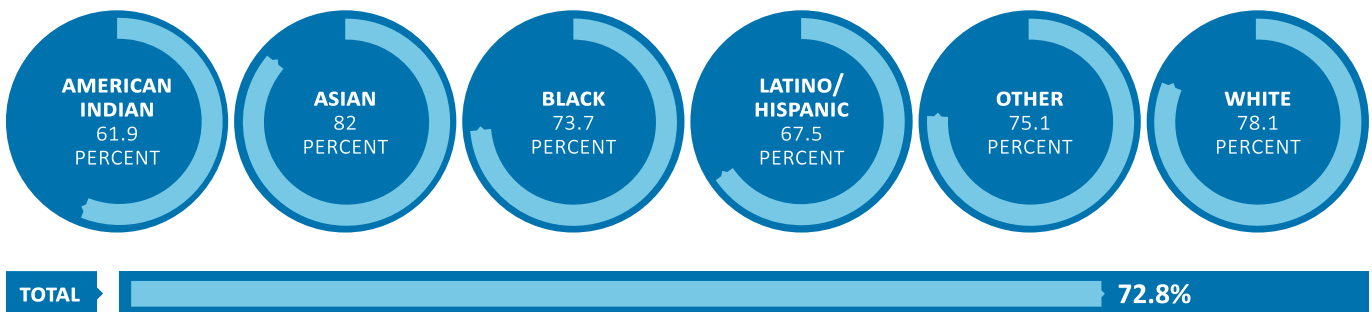
Source: MDE, 2013

Child & Teen Check-up Rates by Race/Ethnicity (FY 2013)

American Indian

Age 1	94%
Age 1-2	65%
Age 3-5	57%
Total 0-20	57%

Asian

Age 1	92%
Age 1-2	79%
Age 3-5	72%
Total 0-20	74%

Black

Age 1	94%
Age 1-2	82%
Age 3-5	75%
Total 0-20	80%

Latino/Hispanic

Age 1	95%
Age 1-2	84%
Age 3-5	78%
Total 0-20	84%

White

Age 1	90%
Age 1-2	75%
Age 3-5	66%
Total 0-20	65%
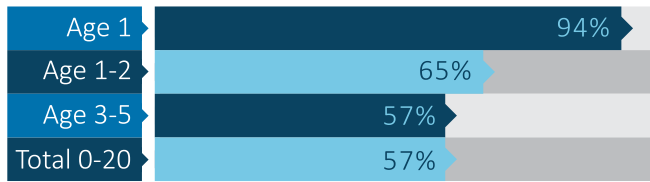
MDHS (2013)

Early Childhood Health Screenings

Researchers have shown the positive impacts access to healthcare services and high-quality early childhood experiences/programs can have on all children. However, this is especially true for children and families with low incomes, from communities of color, or are experiencing a disproportionate burden of the education debt.[iv]

In terms of access to healthcare services, early childhood health screenings are an important readiness indicator. This includes a process for identifying health and developmental concerns and helping families access resources needed to address the concerns. In terms of health-only screenings, otherwise known as Early Periodic Screening, Diagnostic, and Treatment (EPSDT) or Child & Teen Checkups (C&TC), rates vary greatly in Minnesota, depending on the age group of the child. For the fiscal year 2014, 77% of Medicaid-eligible families with children ages 0-5 completed these screenings (Minnesota Department of Human Services, 2015).

Current data are not available by race/ethnicity. For the fiscal year 2013, data are available by race/ethnicity. American Indian families with children age 0-5 had the lowest percentage of families making the suggest screening, followed by White families.

The MDE is required by state statute to screen all children within 30 days of entering kindergarten. This health and developmental screening, called the Early Childhood Screening (ECS), also places a large emphasis on child social-emotional development. Currently, there are no data publicly available for the last two school years (2013-2014 and 2014-2015). In the 2012-2013 school year, 33% of three and four-year-olds in the state received their ECS. Since it is important to identify concerns as early as possible so children and families can access resources needed to address the concerns, it is unfortunate that more than 4,500 (7%) kindergarteners started school without having had an ECS. Also of note, none of the publicly available ECS data is available by race/ethnicity.

K–12 ACCOUNTABILITY AND MEASURES OF ACHIEVEMENT

As this report was being completed, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA) was reauthorized, modifying the No Child Left Behind (NCLB, 2001)[v] version of ESEA into the current version, Every Student Succeeds Act (ESSA, 2015).[vi] The ESSA maintains the requirement of testing in grades 3-8 and high school, with additional flexibility. States establish their own academic achievement goals regarding closing achievement and graduate gaps, but are not encouraged by the federal government to pick a particular set of standards (e.g., Common Core State Standards), and states are no longer required to use student achievement scores in teacher evaluation (but may choose to do so). ESSA allows for computer adaptive testing, and the possibility of testing out of grade level when appropriate, as well as additional flexibility.

Because of delays in reauthorization, Minnesota, like many states, was meeting federal requirements through a flexibility waiver (since 2012).[vii] This waiver included three principles:

1. Career and college-ready expectations for all students.

2. State-developed system of differentiated recognition, accountability and support for struggling schools.

3. Supporting effective instruction and leadership.

The first principle was met through the state's career- and college-ready standards in reading/language arts and mathematics, with high-quality assessments aligned to those academic standards administered in grades 3-8 and once in high school. The second principle led to the development of the Multiple Measurements Rating (MMR)[viii] system, evaluating school performance based on student proficiency on the academic standards-based assessments, growth, achievement gap reduction, and for high schools, graduation rates. MMR scores result in focus ratings based on a school's success in reducing achievement gaps. Finally, the third principle led to teacher and principal evaluation systems.

In addition, in 2013, the World's Best Workforce (WBW) bill was passed requiring every district in the state to develop plans that address five goals, in part combining plans schools already had in place, but to focus those plans on core statewide goals:

1. All children ready for school

2. All third-graders reading at grade level

3. All racial and economic achievement gaps are closed

4. All students ready for career and college

5. All students graduate from high school

These goals are highlighted below in relevant sections. As schools monitor their progress toward achieving these goals, the presentations below provide examples of data sources that inform progress. The summaries here focus on student performance throughout the MN K-12 educational system, toward achieving career and college readiness expectations, as defined by the state's academic standards.
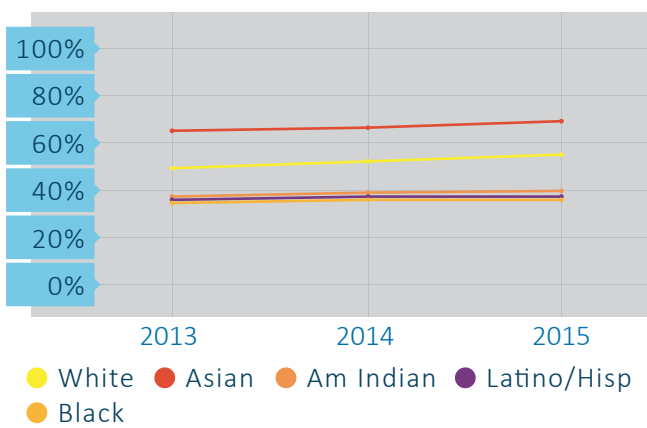
CORE STATEWIDE GOALS

1. All children ready for school

2. All third-graders reading at grade level

3. All racial and economic achievement gaps are closed

4. All students ready for career and college

5. All students graduate from high school
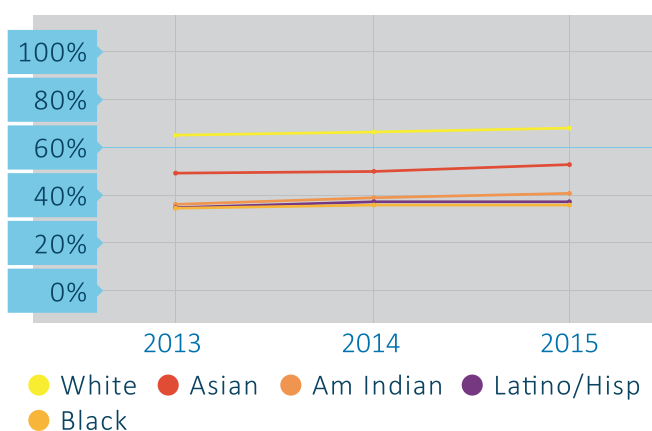
MCA-III Mathematics Proficiency Rates

● White ● Asian ● Am Indian ● Latino/Hisp
● Black
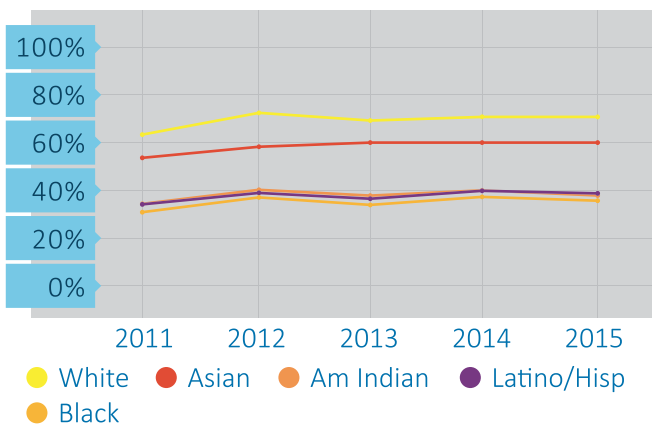
Source: MDE, 2015

