

PRIVATE SCHOOL VOUCHERS: THE OHIO LESSON

Ohio's Private School Voucher program
and its impact on our education system
should stand as a lesson learned,
not a blueprint for the future.

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OHIO PRIVATE SCHOOL VOUCHERS: THE FACTS ADD UP

While much of the discussion around Ohio's school privatization efforts has centered around the state's much-maligned charter schools,¹ a recent, aggressive push in Columbus and Washington, D.C. to ramp up investment in private, mostly religious school vouchers has begun eating up more of the education policy conversation.

State Sen. Matt Huffman, R-Lima, recently introduced Senate Bill 85, which would expand voucher eligibility to 1 million more students, potentially ending many school districts around the state. A companion bill to Huffman's House Bill 200, currently is being amended in the House Education Committee. State Rep. Andrew Brenner, R-Powell, introduced House Bill 102 that would allow charters and private schools to collect state and, for the first time, local property tax money, greatly increasing taxpayer dollars going to these options. And in President Trump's proposed budget released in March, he and his Education Secretary Betsy DeVos have proposed a \$1.4 billion voucher expansion nationwide beginning this fall, with an eye toward expanding it to \$20 billion.

In light of these aggressive policy pushes, it is necessary to step back and examine how vouchers have done in Ohio, which first started offering them in Cleveland in 1996, ostensibly to help kids "escape failing schools." After 20 years, what the data indicate is that any proposed expansion is not warranted and, in fact, could have ruinous effects on kids and families in both voucher schools and local public schools.

Among the data revealed in this report:

- Vouchers now affect schools and children in **83 percent of Ohio's school districts**
- More than **\$310 million will be spent this school year sending public money to private, mostly religious schools** through vouchers
- Including additional direct state payments and reimbursements made to private, mostly religious schools, **more than \$568 million in Ohio taxpayer money is going to support these schools**
- **Every Ohio student not taking a voucher, on average, loses \$63 a year in state funding** because of the way Ohio's lawmakers have decided to fund vouchers
- In an era of the State providing less funding for public schools, Ohio's insatiable investment in private school vouchers **forces local taxpayers to subsidize them with \$105 million in locally raised money** to make up for districts' state funding losses to Ohio's voucher programs
- Students who take vouchers **perform worse than their public school peers** on state assessments
- **Some of the highest performing school districts in the state lose money and students to vouchers**, turning the original intent of the program on its head

Lawmakers in Columbus and Washington, D.C. must take heed of Ohio's experience before the ideologues further push their misguided and failing voucher agenda. Ohio has been quietly expanding the role of vouchers in Ohio's education system for two decades.

FACT #1

VOUCHERS DO NOT
PRODUCE BETTER
RESULTS

Voucher students
actually perform worse
than their public school
counterparts.



FACT #2

VOUCHERS HURT
STUDENTS THAT REMAIN IN
PUBLIC SCHOOL

Ohio public schools lose an
average of \$63 per pupil
in state funding to educate
private school students in
mostly religious schools.



