



# 2012 Minnesota Legislative Report Card on Racial Equity

ORGANIZING APPRENTICESHIP PROJECT

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## ORGANIZING APPRENTICESHIP PROJECT

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

# NUMBERS SPEAK—AND SO DO COMMUNITIES OF COLOR

Nationwide and here in Minnesota, we saw people of color come out to vote on Election Day and make important choices on how policies and representation will impact our state. Preliminary data suggests that over 322,000 people of color voted in the 2012 election, which amounts to about 11 percent of voters overall.<sup>1</sup> The power of our voices is becoming increasingly clear, and will continue to impact policymaking on the local, state, and national levels.

This Legislative Report Card on Racial Equity looks back at the 2012 legislative session, but in doing so also looks forward. Many positive proposals for building racial equity did not progress in the last session, but the leadership in putting forward solutions is notable. Communities of color and all Minnesotans are paying attention to that leadership.

The Missed Opportunities of 2012 could return in 2013 and have another chance at breaking down the barriers to opportunity that communities of color and American Indians experience. Looking back, we recognize leadership, and looking forward, we ask that our representatives in the Minnesota Legislature take note of our voices and lead for equity.

## OUR COMMUNITIES ARE CHANGING, BUT DISPARITIES REMAIN

Communities of color and American Indians make up 17 percent of our overall population in Minnesota, a dramatic rise from just 4 percent 30 years ago. In the Twin Cities metro, one in five residents is a person of color.<sup>2</sup>

Minnesota is known for its high quality of life with low unemployment rates, good health, and high achievement among students. Yet, as our communities have changed and become more diverse, we have not seen those benefits of life in Minnesota translate to the lives of people of color. People of color struggle to access opportunities, including jobs, housing, health care, and education. Our unemployment rate for African Americans is the highest in the nation, at 27.4 percent.<sup>3</sup> The high school graduation rate for students of color—45 percent for American Indians, 49 percent for Latinos, 47 percent for African Americans, and 70 percent for Asian Americans—is



consistently lower than the rate for white students at 83 percent.<sup>4</sup> At the same time, our criminal justice system has a disproportionate impact on communities of color and American Indians, changing the life course of many long beyond a completed sentence. At five percent of the state population, African Americans make up 35 percent of inmates. For American Indians, the disparity is even larger—although one percent of the overall population, they make up nearly 9 percent of the prison population.<sup>5</sup>

Minnesota can do better, and will have to do better, as our communities continue to change. Overcoming these disparities means changing the institutions and structures that have created and supported them. Strategies include making education opportunities truly available, regardless of a community's wealth. Or limiting the impact of mortgage foreclosures so that homeowners can reestablish their financial footing. Or making sure that people of color have access to job training and jobs in growing industries. Legislative leaders, but also leaders at the executive level and at the local level, have contributed to developing these kinds of solutions. This work must continue if we are to move forward toward a more just Minnesota.

## **COMMUNITIES OF COLOR ARE HOLDING LEADERSHIP ACCOUNTABLE**

Elected leaders are taking note as Minnesotans, including people of color, speak out and build leadership for racial and economic equity. And Minnesotans are noticing the work of leaders who are serious about dismantling barriers to opportunity. The 2012 election showed us that people are paying attention, turning out, and making decisions about the future of our state.

OAP has developed tools for supporting community leaders, for guiding government action, and for holding our public leaders accountable. These include our racial justice training for community organizers, work with government agencies like the Minnesota Department of Education, the Racial Equity Agenda, a mid-session legislative Racial Equity Bill Watch, and this Legislative Report Card on Racial Equity. These tools connect and tell a story – many of the bills in this report card were also raised as issues in the 2012 Racial Equity Agenda and on the list of our Racial Equity Bill Watch. All of these pieces and more, including leadership in communities and all levels of government, are necessary for creating the kind of systemic change that will make Minnesota a state we can be proud of together.

The next Legislative Report Card on Racial Equity will be a biennium report. This change allows OAP to share the progress of the legislature throughout the biennium, and equip community leaders to advocate for continued change.

## **2012 KEY LESSONS AND FINDINGS**

### **MANY MISSED OPPORTUNITIES IN 2012**

We saw little movement at the Legislature on positive proposals for advancing racial equity. All of the positive racial equity bills featured in the Legislative Report Card on Racial Equity met at least one of our five criteria for advancing racial justice (see Methodology). But most of these bills were Missed Opportunities that did not progress to a floor vote. Although we recognize the leadership of legislators who pushed for these changes, Missed Opportunities do not provide the chance to report on the voting record of legislators.

## **EXPANSION OF STRUCTURAL RACISM HELD BACK**

At the same time, there were numerous attacks on racial equity—bills we have included in the Legislating Structural Racism section of the Report Card. These proposals, whether their expansion of systems of structural racism were intentional or not, would have had very real impacts on communities of color. The good news is that they were largely held back, either not advancing through the legislative process, vetoed by the Governor, or rejected by voters.

### **THE LEGISLATURE RECEIVED AN ‘F’ OVERALL**

The 2012 session saw few floor votes for bills that we identify as positive or negative for racial equity. In the House, three negative bills received a floor vote. In the Senate, two negative bills received a vote. So these three bills, all of which passed in one or both chambers, result in a grade of “F” for the Legislature as a whole.

### **THE GOVERNOR RECEIVED AN ‘A’**

Of the bills this report has identified as impacting racial equity, few made it to Governor Dayton’s desk. He vetoed the bill requiring use of the federal E-Verify program for determining employment eligibility, one this report includes in Legislating Structural Racism. His veto of the Voter ID amendment bill was only symbolic, as he did not have the power to keep the amendment question from appearing on the November ballot. Yet he remained a strong opponent to this measure that would have had a long-lasting negative impact on communities of color, among many others, in their access to voting.

The governor’s appointed commissioners, whose work for racial equity helped move us forward, contribute to his grade in this report card. Among those efforts:

- Department of Human Rights Commissioner Kevin Lindsay worked to substantially raise hiring goals for state funded construction projects for people of color.
- Department of Human Services Commissioner Lucinda Jesson helped to hold back attacks on access to cash and food assistance under MFIP.
- The Department of Agriculture, under the leadership of Commissioner Dave Frederickson, advocated for and is implementing a microloan program that supports immigrant farmers.

- Minnesota Department of Education Commissioner Brenda Cassellius continues the work of building equity in schools throughout Minnesota through the department's work with OAP and the Education Equity Organizing Collaborative.
- The Minnesota Department of Transportation continues its work with the Disadvantaged Business Enterprise and Workforce Collaborative to address disparities and build equity in the state's transportation construction industry. After a successful pilot program, the next step will be to take the strategy system wide.

## PARTISAN POLITICS OVERWHELMED SOME LEADERSHIP

The Legislature's partisan divide was especially evident in how legislators voted on the negative measures that received floor votes, resulting in individual legislator grades that fell largely along party lines. Some Republican legislators were leaders on bills that would have advanced racial equity, but because of floor votes, their leadership was not enough to make them racial equity champions.

## LEGISLATOR CHAMPIONS MOVE US FORWARD

Even in years when little positive change results, the leadership of legislators in listening to constituents—a growing number of whom are people of color—and in addressing issues of racial and economic disparities is worthy of recognition. These voices help move Minnesota toward greater equity and a more prosperous state for all of us. We recognize 69 Racial Justice Champions in the 2012 Legislature.

## THE PEOPLE OF MINNESOTA RECEIVE AN 'A' FOR PUSHING BACK STRUCTURAL EXCLUSION

Two constitutional amendment proposals went to voters in November. After a long and costly campaign, Minnesotans defeated two forms of structural exclusion, one that would have limited the state's definition of marriage to heterosexual couples, and one that would have required a photo identification at the polls to vote. Though not identified as a structural racism bill when the marriage amendment bill passed in the Legislature, OAP called it out as one that promoted structural exclusion. The voter ID issue drew many communities together to express the multiple ways it would limit participation in our democracy. Minnesota voters deserve praise for listening to the stories of the impact of these proposed amendments, and turning out to defeat both.

## 2012 RACIAL JUSTICE CHAMPIONS

### LAWMAKERS EARNING AN 'A+'

**SENATE:** Scott Dibble (DFL-60, Minneapolis), Jeff Hayden (DFL-61, Minneapolis), Linda Higgins (DFL-58, Minneapolis), John Marty (DFL-54, Roseville)

**HOUSE:** Bobby Joe Champion (DFL-58B, Minneapolis), Karen Clark (DFL-61A, Minneapolis), Jim Davnie (DFL-62A, Minneapolis), Frank Hornstein (DFL-60B, Minneapolis), Tina Liebling (DFL-30A, Rochester), Carlos Mariani (DFL-65B, St. Paul), Rena Moran (DFL-65A, St. Paul), Joe Mullery (DFL-58A, Minneapolis), Linda Slocum (DFL-63B, Richfield)

### LAWMAKERS EARNING AN 'A'

**SENATE:** Chris A. Eaton (DFL-46, Brooklyn Center), John M. Harrington (DFL-67, St. Paul), Ron Latz (DFL-44, St. Louis Park), Tony Lourey (DFL-8, Kerrick), Sandra L. Pappas (DFL-65, St. Paul), Katie Sieben (DFL-57, Newport)

**HOUSE:** Kathy Brynaert (DFL-23B, Mankato), Andrew Falk (DFL-20A, Murdock), Kerry Gauthier (DFL-07B, Duluth), Larry Hosch (DFL-14B, St. Joseph), Sheldon Johnson (DFL-67B, St. Paul), Phyllis Kahn (DFL-59B, Minneapolis), Carolyn Laine (DFL-50A, Columbia Heights), John Lesch (DFL-66A, St. Paul), Diane Loeffler (DFL-59A, Minneapolis), Terry Morrow (DFL-23A, St. Peter), Erin Murphy (DFL-64A, St. Paul), Sandra Peterson (DFL-45A, New Hope), Paul Thissen (DFL-63A, Minneapolis), John Ward (DFL-12A, Baxter), Ryan Winkler (DFL-44B, Golden Valley)

### LAWMAKERS EARNING A 'B'

**SENATE:** Thomas M. Bakk (DFL-6, Cook), Richard J. Cohen (DFL-64, St. Paul), Kari Dzedzic (DFL-59, Minneapolis), Barb Goodwin (DFL-50, Columbia Heights), Kenneth S. Kelash (DFL-63, Minneapolis), Mary Jo McGuire (DFL-66, Falcon Heights), James P. Metzen (DFL-39, South St. Paul), Roger J. Reinert (DFL-7, Duluth), Kathy Sheran (DFL-23, Mankato), Rod Skoe (DFL-2, Clearbrook), LeRoy A. Stumpf (DFL-1, Plummer), David J. Tomassoni (DFL-5, Chisholm), Patricia Torres Ray (DFL-62, Minneapolis), Charles W. Wiger (DFL-55, Maplewood)



**HOUSE:** Tom Anzelc (DFL-03A, Balsam Township), John Benson (DFL-43B, Minnetonka), Lyndon Carlson Sr. (DFL-45B, Crystal), Mindy Greiling (DFL-54A, Roseville), Rick Hansen (DFL-39A, South St. Paul), Alice Hausman (DFL-66B, St. Paul), Bill Hilty (DFL-08A, Finlayson), Kate Knuth (DFL-50B, New Brighton), Leon Lillie (DFL-55A, North St. Paul), Tim Mahoney (DFL-67A, St. Paul), Carly Melin (DFL-05B, Hibbing), Mary Murphy (DFL-06B, Hermantown), Michael V. Nelson (DFL-46A, Brooklyn Park), Kim Norton (DFL-29B, Rochester), Michael Paymar (DFL-64B, St. Paul), Gene Pelowski Jr. (DFL-31A, Winona), John Persell (DFL-04A, Bemidji), Jeanne Poppe (DFL-27B, Austin), Tom Rukavina (DFL-05A, Virginia), Steve Simon (DFL-44A, St. Louis Park), Jean Wagenius (DFL-62B, Minneapolis)

# GRADING METHODOLOGY

Bills were selected for the Minnesota Legislative Report Card on Racial Equity based on their potential to impact racial disparities positively or negatively. We conferred with leaders and organizations working on multiple issues across the state in selecting bills. A positive racial equity bill must meet at least one of the following criteria:

- The bill explicitly addresses racial disparities and works to eliminate racial inequities.
- The bill helps eliminate barriers to access to public benefits and institutions for communities of color.
- The bill advances enfranchisement and full civic participation for everyone in the state.
- The bill protects against racial violence, racial profiling, and discrimination.
- The bill preserves, protects, and/or strengthens the ability of American Indian tribes to exercise their rightful sovereignty.

