FLORIDA TAXATION AND BUDGET REFORM COMMISSION

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IN RE: Committee Meeting

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Tallahassee, FL

REPORTED BY: LISA D. FREEZE, RPR

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MEMBERS OF THE COMMITTEE:

Hoyt "Barney" Barnett Martha W. Barnett Allan Bense R. Mark Bostick Talbot "Sandy" D'Alemberte Daniel Gelber Mike Haridopolos Mike Hogan Julia Johnson Bruce Kyle Carlos Lacasa Patricia Levesque Richard Corcoran Gwen Margolis Roberto "Bobby" Martinez Jacintha Mathis John M. McKay Robert "Bob" McKee Lesley J. "Les" Miller, Jr. Randy Miller Jade Thomas Moore Nancy J. Riley Darryl E. Rouson David Rivera James "Jim" A. Scott Susan Story William Gregory "Greg" Turbeville Kenneth "Ken" Wilkinson Brian Yablonski

Т	PROCEEDINGS
2	* * *
3	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Members, please take your
4	seats. Okay. The meeting is called to order.
5	MS. FRIER: Commissioner Barney Barnett.
6	MR. BARNETT: Here.
7	MS. FRIER: Commissioner Martha Barnett.
8	MS. BARNETT: Here.
9	MS. FRIER: Commissioner Bostick.
10	MR. BOSTICK: Here.
11	MS. FRIER: Commissioner Corcoran.
12	MR. CORCORAN: Here.
13	MS. FRIER: Commissioner D'Alemberte.
14	MR. D'ALEMBERTE: Here.
15	MS. FRIER: Commissioner Gelber.
16	MR. GELBER: Here.

- 17 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Haridopolos.
- 18 (No response.)
- 19 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Hogan.
- MR. HOGAN: Here.
- 21 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Johnson.
- MS. JOHNSON: Here.
- MS. FRIER: Commissioner Kyle.
- 24 (No response.)
- 25 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Lacasa.

- 1 MR. LACASA: Here.
- 2 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Levesque.
- 3 MS. LEVESQUE: Here.
- 4 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Margolis.
- 5 (No response.)
- 6 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Martinez.
- 7 MR. MARTINEZ: Here.
- 8 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Mathis.
- 9 MS. MATHIS: Here.
- 10 MS. FRIER: Commissioner McKay.
- MR. MCKAY: Here.
- MS. FRIER: Commissioner McKee.
- MR. MCKEE: Here.

- 14 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Les Miller.
- MR. LES MILLER: Here.
- 16 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Randy Miller.
- 17 MR. RANDY MILLER: Here.
- 18 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Moore.
- MR. MOORE: Here.
- 20 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Riley.
- MS. RILEY: Here.
- MS. FRIER: Commissioner Rivera.
- 23 (No response.)
- 24 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Rouson.
- MR. ROUSON: Here.

1 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Story.

- MS. STORY: Here.
- 3 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Turbeville.

- 4 MR. TURBEVILLE: Here.
- 5 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Wilkinson.
- 6 MR. WILKINSON: Here.
- 7 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Yablonski.
- 8 MR. YABLONSKI: Here.
- 9 MS. FRIER: Vice Chair Scott.
- 10 VICE CHAIR SCOTT: Here.

11 MS. FRIER: Chair Bense. 12 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Here. 13 Okay. There's a quorum. How many do we 14 have? We're missing one person. Must be Judge 15 Kyle, I think. 16 Okay, members. I hope you got a good 17 night's rest. We're going to take up first the reconsideration of committee substitute for 18 19 Constitutional Proposal 40 as amended by 20 Amendment 4. I think the order that we'll take 21 them up, how about if -- Commissioner Levesque, 22 this is your bill, correct? 23 MS. LEVESQUE: An amendment --24 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Turbeville, 25 it's your bill. Why don't you briefly -- or take 6 1 as long as you want to -- explain the bill, and 2 from there we'll move to the amendatory process 3 and from there to the public testimony, if that's agreeable with all the members. 4 5 There's no public testimony on 40. You're right. It was 65. Sorry about that. 6

Commissioner Turbeville, you're

8 recognized.

along.

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9 MR. TURBEVILLE: Thank you, Chairman. This
10 proposal began as the committee product of the
11 Governmental Procedures and Structures Committee,
12 and Commissioner Alan Levine at the time appointed
13 me to become the point person over this issue, and
14 I was happy to work with the committee and other
15 members of the committee to try to shepherd this

And what you have in front of you today is a committee product. And we, obviously, have decided to narrow that focus from all areas of the budget to the education side of things.

And Commissioner Levesque has offered a friendly amendment to do that, and I would like to turn it over to Commissioner Levesque to

CHAIRMAN BENSE: Okay. members, the next bill

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up, CP26, I inadvertently called CP65. I got the65 percent confused.

present the amendment.

- 3 So we will move to the amendatory process.
- 4 Amendment No. 6 by Commissioner Martinez. Did

- 5 you have a different order you wanted to go in,
- 6 Commissioner Turbeville? We'll go Amendment
- 7 No. 6 by Commissioner Martinez. You're
- 8 recognized.
- 9 MR. MARTINEZ: Mr. Chairman, good morning.
- 10 What my amendment does is it goes to lines 24 and
- 11 25 of the measure that was voted upon and defeated
- 12 that was moved back for reconsideration, and it
- 13 removes lines 24 and 25 from that proposal. And
- in its place it substituted the following. Since 14
- 15 Minority Leader Gelber is here, I will read every
- 16 word of my amendment.
- 17 (Laughter.)
- 18 It states the following, quote: A higher
- 19 learning and other public education programs
- 20 that the needs of the people.
- 21 And that's the insertion. So it replaces
- 22 24 and 25, and it puts in its place those
- 23 words.
- 24 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Are there questions of the
- 25 sponsor of the amendment? Are there questions?

2 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Miller, Les 3 Miller, you're recognized. 4 MR. LES MILLER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 5 Question of the sponsor. I'm not quite sure I understand what that means. Could you 6 7 go into a little more detail about that? 8 MR. MARTINEZ: Yes, sir. Mr. Chairman, may I 9 respond? CHAIRMAN BENSE: You're recognized. 10 11 MR. MARTINEZ: All right. What it does, 12 Commissioner Miller, it takes out the words 13 "publicly funded" and in its place it's put the 14 word "public" on line 24. And then I'll explain 15 why I did this. 16 And then on line 25, it takes out the words "for children and adults" in its 17 18 entirety, and it doesn't replace those words. 19 Now, my reason for doing that is that I 20 believe that the change that needs to be made 21 in order to do what I would like to see this 22 accomplish, which is to overturn explicitly the 23 Supreme Court opinion in Bush versus Holmes, I

believe that's all that is needed is to put

1	And what appears on line 18 that I believe is
2	of significance is the clause "at a minimum and
3	not exclusively." And the reason for that
4	if you would like me to continue.
5	MR. LES MILLER: No, I got it.
6	MR. MARTINEZ: Okay.
7	CHAIRMAN BENSE: That means you're okay with
8	this amendment? Don't agree with the
9	understanding?
10	MR. LES MILLER: I haven't woke up yet.
11	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Further questions of the
12	sponsor of the amendment? Commissioner Mathis,
13	you're recognized.
14	Let me back up a second, folks, just to
15	make sure. While we're on CP40, CP40 was
16	amended by Amendment No. 4. So if you're
17	trying to follow along, follow with Amendment
18	No. 4, because that was amended into the bill.
19	So that is really what we're on. I please
20	excuse me. I said it, but I should have

emphasized it more.