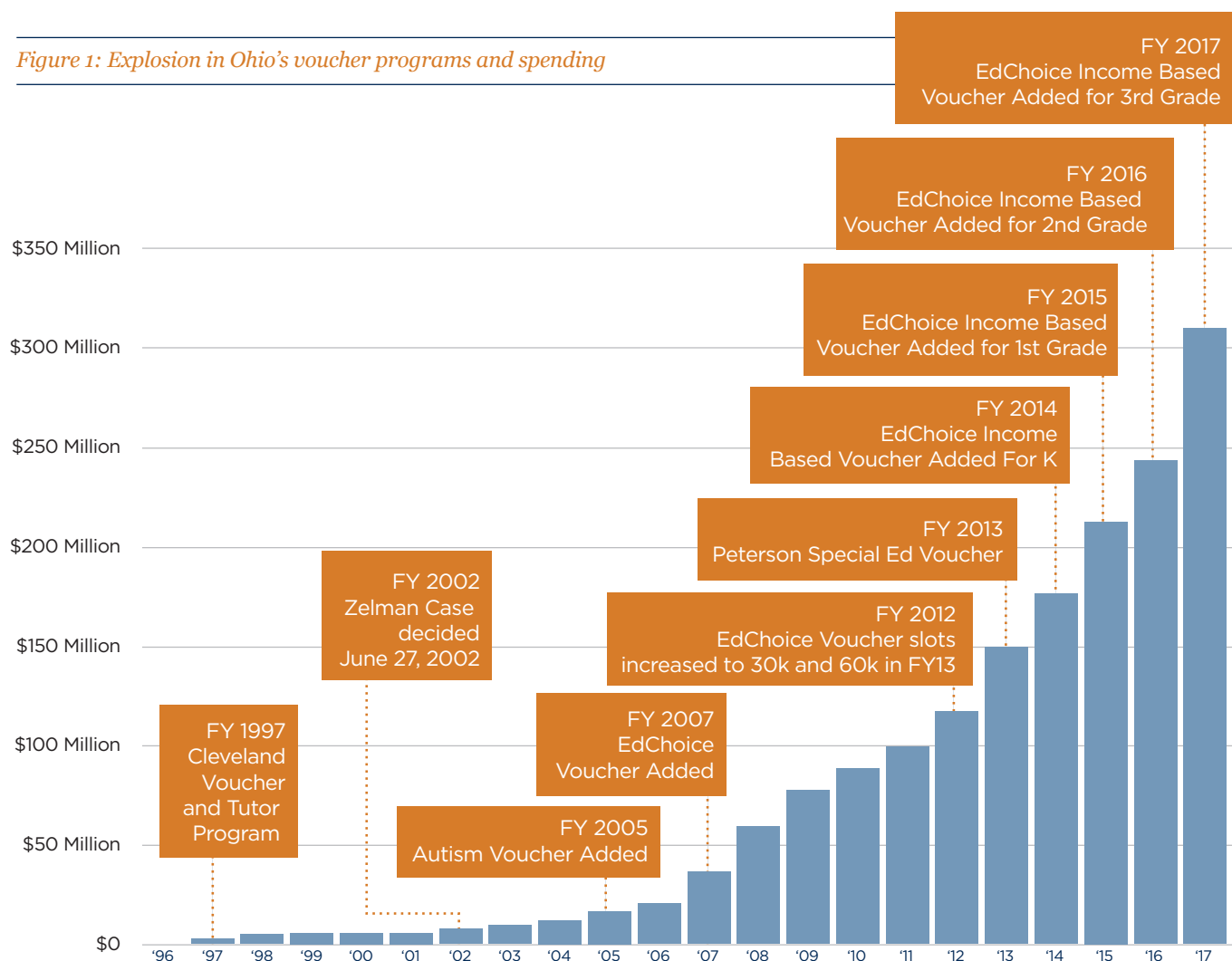
FACT #3

VOUCHERS FORCE LOCAL
PROPERTY TAX INCREASES

Some school districts contributing
the most in local property taxes
to make up for funding lost to
vouchers are among the most
successful districts in the state –
clearly not "failing" districts.

OHIO SCHOOL VOUCHERS 101

Figure 1: Explosion in Ohio's voucher programs and spending



Ohio has been on the front lines of the private school voucher fight for two decades.

In 1995, Ohio passed its pilot voucher program in Cleveland, which began in the 1996-1997 school year as a \$2.9 million investment. It was challenged in court because most of the money went to the city's Catholic schools – a fact critics said violated the Establishment Clause of the U.S. Constitution.

In 2002, in *Zelman v. Simmons-Harris*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the Cleveland voucher program—the only private school voucher program offered in the state at that time—was constitutional, despite the fact that public tax dollars were going to private, mostly religious schools. Then-Chief Justice William Rehnquist stated in his opinion that “[a]ny objective observer familiar with the full history and context of the Ohio program would reasonably view it as one aspect of a broader undertaking to assist poor children in failed schools.” The ruling found the program was limited in scope and costs and, therefore, wasn’t an overly burdensome infringement on the Establishment Clause of the Constitution.

Times have changed.

What was once a single program in one city that cost taxpayers \$2.9 million per year has become a more than \$310 million annual venture, and the growth shows no signs of slowing. Originally created to help students in poor-performing Cleveland schools, the number of voucher programs has steadily grown to include five different voucher programs, making more students around the state eligible. By the 2006-2007 school year, nearly a third of Ohio's 613 school districts saw some students opting to attend private schools using taxpayer-funded vouchers. Private school vouchers are now impacting students in 83 percent of Ohio school districts—certainly not all of which are failing.

