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Open Enrollment and Racial Segregation

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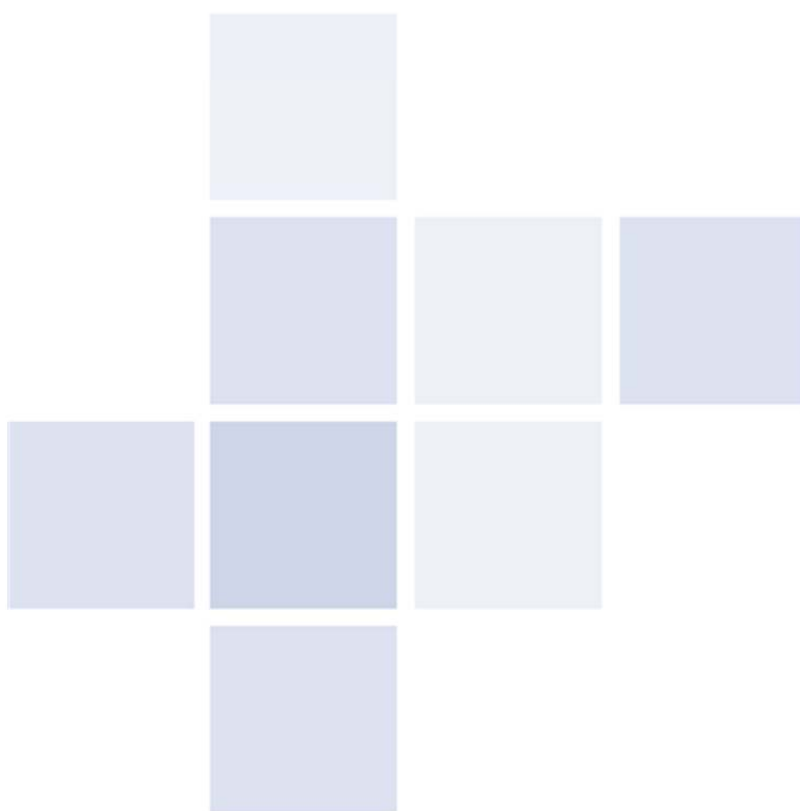
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Open Enrollment and Racial Segregation in the Twin Cities: 2000 – 2010

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I. Introduction and Summary

Minnesota's pioneering open enrollment system enables parents and students to leave one school for another without the expense of moving. Open enrollment allows parents a wider choice in matching a school's programs to a child's needs and creates clearer competition between schools that could encourage innovation or improvement. Yet, open enrollment also enables moves based on less noble motivations that can accelerate racial or economic transition in a racially diverse school district. Research demonstrates that racial enrollment patterns can change rapidly even without open enrollment.¹

This study analyzes OE's effects on racial and economic segregation across the metro's 69 school districts between 2000 and 2010.² Principal findings include:

- While there were many racially integrative flows of students between districts, overall OE increased segregation in the region, with the segregative trend growing stronger over time. In 2009-2010, 36 percent of OE moves were segregative, 24 percent were integrative, and rest race-neutral.³ The percentage of segregative moves grew significantly during the decade from 23 percent to 36 percent, a change due almost entirely to a large increase among white open enrollees.
- The three large city districts of Minneapolis, St. Paul and St. Cloud each lose substantial numbers of students under OE. Loss of white students to nearby districts represents a large majority of each district's net losses. Minneapolis and St. Paul both send and receive large numbers of students. St. Cloud's participation is overwhelmingly as sending district.

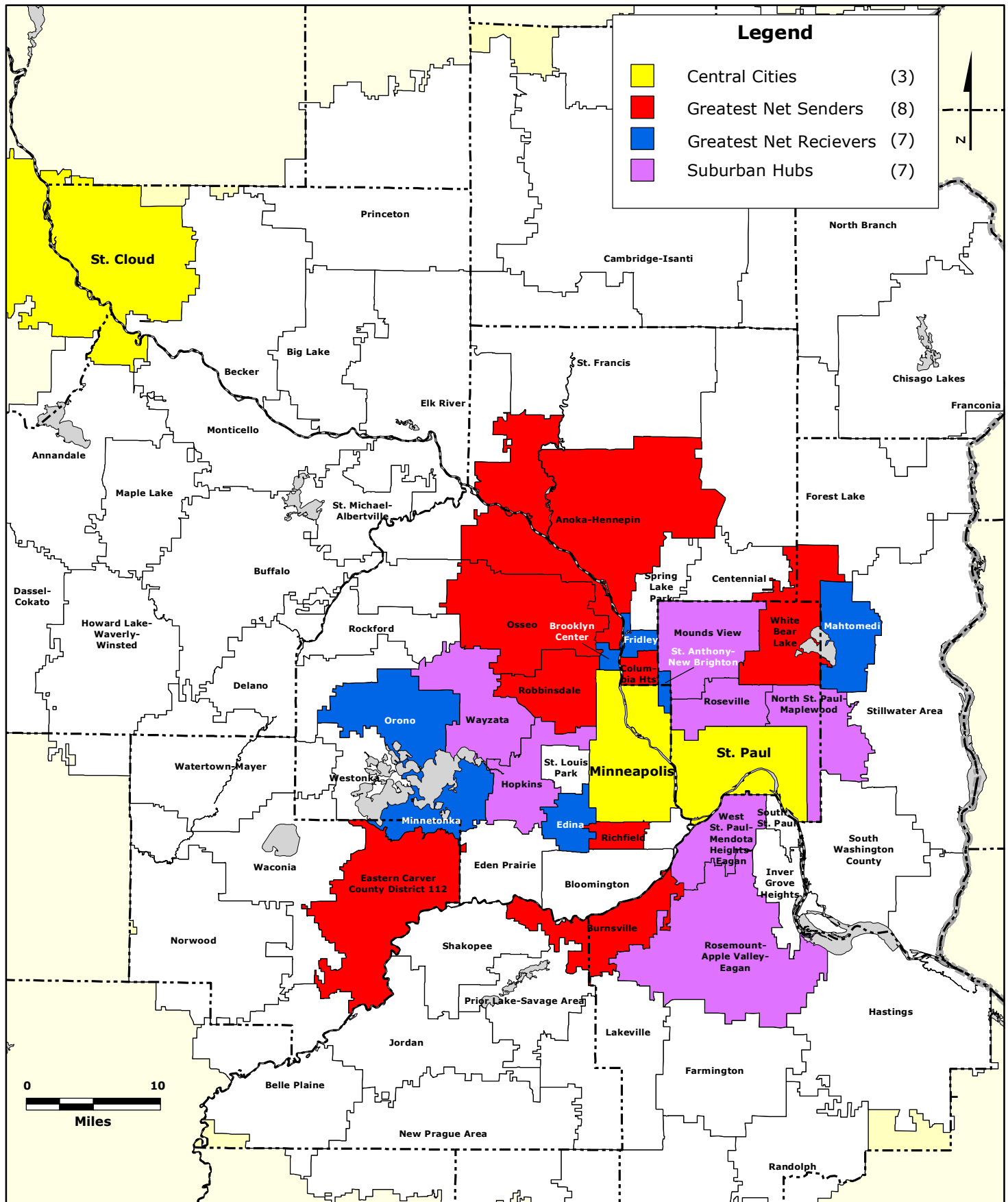
¹ See Orfield, Myron and Thomas Luce, "America's Racially Diverse Suburbs: Opportunities and Challenges," Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity, July 2012, http://www.law.umn.edu/uploads/e0/65/e065d82a1c1da0bfef7d86172ec5391e/Diverse_Suburbs_FINAL.pdf, Orfield, Myron and Thomas Luce, *Region: Planning the Future of the Twin Cities*, University of Minnesota Press, 2010, Chapter 3, and Galster, George C, *Neighborhood Social Mix: Theory, Evidence, and Implications for Policy and Planning*, Wayne State University, 2012 for evidence and descriptions of these research literatures.

² For the purposes of this work, the Twin Cities metropolitan area is defined as the 11 Minnesota counties included in the official Census definition. The two Wisconsin counties in the official definition are excluded because Minnesota's choice options do not apply there. The data set for the work was compiled from the Minnesota Automated Reporting Student System (MARSS) by the MinnLink Program in the Center for Advanced Studies in Child Welfare, School of Social Work, University of Minnesota. We are very grateful to Kristy Piescher, Director of Research & Evaluation, and Saahoon Hong, Research Associate, Center for Advanced Studies in Child Welfare for their work acquiring the MARSS data set and compiling the data sets for this work. An open enrollee was defined as any student showing a district of residence that was different from his or her attendance district in the MARSS data at any point during the relevant school year. An alternative analysis defining an open enrollee as a student enrolled in a district other than his or her district of residence for the entire year was also performed. This resulted in lower student counts (by about 15 percent) but overall open enrollment patterns were very similar to the selected definition.

³ The threshold for classifying a move as segregative or integrative was an inter-district difference of more than 10 percentage points in the relevant shares. See Table 1 and the associated discussion. The distribution of integrative, segregative and neutral moves are similar for the poverty measure.

- Suburban districts losing the most students to OE include a group of diverse inner- and middle-suburban districts which lose substantial numbers of students. The two smallest districts in this group, Columbia Heights and Richfield, are in the midst of very rapid racial and economic transition, a process that OE has clearly facilitated by enabling the loss of white students. The three largest districts in the group—Anoka-Hennepin, Osseo and Robbinsdale, exchange large numbers of students with each other, and as a group, lose large numbers of white students to nearby, predominantly white school districts. Finally, Burnsville-Eagan-Savage, Eastern Carver and White Bear Lake, while whiter than others in this group, all show a pattern of racial transition accentuated by racially unbalanced exchanges with one or more nearby districts.
- Districts gaining the most students from OE. These predominantly white districts are destinations for white flight from more diverse districts. St. Anthony-New Brighton stands out by drawing large numbers of white students from Minneapolis and Columbia Heights. White open enrollment to St. Anthony represents more than one third of district's total enrollment. Minnetonka and Mahtomedi are middle suburban destinations for white flight, drawing mostly white students from nearby more diverse and racially changing districts such as Hopkins, Eden Prairie, East Carver and White Bear Lake. Brooklyn Center and Fridley are diverse districts which draw large numbers of OE enrollees by filling a competitive niche in their local system of districts.
- Suburban hub districts gain and lose large numbers of students through OE. Most hub districts show only modest net gains from OE, but some have racially segregative interactions with nearby districts. Hopkins is the hub of a complex flow of student involving Minneapolis and many western suburban districts. Students leaving Hopkins were more likely to be white than those entering. Nearly two-thirds of the students leaving Hopkins go to either Minnetonka or Edina and nearly all (89 percent) are white. Roseville sends a predominantly non-white group of students to St. Paul and receives a predominantly white group in return. Although Wayzata's overall OE flows are relatively balanced racially, it draws a significant number of white students from Robbinsdale and Osseo, both districts in racial transition.