MCA-III Reading Proficiency Rates

● White ● Asian ● Am Indian ● Latino/Hisp
● Black

Source: MDE, 2015

Grade 3 MCA-III Reading Profciency Rates

● White ● Asian ● Am Indian ● Latino/Hisp
● Black

Source: MDE, 2015

Traditional Notions of Academic Achievement and Reading/Math Proficiency Measures Based on Standardized Tests

Before providing the most currently available data about K-12 student performance, it is important to note that standardized tests have their historic roots in increasing and maintaining White supremacy in the early 20th century with IQ tests designed to keep people of color out of the military and the eugenics movement.[ix]

The state of Minnesota and its school districts spend millions of dollars and thousands of hours every year on standardized testing, and an increasing number of families are joining the local and national Opt Out movement[3] (Matos, 2015; Hagopian, 2014). Minnesota should look for measures of student learning other than timed, standardized test that are not sourced from historically exclusionary tools informed by White supremacist thinking. In the meantime, the state should be testing much less. Often times, students of color and American Indian students in low performing schools are "taught to the test" in ways that have short-term gain and long-term negative effects on students' interest in school.

The data selected for this summary include results of the Minnesota Comprehensive Assessment (MCA) program.[4] The good news is we observe a general increase in proficiency overall in Mathematics and Reading; the bad news is that significant gaps persist. Including all accountability testing programs for students enrolled in their testing schools as of October 1, the following graphs illustrate overall proficiency rates by race for Mathematics and Reading. In the following line graphs, race/ethnicity groups are ordered in the legend from highest rate to lowest rate in 2015. These data can be observed in detail in the Minnesota Report Card.[x]

[3]See also: http://dianeravitch.net/2015/08/27/behind-the-opt-out-movement-tests-that-are-designed-to-fail-most-students/ and http://www.fairtest.org/get-involved/opting-out

[4]Beginning in the 2010 school year, the Mathematics MCA-III was administered on computer or on paper (although the 11th grade MCA-III was not administered until 2013). In 2011, the Science MCA-III was first administered in grades 5, 8, and high school. In 2012, the Reading MCA-III was first administered. The previous high school versions of the GRAD test were discontinued for Reading and Writing in 2012 and Mathematics in 2013. For a more complete review of the history of Minnesota's testing programs, see the 2013-14 Technical Manual .

	WHITE	AMERICAN INDIAN	ASIAN	BLACK	LATINO/ HISPANIC	ENGLISH LEARNER	TOTAL
MATH							
2015	69.0%	38.2%	60.2%	34.3%	38.7%	25.4%	61.6%
2014	68.9%	38.2%	60.2%	35.1%	39.0%	27.3%	61.9%
2013	68.4%	37.7%	59.6%	34.6%	37.6%	27.2%	61.6%
2012	69.2%	40.7%	58.8%	34.5%	39.3%	30.8%	62.7%
2011	63.5%	33.5%	54.5%	30.2%	32.9%	25.8%	57.3%
READING							
2015	68.1%	40.1%	54.2%	35.9%	37.7%	17.5%	60.6%
2014	672%	38.5%	51.9%	35.2%	36.8%	17.6%	59.8%
2013	65.7%	36.5%	49.4%	34.4%	35.3%	17.2%	58.7%

Source: MDE, 2015

English Learners (EL) are students receiving English Learner services. In 2015, there were 35,980 EL students tested in mathematics (a tested population that steadily increased from 31,998 in 2011) and 35,150 EL students tested in reading (increased from 33,178 from 2013).

Disparities in proficiency rates (Meets and Exceeds State Standards performance levels) are important to monitor, particularly when reporting progress toward the World's Best Workforce (WBW) goals. In addition, monitoring the reading achievement of third-grade students is another important marker of progress in reaching WBW goals.
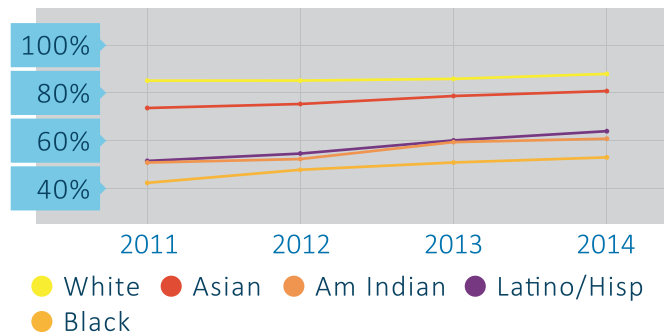
High School Graduation Rates

The Minnesota graduation rate is calculated for 4, 5, and 6-year periods (only 4 and 5-year rates are summarized here). The 4-year graduation rate is the on-time graduation rate based on the cohort of first-time ninth grade students plus transfers into the cohort and transfers out of the cohort within the 4 year period. There is no additional adjustment for Special Education or recent immigrant students. In the following line graphs, race/ethnicity groups are ordered in the legend from highest rate to lowest rate in 2014. These data can be viewed in the Minnesota Report Card.[xi]
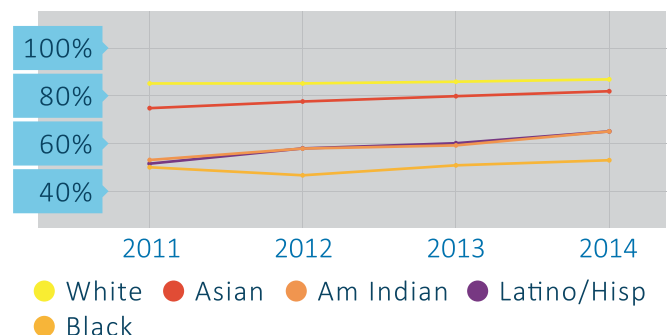
High school completion is an important component of the WBW goals, with relevance to achievement gaps as well. Consistent with achievement gaps and performance disparities, we observe persistent and large disparities in high school graduation by race/ethnicity but gaps are narrowing.

Overall 4-year graduation rates have increased from 77.2% in 2011 to 81.2% in 2014. In 2014, there was a slight increase in graduation rates after 5 years, from a total 4-year graduation rate of 81.2% to a 5-year graduation rate of 83.2%.

4-Year Graduation Rate

● White ● Asian ● Am Indian ● Latino/Hisp ● Black

5-Year Graduation Rate

● White ● Asian ● Am Indian ● Latino/Hisp ● Black

Source: MDE, 2015

MEASURES OF SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL LEARNING

Developmental Skills and Supports

A number of developmental skills, supports, and challenges youth face were identified in subsets of items from the Minnesota Student Survey (MSS),[5] based on close attention to the Developmental Asset Framework of Search Institute, the ecological model of youth development of Bronfenbrenner.[xii] Components of the Developmental Asset Profile (DAP,[xiii] from Search Institute) were introduced in 2013. From an ecological perspective, the developmental contexts where youth are located including self, family, peers, school, community, and broader cultures, interact with the inherent capacity of youth to grow and thrive. Developmental strengths, skills, competencies, values and dispositions are core factors in the reduction of high-risk behaviors and the promotion of healthy well-being or thriving.[xiv]

A summary of findings is reported here to provide a new profile of student skills known to be important to success in school, work, and beyond.

It is important to explain the size of the differences among racial/ethnic groups, particularly compared to achievement gaps. The range of differences from the state average in terms of standard deviations is much larger for the MCA Reading and Mathematics scores, indicating much larger gaps in academic achievement than for social-emotional learning. In 3rd grade Reading and 8th grade Mathematics, we find achievement gaps of two-thirds a standard deviation and nearly a full standard deviation, respectively. Most of the gaps in social-emotional learning measures are less than one-fifth of a standard deviation.

OVERALL SUMMARY:

- Students in all grades (5, 8, 9, 11) and all racial/ethnic groups report high levels of Commitment to Learning, Positive Identity, and Social Competence. In general, they have high rather than low expectations of themselves.

- While there are varied differences among students from different groups and communities—particularly related to race, ethnicity, and sexual orientation—, the gaps are much smaller than gaps in standardized tests between racial/ethnic groups.