Many of the bills featured in this report were policy priorities in OAP's 2012 Racial Equity Agenda and/or listed in the mid-session Racial Equity Bill Watch.

 indicates a Racial Equity Agenda item.  indicates the bill was on the Racial Equity Bill Watch.

## STATE LEGISLATURE

The Legislature's grade is based on their votes to support racial equity, whether by voting in favor of positive bills or against bills that would expand structural racism. When a positive bill is ultimately passed, but as part of a larger omnibus package, we acknowledge the original leadership but not the votes on the entire omnibus bill.

## GOVERNOR

The governor receives a grade based on whether he signed legislation to advance racial equity. He also receives credit for holding back legislation that would hinder racial justice through his veto power. Other considerations are his policy proposals, use of executive orders, and work through his appointed commissioners to move forward with measures important to communities of color and American Indians.

## LEGISLATORS

Individual legislators were graded based on their votes and leadership on racial equity. In the grades chart, a ✓ indicates a vote for racial equity (or against structural racism); a ✗ indicates a vote against racial equity (or for expanding structural racism).

Eighty points of each legislator's score comes from floor votes, with votes in support of racial equity or against structural racism increasing their score. The weight of each vote depends on the number of bills identified as positive or negative for racial equity that go to a floor vote. In a year with few floor votes, each vote has a substantial impact on legislator grades.

Twenty points or more of each legislator's score can come from leadership in sponsoring racial equity legislation. The primary author of a positive racial equity measure (listed in bold print with each bill) receives ten leadership points for that bill. Co-authors receive five additional points for each positive bill sponsored. Legislators leading bills that support structural racism have points deducted, ten for chief authors and five for co-authors. Each chamber has different rules for co-authorship. The House limits number of authors to 35; the Senate caps total authors at five.

Legislator points result in a letter grade with the following scale:

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<b>A</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>C</b>	<b>D</b>	<b>F</b>
<b>90–100+%</b>	<b>80–89%</b>	<b>70–79%</b>	<b>60–69%</b>	<b>0–59%</b>

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# AMERICAN INDIAN COMMUNITIES AND TRIBAL SOVEREIGNTY

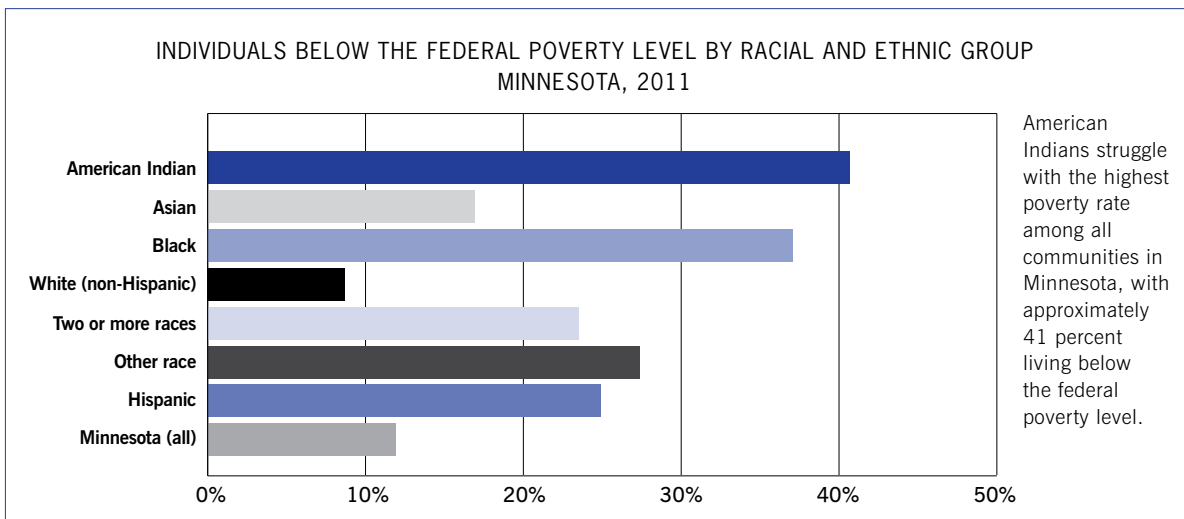


Tribal sovereignty is the legally recognized status of American Indian tribes to govern themselves.<sup>6</sup> Tribal governments operate independently as their own sovereign nations, and have a government-to-government relationship with the United States. Protecting that sovereignty is a central mission of tribal governments and Minnesota’s Indian Affairs Council, a state agency created in 1963 to act as a liaison between the 11 tribal

governments and the state.<sup>7</sup> Part of that mission is being sure that our state government’s interaction with American Indian people does not limit tribal sovereignty, and that American Indian people enjoy the full benefits of membership in their tribes as well as of U.S. citizenship.

Like communities of color, American Indian communities struggle with barriers and experience disparities in income, education achievement, employment, and incarceration rates. But American Indian communities suffer the highest poverty rate of all groups in Minnesota, at 41 percent. Of all groups, American Indian communities face the lowest education attainment rates.<sup>8</sup> We must recognize the shared interest between tribal and state governments in eliminating these disparities and building equity for American Indian people.

In 2012, a year in which Minnesotans recognized 150 years since the U.S.-Dakota War of 1862 and the largest mass execution in U.S. history—of 38 Dakota men—significant attempts to improve the well-being of American Indian communities were lacking. But legislation allowing for a wolf hunt that offended tribal sovereignty and American Indian spiritual and cultural beliefs did pass, and is listed in the Legislating Structural Racism section of this report.



Minnesota Compass [mncompass.org](http://mncompass.org). Data compiled from U.S. Census Bureau, American Community Survey.

# BUDGET EQUITY



Creating a solid foundation of budget equity builds a base for broader racial equity. Equitable budget making requires raising revenues fairly, cutting expenses in a way that does not exacerbate disparities in access to opportunities, and spending where the investment will result in greater opportunities and reduced inequities. All of these priorities, together, are necessary for building the equitable budget infrastructure that supports communities throughout the state.

## HF 2062/SF 1720 RECOMMITTING TO THE FAMILY ASSETS FOR INDEPENDENCE PROGRAM

The Family Assets for Independence Minnesota program matches savings to help struggling families build assets and move out of poverty. Savings goals that are eligible for matching funds include purchasing a home, launching a small business, or pursuing post-secondary education. Funding for this program was cut in 2011, and as originally introduced this bill would have appropriated \$500,000 from the general fund to the Commissioner of Human Services to be used for this program in fiscal year 2013. The program was extended as part of the omnibus Health and Human Services bill (HF 2294/SF 2093), but only at \$250,000, short of the \$500,000 state appropriation necessary to access federal matching dollars.

**LEADERSHIP:** Rep. Banaian, Huntley, E. Murphy, Lanning, Abeler, Hosch, Shimanski, Clark, Fritz, Davnie, Norton; Sen. Benson, Rosen, Marty

## MISSED OPPORTUNITIES

### HF 2480/SF 2029 CLOSING CORPORATE LOOPHOLES, INVESTING IN STUDENTS

During last year's government shutdown, Minnesota saved \$2.2 billion by delaying payments to school districts. We balanced the budget, but schools had fewer resources to invest in students and classrooms, and were forced to borrow money themselves to do their work of educating children. This bill would have repaid that money in less than six years "by closing corporate tax loopholes, including a loophole that allows corporations to shelter earnings offshore." Investing in education is a priority for creating greater opportunities for children, one in three of whom are living in poverty. With one of the largest racial achievement gaps in the country, guaranteeing stable resources for schools is one clear way leaders can show commitment to Minnesota students and to closing gaps in opportunity and achievement.

**LEADERSHIP:** Rep. Winkler, Thissen, Hortman, Greiling, Hornstein, Anzcl, Davnie, Slocum, Ward, Hausman, Falk, Loeffler; Sen. Sieben, Marty, Bakk, Dibble, McGuire

### HF 2048/SF 2103 ENDING PRESUMED SUNSET FOR COUNCILS OF COLOR

In 2011, the Legislature approved a presumptive sunset of the four state councils of color—the Indian Affairs Council, Council on Black Minnesotans, Council on Asian Pacific Minnesotans, and the Chicano Latino Affairs Council. This bill would have eliminated the sunset review and presumptive expiration of Minnesota's councils of color. The current process of presumptive sunset, review, and possible extension of the councils results in unpredictable continuation and funding at a time when people of color are underrepresented in our state government. All four councils can help ensure that the perspectives of communities of color are a part of state policymaking. Stabilizing their funding and continued





existence would show a commitment from the Legislature that the voices of communities of color matter. Another bill (HF 2555) was adopted that approved the Sunset Advisory Commission's recommendations and extended the expiration date of the councils to June 30, 2014. Because HF 2048/ SF 2103 would have eliminated

the presumptive sunset, we consider this bill a missed opportunity for racial equity.

**LEADERSHIP:** Rep. Mullery, Clark, Slocum, Norton;  
Sen. Hayden

### Deep Cuts to Renters' Credit Averted in 2012

Minnesota's Renters' Credit refunds part of the property taxes that low- and moderate-income renters pay through their rent payments. This tax credit is available to renters whose property taxes are high relative to their incomes. In 2011, the Legislature made a 13 percent cut or \$26 million reduction to the Renters' Credit for fiscal year 2013. An additional \$67 million in cuts were proposed in the 2012 House omnibus tax bill. The proposal did not win approval from the Senate or from Governor Dayton, so further cuts were averted for now. The Renters' Credit is a budget equity policy and "an important tool to ensure that [renting] Minnesotans aren't asked to pay more than their fair share of taxes."<sup>10</sup>

### Keeping the Legislature Accountable with Budgeting Authority and Responsibility

Three proposed constitutional budget amendments did not progress in the 2012 Legislature—all of which would have limited the authority of the Legislature to make budgeting decisions. The three proposals would have required a supermajority of the Legislature to pass state tax increases (HF 1598/SF 1384); limited spending to 98 percent of forecasted revenues and limited the use of the state's budget reserves (HF 1661/SF 1378); and limited spending to revenues collected in the previous biennium and constrained the way excess revenues could be spent (HF 1612/SF 1364). The implications for these proposals would impact all Minnesotans, but the racial equity impact would be felt through the inability of legislators to respond to the voices of communities of color. Maintaining accountability of our legislators is the key to change. The proposed amendments would have taken away both power and accountability for building racial and economic justice.