22	Further questions of the sponsor of the
23	amendment?
24	(No response.)
25	We're in debate. Is there debate on the
	10
1	amendment?
2	MR. GELBER: I have a question.
3	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Gelber, you're
4	recognized, for a question.
5	MR. GELBER: Yeah, I'd like Commissioner
6	Martinez, how are you? Good morning. The
7	could you explain what you think the import of the
8	changes would what they would bring
9	specifically to public education and obviously
10	some of the words that you've taken off.
11	CHAIRMAN BENSE: You're recognized,
12	Commissioner Martinez.
13	MR. MARTINEZ: Is that specifically as to my
14	amendment, or the well, all I want to do with
15	my amendment is I'm not I don't want to create
16	an entitlement for people to come in and say that
17	this has somehow provided an entitlement to a
18	publicly financed private program for education.

19	And I think that in order to make sure	
20	that that's clear, I have taken those words out	
21	to restore it to the original words of the	
22	constitution.	
23	Now, I've added another amendment, but	
24	we're not there yet, that makes it even more	
25	explicit. But at this time what I'm trying to	
		11
1	do is I'm trying to restore the original	
2	wording in the constitution on those lines,	
3	because to answer your question specifically	
4	as to what this does to public education, this	
5	restores the requirement in our constitution	
6	that says that the duty to provide adequate	
7	provision for the education of all of our	
8	children shall be through a uniform, efficient,	
9	safe, secure, and high quality system of free	
10	public schools. That's restored. That's kept	
11	in there. That's honored, and that's honored	
12	at a minimum, that very high standard is	
13	honored at a minimum.	
14	So the only new words that I believe are	

needed and that are put in there to address

Bush versus Holmes is "and not exclusively."
But my intention in public school education is
to protect it, not to do anything that harms
it, and I don't want to affect public
education. I just want to make sure that the
Legislature is given the authority to have
to provide programs for private school choice
options as part of the school choice programs.

24 MR. GELBER: If I could.

CHAIRMAN BENSE: Follow-up. You're

recognized.

MR. GELBER: Yeah. On this one -- and I know that the one coming up, I think I got what that does, but on this one you're just -- really what you're taking out is "for children and adults" and you're reverting back to the -- what was in there previously. And I assume you believe that the high quality applied to the first part but not to the -- there was a comma in the original version and then it goes into the higher ed stuff. And you're trying to maintain that separation and reverting back to I guess what it was before.

13	MR. MARTINEZ: May I respond?
14	CHAIRMAN BENSE: You're recognized.
15	MR. MARTINEZ: I'm trying to as it affects
16	the public school system, as it affects higher
17	education and community college, all that language
18	that's in the constitution as currently worded, I
19	don't want to touch any of that. All I'm trying
20	to do is put in the operative words I'm putting
21	in here are "and not exclusively." And I think
22	that's all we need in order to address the Bush
23	versus Holmes Supreme Court opinion.
24	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Further questions?
25	Commissioner Barnett, you're recognized for a
	13
1	question.
2	MS. BARNETT: Thank you. And this is on the
3	amendment, Commissioner Martinez. Can you hear
4	this? Is this on?
5	CHAIRMAN BENSE: You're on.
6	MS. BARNETT: The way the constitution is
7	currently structured, this is there's one

high quality education is applicable to both

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14 if

7 It starts on line 20. "High quality system of 8 free public schools that allow students to 9 obtain a high quality education." All of that is in connection with the free 10 11 public schools. That doesn't refer to the 12 state university system or the community 13 colleges. Whether I like it or not, that's the wording in the constitution. I have no 14 15 objections if you want to put "high quality 16 education" with regards to institutions of 17 higher learning. I don't have any objections 18 to that at all. 19 But I think that in order to be precise, the -- what's in lines 20 and 21, I think is 20 21 well known and accepted that that only refers 22 to the free public school systems within 23 K through 12. That's not referring to the 24 state university system or community colleges. 25 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Follow-up? Okay. 15 1 Additional questions of the sponsor of the 2 amendment?

3 (No response.)

4 Let's go back to debate. Any debate on 5 the amendment? 6 (No response.) 7 Seeing none, the question occurs on 8 passage of Amendment No. 6. All in favor of 9 the amendment say aye. 10 (Aye). 11 Opposed no. 12 (No response.) The amendment passes. 13 Next we'll move on to Amendment No. 7 by 14 15 Commissioner Moore. Commissioner Moore, you're 16 recognized. 17 MR. MOORE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. 18 keeping with the theme of the revised Amendment 19 No. 4, since we basically took out public 20 education and spoke only to public opinion of 21 education, I just wanted to follow through and 22 make sure that we provide an efficient, safe, 23 secure, and high quality system of free schools, 24 and thereby not taking the public, since it's no 25 longer dealing with public schools, let's make

- 1 sure that all the schools are efficient, safe,
- 2 secure, and high quality.
- 3 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Okay. Are there questions
- 4 of the sponsor of the amendment? Commissioner
- 5 Levesque, you're recognized for a question.
- 6 MS. LEVESQUE: Commissioner Moore, is it your
- 7 intention then to create a system whereby the
- 8 state funds all schools?
- 9 MR. MOORE: Yes.
- 10 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Further questions?
- 11 Commissioner Barnett, you're recognized for a
- 12 question.
- MS. BARNETT: I'd like you to maybe expand on
- that answer just a little bit in terms of free
- schools. I interpreted your amendment as creating
- a regulatory structure for all schools, whether
- they were public or non public.
- MR. MOORE: Yes.
- 19 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Why don't you speak in the
- 20 mic, Commissioner Jade -- Commissioner Moore.
- MR. MOORE: Yes.
- 22 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Okay. Commissioner
- 23 Turbeville for a question.

