



A CLOSER LOOK: THE KASICH RECORD ON PUBLIC EDUCATION

EDUCATION IS ONE OF THE LARGEST AREAS OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR OHIO'S STATE GOVERNMENT. Since 1970, state support to schools has ranged from a **25 to 35 percent** share of the overall state budget. It is one of the most important things that the state of Ohio does and frequently causes fierce political and policy debates. **AS GOV. JOHN KASICH LOOKS AHEAD TO THE WHITE HOUSE, INNOVATION OHIO TAKES A LOOK BACK AT HIS RECORD ON THIS KEY AREA OF RESPONSIBILITY FOR HIS GUBERNATORIAL LEADERSHIP – PRIMARY AND SECONDARY EDUCATION.**



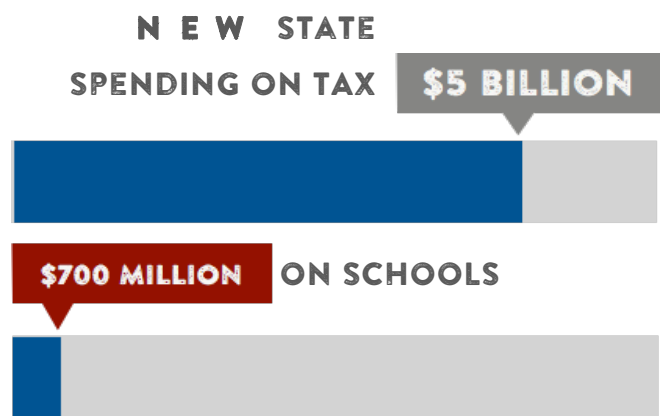
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SUMMARY: KASICH'S EDUCATION RECORD

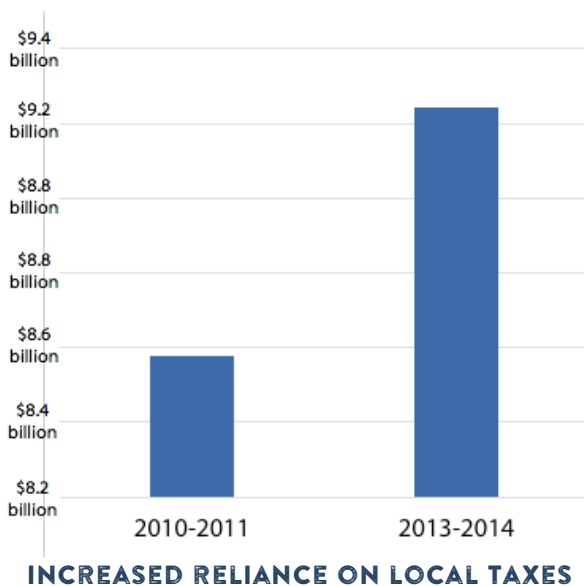
Flat funding local schools, forcing local taxpayers to do more, unjustifiably pushing school privatization, and punishing teachers are some of the highlights Gov. John Kasich's record on public education in Ohio. This report examines various Kasich administration policies championed during his tenure and what the impact has been on schools, communities, and most importantly Ohio's 1.8 million school children.

1. FLAT FUNDING SCHOOLS

In the last 5 years, **Ohio has doubled down on tax cuts that mostly benefit those at the top while funding for Ohio's schools has flat lined.** Spending on our schools hasn't kept pace with inflation and **four out of ten school districts will see less state funding** now than they did before Kasich.



2. FORCING LOCAL TAXPAYERS TO DO MORE



Ohio's school funding problems have gotten worse under John Kasich. Direct funding to schools hasn't kept pace with inflation, which has increased the reliance on local property taxes to pay for schools. The lack of state funding and removal of the 12.5 percent state-funded property tax reduction for local taxpayers has caused **Ohio to backslide on its constitutional obligation to provide an equitable and adequate education system.** Local property taxpayers are paying more for schools now than at any point in Ohio history.

3. UNJUSTIFIABLY PUSHING SCHOOL PRIVATIZATION

While increasing state funding of privately run education options isn't new nationally, Kasich has greatly expanded Ohio's investment despite overwhelming evidence that the state's current regime doesn't work overall.

CHARTERS: Scandals, mismanagement, and an abysmal performance record have caused **Ohio's charter schools** to become national joke under Gov. Kasich. Yet, while some local schools have seen less state support in the last 5 years, **spending on unaccountable charter schools**

In 2016, spending on **charter schools** is expected to reach:

\$1 BILLION

113 %

Voucher spending has increased by 113 percent in the last 5 years.

TAKEOVERS: The “**Youngstown Takeover**” is Gov. Kasich's latest effort to “reform” an urban school district, which typically means more school privatization. However, **40 percent of charter funding in Youngstown went to charter schools that performed the same or worse than the local school district** on the state report card in the 2013-2014 school year. As the numbers suggest, more privatization in Youngstown isn't the answer.

The Washington Post

Troubled Ohio charter schools have become a national joke – literally

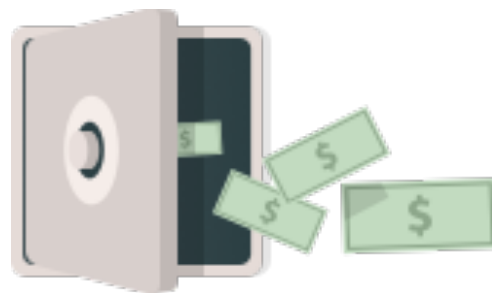
By **Valerie Strauss** June 12

Yes, some charter schools are great, but others are a mess — especially in Ohio, where academic results across the sector are far worse than in traditional public schools and financial and ethical scandals are more than common. How bad is the problem?

