With Friends Like These:

How Us Bank and Wells Fargo Harm the St. Paul Public Schools

Minnesotans for a Fair Economy

October 2015

Contents

Summary and Introduction

Over the last two decades, large corporations like **US Bank** and **Wells Fargo** have seen a reduction in their Minnesota state tax rates. As corporations paid less in taxes, there was less state aid available for school districts. In order to make up for this loss, districts have increased their property tax levies, which disproportionately fell on homeowners.

The levies were not large enough to make up for the full drop in state aid, so districts have had to cut costs, and take on additional debt.

- In the last ten years, the St. Paul School District's long-term debt has increased by $175 million, so that it is now almost $500 million.[1]
- The district had to pay $5 million in upfront fees in order to borrow this money.[2]
- The district is paying $16 million a year just in interest on this debt.[3]

There are positive and much needed steps that US Bank and Wells Fargo can take to help St. Paul schools. This would require real conversations with the district, with teachers, and with the community to identify the best avenues for their involvement.

The changes in state law that lowered corporate tax rates came about as a result of decades of consistent lobbying by business organizations. One of the most aggressive organizations pushing for lower corporate taxes is the Minnesota Business Partnership, which is second only to the Chamber of Commerce in how much it spends every year lobbying the state legislature.

US Bank is deeply involved with the Business Partnership. **US Bank** CEO Richard Davis was the long-term term Chairman until this past year, and he remains on the group's Executive Committee. The current chairman, Polaris CEO Scott Wine, is on **US Bank's** Board of Directors. Ecolab CEO Doug Baker, who is a prior chairman of the Business Partnership and is the current chair of the group's Fiscal Policy Committee, is also on **US Bank's** Board of Directors.

The Business Partnership wants to lower corporate taxes even more. One of its current legislative priorities is to get rid of the state property tax on businesses, which brings in about $1 billion a year to the state general fund. Eliminating the state business property tax would be a huge windfall for the biggest businesses in Minnesota. US Bank and Wells Fargo would each save between $3-$4 million a year.

Instead of paying their fair share of taxes, which could then be used to fund public education at the necessary levels, **US Bank, Wells Fargo**, and other large Minnesota corporations make philanthropic contributions that are a fraction of the amount they would have paid in taxes.

State tax structure is not the only policy area of interest to **US Bank, Wells Fargo,** and the Business Partnership. The organizations are part of a nationwide movement to apply business principles to education. Under the guise of improving public education, they advocate for changes that will have the opposite effect, turning our schools into profit-generating private businesses.

US Bank and **Wells Fargo** also both played major roles in the subprime mortgage crisis which inflicted harm on our schools. Predatory subprime lenders, who were in many cases owned or bankrolled by large banks such as **US Bank** or **Wells Fargo**, targeted people of color and low-income neighborhoods for high cost loans with abusive features. These predatory lenders stripped homeowners of their wealth and created an epidemic of foreclosures ravaging neighborhoods and leaving behind a trail of vacant homes. The typical home in St. Paul decreased $80,000 in value from 2006 to 2012, totaling $6 billion in lost home value in the city during this period, which meant millions of dollars in lost property tax revenue for city schools.

On top of that, there is the impact that these foreclosures had on St. Paul families. Foreclosures or evictions as a result of foreclosure disrupt students' lives. Being forced to move and having to switch schools can have detrimental effects on children's academic and social development. Foreclosures disproportionately affect families of color, broadening an already significant achievement gap.

There are positive and much needed steps that **US Bank** and **Wells Fargo** can take to help St. Paul schools. This would require real conversations with the district, with teachers, and with the community to identify the best avenues for their involvement. However, they should not be regarded as a friend to the St. Paul Schools as long as they continue on their current course of lobbying to pay even less taxes, of advocating for policies which undermine public education, and of ignoring the harm they cause students through their current foreclosure and eviction practices.

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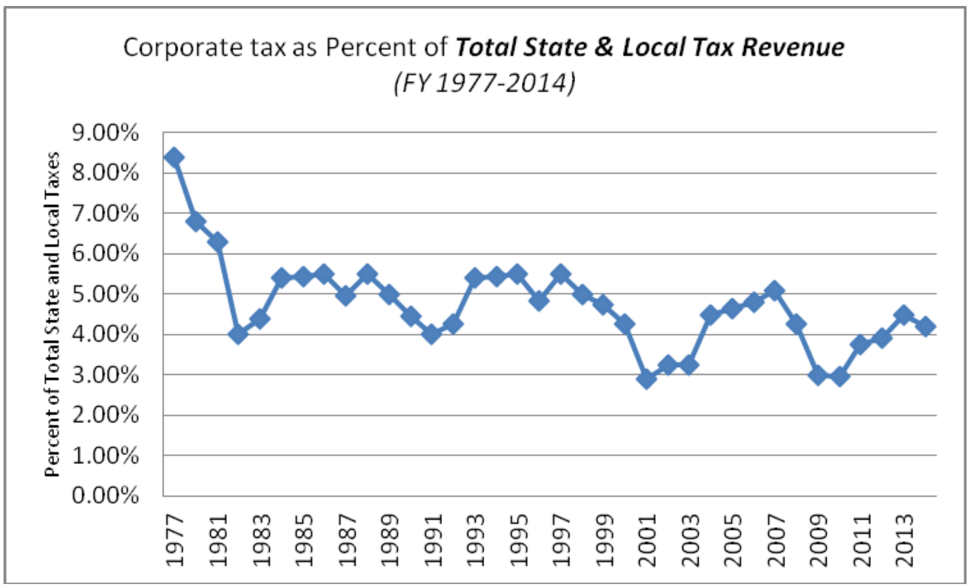
Corporate Taxes in Minnesota

