

The Schools St. Paul Children Deserve

PROGRESS REPORT





WE ❤️ OUR
STUDENTS

And our great public schools
 Local SPFT 28
 Saint Paul Federation of Teachers
 Organizing for Excellence

St. Paul Students
Can't Wait for

WE ❤️ OUR
STUDENTS

ONE

Local SPFT 28
Saint Paul

WE ❤️ OUR

A LETTER FROM PRESIDENT DENISE RODRIGUEZ



These days, we face many important decisions in our country and none is more critical than whether we will invest in public education and the success of every child. Public education is at the heart of our democracy: it is where we help prepare young people to live in an ever-changing world, to think critically, and to realize their potential as individuals and members of our community. Today, we face a choice: will we invest in our students and the future of our country?

As a lifelong resident of the East Side of Saint Paul, the Saint Paul Public Schools (SPPS) have been a part of my entire life. Over the years, first as a student in SPPS and then parent and Spanish teacher for 39 years in the district, I have seen both the promise and the challenge of public education in a city with growing racial diversity and economic inequities.

Four years ago, the Saint Paul Federation of Teachers (SPFT), along with parents and community members, embarked on new strategies to address these challenges. Those strategies were documented in the 2013 report *The Schools St Paul Children Deserve*, and they continue to guide us.

Based on those goals, together we have reduced class sizes, expanded our parent/teacher home visit program, added nurses and counselors to our schools, and began creating a more welcoming and supportive environment in our schools for all children through restorative practices. However, there is still more work to do.

This updated version of the 2013 report reflects on our progress in achieving the goals we set four years ago, what we have learned along the way, and what is next.

One critical lesson that emerges is that addressing racial equity costs money. Personally, I have seen how additional resources helped my grandson, a black teenager, succeed when he needed a tutor. Luckily, my family could provide one for him. In that moment, I realized how much more my own students would be able to achieve, if they too had all the resources they needed to be successful.

Finding the resources to provide a quality education for every child is challenging. It's going to take all of us creatively working together. However, all of our students deserve to succeed in our schools, regardless of their race, socioeconomic class, sexuality, gender identity, ability, or immigration status.

Public schools are where we shape our future. I was lucky to have teachers who encouraged me to reach for my dream to teach in SPPS. I am confident that together we can make our schools work for all our students.

In solidarity,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Denise Rodriguez".

Denise Rodriguez
President



WE DEMAND:
The school children

Thank for
for All

WE DEMAND:
The schools and
children deserve

SPPS
R

Honk for
NURSES in ALL
SCHOOLS
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SPPS Kids Can't Wait
High Quality Negotiations
Local SPFT 28

Teacher Negotiations
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for
a supported MONTESSORI
MIDDLE SCHOOL!
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Honk for
Smaller Classes
Saint Paul Federation of Teachers
Organizing for Excellence

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Executive Summary.....	4
Progress Report.....	6
Goal 1: Educating the Whole Child.....	6
Goal 2: Family Engagement.....	9
Goal 3: Smaller Classes.....	13
Goal 4: Teaching, Not Testing.....	16
Goal 5: Advancing an Agenda of Racial Equity & Social Justice.....	20
Goal 6: High-Quality Professional Development.....	24
Goal 7: Access to Preschool.....	25
Bargaining for the Common Good.....	27
Funding the Schools Saint Paul Students Deserve.....	29
Lower Corporate Tax Rates.....	30
Corporate Tax Avoidance.....	30
State Income Tax Avoidance in Minnesota 2014 (see appendix a).....	31
Property Tax Reduction (see appendix b).....	32
Tax Increment Finance Districts (see appendix c).....	33
Tax Exempt Properties.....	33
Conclusion and a Call to Action.....	35
Glossary.....	36
Appendices.....	38
Appendix A: State Income Tax Avoidance in Minnesota 2014.....	38
Appendix B: Property Tax Reductions.....	40
Appendix C: Tax Increment Finance Districts.....	41



EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

In the following pages, we offer a progress report on the seven goals established four years ago in *The Schools Saint Paul Children Deserve* and identify next steps. We checked in with our members and with families to hear how our work has impacted them, and we updated the research that informed our original goals. In some areas, we have made great progress, but we still have a long way to go in others. Where we had success, we hope to celebrate with you. Where we fell short, we intend to honestly reflect and are determined to continue to fight to make sure that our schools are places where all students can succeed. We've retained the goals we outlined in the initial report:

1. **Educating the Whole Child:** Our schools will improve when we address the needs of the whole child, focusing not just on their minds, but their health, relationships, and environments.
2. **Family Engagement:** Families are crucial allies in our work to make our public schools successful for all students. Authentic engagement with our families improves educational outcomes for our students and breaks down racial barriers between our members and the community.
3. **Small Classes:** Lower student to teacher ratio improve academic achievements and student developmental outcomes, which is especially true for low income students and children of color.
4. **Teaching, Not Testing:** Our members are best able to address the unique needs of all students when given more freedom to teach to high academic standards using a variety of techniques that lead to real learning.
5. **Advancing an Agenda of Racial Equity & Social Justice:** This goal has been renamed to reflect how the work has grown beyond the original focus of culturally relevant education. As educators, we strive to explicitly tackle systemic inequities—racism, sexism, homophobia, transphobia, ableism, and others—in student outcomes.
6. **High-Quality Professional Development:** Professional development must be focused on increasing student engagement and achievement, achieving professional excellence and advancement for educators, implementing best practices in the classroom, and engaging families.
7. **Access to Preschool:** Every Saint Paul child deserves high-quality early childhood education.

In partnership with parents and the community at large, we have made significant gains in all of these areas: We have successfully increased the number of support professionals working directly with our students. We championed programs such as Parent Teacher Home Visits (PTHV), Academic Parent Teacher Teams (APPT), and School Climate Improvement Teams (SCITs). We have reduced student to teacher ratios for our youngest learners and low-income students. Our district has committed to a 25% reduction in the amount of teaching time lost to testing and test preparation. We began implementing restorative practices in our district and lobbied for a community-led integration taskforce. We have partnered with the district to establish and grow the Peer Assistance and Review (PAR) program, which supports the professional growth of teachers. And we have expanded the amount of full-day Pre-K programming available in the district.

We have been successful because we have fundamentally changed the way that we approach negotiations. It is not enough to simply bargain for increased wages and better benefits for our members; we must think about the broader community and the issues that impact student success. This philosophy, known as Bargaining for the Common Good, guides our strategy today.

When making demands during negotiations, we think beyond the traditional scope of bargaining, work closely with the community to craft our demands, and rely on collective action to win better schools for our students and a better city for all of us. We must have our allies—parents, families, and the community—at our side demanding that every child receives a fair chance.

While we are immensely proud of what we have accomplished over the past three years, there is much work still to be done. We cannot close the opportunity gap in education without addressing the systems that created racial inequities in the first place. One of the biggest lesson we have learned is that eliminating these disparities requires significant new resources. Specifically, we need corporations in Minnesota who benefit from being in our communities to pay their fair share into our public education system and contribute to the welfare of all our kids.

None of the goals we outlined in this report are quick or easy fixes. Providing a quality public education is expensive and difficult. However, this work is also crucial. At their best, our public schools level the playing field, so that all students have a chance to succeed in this country. The radical notion that all children are worth teaching and believing in is the cornerstone of our public education system, and SPFT will continue to fight to make that become a reality.



PROGRESS REPORT

GOAL 1: EDUCATING THE WHOLE CHILD

In 2013, we declared that Saint Paul students deserve and benefit from regular access to a wide range of support staff, including school nurses, counselors, social workers, and psychologists. As we work side by side with parents, families, and communities to better serve all Saint Paul children, we increasingly understand that our schools will only get better when we address the needs of the whole child, focusing not just on their minds, but their health, relationships, and environments.

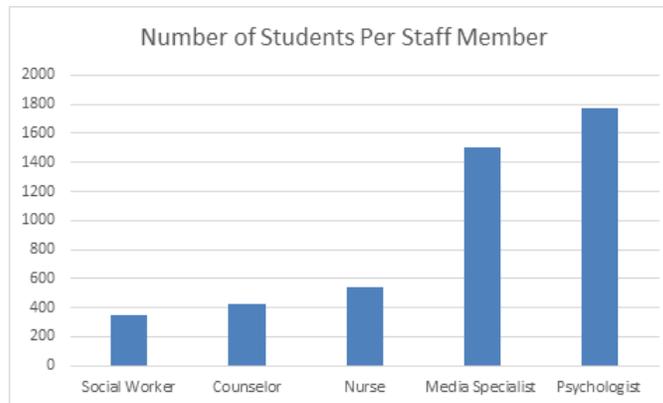
When we focus on educating the whole child, our students benefit by developing noncognitive skills, such as creativity, problem solving, and self-control. Also known as social and emotional learning, these noncognitive skills are linked to attaining higher academic gains.¹ Investments in the structures and staffing needed to support whole child education have real and long term positive impacts on our children,² including increased executive function, positive health indicators in adulthood, and higher rates of civic participation.³

Nonetheless, SPSS continues to underinvest in support staff at the peril of our education system and our children. For example, even though we know that appropriate school nurse staffing is related to better student attendance and academic success,⁴⁵ our schools continue to lack licensed nurses at every facility. Likewise, national studies have shown a reduction in violent incidents in schools when districts increase the numbers of school social workers and psychologists,⁶⁷ as well as an increase in timely graduation.⁸ Yet, our ratios of social workers to students and psychologists to students in SPSS remain under the recommended levels.⁹



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- 1 Garcia, E., & Weiss, E. (2016). *Making whole child education the norm: How research and policy initiatives can make emotional skills a focal point of children's education*. Washington, D.C.: Economic Policy Institute.
 - 2 Durlak, J. A., Weissberg, R. P., Dymnicki, A. B., Taylor, R. D., & Schellinger, K. B. (2011). *The impact of enhancing students' social and emotional learning: A meta-analysis of school-based universal interventions*. *Child Development*, 82(1), 405–432.
 - 3 Jones, D. E., Greenberg, M., & Crowley, M. (2015). *Early social-emotional functioning and public health: The relationship between kindergarten social competence and future wellness*. *American Journal of Public Health*, 105(11), 2283–2290.
 - 4 Cooper, P. (2005). *Life before tests: A district's coordinates health approach for addressing children's full range of needs*. *School Administrator*, 62(9), 25–34.
 - 5 Moricca, M. L., Grasska, M. A., Marthaler, M., Morpew, T., Weismuller, P. C., & Galant, S. P. (2013). *School asthma screening and case management: Attendance and learning outcomes*. *The Journal of School Nursing*, 29(2), 104–12.
 - 6 Durlak, J. A., Weissberg, R. P., Dymnicki, A. B., Taylor, R. D., & Schellinger, K. B. (2011). *The impact of enhancing students' social and emotional learning: a meta-analysis of school-based universal interventions*. *Child Development*, 82(1), 405–432.
 - 7 Allen-Meares, P., Montgomery, K. L., & Kim, J. S. (2013). *School-based social work interventions: A cross-national systematic review*. *Social Work*, 58(3), 253–262.
 - 8 Williams, J. F. (2014). *Exploring the impact of school social workers on academic achievement in title 1 program improvement status public senior high schools* (Dissertation). California State University, Long Beach, CA.
 - 9 Skalski, A. K., Minke, K., Rossen, E., Cowan, K. C., Kelly, J., Armistead, R., & Smith, A. (2015). *NASP practice model implementation guide*. Bethesda, MD: National Association of School Psychologists.