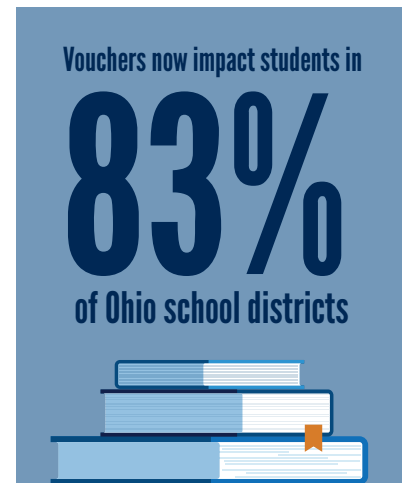


Table 1:
Ohio's Voucher Programs and How Much State Funding They Received in the 2016-2017 School Year

VOUCHER NAME	PURPOSE	SCHOOL YEAR INSTITUTED	AMOUNT RECEIVED IN THE 2016-17 SCHOOL YEAR
Cleveland Scholarship & Tutoring Program	Assisting low-income students to attend private, religious schools	1996-1997	\$49,900,000
EdChoice Scholarship	Assisting students in low-rated districts and, starting in 2013-2014, certain low income and middle class students regardless of district performance, to attend private, religious schools	2006-2007	\$133,078,306
Autism Scholarship	Assisting children with Autism to attend private, sometimes religious schools	2004-2005	\$75,834,720
John Peterson Special Education Scholarship	Assisting Special Education (non-autism) students to attend private, sometimes religious schools	2013-2014	\$51,580,220

THE OHIO LESSON

#1: VOUCHERS ARE NOT PRODUCING BETTER EDUCATIONAL OUTCOMES

A school choice advocacy research outfit, The Fordham Institute, recently examined EdChoice, Ohio's largest voucher program. The Fordham Institute found that voucher students didn't do better or the same as their public school counterparts. They did worse.

As the report put it:

“The students who used vouchers to attend private schools fared worse on state exams compared to their closely matched peers remaining in public schools.”

The study looked at math and reading scores where voucher participants did significantly worse in the study's limited scope.

Even in Cleveland – an often ridiculed district by school choice advocates – vouchers were found to not substantially improve the performance of the students who utilized them. This supports other research indicating that, controlling for demographics,ⁱⁱ public schools overall are more effective at educating children than their private school competitors.

In fact, The New York Times reported that the latest round of research has found that “vouchers may harm students who receive them. The results are startling – the worst in the history of the field, researchers say.”

Under the leadership of Vice President Mike Pence, Indiana invested heavily in vouchers. Yet researchers found voucher students there lost significant ground on math achievement scores.

Kids in New Orleans did much poorer on math and reading scores, with students initially scoring in the 50th percentile in math, ending up in the 26th percentile after taking a voucher.

Despite these troubling data, the Times reported that Trump seems set on moving his proposed \$20 billion voucher proposal through Congress.

#2: VOUCHERS HURT STUDENTS THAT REMAIN IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS

The negative financial impact on Ohio's education system is evident in several ways.

Figure 1 shows that as the number of voucher programs increased, state taxpayer spending on vouchers exploded in the mid-2000s. As a result of the rapid growth, vouchers have grown into an enterprise that consumes over \$300 million taxpayer-dollars each year.