VOUCHERS: School **vouchers** have more than doubled since Gov. Kasich took office. Since 2011, the state has increased spending on vouchers from \$99.8 million in 2011 to \$212.6 million in 2014. That is a **113 percent increase in public funding for students to attend private schools, many of which don't perform as well as the local public school district.**

40% GOES TO FAILING

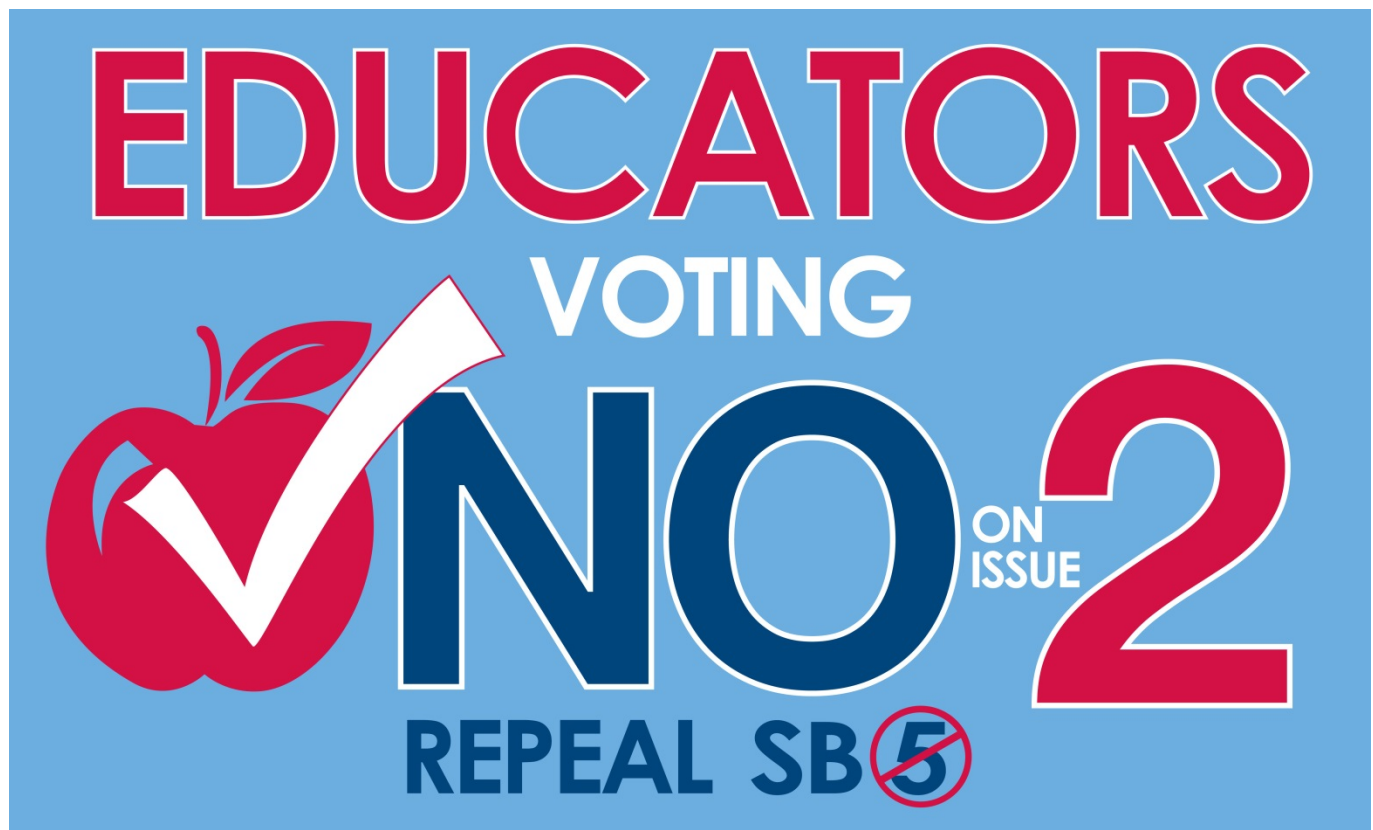
YOUNGSTOWN CHARTER SCHOOLS



4. PUNISHING TEACHERS & LOCAL SCHOOLS

In his first term, Gov. Kasich put school teachers in his sights as he pushed Senate Bill 5, which would have stripped public employees of their collective bargaining rights. Despite the fact that this measure was overwhelmingly rejected by voters through a citizen's veto in 2011, Gov. Kasich has repeatedly pushed policies that make it easier for schools to cut teachers' pay while forcing down more and more state mandates.

Meanwhile, Kasich further hurt local schools by exacerbating the funding problems with Ohio's school choice options. His increases to charter schools and vouchers mean kids in local public schools – where 93 percent of students attend school – receive significantly less state revenue than the state says they need, and less than they have in previous administrations. In Columbus, for example, all children not in charter schools, including the best performing students in the highest performing buildings, now **lose more than \$1,000 every year because charters receive so much more state revenue. This forces districts to fill the gap with even more local revenue.**



1. FLAT FUNDING SCHOOLS

SPENDING ON TAX CUTS BUT NOT SCHOOL KIDS

State support for schools has flat lined while spending on tax cuts that benefit those at the very top has ballooned. Since Gov. Kasich took office, Ohio has **spent \$5 billion on tax cuts** that primarily benefit business owners and those at the very top of the economic spectrum.

In contrast, funding for **Ohio's 613 school districts has essentially been flat funded under Kasich**, with a significant cut in the FY 2012-2013 budget that the state finally overcame in the most recent budget. However, that increase has failed to keep pace with inflation (see FY 2010-2011 spend in chart below).

TABLE 1: Two-year direct education funding

FY 2010-2011	FY 2012-2013	FY 2014-2015	FY 2016-2017	FY 2010-2011 *adjusted for inflation*
\$15,034,985,339	\$13,628,179,605	\$14,530,139,803	\$ 15,717,762,852	\$15,937,083,463

As a result of Gov. Kasich's relatively meager investment in education, **264 of Ohio's 613 school districts – more than 4 in 10 – have fewer resources in the latest budget than they had in the budget passed 6 years ago. For more than half of Ohio's school districts, state funding has failed to keep pace with inflation.**

LOCAL IMPACTS OF UNDEFUNDING OUR SCHOOLS

This flat funding (and, in many cases, cuts) has forced many districts to cut back on educational opportunities for children. One district **laid off 58 teachers** and faces the potential of losing the equivalent of what it takes to run an entire elementary school. Another **cut back the school day to 5.5 hours** and handed out bagged lunches to their free and reduced lunch students as they walked out of the door. One survey of district officials completed during the midst of Kasich's administration found that **70 percent of Ohio schools made cuts** in response to his first budget. Districts across the state have had to reduce busing, introduce pay-to-play fees and reduce arts and other programming.