Educating the whole child also means investing in arts and music education for children as well as providing access to physical education. These subjects are important for student development and learning. Recent studies have shown music education can improve everything from speech development in children¹⁰ to working memory.¹¹ Art education can boost academic performance, narrowing the opportunity gap, especially among students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds.¹² Physical education promotes general health and wellbeing in students and can support the development of social skills and behaviors.¹³ Moreover, opportunities for the arts and physical education in schools make school more enjoyable for students, sparking their interest in new and different areas.



10 Kraus, N., Slater, J., Thompson, E. C., Hornickel, J., Strait, D. L., Nicol, T., & White-Schwoch, T. (2014). Music enrichment programs improve the neural encoding of speech in at-risk children. *The Journal of Neuroscience*, 34(36), 11913–11918 .

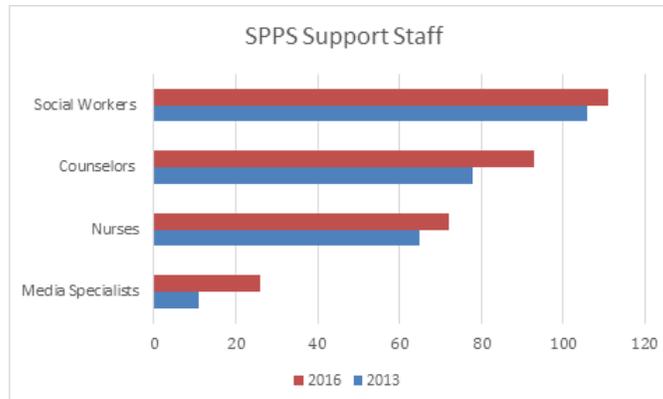
11 Roden, I., Grube, D., Bongard, S. & Kreutz, G. (2013). Does music training enhance working memory performance? Findings from a quasi-experimental longitudinal study. *Psychology of Music*, 42(2), 284–298.

12 Catterall, J., Dumais, S., & Hampden-Thompson, G. (2012). *The arts and achievement in at-risk youth: Findings from four longitudinal studies*. Washington D.C.: National Endowment for the Arts.

13 Bailey, R. (2006). *Physical education and sport in schools: A review of benefits and outcomes*. *Journal of School Health*, 76, 397–401.

Progress:

At the bargaining table, we fought to have an increase in support professionals included in the contract. As the 2014 Board Staffing Supports Resolution states, we “agreed in negotiations” with the district “on several ways to formally combine our collective philosophies and resources to provide the instruction, tools, supports, and learning environments required for increased student achievement and reduced racial disparities in SPPS.”¹⁴ Through these negotiations, the district agreed to provide:



- 15 additional full time equivalents (FTEs) of Licensed Media Specialists;
- seven additional FTEs of Licensed Nurses;
- 15 additional Elementary School Counselors; and
- five FTEs of School Social Workers.¹⁵

As of September 2016, the district successfully hired the positions agreed upon in the contract. Our subsequent efforts to increase access to school psychologists led to five hires in 2016; two more were still needed as of the autumn of 2016 to meet our agreements. The small gains that we won in this area are not enough for our children, and we must continue to advocate for a sustainable model for increased support staff across our buildings.

We have made curriculum to educate the whole child—access to art, music, and physical education—a central bargaining issue. Per a board resolution negotiated during the 2013-15 contract campaign, each elementary student is guaranteed access to instruction from a licensed performance or visual art and a physical education teacher.¹⁶ Additionally, each secondary student must have access to instruction by licensed art, music, and physical education teachers during the school day.

This language protected what was—for the most part—already widely practiced in SPPS. The language in our contract around school redesign has been used in some circumstances to support whole child curriculum. Building staff and administration can agree to redesign their school to alter the curriculum, emphasizing art, music, or other areas. Contract language guarantees funding and modified schedules to support staff-led school redesign that supports achievement for all students. For example, American Indian Magnet School staff agreed to a school redesign after working with parents on a plan to “infuse more American Indian culture into school curriculum and to re-engage the school community in the school culture fairs,” including the Plains Culture Fair, the Woodlands Culture Fair, and the All Nations Culture Fair.¹⁷

¹⁴ Saint Paul Public Schools. (2014, February 21). Board resolution on staffing supports to promote Strong Schools, Strong Communities. Retrieved from <http://www.spft.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/Board-Resolution-Staffing.pdf>

¹⁵ Diedrich, M. (2013). *The schools St. Paul children deserve*. St. Paul, MN: Saint Paul Federation of Teachers.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷ School redesign proposal: American Indian Magnet. (2015, February 13). Retrieved from http://www.spft.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/03/FINAL-AIM-Redesign_2015-2016.doc

The movement towards offering more supportive services in schools is catching on beyond SPFT. During the 2016 legislative session, Governor Mark Dayton and Lt. Governor Tina Smith worked with the Minnesota Legislature to secure a \$12 million investment for school support staff. The investment is helping 77 schools across Minnesota add school counselors, school psychologists, social workers, chemical dependency counselors, and school nurses for the next six years. Four Saint Paul schools received funding to hire full-time school counselors.¹⁸ While this funding is undoubtedly important to our school communities, it is not enough. We still rank near the bottom of expenditures on support staff nationwide. Small investments only go so far, so sustainable funding is needed to ensure our students needs are being met.

The Way Forward:

We will continue to advocate for policy and funding at the local and state levels to meet students' needs. Specifically, we fight to achieve the following goals:

- Decrease student to counselor ratios to the nationally accepted standards;
- Encourage counselor specialization, with a focus on working with immigrant students and their families to help them navigate the school system and their choices beyond high school;
- Incorporate counselors into staff-directed professional development to support differentiation skills, culturally relevant education, and other areas;
- Staff our schools at the recommended 1:250 social worker to student ratio to meet student needs;
- Increase school psychologists closer to the 1:500 recommended ratio to enable the provision of comprehensive services and reduce the over identification of African American children for special education services;
- Guarantee, at minimum, a full-time nurse available each day in every school; and
- Guarantee a licensed librarian/media specialist for every school in Saint Paul.

GOAL 2: FAMILY ENGAGEMENT

Engaging families as equal partners in their children's education has been a powerful driver of our work. Family engagement was crucial to the development of the original *The Schools St. Paul Children Deserve* report. Without the involvement of parents and the broader community, SPFT would not have been successful in our last two rounds of contract negotiations. Families are crucial allies in our work to make SPFS successful for all students.

Because of SPFT, I know my rights as a parent. I know that I actually have a voice and can use it.

SPFT not only fights for teachers and the students they serve, but they fight for the community and they ask parents what they want and show them how they can go about making their voices heard.

— Miesha Sanders, St. Paul parent

Family engagement initiatives spearheaded by SPFT, such as Parent Teacher Home Visits (PTHV), have been shown to improve students' academic performances. Studies have indicated parent involvement is an even better predictor of academic success than measures of children's

¹⁸ Office of Governor Mark Dayton and Lt. Governor Tina Smith. (2016, November 18). Dayton-Smith administration announces grants to fund school counselors and student support staff at 77 Schools [Blog post]. Retrieved from <http://mn.gov/governor/blog/?id=1055-263422>

intelligence.¹⁹ At the same time, many of our families face barriers to being involved in their children's schools. Work schedules, language barriers, transportation concerns, and other issues can keep parents from participating in their children's education. Moreover, for many adults, school was not a welcoming, supportive place. These initiatives must take these factors into account and correct for them if we want authentic engagement with parents and families.

Family engagement also makes educators more effective. Studies have shown home visits have a measurable impact on teachers' assumptions and beliefs about students and families. Researchers have found that home visits are one of the best ways of breaking down implicit racial bias in educators. When educators and parents meet as equals, they build connections that challenge assumptions about race and class. Closer connections with families help educators understand and honor the knowledge, skills, and community that already exists in students' lives.²⁰



Home visits and other authentic family engagement have been a transformative intervention, showing teachers and parents in our district that we share a passion for doing what is best for our children.²¹ If we want to ensure that families are engaged as partners in students' success, the district must continue to support programs that have been proven to work in our schools.²² Moreover, Saint Paul teachers must have time to communicate regularly with parents, with a focus on a shared vision for students, not just in reaction to day-to-day behavior.

Progress:

The partnerships SPFT built with parents and the community have allowed the union to take a leadership role in bringing high impact family engagement strategies into our district through contract negotiations. Examples of programs both championed by SPFT during contract negotiations and identified by the US Department of Education as best practices include PTHV, Academic Parent Teacher Teams (APTT), and School Climate Improvement Teams (SCITs).²³

Parent Teacher Home Visits

Parent Teacher Home Visits were introduced in Saint Paul in 2010, and they have grown rapidly ever since. SPFT negotiated contract language for all of our bargaining units, allowing teachers and paraprofessionals to participate in the PTHV. Additionally, we secured funding for a part time coordinator for Saint Paul's PTHV Hub.

19 Topora, D. R., Keaneb, S. P., Sheltonb, T. L., & Calkinsb, S. D. (2010). *Parent involvement and student academic performance: A multiple mediational analysis*. *Journal of Preventative Intervention Community*, 38(3), 183–197.

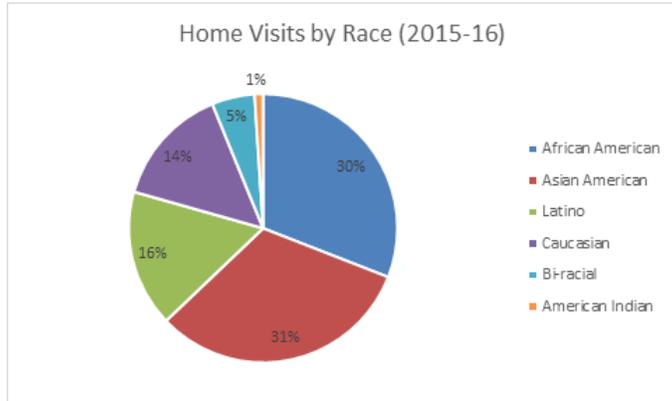
20 Mapp, K. L., & Kuttner, P. J. (2013). *Partners in education: A dual capacity-building framework for family-school partnerships*. Austin, TX: SEDL & U.S. Department of Education.

21 Fought, E. S. (2014). *Power of community: Organizing for the schools St. Paul children deserve*. St. Paul, MN: Saint Paul Federation of Teachers.

22 Mapp, K. L. & Kuttner, P. J. (2013).

23 U.S. Department of Education. (2014). *Dual capacity-building framework for family-school partnerships*. Retrieved from <http://www2.ed.gov/documents/family-community/frameworks-resources.pdf>

Educators who participate in PTHV must be trained beforehand, complete home visits to at least three families throughout the first school year (and visit a minimum of eight families in subsequent years), and document and track visits through PTHV. Participants attend an official debrief session, which allows the PTHV program to assess the needs of both the home visitors and the families they are visiting. This authentic family engagement was important to our members because strong partnerships between parents and teachers are essential to providing quality education and eliminating the racial predictability of student outcomes.