- Statewide, there is a slight drop in all three areas from grade 5 to 8. Regarding developmental supports, students report quite high levels of Empowerment, Support, and Teacher/School Support, with an even greater drop between grade 5 and 8.

- The most significant decline in this time is seen with Teacher/School Support, a full standard deviation decline.

Commitment to Learning

AVERAGE SCORE WITH INTERVALS OF 1 STANDARD DEVIATION
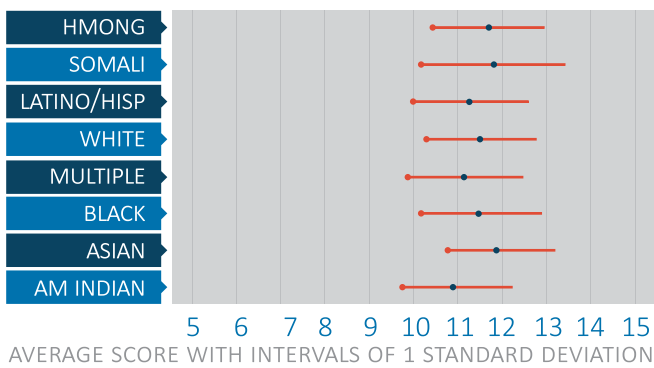
Commitment to Learning is characterized by student engagement in class, preparation for learning, time spent on homework, being achievement oriented, and believing that being a student is an important role at this time – generally caring about school.

Note: A score of 10 is the neutral position of Commitment to Learning; scores greater than 10 indicate positive Commitment to Learning. State average is 11.4.

Positive Identity

AVERAGE SCORE WITH INTERVALS OF 1 STANDARD DEVIATION
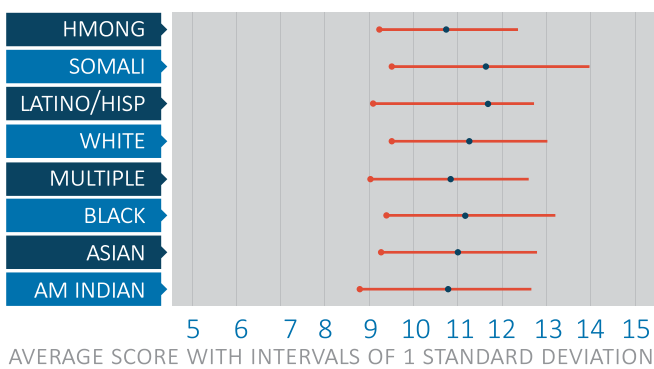
Positive Identity is characterized by having a sense of control of one's life, feeling good about self and future, dealing well with disappointment and life's challenges, and thinking about one's purpose in life.

Note: A score of 10 is the neutral position of Positive Identity; scores greater than 10 indicate stronger Positive Identity. State average is 11.1.

Social Competence

AVERAGE SCORE WITH INTERVALS OF 1 STANDARD DEVIATION
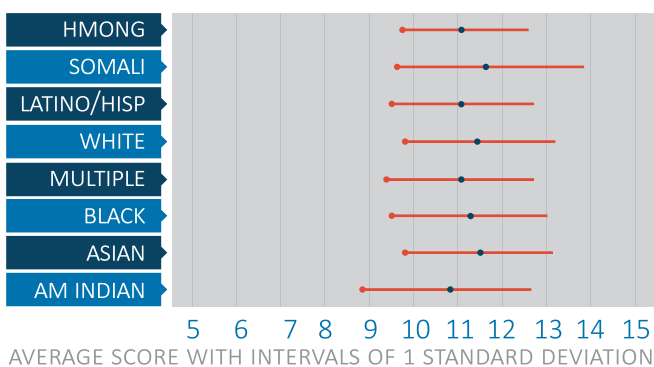
Social Competence is characterized by the abilities to say no to dangerous/unhealthy things, build friendships, express feelings appropriately, resist bad influences, resolve conflicts without violence, accept differences in others, and recognize the needs and feelings of others.

Note: A score of 10 is the neutral position of Social Competence; scores greater than 10 indicate stronger Social Competence. State average is 11.4.

[5] The Minnesota Student Survey (MSS) is designed by an interagency team from the MN Departments of Education, Health & Human Services, Public Safety, and Corrections to monitor important trends and support planning efforts of the collaborating state agencies and local public school districts, as well as youth serving agencies and organizations. Beginning in 2013, the MSS is administered every three years to students in grades 5, 8, 9, and 11. All operating public school districts are invited to participate. The study design is correlational, thus no causal arguments can be made from these data.

The Minnesota Youth Development Research Group in the Department of Educational Psychology at the University of Minnesota estimated scores for social-emotional development from the MSS. This includes three developmental skills (Commitment to Learning, Positive Identity, and Social Competence) and three developmental supports (Empowerment, Supported, and Teacher/School Support)[5].
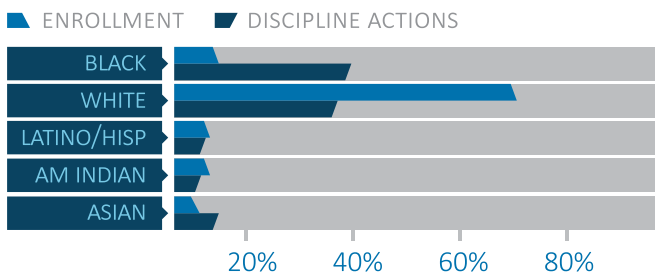
Suspensions, Expulsions, Exclusions as a Percent of Total Actions

Legend:
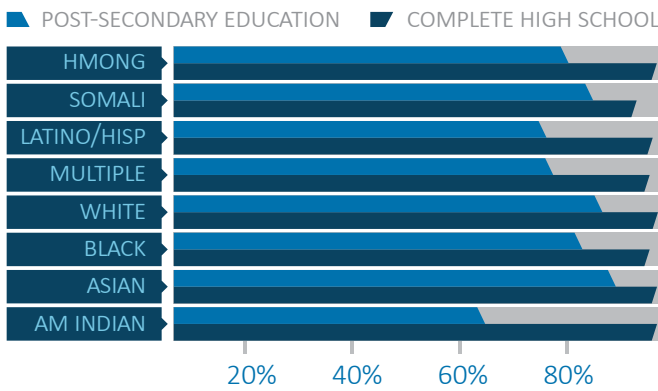- ● White
- ● Asian
- ● Am Indian
- ● Latino/Hisp
- ● Black
- ● Multi-race
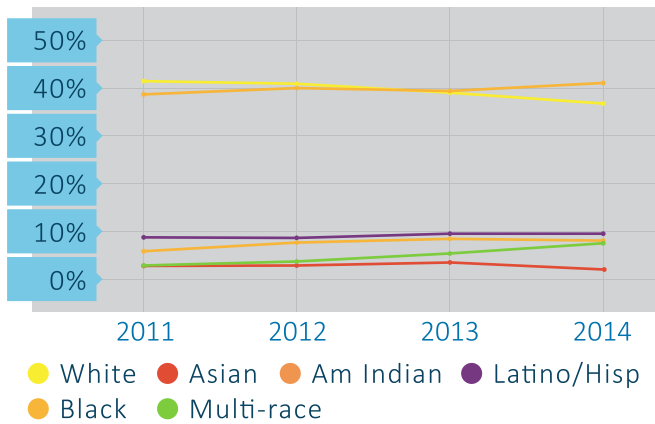
Source: MDE, 2015

2014 Enrollment and Disciplinary Actions by Race

Legend: ◣ ENROLLMENT ◥ DISCIPLINE ACTIONS

- BLACK
- WHITE
- LATINO/HISP
- AM INDIAN
- ASIAN

Source: MDE, 2015

Post High School Plans

Legend: ◣ POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION ◥ COMPLETE HIGH SCHOOL

- HMONG
- SOMALI
- LATINO/HISP
- MULTIPLE
- WHITE
- BLACK
- ASIAN
- AM INDIAN

Source: MDE, 2015

SCHOOL DISCIPLINE

Student discipline continues to be a challenging area for educational equity. The U.S. Departments of Education and Justice provided schools with a set of reports and tools regarding how to rethink discipline, consistent with the July 2015 White House event on the topic. MnEEP has successfully worked with schools to address suspensions through a solutions-oriented framework. This work continues to address the stark disparities in suspension trends . In the following line graph, race/ethnicity groups are ordered in the legend from highest to lowest percent in 2014.

The notable characteristic of the data on disciplinary actions is the over-representation of American Indian and Black students among the total disciplinary actions. In 2013-14, Black students were 11.5% of Minnesota K-12 student enrollment, but constituted 40.3% of all disciplinary actions (3½ times their population). American Indian students were similarly over-represented, including 2.4% of the student enrollment, but 6.9% of disciplinary actions (3 times their population).