24	MR. TURBEVILLE: Does this create a an
25	entitlement to programs that are also included in
	17
1	this section? It seems to me that there are
2	currently program that are authorized in law
3	that for instance, FRAG or in certain cases
4	Bright Futures, where they receive a partial
5	payment for their tuition and then the student or
6	the parent is required to make up the difference.
7	And it seems to me if you strike "public" and you
8	simply put the word "free" in its place, you're
9	may set up a situation where you're creating a
10	fiscal impact on this and really creating a new
11	mandate for the Legislature to fund all schools
12	that are authorized in law. Is that I mean, is
13	that your intention?
14	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Moore?
15	MR. MOORE: It would be be my intention
16	that, at least to the extent that we can provide
17	safe, secure, high quality schools, that all
18	schools be provided with that standard.
19	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Turbeville for
20	a follow-up question.

21	MR. TURBEVILLE: Well, just to narrow that
22	down a little bit. I mean, there are currently
23	programs, the corporate income tax credit program
24	is one, Bright Futures is a program that also has
25	a similar framework, FRAG, which is the last
	18
1	two are higher education, but there are other
2	educational programs in K through 12 that provide
3	a partial payment for the school, not an entire
4	payment. So would this not create a mandate to
5	the Legislature to provide every program to every
6	kid that they qualify for under law, provide a
7	full payment for that?
8	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Moore, you're
9	recognized.
10	MR. MOORE: Yes, it might very well do that.
11	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Further questions?
12	Commissioner Martinez.
13	MR. MARTINEZ: I'm sorry. I was up here. I
14	wasn't capable of hearing all that. I just want
15	to make sure this is clear. Commissioner Moore,
16	does this wording and I think it's repetitive
17	of what you were just asked and responded. Does

18	this wording, is it designed to have the state
19	fund all education and have all of that education
20	regulated by the state?
21	MR. MOORE: Yes.
22	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Moore, your
23	response?
24	MR. MOORE: Yes.
25	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Rouson for a
	19
1	question.
2	MR. ROUSON: Thank you, Mr. Chair. It seems
3	to me that this Amendment 4 as a substitute for 40
4	puts the crack in the wall. Once we begin to give
5	people the option of going to a private school
6	with public dollars, at worst it creates a
7	catalyst for a trend, and at minimum it creates a
8	trend. Because if we're not putting money into
9	public schools to improve them and maintain them,
10	then we're giving people this this other
11	option.
12	It seems to me, Commissioner Moore, and I
13	want to see if this is correct, what you're

trying to do by this is just take the charade

15	off of it. The logical extension of what
16	Amendment 4 is is that ultimately we move
17	towards all schools being free, and we're
18	getting rid of this distinction of private and
19	public; is that right?
20	MR. MOORE: That's correct.
21	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Further questions? Further
22	questions?
23	MR. LES MILLER: Mr. Chairman?
24	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Miller, you're

recognized.

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1 MR. LES MILLER: Let me comment a little further on what Commissioner Rouson was saying. 2 3 In taking what he said concerning all schools being free, take the private part of it being 4 5 free, when we looked at charter schools back in 1997, we were talking about them having a 6 different curriculum per se than the public 7 8 schools. Even though charter schools are, quote/unquote, public, they have a different 9 curriculum and different standard than public 10 schools. 11

12 Eventually, I think that -- in there it 13 had to make sure that they were efficient, they 14 were safe, they were secure, and a quality 15 system of education. 16 And what you're saying here is simply 17 nothing more than that, that any school, 18 regardless if it's a school that is drawn out 19 by the school system or if it's a storefront 20 school, that school must be efficient; it must 21 be safe; it must be secure; it must have 22 quality, a high quality system for free schools 23 that allow students to obtain a high quality 24 education, making sure that nothing goes wrong 25 with the students in this particular school, 21 1 that they are not placed in any harm of danger 2 by anyone, and making sure it's secure and safe 3 and they're getting the best possible education 4 or the best education they possibly can. Is 5 that nothing more than what you're saying? 6 CHAIRMAN BENSE: You're recognized.

8 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Further questions? Further

MR. MOORE: Yes.

9	questions?
10	(No response.)
11	Okay. Is there debate? Commissioner
12	Turbeville in debate.
13	MR. TURBEVILLE: Well, based upon the answers
14	that I received to my question about this creating
15	a potential new mandate on the state, and at a
16	minimum, if you're looking at just one program
17	that's in existence, if you don't even look at the
18	higher education programs, if you look at the
19	corporate income tax credit program, it currently
20	saves the state \$70 million a year. This is
21	nothing more than a new requirement to spend
22	additional money at the state level.
23	And so, because it does have a fiscal
24	impact and it clearly has a fiscal impact
25	and that's its intent, I'm going to vote
	22
1	against it.
2	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Okay. Commissioner Kyle,
3	you're recognized in debate.
4	MR. KYLE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I would

like to echo some of the comments of Commissioner

Turbeville. It would seem to me by deleting a word that you would mandate that even the schools that the voucher would be used for would be free. And, in other words, your voucher would have to cover the entire amount that the tuition would cover at the private school that was in the voucher program.

And whether or not that -- I just don't think that's a good idea. I think that's something for the Legislature to decide if we're going to give them the flexibility to create a voucher program.

And likewise, I don't think anyone in the Legislature would say that they don't want the schools in the voucher program to be -- they don't want them to be efficient, they don't want to be safe, they don't want them to have a high quality of education. I think they can fashion a program to make sure that that's the case in the schools that are in the voucher

program, meet those standards whether they want
to heavily regulate them or not. I think

- that's something we should leave to theLegislature to decide.
- 5 Likewise, I don't recall the short period 6 of time there were vouchers people who actually 7 went to schools complaining about the schools 8 that they went to for vouchers, and I think we 9 need to leave it to the parents to decide, 10 which is the whole essence of a voucher 11 program, to investigate which school they want 12 their child to go to, and let them be the 13 ultimate decider of which school they think is 14 best for their child, which school is safest 15 for their child, which school provides the best education for their child. And I think parents 16 17 are capable of doing that, and that's the whole crux of the whole voucher issue. 18
 - And -- so, to put this in there I think puts all those issues at jeopardy to create a safe efficient program in and of itself for vouchers. Thank you.
- 23 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Miller in debate.

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25 MR. LES MILLER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. If

1	we're going to look at putting this language on
2	the ballot to basically talk about allowing
3	vouchers to be in the constitution, if it passes
4	this committee and goes on the ballot and the
5	public does vote for it, I think that somewhere in
6	there we should make sure that we put the language
7	that Commissioner Moore has in his amendment.

I understand that some people feel that
maybe the Legislature should be doing that, but
if we're going to go above and beyond the
Legislature and put it on the ballot to allow
it to be in the constitution by the public,
then the public should have the opportunity to
make sure that when we're talking about a
voucher, that every school that gets this
voucher, or every school period in the state of
Florida gets public funding should be
efficient, safe, secure, and have a high
quality system of education for our schools to
obtain a high quality education in the State of
Florida. I don't see anything wrong with that.