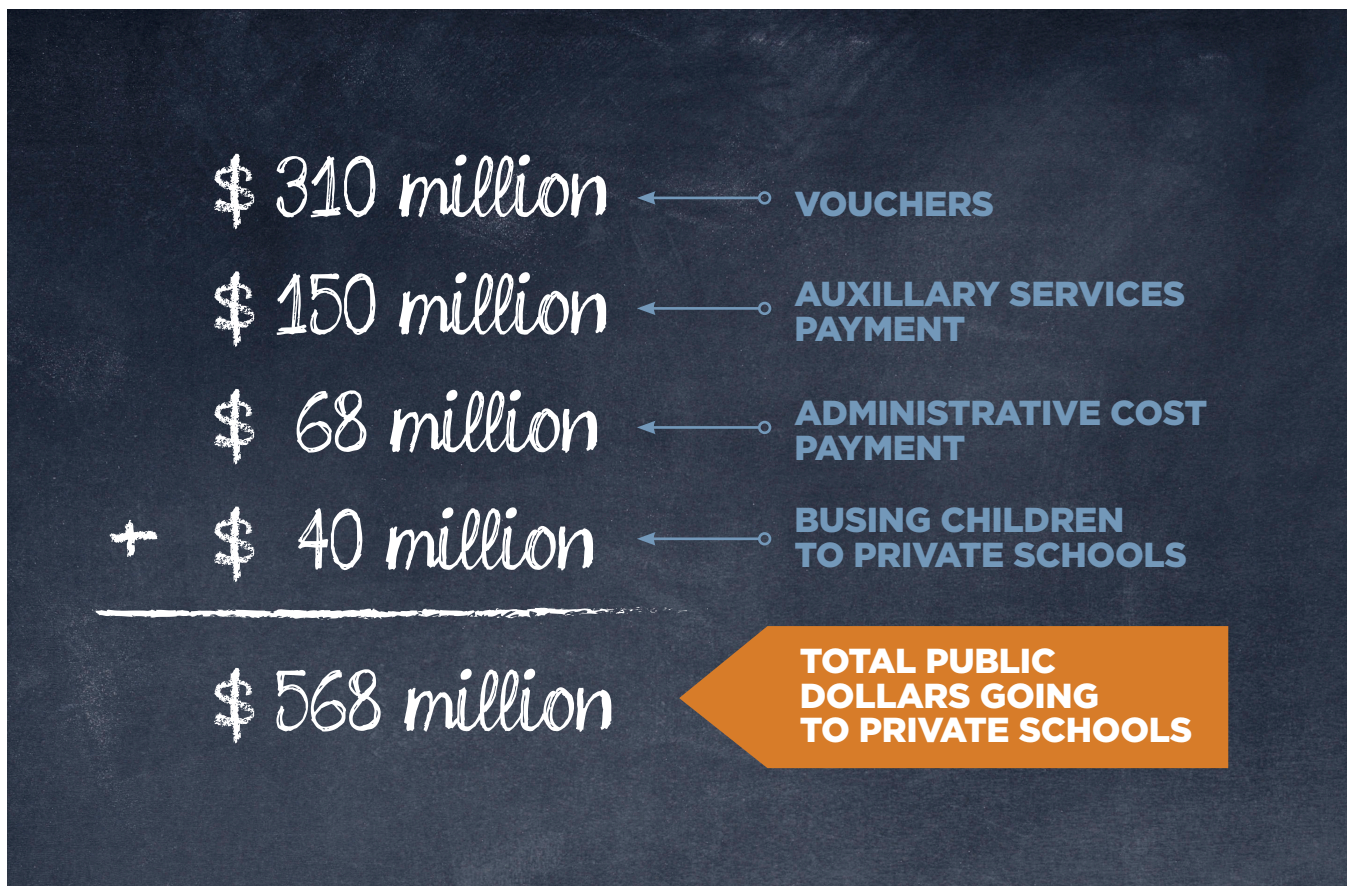
Keep in mind that vouchers aren't the only taxpayer dollars going to private, mostly religious schools.

Private schools are also reimbursed by the State with a so-called "auxiliary services" payment. This reimbursement supports health, counseling, special education, standardized testing, test scoring, textbooks, materials and equipment at private schools. This school year, the "auxiliary services" payment cost taxpayers \$150 million.

Ohio reimburses private, mostly religious schools for an "administrative cost" payment, which includes "the preparation, filing, and maintenance of forms, reports, or records related to state chartering or approval of the school; pupil attendance; transportation of pupils; teacher certification and licensure; and other education-related data." The cost was approximately \$68 million this past school year.

Approximately \$40 million is spent busing children to private schools because Ohio requires school districts to transport children to private schools.

All told, Ohio taxpayers are sending \$568 million to private, mostly religious schools—a far cry from the \$2.9 million "experiment" that started in Cleveland 20 years ago.



Additionally, when students use vouchers to leave public schools, those school districts see their state resources decline accordingly. Ohio funds most private school vouchers the same way it funds charter schools. It deducts the amount for the private school out of the state funding originally designated for the public school district in which the child lives. However, some voucher programs are directly funded by the state.

According to the second March payment made to school districts from the Ohio Department of Education, voucher programs hurt kids who are not taking vouchers by removing \$63 on average from every Ohio public school student's per pupil state funding.¹ This means local taxpayers either have to supplement \$105.6 million in local revenue, or have that revenue disappear from their children's educations.

This money is not even going to the relatively less accountable charter school system. This money is going to a nearly completely unaccountable private school system, whose records are not public, nor are their actions. The public has no idea how this money is being spent. Therefore, it can be difficult to even find problems until long after they've started. For example, it took seven years into the Autism voucher program before the Akron Beacon Journal found that much of the money went to private schools that didn't even offer Autism services.