\$95 MILLION VETO

Just last month, Gov. Kasich line-item vetoed¹ a budget provision that would have ensured no school district would receive less funding than last school year. With the stroke of his pen, he once again cut funding to schools by about \$95 million, ensuring that 1 in 6 Ohio school districts would get less money in the 2016-2017 school year than they did this school year. [Addendum 1: List of districts impacted by veto]

BACKSLIDING ON OUR CONSTITUTIONAL OBLIGATION

It must be noted that four times the Ohio Supreme Court ruled between 1997 and 2002 that Ohio's state leaders had to find a way to provide a greater share of the education cost from the state while developing a formula that rationally distributed the funds to schools. Overreliance on local property taxes to pay for schools was the court's greatest concern.

In his first State of the State address, Kasich promised to **eliminate the Evidence Based Model (EBM) funding formula** for schools and replace it by the end of his first year with what he claimed would be the country's finest formula. The EBM was a nationally recognized² education model designed to prevent residual budgeting and use data or evidence to determine the true cost to adequately fund Ohio schools. It was developed at the height of the global economic recession and thus its implementation was intended to be phased in over 10 years. This formula put Ohio on a path to constitutionality by increasing the state share for education, greatly reducing Ohio's reliance on local property tax.

After his abrupt elimination of the EBM, Gov. Kasich, aided by GOP majorities in the state legislature, spent the next three state budgets developing, changing, modifying and disputing yet another school funding formula. While the elements of the formula have changed during this process, what has remained consistent is that state support to schools has flat lined and local taxpayers are taking up a larger share of the cost (see Chart 1). That is the opposite outcome of what the Ohio Supreme Court ordered the state to do four different times.

2. FORCING LOCAL TAXPAYERS TO DO MORE

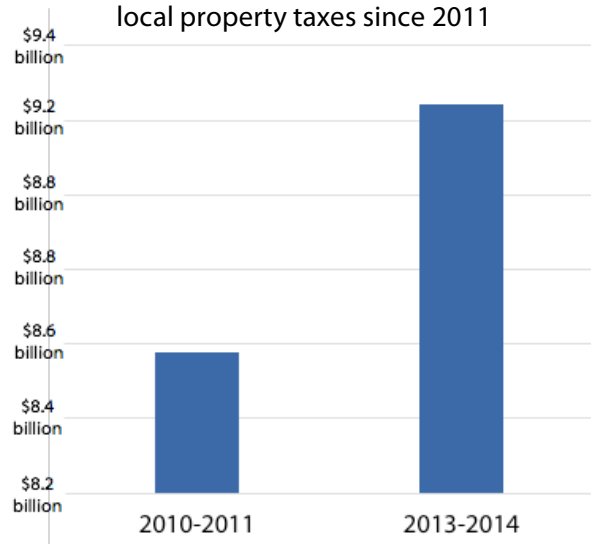
Because the state is doing less for public education, local communities are now forced to do more. Communities have had to raise their local property taxes to unprecedented levels to make up for declining state assistance. **OHIO PROPERTY TAXPAYERS NOW PAY MORE LOCAL TAXES FOR EDUCATION THAN AT ANY TIME IN HISTORY.**

THE IMPACTS OF STATE FUNDING CUTS

Underfunding school districts means that communities are now *more* dependent upon local funding than they have been at any time since the school-funding lawsuit started. In fact, Ohioans today pay more in local property taxes for schools than at any other time in history.³

And it's getting worse. **Since the Ohio income tax was approved by the voters in the 1970s, the state has used a portion of that to offset 12.5 percent of**

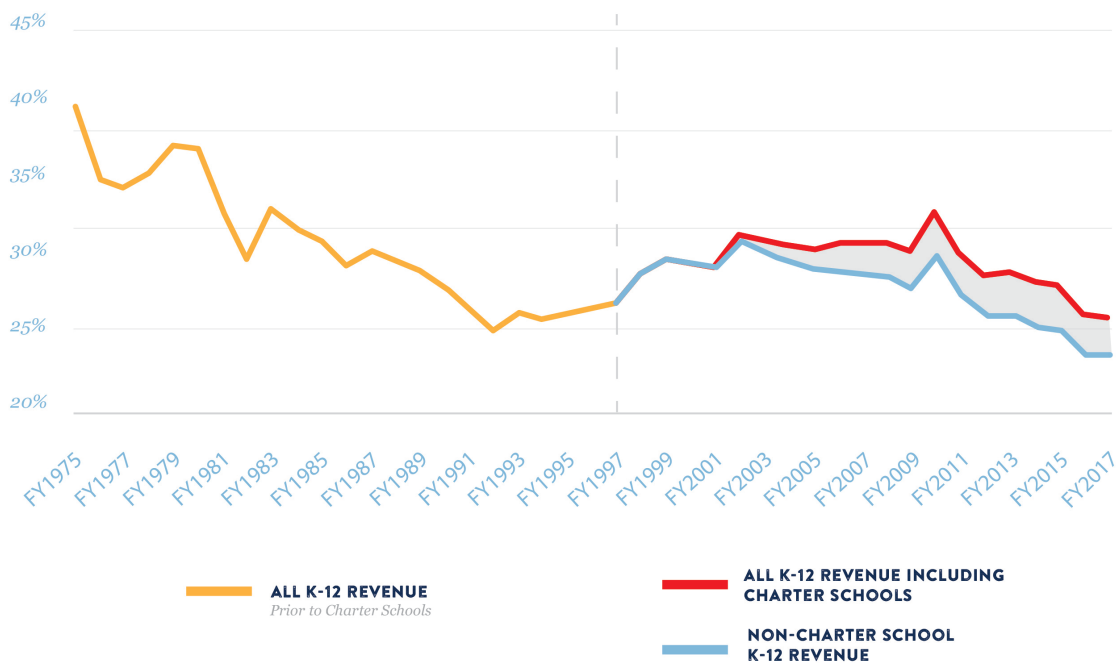
CHART 1: Increased reliance on local property taxes since 2011