I don't think it's a mandate at all. I

just think that we have to secure -- today's time -- we see happening in schools, we got to make sure our students are safe. I don't want

to send anyone -- any person's child off to any school, be it a school that's getting a voucher or a school that's getting a corporate scholarship, whatever, and that school is not safe and making sure that they're protected when that child walks off from home.

Every person, every adult that when they send their child off to school they want their child to return home. They want them to return home with a good education for that particular day and the whole entire time they're going to school. I don't see anything wrong with making sure that it's efficient, safe, secure -- bless you. I'm sorry. Interrupted there.

(Laughter.)

And a high quality education in the State of Florida. So I don't think it's a mandate.

I think it's something that should be on the ballot. Put the voucher initiative on the

ballot and the people of the State of Florida
can make sure that they vote for it. They're
going to have a safe school system, whether
it's public or private, that their child can go
to. And so I ask you to please support
Commissioner Moore's amendment.

1 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Martinez in 2 debate.

MR. MARTINEZ: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I don't support this, and I'm glad that Commissioner Moore has offered it, because it shows you the distinction between what I'm trying to accomplish and some others and what he would like to accomplish. I'm not seeking to accomplish a fully funded system of the private entitlement to education, and I think the wording of his amendment clearly does that. And he has admitted as much.

So I'm glad that he's offered that, so that you can see the distinction between the two alternatives. And although I have only the greatest respect for Commissioner Moore, he and

17	I have served on the same subcommittee of this
18	Commission, and I know he, like I, have a
19	tremendous love and respect for the educational
20	system and public school system.
21	With regards to what he's trying to do
22	here, I cannot support that. Thank you.
22	CHATDMAN DENCE: Commissioner Dousen in

23 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Rouson in debate.

25 MR. ROUSON: Thank you very much. You know,

there was a old guy who used to run around, and he used to say, Ain't nothing funny, it's all about money. Ain't no pie in the sky down here. So while you round here, you might as well get you some cash.

It seems to me that that's what this is about. It's about public dollars being diverted from maintaining and improving public schools and being given to private institutions. And what Commissioner Moore's amendment does is it pulls the curtain back, because it is the logical extension of vouchers going to private institutions. It just is.

14	And I'm glad that Commissioner Moore is
15	not Ray Charles, but even Ray Charles could see
16	this, that that's what's coming down the pike.
17	That's exactly what's coming down the pike.
18	The next step will be a fully funded private
19	education with public dollars. So to say we're
20	not trying to accomplish that might be very
21	genuine. You're not trying to accomplish that
22	today, but it certainly opens up that door.
23	Now, maybe if we add another amendment to
24	it and we say 30 percent of the private schools
25	have to be owned by African-Americans and
	28
1	30 percent have to be owned by Hispanics and we
2	carved up the money, but I think that the
3	amendment just lifts the charade, and I intend
4	to support it.
5	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Okay. Further debate?
6	Commissioner Mathis, you're recognized in debate.
7	MS. MATHIS: I cannot support Commissioner
8	Moore's amendment, because it does exactly what I
9	do not want to see done. I was concerned when

this proposal was originally drafted, that it

11	would create an entitlement, and that is what ${\tt I}$
12	could not support. But from the amendments
13	offered by Commissioner Martinez, and I think
14	another amendment coming up, I've been assured
15	that this proposal is not going to be an
16	entitlement of publicly funded private education.
17	So while I respect the other
18	commissioners' viewpoints, I agree with
19	Commissioner Martinez and Commissioner
20	Turbeville and others who have clearly said
21	that this was not the intent of this proposal,
22	and I appreciate the additional language
23	they're adding to clarify that. And I could
24	not support Commissioner Moore's amendment.
25	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Further debate? Further
	29
1	debate? Further debate?
2	(No response.)
3	Seeing none, Commissioner Moore, you're
4	recognized to close on your amendment.
5	MR. MOORE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. No one
6	loves public schools more than I do. But the
7	when we put the language in here that "this duty

- 8 shall be fulfilled at a minimum but not
- 9 exclusively through," we opened the door, as
- 10 Commissioner Rouson clearly said, and I want to
- assure that if public money is being spent on
- 12 private schools that they are safe, secure, and
- 13 high quality. And I believe the state can
- regulate that, and the state should regulate that.
- 15 Thank you Mr. Chairman.
- 16 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Okay. Commissioner Moore
- 17 having closed --
- 18 MR. MOORE: Roll call vote? Commissioners
- 19 want a roll call vote?
- 20 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Sure. Commissioner Moore
- 21 having closed on Amendment No. 7, Nancy, please
- 22 call the roll.
- MS. FRIER: Chair Bense.
- 24 CHAIRMAN BENSE: No.
- MS. FRIER: Commissioner Barney Barnett.

1 MR. BARNETT: No.

- 2 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Martha Barnett.
- 3 MS. BARNETT: No.
- 4 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Bostick.

- 5 MR. BOSTICK: No.
- 6 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Corcoran.
- 7 MR. CORCORAN: No.
- 8 MS. FRIER: Commissioner D'Alemberte.
- 9 MR. D'ALEMBERTE: No.
- 10 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Hogan.
- MR. HOGAN: No.
- MS. FRIER: Commissioner Johnson.
- MS. JOHNSON: No.
- 14 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Kyle.
- MR. KYLE: No.
- MS. FRIER: Commissioner Lacasa.
- 17 (No response.)
- 18 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Levesque.
- MS. LEVESQUE: No.
- 20 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Martinez.
- MR. MARTINEZ: No.
- MS. FRIER: Commissioner Mathis.
- MS. MATHIS: No.
- 24 MS. FRIER: Commissioner McKay.
- MR. MCKAY: No.

- MR. MCKEE: No.
- 3 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Les Miller.
- 4 MR. LES MILLER: Yes.
- 5 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Randy Miller.
- 6 MR. RANDY MILLER: No.
- 7 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Moore.
- 8 MR. MOORE: Yes.
- 9 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Riley.
- 10 MS. RILEY: No.
- 11 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Rouson.
- MR. ROUSON: Yes.
- MS. FRIER: Commissioner Story.
- 14 MS. STORY: No.
- 15 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Turbeville.
- MR. TURBEVILLE: No.
- 17 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Wilkinson.
- 18 MR. WILKINSON: No.
- 19 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Yablonski.
- 20 MR. YABLONSKI: No.
- 21 MS. FRIER: Vice Chair Scott.
- 22 VICE CHAIR SCOTT: No.
- 23 CHAIRMAN BENSE: And by your vote the
- 24 amendment fails. Vote total was 21 to three.