Changes in state law have resulted in Minnesota's largest corporations paying lower rates for state income and state property taxes than they did previously.

Income Taxes

Corporations currently are taxed at a 9.8% state income tax rate. However, in the past this rate had been as high as 12% and even higher, 13.6%, for banks.[4] As shown below, in 1977 corporate income taxes accounted for 8.4% of the total state and local taxes collected. In 2013, it was only about half as much, just 4.5%.[5]



MN Department of Revenue, Tax Research Division, May 11, 2015

Property Taxes

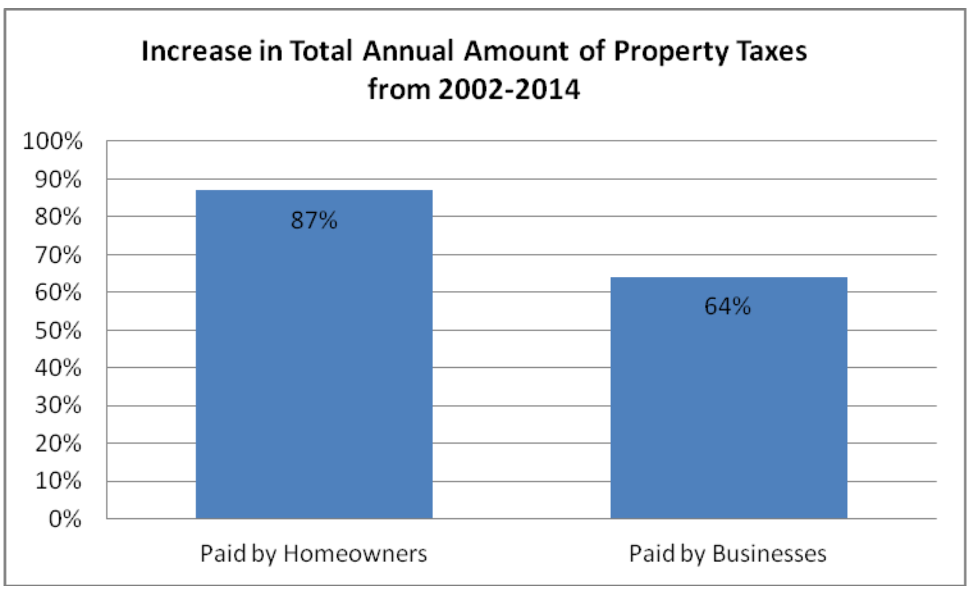
For years, the corporate business community has complained that Minnesota was a "high-tax state," due primarily to the tax rate for commercial properties. The taxes on a commercial property were 3 to 5 times higher than the taxes paid on a similarly valued homestead property. [6]

One of the main goals of the 2001 Tax Act was to address these corporate concerns. The Act reduced the ratio to 2 to 1 for the highest business class rate compared to the lowest homestead class rate, which is what it remains at today. The Act also eliminated the general education property tax. In order to replace some of the revenue that would be lost due to lower business property taxes, the state imposed a new state property tax on business properties. However, this served to partially insulate business properties from the large local property tax increases that would come over the next decade.

Minnesota businesses saw this as a big win. "It's good news for business taxpayers because we'll be getting immediate reduction of 10 percent," said Minnesota Chamber of Commerce President Bill Blazer. "That should help to make Minnesota businesses more competitive." [7]

The Tax Act was also intended to provide relief to homeowners, but as local governments raised property taxes in order to make up for at least some of the reduction in state aid, a larger share of the property tax increases fell on homeowners than would have been the case prior. [8] The reason is that the tax levies used by local governments were not based on the class tax rate system and so did not give any preferential treatment to homesteads.