# CIVIL RIGHTS AND CRIMINAL JUSTICE



With five percent of the world's population, the United States incarcerates approximately 25 percent of the world's prisoners. Due to racially discriminatory policies and practices, "more than 60% of people in prison are ... racial and ethnic minorities."<sup>11</sup> Data consistently shows disparate treatment by race at every level of the criminal justice system. Even our youngest community members experience the impact of this disparity. Of the 4,151 Minneapolis Public School students who were suspended one or more times in 2009–10, over 3,000 were African American.<sup>12</sup> These experiences add up, and people convicted and sentenced find it increasingly difficult to reestablish their place as participating members of our communities, lacking access to education, jobs, housing, health care, and even the right to vote. We need to take a serious look at criminal justice policy and practices that negatively impact Minnesotans of color. The following policy proposals would have had a positive racial equity impact.

## MISSED OPPORTUNITIES

### HF 876/SF 602 LIMITING ACCESS TO JUVENILE RECORDS

This bill, introduced in the 2011 session, would limit access to juvenile records by allowing judges to decide on a case-by-case basis whether a felony charge of a 16 or 17 year old juvenile was violent enough to warrant a public hearing and record. Creating the presumption of privacy for juvenile records, as most states do, will allow careful review of a juvenile's charge and give many juveniles charged with non-violent felonies access to opportunities that will help them build a positive future. In the 2012 session, this bill received a second reading in the House. It was a Missed Opportunity that should return in the 2013 legislative session.

**LEADERSHIP:** Rep. Smith, Woodard, Shimanski, Johnson, Hilstrom, Gauthier, Howes, Champion, Moran, Clark, Kieffer, Liebling, Lesch, Mariani; Sen. Jungbauer, Harrington

### HF 1448/SF 1122 "BAN THE BOX" TO OPEN EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

Minnesota was an early leader in providing greater opportunity to people with criminal records with the 2009 legislation that removed questions about criminal records from public employment applications. Also known as the Minnesota Hiring Advantage, this bill was introduced in 2011 with bi-partisan support and would expand that law to private employers. Removing questions about criminal records from employment applications allows applicants with criminal records to show their potential to employers. For people of color disproportionately impacted by the criminal justice system, this bill would open the door to building a brighter future.

**LEADERSHIP:** Rep. McFarlane, Mahoney, Lesch, Cornish, Gunther, Champion, (then Rep.) Hayden, Leidiger, Murray, S. Peterson, Lanning, Clark; Sen. Magnus, Harrington, Jungbauer, Latz, Wolf

## HF 2327/SF 2043 AMENDMENT TO EXPAND VOTING RIGHTS

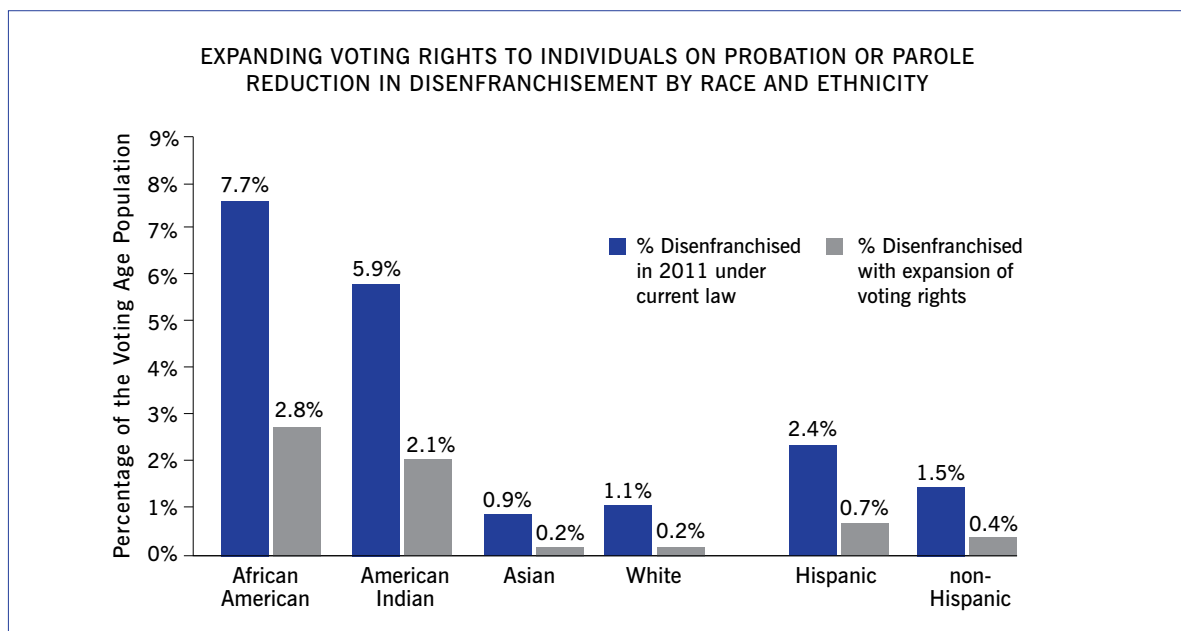
Policies on voting restriction for individuals with a felony conviction vary from state to state; here in Minnesota, this population is ineligible to vote until they have completed their prison sentence, probation, and parole. People of color are disproportionately impacted by these policies. As of 2010, 7.3 percent of Minnesota’s African American population were disenfranchised, compared to 1.5 percent of the state’s total voting age population.<sup>13</sup> This bill would provide notice of voting eligibility to individuals on parole or probation, but continues to allow criminalization for mistaken voting and is an insufficient answer to the current practice limiting voting rights. Sen. Eaton’s amendment in the Local Government and Elections Committee would have done away with disenfranchisement of people on probation and parole. Although not adopted in committee, we recognize Sen. Eaton’s leadership in expanding voting rights and see her proposal as a Missed Opportunity.

**LEADERSHIP:** Sen. Eaton

## HF 2723/SF 2177 ALLOWING EXPUNGEMENT OF CRIMINAL RECORDS

Asking for an expungement is a complicated, time consuming, and expensive process, and even if an individual succeeds in getting their criminal record sealed, it may still be on file at government agencies and opened again under certain circumstances.<sup>14</sup> This makes it incredibly difficult for individuals who have been convicted of non-violent offenses to break away from their past and start fresh. This bill would have given individuals desiring expungement slightly more flexible means for doing so. The legislation states that an individual’s record may be sealed if: 1) they have completed their required program or when they have not been formally charged or sentenced by the courts; 2) the prosecutor agrees to terms of expungement; and 3) the victim has been informed and provided an opportunity to object to expungement. It also states that an agreement to seal an individual’s record may happen before or after criminal charges are dismissed. Because Minnesotans of color are severely disproportionately impacted by the criminal justice system, this bill would have been a positive step for racial equity.

**LEADERSHIP:** Rep. Woodard, Kriesel, Smith, Gauthier, Davnice, Johnson, Mullery; Sen. Ortman, Latz, Harrington, Higgins.



Christopher Uggen and Suzy McElrath, University of Minnesota Department of Sociology.

# ECONOMIC EQUITY

Two key measures of economic health are employment and homeownership, both of which are sources of financial security. Here in Minnesota, people of color are less likely to have secure and gainful employment<sup>15</sup> and are also less likely to own a home.<sup>16</sup> Leadership in the Legislature helped to expand some economic opportunities, but many other proposals were Missed Opportunities that did not move forward.

## HF 2159/SF 1713 GIVING IMMIGRANT AND MINORITY FARMERS ACCESS TO LOANS

Passed as part of the Agriculture Bill (HF 2398/SF 2061), the Pilot Agricultural Microloan Program will give immigrant and minority farmers access to loans of up to \$10,000 to fund production of crops and livestock. Working with different communities interested in farming, including recent Hmong, Latino, and Somali immigrants, Department of Agriculture staff saw that new farmers had difficulty accessing the capital necessary for farming. Without credit histories or significant savings, they faced significant barriers to the economic opportunity they were seeking through farming. The Department of Agriculture is partnering with lending institutions and community development organizations to make the loans available, and also to help farmers in the program develop the documentation and credit history to qualify for conventional loans in the future. Because this bill was passed as part of a larger omnibus package, we recognize the leadership of the original bill.

**LEADERSHIP:** Rep. Swedzinski, Hamilton, Norton, Gunther, Torkelson, Hansen, Shimanski, Poppe, Morrow, Kahn, Liebling, Falk; Sen. Rosen, Dahms, Kelash, Kubly

## HF 2958/SF 2469 AMENDMENT TO MAKE THE VIKINGS STADIUM AN ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

Advocates for racial and economic justice were mixed on their support of the new Minnesota Vikings stadium, a centerpiece issue at the Capitol in 2012. The drive to build a new stadium was taking both resources and attention away from issues that mattered more, like education, jobs, and health care, said many. On the other hand, the stadium offered an opportunity to create jobs and build a

stronger economy. The 2012 Racial Equity Agenda landed the same way—if we were to build a stadium, let us at least ensure that good jobs go to those who were hit hardest by the recession. Building the stadium in Minneapolis, with the largest employment gap in the country between African Americans and whites, added to the imperative to build more than a stadium. As discussion about the stadium was underway, the Minnesota Department of Human Rights was analyzing and adjusting the hiring goals for state funded construction projects. The result, effective in April, was an increase in Hennepin and Ramsey Counties’ hiring goals for minority populations from 11 percent to 32 percent. For other metro area counties, the goal increased from 11 percent to 22 percent. The concurrent efforts of HIRE Minnesota to build support for jobs at the Minneapolis City Council, while also finding the support at the Legislature, resulted in establishing those significant hiring goals in the Vikings stadium bill and an endorsement of those goals at the City Council. The result was increased goals for hiring people of color for construction jobs and for permanent jobs at the stadium.

**LEADERSHIP:** Rep. Champion, Mullery, Clark, Moran; Sen. Higgins

## MISSED OPPORTUNITIES

## HF 1886/SF 1521 CALLING FOR A MORATORIUM ON MORTGAGE FORECLOSURES

Making the statement that “The Legislature declares that a public economic emergency exists in the state due to the increase in foreclosure rates,” this bill would create a moratorium on mortgage foreclosures, suspending foreclosure for up to two years. Additionally, if a new owner were to take control of a property due to foreclosure, tenants would maintain renter rights at a fair market price. This bill could have been a positive step toward racial economic equity because low-income people of color have been disproportionately impacted by the foreclosure crisis. The disparate impact of the foreclosure crisis on Minnesotans of color has “fueled a record-high wealth gap between whites, African Americans and Latinos.”<sup>17</sup>



**LEADERSHIP:** Rep. Clark, Ward, Moran, Greiling, Slocum, Davnie, Loeffler, Hornstein, Champion, Kahn, Allen, Liebling; Sen. Dibble, Hayden, Marty, Higgins, Tomassoni.