POST-SECONDARY PLANS, ENROLLMENTS AND COMPLETION

Post-High School Goals

Among the many school-related questions on the MSS is a question about post-high school plans or goals. Among all racial and ethnic groups, students report very high goals for high school completion and intentions to pursue post-secondary education. This question was asked of the state's 9th and 11th grade students. Two key findings are apparent:

- Over 99% of teens in every racial/ethnic community plans to complete high school; 97% of Somali teens plan to complete high school.

- Nearly 80% or more of teens expect to attend postsecondary education; 66% of American Indian teens plan to do so.

It is important to note that if we were able to support youth in all Minnesota communities to achieve their own post high school plans, we should achieve a graduation rate of 99% and a postsecondary enrollment rate of 80%!

Dual Credit/Enrollment

Minnesota students have access to a wide variety of college preparatory or college credit courses. Minnesota high school students can earn college credit while still in high school in a number of ways, and most of these programs are free to the student. These programs include Advanced Placement (AP), International Baccalaureate (IB), Postsecondary Enrollment

Options (PSEO), Concurrent Enrollment, and private college high school voucher program. There is no central repository of Minnesota students participating in all forms of dual credit courses, but through Minnesota's Statewide Longitudinal Education Data Systems (SLEDS), we know that access to and enrollment in PSEO, Concurrent Enrollment, and private college high school voucher programs vary widely by race/ethnicity.

Dual Enrollment by Race/Ethnicity

	AMERICAN INDIAN	ASIAN	BLACK	LATINO/ HISPANIC	WHITE	TOTAL
Class of 2011 Population	803	3,579	4,261	2,309	48,547	59,499
Number participated in dual enrollment	195	930	729	485	16,627	18,966
Percent who participate in dual enrollment	24.3%	26.0%	17.1%	21.0%	34.2%	26.0%
Percent of dual enrollment students	1.0%	4.9%	3.8%	2.6%	87.7%	
Percent of class of 2011 population	1.3%	6.0%	7.2%	3.9%	81.6%	

Source: SLEDS, 2015

Postsecondary Education and Developmental Course Taking

An important indicator of the success of the K-12 educational system is the preparation of career- and college-ready students, as stated in the NCLB Flexibility Waiver and the World's Best Workforce legislation. When students are not college ready, they find the need to take remedial or developmental educational courses to prepare for college-level courses. Many students go into debt taking these courses which do not count for college credit. These data show a reduction among all racial/ethnic groups in the percentage of students enrolled in developmental courses, but major gaps persist between the percentages of White students compared to students of color and American Indian students. In the following line graphs, race/ethnicity groups are ordered in the legend from highest to lowest percent in the most recent year. These data are from the Minnesota Statewide Longitudinal Education Data Systems (SLEDS) .

Developmental Education Enrollment as a Percent of the Total
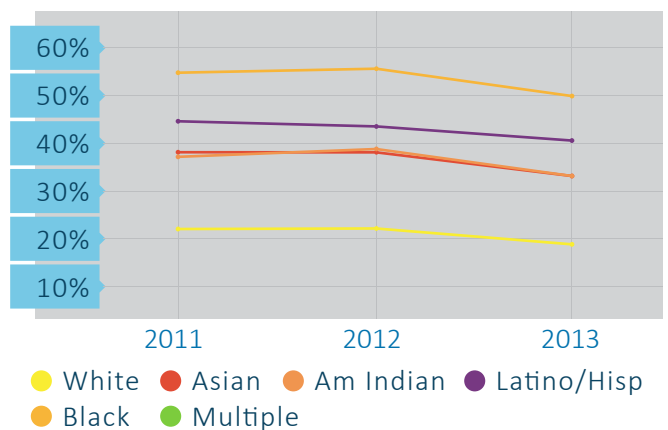

Source: SLEDS, 2015

Postsecondary Enrollment

Students of color are more likely to enroll in state 2-year colleges and private career schools, two types of institutions with lower graduation rates than four-year colleges and universities. Further, students of color are far more likely than their white peers to attend college part-time. Students who enroll part-time are less likely to persist to degree completion.

From 2010 to 2014, there have been increases in the number of students of color enrolling in postsecondary, particularly Asian/Pacific Islander and Latino/Hispanic students whose enrollment increased by 8 and 17 percent respectively over that time. Not only do students of color and American Indian students enroll at lower rates than their white peers, those who do enroll in postsecondary are less likely to complete a credential either at a 2-year or 4-year institution. These data are available through the Minnesota Office of Higher Education (OHE) .

Postsecondary enrollment continues to vary by race/ethnicity. In addition, enrollment trends differ substantially as to whether students are enrolled full-time or part-time and in 2-year versus 4-year institutions.

Postsecondary Enrollment

● White   ● Asian   ● Am Indian   ● Latino/Hisp
● Black   ● Multiple
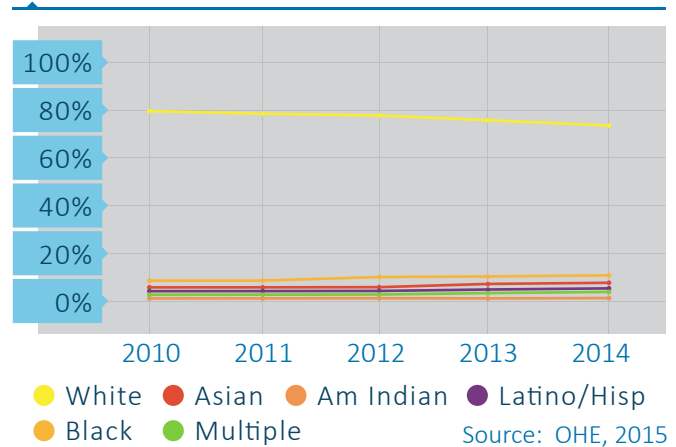
Source: OHE, 2015

Institution and Enrollment Type by Race/Ethnicity.   4-Year Enrollment   ▌ FULL TIME   ▌ PART TIME
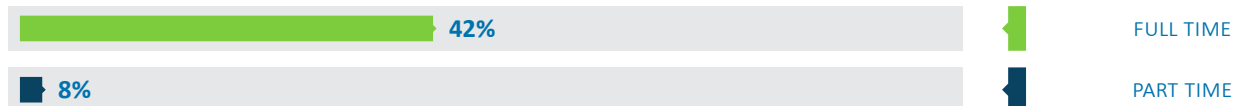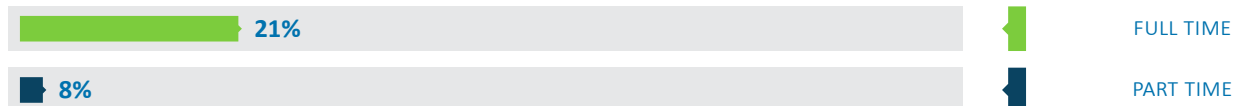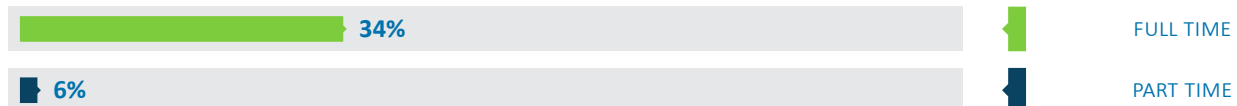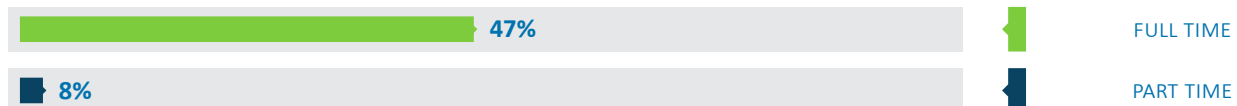
AMERICAN INDIAN

25%	FULL TIME
6%	PART TIME

ASIAN

42%	FULL TIME
8%	PART TIME

BLACK

21%	FULL TIME
8%	PART TIME

LATINO/HISPANIC

34%	FULL TIME
6%	PART TIME

WHITE

47%	FULL TIME
8%	PART TIME

MULTIPLE RACES

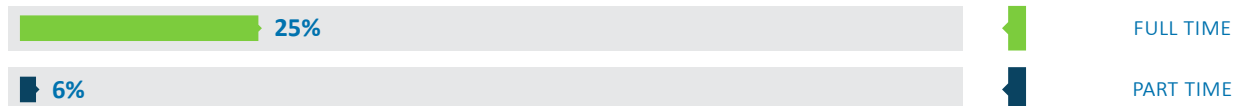|	
38%	FULL TIME
5%	PART TIME

Source: OHE, 2015

Institution and Enrollment Type by Race/Ethnicity.