property tax levies. This was the bargain struck with Ohio voters – vote for the income tax, and the state will provide some property tax relief. But Kasich broke that bargain in 2013 for all new property tax levies, forcing local property taxpayers to shoulder an even greater burden. And while the last year of the FY 2010-11 budget was the first on record where more state than local revenue paid for education, under Kasich the state share is now returning to the low levels seen during the days of the state’s school funding lawsuit.

Meanwhile, the percentage of the state budget going to non-charter school K-12 education is at the lowest level of any budget since the state’s school funding case was filed in 1991.

HISTORIC BUDGET K-12 REVENUE %, ALL AND NON-CHARTER



ACHIEVEMENT EVERYWHERE?

Gov. Kasich’s signature achievement was supposed to be his new school-funding plan, which he dubbed *Achievement Everywhere* to much fanfare. “This is not hard to figure out,” Gov. Kasich claimed at the time. “If you are poor, you’re going to get more. If you are rich, you’re going to get less.” However, it was such a disaster that one superintendent called Kasich’s initial claims ⁴“a damn lie” in a letter to every homeowner in his community, while nearly a hundred other superintendents spoke out against the plan.

The plan sent so much more money to high-wealth districts at the expense of low-wealth districts that the legislature, which is dominated by Kasich’s own party, ditched the program at their first chance. Kasich’s funding model will provide a staggering \$5.5 billion less in direct state support to schools this next budget than the Evidence Based Model promised to do by the 2018-2019 school year.⁵ Not coincidentally, that’s almost exactly the amount of Kasich’s tax cuts.

3. UNJUSTIFIABLY PUSHING SCHOOL PRIVATIZATION

OHIO CHARTERS HAVE BECOME A NATIONAL JOKE ON KASICH'S WATCH

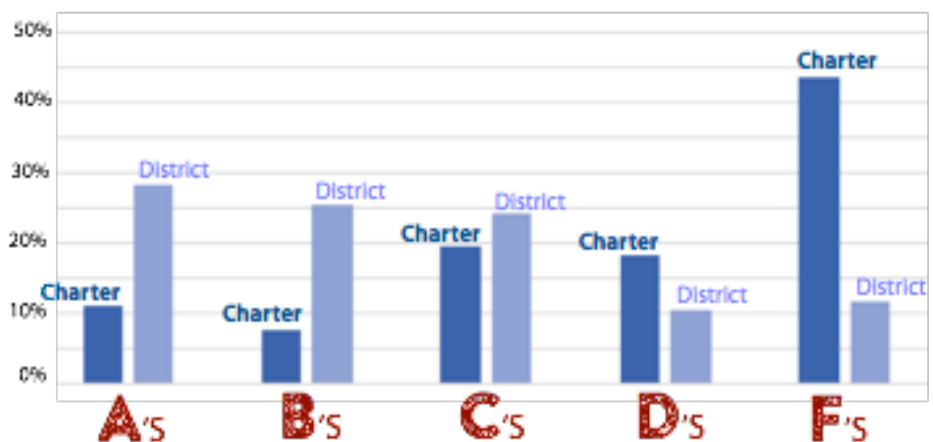
Under Gov. Kasich's leadership, Ohio's charter schools have become a national joke.⁶ Only Nevada can claim a worse charter school regime than Ohio.⁷ This perception has only been enhanced by the last week's news of Ohio's top charter school oversight official (and spouse of Gov. Kasich's presidential campaign manager) resigning over the apparent illegal data rigging he oversaw to the benefit of the state's politically powerful charter school lobby.

HOW BAD ARE OHIO'S CHARTER SCHOOLS?

- Ohio charter schools received more Fs than As, Bs and Cs combined on the state report card.
- More than \$500 million sent to charters⁸ last school year came from school districts that performed the same or better than the charter school on the state report card.
- New federal data released by the White House shows that charter schools make the state's achievement gap worse, not better.
- And the Center for Research on Educational Outcomes at Stanford University found⁹ that children in Ohio's charter schools lose several weeks of learning in reading and math compared with their local public school peers, with rural Ohio students losing nearly a year of learning.

Each year Gov. Kasich has been in office, charter schools have received per pupil funding increases from the state¹⁰ – even in his first budget, which cut \$1.8 billion in education funding. Meanwhile, only 7 (out of 400) charters under Kasich have been closed by the state for failing to perform academically.

CHART 2: Report card grades by school type 2013-14



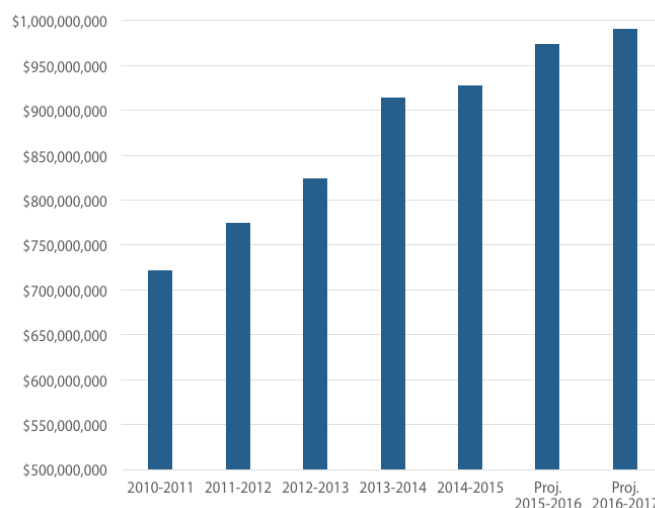
In his 2012 State of the State Address, Gov. Kasich said this: "And let me make it clear: if you're an underperforming charter school, we'll be on you. We have to have excellence in every school, and just because it has a name, if it's not working, we're going to have to deal with it. I'll ask the legislature to exercise proper oversight."