Table 2:
Ohio School Districts Who Lose the Most Per Pupil State Funding Due to Vouchers

District	County	Per Pupil State Funding Loss from Vouchers	District	County	Per Pupil State Funding Loss from Vouchers
Cleveland Hts-Univ Hts City	Cuyahoga	-\$444	Mayfield City SD	Cuyahoga	-\$183
Wauseon Ex Vill SD	Fulton	-\$360	Independence Local SD	Cuyahoga	-\$170
Beachwood City SD	Cuyahoga	-\$358	Stryker Local SD	Williams	-\$166
Lowellville Local SD	Mahoning	-\$287	Worthington City SD	Franklin	-\$155
Liberty Local SD	Trumbull	-\$235	Struthers City SD	Mahoning	-\$152
Orange City SD	Cuyahoga	-\$234	North Central Local SD	Williams	-\$148
Boardman Local SD	Mahoning	-\$216	Buckeye Valley Local SD	Delaware	-\$146
Delphos City SD	Allen	-\$206	West Geauga Local SD	Gauga	-\$145
Poland Local SD	Mahoning	-\$203	Canfield Local SD	Mahoning	-\$144
Richmond Heights Local SD	Cuyahoga	-\$197	Bowling Green City SD	Wood	-\$143
Pike-Delta-York Local SD	Fulton	-\$195	Norwood City SD	Hamilton	-\$141
South Euclid-Lyndhurst City	Cuyahoga	-\$185	Wickliffe City SD	Lake	-\$140
			Newbury Local SD	Gauga	-\$131

¹ The local private school subsidy is calculated by taking the total state aid sent to a school district, dividing that by the total average daily membership the district. That per pupil amount is then compared with the per pupil amount received by children in the district after private schools receive their vouchers and students from the district. The per pupil figure is then multiplied by the number of students who remain in the school district after the private schools receive their vouchers and students

#3: LOCAL PROPERTY TAXES SUBSIDIZE VOUCHERS, EVEN IN THE HIGHEST PERFORMING SCHOOL DISTRICTS

Because less state funding goes to students in these districts, local property taxes have to be used to offset the losses to private, mostly religious schools.²

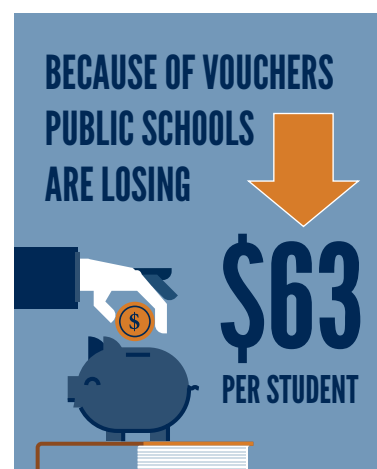
Table 3:
Ohio School Districts Whose Local Taxpayers Pay the Highest Subsidies for Private School Vouchers

District	County	Local Taxpayer Subsidy for Private School Vouchers	District	County	Local Taxpayer Subsidy for Private School Vouchers
Columbus City SD	Franklin	\$6,781,829	Gahanna-Jefferson City SD	Franklin	\$792,350
Cincinnati City SD	Hamilton	\$4,465,482	Fairfield City SD	Butler	\$733,434
Cleveland Hts-Univ Hts City	Cuyahoga	\$2,459,099	Mayfield City SD	Cuyahoga	\$705,295
South-Western City SD	Franklin	\$1,639,880	Newark City SD	Licking	\$690,506
Olentangy Local SD	Delaware	\$1,602,391	South Euclid-Lyndhurst City	Cuyahoga	\$672,270
Worthington City SD	Franklin	\$1,524,435	Wauseon Ex Vill SD	Fulton	\$658,580
Hilliard City SD	Franklin	\$1,481,515	Forest Hills Local SD	Hamilton	\$611,777
Westerville City SD	Franklin	\$1,393,028	Willoughby-Eastlake City SD	Lake	\$580,362
Parma City SD	Cuyahoga	\$1,310,896	Delaware City SD	Delaware	\$563,441
Dublin City SD	Franklin	\$1,207,753	Sylvania City SD	Lucas	\$542,187
Northwest Local SD	Hamilton	\$1,149,089	Elyria City SD	Lorain	\$535,786
Lakota Local SD	Butler	\$1,061,872			
Oak Hills Local SD	Hamilton	\$974,918			
Boardman Local SD	Mahoning	\$961,521			

Vouchers are clearly not being used in “failed” school districts. Dublin, Oak Hills, Lakota, Beachwood or Olentangy School Districts are not “failing.” They are among the highest performing, most well respected school districts, not only in Ohio, but in the nation. The current state of the Ohio voucher program calls into serious question whether the program would be declared constitutional today as it was in 2002.