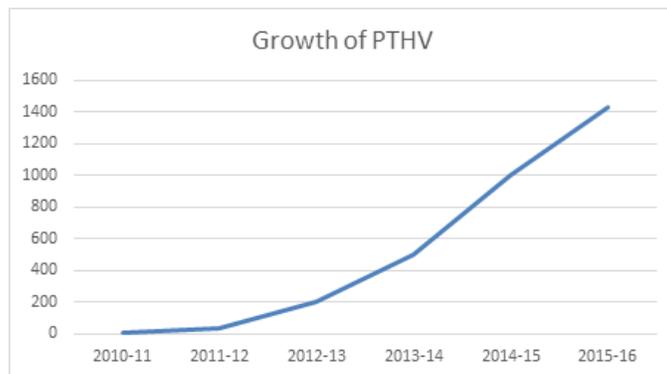


Our PTHV program has grown exponentially from just 12 visits seven years ago to 1,430 home visits made during the 2015-16 school year. Over 500 Saint Paul educators have received training on how to have home visits. Additionally, SPFT is a leader both in Minnesota and nationwide for program. Our members and parents travel throughout the state and country, providing home visit trainings to other school districts and teacher union locals who want to start their own program.

“Home visits fill in a gap that is between schools and families. They bridge the barriers of school and make communication more accessible. They truly make the relationship about the family and student.”

— SPFT Member, PTHV Debrief Survey²⁴

Participation in visits has a measurable impact on our educators. Of the educators who participated in the past year, 74% said that their assumptions about parents and families were broken down by visiting the home. Additionally, 97% said they learned important information about students that they would not have otherwise.²⁵



²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Faber, N. (2015). Parent Teacher Home Visit Experience Survey [Unpublished data set].

Academic Parent Teacher Teams

Academic Parent Teacher Teams (APTT) are an alternative model of parent-teacher conferences. In the APTT model there are three group meetings throughout the school year as well as one individual conference. During the group conferences, teachers meet with all the parents in the classroom at once. Teachers use these sessions to coach families on how to interpret data which tracks student performance and provide strategies to support learning at home. The parents then practice the activities and set goals for how they want their child to improve collaboratively with their teacher. By involving families in collaborative decision-making process in their children's education, these teams have been shown to raise increase student achievement.

In 2015, SPFT bargained for language in our contract to pilot APTT. Schools that are interested in APTT must have the buy-in of at least 75% of licensed staff and 75% of parents who will be impacted. The district agreed to fund an APTT coordinator position as well as provide resources for training, interpreters and child care. The contract also provides for teachers to investigate other models of conferencing that they might wish to try



School Climate Improvement Teams

In our 2013-14 contract negotiations, SPFT proposed establishing School Climate Improvement Teams (SCIT)

to address issues of school climate. Comprised of teachers, administrators, paraprofessionals, parents, and—in secondary schools—students, SCITs work to make schools safe spaces for all members of the school community. SPFT believes that we can address these issues only with the involvement of all stakeholders in a school. SCITs develop site-specific plans to create a positive school climate and receive funding from the district for implementation.

“[SCITs brought] parents and staff together to hear from parents why education is valued and dreaded by our community. Aspects of historical trauma were shared and actually heard.”

-Murray Middle School Parent²⁶

SCITs have been incredibly successful in improving school climate and engaging families. In the spring of 2014, the principal at Murray Middle School in Saint Paul convened a meeting of parents, educators, and community members to address concerns about student discipline and school communications. The goal of the meeting was to “stop the cycle of shaming and blaming” and to brainstorm ideas for improving the school's climate. Over 100 people attended the initial session. Subsequently, a core group of parents and teachers formed a SCIT team, which met throughout the summer to plan collaboratively. Members of the Murray community point to the formation of this SCIT as a turning point in improving the school climate and reducing the number and severity of suspensions that students received.²⁷

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Saint Paul Federation of Teachers. (2015). School climate improvement teams pilot implementation 2014-2015. Retrieved from <http://www.spft.org/wup-content/uploads/2015/08/School-Climate-Improvement-Teams-Report-and-Toolkit-2015.pdf>*

The Way Forward:

Family engagement will continue to be at the heart of the organizing efforts of SPFT. We know our students learn best when their families have direct connections to their classroom teachers. We believe in putting teachers and parents together in spaces where they can build relationships, learn from each other, and solve problems together. We will continue to advocate for:

- Space and time for our teachers to engage with families directly, especially during the school day;
- Professional development to maximizes our members' ability to use best practices for family engagement in their work;
- Additional funding to support family engagement models that have proven successful in Saint Paul; and
- The adoption of recommendations from the U.S. Department of Education's Dual Capacity Framework for Family Engagement.

GOAL 3: SMALLER CLASSES

Saint Paul students deserve a continued focus on small class sizes, which allow for better individualized instruction and foster stronger relationships between educators and students. Additionally, they lead to more frequent communication between teachers and families, building stronger relationships between families and the schools.²⁸

Since the publication of *The Schools Saint Paul Children Deserve*, the case for reducing the number of students in a classroom has only strengthened. Studies tie lower student to teacher ratio to improved academic achievements²⁹ and student developmental outcomes.³⁰ These findings are especially true for low income students and children of color. African American students, in particular, have been shown to benefit from reduced class sizes in early grades, boosting academic achievement.³¹



28 Bascia, N. (2010). *Reducing class size: What do we know?* Toronto, ON: Canadian Education Association.

29 Mathis, W. J. (2016) *Research-based options for education policymaking: The effectiveness of class size reduction*. Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center. <http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/research-based-options>

30 Schanzenbach, D. W. (2014). *Does class size matter?* Boulder, CO: National Education Policy Center. <http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/does-class-size-matter>

31 Yongyun, S. (2012). *Do black children benefit more from small classes? Multivariate instrumental variable estimators with ignorable missing data*. *Journal of Educational and Behavioral Statistics*, 37(4). 543—573.

Progress:

In 2014, SPFT made class size central to our contract negotiations after hearing from families, children, and our members about the impacts of out-of-control class sizes. Students were not able to thrive and teachers were not able to teach. We specifically focused on reducing student-teacher ratios for our youngest children and low income students. We negotiated a Pre-K classroom cap of 20 students or less. Kindergarten classrooms in higher-poverty schools were to be reduced to between 20 and 24 students in the 2015-16 academic year. The contract calls for class size caps in all other elementary and secondary grades as well, with lower ratios in the 30 schools with the highest poverty rates.³²



To hold the district and schools accountable to meeting these caps, we included a requirement that a committee will be formed any time class size exceptions are being considered at a school. These committees must include parents, SPFT members, and building administrators. They will determine appropriate strategies for classroom supports and plan for future reduction in the number of students. We have continued to work with families to ensure that all voices are heard when decisions about class sizes are made.

The contract language that reduced class sizes had important impacts on the most recent budget discussions in SPPS. Since our union embedded guarantees regarding maximum class sizes, the district was forced to look outside of the classroom—and into central administrative budgets—for many of the financial cuts.



³² Saint Paul Public Schools Independent School District No. 625. (2016). *Terms and conditions of professional employment: Agreement between the Saint Paul board of Education and the Saint Paul Federation of Teachers representing the members of the teacher bargaining unit [Union contract]*. St. Paul, MN: Saint Paul Public Schools. Retrieved from <http://www.spft.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/04/Teacher-15-17-FINAL.pdf>



“The last few years, I open the envelope, view it and throw it right in the recycling. We don’t even talk about it or tell the kids they arrived or the results. What matters to us is our kids having a positive learning and social environment and thriving in these things—which they are. In the past, all the test scores have done is upset my children because they feel they could fail their teachers and their school. My oldest child is not a good test taker but makes the honor roll every quarter. These tests are squashing her confidence in academics.”

-SPPS Parent, Standardized Testing Parent Survey³³

The Way Forward:

Our district’s commitment to providing a quality education should drive school funding, rather than the other way around. Instead of simply focusing on balancing the budget, we have to make lower class sizes—which are proven to improve academic outcomes—a priority. SPFT will continue to push for class sizes that best serve our students and for appropriate physical spaces to accommodate students. As we move forward, we will work with the district to:

- Eliminate the strategy of split-grade classrooms for the sole purpose of addressing enrollment caps. (Multi-grade classrooms with teachers trained in this method can be beneficial, but, split classrooms without this intentionality can be detrimental to learning.);
- Hold firm to current class size commitments in all grades and subjects;
- Further reduce class sizes in earlier grades and for our most disadvantaged students;
- Increase support staff, like paraprofessionals, in classrooms; and
- Fund projects that will update and provide new buildings that may be necessary to keep class sizes low for all our students.

33 Faber, N. & Schaldach, J. (2016). *Standardized Testing Parent Survey*.

GOAL 4: TEACHING, NOT TESTING

The overwhelming majority of our members and families in the district feel that too much class time is spent on testing instead of teaching. Parents do not believe their students gain anything from the test preparations. Almost 80% of parents surveyed by SPFT feel “horrible” about the amount of time spent on testing.³⁴ Educators are frustrated that they are forced to use rigid curricula that removes the creativity and joy from working with students. Over 80% of members surveyed for the 2014-15 contract negotiations said that reducing standardized testing was important or very important to them.³⁵

Not only are high-stakes standardized tests widely disliked by parents and teachers, they also are inaccurate measures of students’ abilities. This is especially true for students of color and low-income students, who are taking these tests in an already inequitable academic environment.³⁶ Research has shown that standardized testing perpetuates internalized beliefs of inferiority among students of color because of the emotional and psychological power the tests have over the test-takers.³⁷ These tests only serve to reinforce negative stereotypes about students of color and their academic abilities.³⁸

In some cases, standardized tests aren’t simply flawed; they are also useless. Our English Language Learners (ELLs), including newcomer immigrant and refugee students, are required to take the Minnesota Comprehensive Assessments (MCAs) like their peers who grew up speaking English.³⁹ The purpose of these tests is to measure yearly progress, but, because our newcomer English Learners, many of whom lack formal education, do not have English skills to take a standardized test, the tests themselves measure nothing. Additionally, ELL students take a different yearly test—the ACCESS Test—which is designed to monitor their English language acquisition. Per the Minnesota Department of Education, ELL students perform well below their native English speaking peers on the MCAs in all three tested subjects: math, reading, and science.⁴⁰ The MCAs only prove what these students’ teachers already know: English Language Learners are still learning English.



34 Faber, N. & Schaldach, J. (2016). *Standardized Testing Parent Survey* [Unpublished data set].

35 Saint Paul Federation of Teachers. (2014). *Teacher Bargaining Survey* [Unpublished data set].

36 Blazer, C., (2011). *Unintended consequences of high-stakes testing*. *Information Capsule*, 1008. Miami, FL: Miami-Dade County Public Schools.

37 Nussbaum, A. D., & Steele, C. M. (2007). *Situational disengagement and persistence in the face of adversity*. *Journal of experimental social psychology*, 43(1), 127–134.