MAP 1: MINNEAPOLIS - SAINT PAUL REGION Open Enrollment School District Types, 2009-2010



II. Growth of Open Enrollment in the Twin Cities

Minnesota was a national leader in developing OE programs. Voluntary inter-district programs existed in the early 1980s and the state's mandatory law—the first of its kind in the nation—was passed in 1988. The law requires that all school districts allow applicants to attend district schools from anywhere in the state, but also permits districts to refuse admissions in some circumstances, including some kinds of prior bad behavior by applicants and capacity limitations in schools.⁴ Districts may not limit or encourage open enrollments based on extracurricular activities (include athletics), disabilities, limited English, previous disciplinary issues, academic achievement or the student's resident district.⁵ Finally, a transferring student enters the state aid formula for the receiving district in exactly the same way as an equivalent resident student—the student's state aid follows him or her to the new district. This creates incentives for districts to compete with neighboring districts for students because it provides districts with a way to maintain revenues in the face of declining resident student populations (and the under-utilization of facilities this usually entails). Indeed some districts and administrators cite open enrollments on web sites and in annual reports as a measure of success.⁶

Figure 1 shows the growth and racial mix of OE participants from 2000-01 through 2009-10. Participation by minorities increased a bit more rapidly during the period than for whites. However, participation rates tracked overall regional racial shares in the region fairly closely. In 2000-01, 78 percent of all students were white and 79 percent of open enrollees were white. By 2009-10, 70 percent of all students were white compared to 68 percent of OE participants. In 2009-10, seven percent of white students and eight percent of non-white students in the region open enrolled to another district at some point during the year.⁷

The overall pattern of student movements from OE is now remarkably complex. By 2010 there were 87 separate student flows from one district to another that exceeded 100 students. Many pairs of districts, especially in the central part of the region show flows exceeding this threshold going in each direction (Map 2).

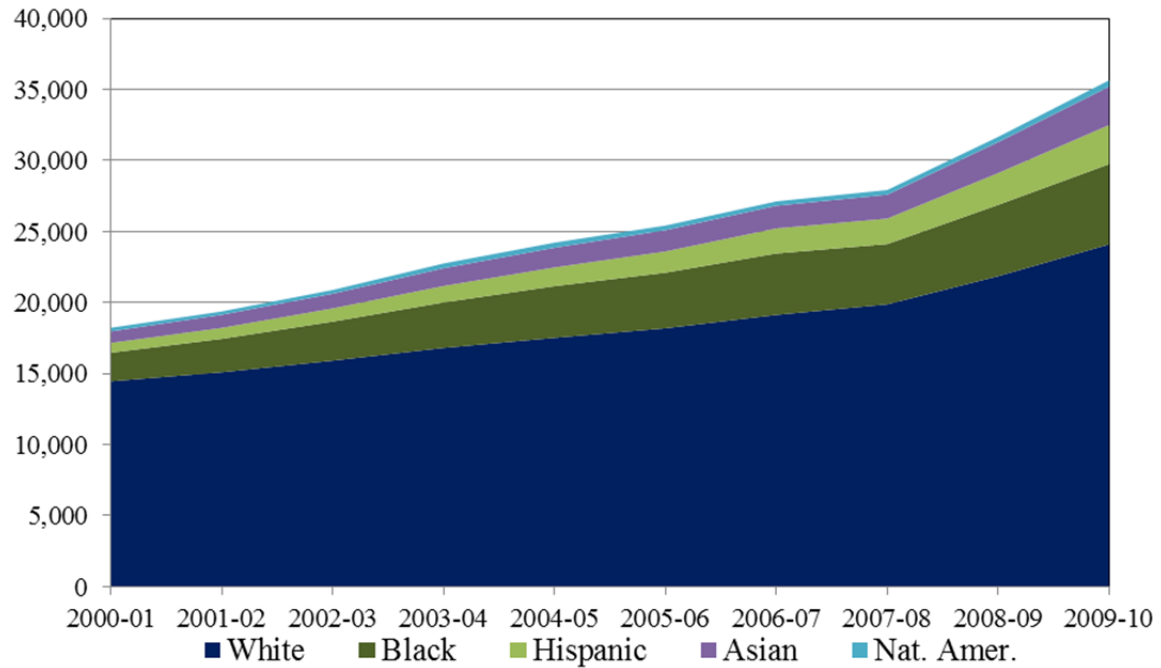
⁴ Witte, John F., Deven E. Carlson and Leslie Lavery, *Moving On: Why Students Move Between Districts Under Open Enrollment*, Department of Political Science, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2008; Carlson, Deven E., Leslie Lavery and John F. Witte, *The Determinants of Open Enrollment Flows: Evidence from Two States*, Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis, Vol. 33 No. 1, 76-94; and 124.D03 Minnesota State Statutes.

⁵ 124D.03, Subd. 6.

⁶ See Minnetonka Public Schools Annual Plan, 2011-12, p.1 and p. 28, Minnetonka Public Schools Annual Plan 2010-11, p.1 and p. 30, and Minnetonka Public Schools Annual Plan, 2008-09, pp. 14 and 20 for examples of both types of uses, <http://www.minnetonka.k12.mn.us/newsroom/>.

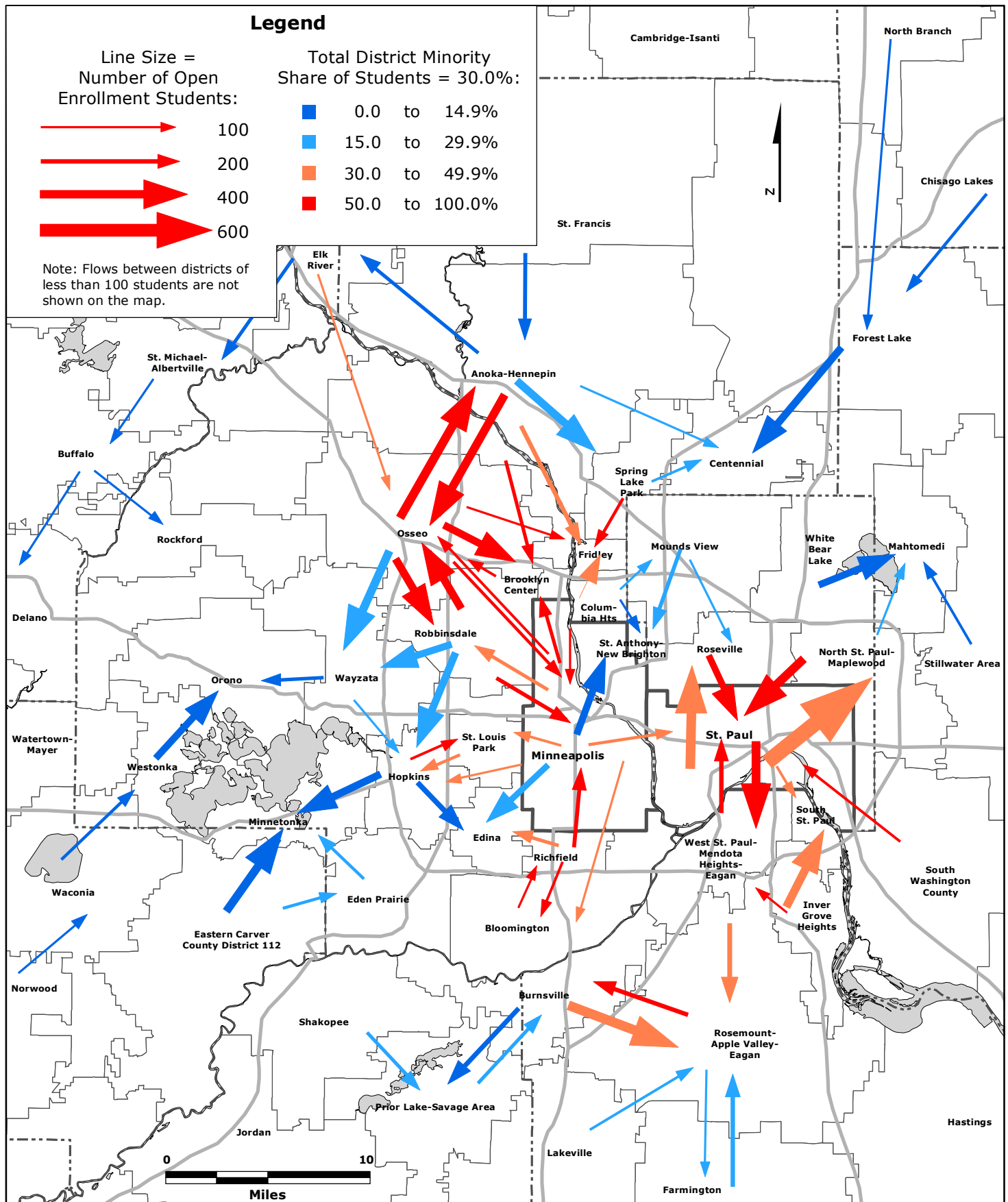
⁷ Minnesota has long experience with other choice programs as well. The Choice is Yours Program (CIY), a choice option which allows low-income students in the Minneapolis School District to enroll in suburban districts, is a central part of the State's response to a desegregation suit brought in the 1990's. The state's charter school system, which also enables students to cross district lines, dates to 1991. Finally, magnet schools are used by many school districts in the state. Although magnets are most often offered by districts as an option for their own students, in some cases they are used to encourage inter-district student transfers. (Students who transfer across districts to attend magnet schools are counted as open enrollees in this work.)

Figure 1
Open Enrollment by Race in the Twin Cities, 2000-2010



MAP 2: MINNEAPOLIS - SAINT PAUL REGION

Percentage Minority Students in Open Enrollment Flows, Twin Cities School Districts, 2009-2010



Data Source: Minnesota Department of Education; MN-Link.

III. Open Enrollment's Increasing Contribution to Racial Segregation

This work examines the segregative impact of OE in two ways. First, all inter-district moves are evaluated for their impact on racial balance between the sending and receiving districts and divided into three categories—integrative moves, segregative moves and neutral moves. Second, more detailed analysis is reported for four types of school districts—the region's three large urban districts (Minneapolis, St. Paul and St. Cloud), suburban districts that lose the most students from OE, suburban districts that gain the most, and suburban districts with the greatest overall OE activity levels.

A. Region-wide Patterns

The overall regional results show that as OE participation grew and the region's schools became more diverse, fewer moves were race neutral—where the relevant racial shares of the sending and receiving districts were within 10 points of each other (Table 1). In 2000-01, 12 percent of moves by white students were integrative, 20 percent were segregative and 68 percent (the remainder) were neutral. By 2009-10, the percentage of neutral moves had fallen to 40 percent, while integrative moves increased by seven points and segregative ones went up 16 points. Thirty-six percent of OE moves by white students were segregative. Only about half as many (19 percent) reduced racial differences.

Changes were less dramatic for non-whites. Neutral moves fell by just nine points (from 35 to 26 percent). Integrative moves increased by seven points (identical to the increase for white students) but segregative moves increased by just two points (compared to 16 for white students). In 2009-10, the most notable difference between white and non-white students was that moves by non-white students were much more likely to be integrative than those by white students—36 percent compared to 19 percent. However, segregative moves by non-white students outnumbered integrative ones and the overall segregative rate was essentially the same as it was for white students.