As a result, there was an 87% increase from 2002 to 2014 in the total amount of homestead property taxes paid, compared to a 64% increase in business property taxes. [9] The share of total statewide property taxes paid by business shrunk from 36% in 2002 to 31% in 2014, while the share paid by homeowners remained at 41%.[10]



"It's good news for business taxpayers because we will be getting immediate reduction of 10 percent. That should help to make Minnesota businesses more competitive." - Minnesota Chamber of Commerce President Bill Blazer after passage of the 2001 Tax Act

Efforts to lower corporate taxes in Minnesota

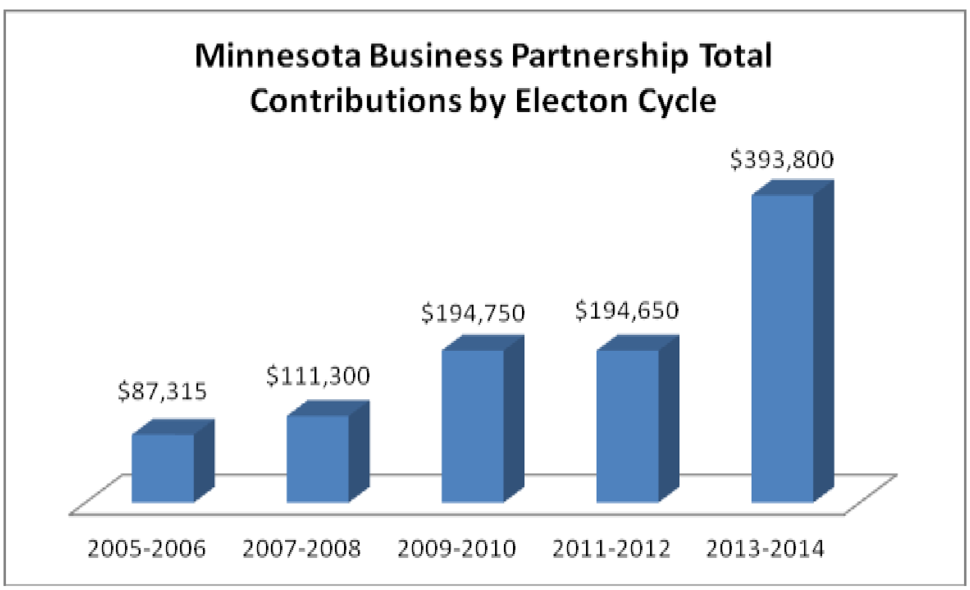
Lowering taxes for corporations in Minnesota has been and continues to be a priority of the business community, and especially of the Minnesota Business Partnership.

The Minnesota Business Partnership is made up of the CEOs and senior executives from Minnesota's largest employers. US Bank is intimately involved in the organization. **US Bank** CEO Richard Davis was the long-term term Chairman until this past year, and he remains on the group's Executive Committee. The current chairman, Polaris CEO Scott Wine, is on **US Bank**'s Board of Directors. Ecolab CEO Doug Baker, who is a prior chairman of the Business Partnership and is the current chair of the group's Fiscal Policy Committee, is also on **US Bank**'s Board of Directors.

According to the Business Partnership's Fiscal Policy Committee, "Minnesota has an antiquated and burdensome tax structure that forces Minnesota-based businesses to shoulder a heavy and growing load . . ." [11]

In 2011, the Republican-controlled House and Senate voted to eliminate the property tax on business properties, as part of a larger tax bill that Dayton vetoed.[12] In June 2012, Julianne Ortman, the Senate Taxes chair said that eliminating the business property tax was one of the Senate Republicans' top three priorities and the most important thing the Taxes Committee could do. [13] However, they still couldn't get Dayton to support their bill. The issue did not advance very far when Democrats controlled the House and Senate in 2013 and 2014.

Corporations spent heavily in 2014 to take back the House. The Minnesota Business Partnership alone made almost $400,000 in recorded contributions in the 2014 election cycle, with all but $6,500 of it going to Republicans. This was more than they had spent in the two previous election cycles combined.[14]



In 2015, the Minnesota House of Representatives passed its Omnibus Tax Bill (HF848) which included the permanent phase-out of the state business property tax. This would cost $450 million in the first two years, $1 billion over the next two years, and then $1 billion a year after that.[15]

Eliminating the state business property tax would be a big windfall for the biggest businesses in Minnesota. **US Bank** and **Wells Fargo** would each save between $3 - $4 million a year.

Corporation	Amount that would be gained annually with elimination of state business property tax[16]
Mall of America	$6.6 million
Target	$4.4 million
Walmart	$4.0 million
Best Buy	$3.7 million
US Bank	$3.5 million
Wells Fargo	$3.0 million
Medtronic	$2.5 million
Xcel	$2.3 million
3M	$2.1 million

Corporate Tax Dodging

The Minnesota Business Partnership continues to beat the drum for corporate tax breaks, claiming that Minnesota corporations are not competitive with companies in other states. However, many of the corporations represented on the Business Partnership's Executive Committee pay far less than the statutory federal and state tax rates.