To date, no action has been taken to clean up Ohio’s broken charter school laws and the state has so far failed to pass meaningful reform laws.

While there are some very high performing charter schools in Ohio, less than 10% of the money sent to charter schools go to schools that earn an A or B on the state report card for student growth or proficiency while having 95% or more of their students come from urban districts.

The average charter school student collected more than \$7,000 last school year in state money while the average local public school student collected less than \$4,000 in state money.¹¹ This discrepancy has meant that local money has had to fill the yawning gap left behind when children leave to attend charter schools.

CHART 3: Charter school funding by year



Some of the state’s highest-performing districts, like Olentangy in the Central Ohio, lose more than \$1 million a year to the poorest performing charter schools.¹² Meanwhile, every student in Columbus City Schools – even the best performing students in the highest performing buildings – loses more than \$1,000 a year in state money because the charter school deduction is so much greater than what the state would have provided the district to educate the same children.

Despite an unprecedented grassroots collaboration between the quality-based charter school community and traditional school advocates to reform the system, **Gov. Kasich stood by and watched as the state’s best, bipartisan charter reform bill in history died in the Republican-controlled legislature, despite passing unanimously out of the Ohio Senate.**

SPENDING ON VOUCHERS HAS INCREASED 113 PERCENT!

The initial vision of Ohio’s voucher program as a way to escape failing schools has been set aside in recent years as vouchers are now seen as remedies for a variety of education challenges. Since Governor Kasich took office in 2011, Ohio lawmakers have greatly expanded voucher programs to include money for special education and income level, without regard for the performance of school districts in which the kids live. And in some instances, families making as much as \$94,000 a year could qualify¹³, which encompasses 80% of Ohio households. **TABLE 2** lists the four major voucher programs and recent expansions of existing programs.

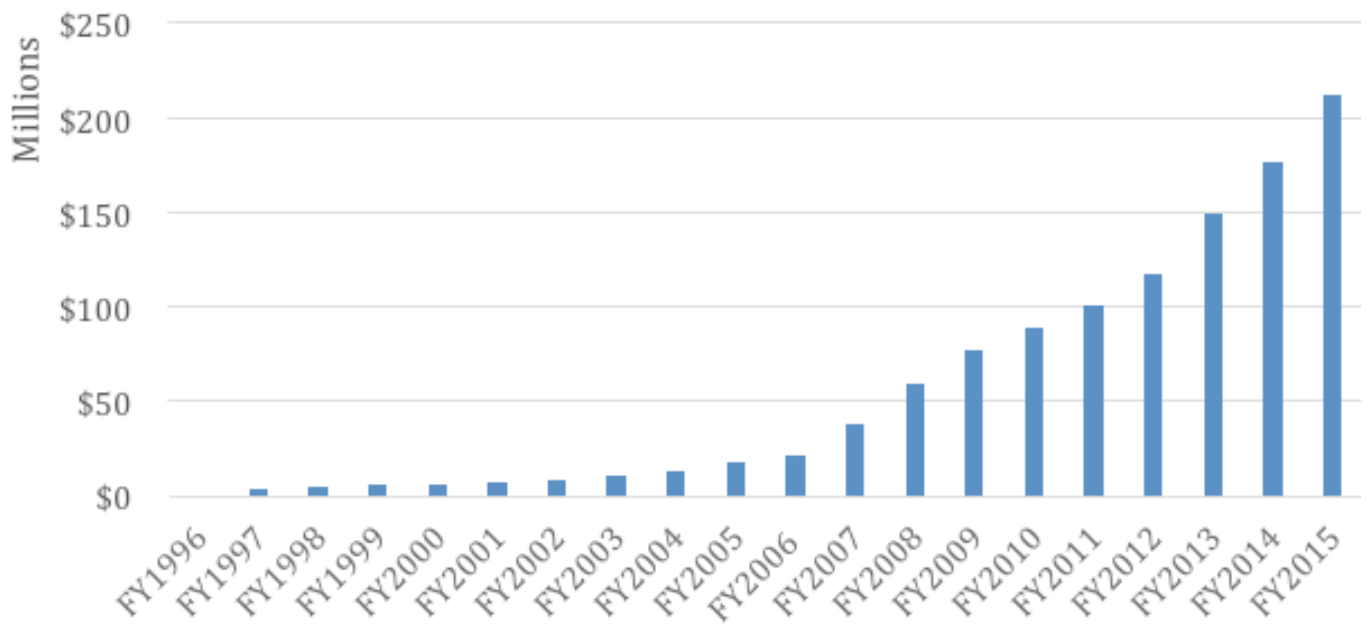
Voucher Name	Purpose	School Year Began
Cleveland Scholarship & Tutoring Program	Assisting low-income students to attend private, religious schools in Cleveland. Expanded to allow students to attend private schools outside City limits.	1996-1997 Expanded in 2015-2016 to Cleveland's inner-ring suburbs
EdChoice Scholarship	Assisting students in low-rated districts attend participating private schools. Starting in 2013-2014, students in low income families, regardless of district ratings, could participate.	2006-2007 for students in low-performing schools Expanded in 2013-2014 to students in any district who meet income limits
Autism Scholarship	Assisting children with Autism to attend private schools	2004-2005
John Peterson Special Education Scholarship	Assisting Special Education (non-autism) students to attend private, schools	2013-2014

Every budget since 2011 has included a variety of changes that have resulted in increased funding for private schools receiving state vouchers, including¹⁴:

- Increases the maximum per pupil amount of the Peterson special education and Autism voucher programs by \$7,000 per pupil, diverting an additional \$22 million per year from school districts.
- Allow all Cleveland students to apply for taxpayer support even if they're in the private school when applying. Previously, 50% of voucher recipients had to be enrolled in Cleveland public schools to apply.
- Expands the number of voucher-eligible private schools by allowing those within 5 miles of Cleveland's border to get vouchers.
- Increase the value of EdChoice vouchers for elementary school by 9.4% and high school by 20%.
- Increase the value of high school vouchers under the Cleveland program by 14%.
- Increase the state's reimbursement to private schools participating in the voucher programs by 11%.
- The state's reimbursement of private schools participating in the voucher programs was increased by 11 percent.
- Add \$2 million for boarding fees at private boarding schools, up to \$25,000 per student.