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1	by Commissioner Martinez. Commissioner
2	Martinez, you're recognized.
3	MR. MARTINEZ: Mr. Chairman, I have withdrawr
4	Amendment 8 and I submitted Amendment 9.
5	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Okay. Do you wish to
6	withdraw Amendment No. 8?
7	MR. MARTINEZ: Yes, sir.
8	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Without objection, show
9	Amendment No. 8 withdrawn.
10	We are now on Amendment No. 9, which has
11	just been handed out to you. Commissioner
12	Martinez, you're recognized on Amendment No. 9.
13	MR. MARTINEZ: Yes, Mr. Chairman, Amendment
14	No. 9 would come right at the end of section 1A.
15	And it is my attempt to make it as explicit as
16	possible, that, quote, "Nothing in this subsection
17	creates an entitlement to a publicly financed
18	private program." Period. It's very
19	straightforward, and I hope that that addresses
20	concerns that some of my colleagues have had.
21	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Are there questions of the

- sponsor of the amendment? Commissioner Gelber,
 you're recognized.
- MR. GELBER: Bob, a couple questions if I

 can, Commissioner -- Mr. Chairman.

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1 First, I'd like to ask what's the 2 definition of a "publicly financed private 3 program." Is it a program that uses tax 4 dollars? Is it, for instance, a corporate tax 5 credit program, a publicly financed private program? Because the folks that run that 6 7 program have argued consistently that it is not 8 public dollars being used.

CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Martinez, you're recognized to respond.

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MR. MARTINEZ: I think the CTC actually has its own separate situation that -- because of the way it's funded through tax contributions that are deductible -- through contributions that are tax-deductible. So one could make an argument, Commissioner Gelber, that's not per se publicly financed.

What my attempt to get at here is, I do

19	not want somebody to come in, myself for
20	example, and say, I have a right to have the
21	state finance my private program for educating
22	my kids, whether that be at pre-K, K through
23	12, or thereafter.
24	MR. GELBER: Follow-up.
25	CHAIRMAN BENSE: You're recognized.
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1	MR. GELBER: Okay. Well, my precise question
2	was whether or not the corporate tax credit
3	program or any program that uses an intermediary
4	for a credit would qualify for publicly financed.
5	I take it from your answer that while it's
6	intended not to create an entitlement for some
7	programs, it would not apply to that program or
8	any program that isn't defined by the term
9	"publicly financed" like that program.
10	In other words, it could create
11	entitlement for those programs because the only
12	ones you exclude from the entitlement are the
13	publicly financed private programs.
14	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Martinez,
15	you're recognized.

MR. MARTINEZ: Well, as I understand it, those would be the only ones to which one could seek an entitlement. But, just so it's clear on the record, since this is the record of the proceedings proposing this constitutional amendment, it is my intention that nothing that we put in this amendment create an entitlement to having an individual go to the state and say, I'm entitled to have my educational program financed from public funds.

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1 MR. GELBER: Follow-up.

2 CHAIRMAN BENSE: You're recognized.

3 MR. GELBER: I think you're probably doing

4 this provision in response to line 17 and 18. And

5 I think that's -- I'd like to talk for a moment

6 how this Amendment No. 9 interrelates with lines

7 17 and 18.

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8 CHAIRMAN BENSE: You want to do that in the
9 debate phase, or you want to do it in the question
10 phase?

MR. GELBER: Actually through a question.

12 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Okay. Good.

13	MR. GELBER: Is it your belief that the
14	phrase "this duty shall be fulfilled at a minimum
15	and not exclusively through adequate provision by
16	law," et cetera, et cetera, "because at a minimum
17	and not exclusively," that in fact this provision
18	may create an entitlement, because it requires
19	that the education system be not exclusively
20	public.
21	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Martinez,
22	you're recognized.
23	MR. MARTINEZ: Going back I'm sorry.
24	Going back to lines 20 actually, would
25	be 17 and 18. And I think we have to take the
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1	constitution as currently drafted, and so we

start at line 6 -- 15.

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As drafted -- I think this change was in '98 -- the people determined that the -- that it is the paramount duty of the state to make adequate provision for the education of all children residing within its borders. And then the constitution as currently drafted says, "Adequate provision" -- trying to figure out

where the cross-outs are. "Adequate provision shall be made by law for uniform, efficient, safe, secure, and high quality system of free public schools."

That is the standard currently in our constitution as to how that duty is to be fulfilled, and I'm keeping that. In fact, I'm making that the floor by saying that is the duty at a minimum. So the minimum duty is a very high duty, which is the current duty in the constitution. That is as it applies to a system of free public schools.

The reason why the words "and not exclusively" is in there -- are in there is strictly and specifically to address the ruling in the Bush versus Holmes case, in which the

Supreme Court stated that the wording of the constitution provides the single and only and exclusive manner in which the state is to fulfill its mandate to make adequate provision for the education of Florida's children through a system of public schools, and then by using

7	that rationale struck down the Opportunity
8	Scholarship Program private school option,
9	because it says that's not provided for in the
10	constitution. We can only fulfill that mandate
11	one way, through a public school system.

So the reasons for the words "and not exclusively" is to allow for programs such as the Opportunity Scholarship Program that provide a private school option through a school choice program.

MR. GELBER: Follow-up question? Here's really the -- well, let's get right to the relevance of the phrase. If you look at lines 17, 18, and 19, basically saying that education must be fulfilled, and your phrase, "at a minimum and not exclusively," I know it's to get to respond -- we agreed to respond to that decision.

But is it not creating two requirements for education to be fulfilled? Number one,

it's got to be at a minimum to free public education, but two, it cannot be exclusively through a public education, because when you

say, "and not exclusively," you're creating another requirement that that system of complying with the mandate to provide high quality isn't simply at a minimum to the public school system, but it's also got to be -- it can't exclusively be through the public school system, and I think that's what your new amendment is referring to.

But my question really is, is on line 18, when you say "at a minimum and not exclusively," are you not requiring that when the Legislature puts together a system for educating its children that it will have to be at a minimum high standard and as well as not exclusively public, because you are requiring it, that it be not exclusive, and that I assume you believe — therefore my question is: Do you believe without this amendment that you are creating a mandate that we have a private school system on the Legislature, and that's what your amendment is supposed to be addressing?

1 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commission Martinez, you're
2 recognized.
3 MR. MARTINEZ: Definitely not.
4 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Any questions? Further
5 questions? Commissioner McKay, you're recognized

for a question.

MR. MCKAY: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. My

question is for Commissioner Martinez,

Commissioner Gelber, anybody else that wants to

jump in, too. And I asked Commissioner Martinez

to work with me on his Amendment No. 8 to -- to

have it be -- to -- in order to work to prevent a

wholesale opening of the treasury for vouchers.

As Commissioner Gelber and I have spoken before many times, if the disability voucher was stricken by the court for any reason, he said that both Democrats and Republicans would come to the aid of that program, because there are 20 plus thousand children that are doing much better.