### HF 2954/SF 2584 EXPANDING MFIP AND CHILD WELL-BEING

MFIP remains a key tool for helping families meet basic needs and move beyond poverty. This bill would revise redetermination for the program from every six months to every 12 months. It expands the definition of child well-being and provides information to applicants and recipients about the availability and benefits of early childhood health and development screenings, resources, and programs. The work activity required by parents on MFIP would be amended to include attending a child's early childhood activities. This bill would also establish a "task force on low income families" to review the adequacy of state programs and tax policies to support low-income families. In addition, the MFIP Mentoring Pilot Program would provide grants to help communities train and support volunteers who mentor families, with the goal of reducing isolation and strengthening connections in the community.

**LEADERSHIP:** Rep. Hosch, E. Murphy, Huntley, Fritz, Slawik, Slocum; Sen. Marty, Lourey

### HF 2155/SF 2007 RELIEF FOR CENTRAL CORRIDOR HOMEOWNERS AND BUSINESSES

The expansion of light rail transportation should bring many benefits to the metro area, but light rail construction has created economic challenges for central corridor area homeowners and businesses, most of which are owned by immigrant and minority entrepreneurs. Businesses that have been able to stay afloat during construction

will continue to face challenges post-construction due to increasing property taxes associated with the changing economy of the area. If light rail related issues are not addressed, "there is a danger the ethnic economy could well be destroyed and the benefits of light rail construction would not accrue to them."<sup>18</sup> This bill would limit property tax increases for central corridor properties. It would mandate that taxes increase gradually over a period of six years, through 2018. The goal of the bill was to give the vibrant immigrant and minority central corridor economy a fighting chance to regain stability and prosperity despite the hardships they have faced and will continue to face with the construction of the light rail.

**LEADERSHIP:** Rep. Moran; Sen. Pappas

### HF 3043 BUILDING ECONOMIC SECURITY FOR WORKING FAMILIES

At \$6.15 per hour, Minnesota has the third lowest minimum wage in the United States, behind Georgia and Wyoming.<sup>19</sup> Currently, the federal minimum wage of \$7.25 supersedes our state's. The Family Economic Security Act would increase the state minimum wage to \$9.50/hour (from \$4.90/hour to \$7.50/hour for employees under the age of twenty). According to a report from the Economic Policy Institute, increasing the minimum wage would boost consumer spending and stimulate the economy. "[Ethnic] groups would see significant benefits. Some 24 percent of Minnesota's Black workers would get a pay raise, alongside a hefty 43 percent of Hispanic workers and 24 percent of Asian and other ethnic workers."<sup>20</sup> This bill also recognizes the costs of raising a child, and increases the eligibility for child care assistance to 76 percent of state median income (from 67 percent). The bill would create a state version of the child tax credit, as well as expand the working family tax credit. None of these provisions alone is enough to make a significant impact for working families with children. But combining child care assistance with an increase in the minimum wage would create the possibility of allowing working parents greater access to opportunities.

**LEADERSHIP:** Rep. Hortman, Mariani, Slawik, Winkler, Laine, Clark

# EDUCATION EQUITY



Despite the fact that Minnesota's students rank high nationally,<sup>21</sup> educational gaps by race and ethnicity persist. Taken together, students of color and American Indian students have consistently lower levels of academic success in reading and math, are less likely to graduate on time, and less likely to pursue higher education than their white peers.<sup>22</sup> State policies and practices can impact these disparities, either positively or negatively. As a state, we need to invest more in education and make sure that all students, not just those privileged by race and class, have equitable opportunities for high academic achievement.

One bill that OAP identified in the Racial Equity Bill Watch as one with unclear racial equity consequences was HF 1870/SF 1690, which would require school districts to base discharge of teachers on teacher evaluation outcomes, also known as LIFO. This bill passed in the Legislature, but was vetoed by the governor. Because the evaluation system was not yet designed, OAP remained watchful for criteria that would raise the value of building racial equity practices into teaching. We will continue to seek a strategy

that recognizes the importance of supporting equity practices in the classroom, and hope that the evaluation system will include these measures.

The following bills were introduced during the last legislative session. If they had been passed into law, they would have had positive implications for racial equity in education.

## MISSED OPPORTUNITIES

### HF 3004/ SF 2601 GUARANTEEING SAFE SCHOOLS FOR ALL STUDENTS

Minnesota's anti-bullying policy lags behind that of other states.<sup>23</sup> Current state law prohibits bullying without defining it, and does not offer guidelines for training, prevention, or consequences. This bill would have brought Minnesota's anti-bullying legislation up to speed by including a definition of bullying, scope of conditions and school authority, and by mandating training and prevention, intervention, and remedial measures. It would have required all Minnesota schools to adapt a written non-discriminatory policy prohibiting discrimination on the basis of race, color, creed, religion, national origin, sex, disability, sexual orientation, gender identity and expression, and socioeconomic status.

It is important that the language in this bill specifically addresses race and ethnicity, for research has shown that Black and Hispanic youth who are bullied are more likely to struggle academically compared to their white peers.<sup>24</sup> The Minnesota Department of Health's research regarding the health and well-being of Minnesota adolescents of color found that students of color were more likely than their white peers to miss one or more days of school per month because they felt unsafe at school, and were more likely to report frequent emotional distress, including anxiety and depression.<sup>25</sup> This bill takes a positive step toward removing the barriers students of color and others face in accessing the benefits of education.

**LEADERSHIP:** Rep. Davnie, Ward, Laine, S. Peterson, Greene; Sen. Dibble, Wiger

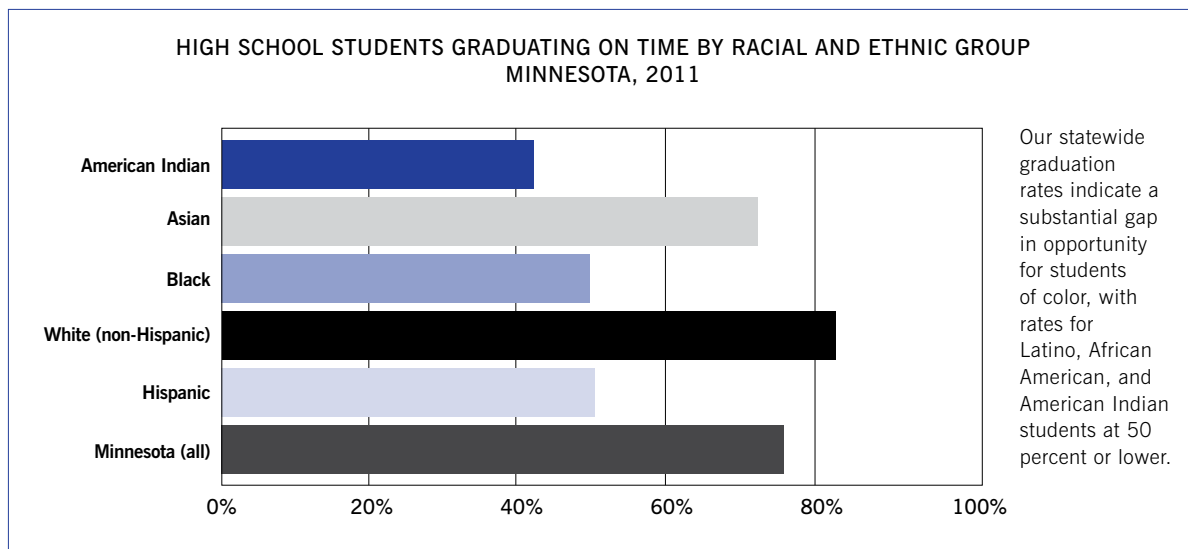
## HF 2840 RECOMMITTING TO SCHOOL INTEGRATION AND ACHIEVEMENT

In 2011, the Legislature mandated the creation of a 12-member Integration Revenue Replacement Advisory Task Force charged with developing a plan for use of integration revenue funds and closing the achievement gap. The bipartisan task force presented recommendations (approved by a 10-2 vote of the task force) that creates an Achievement and Integration in Minnesota (AIM) program to revise the integration rule to address racial isolation of schools and opportunities, along with racial disparities in academic achievement. The task force recommended that school districts must adopt several practices that could ameliorate these inequities. The recommendations would establish integrated learning environments, family engagement practices, and offer students more school enrollment and educational opportunities. Teachers are one of the most important assets in schools, and there is a distinct goal within the recommendations to provide professional development opportunities, and to recruit and retain teachers and administrators with diverse backgrounds. In addition, the plan increases transparency and accountability, requiring school boards to report to the public on their progress in reducing disparities in student achievement. Rep. Mariani,



a member of the task force, introduced the bill that would adopt the task force’s recommendations.

**LEADERSHIP:** Rep. Mariani, Moran, Davnie, Mullery, Brynaert, Greiling, Hortman, Persell, Gauthier, Norton, Johnson



Minnesota Compass [mncompass.org](http://mncompass.org). Data compiled from Minnesota Department of Education.

# HEALTH EQUITY



Despite the fact that Minnesota ranks sixth in the United States for overall health, our state's health disparities by race and ethnicity should alarm all of us. On nearly every indicator of health, including cancer, diabetes, asthma, and heart disease, as well as overall life expectancy, Minnesotans of color fare worse than their white counterparts.<sup>26</sup> Underlying all of this is that Minnesotans of color are also uninsured at a rate of two to three and a half times that of white Minnesotans, further exacerbating health disparities.<sup>27</sup> At a time when health care costs and access were a central part of our national dialogue, the Minnesota Legislature did little to truly improve health equity. Although the Legislature did undo some of the damage from the 2011 session, more action will be necessary in 2013 to truly improve access to health care.

## HF 307/SF 214 BRINGING SWIMMING TO THE PHILLIPS NEIGHBORHOOD

Populations of color are more at risk of fatal unintentional drowning than their white counterparts. Access to swimming pools may contribute to the racial differences in drowning rates.<sup>28</sup> Minnesota, the land of 10,000 lakes, has the highest drowning rate in the nation among

African Americans, and the third highest for American Indians.<sup>29</sup> This bill will appropriate funds to renovate the long-neglected indoor swimming pool in the Phillips Community Center. The population of the Phillips neighborhood in Minneapolis is largely comprised of people of color, and a renovated community center pool will provide this population with greater access to water activities and swimming lessons. This bill is specifically focused and would have a direct impact on community members, making this legislation a positive step for racial health equity. This provision was passed as part of a larger omnibus bonding bill (HF 1752/SF 1463) so we recognize the leadership of the original bill authors.

**LEADERSHIP:** Rep. Clark, Howes, Norton, Thissen, (then Rep.) Hayden, Allen; Sen. Hayden

## HF 1888/SF 1672 RESTORING EMERGENCY MEDICAL ASSISTANCE FOR NON-CITIZENS

Immigrant populations in Minnesota are less likely to have health insurance than other groups. The Center for Immigration Studies estimate that 18 percent of documented Minnesota immigrants and their U.S.-born children lack health insurance, compared to eight percent of native-born and their children. Although immigrants and their children account for only seven percent of our state population, they represent 17 percent of our state's uninsured population. Additionally, of Minnesota immigrants and their U.S.-born children, 29 percent live in poverty compared to 9 percent of native-born people and their children.<sup>30</sup> Approved as part of the Omnibus Health and Human Services Finance Bill (HF 2294), this bill provides some limited relief to the 2011 cuts by restoring access to kidney dialysis and cancer treatment through 2013.