2-Year Enrollment   FULL TIME   PART TIME

AMERICAN INDIAN

42%	FULL TIME
27%	PART TIME

ASIAN

24%	FULL TIME
26%	PART TIME

BLACK

2%	FULL TIME
46%	PART TIME

LATINO/HISPANIC

28%	FULL TIME
32%	PART TIME

WHITE

22%	FULL TIME
23%	PART TIME

MULTIPLE RACES

27%	FULL TIME
29%	PART TIME
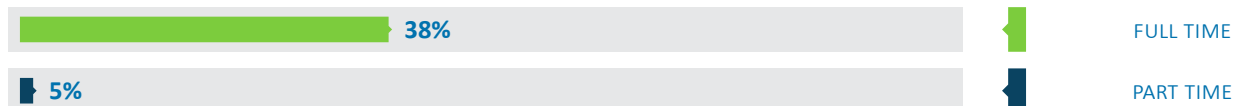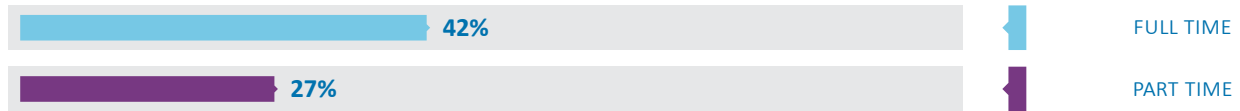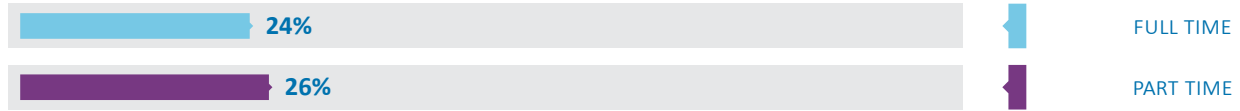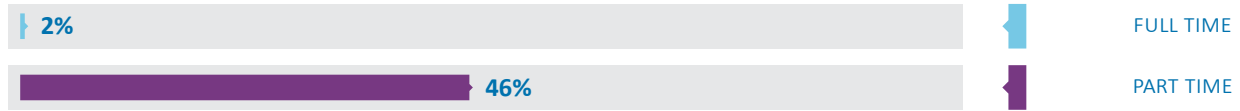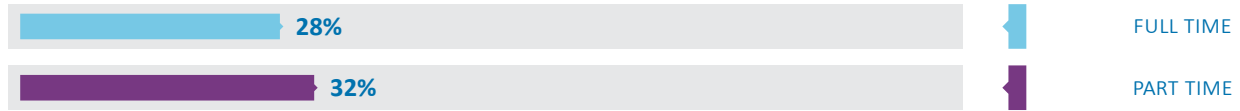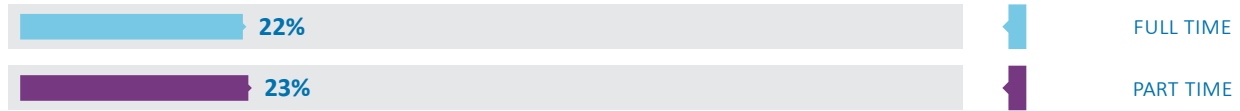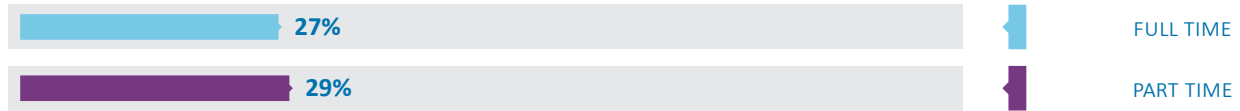
Source: OHE, 2015

Postsecondary Completion

Postsecondary completion data is challenging to track. The US Department of Education IPEDS Graduation Rate Survey is one source, as reported by OHE . The following table reports

2013 graduation and transfer rates for first-time, full-time undergraduates entering college in 2007 at Minnesota 4-year institutions and 2010 at Minnesota 2-year institutions. This includes students graduating within 150% time of the 4-year or 2-year institutions.

Undergraduate Postsecondary Graduation by Institution Type and Race/Ethnicity

AMERICAN INDIAN

21%	TWO YEAR
42%	FOUR YEAR

ASIAN

41%	TWO YEAR
63%	FOUR YEAR

BLACK

41%	TWO YEAR
51%	FOUR YEAR

LATINO/HISPANIC

40%	TWO YEAR
56%	FOUR YEAR

WHITE

54%	TWO YEAR
65%	FOUR YEAR

MULTIPLE RACES

38%	TWO YEAR
44%	FOUR YEAR

TOTAL

50%	TWO YEAR
63%	FOUR YEAR
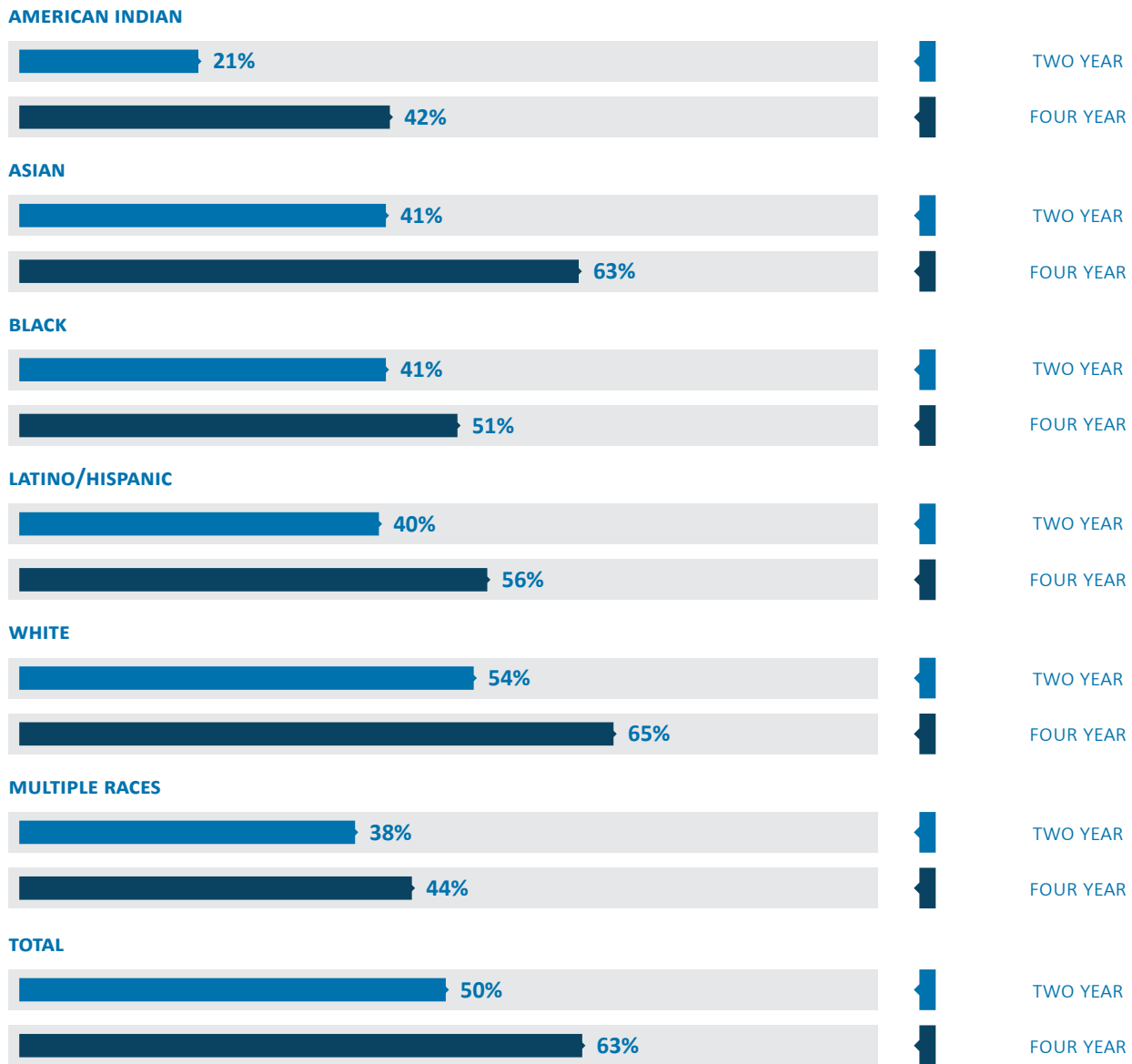
Source: OHE, 2015

Postsecondary Degree Attainment

Of Minnesota's population age 25 or older, American Indian, Black and Latino/Hispanic adults are less likely to hold an associate's degree or higher than Asian or White peers. People

holding a postsecondary credential have higher average wages, are more likely to be employed and are more likely to be employed full-time, year-round . This is based on 2013 American Community Survey of the US Census Bureau, as reported by OHE .