But there, unfortunately, were a number of bad apples that were spoiling the barrel; and so after three years' work, the Legislature What I wouldn't want to see, and I think it would be a bad road for us to go down for those 20 plus thousand children as well as the 20 plus thousand children under the corporate tax scholarship program, is that someone -- and I'll just use this as an example, but there are many others. Someone that is currently home-schooling their children could come to the Legislature or come to the state and say, I'm home-schooling my child. I want the state to send the check to me. That is a prescription for disaster.

So I would ask Commissioners Martinez and Gelber, and again, anybody else, to see if there's language that we can put into the amendment that will prevent that possibility and lead to the demise of the very good programs that have been established and are broadly supported.

CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Martinez.

21	MR. MARTINEZ: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I
22	believe, Commissioner McKay, and I share your
23	your intention of making sure that this doesn't
24	provide for an obligation to be fulfilled by the
25	state for anyone who comes in and says, I want
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1	public funds to finance my private education
2	program. I don't want to accomplish that.
3	So I believe that Amendment No. 9 does
4	that. Nothing in this subsection creates an
5	entitlement to a publicly financed private
6	program. I think that that wording is clear
7	and sufficiently broad to encompass that
8	situation.
9	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Further questions? Further
10	questions? Commissioner Gelber for a question.
11	MR. GELBER: Yeah. In response to
12	Commissioner McKay's point, item number coming up
13	next is Amendment 10, which I think would better
14	address your concerns.
15	But again, my question well, it's just
16	to clarify. You believe your amendment would
17	not would prevent entitlement of a person or

18	a family; is that correct, Mr. Martinez?
19	CHAIRMAN BENSE: You're recognized.
20	MR. MARTINEZ: Yes, I do.
21	MR. GELBER: As a follow-up.
22	CHAIRMAN BENSE: You're recognized.
23	MR. GELBER: What about a requirement on the
24	Legislature? In other words, you still have that
25	provision in sentence 18 which says, fulfilling
	42
1	the duties, you need it to be at a minimum through
2	a free public system, but not exclusively through
3	a free public system. Both those things, because
4	of the word "and" but also because that's what
5	those phrases mean. So how do you prevent the
6	Legislature from not having a burden and an
7	obligation to be nonexclusive in its mandate to
8	fulfill the duty of providing a high quality
9	system of public education?
10	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Martinez.
11	MR. MARTINEZ: I'll endeavor to answer that.
12	Obviously, we can't create an entitlement for the
13	Legislature. They don't have any constitutional

right to anything as a legislative body except

what's in the constitution. This doesn't create a right on them or an obligation on them to create a private program. I've already addressed that.

17 and 18, those -- the words in there

17 and 18, those -- the words in there
basically maintain the high standard as a
minimum, but say that's not the exclusive way
to fulfill the paramount duty, not because it's
creating an entitlement, but it should be
done -- you should also proceed through a
private program, but so that you can address
the issue of Bush versus Holmes, which made it

clear in that opinion that this is the only way. This is the exclusive way to provide for funding.

I can't make it any more clear. If anybody has some suggestions, I would be more than glad to get it, but I think I'm making it as clear as possible. This does not create an entitlement. It is merely to address the ruling in Bush versus Holmes at the Supreme Court level.

CHAIRMAN BENSE: Okay. Commissioner Barnett

12 for a question. 13 MS. BARNETT: Maybe it's more appropriate on 14 the next amendment. Commissioner Gelber, it looks 15 like he's going to offer. But, Commissioner 16 Martinez, to the point that Commissioner Gelber 17 has made about the use of the words "and not 18 exclusive," to respond to whether you believe that 19 would create some directive or mandate to the 20 legislate in funding education, that it fund 21 programs that were not public programs. 22 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Martinez. 23 MR. MARTINEZ: This does not create a mandate

MR. MARTINEZ: This does not create a mandate to the Legislature. It basically says that if the Legislature were to want to have a private school

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- option in the Opportunity Scholarship Program --
- 2 let's take that -- that it can do so
- 3 constitutionally without running afoul of the
- 4 Supreme Court opinion in Bush versus Holmes.
- 5 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Further questions? Further
- 6 questions?

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- 7 MR. MCKAY: Mr. Chairman?
- 8 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner McKay, you're

9 recognized. 10 MR. MCKAY: Are we taking public -- are we on 11 second reading? Are we taking public testimony? CHAIRMAN BENSE: No. We agreed to take 12 13 public testimony on 65 -- 26. We've had tons of 14 public testimony on this. We've had tons. 15 Further questions? 16 (No response.) 17 Okay. Debate. Is there debate? I think we've gotten a lot of debate out in the 18 19 question phase. But any debate? 20 (No response.) 21 Seeing none, Commissioner Martinez, you're 22 recognized to close on your amendment. MR. MARTINEZ: Mr. Chairman, I have nothing 23 24 further to add. Thank you. 25 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Okay. We'll continue with 45 1 the roll call vote. The question recurs on 2 passage of Amendment 9. 3 Nancy, please call the roll. 4 MS. FRIER: Chair Bense. 5 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Yes.

- 6 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Barney Barnett.
- 7 MR. BARNETT: Yes.
- 8 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Martha Barnett.
- 9 MS. BARNETT: Yes.
- 10 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Bostick.
- 11 MR. BOSTICK: Yes.
- MS. FRIER: Commissioner Corcoran. 12
- 13 MR. CORCORAN: Yes.
- 14 MS. FRIER: Commissioner D'Alemberte.
- 15 MR. D'ALEMBERTE: Yes.
- 16 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Hogan.
- MR. HOGAN: Yes. 17
- 18 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Johnson.
- 19 MS. JOHNSON: Yes.
- 20 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Kyle.
- 21 MR. KYLE: Yes.
- 22 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Lacasa.
- 23 MR. LACASA: Yes.
- 24 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Levesque.
- 25 MS. LEVESQUE: Yes.

1 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Martinez.

- 2 MR. MARTINEZ: Yes.

- 3 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Mathis.
- 4 MS. MATHIS: Yes.
- 5 MS. FRIER: Commissioner McKay.
- 6 MR. MCKAY: Yes.
- 7 MS. FRIER: Commissioner McKee.
- 8 MR. MCKEE: Yes.
- 9 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Les Miller.
- 10 MR. LES MILLER: Yes.
- MS. FRIER: Commissioner Randy Miller.
- 12 MR. RANDY MILLER: Yes.
- MS. FRIER: Commissioner Moore.
- MR. MOORE: Yes.
- MS. FRIER: Commissioner Riley.
- MS. RILEY: Yes.
- 17 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Rouson.
- 18 MR. ROUSON: Yes.
- 19 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Story.
- MS. STORY: Yes.
- 21 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Turbeville.
- MR. TURBEVILLE: Yes.
- 23 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Wilkinson.
- 24 MR. WILKINSON: Yes.
- 25 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Yablonski.