These corporations have engaged in practices such as having subsidiaries in offshore tax havens that make it possible to shift income and assets in order to avoid paying corporate income taxes in the United States. Ecolab alone has tax haven subsidiaries in Antigua and Barbuda, Aruba, Bahamas, Barbados, Bermuda, Cayman Islands, Channel Islands, Cost Rica, Cyprus, Hong Kong, Luxembourg, Macau, Malta, Mauritus, Panama, and Singapore.[17]

From 2008 to 2012, **Wells Fargo** avoided paying $22 billion in federal income taxes. While the federal tax rate requires big corporations to pay a 35% corporate income tax rate, **Wells Fargo** paid a rate of just 12%, shielding almost two-thirds of its profits from federal taxes entirely.[18] During this same time, **Wells Fargo** avoided paying $4 billion in state corporate income taxes. **Wells Fargo** paid state income taxes equal to just 2% of its US profits. Since the average state income corporate tax rate nationally is about 6.2%, **Wells Fargo** was also able to shield two-thirds of its profits from state taxes.[19]

Corporate Tax Avoidance 2008 - 2012[20]

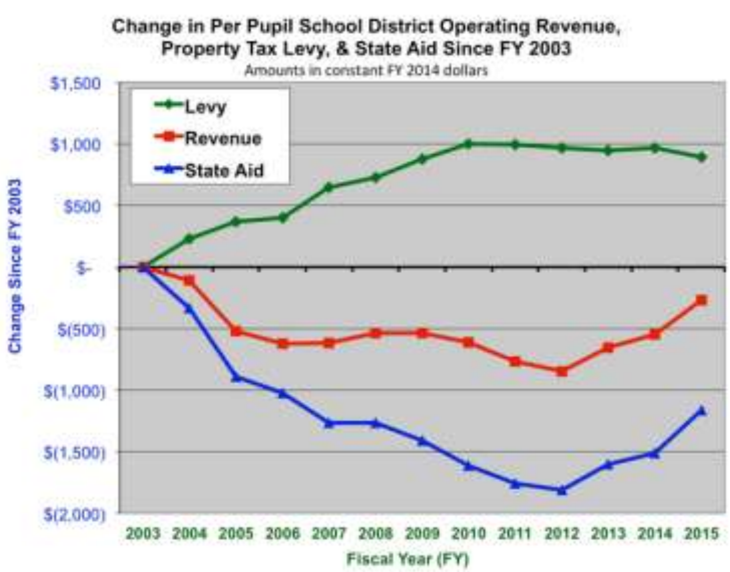
	Federal		State	
Corporation	**Effective Tax Rate**	**Tax Breaks**	**Effective Tax Rate**	**Tax Breaks**
Wells Fargo	12%	$21.6 billion	2%	$4.1 billion
US Bancorp	24%	$2.9 billion	4%	$614 million
Xcel Energy	1%	$2.0 billion	2%	$248 million
Target	27%	$1.6 billion	3%	$671 million
3M	22%	$1.6 billion	1%	$661 million
General Mills	20%	$1.4 billion	3%	$313 million

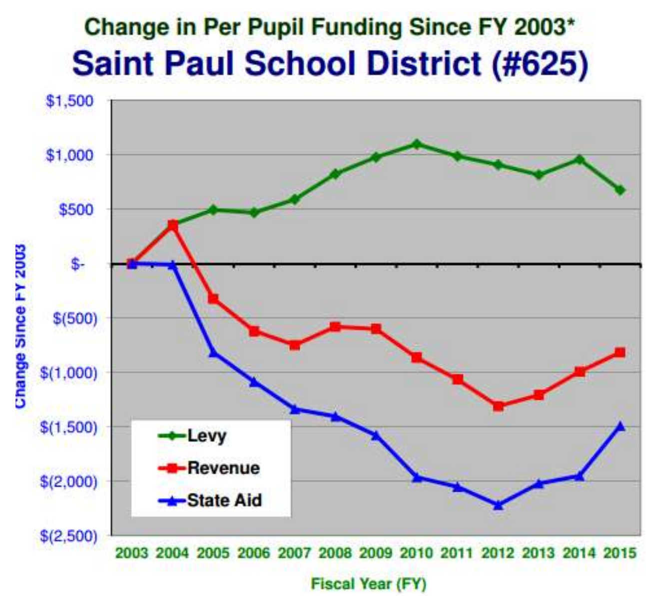
K-12 Education Funding

The reduction in corporate tax revenue lead to a steady decline in state aid from 2003 to 2012, which lead to larger class sizes; elimination of music, art, and sports programs; and a lack of resources needed for important public investments such as all-day kindergarten.[21]

Because of the decrease in state aid, school districts were forced to increase property taxes to try to make up some of the gap. Property tax levies for k-12 education more than tripled between 2003 and 2012, and more than doubled after adjusting for inflation. [22]

Since the revenue from increased levies was not large enough to replace the drop in school aid, school district revenues decreased. [23] The situation in the St. Paul schools mirrored what was happening in other districts throughout the state.[24]





In order to make up for the deficit, school districts not only cut costs, they also had to take on additional debt through bond offerings.

- In the last ten years, the St. Paul Public Schools' long-term debt increased by $175 million, so that it is now almost $500 million. [25]
- The district had to pay $5 million in upfront fees to borrow this money [26] and is paying $16 million a year just in interest on this debt. [27]
- **US Bank** is the trustee for all of the district's outstanding bonds. **Wells Fargo** was the underwriter for $75 million of the district's bonds.[28]

Philanthropy and Taxes are Not the Same

Minnesota's largest corporations boast about their charitable contributions, but the amounts are a fraction of what they should be paying in taxes. Further, charity is not a replacement for government. Our nation established a system made up of democratically elected representatives to establish priorities and to take action for the common good. In contrast, with charitable contributions corporations decide what they think is best for society.