Since many more white students participate in OE than non-white students, the trends for total students look most like those for white students. The good news is that the share of all OE moves that were integrative increased during the decade from 16 percent to 24 percent. The bad news is that the segregative share increased even more rapidly from 23 percent to 36 percent and was equally high for both white and non-white students.

**Table 1: Distribution of Integrative and Segregative Open Enrollment Moves by Race
2000-01 and 2009-10**

<u>Racial/Ethnic Group</u>	2000-01		2009-10		% Point Change	
	<u>Integrative</u>	<u>Segregative</u>	<u>Integrative</u>	<u>Segregative</u>	<u>Int.</u>	<u>Seg.</u>
White	12%	20%	19%	36%	7%	16%
Non-white	29	36	36	38	7	2
Black	28	40	26	32	-2	-8
Hispanic	n.a.	n.a.	6	12	n.a.	n.a.
Asian	n.a.	n.a.	13	14	n.a.	n.a.
Total	16	23	24	36	8	13
Free-Red. Price Lunch Elig.	21	27	30	33	9	6

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

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

B. City Districts – Minneapolis, St. Paul and St. Cloud

School districts in the region's three major urban centers were among the most active participants in OE. The three city districts were also among the biggest net losers in 2009-10 of students from OE (Table A.1). The overall effect of these massive flows was to increase racial differences between the cities, their neighbors and the rest of the region. Students open enrolling out of the three districts were much more likely to be white than those remaining behind and virtually all were enrolling in districts with white shares substantially greater than the district they left. Similarly, open enrollees into Minneapolis and St. Paul were not only much less likely to be white than a typical student in the districts they left but they were less likely to be white than resident students in the two city districts. (Very few students open enroll into St. Cloud so the comparison is less relevant there.) The findings are similar for poor students and, overall, students open enrolling out of the central cities are more likely to be white and non-poor than those who stay behind and students open enrolling into the cities are less likely to be white and non-poor than students in the sending districts.

Minneapolis: Minneapolis interacted most with its north and northwest suburbs and Edina. The city lost significant numbers of white students (blue arrows on Map 3) to St. Anthony/New Brighton and Edina and exchanged significant numbers of non-white students (orange and red arrows) with its northwest neighbors, with flows going in both directions. Minneapolis loses at least 25 students (the cut-off for a flow to show on the map) to 16 suburban districts. The greatest losses were to St. Anthony-New Brighton (381 students) and Edina (319 students). In both cases, the overwhelming majority of these students were white—85 percent in St. Anthony- New Brighton and 82 percent in Edina.⁸ These two flows alone represent 50 percent of the district's total loss of white students in open enrollment. Overall, the Minneapolis School District lost 1,058 more white students to surrounding districts in 2009-10 than it gained—a number that represents nine percent of white resident students (calculated pre-open enrollment) and 88 percent of the district's total net losses to OE. White students represented only 28 percent of Minneapolis' pre-OE resident students, but 54 percent of OE outflows were white students (Table 2).

The map also shows a very complicated pattern of non-white student exchanges between Minneapolis and nearby districts. In total, 1,122 non-white students open enrolled out of the district in 2009-10. Many of these students went to nearby racially diverse suburbs—167 to Osseo, 125 to Brooklyn Center and 100 to Robbinsdale for instance—and many also went to less diverse areas. Most of these moves qualified as pro-integrative moves—70 percent of non-white open enrollees leaving Minneapolis went to districts where the non-white share was at least 10 percentage points lower than in Minneapolis. This pro-integrative benefit must be qualified however because many of the receiving districts, while whiter than Minneapolis, were themselves in racial transition—a process which was likely accelerated by open enrollment.

⁸ These percentages are lower if Choice is Yours participants are included. 170 Minneapolis Choice is Yours students went to Edina in 2009-10 (17 were white) and 133 went to St. Anthony-New Brighton (67 were white). The white shares of total OE and Choice is Yours flows were 57 percent (Edina) and 75 percent (St. Anthony-New Brighton), still much higher than the average in Minneapolis.

However, 984 non-white students also open enrolled *into* Minneapolis, including 155 from Robbinsdale, 140 from Osseo, 137 from Richfield, and 82 from Columbia Heights. This reflects a pattern which shows up repeatedly in the analysis—high non-white student shares in a district have both a push and a pull effect on non-white student open enrollments.⁹ This phenomenon—especially as it relates to Minneapolis and St. Paul—explains much of the 38 percent of non-white student moves which are classified as segregative in Table 1. Fully 60 percent of the non-white student moves classified as segregative in Table 1 involve open enrollments into Minneapolis and St. Paul. If the two central cities area are removed from the calculation, only 15 percent of remaining moves by non-white students were segregative in 2009-10 (down from the 38 percent total with the two cities).¹⁰

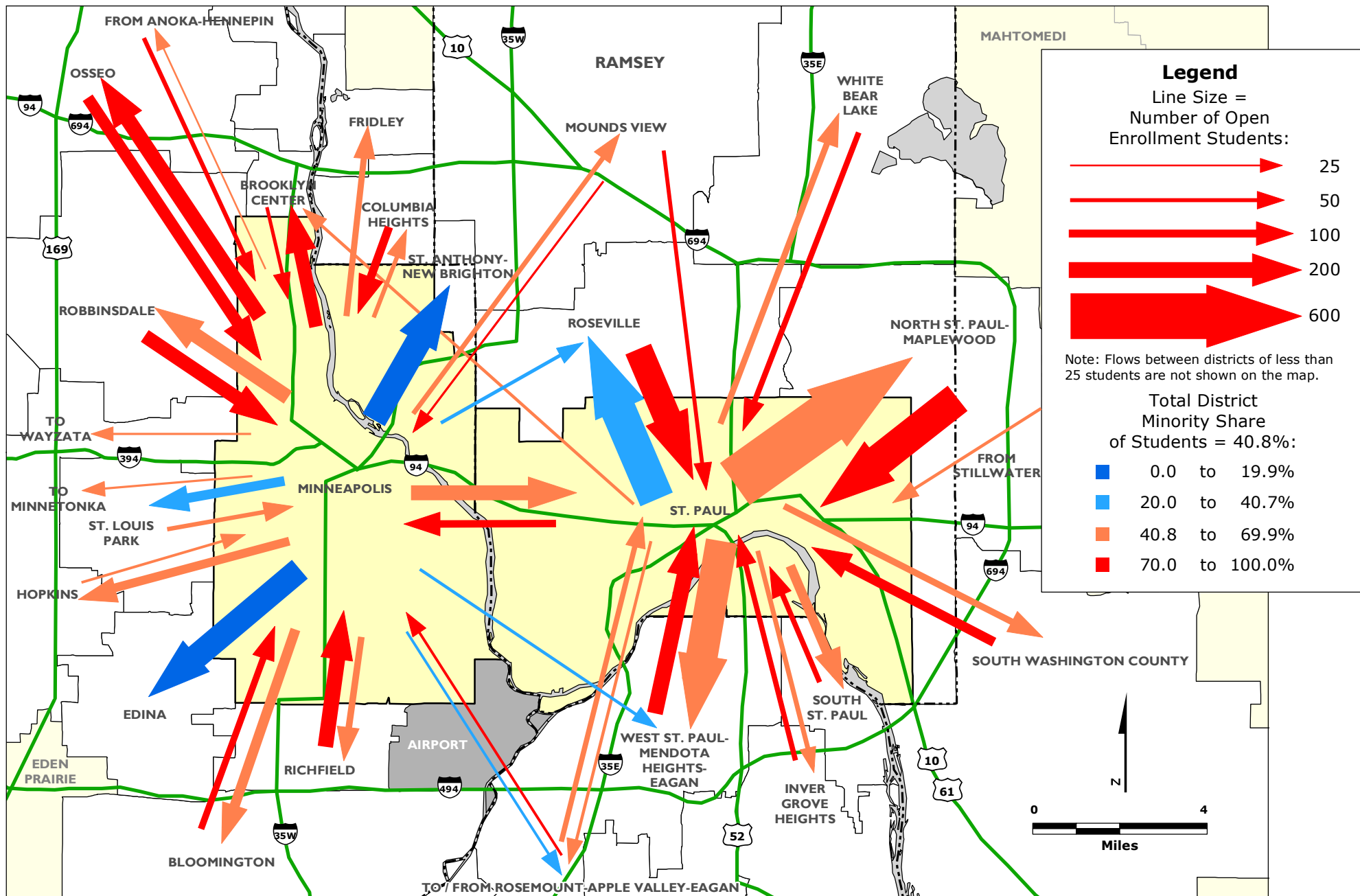
St. Paul: Nearly 2,500 students in total open enrolled out of St. Paul district in 2009-10. The district interacted primarily with three neighboring suburbs—Roseville, North St. Paul-Maplewood and West St. Paul-Mendota Heights. Open enrollees to Roseville and North St. Paul-Maplewood were mostly white—518 students, 65 percent white to Roseville and 744 students, 54 percent white to North St. Paul-Maplewood—with a more diverse flow to West St. Paul-Mendota Heights-Eagan (419 students, 47 percent white). These three districts were the destinations for 71 percent of the white students who left St. Paul (933 of 1,309). Overall, the district’s net loss of white students was 857. In St. Paul, 26 percent of resident students were white, while 53 percent of outflows were white.

Like Minneapolis, St. Paul also drew large numbers of students, especially non-white students, from nearby suburban districts. 346 non-white students came from North St. Paul-Maplewood (80 percent of total open enrollees from that district), 247 (77 percent) from Roseville, and 146 (74 percent) from West St. Paul-Mendota Heights-Eagan.

⁹ Statistical analysis of OE flows confirms this. Multiple regressions of inflows and outflows for all students, five racial groups and free-reduced price lunch eligible students show that the own-race share of students in a district is positively associated with both inflows and outflows from a district. This means for instance that, all else equal, black open enrollments out of a district and open enrollments into a district were both positively associated with the percentage of students in the district who were black. Indeed, racial shares were the most consistent predictors in the analysis of OE in and out of districts. The district level regressions also included income (free-reduced price lunch eligibility rate), school quality measures (test pass rates, graduation rates, mobility, and students per teacher fte’s), and several control variables (number of charter schools in the district, total district enrollment, district area, and students per square mile). Weighted least squares analysis was used to control for scale differences. Surprisingly, almost none of the school quality measures had significant coefficients of the expected sign. The race and control variables were the only factors that were consistently statistically significant. Results are available from the authors on request.

¹⁰ Removing moves by white students out of Minneapolis and St. Paul from the calculation of segregative moves for white students reduces the percentage much less—from 36 to 28.

MAP 3: MINNEAPOLIS - SAINT PAUL CENTRAL REGION Percentage Minority Students in Open Enrollment Flows, To and From Minneapolis and Saint Paul School Districts, 2009-2010



Data Source: Minnesota Department of Education; MN-Link.