Percent of Population Age 25 and Older with Postsecondary Degrees by Race/Ethnicity

◗ ASSOCIATE'S DEGREE OR HIGHER   **◖** BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER

AMERICAN INDIAN

13%	ASSOCIATE'S DEGREE OR HIGHER
23%	BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER

ASIAN

44%	ASSOCIATE'S DEGREE OR HIGHER
51%	BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER

BLACK

20%	ASSOCIATE'S DEGREE OR HIGHER
29%	BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER

LATINO/HISPANIC

17%	ASSOCIATE'S DEGREE OR HIGHER
23%	BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER

WHITE

34%	ASSOCIATE'S DEGREE OR HIGHER
45%	BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER

MULTIPLE RACES

29%	ASSOCIATE'S DEGREE OR HIGHER
39%	BACHELOR'S DEGREE OR HIGHER

Source: OHE, 2015

CRITICAL QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION AND DISCUSSION

- What do we know about our own district and schools, students, families and communities, which builds a deeper understanding of the contexts and conditions of educational equity?

- In what ways can we use these data, as a reflection of the state as a whole and in the context of local districts and communities?

- How do the state data inform local progress? What additional data do we need to complete the profile of experiences of each relevant community in our district – so that we can explain the progress of each community through the education pipeline from early childhood through postsecondary education?

- While exploring early childhood through post-secondary data in Minnesota, this section encourages the reader to consider the relative importance of, and intersections between, inequalities based on race and class. What narratives could be told of students of color and American Indian students in Minnesota if educational institutions put effort into exploring the complexity of the interactions between race and class as well as gender inequities?

III. RESISTANCE, PROMISING RESTRUCTURING EFFORTS & RECOMMENDATIONS FOR EDUCATION EQUITY IN MINNESOTA

As we continue to move forward into the future, it is important to ensure that all students in Minnesota, especially our students of color and American Indian students, understand the long, complex, and inspiring narratives of people of all races who have resisted the oppression that contributed to the education debt.

This understanding of past struggles against systemic racism is essential in the work for racial equity today so that marginalized communities are not simply further marginalized and disempowered by being seen only as victims. It has been said that 'wherever there is oppression, there is resistance.'

Resistance has taken many forms in Minnesota and throughout the United States. Forms of resistance include outright rebellion and warfare, surviving and being resilient in the face of oppression and attempted genocide, nonviolent and civil disobedience campaigns, boycotts, voting registration drives, filing lawsuits, protests, grassroots coalition building, storytelling and counter-storytelling, identifying and naming White supremacy, and education that empowers individuals as well as communities to reach their full potential and struggle for social justice. These mediums of resistance and others have all played major roles in creating a more equitable educational system and society.

Often times we look for solutions before fully understanding the problem we are trying to solve. The first two sections of this report have provided the underlying understandings needed for transforming our educational system to achieve education equity. This section examines responses to the education debt, including the role of voice; innovative research-based practices; equitable approaches in school improvement; and recommendations to achieve education equity.

The narrative painted in this report represents a call to action to challenge perspectives, structures and systems that allow for education inequities to persist for American Indian students and students of color in Minnesota despite much attention to "achievement" gaps. It speaks to the dialogues and actions needed by all stakeholders of all races to change the racial inequities that our students face in education. We continue to fail our American Indian students and students of color because we continue to strategize and implement practices that clearly do not deal with the racial inequities within our education institutions and system. It is time that we open up dialogues for accountability, learning, and equity for all.

We cannot be afraid to add to the multiplicity of methods utilized to seek justice and our liberation from racial oppression; doing so may be necessary to achieve racial equity in education. It is even more imperative for individuals, organizations, and systems in Minnesota who deem themselves to be concerned about the equity, education, and inclusion of our students to continually reflect and assess their own methods of analysis and practice. We simply cannot be complacent in our work towards equity. Some questions to consider as you read this section include:

- How would you identify or name current forms of oppression based on particular regional, rural, and metropolitan spaces within Minnesota while keeping in mind the historical and socio-political context?

- What are some effective strategies/methods that you know of or have witnessed within or outside of Minnesota that speak to the struggle against these or other forms of oppression which add to the education debt and inhibit educational equity?

- How you can help individuals, groups of people, organizations, and systems in Minnesota to respond against the education debt and move more towards equity?

- What we imagine says more about us than it does about the subjects of our imagination. At best, it reflects our limitations, abilities, fears and aspirations. So what does it say about our collective imagination when we imagine, wholesale, that Minnesota's students of color and American Indian students aren't teachable, intelligent, worthy of our love, or aren't quite as human as the rest of us? What does it say about us when we lack the creative imagination to manifest a better future for all students, when we prime "winners" and "losers" for our own benefit, when we design pathways to poverty and prison? What does it say about us when we refuse to imagine anymore, when we just regurgitate achievement gap data and perpetuate inequity?

- What happens when educators have the courage to imagine a liberatory, generative, transformative education for all students?

RESISTING OPPRESSION BY (RE)CLAIMING VOICE

One of the greatest assets of American Indians and people of color is our resilience. For centuries and in the face of severe, persistent oppression, American Indians, African Americans, Latinos and Asian Americans have resisted oppression, survived and in many cases thrived. People of color and American Indian in Minnesota and in the United States often experience being marginalized and having our voices be silenced.

Below are some examples of students, teachers and communities of color (re)claiming our voice in Minnesota as acts of resistance in the struggle for equity.

Student Voice

Research by an initiative called "Students at the Center" shows that elevating students' voices is one of the most powerful and common sense practices to increase deeper learning, particularly as a response to the "depersonalized, standardized, and homogenized educational experiences" of marginalized student populations and struggling students. Student voice involves "empowering youth to express their opinions and influence their educational experiences so that they feel they have a stake in the outcomes" (Toshalis & Nakkula, 2012). Below are several local efforts in Minnesota that have explicit focus on student or youth voices, some with further focus on providing opportunities for students and youth of color.

651 Youth for Justice is an "effort to amplify the voices of youth and youth workers to ignite collective action." This is an initiative of Saint Paul Public Schools' Community Education Department. (https://www.facebook.com/651Youth/timeline)

Voices for Racial Justice offers Youth Cultural Organizing Training (YCOT) for racial justice organizing. YCOT "supports the development of strategies and infrastructure that center the voices of youth of color and opens spaces that prioritize their growth, leadership and organizing." (http://voicesforracialjustice.org/our-work/youth-organizing/)

Youthprise began a partnership with the Humphrey School of Public Affairs to build capacity around a project aiming to advance racial equity in public policy in November 2014. Through Youthprise, "Young people lead innovation and model authentic youth engagement across our work,

including on our staff and board. Through youth-adult partnerships, we support youth to lead in the design and implementation of programs, public policy, philanthropy, and research." (https://youthprise.org)

Minnesota Youth Council is a multicultural "collaboration of youth and adults working together to empower and mobilize youth across the state to exercise their voices, opinions and ideas to take action on youth issues." (https://mnyouth.net/work/council/)

Minneapolis Public Schools' Citywide Student Government provide a platform for student voice and input to the respective board of education and district leadership. (http://osfce.mpls.k12.mn.us/citywide_student_government)

St. Paul Public Schools Student Advisory Team provide a platform for student voice and input to the respective board of education and district leadership. (https://engagement.spps.org/meet_the_student_advisory_team)

Family and Community Voice and Engagement

No one will dispute the importance of parent engagement in a student's school success. However, for parents and families of marginalized and underserved communities, there is a major disconnect between the expectations and perceptions of them and their actual realities couched in cultural, economic and/or geographic contexts. There is also often a major disconnect between home culture and the predominantly White, middle-class, English speaking cultural norms in school. The disconnect is made more acute when many families of color and American Indian families may have been traumatized themselves by their own negative experiences with schooling.

McKenna and Millen (2013) offer a contemporary model of parent engagement that includes overlapping concepts of "parent voice" and "parent presence." Parent voice involves the right and opportunity for parents or families to express both their hopes and dreams for their children as well as their concerns and frustrations about the children's educational experiences. Parent presence refers to the many "acts of care" by parents/families to ensure their children's educational success. This concept expands the traditional view of how parents and families are involved in their children's life (e.g. participating in school site leadership team). The concept acknowledges "acts of care" at the most basic and often mundane level (e.g., making sure a child gets on a bus to school every day).

However, parents/families in general, and parents/families of color and American Indian parents/families in particular, often feel resigned and powerless when their voices do not seem to have any weight or positive influence towards action, and/or their cultural values and ways of knowing and being are discounted. Practices to engage parents take time, must be deliberate and active, culturally sensitive and address both the needs of a community and the needs that are personal to the parent/family and child (McKenna & Millen, 2013).