Because they are so underfunded, schools are desperate for any additional funds and honor these corporations for their donations, almost all of which are less than what the CEOs of these corporation are paid for one day.

St. Paul Public Schools Foundation 2014

Donor Category[29]	Corporation		CEO	2014 Total Compensation[30]	Daily Rate of Compensation[31]
$50,000 - $99,999	General Mills		Kendall Powell	$11.6 million	$31,780
$25,000 - $49,999	3M		Inge Thulin	$20.1 million	$55,070
	Ecolab		Doug Baker	$15.5 million	$42,465
$10,000 - $24,999	Target		Brian Cornell	$28.0 million	$76,700
	US Bank		Richard Davis	$19.4 million	$53,150
$5,000 - $9,999	Xcel Energy		Benjamin Fowke	$12.9 million	$35,300
$2,000 - $4,999	Wells Fargo		John Stumpf	$20.0 million	$54,800
$1,000 - $1,999	Medtronic		Omar Ishrak	$12.1 million	$33,150

K-12 Education Corporate Reform

After their actions left public schools underfunded and in debt, these same corporations criticized the schools for not being successful enough. The Minnesota Business Partnership issued a report together with the Itasca Project, another organization of which **US Bank** CEO Richard Davis is the current chairperson and of which a **Wells Fargo** executive was the previous chair.

The report cited Minnesota's worst in the nation racial achievement gap and stated that too many graduating students are not fully prepared to enter college or the workforce. "A staggering 38% of Minnesota public high school graduates who attend state colleges and universities are insufficiently prepared -- requiring remedial coursework before they are ready to learn at the college level."[32]

The Minnesota Business Partnership is part of a nationwide movement which seeks to apply business principles to education such as:

- having CEO-like principals and superintendents, who have business experience but little or no education experience;
- closing "failing" schools, just as companies close unprofitable stores or factories;
- aggressively cutting costs, such as by recruiting less experienced teachers
- instituting a market-based system in which public schools, privately managed charter schools, religious schools, for-profit schools, and virtual schools compete for customers/students
- making standardized test scores the ultimate measure, just as profits are the main measure for businesses.[33]

Standardized Testing

One of the main recommendations of the Business Partnership and Itasca Project's report was to obtain more student data through testing from pre-school through college and to use that data as the main method of evaluating not only students, but also teachers, teacher prep programs, districts, schools and school leaders.[34]

Standardized testing is the bedrock of the corporate education reform movement. As the use of standardized test scores has become more prevalent, "teaching to the test" has become a common practice since low test scores threaten the future of individual teachers and entire schools. With a primary focus on test scores rather than on education, corporations are able to advocate for the hiring of administrators and teachers with little or no education training.

Teacher Training

One of the other main recommendations of the Business Partnership and Itasca Project report was to make greater use of alternative teacher training programs such as Teach for America (TFA). The report notes that TFA has the added benefit of targeting high need students.

TFA has come under criticism for its model of placing under-trained, uncertified, first-and second-year teachers in classrooms filled with high needs students.

> "Every year, TFA installs thousands of unprepared 22-year olds, the majority of whom are from economically and culturally privileged backgrounds, into disadvantaged public schools. They are given a class of their own after only five to six weeks of training and a scant number of hours co-teaching summer school (in a different city, frequently in a different subject, and with students in a different age group than the one they end up teaching in the fall).[35]

TFA was originally intended to stem a teacher shortage and place teachers in schools that were in need of teachers. However, TFA teachers are now replacing veteran teachers, because the TFA teachers are less expensive. Since TFA members promise only to stay for two years, there is a cycle in which they are then replaced by brand new under-trained, uncertified teachers, creating a system of interchangeable educators.

Charter Schools

The corporate reform movement has been a big backer of charter schools, which can operate largely apart from the oversight of the school district and the democratically elected school board. Charter schools are independently or privately run, but they are publicly financed, often along with additional resources from corporate sponsors.

A *New York Times* editorial noted that although charter schools originally promised that they would outperform traditional public schools if they were not restricted by public bureaucracy and regulations, there was a "growing number of studies showing that charter schools are generally no better - and often are worse -- than their traditional counterparts . . ."[36]

In October 2014, the Minnesota Business Partnership announced its Charter School Initiative in which fifteen Business Partnership member companies would help Minneapolis charter schools by providing operational assistance, including marketing, professional development, literacy support, and nutrition assistance.[37]

In January 2015, the Business Partnership announced that it was making a loan to build a new charter school in Minneapolis, the first of five new schools that they planned to build under its initiative.[38]

The Impact of Foreclosures on Education

The subprime mortgage crisis and mortgage meltdown resulted in a record number of foreclosures and plunged the United States into the worst financial crisis since the Great Depression. St. Paul was not immune from this crisis. Although the housing crisis affected individual homeowners of all races and ethnicities, communities of color suffered from an extreme concentration of housing problems.