Last school year, the state spent \$212.6 million on vouchers; before Governor Kasich took office in 2011, that amount was \$99.8 million.¹⁵ That's a whopping **113% increase** in six years, with more to come next school year. Chart 4 shows funding for the voucher programs growing by leaps and bounds, thanks to multiple expansions and increases in per pupil funding.

CHART 4: Voucher funding – 1997 to 2015



YOUNGSTOWN: MORE PRIVATIZATION IS NOT THE ANSWER

Gov. Kasich has pushed for reform in Ohio's urban areas. Yet all his efforts involve three main components: **less state money, more state authority and additional pathways to school privatization.**

THE CLEVELAND PLAN

His first effort in Cleveland produced the so-called Cleveland Plan,¹⁶ which permits employment decisions to be made based on teacher evaluations, as well as attempts to greatly increase the number of seats in high performing buildings and allows some charter schools to collect local revenue. The plan had some positive elements, such as ensuring universal pre-school options for all 4-year-old kids (with the goal of eventually reaching 3-year-olds too) and Early Childhood Academies. **But it provided no additional state dollars, while allowing charter schools to share in local property tax revenue raised by the district.**

Throughout his tenure, Kasich has systematically slashed funding to Cleveland more than any other district in the state (more than \$150 million compared to FY 2010-2011, adjusted for inflation). This means that the only way any of the Cleveland Plan can be paid for is through additional local tax levies. Fortunately for the sake of the plan, Cleveland residents agreed to a sizable increase, but even Cleveland's massive levy wasn't big enough to offset the state's cuts, jeopardizing investments in the early childhood initiatives that research suggests will have the greatest impact on student achievement.

THE COLUMBUS PLAN

Kasich's next attempted reform of an urban school district was the passage of HB167, the Columbus Schools plan, which resembled the Cleveland Plan in a few ways. In 2013, with the urging of the Central Ohio business

community, the legislature passed the bill that required the City's elected school board to put a levy on the ballot that would share local tax dollars with charter schools. Unlike Cleveland, Columbus voters rejected the levy proposal in November of the same year.

THE YOUNGSTOWN TAKEOVER

The big change in urban policy – and the one that has the potential to be the longest lasting – was Kasich's last-minute change to a bill that was supposed to bring wraparound services to Youngstown children. Instead, that widely supported bipartisan measure was hijacked to create an unelected oversight entity headed by a "CEO," empowered to bypass the elected school board in Youngstown. The CEO will have complete operational, instructional and managerial control of the district. This subversion of the democratically elected school board will be in law now for any district that reaches "academic distress". Given this criteria, Lorain City Schools could be in line for a CEO takeover as well.

Many fear the **move is the first step toward privatizing elements of the Youngstown's education system.** The new CEO will have the power to void contracts, including those negotiated with educators, bring in new corporate partners, close and re-open buildings, and convert City schools to charters.

Ohio's previously discussed charter school regime should not be the answer in Youngstown – a district with huge problems that Ohio's nationally ridiculed charter school system has consistently demonstrated overall is ill equipped to overcome. Already, about 40 percent of the money sent from the Youngstown schools to charters goes to charters that performed the same or worse on the state report card.

The bill was hastily amended and passed by both legislative chambers in just one day, which is unfortunate as there is very little evidence that **state takeovers actually help improve student achievement.** According to peer-reviewed research, "Although takeovers regularly produce greater fiscal stability in school districts, they consistently are unable to produce academic gains."¹⁷

In addition, "... student achievement still oftentimes falls short of expectations after a state takeover. In most cases, academic results are usually mixed at best, with increases in student performance in some areas (e.g., 4th grade reading) and decreases in student performance in other areas (e.g., 8th grade mathematics). The bottom line is that **state takeovers, for the most part, have yet to produce dramatic and consistent increases in student performance, as is necessary in many of the school districts that are taken over.**"¹⁸

As those who have studied the impact of state takeovers on student achievement put it:

"Education is, as the United States Supreme Court stated in *Brown v. Board of Education*, 'perhaps the most important function of state and local governments.' To remove local control over a district's educational program without evaluating the quality of that academic program is to unfairly impose a radical executive branch remedy for a violation that has not been proven ...

States also should be mindful of the strong tradition of local control over education, and what is often still a strong local investment in public schools by elected board members, appointed superintendents, parents, community members, and, of course, life-long educators. If public schools are to continue to be anchors for our communities, then state and especially local level educators and elected educational officials should not be completely cut out of the process of reforming them.”¹⁹

Yet that’s exactly what it appears Gov. Kasich’s top education official – Richard Ross – did. He worked behind the scenes with very few people in Youngstown, cutting out the locally elected school board and officials, as well as his own state board of education, as he pushed this plan through for Kasich.

About all Gov. Kasich has to show for his urban education initiatives is an unpopular plan to remove the democratically elected school board in Youngstown, a huge failed levy in Columbus, and a plan in Cleveland that will struggle to implement the best of the proposed changes because Kasich wouldn’t invest in them.

4. PUNISHING TEACHERS & LOCAL SCHOOLS

In his first term, Gov. Kasich put schoolteachers in his sights as he pushed Senate Bill 5, which would have stripped public employees of their collective bargaining rights. Despite the fact that this measure was overwhelmingly rejected by voters through a citizen’s veto in 2011, Gov. Kasich has repeatedly pushed policies that make it easier for schools to cut teachers’ pay while forcing down more and more state mandates.