What follows are a few Twin Cities programs that are intentional in engaging parents to amplify their voice and their presence. MnEEP assumes that there are also programs throughout the state and would like to be informed of them for future reports.

Network for the Development of Children of African Descent (NdCAD) offers "Parent Power" Literacy and Advocacy workshops designed to equip parents with the tools to be their children's first teacher in reading at home and to be an effective advocate for their children at school. (http://www.ndcad.org/parent.html)

Minneapolis Public Schools Parent Academy and the **Connecting Parents to Educational Opportunities (CPEO) Program** are offered in multiple languages and provide "training and learning resources that are designed to help strengthen parental involvement in a child's education through informational classes and workshops. These programs will engage, empower, and strengthen parents as equal partners in the education and success of their children, both in and out of the classroom." (http://osfce.mpls.k12.mn.us/parent_academy)

Saint Paul Public Schools' Parent Academy is offered in multiple languages and is designed to "assist parents in navigating the SPPS system to become strong advocates as equal partners for their child's education and make the best informed decisions" They use a research-based model that has consistently shown its impact on increasing graduation rates for students of color. (http://engagement.spps.org/parent_academy_3)

Neighborhoods Organizing for Change (NOC) is a "grassroots, member-led organization building power in under-resourced communities and communities of color across the Twin Cities." Worth noting is a project in 2011 which gave voice to 700 parents (mostly parents of color) to express possible solutions to their most pressing concerns about education and their community. (http://www.mnnoc.org/community_voices_for_equity_and_excellence)

Minnesota Humanities Center's Absent Narratives Initiative engages communities of color and American Indian communities to tell their own stories and capture what often are the "absent narratives" of the mainstream Minnesota public discourse and the K-12 school curriculum. They also lead workshops for K-12 educators to include these narratives and voices of color in the school curriculum (http://www.humanitieslearning.org/resource/)

Teacher Voice

Education Minnesota has two important initiatives that elevate teacher voices for equity. The Educator Policy Innovation Center (EPIC) was created to "bring together teams of experienced educators to provide research-proven solutions to the challenges facing Minnesota schools" that are informed by their "real-word practical experience." In December 2015, EPIC published a report *Our Communities, Our Schools: Closing the Opportunity Gap in Minnesota with Full-Service Community Schools.* Second, Education Minnesota has created an Ethnic Minority Affairs Committee (EMAC) with a new position of Racial Equity Organizer who convenes affinity groups of educators of color and American Indian educators. The League of Latino Educators, African American Educators Forum, Pan-Asian Educators Forum and the American Indian Education Professionals collectedly work to engage and elevate the voice and experience of educators of color and American Indian educators. These forums provide a safe space to connect and to support each other to be successful. (http://educationminnesota.org)

Educators4Excellence (E4E-Minnesota) "works to ensure that Minnesota educators play an active role in shaping policies that affect our students and the teaching profession." In 2015 they released a paper "Closing Gaps: Diversifying Minnesota's Teacher Workforce" to address the diversity gap between students and educators. (http://mn.educators4excellence.org/)

Social Justice Education Movement (SJEM) brings together educators, students, parents, and communities from across the Twin Cities Metro to collaborate, network, and organize social justice in education. Each October since 2012 they have held a Twin Cities Social Justice Education Fair that each year draws hundreds of attendees. SJEM's goals include promoting high quality social justice practices and curriculum, identifying and working to eliminate ways schools perpetuate racial and other forms of injustice, and organizing based on several principles including community self-determination. (http://tcedfair.org/)

SYSTEMS AND INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE FOR RACIAL EQUITY

It is important to note promising efforts in some Minnesota school districts and universities in taking hard looks at racial inequities and racism then starting to make infrastructure changes to make their institutions more equitable. It is also important to take note of some research literature on effective institutional and systems approaches to equity. MnEEP knows there is work in districts and schools throughout the state beyond the few mentioned below and would like to be informed of this equity work for future reports.

Minnesota Black Male Achievement Network and the **Solutions Not Suspensions Campaign Coalition (SNS)** of dozens of educators, organizers, social workers and advocates from various districts and organizations who hold conferences and meetings to (a) promote viable alternatives to suspension, (b) raise levels of accountability for school districts to be responsive to community input and feedback, and (c) change the narrative around discipline to focus on solutions.

St. Paul Public Schools (SPPS) School Board adopted one of the strongest racial equity policies in the country in 2013 which "confronts the institutional racism that results in predictably lower academic achievement for students of color than for their white peers." The policy "acknowledges that complex societal and historical factors contribute to the inequity within our school district", cites several legal precedents, and includes 13 commitments in the areas of eliminating systemic disparities; ensuring systemic equity through family, student and community engagement, as well as leadership, teaching and learning; and annual monitoring of system progress. See: http://equity.spps.org/

Minneapolis Public Schools (MPS) is developing an Ethnic Studies program which supports the development of equity-minded students. In January 2015, MPS school board adopted a resolution to support the implementation of Ethnic Studies courses into their high schools curricula to improve student achievement by including course options with content that reflects the diverse student body and engages students in critical analysis of social problems and solutions. The program is a collaborative initiative with the University of Minnesota Department of African American & African Studies, the Minnesota History Center Department of Inclusion & Community Engagement, and the Minnesota Education Equity Partnership (MnEEP),

Robbinsdale Area Schools under the leadership of a superintendent who was concerned about racial equity developed a district strategic plan that intentionally uses equity as a metric regarding whether or not they are effectively serving students who are in need of extra resources to accelerate learning so they can excel academically and socially. The work of Office of Integration, Equity and American Indian Education helps schools and the district implement the strategic plan that makes equity a priority.

Osseo School District 279 has a superintendent who openly discusses institutional racism and its Department of Educational Equity works to build staff capacity to institutionalize racial equity and cultural relevancy with equity coaches who help teachers and schools effectively implement practices that achieve and sustain equitable student achievement.

Metropolitan State University created a new racial issues graduation requirement for all undergraduate students newly admitted to the university and starting in fall 2016. Faculty and administration approved the requirement in spring 2015 that was formally proposed by the University's Anti-Racism Leadership Team (ARLT) after years of making recommendations. The ARLT was inspired by a racial issues requirement at St. Cloud State University that has existed since 2001, and motivated by campus climate surveys over the past decade which identified racism as a problem. Despite having a vision statement that includes the phrase "build an anti-racist learning community", Metro State students had been able to graduate without ever any in-depth studying about issues of race and racism even though they had a diversity in the U.S. general education requirement. Students have a choice of completing any approved general education, major or elective course that also meets at least three of the following five learning outcomes:

● Critique how race and racism are socially constructed in the United States.

● Describe various characteristics of racism.

● Analyze various legacies and impacts of racism in the United States.

● Articulate various personal responses and responsibilities to address racism.

● Examine various collective and/or institutional responses and responsibilities to address racism.

The Coalition to Increase Teachers of Color in Minnesota was founded in November 2015 by teacher educators concerned about racial equity from Minneapolis Community and Technical College, Augsburg College, Metropolitan State University, University of Minnesota, Minnesota State University-Mankato, Minneapolis Public Schools and St. Paul Public Schools. The Coalition was inspired by the October 2015 MnEEP Policy Brief on Increasing Teachers of Color. They were aware of several organizations and institutions in addition to MnEEP interested in increasing the severe shortage of diverse teachers in Minnesota so they mobilized their networks to broaden the Coalition and involve more than 40 people in developing a platform of policy and investment proposals that are common across recommendations from various organizations. The Coalition held a "Call to Action" event held in Minneapolis on February 6, 2016 that brought together nearly 200 people from several dozen institutions and organizations throughout Minnesota. As a member of the growing Coalition, MnEEP joined several other organizations in co-sponsoring the event which developed policy recommendations related to the five proposals listed below. The Coalition's goal for Minnesota: *By 2020, double the current number of teachers of color in the state, and ensure that 20% of candidates in the teacher preparation pipeline are persons of color or American Indian.* To accomplish this goal, the Coalition advocates new legislative policies and community investment to:

1. Support pathways to teaching for diverse youth, paraprofessionals and career changers

2. Eliminate Discriminatory Teacher Testing Requirements While Ensuring Essential Skill and Knowledge Proficiency Relevant to Area of Licensure

3. Provide Scholarship Incentives and Student Teaching Stipends

4. Offer Loan Forgiveness for Teaching Service

5. Provide Induction and Retention Support

RESEARCH ON "EQUITY-CENTERED" CAPACITY BUILDING, LEADERSHIP AND CHANGE

School reform initiatives aimed at closing the achievement gap are often implemented in a way that transfers the responsibility for low performance from school districts to students from historically marginalized groups, especially groups who are racially marginalized, without critical examination of the overall school structures, values and attitudes of those instituting the reforms (Oakes, 1986; Renee, Welner, & Oakes, 2010). Furthermore, school improvement efforts often only implement surface level changes that are devoid of equity conscious discussions, design of interventions, and practice regarding issues of race and intersecting identities related to class, language, gender, and sexuality (Lupton, 2005; Oakes, Welner, Yonezawa, & Allen, 1998). Until legislators and educational leaders develop school improvement policies that are rooted in addressing historical inequities, school improvement processes and initiatives will do little to change the inequitable outcomes.