Ţ	MR. TABLUNSKI: Tes.
2	MS. FRIER: Vice Chair Scott.
3	VICE CHAIR SCOTT: Yes.
4	CHAIRMAN BENSE: And by your vote the
5	amendment passes, 25 to zero.
6	Okay. Let's move on to Amendment No. 10
7	by Commissioner Gelber. Commissioner Gelber,
8	you're recognized.
9	MR. GELBER: Thank you. Folks, here's the
10	deal. If you look at the Amendment 4, there is
11	no question, I think, that that creates a
12	requirement and mandate to the Legislature that
13	they fulfill the high quality system of education
14	at a minimum through public education, but not
15	exclusively. Because when you say at a minimum
16	and not exclusively, you are saying to the
17	Legislature, if you wanted to simply provide only
18	the traditional public school system without
19	anything else, you would not be able to do it.
20	I don't think that's even something you
21	can question, even with the amendment that was

just added, because while that, as its sponsor

indicates, goes to the entitlement of a student or the family of a student, it does not in any way impact the obligation and the mandate of

the Legislature.

So a Legislature reading this would say -have to say, this duty shall be fulfilled; what
are we going to do? We're going to have to
fulfill our requirements to educate our
students at a certain level, and that's the
minimum. But it cannot be done solely through
public education -- through public schools in
the traditional sense.

So there's no question that we may be the first state in the union that essentially will create a mandate on the Legislature to actually avail themselves of private schools that are publicly financed. Now, that may or may not be a good thing, but I can tell you, though, it's extremely unusual. And I've never heard of that.

So what my amendment simply does, is keeps the minimum requirement, which I understand,

and that, in fact, it may give Commissioner

Martinez a better shot at the Supreme Court.

But it gets rid of what I think is unmistakably

a mandate on the Legislature that they educate

children not exclusively through a traditional

public school system, but also through private

schools. It's -- in other words, it takes it more towards the middle than all the way over to the right, which is that what I think the phrase does.

So that's what the amendment does. I may regret it at some point because it may be a basis to go at that opinion, but I think, at least, it is a more centrist view of what we would expect our constitution say and what we would expect our Legislature to do by way of funding.

CHAIRMAN BENSE: Are there questions of the sponsor of the amendment?

14 MR. MARTINEZ: I have a question.

15 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Martinez, 16 you're recognized for a question.

17	MR. MARTINEZ: I want to make sure that I
18	understand what my good friend is trying to
19	accomplish and let me see how far
20	MR. GELBER: Careful. When we say good
21	friend in the Legislature, we don't often mean it.
22	(Laughter.)
23	CHAIRMAN BENSE: You mean all that love you
24	were giving me those years, Dan, you didn't mean
25	it?
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1	MR. GELBER: I meant it for you, Chairman.
2	MR. MARTINEZ: Let me see if I can understand
3	what my evil twin, Commissioner Gelber, meant.
4	MR. GELBER: That's a little more accurate.
5	(Laughter.)
6	MR. MARTINEZ: The problem that I have is
7	that whether or not he or I like it, and probably
8	like it, the Supreme Court opinion provides that
9	the wording of the constitution is the exclusive
10	way in which the state can provide can
11	accomplish its obligation. So if we don't put in
12	there "nonexclusively," we don't address the
13	limitations from the Supreme Court opinion.

14	Is he willing to support and he can't
15	vote but is he willing to support the change
16	to line 18 from the word "and" to the word
17	"but," so that it would read as follows,
18	starting on line 17: "This duty shall be
19	fulfilled at a minimum but not exclusively,"
20	comma, "through adequate provision," et cetera.
21	Does Commissioner Gelber believe that the
22	change from "and" to "but" makes it more

Does Commissioner Gelber believe that the change from "and" to "but" makes it more palatable to him, makes it clear that it's not an entitlement, and still allows me and others who want to override that limitation in the

Supreme Court opinion to do so through the inclusion of the words "not exclusively"?

Would he support that?

- 4 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Gelber, you're 5 recognized.
 - MR. GELBER: Thank you for that. It's the last time I'll interlineate in front of you on my own papers. I don't think it changes it, because I think it's still -- in fact, in most folks that draft legislation knows that if you put "but" in,

it's still a requirement. It's the equivalent of "and" because it's still got to be both.

And I would answer it -- I would answer you more broadly this way. I think in your desire to supplant the Supreme Court, what the authors of this have done is gone a little bit too far. In other words, all your real argument to the Supreme Court is that it shouldn't be exclusive. That's really your argument.

Well, then, if your argument is it shouldn't be exclusive, the last thing, then simply say, this is the minimum, and then the Legislature will have to decide whether we've reached a minimum or not.

But by putting in "but" or "and," either one, not exclusively, you're telling the Legislature that you cannot -- you cannot have a system that is solely public and does not avail itself of a privately -- publicly financed private education. And I don't think you really want to move the needle from perhaps

8 to the left where you think it is all the way
9 to the right. I think if you simply said, "at
10 a minimum," it would be better.

And in terms of supporting this in any occasion, I don't have a vote, but I can assure you no matter what you do, I'm going to be arguing -- since you asked me -- later in the day that this is the Taxation and Budget

Commission and we should not use this power to simply supplant District Court and Supreme

Court decisions we don't like that really aren't wholly within the heartland of the task of the Commission.

With that said, I think my amendment actually takes you to the middle, and the Supreme Court may or may not agree that at a minimum we've done it, but at least it's not a requirement on the Legislature to only -- to

- 1 have to use private education that's publicly
- 2 financed.

- 3 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Martinez,
- 4 you're recognized.

MR. MARTINEZ: As much as I would like to keep ats to a minimum -- no pun intended -- but just putting in "at a minimum" would not do it for the following reason. The Supreme Court opinion in Bush versus Holmes actually, in interpreting whether or not OSP, the private school option, was constitutional, looked at the language of the constitution and said, we can't tell just by looking at the language. So we have to apply principles of construction.

And that's when they came up with the famous Latin principle, which many of us have never heard of before, called expressio unius est exclusio alterius, which means that that which is expressed excludes the others that are not.

And if we put in "at a minimum" and nothing else, a court later on could say -- especially since we have the opportunity here to be exclusively on point -- the court later on could say, they only mentioned one way of

2 that was the only way.

And because -- we have an opportunity here
to be clear on this and exclusively address
Bush versus Holmes, especially since the court
gave us guidance through its opinion as to its
thinking. I think, regrettably, that your
suggestion, Commissioner Gelber, would not be
sufficient, and therefore we need to put in the
words, "and not exclusively."