38 Steele, C. M., & Aronson, J. (1995). *Stereotype threat and the intellectual test performance of African Americans*. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 69(5), 797–811.

39 Minnesota Department of Education. (2015). *Procedures Manual for the Minnesota Assessments: 2015-2016*.

40 Division of Student Support. (2015). *English Learner Education in Minnesota: 2015-2016*. Roseville, MN: Minnesota Department of Education.

Our members are best able to address the unique needs of all students when they are given more freedom to teach to high academic standards using a variety of techniques, to assess the true depth of student learning in culturally relevant ways, and to provide the kind of feedback and differentiation that leads to real learning.

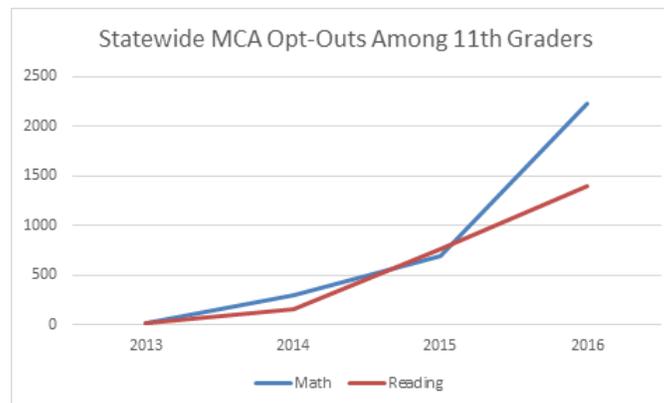
Progress:

In 2013, our negotiations with the district resulted in a commitment to 25% reducing the amount of teaching time lost to testing and test preparation. Additionally, the district made several other commitments to encourage the development of culturally relevant assessments including:

- Jointly reviewing and piloting promising new assessments;
- Prioritizing teacher-designed assessments and offering professional development for our educators; and
- Influencing state and federal policy makers to review standardized testing requirements, ensure quality, and eliminate misuse.

Although the district has committed to a significant decrease in time spent testing in our schools, there are still many elements of comprehensive, equitable, and holistic assessment that are not in place for our children in Saint Paul.

This is not simply a local or even statewide fight. The Opt-Out Movement expanded nationwide in 2016. In New York State alone, almost half a million students—20% of the students who would have taken the state standardized test—opted out.⁴¹ Here in Saint Paul, 525 juniors opted out of the MCA tests in 2016, a significant increase from only 71 in 2015.⁴² A number of those opting out in Saint Paul were ELL students whose parents did not want them wasting time on a test that provides no useful information.⁴³



41 Strauss, V. (2016, January 31). *The testing opt-out movement is growing, despite government efforts to kill it.* Washington Post. Retrieved from https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/answer-sheet/wp/2016/01/31/the-testing-opt-out-movement-is-growing-despite-government-efforts-to-kill-it/?utm_term=.27c309ae1063

42 Verges, J. (2016, July 28). *State math, reading scores stall in latest round of testing.* Pioneer Press. Retrieved from <http://www.twincities.com/2016/07/28/math-reading-scores-disappoint/>

43 Minnesota Department of Education. (2016). *2016 Minnesota assessment results: Reading, mathematics, and science [Presentation].*



John went to get his candy box
I thought this book was great because

RESTORATIVE PRACTICE STORIES

To learn about the impacts of Restorative Practices in our district, SPFT and SPPS have contracted with an outside evaluator to gather stories from Restorative Practice site leads and principals. These are a few of the stories that emerged:

One of the things that happens a lot here with the very racially diverse community—we have a majority Asian population, mostly Hmong—is that for our Black students there’s definitely a sentiment of ‘there’s no room for us, there’s no value for us.’ So when we do circles and talk about fights or we talk about impact of Black history month or lack of culture or diversity, we’ve heard our students, particularly our Black students, be able to voice that, “Hey, we want a space in this particular place. And we want to have our experiences valued and celebrated.” So I’ve heard students be able to talk about that in front of their peers, and then I’ve heard other nonblack students say, “yes that’s something we believe in too.” I think that was really powerful for students to be able to hear that. From my perspective, I don’t think there’s a lot of cross dialogue happening between communities of color. So that for me was one thing that was very powerful was to be able to create and navigate or support those kinds of discussions.

This past week, we had a student that had a family member pass away. We had a substitute teacher who didn’t know what to do because students were crying in the class. And I ended up going up, and it was clear to me they needed a circle. So we sat down in a circle and every single student except for one was crying. But all of them sharing about loss in their own lives. All of them wanting to give each other love and care through that. So I think to be able to share collectively both in pain, but then to be able to use it not only as a place to process what happened but then that was strong enough to hold that, like a container for that pain. And then to be able to do a really positive, uplifting activity together afterwards in a circle was really lovely. It was a space for them to be sharing and having empathy with each other and building stronger community through that.

I think about a time where we brought three families together and when you bring families together too you learn so much about the uniqueness of each family and all three families have different stories. Bringing these three girls together that can’t get along and you learn something about their families too that you probably normally wouldn’t learn. It was interesting because we didn’t ask them to say anything about their home life, but one family said the father lived in a different state. Another said it’s hard for her to raise her daughter and another one talked about the husband being in prison. One family member came with all these other little siblings and she’s trying to raise the children. So you actually learn more about their family too which I find is pretty unique. It gives you some background that you might not even know about. But it was interesting that the families were still willing to come in with all their other things going on in their personal life. They still show up to school and we’re still getting families that show up.

The Way Forward:

Although we have seen some movement locally to reduce the time that our teachers and students spend on testing, there is much to be done to improve our teachers' ability to meaningfully assess student progress. To better assess our students, we must:

- Ensure that our teachers have access to professional development that increases their capacity to design and use meaningful assessments;
- Continue to monitor and reduce time spent preparing for and administering standardized tests;
- Create culturally relevant assessments to reduce racial disparities in testing; Address the overwhelming testing demands on ELL students, who are subject to far more test hours than their peers;
- Engage members of our school communities and families in our district to inform decisions about testing;
- Use a shared and active voice to influence policy decisions to ensure high quality assessments and eliminate misuse of poorly designed tests; and
- Define and determine success by means other than high-stakes standardized tests.

GOAL 5: ADVANCING AN AGENDA OF RACIAL EQUITY & SOCIAL JUSTICE

In the previously released report, SPFT outlined a priority entitled Culturally Relevant Education. This priority, and its associated goals, focused primarily on culturally responsive teaching practices, culturally competent teachers, and teacher diversity. These issues continue to be very important to SPFT, and we are committed to ensuring our students are receiving a culturally relevant education.

We still believe that:

- Administrators, teachers, and other staff need rich opportunities to learn from each other, as well as others in the community, how to best serve all students. Our educators need the time and supports during the school day to interrogate their own beliefs and racial biases. We must create learning opportunities for all members of our school community to grow in their understanding of the systemic racism that shapes the community in which we live.
- All cultures should be reflected and respected in our classrooms and curriculum. This goal requires recognizing that public schools have not traditionally been welcoming to everyone. This is especially true for people of color, whose experiences are ignored by school curriculum and who may face discrimination from teachers and classmates. We have to strive to correct these inequities for our students and their families today.
- Every effort should be made to prioritize the expertise of Saint Paul's staff of color to lead this work. The teaching staff in SPPS does not reflect the students we work with. We must be intentional about recruiting new educators of color to work with our students. Both within SPFT and SPPS, we have to consciously cultivate and support leaders of color, who have traditionally been marginalized by our education system.

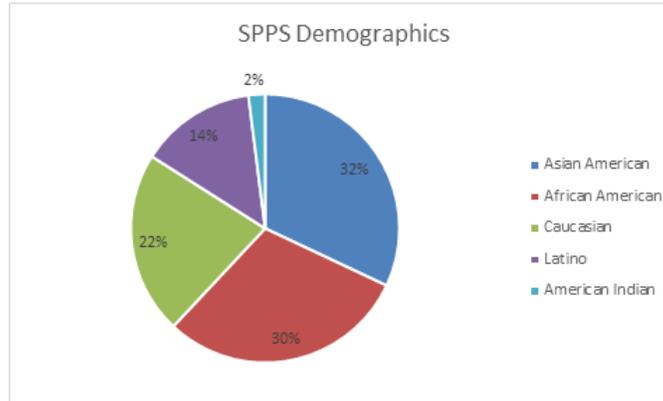
In addition to the goals outlined above, we need to expand the scope of our work to address the systemic racism that permeates our entire society. Our students come with their own experiences, faith traditions, and customs—making our public schools dynamic and amazing places. From the youngest among us to those looking forward to the excitement of graduation, many of our students face racism, poverty, and discrimination in their daily lives. The compounding impact of oppression affects our students' learning and well-being.

As educators, we have a moral imperative to teach all students who walk through the doors of our schools. Fear of police brutality, housing insecurity, or being bullied because of one's gender identity creates barriers to learning. Abstract content that is not immediately relevant to the lives of our students who face seemingly insurmountable challenges becomes secondary.

We renamed this priority Advancing an Agenda of Racial Equity and Social Justice to better reflect SPFT's commitment to addressing the inequities that students face in our schools and communities each day. The challenges that our students and their families face cannot be ignored, so we must fight for racial equity in our schools and in our community.⁴⁴

Progress:

In our 2015-16 contract negotiations, SPFT won two groundbreaking proposals to begin addressing systemic racism and discrimination in our community. On a site-based level, Restorative Practice Programming in our schools creates a healthier culture built around deeply-held relationships. Our Integration Taskforce addresses school segregation on a more macro- level, ensuring that all our students can access a quality education, regardless of the color of their skin.



Restorative Practices

Our advocacy for Restorative Practices comes out of an attempt to address school climate issues in Saint Paul. Unfortunately, our district has a history of vacillating between extreme approaches to school climate: from punitive, zero tolerance student discipline to no suspension policies. Neither of these methods improve student behavior, engagement, or achievement. They also do not build the capacity of our educators to understand the complexity of the school climate and their students or invite community partners to participate and share their wisdom.

What began as an attempt for SPFT to address school discipline issues has quickly changed into a new model for a healthy school culture at the pilot sites in SPPS. Restorative practices are a radical shift in the way members of our school communities relate to each other—focusing on intentional relationship building and shared problem solving, recognizing inequities, and proactively creating the type of culture we want in our classrooms and schools.⁴⁵ These programs challenge the traditional staff to student relationships and student to student relationships in our schools by helping all members of the school community to see each other's humanity and repair harm when it occurs. Restorative practices do not stop in the classroom; families and community members are invited into deeper relationships in the schools, truly becoming part of the community. When restorative practices are successful, families feel safe at their child's school because they have deep, lasting relationships with a number of people.

To truly change the culture in our schools, restorative practices cannot simply be purchased as a piece of curriculum or professional development. Everyone in the school community must buy in to the model's mission and commit to providing the necessary support

⁴⁴ Saint Paul Public Schools. (n.d.). *About Saint Paul Public Schools*. Retrieved from <http://www.spps.org/aboutspps>

⁴⁵ Wachtel, T. (2013). *Defining restorative*. Bethlehem, PA: International Institute for Restorative Practices. <http://www.iirp.edu/what-we-do/what-is-restorative-practices/defining-restorative>

and resources to make it successful. Guidance, training, and additional staffing are key ingredients to ensuring that restorative practices are meaningfully implemented.