To reverse this trend, there must be a pressing need to recognize "the very real struggles and conflicts that lie at the heart of the processes through which policy and practice are shaped" (Gillborn, 2005, p. 487). Therefore, Minnesota schools must incorporate an approach that

> Until legislators and educational leaders develop school improvement policies that are rooted in addressing historical inequities, school improvement processes and initiatives will do little to change the inequitable outcomes.

involves continuous critical reflection to help guide and influence effective practices on measures of success and areas of needed growth in cultural responsiveness, equity, and inclusion within school policies/processes, school improvement plans (SIPs), and practices. Such approaches should be demonstrated through leadership, instruction, and learning throughout school districts and recommended from educational organizations that want to help learning environments and students succeed. It is through this needed approach, that Minnesota schools will be better equipped to identify discrepancies between what equity-centered school improvement policies and plans should do, and what is being practiced in reality.

One promising research-based approach to address systemic and structural schooling inequities is "Equity-Centered Capacity Building" (ECCB). Petty (2015) describes that this approach "provides a lens, set of skills, and specific strategies that support school systems and communities as they move along the continuum of transformative and sustainable improvement" (p. 64). Conversations among everyone in the system are equity-centered requiring continuous critical examinations and reflections about policies, practices, and attitudes. MnEEP believes approaches like ECCB can help districts and schools do the following:

- Explore ways to critically access school data in terms of equity, and the racial demographics of students;

- Engage in critical dialogue to identify, apply, and critique the terminology and application of daily school operations (i.e. school policies, classroom practices, school meetings, and interactions with students, parental guardians, and faculty);

- Explore the impact of historical inequities and privileges, as well as colorblind ideology within the many dynamics of the school structure (i.e. curricula, school policies, and student discipline within the classroom);

- Explore and help develop critical action plans that correspond to sustaining a more equitable, socially just, and inclusive school improvement agenda;

- Evaluate the development and implementation process of the aforementioned critical action plans. The values that guide these evaluations will align with the equity-centered system-wide approach;

- Establish a common language on how the intersectionality of race, class, gender, sexual orientation, and other socially constructed identifications operate and interact to shape individual and group dynamics within schooling environments;

- Actively participate in on-going critical self-reflections and anti-racism work;

- Create action plans to develop continual critical analysis skills, particularly with issues of equity, racial/ethnicity responsiveness, and inclusion within individual and schooling practices; and

- Collaborate with stakeholders within and beyond the school grounds (i.e. students, families, teachers, administrators, community organizations & businesses, etc.) to implement change to achieve equity.

Another promising approach to equity that has gained increasing popularity is Participatory Action Research (PAR) and Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR) in education. PAR is a framework and philosophy of social change and transformation through collaborative inquiry between researchers and the participants who will be most impacted by the change (Stoudt, Fox & Fine, 2012). PAR is especially attractive for educators committed to social justice with a belief that solutions lie in the collective power that is inclusive of the community most affected by injustice and inequities.

PAR and YPAR counter the traditional models of professionals doing scientific research to a community; instead, PAR and YPAR are designed *with and by* the community most impacted by injustice. Furthermore, PAR could be extended to provide a space for those with the privilege to interact with those who are marginalized. Their joint experiences and wisdom could foster a deep inquiry into the institutional structures of injustice and inequity. PAR and YPAR involve the public presentation of research findings in order to cultivate a sense of responsibility and solidarity with the audience who is asked to respond to the findings and contribute their own expertise and experience to take action together with researchers. PAR and YPAR are very promising approaches to inquiry and action that amplify the voices of communities of color and American Indian communities in advancing racial equity (Dao, 2015; Ditrano & Silverstein, 2006; Stoudt, Fox & Fine, 2012).

CRITICAL QUESTIONS FOR REFLECTION AND DISCUSSION

- What can be learned from and about the resistance and resilience of American Indians and people of color in my community responding to racialized oppression in our school(s) and community?

- What can be learned from specific promising efforts mentioned in this section of the report and others not mentioned?

- How are the voices of students, families, educators, and community members of color and American Indians listened to and integrated in our school or institution? How are these voices informing plans for addressing inequities and achieving equity?

- What would be the effect in Minnesota schools and communities, as well as our state, nation and world if MnEEP's recommendations (listed below) were followed?

- What do I/we need to do in order to implement the recommendations listed below this year?

"I have come to understand that the reason why some schools succeed in closing or at least reducing the racial disparities in achievement while the overwhelming majority fail has less to do with skill than with will."

—Dr. Pedro Noguera (2007)

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR EDUCATION EQUITY IN MINNESOTA

In 2015, the Minnesota Minority Education Partnership (MMEP) decided it was time to change its name to the Minnesota Education Equity Partnership (MnEEP) to reflect our organizational commitment to demand equity for American Indian students and students of color. According to Article 26 of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* developed by the United States and other countries following World War II, "Everyone has the right to an education" that is "directed to full development of the human personality" (United Nations, 1948).

EVERYONE IS URGED TO DO THE FOLLOWING:
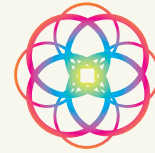
Minnesota Education Equity Partnership

Advancing **Race Equity** & Excellence

1. **Read and discuss this report** using its critical questions along with other sources of information with peers, colleagues and elected officials (i.e., legislative representatives, school board members, and city council members). Consider the facts and their implications about the persistence of opportunity gaps, White supremacy, and education debt in Minnesota.

2. **Listen to students, parents/guardians, and teachers of color and American Indian students,** parents/guardians, and teachers about their experiences and ideas for transformative change to address the education debt and close opportunity gaps.

3. **Engage youth, parents, educators and community members in Participatory Action Research (PAR)** to examine and address inequities in local settings.

4. **Be vigilant rather than complacent about persistent inequities and demand equity** not just equality. Reflect upon how White-majority society would react if White students had disparities in test scores, graduation rates, discipline rates, etc. compared to students of color and American Indian students.

5. **Have conversations at your institution about what "equity" means** rather than simply using the word in mission statements and other documents. Using a common analogy, treating all students equally would mean making sure there were an equal number of tennis shoes of the same color available for students. Treating them equitably and creating equitable systems would be to make sure students were provided the correct size shoe and that the new shoes were delivered in the most accessible ways.

6. **Expect different results.** Students of color and American Indian students are capable of learning at high levels and achieving great things. Too many people in society and those working with students of color and American Indian students demonstrate the racism of low expectations.

7. **Focus on assets** not deficits of students, families, and communities.

8. **Commit to doing things differently** in order to achieve different results while building on efforts that are proven to close opportunity and achievement gaps.

9. **Implement new state policies and investments to increase teacher diversity.** With the right policies that address systemic barriers to teaching that disproportionately impact people of color and American Indians, Minnesota can at least double the current number of teachers of color in the state by 2020 and ensure that at least 20 percent of candidates in teacher preparation programs are people of color or American Indian (Educators4Excellence, 2015; Sanchez, 2015).

10. **Make plans for transformative and lasting change** using an interconnected, "equity-centered" systems approach to address multifaceted issues that define and cause opportunity and achievement gaps. Develop "full-service community schools" throughout the state in rural, suburban and urban areas to close opportunity gaps (Educator Policy Innovation Center, 2015).

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ii   http://rc.education.state.mn.us/

iii   http://education.state.mn.us/MDE/StuSuc/ EarlyLearn/SchReadiK/

iv   See Zhang, et al. (2013). Racial disparities in economic and clinical outcomes of pregnancy among Medicaid recipients. *Maternal and Child Health Journal*, 17(8), 1518-1525. And see Elango, et al. (2015). *Early childhood education*. Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research. Retrieved from http://www.nber.org/ papers/w21766.pdf

v   http://www2.ed.gov/nclb/landing.jhtml

vi   http://www.ed.gov/essa/

vii   http://www.education.state.mn.us/MDE/ SchSup/ESEAFlex/

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We envision a just society in which an equitable educational ecosystem ensures all students achieve their full potential. Achieving this vision would mean that race is no longer a predictor of educational success.

We believe that to accomplish this requires the public's simultaneous commitment to race equity and educational excellence.

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