A major component of the Cleveland reforms – and while it remains to be seen, may also be the case in Youngstown – was undoing the collective bargaining rights of teachers, allowing managers to have a much greater say in working conditions and locations. Kasich has additionally eroded teachers’ collective bargaining rights by allowing STEM schools to make all their teachers independent [contractors](#), building upon an Ohio Supreme Court ruling that found Ohio’s E-school teachers were not employees. Designating teachers as independent contractors means schools can fire them without cause, decline to contribute to their retirement, or offer them health care.

National observers say the goal – based on Kasich’s Cleveland Plan – is to make teacher salaries based on student test scores,²⁰ which has shown little effectiveness in improving student achievement.

Gov. Kasich’s administration has been so draconian that teachers are leaving the profession in droves.²¹ As one of these teachers, who left his position as a special needs 3rd grade teacher in Fairborn told the Washington Post:

“With this in mind, I would like to extend an invitation to all of you. This is an opportunity to start helping kids in Ohio instead of hurting them. I invite you to please obtain a teaching license and get a teaching job in an Ohio public school. I invite you to do what you ask of us. I invite you to work 12 hours per day. Teach without any quality training in dealing with the behaviors present in kids today. Teach to all of the standards with a laughable lack of resources. Look into the eyes of your students as you tell them that they need to take yet another test that you know isn’t doing anyone any good. Clean your room every evening because of the lack of funds to pay enough custodians. Give up every Sunday so that you can do data analysis, Ohio Teacher Evaluation System nonsense and other assorted garbage. Try to explain to your own kids that this is just part of your job.

After all of this, try coming into work every day knowing that you are told by the state of Ohio that you are ineffective because of a rating system that does not take into account the real reasons (poverty, hunger, neglect, etc.) that many of your students are not doing as well as their wealthier peers in other districts.

A couple of bits of advice: If you do get a teaching job, wear your running shoes and make sure you go to the bathroom before you leave the house every morning. Good luck.”

END NOTES

¹ Higgs, Robert “John Kasich strikes 44 items with line-item veto, signs \$130.0-billion state budget,” *Cleveland.com*, June 30, 2015,

² This plan earned Ohio the prestigious Frank Newman Award (<http://www.ecs.org/html/aboutecs/AwardsWinners.asp>) from the bipartisan Education Commission of the States.

³ Ohio Department of Taxation. “Tax Data Series: Property Tax.” Last Visited 8.4.15.
http://www.tax.ohio.gov/tax_analysis/tax_data_series/publications_tds_property.aspx#Allpropertytaxes

⁴ “Superintendents: Kasich’s funding plan falls short,” *Journalnews.com*, Feb. 9, 2013,

⁵ Based on the Ohio Legislative Service Commission’s 10-year, fully funded Evidence Based Model projections and reimbursement payments for lost Tangible Personal Property and Kilowatt Hour taxes to districts.

⁶ Strauss, Valerie. “Troubled Ohio Charter Schools have become a joke – literally,” *The Washington Post*, June 12, 2015.

⁷ O’Donnell, Patrick “Ohio’s charter schools ridiculed at national conference, even by national charter supporters,” *Cleveland.com*, March 2, 2015.

⁸ “Analysis: Short Changed Again. How Ohio’s Poor-Performing Charter Schools Continue To Cost All Ohio Kids.” *Know Your Charter.com*. April 14, 2015.

⁹ Center for Research on Educational Outcomes at Stanford University, “Charter School Performance in Ohio.” Dec. 9, 2014.

¹⁰ This is because charter schools in Ohio are funded out of money meant for school districts. Even though the state spends nearly \$1 billion a year on charter schools, they do not have their own budget line item. So if there is any per pupil increase for districts, that increase will also go to charters. And even if a district is receiving less money from the state, the charter schools will not suffer the same fate because their funding is buried within state funding for districts.

¹¹ Ohio Department of Education. "FY 2015 Foundation Funding Report" June 2015.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ Ohio Legislative Service Commission. "Comparison Document: House Bill 59, 130th General Assembly." 2 July 2013.

¹⁴ This list includes changes from several of Kasich's budgets, including his most recent.

¹⁵ These amounts include the direct payments made by the state to the Cleveland and EdChoice voucher programs, which is why these amounts exceed the amounts listed on school district payment reports.

¹⁶ Dyer, Stephen. "Caution on the Cleveland Plan." Innovation Ohio. Mar. 8, 2012.

¹⁷ Bowman, Kristi L., "State Takeovers of School Districts and Related Litigation: Michigan as a Case Study" MSU Legal Studies Research Paper No. 11-13. *The Urban Lawyer* Volume 45; July 30, 2013.

¹⁸ Ziebarth, Todd, "State Takeovers and Reconstitutions." Policy Brief. Education Commission of the States, Apr. 4, 2000

¹⁹ Bowman, *supra* at 9.

ADDENDUM: districts impacted by veto

County	District	\$ Change in Total FY15 to FY17
Cuyahoga	Cleveland Municipal SD	\$(13,712,404)
Warren	Mason City SD	\$(3,636,567)
Butler	Lakota Local SD	\$(3,146,041)
Cuyahoga	Strongsville City SD	\$(2,759,855)
Cuyahoga	Mayfield City SD	\$(2,578,783)
Lake	Mentor Ex Vill SD	\$(2,558,065)
Franklin	Worthington City SD	\$(2,521,307)
Medina	Medina City SD	\$(2,397,705)
Hamilton	Sycamore Community City SD	\$(2,347,354)
Cuyahoga	Solon City SD	\$(2,236,626)
Hamilton	Princeton City SD	\$(2,164,961)
Summit	Hudson City SD	\$(1,826,734)
Hamilton	Cincinnati City SD	\$(1,818,702)
Cuyahoga	Berea City SD	\$(1,785,651)
Cuyahoga	Brecksville-Broadview Height	\$(1,715,547)
Summit	Nordonia Hills City SD	\$(1,572,922)
Franklin	Dublin City SD	\$(1,490,607)
Geauga	Kenston Local SD	\$(1,352,093)
Cuyahoga	Westlake City SD	\$(1,273,925)
Cuyahoga	Beachwood City SD	\$(1,272,313)
Cuyahoga	Warrensville Heights City SD	\$(1,257,292)
Portage	Kent City SD	\$(1,149,352)
Lorain	Avon Lake City SD	\$(1,147,894)
Wood	Bowling Green City SD	\$(1,112,397)
Summit	Copley-Fairlawn City SD	\$(1,037,551)
Geauga	Chardon Local SD	\$(977,629)
Cuyahoga	Orange City SD	\$(961,282)