To that end, in the last round of contract negotiations, we won an agreement with the school district to initiate Restorative Practice Pilot Sites. Starting in the 2016-17 school year, SPPS will support restorative practices by providing six pilot schools up to \$150,000 to create a site-based restorative practice plans. Three more schools will be added in the 2017-18 school year and a final three will be chosen for 2018-19. We know that there are already more interested sites than pilot spots, so SPFT is also working with community practitioners to develop a series of professional development opportunities for our members.

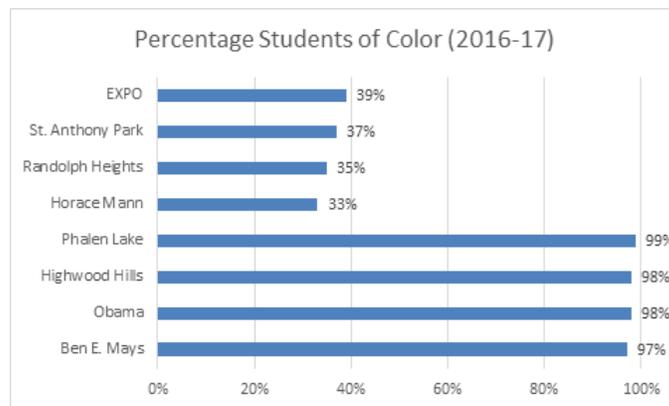
Integration Taskforce

We know desegregated schools are better for all students—white children and children of color alike—benefiting them academically, socially, and psychologically.⁴⁶ All of our students deserve an equal opportunity to succeed, and the only proven way to guarantee that we are not disadvantaging our students of color is to ensure that our schools are integrated. However despite the evidence, SPPS continues to have schools that are segregated.⁴⁷

In 2011 with the roll-out of the Strong Schools, Strong Communities plan, Saint Paul unmade a successful magnet program that had made great strides toward integrating our district,

and replaced it with neighborhood schools.⁴⁸ SPFT, the Saint Paul NAACP, and other allies in the community were concerned that the language and policies around this initiative would perpetuate racial inequities. Historically and nationwide, neighborhood school plans like this lead to further school segregation. Together, we built a coalition to fight for integrated schools, and SPFT made school integration a priority in our last round of contract negotiations.

The result of these negotiations was an Integration Taskforce, made up equally of members appointed by SPFT and by the Board of Education. Members of the committee include parents, community members, and representatives of organizations concerned with racial justice and education equity. The group is tasked with uncovering why segregation has happened in Saint Paul, raising the profile of the issue of integration, and looking for solutions from other urban school districts. The taskforce will make recommendations to the Board of Education by the end of the 2016-2017 school year.



⁴⁶ Bankston, C. & Caldas, S. (1996). Majority African American schools and social injustice: The influence of de facto segregation on academic achievement. *Social Forces*, 75(2). 535—555.

⁴⁷ Saint Paul Public Schools. (n.d.). Data center. Retrieved <http://www.spps.org/Page/27991>

⁴⁸ Saint Paul Public Schools. (2014). *Strong schools, strong communities 2.0, school year 2014-2019*. Retrieved from <http://www.spps.org/Page/3286>

The Way Forward:

We still have a lot of work to do to make sure that we are teaching all of our students—especially our students of color. Minnesota schools have some of the worst outcomes for students of color of any state in the country. From graduation rates to test scores, our students of color underperform their white peers.⁴⁹ This is not just true in academics. Historically, our discipline policies have disproportionately impacted children of color—especially African American boys. African American children are suspended and expelled at much higher rates than their white counterparts.⁵⁰ ⁵¹ School suspensions increase the likelihood of a student dropping out of school, many times leading to arrest or contact with the justice system—a phenomenon known as the school to prison pipeline.⁵²

“The union has been very committed to working with the NAACP and to integration, which is at the core of our mission, and has been for a really long time. So much so that when they went to negotiate with the district, they said ‘we also want to talk about racial integration in the schools.’ It’s unique. I don’t know of any other union contracts in the country that push for language about integration. It’s special.”

*Jim Hilbert
Attorney and Associate Professor of Law,
Mitchell Hamline School of Law
Education Chair, NAACP Executive Board*

SPFT, in partnership with our families, neighbors, and local leaders, will fight for an end to disparities in disciplinary actions, special education referrals, and educational outcomes due to race. Our children need schools and surrounding communities that not only reflect them and incorporate all cultures, but provide a supportive climate. We will:

- Advocate for time to have courageous conversations with students and staff during the school day;
- Increase the number of teachers of color through intentional recruitment and retention programs;
- Support alternatives to suspensions to disrupt the school to prison pipeline;
- Expand Restorative Practices throughout our school district;
- Intensify the work of the Integration Task Force;
- Educate the board and public on how to question and communicate about school issues through an equity lens; and
- Continue to support parent engagement efforts that build relationships between parents and classroom staff, helping to break down faulty assumptions and implicit bias.

⁴⁹ Hamilton, J., Spies, P., Godinez, J., & Mariani, C. (2016). 2016 state of students of color and American Indian students report. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Education Equity Partnership. <http://mneep.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/SOSOCAI-Report-2016.pdf>

⁵⁰ American Psychological Association Zero Tolerance Task Force. (2008). Are zero tolerance policies effective in the schools? An evidentiary review and recommendations. *American Psychologist*, 63(9), 852–862.

⁵¹ Leonard, K. (2007). Minority youths and juvenile justice: disproportionate minority contact after nearly 20 years of reform efforts. *Youth Violence and Juvenile Justice*, 5(1), 71-87.

⁵² Dohrn, B. (2001). “Look out kid/It’s something you did.” In W. Ayers, B. Dohrn, & R. Ayers (Eds.), *Zero tolerance: Resisting the drive for punishment in our schools*. (89–113). New York: NY: The New Press.

GOAL 6: HIGH-QUALITY PROFESSIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The most effective and credible professional development for educators is led by other educators. An educator from the same district can deliver more effective professional development to his or her peers than an outside expert because they better know what works locally, and they are more likely to be viewed as credible by other educators taking their classes.⁵³ Beyond the benefits for staff taking classes, educator-directed professional development courses are beneficial for their educators across the district. When educators see their peers leading professional development, they see the potential for being recognized for developing their skills and becoming experts in the field of teaching.⁵⁴ This creates an environment of constant collaboration and learning, encouraging professional excellence.

SPFT has long advocated for and provided educator-directed professional development, but we recognize that these classes must be relevant to educators and their students if they are to matter. We believe professional development must be focused on increasing student engagement and achievement, achieving professional excellence and advancement for educators, implementing best practices in the classroom, and engaging families.

Progress:

Professional development has been an area marked by successful productive collaboration between SPFT and SPPS. We have partnered with the district to establish and grow the Peer Assistance and Review (PAR) program, which SPFT first negotiated as part of the 2009-11 licensed teacher contract. The PAR program supports the professional growth of teachers, and connects new teachers with a veteran consulting teacher who coaches and evaluates them—helping them develop their teaching practice. A teacher must successfully complete the PAR Program to be considered for tenure in SPPS. In the 2016-17 school year, ten full-time consulting teachers supported over 150 educators.⁵⁵



SPFT members facilitate research-based professional development courses over the course of the year. We invest in our members as leaders, facilitators, and trainers, allowing them to provide training that advances our goals and profession. Thanks to a three-year NEA Great Public School Grant, we have expanded into a regional Teaching and Learning Center (TLC), offering professional development courses to teachers locally, regionally, and nationally. The grant provided for the hiring of a full-time Professional Development Coordinator, who creates high quality research-based content, expanding our course offerings. SPFT is regarded as a leading regional provider of responsive and relevant teacher-led programming.

53 Garet, M. S., Porter, A. C., Desimone, L., Birman, B. F., & Yoon, K. S. (2001). *What makes professional development effective? Results from a national sample of teachers.* *American Education Research Journal*, 38(4), 915–945.

54 Rhodes, C. & Beneicke, S. (2003). *Professional development support for poorly performing teachers: Challenges and opportunities for school managers in addressing teacher learning needs.* *Journal of In-Service Education*, 29(1), 123-140.

55 Saint Paul Public Schools Office of Teaching and Learning. (n.d.). *Peer assistance and review.* Retrieved from <http://www.spps.org/Domain/10825>

The Way Forward:

Research-based, educator-led professional development is a core strategy to achieve many of the other goals set by SPFT and the district, especially around student achievement and ending racial disparities in our schools. To harness the power that professional development has to transform our work we must:

- Ensure that all Saint Paul teachers have timely access to research-based, educator-led professional development;
- Consistently honor and encourage a variety of teaching techniques and styles so students see the joy educators have for our work, rather than factory-style delivery;
- Develop and expand professional development offerings around racial equity and inclusive classrooms;
- Provide necessary resources to develop and deliver new courses; and
- Increase commitments to the successful professional development collaborations between SPFT and the district.

GOAL 7: ACCESS TO PRESCHOOL

Learning begins well before students enter kindergarten. Research has shown that preschool education is a sound investment in a child's short and long term future academically, socially, and even economically for taxpayers.⁵⁶ Children with access to high-quality preschool generally do better in school, have higher educational attainment, and require less remedial education. Additionally, preschool has been shown to reduce adult and juvenile crime, while increasing economic prosperity.⁵⁷ These findings hold especially true when programs focus on literacy, are run by well-trained staff, and, crucially, involve parents or guardians in the learning process.⁵⁸

Despite knowing that preschool is vital to the success of our children, Minnesota fails to provide access to quality early child education for much of its population. According to the Center for American Progress, nearly two-thirds of Minnesota ZIP codes are considered childcare deserts, defined as an area few to no childcare centers for children under the age of five. Over 70% of Minnesotans—including two-thirds of the population of the Twin Cities—live in neighborhoods where the ratio of children under the age of five to childcare center capacity is greater than three to one.⁵⁹ The lack of access to affordable childcare makes quality public Pre-K even more essential for our young students as they prepare for Kindergarten.

We believe that every Saint Paul child deserves access to a high-quality early childhood education. SPFS has increased space for more preschool students, but the current preschool capacity does not meet the demand of parents. Even if children are able to access a Pre-K class in Saint Paul, the half-day model used at most schools is a significant barrier for many families due to parent work schedules, insufficient transportation resources, and lack of childcare.

⁵⁶ Masse, L. & Barnett, W. (2002). *A benefit cost analysis of the abecedarian early childhood intervention*. New Brunswick, NJ: National Institute for Early Education Research.

⁵⁷ Reynolds, A., Temple, J., & Ou, S. (2010). *Impacts and implications of the child-parent center preschool program*. In A. Reynolds, A. Rolnick, M. Englund, & J. Temple (Eds.), *Childhood programs and practices in the first decade of life: A human capital integration* (168–186). New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

⁵⁸ Reynolds, A., Temple, J., Robertson, D., & Mamm, E. (2002). *Age 21 cost-benefit analysis of the Title I Chicago child-parent centers*. *Education Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 24, 267–303.