Table 2: Open Enrollment by Race and Income, City Districts in 2009-2010

	Pre-OE Resident <u>Students</u>	Open Enrollments <u>Out</u>	Open Enrollments <u>In</u>	Open Enrollment <u>Net</u>	Net as a % of Pre-OE <u>Resident Total</u>
<u>District</u>					
Minneapolis	44,744	2,452	1,256	-1,196	-3
St. Paul	43,926	2,458	1,775	-683	-2
St. Cloud	10,919	1,234	38	-1,196	-11

	Pre-OE Resident Students <u>% White</u>	Open Enrollments Out <u>% White</u>	Average % Non-white Receiving <u>Districts</u>	Open Enrollments In <u>% White</u>	Average % Non-white Sending <u>Districts</u>
<u>District</u>					
Minneapolis	28	54	61	22	53
St. Paul	26	53	64	25	64
St. Cloud	76	92	94	92	94

	Pre-OE Resident Students <u>% FRED</u>	Open Enrollments Out <u>% FRED</u>	Average % FRED Receiving <u>Districts</u>	Open Enrollments In <u>% FRED</u>	Average % FRED Sending <u>Districts</u>
<u>District</u>					
Minneapolis	67	28	36	67	45
St. Paul	72	48	37	61	37
St. Cloud	47	33	24	11	26

Pre-OE Resident Students = Actual Enrollment + OE Out - OE In + CIY Students Out
- CIY Students In + Charter Students Out

Averages are weighted, based on the share of OE flows to or from all other districts.

Source: Minnesota Department of Education.

St. Cloud: St. Cloud is arguably affected more dramatically by OE than any other district. Virtually all of the OE activity in the district is outflows—1,234 students open enrolled out in 2009-10 compared to just 38 coming into the district (Tabled 2 and A.1). Nearly all (92 percent) of the outflows were white students moving outward from the metro, open enrolling into overwhelmingly white districts to the north and west including Sauk Rapids, Annandale, Rocori, Becker, and Sartell-St. Stephen. The districts net loss of 1,196 students represented 11 percent of pre-OE resident students, easily the greatest percentage among districts with more than 2,500 students. As in the other large cities, OE increased racial differences—although only 76 percent of pre-OE student in St. Cloud were white, open enrollees leaving the district were 92 percent white and the went to districts which were 94 percent white on average.

Receiving districts: Despite the fact that OE out of the large city districts increased the concentration of non-white students in the three cities, the mix of students leaving the three cities actually resulted in greater racial diversity in many of the suburban districts that received those students. For instance, 54 percent of students leaving Minneapolis were white, while 61 percent of students in the receiving districts were white on average. OE therefore increased racial diversity in an average receiving district. In receiving districts that are predominantly white and stable, this is clearly a positive result.¹¹

However, in suburban districts which are already racially diverse and unstable, this result can be problematic. Other work shows that racially diverse neighborhoods and schools with non-white shares in a range near 30 to 40 percent (the average for districts receiving students from Minneapolis and St. Paul) are often not stably integrated. Instead they are likely in the midst of racial transition.¹² OE outflows from Minneapolis and St. Paul in particular might therefore be helping to destabilize some of these receiving districts.

C. Suburban Districts with the Greatest Losses from Open Enrollment

The group of suburban districts which lost the most students in 2009-10 (inflows minus outflows) to OE is a cross section suburban school district types. The group includes two inner suburban districts in the midst of dramatic racial change (Columbia Heights and Richfield), three large and diverse northwestern suburbs (Anoka-Hennepin, Robbinsdale and Osseo) which are major hubs of OE activity, and three middle suburban districts (Burnsville, White Bear Lake and Eastern Carver) which lose the bulk of their OE students to one or two nearby competitors (Map 4 and Table 3).¹³

¹¹ In most districts, these increases are modest. For instance, in Edina—which receives a large group of students from Minneapolis that is significantly more diverse than its resident student population—the combined effect of OE and the Choice is Yours Program was to increase the non-white share of district enrollments from 13.2 percent to 15.4 percent in 2009-10. The impact of OE alone was an increase from 14.6 percent non-white to 15.4 percent.

¹² See Orfield, Myron and Thomas Luce, “America’s Racially Diverse Suburbs: Opportunities and Challenges,” Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity, July 2012.

¹³ Richfield’s net losses are less than the other districts in this group. However, it is one of the greatest losers of white students (percentage wise) in the region and does not qualify for the group primarily because of its small overall size.

Despite how varied this group of school districts is, the experience of each raises red flags about the potential effects of OE on racial transition in suburban school districts. The large, increasingly diverse districts northwest of Minneapolis interact with each other in very complicated ways with racially diverse flows passing to and from each of them. However, as a group, they are losing white students to other predominantly white districts nearby, with no compensating flows in the opposite direction. The percentage of students leaving the districts who are white is nearly 20 points higher than the percentage for resident students overall. OE patterns create concerns even in the largely white, middle and outer suburbs in this group. Burnsville-Eagan-Savage, Eastern Carver and White Bear Lake each show a combination of moderate racial transition (most pronounced in Burnsville-Eagan-Savage) and racially unbalanced exchanges with their principal OE partners—predominantly white districts for the most part.

Columbia Heights and Richfield: These districts are each in the midst of rapid racial change. Columbia Heights district went from 24 percent non-white and 33 percent poor students in 2000-01 to 65 percent non-white and 71 percent poor in 2009-10. Richfield went from 35 percent non-white and 35 percent poor in 2000-01 to 65 percent non-white and 65 percent poor in 2009-10. At least partly as a result of these trends, the two districts' net outflows from OE in 2009-10 amounted to 13 percent (Columbia Heights) and six percent (Richfield) of enrollments, significant hits to any school district's budget and operations. In contrast, these districts lost only six and one percent of enrollments respectively to OE in 2000-01.

In Columbia Heights, large parts of the recent losses were to Fridley (256 students, 59 percent white) and St. Anthony-New Brighton (142 students, 85 percent white). Both flows increase racial differences among the three districts. Fridley, although it is a relatively diverse district, had a white student percentage 22 points higher than Columbia Heights in 2009-10, while St. Anthony-New Brighton was 78 percent white (43 points higher than Columbia Heights).

The picture is more complicated in Richfield. The largest outflows from there were to Minneapolis (194 students, 29 percent white) and Edina (170 students, 68 percent white). The Minneapolis flow is an example of the push and pull effect of the high levels of racial diversity in the central cities, while the Edina flow looks more like the classic white flight phenomenon seen in other diverse suburbs.

Anoka-Hennepin, Robbinsdale and Osseo: This group includes three large and diverse northwestern suburbs which are major hubs of OE activity. The three districts exchange many students with each other and a significant share of their OE flows in effect, net each other out.¹⁴ However, each of them interacts in important ways with “outside” districts and a significant part of those student flows involve predominantly white student movements to other less, diverse districts.

¹⁴ In fact, two of the three districts are part of the Northwest Suburban Integration District, which emphasizes multi-district magnet schools to encourage integration. Some of the OE exchanges on Map 6 certainly result from this, but the magnitude of the effect can't be discerned from the MDE OE data set, which does not include school-level data.

MAP 4: MINNEAPOLIS - SAINT PAUL NORTHWEST REGION Percentage Minority Students in Open Enrollment Flows, Northwest Twin Cities School Districts*, 2009-2010

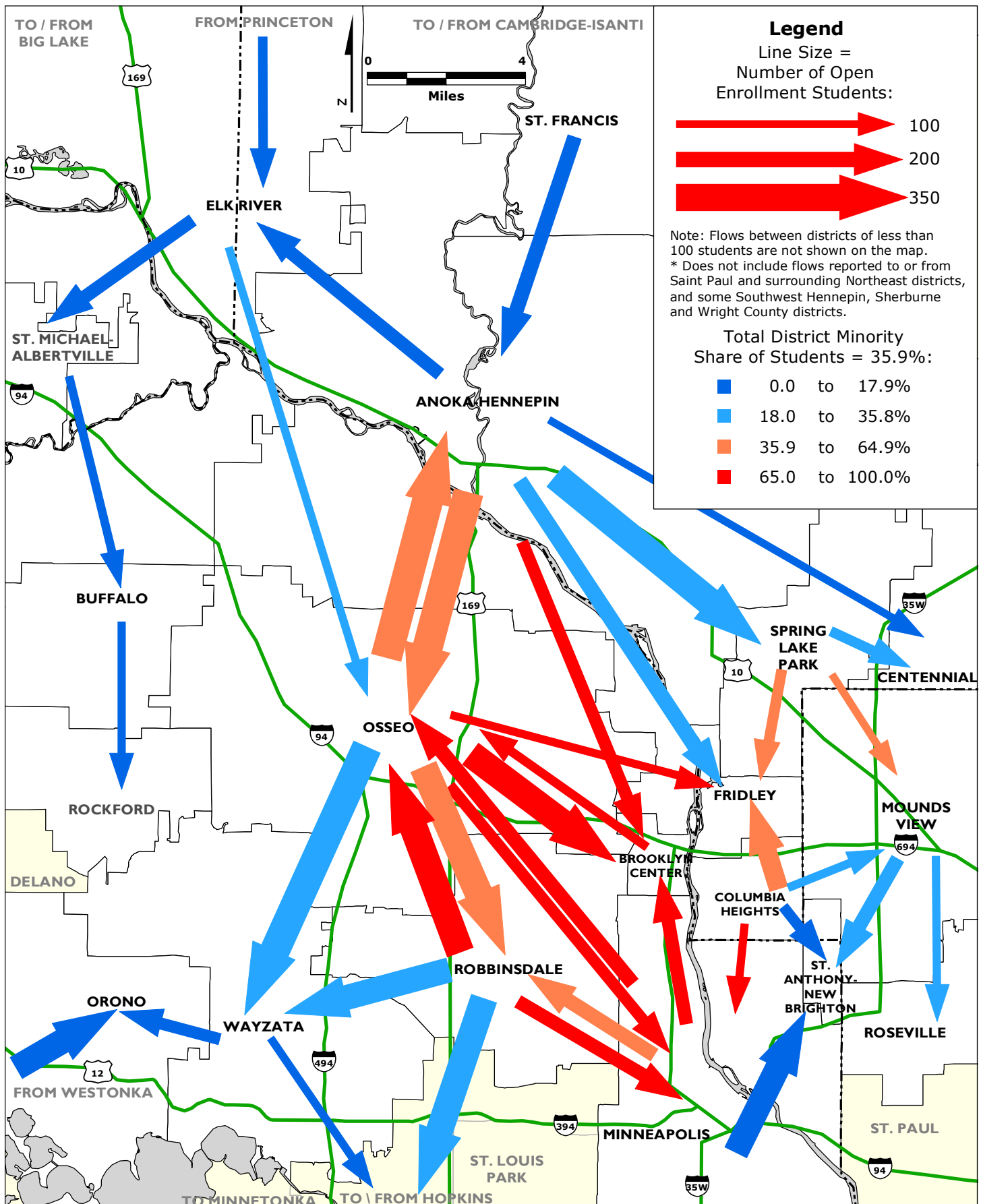


Table 3: Open Enrollment by Race and Income, Greatest Net Sender Suburban Districts in 2009-2010