Predatory subprime lenders targeted people of color for high cost loans. In some cases, the subprime lenders were owned by mainstream financial institutions, such as **Wells Fargo's** ownership of Wells Fargo Financial. In other cases, predatory lenders were bankrolled by mainstream institutions, such as **US Bank's** investments in New Century Financial, or serving as the trustee for securitized pools of subprime mortgages, which both **US Bank** and **Wells Fargo** did.

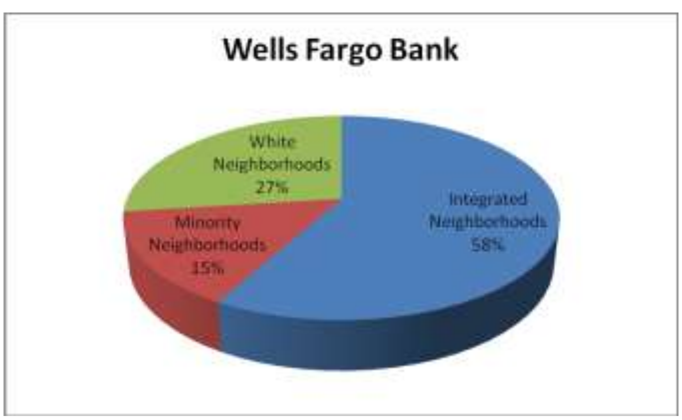
The loans made through **Wells Fargo** or **US Bank** had greater concentrations in predominantly white neighborhoods, while the loans made through the subprime lenders were more concentrated in neighborhoods where people of color made up the majority of the residents.

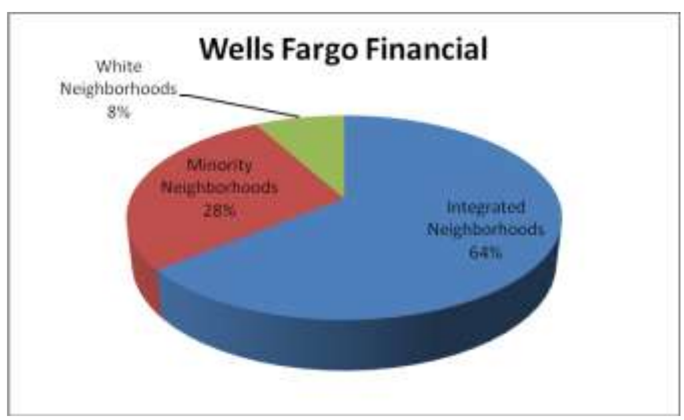
Wells Fargo

In July 2011, the Federal Reserve Board assessed an $85 million civil penalty against **Wells Fargo,** the largest fine the Federal Reserve had ever imposed in a consumer case.[39] The Federal Reserve charged that between 2004 and 2008, Wells Fargo Financial steered customers into more expensive subprime loans even though they qualified for better rates. As part of its settlement with the Federal Reserve, **Wells Fargo** had to repay up to $200 million to customers that it had overcharged.

There is evidence that **Wells Fargo** engaged in the same pattern of practices in the Twin Cities. **Wells Fargo** served upper income and predominantly white neighborhoods through its bank, providing prime loans with good terms and low rates. In contrast, Wells Fargo Financial, which made higher rate subprime loans, disproportionately served lower income areas and neighborhoods in which people of color made up a majority of the residents.

Refinance Loans in St. Paul 2004 to 2006[40]





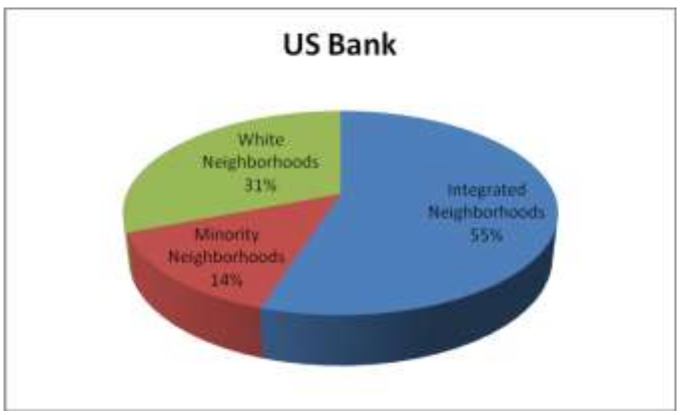
US Bank

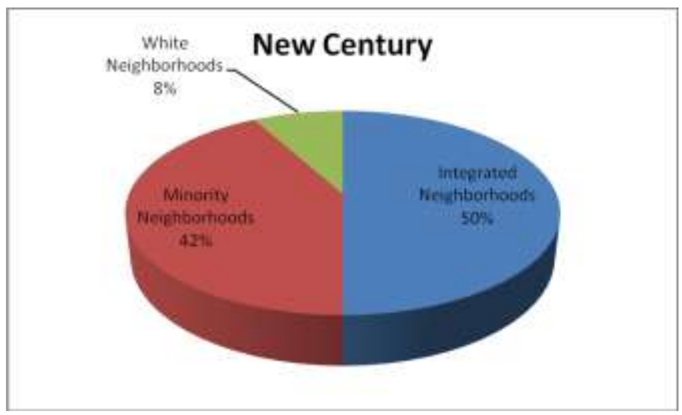
US Bank was a major investor in New Century Financial, the poster child for bad practices in the mortgage industry. By 2007, when the company filed for bankruptcy, New Century was the second largest subprime mortgage lender in the country.[41]