⁵⁹ Malik, R., Hamm, K., Adamu, M., & Morrissey, T. (2016). *Child care deserts: An analysis of child care centers by ZIP Code in 8 states*. Washington D.C.: Center for American Progress. <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/early-childhood/reports/2016/10/27/225703/child-care-deserts/>

Progress:

Locally, SPFT has been a strong advocate for expanding access to high-quality early childhood educational opportunities. Because of our advocacy efforts, SPPS has expanded the amount of full-day Pre-K programming available in the district. Full-day preschool is a significant benefit to families who cannot access the traditional half-day preschool schedule. In addition to advocating for universal preschool, we continue to support access to community education and other supports for families with young children, including Early Childhood Family Education (ECFE), which offers education for parents of children between birth and age four.

Ultimately, much of the funding for additional preschool must come from the state government. Governor Mark Dayton has been an important ally in pushing for universal access to preschool for Minnesota children, stating the work to ensure all Minnesotan children—especially children of color—receive a high-quality education “must begin with our youngest learners.”⁶⁰ In 2016, Governor Dayton secured \$25 million—the largest single allocation for education that year—to expand voluntary prekindergarten opportunities for four year olds during the 2016-17 school year. Saint Paul will receive \$604,700, which is the equivalent of 78 classroom seats, as part of this unprecedented allocation. Funding for the program will continue with \$55 million dedicated through the 2018-19 school year.⁶¹



The Way Forward:

The fight for more high-quality early educational opportunities for our students does not stop at our city limits. SPFT not only fights for more education access through our district, we’ve also partnered with other groups around the city and state to support efforts for early childhood education that:

- Continue to advocate for additional preschool classrooms and sites, particularly in neighborhoods that do not currently have Pre-K offerings;
- Communicate the importance of Pre-K access on overall district enrollment;
- Expand access to all-day Pre-K, with a priority on higher-poverty schools and childcare deserts;
- Provide funding, access, and education for early childhood professionals to meet new and additional early childhood licensure requirements; and
- Invite families and community members in to learn alongside students, whenever possible.

60 Office of Mark Dayton and Lt. Governor Tina Smith. (2015, March 20). *Governor and legislators: Send every child to preschool* [Press release]. Retrieved from <http://mn.gov/governor/newsroom/?id=1055-100484>

61 Hinrichs, E. (2016, June 3). *From pre-K to school discipline: A look at the education initiatives that survived Minnesota's 2016 legislative session*. *MinnPost*. Retrieved from <https://www.minnpost.com/education/2016/06/pre-k-school-discipline-look-education-initiatives-survived-minnesotas-2016-legisl>

BARGAINING FOR THE COMMON GOOD

Bargaining alongside parents and the community fundamentally changed the way that SPFT approaches contract negotiations. It is not enough to simply bargain for increased wages and better benefits—we must think about the broader community. Our schools do not exist in a vacuum. When something is impacting a student outside of school—be it racism, hunger, poverty or any other issue—it will impact their learning inside of the classroom. We cannot close the opportunity gap in education without addressing the systems that created racial inequities in our community in the first place.

This philosophy, known as Bargaining for the Common Good, guides our strategy today. When making demands during negotiations, we think beyond the traditional scope of bargaining, work closely with the community to craft our demands, and rely on collective action to win better schools for our students.⁶² You can see this guiding philosophy in our 2013 fight to lower class sizes (Goal 3) and our 2015 negotiations around Restorative Practices in our schools (Goal 5).



The natural next step in this progression is to use our bargaining as a way to hold powerful corporations accountable, highlighting the extent to which they control resources in the community.⁶³ SPPS is one of the largest customers in the Twin Cities. As such, the district can theoretically leverage its financial power to extract concessions for the companies with which it does business.

“We as a union have the power in the streets and at the bargaining table... to make some changes. It matters on the ground to be with the kids and the community, but it also matters to change the system.”

*-Erica Schatzlein
SPFT Member*

In our 2015 negotiations, we proposed that SPPS not do business with banks that foreclose on homes or rental properties of school age children during the academic year. Foreclosures can cause homelessness, disrupting students’ lives as families are forced to move. Unplanned, involuntary moves negatively impact children’s academic performance and their social development. Foreclosures also disproportionately impact families of color. High-income borrowers who are people of color are far more likely to have loan requests denied than low-income white borrowers. It is much easier to get a home loan in a majority white neighborhood than in a more diverse one. The loans most commonly available to people of

62 McCartin, J. (2016). *Bargaining for the Common Good*. *Dissent*. Retrieved from <https://www.dissentmagazine.org/article/bargaining-common-good-community-union-alignment>

63 *Ibid.*

color are often high-risk subprime loans: the same loans that led to the housing crisis.⁶⁴

In addition to the responsible banking proposal, SPFT brought forward a responsible contracting proposal. It stated that all companies the district did business with should pay their employees at least \$15.16 an hour, defined a living wage by the city of Saint Paul, and must offer their employees earned sick time. The employees of these companies are parents of SPPS students. Parents who are not paid a living wage often have to spend more hours at work, away from their children, because they hold down multiple jobs to make a living. Parents who do not have earned sick leave cannot take time off with pay to take care of their children when they are sick.⁶⁵

Neither of these proposals were adopted in their entirety by the district, but we did make gains in both areas. We agreed to shared principles around responsible banking, and the district agreed that all contractors must provide their employees with earned sick time. Ultimately, the Saint Paul city council passed a law mandating earned safe and sick time for all employers in the city this past fall, with the strong support of SPFT and SPPS. Additionally, in our Educational Assistant bargaining unit negotiations, we won a starting wage over \$15 an hour. This means that all SPFT members are paid a living wage under our contracts.



64 Saint Paul Federation of Teachers. (2015). Union proposal on responsible banking and contracting. Retrieved from <http://www.spft.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/09/28-Union-Proposal-on-Responsible-Banking-and-Contracting.pdf>

65 Ibid.

FUNDING THE SCHOOLS SAINT PAUL STUDENTS DESERVE

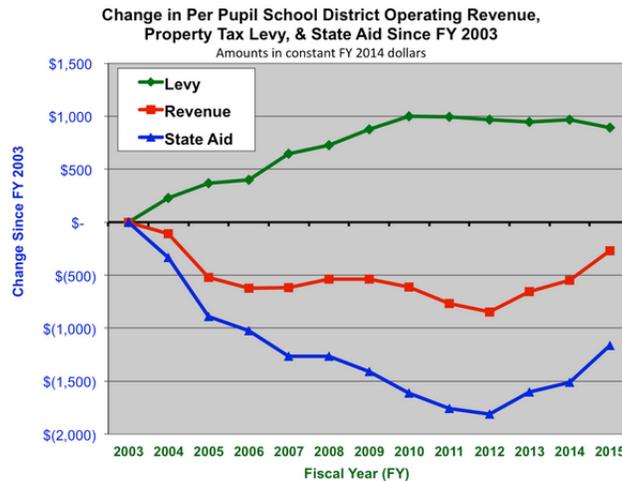
Since the release of the initial report in 2013, it has become clear that we must increase funding for public schools if we are serious about addressing systemic racial inequities. None of the goals we outlined in the report above are quick or easy fixes. Providing a quality public education is expensive and difficult. Without increasing funding for schools, we cannot ensure that all students in Saint Paul are receiving the education they deserve without increasing our funding for schools.

Our members are ready and determined to do the important work to reduce racial inequities in our schools. You don't have to look any further than SPFT's restorative practice pilot application process (Goal 6) for proof. In the first year, we had 18 schools apply for six pilot sites. This year, when there are resources available for only three new pilot site locations, 13 additional schools have applied. The primary factor holding us back from having a holistic, relational approach to school climate is a lack of funding.

As we seek to ensure every Saint Paul child has access to a high quality public education, we are constantly confronting cuts to schools and classrooms, district budget shortfalls, and inadequate funding support. Our past contract negotiations have been an exercise in reworking the district's budget in order to shift resources back into the classroom, but without substantial increases to the budget, there is little more we can do.

Funding for public education in Minnesota has gone down while the needs of our students have only increased.

Despite the story of scarcity we are told by lawmakers and bureaucrats, the reality is that some sectors of our state have done quite well. This is especially true of the business sector in Minnesota, who are making huge profits but are contributing less and less to our community.⁶⁶



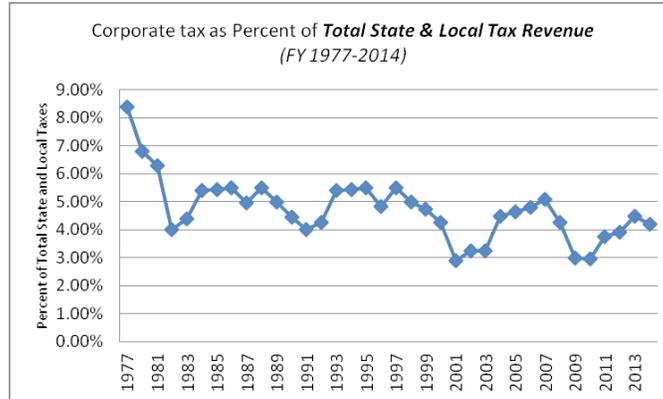
67

66 Ash, J. (2016). *Where is the money for public education?* Retrieved from <http://www.spft.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/08/Public-Education-Funding.pdf>

67 Van Wychen, J. (2016, May 2). *Despite recent increases, school aid remains well below fy 2003 level* [blog post]. St. Paul, MN: North Star Policy Institute. Retrieved from: <http://northstarpolicy.org/despite-recent-increases-school-aid-remains-well-fy-2003-level/>

LOWER CORPORATE TAX RATES

Changes in state law have resulted in Minnesota's largest corporations paying lower rates for state income and state property taxes than they have in the past. Corporations in Minnesota are currently taxed at a 9.8% state income tax rate.⁶⁸ However, in the past this rate had been as high as 12% and even higher (13.6%) for banks.⁶⁹ In 1977 corporate income taxes accounted for 8.4% of the total state and local taxes collected. In 2013, these taxes comprised just 4.5% of total taxes collected.⁷⁰ This still is not low enough for a number of these companies though; they continue to push for even lower tax rates.



CORPORATE TAX AVOIDANCE

Many of Minnesota's largest corporations have subsidiaries in offshore tax havens that make it possible to shift income and assets to avoid paying corporate income taxes in the United States. Between these tax havens and using corporate loopholes, Minnesotan corporations are paying millions of dollars less every year in state income taxes than they used to pay.

For example, the reduction in the state corporate income tax rate to 9.8% means that Wells Fargo's tax bill in 2014 was \$15 million less than it would have been under the state's old 12% rate.⁷¹ However, Wells Fargo did not even pay the 9.8% they owed. Through tax breaks and loopholes, they saved an estimated extra \$51 million in income taxes to owed to the state of Minnesota that year.⁷²

The state income tax bill for the nine companies listed in the chart was a total of \$29 million less in 2014 than it would have been under the old Minnesota tax rates. However, in addition to these savings from a lower tax rate, these companies avoided paying almost \$100 million in state income taxes in 2014 through tax breaks and loopholes.