Summit	Twinsburg City SD	\$(870,028)
Montgomery	Kettering City SD	\$(844,684)
Hamilton	Southwest Local SD	\$(838,998)
Lake	Perry Local SD	\$(760,523)
Ottawa	Port Clinton City SD	\$(752,203)
Hamilton	Three Rivers Local SD	\$(729,164)
Hamilton	Mariemont City SD	\$(721,416)
Clermont	New Richmond Ex Vill SD	\$(721,116)
Licking	Lakewood Local SD	\$(713,004)
Hamilton	Norwood City SD	\$(678,785)
Cuyahoga	Bedford City SD	\$(671,993)
Franklin	Grandview Heights City SD	\$(663,774)
Summit	Woodridge Local SD	\$(647,287)
Stark	Jackson Local SD	\$(587,436)
Portage	Aurora City SD	\$(582,566)
Holmes	East Holmes Local SD	\$(578,163)
Miami	Tipp City Ex Vill SD	\$(562,797)
Erie	Huron City SD	\$(562,355)
Monroe	Switzerland Of Ohio Local SD	\$(550,461)
Montgomery	Vandalia-Butler City SD	\$(542,710)
Champaign	Urbana City SD	\$(534,070)
Lake	Riverside Local SD	\$(529,737)
Cuyahoga	Cuyahoga Heights Local SD	\$(508,647)
Cuyahoga	Brooklyn City SD	\$(497,333)
Lorain	Sheffield-Sheffield Lake Cit	\$(473,137)
Ottawa	Benton Carroll Salem Local S	\$(444,174)
Cuyahoga	Independence Local SD	\$(436,645)
Erie	Perkins Local SD	\$(431,415)
Wayne	Orrville City SD	\$(427,465)
Wood	Rossford Ex Vill SD	\$(412,722)
Geauga	Berkshire Local SD	\$(405,958)
Summit	Tallmadge City SD	\$(398,069)
Medina	Buckeye Local SD	\$(368,453)
Portage	Field Local SD	\$(347,135)
Lake	Wickliffe City SD	\$(341,676)
Franklin	Gahanna-Jefferson City SD	\$(328,321)
Logan	Indian Lake Local SD	\$(322,491)
Summit	Revere Local SD	\$(311,862)
Lucas	Anthony Wayne Local SD	\$(309,849)
Medina	Highland Local SD	\$(301,817)
Pike	Scioto Valley Local SD	\$(292,922)
Erie	Vermilion Local SD	\$(273,860)
Belmont	St Clairsville-Richland City	\$(273,855)
Auglaize	St Marys City SD	\$(266,199)
Muskingum	West Muskingum Local SD	\$(261,733)
Cuyahoga	Richmond Heights Local SD	\$(240,718)

Ashtabula	Jefferson Area Local SD	\$(239,297)
Adams	Manchester Local SD	\$(236,819)
Geauga	Cardinal Local SD	\$(233,296)
Lucas	Maumee City SD	\$(226,897)
Cuyahoga	Cleveland Hts-Univ Hts City	\$(196,585)
Mahoning	Boardman Local SD	\$(183,564)
Geauga	Newbury Local SD	\$(183,286)
Trumbull	Howland Local SD	\$(179,072)
Hamilton	Deer Park Community City SD	\$(172,153)
Trumbull	Mathews Local SD	\$(169,476)
Mahoning	Jackson-Milton Local SD	\$(159,309)
Wayne	Triway Local SD	\$(156,160)
Hancock	Van Buren Local SD	\$(154,641)
Pickaway	Circleville City SD	\$(153,034)
Cuyahoga	North Olmsted City SD	\$(152,904)
Wayne	Dalton Local SD	\$(150,912)
Ross	Zane Trace Local SD	\$(148,374)
Madison	London City SD	\$(141,281)
Trumbull	Lakeview Local SD	\$(127,659)
Geauga	Ledgemont Local SD	\$(127,359)
Summit	Norton City SD	\$(126,075)
Clark	Clark-Shawnee Local SD	\$(120,027)
Henry	Napoleon City SD	\$(107,977)
Butler	Edgewood City SD	\$(99,398)
Montgomery	Jefferson Township Local SD	\$(90,126)
Warren	Kings Local SD	\$(80,561)
Montgomery	Centerville City SD	\$(66,711)
Athens	Athens City SD	\$(64,604)
Lorain	Wellington Ex Vill SD	\$(55,774)
Marion	Ridgedale Local SD	\$(51,610)
Montgomery	Brookville Local SD	\$(49,982)
Erie	Berlin-Milan Local SD	\$(48,735)
Hamilton	Forest Hills Local SD	\$(36,796)
Madison	Madison-Plains Local SD	\$(26,914)
Portage	Streetsboro City SD	\$(19,557)
Richland	Ontario Local SD	\$(7,312)
Mahoning	Lowellville Local SD	\$(1,412)

²⁰ Strauss Valerie “What Ohio Gov. John Kasich is doing to public education in his state” *The Washington Post*, July 2015 <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/answer-sheet/wp/2015/07/20/what-ohio-gov-john-kasich-is-doing-to-public-education-in-his-s/>

²¹ Stauss Valerie “Teacher: I’ve loved my ‘very difficult’ job. But now Ohio has made it ‘impossible’” *The Washington Post*, July 2015 <http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/answer-sheet/wp/2015/07/14/teacher-ive-loved-my-very-difficult-job-but-now-ohio-has-made-it-impossible/>