	Pre-OE Resident <u>Students</u>	Open Enrollments <u>Out</u>	Open Enrollments <u>In</u>	Open Enrollment <u>Net</u>	Net as a % of Pre-OE <u>Resident Total</u>
<u>District</u>					
Anoka-Hennepin	42,251	1,956	969	-987	-2
Robbinsdale	12,968	1,563	760	-803	-6
Osseo	22,877	2,215	1,426	-789	-3
Burnsville-Eagan-Savage	10,738	1,044	607	-437	-4
Columbia Heights	3,248	731	300	-431	-13
Eastern Carver	9,576	666	266	-400	-4
White Bear Lake	8,789	757	389	-368	-4
Richfield	4,532	570	297	-273	-6

	Pre-OE Resident Students <u>% White</u>	Open Enrollments Out <u>% White</u>	Average % White Receiving <u>Districts</u>	Open Enrollments In <u>% White</u>	Average % White Sending <u>Districts</u>
<u>District</u>					
Anoka-Hennepin	78	63	64	61	67
Robbinsdale	55	51	61	47	52
Osseo	54	46	62	35	62
Burnsville-Eagan-Savage	63	66	76	63	78
Columbia Heights	44	62	61	36	58
Eastern Carver	85	82	85	88	84
White Bear Lake	83	79	77	74	68
Richfield	38	46	77	33	68

	Pre-OE Resident Students <u>% FRED</u>	Open Enrollments Out <u>% FRED</u>	Average % FRED Receiving <u>Districts</u>	Open Enrollments In <u>% FRED</u>	Average % FRED Sending <u>Districts</u>
<u>District</u>					
Anoka-Hennepin	29	38	38	38	34
Robbinsdale	41	40	34	37	43
Osseo	37	43	39	52	40
Burnsville-Eagan-Savage	34	29	21	34	20
Columbia Heights	64	46	42	60	45
Eastern Carver	16	11	12	20	19
White Bear Lake	25	21	24	35	36
Richfield	60	49	24	47	36

Pre-OE Resident Students = Actual Enrollment + OE Out - OE In + CIY Students Out
- CIY Students In + Charter Students Out

Averages are weighted, based on the share of OE flows to or from all other districts.

Source: Minnesota Department of Education.

The three districts send and receive large numbers of students to and from each other. These flows tend to be racially very diverse. For instance, in 2009-10, 427 students open enrolled from Osseo to Anoka-Hennepin; 57 percent of them were non-white. In the same year, 402 students open enrolled from Anoka-Hennepin to Osseo and 59 percent were non-white. Osseo participates in similar exchanges with Robbinsdale and Brooklyn Center, and a highly diverse group of students pass each other on the road every morning traveling in opposite directions between Robbinsdale and Minneapolis.

However, student flows to other, “outside” districts tend to be less diverse. For instance, in 2009-10 Robbinsdale, a district whose resident student base was 54 percent white, lost 362 students, 70 percent white, to Hopkins whose resident student base is 71 percent white.¹⁵ The district also lost 332 students, 77 percent white, to Wayzata, a district which was 80 percent white. Similarly, Osseo, which was 54 percent white, lost 397 students, 71 percent white, to Wayzata. Finally, Anoka-Hennepin, which was 79 percent white, lost 176 students, 91 percent white to Elk River which was 91 percent white.

This pattern of losses from three large and racially diverse suburban districts is troubling because it contributes to (and enables) relatively rapid racial transitions in each of them. In the nine years from 2000-01 to 2009-10 the non-white shares of enrollments went from 25 percent to 45 percent in Osseo, from 25 percent to 46 percent in Robbinsdale, and from nine percent to 21 percent in Anoka-Hennepin. At the same time, school poverty (measured by eligibility for free or reduced price lunch) roughly doubled in each district.

Burnsville, White Bear Lake and Eastern Carver: This group is composed of three middle/outer suburban districts which lose the bulk of their OE students to one or two nearby competitors. In each case, the student flows tend to magnify racial differences between districts.

In Burnsville, 505 of the 1,044 open enrollments out of the district in 2009-10 went to Rosemount-Apple Valley with another 221 going to Prior Lake-Savage. The racial mix of the group going to moderately diverse Rosemount-Apple Valley was 61 percent white, mirroring Burnsville’s resident student mix of 63 percent white. But the flow to predominantly white Prior Lake was 85 percent white. Burnsville also received moderate inflows from each of these districts that were more diverse than the corresponding outflows (49 and 81 percent white, respectively), meaning that the exchange increased the non-white share in Burnsville, already the most diverse of the three, while reducing it in the other two.

White Bear Lake and Eastern Carver each send a large number of students to districts that emphasize OE in their planning, and where open enrollees make major contributions to total enrollments. In 2009-10, White Bear Lake sent 335 students (93 percent white) to Mahtomedi which gets about 20 percent of its total enrollments from OE, while Eastern Carver sent 417 students (88 percent white) to Minnetonka, where OE was responsible for roughly 15 percent of total enrollment. Although each of these four districts is predominantly white (white shares in 2009-10 ranged from 83 percent in White Bear Lake to 92 percent in Mahtomedi), White Bear

¹⁵ We will see below that Hopkins, in turn, loses a large number of white students to other districts with still higher white student shares.

Lake and Eastern Carver have both become notably more diverse in recent years. The percentage of students who were non-white increased by 10 points in White Bear Lake between 2000-01 and 2009-10 and by eight points in Eastern Carver (compared to four points in Minnetonka and Mahtomedi). Race and poverty issues have been on the front burner in Eastern Carver for other reasons as well. In 2008, the district went through a relatively controversial boundary planning process for its two high schools—Chaska and Chanhassen—and opted for the solution which created significant differences in non-white shares and poverty rates between the two schools.

D. Districts with the Greatest Enrollment Increases from OE

The group of suburban districts with the greatest net gains from OE in 2009-10 is composed primarily of districts gaining students from white flight. (Maps 4 and 5, Table 4). White students represented more than 87 percent of resident students in four—Minnetonka, Edina, Orono and Mahtomedi—and 79 percent in a fifth—St. Anthony-New Brighton. OE inflows to each of these districts were also predominantly white—ranging from 77 to 94 percent white. In each case, inflows to these districts came from districts that were more diverse on average than the receiving districts and, in each case, white students were over-represented in OE (compared to the districts they came from).¹⁶

St. Anthony-New Brighton: The St. Anthony-New Brighton district relies more heavily on OE to maintain its enrollments than any other district in the region. Net open enrollments into the district increase its total enrollments by more than 60 percent. Further, the OE relationships between St. Anthony-New Brighton and two of its neighbors—Minneapolis and Columbia Heights—are among the most troubling in the region. Open enrollments into St. Anthony-New Brighton were 84 percent white, but came from districts that were just 46 percent white on average. St. Anthony-New Brighton actually became less diverse as a result of OE—incoming students were more likely to be white than resident students. As noted in the section on the three city districts, OE flows from Minneapolis to St. Anthony-New Brighton are dramatically unbalanced. The district drew 329 students from Minneapolis in 2009-10, 85 percent of whom were white (compared to 28 percent of resident students).¹⁷ Similarly, the district drew 142 students from Columbia Heights, 85 percent of whom are white (compared to just 44 percent for Columbia Heights' resident students).

Edina: Edina also has strong OE ties with Minneapolis. As noted above in the discussion of Minneapolis, a substantial number of students (largely white and non-poor) open enroll from the city to Edina. In 2009-10, 309 students open enrolled from Minneapolis to Edina and 84 percent were white. However, this high percentage is partly due to the fact that most non-white (or low-income) students open enroll into the district under the Choice is Yours Program. (Only 10 percent of Choice is Yours participants in Edina were white in 2009-10, in contrast with St. Anthony-New Brighton where more than half were white.) Adding Choice is Yours participants

¹⁶ Although the racial differences are relatively small in some cases (the white share of students in Orono was only five points higher than the average for a typical sending district, for instance) they are consistent.

¹⁷ St. Anthony-New Brighton was also the only participating district in the Choice is Yours program that received more white than non-white students from Minneapolis.

to the OE flows reduces the white percentage of all students open enrolling into Edina from Minneapolis to 57 percent. Overall, the differences are much less dramatic than the St. Anthony-New Brighton case, and concerns about white flight are eased by the fact that total OE flows into Edina actually increase the district's diversity.

Minnetonka: Two the three largest OE flows into the Minnetonka School District are from Hopkins and Eden Prairie, two districts which are significantly more racially diverse (and diversifying more rapidly) than Minnetonka. In 2009-10, Minnetonka resident students were 90 percent white, compared to 66 percent in Hopkins and 75 percent in Eden Prairie. In that year, 354 students open enrolled from Hopkins and 88 percent were white. The difference between open enrollees from Eden Prairie and Eden Prairie's resident student mix were not as great—156 students open enrolled from Eden Prairie to Minnetonka and 76 percent were white. However, at that time Eden Prairie had just gone through a controversial planning process which created more pro-integrative attendance boundaries for its elementary schools. During that process, the threat of open enrolling to Minnetonka was raised more than once by opponents of the plan and it is likely that OE flows (and the threat of leaving) still exacerbate tensions associated with racial change in the district.

The largest OE flow into Minnetonka is from the Eastern Carver district. In 2009-10 this included 417 students, 88 percent of whom were white. Although Eastern Carver is itself a predominantly white district, the district recently went through a boundary drawing process for its two high schools which maintained the separation between the city of Chaska (which is increasingly diverse) and the areas surrounding it (which are predominantly white).

Overall, the effect of open enrollment into Minnetonka weighed heavily on more racially diverse adjacent districts, especially when they weighed boundary changes. For instance, in 2007, Hopkins attempted to draw racially integrative boundaries. The board reversed course when parents from predominantly white school attendance areas threatened to open enroll into Minnetonka.¹⁸ Although OE was not explicitly cited as a factor when Eastern Carver decided against racially integrative high school boundaries, the large number of its students (largely white) who open enroll to Minnetonka is a major feature of OE flows in the area. Finally in the most public of racial boundary decisions Eden Prairie, parents opposing the integrative boundary decision openly threatened to open enroll into Minnetonka and when the district finally decided to implement the integrative boundaries, many of these parents acted on the threat.¹⁹

Minnetonka's interactions with its neighbors is even more troubling considering that, unlike Hopkins, Eden Prairie, Edina and Wayzata, it refused to participate in the Choice is Yours settlement and continues to refuse to admit Minneapolis students under that program. The district is known for actively recruiting students away from its more diverse neighbors—a feature

¹⁸ Hobday, Margaret C., Geneva Finn and Myron Orfield, A Missed Opportunity: Minnesota's Failed Experiment with Choice-Based Integration, *William Mitchell Law Review*, Vol. 35, No. 3, 967-969. Lemagie, Sarah, A New Tack on School Boundaries, *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, March 17, 2010. Relford, Patrice, Enrollment Declines in Hopkins District, *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, November 14, 2007.

¹⁹ Smith, Kelly, New School Boundaries Key in Election, *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, October 15, 2011.

highlighted in its recent annual reports.²⁰ The fact that most of these students are white raises the question whether it recruits and advertises as actively in racially diverse areas of neighboring districts as in predominantly white neighborhoods.

Mahtomedi: Although net OE into the Mahtomedi district in 2009-10 were not as great as in Minnetonka in absolute terms (583 students compared to 1,093), a greater share of Mahtomedi's enrollments came from OE (22 percent compared to 15 percent). As noted above, the greatest inflow by far (335 students) was from White Bear Lake, and 93 percent of those students were white, compared to 83 in White Bear Lake overall.