In fact, local property taxpayers from the top 10 percent performing school districts in the state have to provide nearly \$13 million to subsidize the transfer of state funding from the state’s highest performing school districts to private, mostly religious schools. That’s an average subsidy of \$212,777.

Meanwhile, the average student in a top 10 percent school district, like the remaining 90 percent of school districts, loses about \$63 in state aid because of all the voucher students and funding that leave their school districts – none of which could be considered to be “failing” them.



² Determined by Performance Index Score

Table 4:

25 Highest Performing School Districts in the State and the Amount They Lose to Private School Vouchers to Mostly Religious Schools

DISTRICT	COUNTY	PERFORMANCE INDEX SCORE (120 MAX) 2015-2016	VOUCHER PER PUPIL LOSS/GAIN	VOUCHER LOCAL TAXPAYER SUBSIDY
Solon City SD	Cuyahoga	110.586	\$ (58)	\$ 260,686
Ottawa Hills Local SD	Lucas	108.908	\$ (43)	\$ 39,622
Oakwood City SD	Montgomery	107.66	\$ -	\$ -
Madeira City SD	Hamilton	107.602	\$ (63)	\$ 91,721
Beachwood City SD	Cuyahoga	107.422	\$ (358)	\$ 493,050
Rocky River City SD	Cuyahoga	107.088	\$ (51)	\$ 130,290
Indian Hill Ex Vill SD	Hamilton	106.711	\$ (91)	\$ 182,743
Brecksville-Broadview Heights	Cuyahoga	105.717	\$ (57)	\$ 215,513
Wyoming City SD	Hamilton	104.525	\$ (75)	\$ 144,459
Aurora City SD	Pike	104.513	\$ (19)	\$ 55,310
Granville Ex Vill SD	Licking	104.364	\$ (82)	\$ 202,307
Miller City-New Cleveland Lo	Putnam	103.961	\$ -	\$ -
Kalida Local SD	Putnam	103.676	\$ -	\$ -
Mariemont City SD	Hamilton	103.348	\$ (63)	\$ 108,310
Chagrin Falls Ex Vill SD	Cuyahoga	103.248	\$ (120)	\$ 229,553
Revere Local SD	Summit	103.18	\$ (73)	\$ 195,870
Marion Local SD	Meigs	103.12	\$ (22)	\$ 17,629
Bay Village City SD	Cuyahoga	102.921	\$ (63)	\$ 154,389
Hudson City SD	Summit	102.726	\$ (54)	\$ 244,914
Avon Local SD	Logan	102.72	\$ (58)	\$ 249,421
Minster Local SD	Auglaize	102.257	\$ -	\$ -
Bluffton Ex Vill SD	Allen	102.189	\$ (75)	\$ 79,469
Mason City SD	Warren	102.139	\$ (47)	\$ 483,577
Independence Local SD	Cuyahoga	102.106	\$ (170)	\$ 173,686
Olentangy Local SD	Delaware	102.073	\$ (82)	\$ 1,602,391

ARE TAXPAYERS SUBSIDIZING A PREVIOUSLY MADE CHOICE?

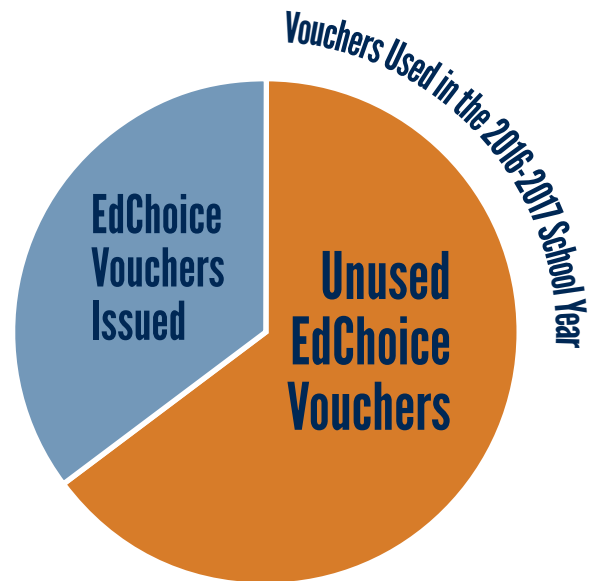
To receive a voucher in Ohio, there is no requirement that a student must have been in the school district from which state funding will be transferred from for at least a year. This means that many Ohio voucher students were already in the private school, only now taxpayers are subsidizing their parents' choice. This problem has been there since the program's inception. In 2001, Policy Matters Ohio found that 61 percent of the Cleveland voucher recipients had previously been in private school before receiving their publicly funded voucher to attend private school.ⁱⁱⁱ