**LEADERSHIP:** Rep. Clark, Mariani, Greiling, Slocum, Hornstein; Sen. Hayden, Dibble, Higgins, Harrington, Marty



## HF 1907/SF 1556 DELAYING CUTS TO PCA PROGRAM

In 2011, the Legislature enacted a 20 percent wage cut to personal care assistants caring for family members with disabilities. The program has provided a way for family members to care for loved ones, and offset the cost of forgoing outside paid income. Communities of color, immigrant families, and American Indian families who want to provide culturally and language appropriate care to family members have relied on the income provided by the program. This bill restores wages so that family and non-family PCAs receive the same wages. The version passed in the omnibus Health and Human Services bill (HF 2294/SF 2093) delayed those wage cuts until July 1, 2013.

**LEADERSHIP:** Rep. Liebling, Norton, Greiling, M. Murphy, Morrow, Mullery, Loeffler, Greene, Hilty, Hornstein, Ward, Fritz, Brynaert, Kahn, Nelson; Sen. Lourey, Higgins, Marty, Hayden, Sheran

### MISSED OPPORTUNITIES

## HF 2739/ SF 2441 CREATING AN EQUITABLE MINNESOTA HEALTH BENEFITS EXCHANGE

Under the federal Affordable Care Act, states must develop a Health Benefits Exchange program or be subject to a federally defined program. Health care leaders in Minnesota have been working to develop a program that works well for communities across the state. The bill put forward in the Legislature would give individuals and small businesses access to better insurance options, including continuous coverage, easy accessibility, and assured eligibility. It also requires that access points be culturally and linguistically appropriate for all populations served. The bill states the goal of reducing health disparities and reaching a greater level of health equity across communities. The language in the Health Benefits Exchange bill confronts racial disparities and aims to address them; for these reasons, this bill would have been a positive step toward racial equity.

**LEADERSHIP:** Rep. E. Murphy, Liebling, Moran, Fritz, Allen, Greene, Loeffler; Sen. Hayden

## HF 1887/SF 1898 PROVIDING A HAVEN FOR EXPLOITED GIRLS AND WOMEN OF COLOR

Minnesota has one of the highest rates of sexual exploitation and sex trafficking. According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation,<sup>31</sup> Minnesota ranks as the 13th largest center for the sex trafficking of children, and studies show that an average of 100 girls under the age of 18 are sold into sex trafficking each month in Minnesota.<sup>32</sup> More specific data regarding sex trafficking are difficult to gather, for these crimes often go unreported and undocumented. Although it did not progress in the Legislature, this bill is important in that it would have authorized funds to construct and equip three or more culturally appropriate transitional housing facilities in the metro area. These facilities would house and provide services to American Indian, East African, Latina, African American and Asian American girls and women to provide them protection from and the means to escape exploitation and trafficking.

**LEADERSHIP:** Rep. Clark, Greiling, Slocum, Hornstein, Davnie, Kahn, Allen; Sen. Hayden



# LEGISLATING STRUCTURAL RACISM



Structural racism policies and practices have become embedded in how our society operates, resulting in barriers to opportunities like education, employment, and health care. Another result is closing off participation to the important aspects of being a part of a community, like voting. In the 2012 legislative session, we saw proposals that, whether intentional or not, would have the result of creating barriers along racial lines to full inclusion. Multiple proposals were put forward in 2012, but almost all that we have identified did not progress—by virtue of the legislative process, vetoed by the governor, or turned back by voters.

One bill did advance, impacting American Indian communities and tribal sovereignty. Our discussion of legislation related to this community unfortunately falls under Legislating Structural Racism in 2012.

## HF 2484/SF 1945 ALLOWING THE HUNTING OF A SACRED ANIMAL ON RESERVATION LAND

Over 10 years ago, American Indian Tribes, the Minnesota Department of Natural Resources, and other parties with an interest in the gray wolf came together and developed guidelines for a management plan for the species in Minnesota. Many Native Americans view wolves as sacred animals, and wanted to be sure their views were recognized by the state. Knowing that state and tribal views on the hunting and trapping of wolves would differ, tribal leaders thought proactively about how to craft a plan that would uphold tribal sovereignty and management authority, and allow for the state to set its own policies. All of that thinking was ignored with the passage of a law allowing for the hunting of wolves (adopted as part of the omnibus Game and Fish Bill HF 2171/SF 1943). Despite opposition from the Fond du Lac, Leech Lake, Red Lake, and White Earth bands, the legislation and the implementation of the wolf hunt progressed without consideration of tribal concerns. Among the most egregious is allowing for wolf hunting on private and public nontribal land within reservations. Because of the disregard of tribal interests, management authority, and sovereign rights, as well as a process that tribal members tried building proactively years in advance, we regard this bill as one contributing to structural racism in Minnesota.

**AUTHORS:** Rep. Fabian, Dill, Drazkowski, LeMieur, Hancock; Sen. Gazelka, Brown, Carlson, Saxhaug

## HF 2738/SF 1577 CREATING BARRIERS TO VOTING

In the 2011 session, Gov. Dayton vetoed a bill that would have required Minnesotans to provide current government issued photo identification in order to vote. So legislators came back in 2012 with a proposal to do the same through a constitutional amendment. After heated debate, the bill passed in both the House and Senate, and went to voters in the November election. Despite the fact that 80 percent polled in favor of the amendment in May of 2011, support drastically declined in the months leading up to the election.<sup>33</sup> In the end, a majority of Minnesota voters said “No” to the voter ID amendment.

If it had passed, voter ID would have been an assault on the rights of eligible voters, including those in communities of color, immigrant communities, and American Indian communities. Although their stories are different, these groups share histories of struggle for voting rights. Organizing Apprenticeship Project, along with partner organizations representing communities of color, came together to form Voices for Voting Rights as a way to make those stories a part of the conversation. Defeating the voter ID amendment took the leadership and hard work of many people across the state, and those voices will continue to grow and build equity in Minnesota.

**AUTHORS:** Rep. Kiffmeyer, Peppin, Dean, M. Benson, McElpatrick, Lohmer, Gruenhagen, Franson, McDonald, Dettmer, Vogel, Woodard, Stensrud, P. Anderson, Crawford, Barrett, Kieffer, Erickson, Scott, Quam, Downey, Drazkowski, LeMieur, Garofalo, Runbeck; Sen. Newman, Chamberlain, Ingebrigtsen, Limmer, Brown

### HF 1976/ SF 1842 TARGETING IMMIGRANT COMMUNITIES THROUGH E-VERIFY

If implemented, this legislation would require authorities in the legislative, executive, and judicial branches to verify the employment eligibility of all newly hired employees using the federal E-Verify database. This tool was developed by the Department of Homeland Security to determine employment eligibility based on immigration status. Governor Dayton vetoed this legislation, stating that Minnesota already complies with federal regulations which require employers to verify eligibility for employment, and that the database itself is wrought with error that would disproportionately impact communities of color. E-Verify encompasses an enormous amount of personal information, and there have been concerns that the system lacks proper security measures, making it vulnerable to fraud. There have also been problems with data inaccuracies which prevent eligible employees from working.

**AUTHORS:** Rep. Leidiger, Drazkowski, Scott; Sen. DeKruif, Lillie, Daley

### HF 358/ SF 2433 DAMAGING THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POLICE AND IMMIGRANTS

This bill states that no government entity or responsible authority may prohibit or restrict information regarding the citizenship or immigration status of any individual, and requires the exchange of data and information between local, state, and federal government agencies. Minnesota law enforcement currently operate under “separation ordinances,” meaning that local police officers do not have to ask residents about their immigration status unless it specifically pertains to a crime. The current ordinances “help crime victims and witnesses come forward to assist police in investigations without fear of questions about their immigration status.”<sup>34</sup> Involving local police with complex immigration law would be costly and would eliminate trust between immigrant communities and law enforcement.<sup>35</sup> Legislators in the House approved this bill, but it did not come to a vote in the Senate. Had it become law, it would have created an environment of fear and mistrust between immigrant communities and local law enforcement, promoted racial profiling, and interfered with criminal investigations that affect immigrant communities. In these ways, this bill would have supported structural racism.

**AUTHORS:** Rep. Barrett, M. Benson, Drazkowski, Gruenhagen, Wardlow; Sen. Nienow

## CLOSE CALLS

### LIMITING ACCESS TO BASIC SUPPORT

Multiple bills introduced in the 2012 session sought to limit access for the poorest Minnesotans, many of them children, to basic support. With the recession hitting low-income people and people of color particularly hard, creating conditions beyond income for receiving food support and cash assistance would add to systems of structural racism. Several bills called for drug screening of applicants before they could receive benefits. Some proposals limited access by requiring longer residency or shortened the lifetime for access to benefits. Among the worst, as it was initially introduced, was HF 2232/ SF1877 which would deny cash and food benefits to people with any past criminal drug conviction, at any level of offense. These bills, though numerous, did not move forward, thanks to a broad coalition of anti-poverty and

criminal justice groups who organized efforts to stop these measures. Department of Human Services Commissioner Lucinda Jesson wrote a letter to legislators, asking them to refrain from creating these limitations on benefits. Because of these efforts, we can consider these bills close calls for limiting racial and economic equity.

**HF 2232/SF 1877**—As introduced, denying benefits due to any drug conviction.

**AUTHORS:** Rep. Draskowski, Lohmer, Vogel; Sen. Hoffman, Benson

**HF 2080/SF 1883**—As introduced, further limiting lifetime of benefits; disqualification due to prior drug offense; applicants must pay for criminal background checks and fingerprint requirement.

**AUTHORS:** Rep. Daudt, Gottwalt, Abeler, Draskowski, Dettmer, Woodard, M. Benson, Hancock, Gruenhagen, Scott, Lohmer, Erickson, Bills; Sen. Benson, Hoffman, Hann, Newman, Ingebrigtsen

**HF 1889/SF 1535**—Requiring drug screening to receive MFIP or general assistance where “suspicion” of drug use exists (including a list of 13 suspicious behaviors, such as “twitching,” “inability to verbalize,” and “bizarre behavior”); three year ban if test is positive.

**AUTHORS:** Rep. Quam, Draskowski, Scott, Daudt, Lohmer; Sen. Nienow, Hall, Chamberlain, Hoffman, DeKruif

**HF 1919/SF 1801**—Broad requirement of drug screening for MFIP applicants, paid for by applicant; one year ineligibility if positive.

**AUTHORS:** Rep. Draskowski, Scott, Barrett; Sen. Benson, Brown, Hoffman

## **HF 2349/SF 2035 TAKING HEALTH CARE NAVIGATORS ROLE FROM COMMUNITIES**

Under the Affordable Care Act, Health Care Navigators (soon to be called In-Person Assistors) would guide individuals looking for health care coverage through the process and provide information in an accessible way. Community-based organizations with familiarity of community concerns, language, and other common questions are part of this navigation system. This bill would have limited the role of navigator to licensed insurance brokers, effectively taking the role away from many community organizations.

**AUTHORS:** Rep. Gruenhagen, Gottwalt, Lohmer; Sen. Hann, Gazelka, Carlson, Dahms, Newman

## **HF 2140/SF 1705 DISMANTLING COLLECTIVE BARGAINING**

“Right to Work” laws, now in 24 states, allow workers to avoid paying union dues even when a union is bargaining on their behalf, severely crippling the ability for unions to effectively negotiate fair wages, benefits, and safety standards. In Minnesota, legislators seeking to limit union bargaining power took the strategy of proposing a constitutional amendment that, if approved, would go to voters in November. Unions have long made it possible for workers to have stability in income and accountability for safe work conditions. Taking away their bargaining capacity takes away numerous protections for workers. States with “Right to Work” laws have been shown to have lower wages and higher occupational fatalities.<sup>36</sup> For low-income people and people of color, having access to living wage jobs with benefits and protections provides a step toward economic security.