68 Minnesota Revenue Tax Research Division. (2015). *Minnesota tax handbook: A profile of state and local taxes in Minnesota 2014 Edition*. St. Paul, MN: Minnesota Department of Revenue.

69 *Ibid.*

70 Minnesota Department of Revenue. (2015). *State and local tax collections by major tax category*. Retrieved from http://www.revenue.state.mn.us/research_stats/Pages/State_and-Local_Tax_Collections_by_Major_Tax_Category.aspx

71 Wells Fargo. (2015). *Annual report*. San Francisco, CA: Wells Fargo. Wells Fargo had taxable income of \$33.9 billion in 2014 (p. 133). Even though Minnesota represents a significant share of Wells Fargo's business, if we conservatively estimate that Minnesota, as one of 50 states, had 1/50th of this income, that would be \$678 million in taxable state income in Minnesota. At the previous tax rate of 12% that would be \$81 million, but at 9.8% that is \$66 million, so a difference of \$15 million a year.

72 *Ibid.* Wells Fargo paid \$744 million in total state income taxes nationally in 2014 (p. 252). If we estimate that 1/50th of these taxes were paid in Minnesota, that would be \$15 million in state taxes paid. If Wells Fargo was required to pay \$66 million in state taxes, but paid just \$15 million, that is a difference of \$51 million.

STATE INCOME TAX AVOIDANCE IN MINNESOTA 2014 (SEE APPENDIX A)

Corporation	Estimated Savings From Reduction in Tax Rate	Estimated Savings From Tax Breaks and Loopholes	Total
Wells Fargo	\$15 million	\$55.6 million	\$70.6 million
UnitedHealth	\$4.3 million	\$13.6 million	\$17.9 million
Travelers	\$2.2 million	\$9.8 million	\$12.0 million
US Bancorp	\$3.5 million	\$9.1 million	\$12.6 million
3M	\$1.5 million	\$5.3 million	\$6.8 million
Target	\$1.6 million	\$4.8 million	\$6.4 million
General Mills	\$1 million	\$3.5 million	\$4.5 million
Xcel Energy	\$700,000	\$2.9 million	\$3.6 million
Ecolab	\$400,000	\$1.6 million	\$2.0 million
TOTAL	\$30.2 million	\$106.2 million	\$136.4 million



PROPERTY TAX REDUCTION (SEE APPENDIX B)

Corporations in Minnesota are also saving money on reduced property tax rates. Currently, corporations in Minnesota pay an Effective Property Tax Rate (ETR) of 3.7%. However, 15 years ago, this rate was 4.2% and twenty years ago, it was 5.9% twenty years ago.⁷³ These lower property taxes for corporations mean less money for our public schools.

Corporation	Current Annual Savings compared to 2001 Property Tax Rate	Current Annual Savings compared to 1996 Property Tax Rate
Mall of America	\$4.2 million	\$18.5 million
Target	\$3.0 million	\$13.2 million
Wells Fargo	\$2.5 million	\$11.0 million
US Bancorp	\$2.0 million	\$8.8 million
Best Buy	\$1.3 million	\$5.7 million
Medtronic	\$1.2 million	\$5.3 million
Xcel Energy	\$1.1 million	\$4.9 million
3M	\$750,000	\$3.3 million
Securian	\$500,000	\$2.0 million
General Mills	\$300,000	\$1.3 million
TOTAL	\$16.8 million	\$74 million



⁷³ Minnesota Department of Revenue. (2016). Property tax statistics, effective tax rates, market values, & net taxes by property class (Payable 1996-2016) [Data set].

TAX INCREMENT FINANCE DISTRICTS (SEE APPENDIX C)

Tax Increment Finance (TIF) districts subsidize private real estate developments by using future tax revenue to pay for the costs of the development. Basically, corporations get can use money that they would have paid in taxes to develop land in the city. Traditionally, TIFs have been used to incentivize business development in low-income communities.

However, in Saint Paul, this is not always the practice. Several of the largest TIF properties in the city are on lucrative land in or near downtown.

Company	Location	Annual Property Tax Avoided
Securian	400-410 Robert St	\$2.1 million
Wells Fargo Place	30 7th Street East	\$1.6 million
U.S. Bank Operations Center	60 Livingston Ave	\$1.0 million

The property tax from these projects is used to pay back development loans from the city instead of going into the general fund. Because the city is missing out on this property tax money, state aid which could go toward other school programs has to cover the hole left in our budget by removing this valuable land from our tax rolls.

TAX EXEMPT PROPERTIES

Almost one-third of properties in Saint Paul do not pay any property taxes at all.⁷⁴ Many of these are TIF districts, but not all of them all. Many of our most valuable properties in the city are private colleges and hospitals, which are not taxable because they are nonprofits.

By law, healthcare providers in Minnesota must be nonprofits, but that does not stop them from making large sums of money each year. While making a net income of almost \$200 million last year, HealthPartners avoided paying \$2.7 million in property taxes on Regions Hospital. Allina, which made \$141 million last year, avoided paying \$750,000 in taxes on United Hospital.⁷⁵ Even though they use city services and benefit from our schools, these hospitals do not contribute to the Saint Paul's general fund.

The Way Forward

While corporations are getting lucrative deals from the city of Saint Paul and the state of Minnesota, taking money that should be used to educate our students, they are also actively undermining public education. Instead of investing more into our public schools, many of these large companies would rather focus on expanding "school choice," standardized testing, and eliminating teacher seniority so that when school budgets get cut even deeper, principals can lay off the most experienced teachers. None of these topics address the real racial inequities bedeviling our education system.

Corporations have a duty to be responsible actors in their community by taking care of their employees, respecting the democratic system, and paying their fair share. While the charitable donations many of our corporate neighbors give in the forms of grants are nice, they do not come close to making up for the millions of dollars they avoid paying in taxes. If corporations truly wanted to make a difference in the lives of our students of color, they would pay their fair share.

⁷⁴ Nelson, T. (2017, Feb 8). *St. Paul shifting street maintenance charges, but who'll pay?* MPR. Retrieved from <https://www.mprnews.org/story/2017/02/08/stpaul-shifting-street-maintenance-fees-taxes>

⁷⁵ Ash, J. (2017).

In our next contract campaign, we will focus our attention on sustainably funding our public schools. We will:

- Continue to work with parents and community allies to focus funding within the district's budget on serving children, particularly children of color;
- Expand our work to advocate, bargain, and organize for increased funding in public education;
- Elevate the reality of where public education funding has gone and push corporations and elected representatives of all levels to increase public funds for public education in ways that also increase racial equity in our schools; and
- Align our work with others in the community who are similarly advocating for racial and economic equity.

The only way we can make sure that all of our students are getting the education they deserve is if everyone—corporations included—take responsibility for making sure our public schools are successful.



CONCLUSION AND A CALL TO ACTION

Teaching is an inherently political act. We encourage and support each and every student who comes into our schools to reach their full potential. We do not turn anyone away. When our public schools work, they act as a safety net leveling the playing field for our collective future.

Unfortunately for far too many students, our public schools have not worked. This is especially true for many of our students of color. While Minnesota has some of the most highly-ranked public schools in the country, this ranking only holds true if you are a white student.

Our public education system does not have to be this way. The plan we have put forward in this report would go a long way toward improving educational outcomes for all of our students while also engaging families more deeply and making sure that we continue to have highly qualified teachers in our schools.

We must keep striving for racially equitable schools because the diversity in public schools is one of their greatest strengths. Being able to learn with a diverse set of peers exposes students to new ideas and cultures. Children learn how to how to interact with people who are different from themselves. Only public schools, which teach all students, can prepare our children for their roles as citizens in a more diverse future.

We cannot end the disparities in our education system alone, however. Educators must stand with parents, students, community allies, and our labor partners to fight for fully funded, racially equitable public education. It's not going to be a simple fight, but our children are counting on us.

Luckily for us, we have the power to make our public schools work for all students. Our schools are run by us through an elected school board, and we all have a say in the education of our students. In this way, our public schools are right at the heart of our democracy.

Will you join us to create the schools our children deserve?



GLOSSARY

Academic Parent Teacher Teams (APTT): APPT is an alternative model of parent-teacher conferences, where teachers meet with all the parents in the classroom at once, three times during the year. Teachers use these sessions to provide strategies to support learning at home.

ACCESS Test: The ACCESS Test is a yearly examination taken by English Language Learners in Minnesota to monitor yearly language acquisition.

Bargaining for the Common Good: Bargaining for the Common Good uses the collective bargaining process to advocate for needs of the entire community. Instead of simply bargaining for wage increases and benefits, unions which bargain for the common good build broad based campaigns that advocate for the needs of their community. SPFT's negotiations around class size, universal Pre-K, the Integration Task Force, and fair banking and contracting all fall under this category.

Childcare Deserts: A childcare desert is an area few to no childcare centers for children under the age of five. Technically, a childcare desert is a ZIP code with at least 30 children under the age of five with either no childcare facilities or so few that the ratio of children to spaces available in childcare facilities is greater than 3:1.⁷⁶

Culturally Relevant Education: Culturally relevant education reflects and respects all cultures in our classrooms and curriculum. It encourages opportunities for staff to learn from each other and from the wisdom of the community about how to best serve students.

Implicit Bias: Implicit bias refers to attitudes or stereotypes that affects individual's understanding and actions in an unconscious manner.

Integration Task Force: The Integration Task Force is a community panel, made up of appointees from SPFT and SPPS, tasked with uncovering why school desegregation has occurred in Saint Paul and proposing solutions to support integration.

Minnesota Comprehensive Assessment (MCAs): MCAs are annual, standardized tests which are supposed to measure student progress and achievement.

Opt-Out Movement: The Opt-Out Movement is a national coalition dedicated to fighting against excessive high-stakes standardized testing. The movement encourages parents to keep their kids from taking standardized tests to protest the overreliance on government issued tests.

Parent Teacher Home Visits (PTHV): PTHV is a national program which connects educators with the families of their students. After going through a training, educators visit the homes of their students in pairs, getting to know their families in a new and deeper manner. These visits build trust between the educators and their students' families.

Peer Assistance and Review (PAR): The PAR program connects new teachers with a veteran consulting teacher who coaches and evaluates them. This coach helps new teachers develop their teaching practice. A teacher must successfully complete the PAR Program to be considered for tenure in SPPS.

Restorative Practices: Restorative practices are a deeply relational way of building connections within a school community. They focus on shared problem solving, recognizing inequities, and proactively creating a positive climate in our classrooms and schools.

⁷⁶ Malik, R., Hamm, K., Adamu, M., & Morrissey, T. (2016).

School Climate Improvement Teams (SCITs): SCITs are site-based approaches to school climate. They are made of teachers, administrators, paraprofessionals, parents, and students, and they create plans to build a positive school climate at their school.

School to Prison Pipeline: The school to prison pipeline describes the relationship between an individual's contact with the justice system and zero-tolerance discipline policies in our schools. Punishments like school suspensions for minor infractions greatly increase the likelihood of arrest or other contact with the justice system later in life.