This problem still exists today. For example, Cincinnati Public Schools reported that, of the 199 students applying for the Jon Peterson voucher program, only 15 had ever attended Cincinnati Public Schools. In addition, Lima schools reported that students would show up for the last marking period so they could return in the fall to the private school they always attended, only this time with a taxpayer funded subsidy.^{iv}

Unfortunately, the public subsidy of a previously made decision is built into the state's voucher program. For example, EdChoice has 60,000 vouchers available. There are not 60,000 open seats in Ohio's private schools. In fact, those 60,000 represent more than 1/3 of all private school seats in the state. By design, Ohio lawmakers are deliberately sending public money to fund private school choices families have already made.

This flaw is not unique to Ohio. The Washington Post recently reported that in the U.S., fewer than half of all voucher recipients ever attended the public schools.

If the voucher is meant to “rescue” kids from “failing” schools, why are they going to so many families who already could afford to make the private school choice?



VOUCHER PROGRAMS CONTINUE TO EXPAND

Despite the shaky track record of Ohio's various voucher programs, it hasn't stopped Ohio Republicans from expanding vouchers in both the budget and other legislative bills. A quick review of Figure 1 demonstrates how, despite starting as a single program limited to one city, Ohio now has an array of voucher programs that have quietly expanded to eat up an ever-increasing portion of the state's annual education expenditure.

Since 2010, Ohio's voucher programs have seen generous increases from state lawmakers and Gov. John Kasich. Every budget they have produced – even the one that saw an overall \$1.8 billion cut in public education funding – saw per pupil funding increases for the state's voucher programs. Cleveland's high school voucher program now allows about the same per pupil base funding as a public school student.

In the Zelman case, Rehnquist also commented that one other reason Ohio's voucher program was constitutional was because “[t]he program here in fact creates financial *disincentives* for religious schools, with private, religious schools receiving only half the government assistance given to community schools and one-third the assistance given to magnet schools.” (Rehnquist's emphasis)

With the increases in subsequent years, it is again a challenge to see how today's Ohio voucher program fits into the box described by Rehnquist 15 years ago.

In Governor Kasich's proposed 2018-2019 budget, vouchers are once again seeing funding increases. The increases remained unchanged in the House version of the budget that passed last month, even while many school districts see funding flat or even declining. Ohio's newest voucher program, EdChoice, an income-based voucher available to all students in all districts as long as they meet income guidelines, grows by \$16 million over the biennium thanks to expanding eligibility to students in additional grade levels. These income-based vouchers allow families making more than \$98,000 to qualify for vouchers.

Kasich's budget isn't the only place where vouchers are gaining further support.

SENATE BILL 85

State Sen. Matt Huffman, R-Lima, has introduced Ohio Senate Bill 85, which would essentially phase in all grades for income-based vouchers throughout the state and consolidate all non-special needs voucher programs under one umbrella. According to the Ohio Legislative Service Commission (LSC), 74 percent of all Ohio families would qualify for the vouchers, adding more than 1 million students to those who qualify for vouchers.

LSC estimates that state aid to Ohio school districts would drop by \$4.32 billion if all eligible students signed up for the vouchers and the agency estimates it would cost the state an additional \$1.19 billion annually, assuming all eligible students sign up. A similar LSC analysis of the House's companion bill, House Bill 200, showed that the cost could range between \$45 million if 2.5 percent of eligible students took the voucher and \$133 million if 10 percent sign up.

In any of these cases, the bills could mean that school districts around the state would shutter their doors, potentially ending public education as we know it in many Ohio communities.

HOUSE BILL 102

More radical still is a bill sponsored by State Rep. Andrew Brenner, R-Powell, who is proposing to roll state and local property taxes together into one pot, then send it out in \$8,720 increments to school districts (who would then be banned from raising local revenue), charter schools or private schools, based on the parents' choices.

And while LSC has not yet done a fiscal analysis of the bill, Innovation Ohio estimates that Brenner's plan would give funding increases to 85 percent of Ohio's charter schools and funding cuts to 85 percent of school districts, at the minimum per pupil funding level.

Private schools would see a windfall as well. Brenner's bill would give them, like charter schools, access to local property taxes which are currently restricted to the communities that voted for them in the local school district.