In addition, 115 students, open enrolled from North St. Paul-Maplewood to Mahtomedi, up from just 15 in 2000-01. 81 percent of the 2009-10 flow was white students, a rate 17 points higher than in North St. Paul-Maplewood as a whole. North St. Paul-Maplewood is a district experiencing relatively rapid racial change—the non-white share of students rose by 22 points from 2000-01 to 2009-10, from 14 percent to 36 percent.

Brooklyn Center and Fridley: The final two districts in this group are relatively small districts which use OE to help to create niches for themselves in the regional system of schools. Brooklyn Center has been at the forefront of districts developing schools as multi-service centers to serve as a single point of contact between disadvantaged families and public services.²¹ Fridley has emphasized magnet programs in its schools—some developed in cooperation with the Northwest Suburban Integration District. As a result, each has drawn very diverse mixes of students from nearby districts through OE. In Fridley's case OE inflows have had demographic characteristics very similar both to Fridley's resident students and to the sending districts. In Brooklyn Center, OE inflows have been markedly more diverse than the average racial composition of the sending districts, but less diverse than the district's own resident students.²²

²⁰ See, for instance, Minnetonka Public Schools Annual Plan, 2011-12, p.1 and p. 28, Minnetonka Public Schools Annual Plan 2010-11, p.1 and p. 30, and Minnetonka Public Schools Annual Plan 2008-09, pp. 14.

²¹ In 2009-10 the district also has an on-line school which likely boosts OE inflows, but the impact cannot be determined from the data.

²² Brooklyn Center also has an on-line school that is majority white, in contrast with the rest of the districts' schools. Much of the white OE inflow into this district is likely going to that school.

MAP 5: MINNEAPOLIS - SAINT PAUL SOUTHWEST REGION **Percentage Minority Students in Open Enrollment Flows,** **Southwest Twin Cities School Districts, 2009-2010**

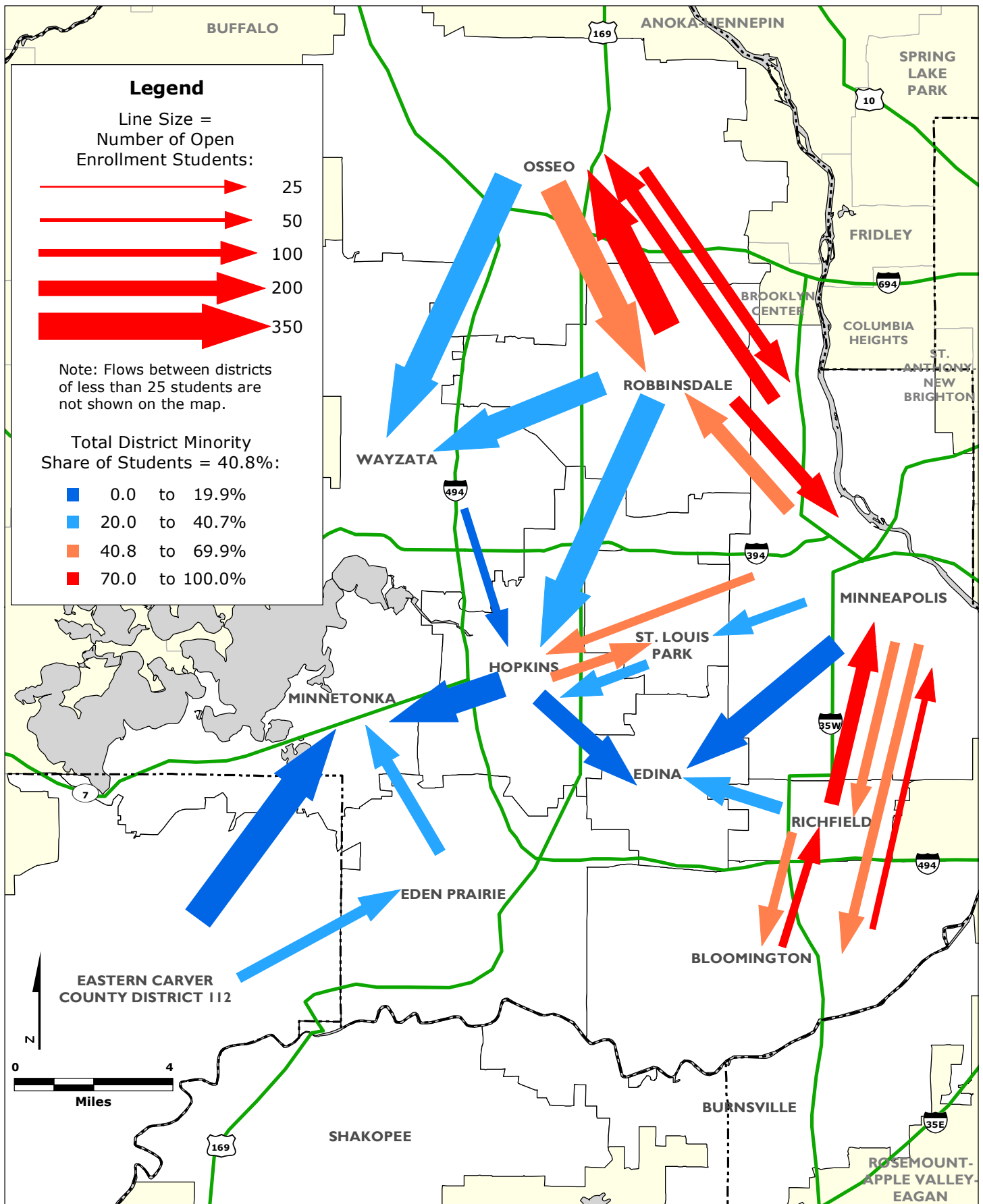


Table 4: Open Enrollment by Race and Income, Greatest Net Receiver Districts in 2009-2010

<u>District</u>	<u>Pre-OE Resident Students</u>	<u>Open Enrollments Out</u>	<u>Open Enrollments In</u>	<u>Open Enrollment Net</u>	<u>Net as a % of Pre-OE Resident Total</u>
Minnetonka	7,449	239	1,332	1,093	15
Edina	7,062	108	1,058	950	13
Brooklyn Center	1,662	300	988	688	41
St. Anthony-New Brighton	1,055	52	712	660	63
Orono	2,121	104	736	632	30
Fridley	2,398	284	879	595	25
Mahtomedi	2,670	51	634	583	22

<u>District</u>	<u>Pre-OE Resident Students % White</u>	<u>Open Enrollments Out % White</u>	<u>Average % White Receiving Districts</u>	<u>Open Enrollments In % White</u>	<u>Average % White Sending Districts</u>
Minnetonka	91	80	76	82	76
Edina	87	63	58	77	50
Brooklyn Center	29	21	55	38	58
St. Anthony-New Brighton	79	44	57	84	46
Orono	93	87	81	94	88
Fridley	57	46	55	53	55
Mahtomedi	92	67	75	90	80

<u>District</u>	<u>Pre-OE Resident Students % FRED</u>	<u>Open Enrollments Out % FRED</u>	<u>Average % FRED Receiving Districts</u>	<u>Open Enrollments In % FRED</u>	<u>Average % FRED Sending Districts</u>
Minnetonka	9	19	22	7	23
Edina	6	28	37	8	46
Brooklyn Center	73	64	42	57	40
St. Anthony-New Brighton	21	62	44	10	55
Orono	8	12	17	8	18
Fridley	53	57	47	57	47
Mahtomedi	10	45	31	7	26

Pre-OE Resident Students = Actual Enrollment + OE Out - OE In + CIY Students Out
- CIY Students In + Charter Students Out

Averages are weighted, based on the share of OE flows to or from all other districts.

Source: Minnesota Department of Education.

E. Suburban Open Enrollment Hubs

The final category of districts is the OE hubs—suburban districts which both lose and draw large numbers of students. The seven districts included in the group (Table 5) were the leaders in total OE activity (inflows plus outflows) not already included in one of the other categories. Each of these districts experienced a net gain in enrollments as a result of OE but the effects were modest—the maximum effect on total enrollments was six percent in Roseville.

The racial compositions of most of the districts in the group are only marginally affected by OE—the racial mix of inflows and outflows are roughly the same in five of the districts. However, inflows and outflows differ dramatically in Hopkins and Roseville—in Hopkins inflows are much more diverse than outflows while the opposite is the case in Roseville.

Hopkins: Hopkins’ relationship to the OE program is very complex. It is the hub of a very complicated, and often racially unbalanced, flow of students around the western suburbs (Map 5). Overall, OE increases the racial diversity of Hopkins—77 percent of open enrollments out of the district were white in 2009-10 while only 60 percent of inflows were white. The composition of outflows to Minnetonka and Edina explain most of the difference. Nearly two-thirds of the students leaving Hopkins went to Minnetonka and Edina and 89 percent of them were white (compared to a 71 percent share for Hopkins’ resident students). Roughly three out of four white students leaving Hopkins went to these two districts. On the other side of the ledger, Hopkins draws 362 student from Robbinsdale and 70 percent were white, compared to just 55 percent of Robbinsdale’s resident students.

Roseville: Roseville interacts extensively with St. Paul (Map 3), sending 320 students and receiving 518 students in 2009-10. This net inflow from St. Paul represented exactly half of the district’s net enrollment gain from OE. However, the compositions of the two flows are drastically different—23 percent of out-going students were white compared to 65 percent of incoming students. This difference means that, overall, the district’s white share of students increases as a result of OE.

North St. Paul-Maplewood: North St. Paul-Maplewood also exchanges large numbers of students with St. Paul. In 2009-10, the district sent 433 students to St. Paul (18 percent white) while receiving 744 students (54 percent white). However, the district’s interactions with other districts are more balanced and its total flows are not as uneven as Roseville’s.

Wayzata: A final indicator of interest in this group is the difference between the racial mix of open enrollments into Wayzata and the average composition of the districts sending those students (Map 5 and Table 6). In particular, white students were over-represented in the flows from Robbinsdale and Osseo. Seventy-seven percent of the 332 students open enrolling from Robbinsdale to Wayzata in 2009-10 were white, a share substantially greater than for Robbinsdale’s resident students (55 percent). Similarly, 71 percent of those going from Osseo to Wayzata were white compared to 54 percent of Osseo’s resident students.

Rosemount-Apple Valley, West St. Paul-Mendota Heights-Eagan and Mounds View: OE is relatively race-neutral in the last three members of this group. The racial mixes of inflows and

outflows are roughly equivalent and they track the composition of the districts that send and receive OE participants fairly closely.