In 1998 and 1999 when it was difficult for subprime lenders to raise capital, **US Bank** came to New Century's rescue and invested $40 million in the company. **US Bank** reaped a profit of nearly $18 million form this investment within just a few years.[42]

New Century made a large percentage of its loans with high rates and enormous fees to neighborhoods where people of color made up a majority of the residents. From 2004 to 2006, New Century's last year of business, almost half of the refinance loans the company made in St. Paul were in minority neighborhoods. In contrast, just 14% of **US Bank's** refinances in St. Paul were in those neighborhoods.

Refinance Loans in St. Paul 2004 to 2006[43]





The investments in New Century were just a small part of **US Bank's** involvement with subprime lenders**. US Bank** served as trustee for billions of dollars in securitized pools of home mortgages made by New Century and others. The list of lenders for whose loans US Bank served as trustee reads like a who's who of the subprime industry: Aames, Ameriquest, BNC, Citifinancial, Conseco, Countrywide, Downey, Equicredit, First Franklin, First Plus, Fremont, Greenpoint, Household, and New Century.[44] As the Trustee**, US Bank** was responsible for distributing the cash flow from the mortgage pools to all the different investors, after **US Bank** took its cut. Trustees take a percentage each month of the overall pool balance.[45]

Unsafe and Unsound Practices

Minnesota, like the rest of the country, suffered from record foreclosures, many of which could have been avoided. The Office of the Comptroller of the Currency (OCC) conducted examinations of the foreclosure processes of both **US Bank** and **Wells Fargo** and found that both banks engaged in unsafe or unsound practices,[46] such as:

- Filing legal affidavits in which bank employees made assertions that they claimed, falsely, were based on personal knowledge or review of the relevant records

- Filing numerous affidavits courts that were not signed in the presence of a notary

- Failing to devote adequate oversight, internal controls, policies and procedures to their foreclosure processes

- Failing to sufficiently oversee outside lawyers and other third-parties handling foreclosures

In addition the OCC found that Well Fargo:

- Initiated foreclosures without always ensuring that mortgage documents met legal requirements

- Failed to devote sufficient financial, staffing and managerial resources to its foreclosure processes

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I was injured in an accident and was going to be out of work for three months. I called US Bank to see if they could make any adjustments. They said they could help only if I was in default and that I should stop paying my mortgage.

I received one foreclosure notice and then another one. The bank told me to ignore them because I was in the process of getting a loan modification. I called them to follow up and the person on the other line told me, 'We can't do anything. The house is already sold.'

- Caylin Crawford, St. Paul Homeowner

"When my monthly mortgage payments jumped from $800 to $1,300, I contacted US Bank right away. They told me there was nothing I could do until I missed a few payments -- so I took their advice and went into default. I filled out the application forms multiple times.

They kept on telling me that everything was ok and that they would get back to me. I waited and waited. When I checked back with them, they told me that I had filled out the wrong paperwork and that it was too late.

- Ann Haines, St. Paul Homeowner

Foreclosures not only impacted individual homeowners, but also local governments, neighborhoods, and other property owners, especially when foreclosures left vacant homes.

Home Values

The unprecedented number of foreclosures and vacant homes caused a steep decline in home values throughout the country, but people of color were hit especially hard. From 2005 to 2009 the median level of home equity that Latino homeowners had nationally was cut in half from $99,980 to $49,150. For African-American homeowners, the median level of home equity declined from $76,910 to $59,000 during this period. For white homeowners, it decreased from $115,400 to $95,000.[47]

In St. Paul, homes in the Dayton's Bluff, Payne-Phalen, North End, and Thomas-Dale neighborhoods experienced the greatest loss of value, dropping 50% from 2006 to 2012, whereas homes in the Mac-Groveland, Highland, and St. Anthony Park neighborhoods decreased the least, dropping less than 20%.[48] <u>In total, St. Paul lost over $6 billion in home value during this time, costing St. Paul schools millions of dollars in lost property tax revenue.</u>

Damages

Over the last few years, a number of cities, counties, and school districts have sued Wells Fargo over allegations of predatory lending and the resulting damage. The most recent case was filed in September 2015 by the city of Oakland, CA which charged that Wells Fargo targeted Oakland's African-American and Latino homeowners for loans that were more expensive and higher risk than those made to white homeowners.[49]

These lawsuits blame Wells Fargo for millions of dollars in lost tax revenue which led to cuts in services and programs. Oakland's lawsuit asks Wells Fargo to compensate the city for the "great financial harm" the foreclosure crisis caused.