**AUTHORS:** Rep. Draskowski, Lohmer, Downey, Holberg, Quam, M. Benson, Gruenhagen, Hancock, Wardlow, Scott, B. Anderson, Franson, Leidiger, McDonald, Gottwalt, Kiffmeyer, Erickson, Bills, Myhra, Runbeck, Doepke; Sen. Thompson, Chamberlain, Gazelka, Parry, Lillie

# Report Card

## THE LEGISLATURE: F

The 2012 session saw few floor votes for bills that we identify as positive or negative for racial equity. In the House, three negative bills received a floor vote. In the Senate, two negative bills received a vote. So these three bills, all of which passed in one or both chambers, result in a grade of F for the legislature as a whole.

## THE GOVERNOR: A

Of the bills this report has identified as impacting racial equity, few made it to Governor Dayton's desk. He vetoed the bill requiring use of the federal E-Verify program for determining employment eligibility, one this report includes in Legislating Structural Racism. His veto of the Voter ID amendment bill was only symbolic, yet he remained a strong opponent to this measure that would have had a long-lasting negative impact on communities of color, among many others, in their access to voting. The governor's appointed commissioners, whose work for racial equity helped move us forward, contribute to his grade in this report card.

## THE PEOPLE OF MINNESOTA: A

Two constitutional amendment proposals went to voters in November. After a long and costly campaign, Minnesotans defeated two forms of structural exclusion, one that would have limited the state's definition of marriage to heterosexual couples, and one that would have required a photo identification at the polls to vote. Minnesota voters deserve praise for listening to the stories of the impact of these proposed amendments, and turning out to defeat both.

# HOUSE

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2012 HOUSE	PARTY & DISTRICT	GRADE	TOTAL POINTS	LEADERSHIP POINTS	HF2738 SF1577 VOTER ID
Jim Abeler	R-48B, Anoka	F	0	0	X
Susan Allen	DFL-61B, Minneapolis	C	73	20	✓
Bruce Anderson	R-19A, Buffalo Township	F	-5	-5	X
Diane Anderson	R-38A, Eagan	F	0	0	X
Paul Anderson	R-13A, Starbuck	F	-5	-5	X
Sarah Anderson	R-43A, Plymouth	F	0	0	X
Tom Anzelc	DFL-03A, Balsam Township	B	85	5	✓
Joe Atkins	DFL-39B, Inver Grove Heights	F	53	0	—
King Banaian	R-15B, St. Cloud	F	10	10	X
Bob Barrett	R-17B, Lindstrom	F	-20	-20	X
Michael Beard	R-35A, Shakopee	F	0	0	X
John Benson	DFL-43B, Minnetonka	B	80	0	✓
Mike Benson	R-30B, Rochester	F	-20	-20	X
Kurt Bills	R-37B, Rosemount	F	-10	-10	X
Kathy Brynaert	DFL-23B, Mankato	A	90	10	✓
Mark Buesgens	R-35B, Savage	F	0	0	X
Lyndon Carlson Sr.	DFL-45B, Crystal	B	80	0	✓
Bobby Joe Champion	DFL-58B, Minneapolis	A+	105	25	✓
Karen Clark	DFL-61A, Minneapolis	A+	150	70	✓
Tony Cornish	R-24B, Vernon Center	F	5	5	X
Roger Crawford	R-08B, Mora	F	-5	-5	X
Kurt Daudt	R-17A, Crown	F	-15	-15	X
Greg Davids	R-31B, Preston	F	0	0	X
Jim Davnie	DFL-62A, Minneapolis	A+	120	40	✓
Matt Dean	R-52B, Dellwood	F	-5	-5	X
Bob Dettmer	R-52A, Forest Lake	F	-10	-10	X
David Dill	DFL-06A, Crane Lake	C	75	-5	✓
Denise Dittrich	DFL-47A, Champlin	F	27	0	✓
Connie Doepke	R-33B, Orono	F	-5	-5	X
Keith Downey	R-41A, Edina	F	-10	-10	X
Steve Drazkowski	R-28B, Mazeppa	F	-60	-60	X
Kent Eken	DFL-02A, Twin Valley	F	27	0	✓
Sondra Erickson	R-16A, Princeton	F	-15	-15	X
Dan Fabian	R-01A, Roseau	F	-10	-10	X
Andrew Falk	DFL-20A, Murdock	A	90	10	✓
Mary Franson	R-11B, Alexandria	F	-10	-10	X
Patti Fritz	DFL-26B, Faribault	C	73	20	✓
Pat Garofalo	R-36B, Farmington	F	-5	-5	X
Kerry Gauthier	DFL-07B, Duluth	A	95	15	✓

KEY: ✓ Support of racial equity   X Vote against racial equity   — Absent and did not vote

STRUCTURAL RACISM		DISTRICT DEMOGRAPHICS (%)					
HF1976 SF1842 E-VERIFY	HF358 SF2433 PROHIBITING NONCOOP ORDINANCES	AMERICAN INDIAN	ASIAN-PACIFIC ISLANDER	BLACK	LATINO	MULTI-RACIAL	CONSTITUENTS OF COLOR
X	X	1.2	2.6	4.2	3.1	0.3	11.4
✓	-	2.4	3.3	23.2	30.3	1.6	60.8
X	X	0.7	1.1	1.3	3.0	0.2	6.3
X	X	0.5	8.7	9.2	5.7	0.7	24.9
X	X	0.3	0.4	0.5	3.6	0.1	4.9
X	X	0.4	9.2	6.2	2.7	0.5	19.0
✓	✓	2.6	0.5	0.6	0.9	0.2	4.9
✓	✓	0.7	3.6	4.4	9.3	0.4	18.5
X	X	1.2	4.0	8.0	2.6	0.4	16.3
X	X	1.0	1.2	1.5	1.6	0.1	5.5
X	X	1.8	8.1	3.7	5.6	0.6	19.9
✓	✓	0.6	4.6	4.8	2.5	0.5	13.0
X	X	0.3	3.4	2.1	2.6	0.3	8.7
-	X	0.6	6.1	4.2	4.1	0.6	15.7
✓	✓	0.5	3.1	4.3	2.8	0.4	11.2
X	X	0.6	5.8	3.0	2.8	0.5	12.8
✓	✓	0.9	4.1	11.8	4.7	0.7	22.2
✓	✓	1.8	12.8	45.4	7.4	2.2	69.7
✓	✓	5.7	3.5	28.6	23.1	1.6	62.5
X	X	0.3	0.7	0.7	2.3	0.1	4.0
X	X	2.5	0.7	1.7	2.1	0.2	7.3
X	X	1.0	1.2	1.0	1.5	0.2	4.9
X	X	0.3	0.6	0.7	0.9	0.1	2.7
✓	✓	3.2	3.3	10.3	10.9	1.0	28.6
X	X	0.5	2.0	1.3	1.7	0.2	5.7
X	X	1.0	2.9	2.1	2.1	0.2	8.3
✓	✓	4.5	0.5	0.4	0.8	0.2	6.4
X	X	0.8	4.1	5.9	2.3	0.6	13.7
X	X	0.4	1.9	1.5	2.2	0.3	6.3
X	X	0.3	4.8	2.3	2.0	0.4	9.8
X	X	0.4	1.2	0.8	2.8	0.1	5.3
X	X	15.7	0.4	0.4	2.0	0.2	18.7
X	X	4.3	0.5	0.5	1.2	0.2	6.7
X	X	1.8	1.6	0.9	1.6	0.1	6.0
✓	✓	0.4	0.4	0.5	2.0	0.2	3.4
X	X	0.6	0.7	0.5	3.5	0.1	5.5
✓	-	0.8	1.7	4.9	9.0	0.2	16.6
X	X	0.7	3.1	2.1	2.8	0.4	9.2
✓	✓	5.6	1.7	4.7	1.7	0.6	14.5

# HOUSE

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2012 HOUSE	PARTY & DISTRICT	GRADE	TOTAL POINTS	LEADERSHIP POINTS	HF2738 SF1577 VOTER ID
Steve Gottwalt	R-15A, St. Cloud	F	-15	-15	X
Marion Greene	DFL-60A, Minneapolis	D	68	15	✓
Mindy Greiling	DFL-54A, Roseville	B	83	30	—
Glenn Gruenhagen	R-25A, Glencoe	F	-30	-30	X
Bob Gunther	R-24A, Fairmont	F	10	10	X
Tom Hackbarth	R-48A, Cedar	F	0	0	X
Rod Hamilton	R-22B, Mountain Lake	F	5	5	X
David Hancock	R-02B, Bemidji	F	-15	-15	X
Rick Hansen	DFL-39A, South St. Paul	B	85	5	✓
Alice Hausman	DFL-66B, St. Paul	B	85	5	✓
Debra Hilstrom	DFL-46B, Brooklyn Center	F	58	5	✓
Bill Hilty	DFL-08A, Finlayson	B	85	5	✓
Mary Liz Holberg	R-36A, Lakeville	F	-5	-5	X
Joe Hoppe	R-34B, Chaska	F	0	0	X
Frank Hornstein	DFL-60B, Minneapolis	A+	105	25	✓
Melissa Hortman	DFL-47B, Brooklyn Park	C	73	20	✓
Larry Hosch	DFL-14B, St. Joseph	A	95	15	✓
Larry Howes	R-04B, Walker	F	10	10	X
Thomas Huntley	DFL-07A, Duluth	D	63	10	—
Sheldon Johnson	DFL-67B, St. Paul	A	95	15	✓
Phyllis Kahn	DFL-59B, Minneapolis	A	100	20	✓
Kory Kath	DFL-26A, Owatonna	F	27	0	✓
Tim Kelly	R-28A, Red Wing	F	0	0	X
Andrea Kieffer	R-56B, Woodbury	F	0	0	X
Debra Kiel	R-01B, Crookston	F	0	0	X
Mary Kiffmeyer	R-16B, Big Lake	F	-15	-15	X
Kate Knuth	DFL-50B, New Brighton	B	80	0	✓
Lyle Koenen	DFL-20B, Maynard	F	27	0	✓
John Kriesel	R-57A, Cottage Grove	F	5	5	X
Carolyn Laine	DFL-50A, Columbia Heights	A	90	10	✓
Morrie Lanning	R-09A, Moorhead	F	10	10	X
Ernie Leidiger	R-34A, Mayer	F	-10	-10	X
Mike LeMieur	R-12B, Little Falls	F	-10	-10	X
Ann Lenczewski	DFL-40B, Bloomington	F	27	0	✓
John Lesch	DFL-66A, St. Paul	A	90	10	✓
Tina Liebling	DFL-30A, Rochester	A+	110	30	✓
Leon Lillie	DFL-55A, North St. Paul	B	80	0	✓
Diane Loeffler	DFL-59A, Minneapolis	A	100	20	✓
Kathy Lohmer	R-56A, Lake Elmo	F	-30	-30	X

KEY: ✓ Support of racial equity   X Vote against racial equity   — Absent and did not vote