Table 5: Open Enrollment by Race and Income, Suburban Hubs in 2009-2010

<u>District</u>	<u>Pre-OE Resident Students</u>	<u>Open Enrollments Out</u>	<u>Open Enrollments In</u>	<u>Open Enrollment Net</u>	<u>Net as a % of Pre-OE Resident Total</u>
Rosemount-Apple Valley-Eagan	27,384	837	1,342	505	2
North St Paul-Maplewood	11,046	994	1,064	70	1
Hopkins	7,177	954	1,030	76	1
Wayzata	9,799	479	1,010	531	5
West St. Paul-Mendota Hts.-Eagan	4,524	646	801	155	3
Roseville	6,406	492	888	396	6
Mounds View	10,099	586	719	133	1

<u>District</u>	<u>Pre-OE Resident Students % White</u>	<u>Open Enrollments Out % White</u>	<u>Average % White Receiving Districts</u>	<u>Open Enrollments In % White</u>	<u>Average % White Sending Districts</u>
Rosemount-Apple Valley-Eagan	77	59	66	64	59
North St Paul-Maplewood	63	47	55	54	41
Hopkins	71	77	79	63	60
Wayzata	80	80	78	76	62
West St. Paul-Mendota Hts.-Eagan	62	48	57	52	45
Roseville	60	38	40	66	43
Mounds View	75	67	65	70	63

<u>District</u>	<u>Pre-OE Resident Students % FRED</u>	<u>Open Enrollments Out % FRED</u>	<u>Average % FRED Receiving Districts</u>	<u>Open Enrollments In % FRED</u>	<u>Average % FRED Sending Districts</u>
Rosemount-Apple Valley-Eagan	18	36	34	27	31
North St Paul-Maplewood	40	54	45	45	58
Hopkins	32	18	17	23	35
Wayzata	13	15	21	17	35
West St. Paul-Mendota Hts.-Eagan	35	33	42	49	54
Roseville	39	56	59	34	57
Mounds View	28	35	35	31	41

Pre-OE Resident Students = Actual Enrollment + OE Out - OE In + CIY Students Out
- CIY Students In + Charter Students Out

Averages are weighted, based on the share of OE flows to or from all other districts.

Source: Minnesota Department of Education.

V. Conclusions and Policy Recommendations

In sum, the detailed analysis of inter-district flows show a number of cases where OE flows are contributing to racial and economic transition, transitions that are often rapid-paced. Three types of remedies are recommended.

- Renew the Integration Revenue Program and reform the funding formula to target funds more efficiently to districts which are doing the most to actually integrate schools and classrooms.
- Expand the use of multi-district integration districts and require membership of all districts exhibiting racially unbalanced OE student flows—measured both by comparing inflows and outflows and by comparing the characteristics of inflows to the characteristics of sending districts.
- Monitor OE flows to reveal inter-district interactions which are racially unbalanced. When unbalanced flows occur, require receiving and sending districts to cooperate to work to balance the flows. The receiving districts should also be monitored to ensure that recruitment practices (which anecdotal evidence suggests are increasing) are balanced and modified, where necessary, to affirmatively pursue more integrative OE flows.

Table A.1: Open Enrollment Flows by Race, 2009-10

<u>School District</u>	<u>Total Students</u>				<u>White Students</u>			
	<u>Out</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>%*</u>	<u>Out</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>%*</u>
Annandale	217	285	68	4	204	278	74	5
Anoka-Hennepin	1,956	969	-987	-2	1,233	589	-644	-2
Becker	93	176	83	3	88	173	85	3
Belle Plaine	96	18	-78	-5	90	16	-74	-5
Big Lake	273	109	-164	-5	255	102	-153	-5
Bloomington	426	559	133	1	192	287	95	2
Braham	192	31	-161	-15	180	29	-151	-14
Brooklyn Center	300	988	688	44	63	380	317	69
Buffalo	511	376	-135	-2	480	337	-143	-3
Burnsville-Eagan-Savage	1,044	607	-437	-4	689	383	-306	-5
Cambridge-Isanti	169	344	175	3	160	323	163	4
Centennial	268	779	511	8	211	664	453	8
Chaska	666	266	-400	-4	545	233	-312	-4
Chisago Lakes	232	142	-90	-3	217	138	-79	-2
Columbia Heights	731	300	-431	-13	450	109	-341	-25
Dassel-Cokato	95	62	-33	-1	90	60	-30	-1
Delano	176	275	99	4	164	268	104	5
Eden Prairie	400	527	127	1	280	331	51	1
Edina	108	1,058	950	13	68	815	747	12
Elk River	539	661	122	1	454	589	135	1
Farmington	404	237	-167	-2	309	194	-115	-2
Forest Lake	705	387	-318	-5	640	368	-272	-4
Franconia	22	14	-8		22	14	-8	
Fridley	284	879	595	26	131	464	333	26
Hastings	252	104	-148	-3	224	80	-144	-3
Hopkins	954	1,030	76	1	738	650	-88	-2
Howard Lake-Waverly-Winsted	298	71	-227	-22	294	69	-225	-18
Inver Grove Hts.	668	404	-264	-6	369	278	-91	-3
Jordan	194	128	-66	-4	180	115	-65	-4
Lakeville	427	285	-142	-1	331	223	-108	-1
Mahtomedi	51	634	583	18	34	573	539	22
Maple Lake	121	255	134	13	115	249	134	16
Minneapolis	2,452	1,256	-1,196	-3	1,330	272	-1,058	-9
Minnetonka	239	1,332	1,093	15	192	1,094	902	13
Monticello	249	246	-3	0	236	225	-11	0
Mounds View	586	719	133	1	393	504	111	1
New Prague Area Schools	250	141	-109	-3	223	140	-83	-2
North Branch	307	145	-162	-4	295	137	-158	-4
North St Paul-Maplewood	994	1,064	70	1	466	578	112	2
Northfield	127	87	-40	-1	119	84	-35	-1
Norwood	173	38	-135	-12	164	32	-132	-12
Orono	104	736	632	30	90	694	604	31
Osseo	2,215	1,426	-789	-4	1,009	502	-507	-4
Princeton	258	64	-194	-6	247	60	-187	-5

Table A.1: Open Enrollment Flows by Race, 2009-10

<u>School District</u>	<u>Total Students</u>				<u>White Students</u>			
	<u>Out</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>%*</u>	<u>Out</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>%*</u>
Prior Lake-Savage Area Schools	389	567	178	3	304	472	168	3
Randolph	57	168	111	25	56	163	107	25
Richfield	570	297	-273	-6	263	97	-166	-11
Robbinsdale	1,563	760	-803	-6	800	355	-445	-6
Rockford	285	145	-140	-9	275	141	-134	-9
Rosemount-Apple Valley-Eagan	837	1,342	505	2	498	860	362	2
Roseville	492	888	396	6	187	585	398	11
Rush City	109	74	-35	-4	104	72	-32	-4
Shakopee	489	180	-309	-5	314	127	-187	-4
South St. Paul	273	733	460	16	148	454	306	16
South Washington County	530	349	-181	-1	315	206	-109	-1
Spring Lake Park	584	598	14	0	332	428	96	3
St. Anthony-New Brighton	52	712	660	58	23	599	576	70
St. Cloud	1,234	38	-1,196	-13	1,131	35	-1,096	-13
St. Francis	469	134	-335	-6	439	126	-313	-6
St. Louis Park	382	429	47	1	242	254	12	0
St. Michael-Albertville	190	301	111	2	167	272	105	2
St. Paul	2,458	1,775	-683	-2	1,309	452	-857	-8
Stillwater	403	281	-122	-1	319	237	-82	-1
Waconia	351	227	-124	-4	312	213	-99	-3
Watertown-Mayer	213	194	-19	-1	197	190	-7	0
Wayzata	479	1,010	531	5	383	763	380	5
West St. Paul-Mendota Hts.-Eagan	646	801	155	4	308	415	107	4
Westonka	507	272	-235	-9	474	251	-223	-9
White Bear Lake	757	389	-368	-4	601	289	-312	-4
Total	35,145	32,878	-2,267	0	23,765	21,759	-2,006	-1

*: Percentage change from pre-open enrollment level.

Table A.1: Open Enrollment Flows by Race, 2009-10

<u>School District</u>	<u>Black Students</u>				<u>Hispanic Students</u>			
	<u>Out</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>%*</u>	<u>Out</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>%*</u>
Annandale	5	2	-3	-13	5	2	-3	-10
Anoka-Hennepin	375	231	-144	-4	115	49	-66	-4
Becker	2	0	-2	-11	3	3	0	0
Belle Plaine	3	0	-3	-10	0	1	1	4
Big Lake	8	2	-6	-6	5	5	0	0
Bloomington	134	146	12	1	61	53	-8	-1
Braham	0	0	0	0	5	0	-5	-38
Brooklyn Center	155	367	212	34	41	95	54	20
Buffalo	8	19	11	10	14	6	-8	-5
Burnsville-Eagan-Savage	167	108	-59	-3	92	47	-45	-4
Cambridge-Isanti	4	3	-1	-1	1	8	7	7
Centennial	18	26	8	4	8	30	22	13
Chaska	49	7	-42	-14	18	18	0	0
Chisago Lakes	1	2	1	3	6	0	-6	-16
Columbia Heights	156	116	-40	-4	78	55	-23	-3
Dassel-Cokato	4	1	-3	-13	0	1	1	3
Delano	1	0	-1	-5	5	4	-1	-4
Eden Prairie	41	88	47	5	21	55	34	10
Edina	16	89	73	19	16	52	36	19
Elk River	47	26	-21	-6	7	13	6	2
Farmington	44	22	-22	-9	18	12	-6	-2
Forest Lake	22	3	-19	-16	12	7	-5	-4
Franconia	0	0	0		0	0	0	
Fridley	86	261	175	35	41	86	45	20
Hastings	16	7	-9	-7	4	10	6	4
Hopkins	106	246	140	11	64	59	-5	-1
Howard Lake-Waverly-Winsted	3	0	-3	-30	0	1	1	5
Inver Grove Hts.	83	36	-47	-14	202	56	-146	-22
Jordan	1	1	0	0	9	11	2	2
Lakeville	46	22	-24	-5	20	20	0	0
Mahtomedi	9	15	6	7	2	18	16	36
Maple Lake	4	0	-4	-31	1	3	2	29
Minneapolis	696	625	-71	-1	155	221	66	1
Minnetonka	29	58	29	13	6	57	51	32
Monticello	7	1	-6	-7	4	13	9	5
Mounds View	88	78	-10	-1	33	33	0	0
New Prague Area Schools	4	0	-4	-14	16	0	-16	-26
North Branch	2	4	2	6	4	2	-2	-4
North St Paul-Maplewood	235	190	-45	-3	104	100	-4	-1
Northfield	2	0	-2	-3	5	2	-3	-1
Norwood	4	4	0	0	2	1	-1	-2
Orono	6	1	-5	-16	3	13	10	15
Osseo	787	565	-222	-4	137	137	0	0
Princeton	3	0	-3	-8	0	1	1	2

Table A.1: Open Enrollment Flows by Race, 2009-10

<u>School District</u>	<u>Black Students</u>				<u>Hispanic Students</u>			
	<u>Out</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>%*</u>	<u>Out</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>%*</u>
Prior Lake-Savage Area Schools	27	17	-10	-4	18	18	0	0
Randolph	1		-1	-25	0	2	2	50
Richfield	138	117	-21	-2	122	71	-51	-4
Robbinsdale	487	280	-207	-6	142	64	-78	-6
Rockford	4	2	-2	-6	4	1	-3	-6
Rosemount-Apple Valley-Eagan	170	236	66	3	84	97	13	1
Roseville	129	128	-1	0	77	72	-5	-1
Rush City	1	0	-1	-14	3	2	-1	-6
Shakopee	48	21	-27	-6	32	16	-16	-2
South St. Paul	64	73	9	4	56	190	134	25
South Washington County	79	57	-22	-2	59	30	-29	-3
Spring Lake Park	99	66	-33	-6	72	39	-33	-8
St. Anthony-New Brighton	17	48	31	34	5	15	10	11
St. Cloud	41	1	-40	-3	27	0	-27	-6
St. Francis	5	1	-4	-5	8	0	-8	-11
St. Louis Park	79	102	23	2	36	38	2	1
St. Michael-Albertville	8	17	9	6	8	1	-7	-7
St. Paul	429	604	175	2	382	348	-34	-1
Stillwater	44	9	-35	-14	13	9	-4	-2
Waconia	15	11	-4	-7	11	0	-11	-12
Watertown-Mayer	5	2	-3	-13	5	0	-5	-16
Wayzata	44	124	80	10	14	36	22	8
West St. Paul-Mendota Hts.-Eagan	99	118	19	4	160	231	71	8
Westonka	6	6	0	0	13	9	-4	-9
White Bear Lake	65	41	-24	-6	21	9	-12	-4
Total	5,581	5,453	-128	0	2,715	2,658	-57	0

*: Percentage change from pre-open enrollment level.