“Wells Fargo’s discriminatory conduct devastated individuals and communities, increasing poverty and wiping out or drastically reducing wealth for minority communities while bankers prospered,” said Barbara Parker, the city attorney for Oakland. “Wells Fargo and other banks knew when they issued predatory loans that many of them would result in foreclosure.

Impact on Students

Foreclosure, or eviction from a home as a result of foreclosure, disrupts students' lives as their families are forced to move. Students may have to change schools or even districts, adjust to a different curriculum, and develop new relationships with teachers and peers.

Research has shown that involuntary residential moves and within-year school switching can have detrimental effects on children's academic and social development. Disruptive residential moves are linked to problems such as grade retention, failure to complete school, and a lack of interpersonal skills.[50]

Further, foreclosures disproportionately affect families of color, whose children already face greater academic challenges, broadening an already significant achievement gap.

Recommendations

1) End Disruption to Education Due to Foreclosures
The Saint Paul Public Schools should require that any financial institution with which the district has a contract adopt a policy that it will not foreclose on any home or rental property where school-age children reside during a school year unless they have offered foreclosure mediation with a neutral third party to the borrower first.

2) Seek Legal Opinion about Possible Damages
The Saint Paul Public Schools and the St. Paul Federation of Teachers should jointly select a law firm to provide the District with a legal opinion about whether the district has suffered financial harm as the result of **US Bank** or **Wells Fargo** violating the Fair Housing Act.

3) Negotiate for Greater Investment
The Saint Paul Public Schools should request meetings with **US Bank**, **Wells Fargo**, and other large corporations in Minnesota in order to have frank discussions about the depth of the district's needs to better serve its students and particularly students of color, and about the financial capacity of the corporations to meet those needs.

4) Oppose Corporate Tax Cuts
The Saint Paul Public Schools should officially oppose efforts at the legislature, led by the Minnesota Business Partnership, to eliminate the state tax on business properties, which currently brings in about $1 billion a year in revenue. Eliminating the tax would be a windfall for large corporations such as **US Bank** and **Wells Fargo**, which would each save between $3 - $4 million a year.

End Notes

[1] Independent School District No. 625 Financial Statements and Supplemental Information, Year Ended June 30, 2014
[2] Total fees for Series 2015A, 2015B, 2015C, 2014A, 2013B, 2013A, 2012B, 2012A, 2011C, 2011A, 2010C, 2010B, 2010A, 2009D, 2009C, 2009B, 2009A, 2008B, 2008A, 2007A, 2006A, and 2006B
[3] Annual average from 2006 to 2014 from St. Paul Public Schools Annual Financial Report and Audit Report
[4] Minnesota Tax Handbook: A Profile of State and Local Taxes in Minnesota 2014 Edition, Minnesota Revenue Tax Research Division, January 2015
[5] "State and Local Tax Collections by Major Tax Category," 2015, Minnesota Department of Revenue
[6] "Legislative Update: What's a City to Do?", Larkin, Hoffman, Daly & Lindgren Re:View, Bill Griffith
[7] "Session 2001: The Tax Debate," Minnesota Public Radio, Mark Zdechllik, July 3, 2011
[8] Minnesota 2020 Property Tax Report 2002-2010, Jeff Van Wychen, August 2010
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[10] Ibid
[11] "Blueprint for Fiscal Policy Reform," Minnesota Business Partnership, January 2015
[12] "Senate GOP tax bill slashes local government aid," Minnesota Public Radio, Tim Pugmire, March 23, 2011
[13] "Minnesota GOP wants to cut business property taxes," *Pioneer Press,* Bill Salisbury, February 11,2012
[14] Minnesota Campaign and Finance Board, "Contributions from Political Party Units and Political Committees to State Level Candidates and Other Political Units and Political Committees and Funds"
[15] "Big business big winners in Minnesota property tax fight,"*Pioneer Press,* J. Patrick Coolican, April 28,2015
[16] Based on 2015 Minnesota State General Property Tax Amounts
[17] Citizens for Tax Justice, Corporate Tax Explorer, http://ctj.org/corporatetaxdodgers/tax-dodgers-index.php, accessed September 28, 2015
[18] Ibid
[19] Ibid
[20] ibid
[21] "Crumbling Fiscal Foundation: A Decade of Decline in State Investment," Jeff Van Wychen, April 2013
[22] "Education Finance Working Group Recommendations and Report," MN Department of Education, Nov 2012
[23] "A Decade of School Funding Cuts Reversed," Minnesota 2020, Jeff Van Wychen, November 11, 2013
[24] "District-by-District School Funding Trends," Minnesota 2020, November 2013
[25] See Note 1
[26] See End Note 2
[27] See End Note 3
[28] Wells Fargo: Series 2015B, Series 2013B, Series 2012B
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