A BLUEPRINT FOR TRUMP?

This growth in Ohio's voucher programs comes, thanks in part to President Trump's Education Secretary and long-time privatization activist, Betsy DeVos. In 2006, Secretary DeVos played a central role in funneling political contributions from David Brennan, the kingpin of Ohio's Charter School movement, to Ohio lawmakers, getting around strict limits on contributions required by campaign finance laws in place at the time. The scheme resulted in DeVos' political action committee getting hit with the largest-ever fine issued in the history of the bipartisan Ohio Elections Commission. The \$5.2 million punishment has yet to be paid.

However, since that maneuver, vouchers that she has championed have exploded here – vouchers which the New York Times characterized as being the “primary focus of her philanthropic spending and advocacy.”

The only major education policy initiative President Trump discussed during his campaign was an effort to essentially turn federal education funding into a huge voucher program – a plan he announced at an Ohio charter school that at the time had an F grade for growing student achievement. In fact, it was one of the only policy initiatives he mentioned during his February address at Congress. And in his initial release of budget documents, he included \$1.4 billion more for vouchers nationwide, while drastically cutting programs to local public school districts.

The Los Angeles Times called the \$1.4 billion, for the fiscal year that begins October 1, 2017, a “down payment on a program that would be ‘ramping up to an annual total of \$20 billion,’ the budget says.”

However, despite this march toward vouchers, more than ever, we can learn from Ohio’s private school voucher programs that they harm educational opportunities for students who remain in the local public schools. Meanwhile, there is mounting evidence compiled by pro-school choice groups that Ohio’s biggest voucher program (and a likely blueprint for Trump’s plan), EdChoice, actually hurts the performance of students who utilize it.

If Trump and DeVos are successful in their plan to take Ohio’s experience nationwide, and the poor performance follows, it could be ruinous to the nation’s kids, parents and schools, effectively ending public schools in many Ohio cities and communities.

Yet Trump and DeVos have learned another lesson from Ohio’s legislative leaders. In the face of years of compelling evidence of the program’s ineffectiveness, Ohio’s lawmakers have continued to increase funding to the state’s private school voucher programs exponentially. As voucher proponents now control all branches of government, it is more essential than ever that federal and state lawmakers consider the history of voucher failures in Ohio and elsewhere before repeating this history in Ohio and nationwide.

CONCLUSION

Ohio’s bad history with vouchers is even deeper and longer than with its nationally ridiculed charter school experiment. In fact, the Cleveland voucher program is still called a “pilot” program in the Ohio Revised Code, despite the fact that it began more than 20 years ago. Ohio’s program led to the U.S. Supreme Court case that upheld the constitutionality of providing public taxpayer dollars to private, mostly religious schools, and is seminal to the voucher movement we see today.

While the program has taken a backseat publicly to the more expensive and obviously scandal-ridden charter school program under Gov. John Kasich, behind the scenes Ohio has had an unprecedented explosion in voucher programs and funding. Ohio now provides more than \$568 million to private, mostly religious schools through vouchers and other taxpayer subsidies paid directly to private, mostly religious schools.

In addition, the children receiving the vouchers perform worse on state testing and the funding mechanism forces local property taxpayers to subsidize these private school vouchers to the tune of more than \$100 million.

Now that this current state budget and President Trump’s proposed federal budget include more voucher expansions locally and nationwide, it is important that legislators and policymakers take heed of what has happened in Ohio. Depriving children in public schools of funding to pay for private schools that don’t provide better outcomes is a dangerous path to take – a path that could eventually lead to the end of public schools in many of our communities.

END NOTES

- ⁱ <http://www.dispatch.com/content/stories/local/2016/06/19/more-charter-schools-closing-after-state-toughens-accountability.html>
- ⁱⁱ Ryan, Julia. "Are Private Schools Worth It?" The Atlantic. Atlantic Media Company, 18 Oct. 2013. Web. 05 June 2017.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Schiller, Zach. "Cleveland School Vouchers: Where Do the Students Come From." (n.d.): n. pag. Policy Matters Ohio. Policy Matters Ohio, 2001. Web. 5 June 2017.
- ^{iv} Lander, William. "State Representative Says Vouchers Less of a Problem than Open Enrollment." LimaOhio.com. The Lima News, 29 Mar. 2014. Web. 27 May 2014. <http://m.limaohio.com/news/news/836196/Last-quarter-vouchers-disruptive?template=art_smartphone>.



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