Strong Schools, Strong Communities: Strong Schools, Strong Communities is a strategic plan released by the Saint Paul Public Schools in 2011 which shifted the school district to a neighborhood school model. The impact of this report was to resegregate Saint Paul Public Schools.

Systemic racism: Systemic or institutional racism describes the fact that established laws and customs discriminate against people of color. Economic and political structures are designed to disadvantage people who are not white, and to reinforce inequities based race. Systemic racism can be contrasted with personal bigotry, which describes the behavior of an individual.

Tax Increment Finance Districts (TIFs): TIFs are used by cities to subsidize private real estate development by using future tax revenue to pay for the cost of the development.



APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: STATE INCOME TAX AVOIDANCE IN MINNESOTA 2014

Wells Fargo had taxable income of \$33.9 billion in 2014. (Wells Fargo 2015 Annual Report p. 133.)

Even though Minnesota represents a significant share of Wells Fargo's business, if we conservatively estimate that Minnesota, as one of 50 states, had 1/50th of this income, that would be \$678 million in taxable state income in Minnesota. At the previous tax rate of 12% that would be \$81 million, but at 9.8% that is \$66 million, so a difference of \$15 million a year.

Wells Fargo paid \$520 million in total state income taxes nationally in 2014. (Wells Fargo 2015 Annual Report p. 252.) If we estimate that 1/50th of these taxes were paid in Minnesota, that would be \$10.4 million in state taxes paid. If Wells Fargo was required to pay \$66 million in state taxes, but paid just \$10.4 million, that is a difference of \$55.6 million.

UnitedHealth had taxable income of \$9.7 billion in 2014. (UnitedHealth 2015 Annual Report p. 38.) If we estimate that Minnesota, as one of 50 states, had 1/50th of this income, that would be \$194 million in taxable state income in Minnesota. At the previous tax rate of 12% that would be \$23.3 million, but at 9.8% that is \$19 million, so a difference of \$4.3 million a year.

UnitedHealth paid \$271 million in total state income taxes nationally in 2014. (UnitedHealth 2015 Annual Report p. 82.) If we estimate that 1/50th of these taxes were paid in Minnesota, that would be \$5.4 million in state taxes paid. If UnitedHealth was required to pay \$19 million in state taxes in Minnesota, but paid just \$5.4 million, that is a difference of \$13.6 million.

Travelers had taxable income of \$5.1 billion in 2014. (Travelers 2015 Annual Report p. 79) If we conservatively estimate that Minnesota, as one of 50 states, had 1/50th of this income, that would be \$102 million in taxable state income in Minnesota. At the previous tax rate of 12% that would be \$12.2 million, but at 9.8% that is \$10 million, so a difference of \$2.2 million a year.

Travelers paid \$10 million in total state income taxes nationally in 2014. (Travelers 2015 Annual Report, p. 225) .If we estimate that 1/50th of these taxes were paid in Minnesota, that would be \$200,000 in state taxes paid. If Travelers was required to pay \$10 million in state taxes in Minnesota, but paid just \$200,000, that is a difference of \$9.8 million.

US Bank had taxable income of \$8 billion in 2014. (US Bank 2015 Annual Report p. 84) Even though Minnesota represents a significant share of US Bank's business, if we conservatively estimate that Minnesota, as one of 50 states, had 1/50th of this income, that would be \$160 million in taxable state income in Minnesota. At the previous tax rate of 12% that would be \$19.2 million, but at 9.8% that is \$15.7 million, so a difference of \$3.5 million a year.

US Bank paid \$331 million in total state income taxes nationally in 2014. (US Bank 2015 Annual Report p. 126.) If we estimate that 1/50th of these taxes were paid in Minnesota, that would be \$6.6 million in state taxes paid. If US Bank was required to pay \$15.7 million in state taxes in Minnesota, but paid just \$6.6 million, that is a difference of \$9.1 million.

3M had taxable income of \$3.8 billion in 2014. (3M 2015 Annual Report p. 73) Even though Minnesota represents a significant share of 3M's business, if we conservatively estimate that Minnesota, as one of 50 states, had 1/50th of this income, that would be \$76 million in taxable state income in Minnesota. At the previous tax rate of 12% that would be \$9.1 million, but at 9.8% that is \$7.5 million, so a difference of \$1.6 million a year.

3M paid \$108 million in total state income taxes nationally in 2014. (3M 2015 Annual Report, p. 74) .If we estimate that 1/50th of these taxes were paid in Minnesota, that would be \$2.2 million in state taxes paid. If US Bank was required to pay \$7.5million in state taxes in Minnesota, but paid just \$2.2 million, that is a difference of \$5.3 million.

Target had taxable income of \$3.7 billion in 2014. (Target 2015 Annual Report p. 4) Even though Minnesota represents a significant share of Target's business, if we conservatively estimate that Minnesota, as one of 50 states, had 1/50th of this income, that would be \$74 million in taxable state income in Minnesota. At the previous tax rate of 12% that would be \$8.9 million, but at 9.8% that is \$7.3 million, so a difference of \$1.6 million a year.

Target paid \$126 million in total state income taxes nationally in 2014. (Target 2015 Annual Report, p. 53) .If we estimate that 1/50th of these taxes were paid in Minnesota, that would be \$2.5 million in state taxes paid. If Target was required to pay \$7.3million in state taxes in Minnesota, but paid just \$2.5 million, that is a difference of \$4.8 million.

General Mills had taxable income of \$2.2 billion in 2014. (General Mills 2015 Annual Report p. 76) If we conservatively estimate that Minnesota, as one of 50 states, had 1/50th of this income, that would be \$44 million in taxable state income in Minnesota. At the previous tax rate of 12% that would be \$5.3 million, but at 9.8% that is \$4.3 million, so a difference of \$1 million a year.

General Mills paid \$37.8 million in total state income taxes nationally in 2014. (General Mills 2015 Annual Report, p. 76) .If we estimate that 1/50th of these taxes were paid in Minnesota, that would be \$750,000 in state taxes paid. If General Mills was required to pay \$4.3million in state taxes in Minnesota, but paid just \$750,000, that is a difference of \$3.5 million.

Xcel had taxable income of \$1.6 billion in 2014. (Xcel Energy 2015 Annual Report p. 94) Even though Minnesota represents a significant share of Xcel's business, it we conservatively estimate that Minnesota, as one of 50 states, had 1/50th of this income, that would be \$32 million in taxable state income in Minnesota. At the previous tax rate of 12% that would be \$3.8 million, but at 9.8% that is \$3.1 million, so a difference of \$700,000 a year.

Xcel paid \$9.4 million in total state income taxes nationally in 2014. (Xcel 2015 Annual Report, p. 114) .If we estimate that 1/50th of these taxes were paid in Minnesota, that would be \$188,000 in state taxes paid. If Xcel was required to pay \$3.1 million in state taxes in Minnesota, but paid just \$188,000, that is a difference of \$2.9 million.

Ecolab had taxable income of \$938 million in 2014. (Ecolab 2015 Annual Report p. 82) If we conservatively estimate that Minnesota, as one of 50 states, had 1/50th of this income, that would be \$19 million in taxable state income in Minnesota. At the previous tax rate of 12% that would be \$2.3 million, but at 9.8% that is \$1.9 million, so a difference of \$400,000 a year.

Ecolab paid \$16 million in total state income taxes nationally in 2014. (Ecolab 2015 Annual Report, p. 82) .If we estimate that 1/50th of these taxes were paid in Minnesota, that would be \$320,000 in state taxes paid. If Ecolab was required to pay \$1.9 million in state taxes in Minnesota, but paid just \$320,000, that is a difference of \$1.6 million

APPENDIX B: PROPERTY TAX REDUCTIONS

According to Hennepin County Tax Data, the Mall of American has a 2016 market value of \$840 million. At the current Effective Tax Rate, the tax is \$31.1 million. At the 2001 tax rate it would have been \$35.3 million. At the 1996 rate, the Mall of American property tax bill would have been \$49.6 million.

Target owns real estate in Minnesota worth approximately \$600 million. At the current Effective Tax Rate, the tax is \$22.2 million. At the 2001 tax rate it would have been \$25.2 million. At the 1996 rate, the property tax bill would be \$35.4 million.

Wells Fargo owns or leases real estate in Minnesota worth approximately \$500 million. At the current Effective Tax Rate, the tax is \$18.5 million. At the 2001 tax rate it would have been \$21 million. At the 1996 rate, the property tax bill would have been \$29.5 million.

US Bank owns or leases real estate in Minnesota worth approximately \$400 million. At the current Effective Tax Rate, the tax is \$14.8 million. At the 2001 tax rate it would have been \$16.8 million. At the 1996 rate, the property tax bill would have been \$23.6 million.

Best Buy owns real estate in Minnesota worth approximately \$260 million. At the current Effective Tax Rate, the tax is \$9.6 million. At the 2001 tax rate it would have been \$10.9 million. At the 1996 rate, the property tax bill would have been \$15.3 million.

Medtronic owns real estate in Minnesota worth approximately \$240 million. At the current Effective Tax Rate, the tax is \$8.9 million. At the 2001 tax rate it would have been \$10.1 million. At the 1996 rate, the property tax bill would have been \$14.2 million.

Xcel Energy owns real estate in Minnesota worth approximately \$220 million. At the current Effective Tax Rate, the tax is \$8.1 million. At the 2001 tax rate, it would have been \$9.2 million. At the 1996 rate, the tax bill would have been \$13 million.

3M owns real estate in Minnesota worth approximately \$150 million. At the current Effective Tax Rate, the tax is \$5.6 million. At the 2001 tax rate, it would have been \$6.3 million. At the 1996 rate, the tax bill would have been \$8.9 million.

Securian owns real estate in Minnesota worth \$90 million. At the current Effective Tax Rate, the tax is \$3.3 million. At the 2001 tax rate, the tax would have been \$3.8 million. At the 1996 rate, the tax would have been \$5.3 million.

General Mills owns real estate in Minnesota worth \$61 million. At the current Effective Tax Rate, the tax is \$2.3 million. At the 2001 tax rate, the tax would have been \$2.6 million. At the 1996 rate, the tax would have been \$3.6 million.

APPENDIX C: TAX INCREMENT FINANCE DISTRICTS

Securian owns two properties at 400 and 401 Robert St. which were valued at a total of \$101 million. The property tax statements show that there were no tax payments to either Ramsey County or the city of St. Paul. There was \$2.1 million paid under the Tax Increment Financing program.

Wells Fargo Place was valued at a total of \$74 million in 2015. The property tax statement for this property show that there were no tax payments to either Ramsey County or the city of St. Paul. There was \$1.6 million paid under the Tax Increment Financing program.

The two structures of the US Bank Operations at 60 Livingston Avenue were valued at a total of \$45 million in 2015. The property tax statements for this property show that there were no tax payments to either Ramsey County or the city of St. Paul, and that the payments to the St. Paul School District were just \$27,000. US Bank paid about \$960,000 under the Tax Increment Financing program.

If US Bank paid full taxes on these properties, they would have paid approximately:

- \$410,400 to the County
- \$324,000 to the City
- \$399,600 to the school district



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