STRUCTURAL RACISM		DISTRICT DEMOGRAPHICS (%)					
HF1976 SF1842 E-VERIFY	HF358 SF2433 PROHIBITING NONCOOP ORDINANCES	AMERICAN INDIAN	ASIAN-PACIFIC ISLANDER	BLACK	LATINO	MULTI-RACIAL	CONSTITUENTS OF COLOR
X	X	0.7	3.7	7.6	2.7	0.4	15.2
-	✓	1.2	5.7	11.1	3.9	0.7	22.5
✓	✓	0.7	8.6	6.4	4.4	0.6	20.8
X	X	0.5	0.9	0.5	4.8	0.1	6.8
X	X	0.4	0.6	0.5	7.8	0.1	9.5
X	X	0.8	2.1	1.6	2.2	0.3	6.9
X	X	0.4	4.6	2.5	15.4	0.3	23.2
X	X	18.0	0.6	0.5	1.4	0.2	20.7
✓	✓	0.9	2.8	4.8	12.4	0.4	21.3
✓	✓	1.1	8.6	11.1	4.5	0.7	26.1
X	✓	0.9	16.4	26.3	8.6	1.1	53.4
✓	✓	7.9	0.7	1.7	1.4	0.2	11.9
X	X	0.6	4.9	3.2	3.4	0.5	12.6
X	X	0.5	4.3	2.2	5.5	0.3	12.7
✓	✓	0.7	3.9	4.4	3.4	0.6	13.0
X	✓	0.9	13.1	12.7	3.0	0.9	30.6
✓	✓	0.4	1.4	0.8	2.4	0.2	5.2
X	X	2.4	0.6	0.5	0.9	0.2	4.5
✓	✓	2.0	2.2	2.1	1.3	0.4	8.0
✓	✓	1.5	19.7	19.9	13.0	1.2	55.3
✓	✓	1.1	12.3	18.6	3.2	0.9	36.1
X	X	0.7	1.2	3.9	7.2	0.2	13.0
-	X	1.6	0.9	1.4	3.2	0.3	7.3
X	X	0.5	9.9	6.3	3.9	0.5	21.1
X	X	1.9	0.8	1.0	5.6	0.2	9.4
X	X	0.7	1.1	1.1	1.8	0.2	4.9
✓	✓	0.7	6.5	5.5	3.7	0.6	16.8
-	-	2.0	0.8	0.5	5.8	0.2	9.2
X	X	1.0	5.0	4.8	7.7	0.4	18.8
✓	✓	1.7	5.5	14.3	9.4	1.0	31.9
X	X	2.1	2.3	2.4	3.8	0.3	11.0
X	X	0.5	2.0	0.9	3.2	0.2	6.8
X	X	0.9	0.5	0.6	1.1	0.2	3.2
X	X	0.7	6.0	7.6	5.3	0.6	20.1
✓	✓	1.6	29.5	21.0	11.9	1.3	65.3
✓	✓	0.7	6.9	8.6	8.3	0.8	25.3
✓	✓	0.8	10.8	8.6	5.7	0.6	26.4
✓	✓	2.5	3.8	13.2	11.4	1.1	31.9
X	X	1.1	5.0	4.6	2.9	0.3	13.9

# HOUSE

					ST
2012 HOUSE	PARTY & DISTRICT	GRADE	TOTAL POINTS	LEADERSHIP POINTS	HF2738 SF1577 VOTER ID
Jennifer Loon	R-42B, Eden Prairie	F	0	0	X
Tara Mack	R-37A, Apple Valley	F	0	0	X
Tim Mahoney	DFL-67A, St. Paul	B	85	5	✓
Carlos Mariani	DFL-65B, St. Paul	A+	105	25	✓
Paul Marquart	DFL-09B, Dilworth	F	53	0	✓
Pat Mazorol	R-41B, Bloomington	F	0	0	X
Joe McDonald	R-19B, Delano	F	-10	-10	X
Carolyn McElfrick	R-03B, Deer River	F	-5	-5	X
Carol McFarlane	R-53B, White Bear Lake	F	10	10	X
Denny McNamara	R-57B, Hastings	F	0	0	X
Carly Melin	DFL-05B, Hibbing	B	80	0	✓
Rena Moran	DFL-65A, St. Paul	A+	115	35	✓
Terry Morrow	DFL-23A, St. Peter	A	90	10	✓
Joe Mullery	DFL-58A, Minneapolis	A+	110	30	✓
Mark Murdock	R-10B, Ottertail	F	0	0	X
Erin Murphy	DFL-64A, St. Paul	A	100	20	✓
Mary Murphy	DFL-06B, Hermantown	B	85	5	✓
Rich Murray	R-27A, Albert Lea	F	5	5	X
Pam Myhra	R-40A, Burnsville	F	-5	-5	X
Michael V. Nelson	DFL-46A, Brooklyn Park	B	85	5	✓
Bud Nornes	R-10A, Fergus Falls	F	0	0	X
Kim Norton	DFL-29B, Rochester	B	83	30	✓
Tim O'Driscoll	R-14A, Sartell	F	0	0	X
Michael Paymar	DFL-64B, St. Paul	B	80	0	✓
Gene Pelowski Jr.	DFL-31A, Winona	B	80	0	✓
Joyce Peppin	R-32A, Rogers	F	-5	-5	X
John Persell	DFL-04A, Bemidji	B	85	5	✓
Branden Petersen	R-49B, Andover	F	0	0	X
Sandra Peterson	DFL-45A, New Hope	A	90	10	✓
Jeanne Poppe	DFL-27B, Austin	B	85	5	✓
Duane Quam	R-29A, Byron	F	-20	-20	X
Tom Rukavina	DFL-05A, Virginia	B	80	0	✓
Linda Runbeck	R-53A, Circle Pines	F	-10	-10	X
Tim Sanders	R-51A, Blaine	F	0	0	X
Bev Scalze	DFL-54B, Little Canada	F	27	0	✓
Joe Schomacker	R-22A, Luverne	F	0	0	X
Peggy Scott	R-49A, Andover	F	-30	-30	X
Ron Shimanski	R-18A, Silver Lake	F	15	15	X
Steve Simon	DFL-44A, St. Louis Park	B	80	0	✓

KEY: ✓ Support of racial equity   X Vote against racial equity   — Absent and did not vote

STRUCTURAL RACISM		DISTRICT DEMOGRAPHICS (%)					
HF1976 SF1842 E-VERIFY	HF358 SF2433 PROHIBITING NONCOOP ORDINANCES	AMERICAN INDIAN	ASIAN-PACIFIC ISLANDER	BLACK	LATINO	MULTI-RACIAL	CONSTITUENTS OF COLOR
X	X	0.4	11.5	6.2	3.2	0.6	21.9
X	X	0.6	5.8	7.9	5.4	0.7	20.4
✓	✓	1.7	26.3	15.0	12.8	1.3	57.0
✓	✓	1.5	6.8	15.9	16.1	0.9	41.3
✓	X	2.8	0.6	0.6	2.0	0.2	6.3
X	X	0.5	8.5	5.4	2.8	0.6	17.9
X	X	0.6	2.3	1.9	2.1	0.2	7.1
X	X	2.8	0.5	0.6	1.0	0.2	5.1
X	X	0.6	3.7	2.3	3.0	0.4	10.1
X	X	0.8	2.4	2.5	2.8	0.3	8.8
✓	✓	1.8	0.6	0.9	1.0	0.1	4.4
✓	✓	1.6	26.4	33.6	9.2	1.9	72.7
✓	✓	0.5	1.5	2.1	4.9	0.2	9.2
✓	✓	2.0	11.9	37.1	7.4	1.9	60.4
X	X	1.1	0.4	0.7	1.4	0.2	3.7
✓	✓	0.7	3.9	8.4	3.9	0.7	17.6
✓	✓	1.8	1.3	1.3	1.3	0.2	6.0
X	X	0.5	1.0	0.8	8.1	0.2	10.6
X	X	0.8	6.1	12.1	8.9	0.9	28.8
✓	✓	0.8	13.5	35.4	9.9	1.4	61.0
X	X	1.0	1.0	1.2	3.2	0.1	6.5
X	✓	0.4	7.5	6.7	3.6	0.6	18.9
X	X	0.4	1.6	1.2	1.4	0.2	4.7
✓	✓	0.5	4.1	8.0	4.0	0.6	17.2
✓	✓	0.5	2.6	1.9	1.6	0.2	6.7
X	X	0.4	6.4	3.0	2.6	0.3	12.7
✓	✓	19.0	0.9	0.9	1.6	0.5	22.9
-	-	1.2	4.0	5.9	3.2	0.4	14.7
✓	✓	0.8	4.7	13.7	6.4	0.9	26.5
✓	✓	0.4	2.1	2.6	10.8	0.3	16.2
X	X	0.4	4.0	1.9	3.2	0.3	9.8
✓	✓	2.3	0.6	1.0	0.8	0.1	4.9
X	X	0.6	5.6	1.7	1.9	0.3	10.1
X	X	1.0	9.1	4.5	3.1	0.5	18.2
X	X	0.7	9.2	4.9	3.7	0.5	19.0
X	X	0.9	1.0	0.7	2.8	0.1	5.5
X	X	0.7	2.8	1.7	2.0	0.2	7.5
X	X	0.4	1.0	0.7	4.8	0.1	7.0
✓	✓	0.8	6.3	11.0	5.7	0.9	24.7

# HOUSE

					ST
2012 HOUSE	PARTY & DISTRICT	GRADE	TOTAL POINTS	LEADERSHIP POINTS	HF2738 SF1577 VOTER ID
Nora Slawik	DFL-55B, Maplewood	F	10	10	–
Linda Slocum	DFL-63B, Richfield	A+	110	30	✓
Steve Smith	R-33A, Mound	F	15	15	X
Kirk Stensrud	R-42A, Eden Prairie	F	-5	-5	X
Chris Swedzinski	R-21A, Ghent	F	10	10	X
Paul Thissen	DFL-63A, Minneapolis	A	90	10	✓
Tom Tillberry	DFL-51B, Fridley	F	53	0	–
Paul Torkelson	R-21B, Hanska	F	5	5	X
Dean Urdahl	R-18B, Grove City	F	0	0	X
Bruce Vogel	R-13B, Willmar	F	-10	-10	X
Jean Wagenius	DFL-62B, Minneapolis	B	80	0	✓
John Ward	DFL-12A, Baxter	A	100	20	✓
Doug Wardlow	R-38B, Eagan	F	-10	-10	X
Torrey Westrom	R-11A, Elbow Lake	F	0	0	X
Ryan Winkler	DFL-44B, Golden Valley	A	95	15	✓
Kelby Woodard	R-25B, Belle Plaine	F	5	5	X
Kurt Zellers	R-32B, Maple Grove	F	0	0	X

KEY: ✓ Support of racial equity    X Vote against racial equity    – Absent and did not vote