Table A.1: Open Enrollment Flows by Race, 2009-10

<u>School District</u>	<u>Asian Students</u>				<u>Native American Students</u>			
	<u>Out</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>%*</u>	<u>Out</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>%*</u>
Annandale	3	3	0	0	0	0	0	0
Anoka-Hennepin	199	88	-111	-4	34	12	-22	-4
Becker	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Belle Plaine	1	1	0	0	2	0	-2	-25
Big Lake	2	0	-2	-4	3	0	-3	-10
Bloomington	35	69	34	3	4	4	0	0
Braham	7	0	-7	-39	0	2	2	67
Brooklyn Center	35	119	84	47	6	27	21	64
Buffalo	4	11	7	7	5	3	-2	-4
Burnsville-Eagan-Savage	86	66	-20	-2	10	3	-7	-7
Cambridge-Isanti	2	7	5	5	2	3	1	2
Centennial	28	41	13	4	3	18	15	17
Chaska	53	7	-46	-10	1	1	0	0
Chisago Lakes	1	1	0	0	7	1	-6	-21
Columbia Heights	25	12	-13	-7	22	8	-14	-13
Dassel-Cokato	1	0	-1	-5	0	0	0	0
Delano	6	0	-6	-14	0	3	3	25
Eden Prairie	56	49	-7	-1	2	4	2	6
Edina	8	99	91	20	0	3	3	27
Elk River	25	21	-4	-1	6	12	6	5
Farmington	31	9	-22	-7	2		-2	-10
Forest Lake	23	5	-18	-7	8	4	-4	-7
Franconia	0	0	0		0	0	0	
Fridley	17	40	23	13	9	28	19	37
Hastings	8	6	-2	-2	0	1	1	2
Hopkins	41	73	32	7	5	2	-3	-8
Howard Lake-Waverly-Winsted	1	0	-1	-25	0	1	1	25
Inver Grove Hts.	13	30	17	10	1	4	3	7
Jordan	2	0	-2	-10	2	1	-1	-13
Lakeville	26	19	-7	-1	4	1	-3	-5
Mahtomedi	6	28	22	30	0	0	0	0
Maple Lake	1	3	2	20	0	0	0	0
Minneapolis	219	104	-115	-4	52	34	-18	-1
Minnetonka	10	115	105	39	2	8	6	18
Monticello	1	5	4	7	1	2	1	8
Mounds View	57	93	36	4	15	11	-4	-4
New Prague Area Schools	7	1	-6	-11	0	0	0	0
North Branch	2	2	0	0	4	0	-4	-13
North St Paul-Maplewood	177	177	0	0	12	19	7	5
Northfield	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
Norwood	3	1	-2	-8	0	0	0	
Orono	3	24	21	57	2	4	2	22
Osseo	268	206	-62	-2	14	16	2	1
Princeton	2	1	-1	-3	6	2	-4	-11

Table A.1: Open Enrollment Flows by Race, 2009-10

<u>School District</u>	<u>Asian Students</u>				<u>Native American Students</u>			
	<u>Out</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>%*</u>	<u>Out</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>%*</u>
Prior Lake-Savage Area Schools	36	37	1	0	4	23	19	29
Randolph	0	3	3	38	0	0	0	
Richfield	38	9	-29	-8	9	3	-6	-13
Robbinsdale	128	55	-73	-7	6	6	0	0
Rockford	1	1	0	0	1	0	-1	-6
Rosemount-Apple Valley-Eagan	75	135	60	3	10	14	4	2
Roseville	90	92	2	0	9	11	2	4
Rush City	1		-1	-8	0	0	0	0
Shakopee	78	8	-70	-8	17	8	-9	-8
South St. Paul	4	12	8	11	1	4	3	9
South Washington County	70	55	-15	-1	7	1	-6	-6
Spring Lake Park	69	52	-17	-3	12	13	1	1
St. Anthony-New Brighton	4	44	40	38	3	6	3	12
St. Cloud	19	1	-18	-4	16	1	-15	-12
St. Francis	9	3	-6	-3	8	4	-4	-5
St. Louis Park	22	30	8	3	3	5	2	6
St. Michael-Albertville	7	11	4	2	0	0	0	0
St. Paul	294	344	50	0	44	27	-17	-2
Stillwater	25	24	-1	0	2	2	0	0
Waconia	10	3	-7	-10	3	0	-3	-23
Watertown-Mayer	6	2	-4	-16	0	0	0	0
Wayzata	36	84	48	5	2	3	1	3
West St. Paul-Mendota Hts.-Eagan	72	28	-44	-16	7	9	2	4
Westonka	11	6	-5	-11	3	0	-3	-50
White Bear Lake	66	46	-20	-3	4	4	0	0
Total	2,667	2,622	-45	0	417	386	-31	-1

*: Percentage change from pre-open enrollment level.

Table A.1: Open Enrollment Flows by Race, 2009-10

<u>School District</u>	<u>Non-white Students</u>				<u>FRED Students</u>			
	<u>Out</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>%*</u>	<u>Out</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>%*</u>
Annandale	13	7	-6	-8	65	73	8	2
Anoka-Hennepin	723	380	-343	-4	753	373	-380	-3
Becker	5	3	-2	-2	16	29	13	2
Belle Plaine	6	2	-4	-4	25	0	-25	-8
Big Lake	18	7	-11	-3	64	38	-26	-3
Bloomington	234	272	38	1	196	207	11	0
Braham	12	2	-10	-24	41	9	-32	-7
Brooklyn Center	237	608	371	34	191	567	376	33
Buffalo	31	39	8	2	105	113	8	1
Burnsville-Eagan-Savage	355	224	-131	-3	302	208	-94	-3
Cambridge-Isanti	9	21	12	3	46	66	20	1
Centennial	57	115	58	8	70	148	78	8
Chaska	121	33	-88	-6	74	54	-20	-1
Chisago Lakes	15	4	-11	-6	43	49	6	1
Columbia Heights	281	191	-90	-4	334	179	-155	-7
Dassel-Cokato	5	2	-3	-3	28	23	-5	-1
Delano	12	7	-5	-5	28	36	8	2
Eden Prairie	120	196	76	3	58	126	68	5
Edina	40	243	203	19	30	86	56	10
Elk River	85	72	-13	-1	117	189	72	3
Farmington	95	43	-52	-6	63	66	3	0
Forest Lake	65	19	-46	-8	135	96	-39	-2
Franconia	0	0	0			0	0	
Fridley	153	415	262	27	163	503	340	29
Hastings	28	24	-4	-1	70	25	-45	-4
Hopkins	216	380	164	7	170	241	71	3
Howard Lake-Waverly-Winsted	4	2	-2	-5	70	22	-48	-13
Inver Grove Hts.	299	126	-173	-14	310	126	-184	-13
Jordan	14	13	-1	-1	24	44	20	5
Lakeville	96	62	-34	-2	117	72	-45	-4
Mahtomedi	17	61	44	20	23	43	20	8
Maple Lake	6	6	0	0	38	60	22	11
Minneapolis	1,122	984	-138	-1	679	840	161	1
Minnetonka	47	238	191	28	45	99	54	8
Monticello	13	21	8	2	58	72	14	1
Mounds View	193	215	22	1	204	221	17	1
New Prague Area Schools	27	1	-26	-17	57	11	-46	-8
North Branch	12	8	-4	-2	107	53	-54	-5
North St Paul-Maplewood	528	486	-42	-1	537	481	-56	-1
Northfield	8	3	-5	-1	19	21	2	0
Norwood	9	6	-3	-3	38	18	-20	-9
Orono	14	42	28	19	12	61	49	28
Osseo	1,206	924	-282	-3	947	742	-205	-3
Princeton	11	4	-7	-4	74	15	-59	-5

Table A.1: Open Enrollment Flows by Race, 2009-10

<u>School District</u>	<u>Non-white Students</u>				<u>FRED Students</u>			
	<u>Out</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>%*</u>	<u>Out</u>	<u>In</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>%*</u>
Prior Lake-Savage Area Schools	85	95	10	1	72	72	0	0
Randolph	1	5	4	25	4	34	30	45
Richfield	307	200	-107	-4	282	140	-142	-5
Robbinsdale	763	405	-358	-6	619	279	-340	-6
Rockford	10	4	-6	-4	49	35	-14	-3
Rosemount-Apple Valley-Eagan	339	482	143	2	302	363	61	1
Roseville	305	303	-2	0	277	305	28	1
Rush City	5	2	-3	-7	29	24	-5	-2
Shakopee	175	53	-122	-5	102	61	-41	-2
South St. Paul	125	279	154	17	157	319	162	14
South Washington County	215	143	-72	-2	180	123	-57	-2
Spring Lake Park	252	170	-82	-5	255	202	-53	-3
St. Anthony-New Brighton	29	113	84	27	32	69	37	12
St. Cloud	103	3	-100	-4	405	4	-401	-8
St. Francis	30	8	-22	-5	109	39	-70	-4
St. Louis Park	140	175	35	2	123	92	-31	-2
St. Michael-Albertville	23	29	6	1	32	53	21	3
St. Paul	1,149	1,323	174	1	1,192	1,076	-116	0
Stillwater	84	44	-40	-5	68	55	-13	-1
Waconia	39	14	-25	-11	64	49	-15	-4
Watertown-Mayer	16	4	-12	-13	31	34	3	1
Wayzata	96	247	151	7	73	167	94	6
West St. Paul-Mendota Hts.-Eagan	338	386	48	3	215	389	174	12
Westonka	33	21	-12	-9	50	57	7	2
White Bear Lake	156	100	-56	-4	160	135	-25	-1
Total	11,380	11,119	-261	0	11,428	10,681	-747	

*: Percentage change from pre-open enrollment level.