STRUCTURAL RACISM		DISTRICT DEMOGRAPHICS (%)					
HF1976 SF1842 E-VERIFY	HF358 SF2433 PROHIBITING NONCOOP ORDINANCES	AMERICAN INDIAN	ASIAN-PACIFIC ISLANDER	BLACK	LATINO	MULTI-RACIAL	CONSTITUENTS OF COLOR
X	–	0.8	8.2	7.5	5.3	0.5	22.3
✓	✓	1.0	7.6	11.7	18.5	1.2	39.9
X	X	0.4	3.0	1.5	2.1	0.2	7.3
X	X	0.4	4.4	5.1	2.5	0.5	12.9
X	X	2.7	2.5	2.1	4.9	0.3	12.5
✓	✓	0.9	5.1	10.2	9.3	0.7	26.2
✓	✓	1.5	6.3	7.0	5.9	0.9	21.5
X	X	0.3	1.9	0.5	5.0	0.1	7.7
X	X	0.4	0.4	0.5	3.0	0.2	4.5
X	X	0.5	0.7	2.7	12.3	0.2	16.3
✓	✓	1.9	3.2	9.3	7.9	0.8	23.1
✓	✓	1.5	0.8	1.1	1.2	0.2	4.8
X	X	0.6	7.9	4.7	3.7	0.6	17.4
X	X	0.9	0.9	0.8	1.8	0.1	4.6
✓	✓	0.7	4.9	8.3	4.0	0.8	18.7
X	X	0.4	2.7	1.2	4.7	0.3	9.4
X	X	0.7	4.4	5.1	2.9	0.5	13.5

# SENATE

					STRUCTURE
2012 SENATE	PARTY & DISTRICT	GRADE	TOTAL POINTS	LEADERSHIP POINTS	HF2738 SF1577 VOTER ID
Thomas M. Bakk	DFL-6, Cook	B	85	5	✓
Michelle R. Benson	R-49, Ham Lake	F	-15	-15	X
Terri E. Bonoff	DFL-43, Minnetonka	F	40	0	✓
David M. Brown	R-16, Becker	F	-15	-15	X
John Carlson	R-4, Bemidji	F	-10	-10	X
Roger C. Chamberlain	R-53, Lino Lakes	F	-15	-15	X
Richard J. Cohen	DFL-64, St Paul	B	80	0	✓
Gary H. Dahms	R-21, Redwood Falls	F	0	0	X
Theodore J. "Ted" Daley	R-38, Eagan	F	-5	-5	X
Al DeKruif	R-25, Madison Lake	F	-15	-15	X
D. Scott Dibble	DFL-60, Minneapolis	A+	110	30	✓
Kari Dziejczak	DFL-59, Minneapolis	B	80	0	✓
Chris A. Eaton	DFL-46, Brooklyn Center	A	90	10	✓
Michelle L. Fischbach	R-14, Paynesville	F	0	0	X
Paul E. Gazelka	R-12, Nisswa	F	-20	-20	X
Chris Gerlach	R-37, Apple Valley	F	0	0	X
Joe Gimse	R-13, Willmar	F	0	0	X
Barb Goodwin	DFL-50, Columbia Heights	B	80	0	✓
Dan D. Hall	R-40, Burnsville	F	-5	-5	X
David W. Hann	R-42, Eden Prairie	F	-15	-15	X
John M. Harrington	D22-67, St. Paul	A	100	20	✓
Jeff Hayden	DFL-61, Minneapolis	A+	150	70	✓
Linda Higgins	DFL-58, Minneapolis	A+	110	30	✓
Gretchen M. Hoffman	R-10, Vergas	F	-25	-25	X
John Howe	R-28, Red Wing	F	0	0	X
Bill Ingebrigtsen	R-11, Alexandria	F	-10	-10	X
Michael J. Jungbauer	R-48, East Bethel	F	15	15	X
Kenneth S. Kelash	DFL-63, Minneapolis	B	85	5	✓
Amy T. Koch	R-19, Buffalo	F	0	0	X
Lyle Koenen	DFL-20, Clara City	F	0	0	-
Benjamin A. Kruse	R-47, Brooklyn Park	F	0	0	X
Keith Langseth	DFL-9, Glyndon	F	40	0	-
Ron Latz	DFL-44, St. Louis Park	A	90	10	✓
Ted H. Lillie	R-56, Woodbury	F	-10	-10	X
Warren Limmer	R-32, Maple Grove	F	-5	-5	X
Tony Lourey	DFL-8, Kerrick	A	95	15	✓
Doug Magnus	R-22, Slayton	F	10	10	X

**KEY:** ✓ Support of racial equity   X Vote against racial equity   - Absent and did not vote

AL RACISM	DISTRICT DEMOGRAPHICS (%)					
HF1976 SF1842 E-VERIFY	AMERICAN INDIAN	ASIAN-PACIFIC ISLANDER	BLACK	LATINO	MULTI-RACIAL	CONSTITUENTS OF COLOR
✓	3.1	0.9	0.9	1.1	0.2	6.2
X	0.9	3.4	3.6	2.6	0.3	10.8
X	0.5	7.1	5.6	2.6	0.5	16.2
X	2.4	0.8	0.9	1.5	0.2	5.8
X	10.5	0.7	0.7	1.2	0.3	13.5
X	0.6	4.7	2.0	2.4	0.4	10.1
✓	0.6	4.0	8.2	4.0	0.6	17.4
X	1.5	2.2	1.3	4.9	0.2	10.1
X	0.6	8.3	7.0	4.7	0.6	21.2
X	0.5	1.9	0.9	4.7	0.2	8.2
✓	0.9	4.8	7.8	3.6	0.7	17.8
✓	1.7	8.4	16.1	7.0	1.0	34.2
✓	0.8	15.0	30.8	9.2	1.2	57.1
X	0.4	1.5	1.0	1.8	0.2	4.9
X	1.2	0.6	0.8	1.2	0.2	4.0
X	0.6	5.9	6.0	4.7	0.6	17.9
X	0.4	0.5	1.6	7.9	0.1	10.6
✓	1.2	6.0	10.0	6.6	0.8	24.6
X	0.7	6.1	9.9	7.2	0.7	24.6
X	0.4	8.3	5.7	2.9	0.5	17.8
✓	1.6	23.0	17.4	12.9	1.3	56.2
✓	4.0	3.4	25.9	26.7	1.6	61.7
✓	1.9	12.4	41.5	7.4	2.1	65.3
X	1.0	0.7	0.9	2.3	0.2	5.1
X	1.0	1.0	1.1	3.0	0.2	6.3
X	0.7	0.8	0.7	2.7	0.1	5.0
X	1.0	2.3	2.8	2.6	0.3	9.0
✓	0.9	6.3	11.0	13.9	1.0	33.1
X	0.6	1.8	1.7	2.5	0.2	6.7
-	1.2	0.6	0.5	3.9	0.2	6.4
X	0.8	9.0	9.6	2.7	0.8	22.9
✓	2.5	1.5	1.5	2.9	0.3	8.7
✓	0.7	5.6	9.7	4.9	0.9	21.8
X	0.8	7.6	5.6	3.5	0.4	17.8
X	0.5	5.6	3.8	2.7	0.4	13.1
✓	5.2	0.7	1.7	1.8	0.2	9.5
X	0.6	2.8	1.6	9.3	0.2	14.6

# SENATE

					STRUCTURE
2012 SENATE	PARTY & DISTRICT	GRADE	TOTAL POINTS	LEADERSHIP POINTS	HF2738 SF1577 VOTER ID
John Marty	DFL-54, Roseville	A+	115	35	✓
Mary Jo McGuire	DFL-66, Falcon Heights	B	85	5	✓
James P. Metzen	DFL-39, South St. Paul	B	80	0	✓
Geoff Michel	R-41, Edina	F	0	0	—
Jeremy R. Miller	R-31, Winona	F	40	0	✓
Carla J. Nelson	R-30, Rochester	F	0	0	X
Scott J. Newman	R-18, Hutchinson	F	-20	-20	X
Sean R. Nienow	R-17, Cambridge	F	-20	-20	X
Gen Olson	R-33, Minnetrista	F	0	0	X
Julianne E. Ortman	R-34, Chanhassen	F	10	10	X
Sandra L. Pappas	DFL-65, St. Paul	A	90	10	✓
Mike Parry	R-26, Waseca	F	-5	-5	X
John C. Pederson	R-15, St. Cloud	F	0	0	X
Roger J. Reinert	DFL-7, Duluth	B	80	0	✓
Ann H. Rest	DFL-45, New Hope	F	40	0	✓
Claire A. Robling	R-35, Jordan	F	0	0	X
Julie A. Rosen	R-24, Fairmont	F	55	15	X
Tom Saxhaug	DFL-3, Grand Rapids	C	75	-5	✓
David H. Senjem	R-29, Rochester	F	0	0	X
Kathy Sheran	DFL-23, Mankato	B	85	5	✓
Katie Sieben	DFL-57, Newport	A	90	10	✓
Rod Skoe	DFL-2, Clearbrook	B	80	0	✓
Dan Sparks	DFL-27, Austin	F	40	0	✓
LeRoy A. Stumpf	DFL-1, Plummer	B	80	0	✓
Dave Thompson	R-36, Lakeville	F	-10	-10	X
David J. Tomassoni	DFL-5, Chisholm	B	85	5	✓
Patricia Torres Ray	DFL-62, Minneapolis	B	80	0	✓
Ray Vandever	R-52, Forest Lake	F	0	0	X
Charles W. Wiger	DFL-55, Maplewood	B	85	5	✓
Pam Wolf	R-51, Spring Lake Park	F	5	5	X

KEY: ✓ Support of racial equity   X Vote against racial equity   — Absent and did not vote



AL RACISM	DISTRICT DEMOGRAPHICS (%)					
	HF1976 SF1842 E-VERIFY	AMERICAN INDIAN	ASIAN-PACIFIC ISLANDER	BLACK	LATINO	MULTI-RACIAL
✓	0.7	8.9	5.7	4.1	0.5	19.9
✓	1.3	19.0	16.0	8.2	1.0	45.7
✓	0.8	3.2	4.6	10.8	0.4	19.8
X	0.4	6.6	3.8	2.4	0.5	13.6
X	0.4	1.6	1.3	1.2	0.2	4.7
X	0.5	5.0	5.1	5.2	0.5	16.3
X	0.4	0.7	0.6	3.9	0.1	5.8
X	1.0	1.2	1.3	1.6	0.2	5.2
X	0.4	2.5	1.5	2.2	0.3	6.8
X	0.5	3.2	1.5	4.3	0.3	9.7
✓	1.6	16.1	24.3	12.8	1.4	56.2
X	0.8	1.4	4.4	8.1	0.2	14.8
X	0.9	3.8	7.8	2.7	0.4	15.7
✓	3.8	2.0	3.4	1.5	0.5	11.2
X	0.8	4.4	12.8	5.5	0.8	24.4
X	1.3	7.1	3.4	4.4	0.6	16.7
✓	0.4	0.6	0.6	5.0	0.1	6.7
✓	2.7	0.5	0.6	1.0	0.2	5.0
X	0.4	5.6	4.0	3.4	0.5	13.8
✓	0.5	2.4	3.2	3.8	0.3	10.2
✓	0.9	3.7	3.6	5.2	0.3	13.8
✓	16.9	0.5	0.4	1.7	0.2	19.7
X	0.4	1.5	1.7	9.5	0.3	13.5
✓	1.8	1.2	0.9	3.6	0.2	7.7
X	0.6	4.0	2.6	3.1	0.5	10.8
✓	2.0	0.6	1.0	0.9	0.1	4.6
✓	2.5	3.2	9.8	9.4	0.9	25.8
X	0.8	2.5	1.7	1.9	0.2	7.1
✓	0.8	9.5	8.1	5.5	0.5	24.3
X	1.2	7.9	5.5	4.3	0.6	19.6

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