But, because of the concern that you and others have had about whether or not this creates an entitlement that directs the Legislature to create a -- an additional system of education, that's why I put in the Amendment No. 9, which I was planning on naming it after you, but out of respect for your position on this, I will not call it the Gelber amendment.

CHAIRMAN BENSE: Further questions? Further questions of the sponsor of the amendment?

Commissioner Barnett, you're recognized.

MS. BARNETT: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. As I understand the decision that you're referring to, what the court said is that the words of the

1 the constitution to determine what's authorized. 2 It's exclusively where you look, that you exclusively -- you must look within the confines 3 of the constitution. That's the exclusive 4 5 language that you have. 6 And to me, putting in -- changing those 7 words, changing the operative words in the 8 constitution in any way at all, but 9 particularly to put in a standard "at a 10 minimum," will give the court the guidance it 11 needs. It will give an indication that there 12 are other things that can be done, because this 13 is just at a minimum. 14 And I think that those words do accomplish 15 the purpose that I've heard you articulate, 16 Commissioner Martinez, and I share 17 Representative Gelber's concerns about the 18 inclusion of the language, but "not 19 exclusively" or "and not exclusively," because 20 I think he's right on the money. The court

will say this means something. These words

mean something. The people intended something
to happen when they put this in, and "not
exclusive" means there has to be something
else. It has to be something else.

And I would hope that the direction that would come from, again, the words that mean something "at a minimum," the court would say they meant "at a minimum," but it could be something else, not a mandate that it has to be something else.

CHAIRMAN BENSE: Was that a question or is that early debate?

MS. BARNETT: And I was just going to say, like in Double Jeopardy or Jeopardy, I probably gave the answer rather than the question, but I meant to give the question.

CHAIRMAN BENSE: Were you part of the Senate at one time, Commissioner Barnett? Because you-all know how to debate in the question phase real well.

17 MR. GELBER: Aren't they supposed to say, 18 isn't that true?

19	(Laughter.)
20	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Any more questions? Any
21	more questions? Any more questions?
22	(No response.)
23	Is there debate? Is there debate?
24	Commissioner Levesque in debate. You're
25	recognized.
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1	MS. LEVESQUE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I
2	just have to speak against the amendment, because
3	I believe that it does not address the Bush v.
4	Holmes decision, and that's the whole purpose of
5	the underlying proposal. Thanks.
6	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Turbeville,
7	you're recognized in debate.
8	MR. TURBEVILLE: I concur with Commissioner
9	Levesque. This does take the proposal in a
10	completely different direction, and I believe if
11	we adopted this amendment, it may, in fact, alter
12	the voluntary pre-K program that's also on the
13	next page of this original Amendment 4, so I'd
14	vote against the amendment.
15	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Further debate?

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16
               (No response.)
17
               Seeing none, Commissioner Gelber, you're
18
          recognized to close on your amendment.
19
               MR. GELBER: Thank you. I had a little
20
          heartburn when I wrote this up, because I thought
21
          I was accomplishing my friend Commissioner
22
          Martinez's goal in a better way than he had.
23
          And -- but I'm more convinced now after listening
24
          to my colleagues that this is actually exactly
25
          what it ought to be, and maybe -- I guess --
                                                           58
1
          what's that, Commissioner Barnett, a blind
2
          squirrel once in a while finds a --
 3
               MS. BARNETT: Blind hog.
4
               MR. GELBER: Blind hog? Oh, God.
5
               (Laughter.)
6
               CHAIRMAN BENSE: Blind hog every now and then
 7
          finds an acorn. Not acorn but akern [phonetic].
8
               MR. GELBER: That's how we say it on Miami
9
          Beach.
10
               (Laughter.)
11
               Here's the deal. If you look at that
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          phrase, there's no question in its current form
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it would require the Legislature to go into a publicly financed private education. It would require it. There's no way to interpret "and not exclusively" any other way.

By the way, if you look at the term "at a minimum," that almost is the same thing as "not exclusively," because it is expressly suggesting -- expressly saying that that's what you got to do at a minimum level, but beyond that everything is fair game, which is what I think probably if you wanted to actually look at the Supreme Court decision and not simply do something that was intended to go overboard, to

roll up a newspaper and hit the justices in the nose, this is actually what you would do. You would simply say at a minimum that's what we want you to do, but the Legislature is free to do more.

And so I think this is actually a better way to approach this issue. Though, I disagree we should be approaching it at all. So while I may -- and while some of you I think

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          reflexively said, this is not the direction we
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          want to go, and I think it's exactly the
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          direction you want it to go, it just doesn't go
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          as far as you want it to go, but I suspect and
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          actually fear that it might go far enough.
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               But I think it's better and it doesn't
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          have the unintended consequence of forcing the
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          Legislature to do something that I don't think
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          you want them to have to do. We'd be the first
          state in the union that created a right, an
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          obligation, and a mandate to have publicly
21
          financed private schools.
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               CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Gelber having
23
          closed on Amendment No. 10, the question recurs.
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               Nancy, please call the roll.
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               MS. FRIER: Chair Bense.
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               CHAIRMAN BENSE: Yes -- I mean, no.
2
               (Laughter.)
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               MS. FRIER: Commissioner Barney Barnett.
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               MR. BARNETT: Yes -- I mean, no.
5
               (Laughter.)
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               MS. FRIER: Commissioner Martha Barnett.
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- 7 MS. BARNETT: Yes.
- 8 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Bostick.
- 9 MR. BOSTICK: No.
- 10 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Corcoran.
- MR. CORCORAN: No.
- MS. FRIER: Commissioner D'Alemberte.
- MR. D'ALEMBERTE: Yes.
- 14 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Hogan.
- MR. HOGAN: Before I vote, may I remind the
- 16 Speaker he just flipped his vote?
- 17 (Laughter.)
- 18 VICE CHAIR SCOTT: He took it back.
- 19 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Hogan.
- MR. HOGAN: No.
- MS. FRIER: Commissioner Johnson.
- MS. JOHNSON: No.
- MS. FRIER: Commissioner Kyle.
- 24 MR. KYLE: No.
- MS. FRIER: Commissioner Lacasa.

- 1 (No response.)
- MS. FRIER: Commissioner Levesque.
- 3 MS. LEVESQUE: No.

- 4 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Martinez.
- 5 MR. MARTINEZ: No.
- 6 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Mathis.
- 7 MS. MATHIS: No.
- 8 MS. FRIER: Commissioner McKay.
- 9 MR. MCKAY: No.
- 10 MS. FRIER: Commissioner McKee.
- MR. MCKEE: No.
- 12 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Les Miller.
- MR. LES MILLER: Yes.
- 14 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Randy Miller.
- MR. RANDY MILLER: No.
- MS. FRIER: Commissioner Moore.
- MR. MOORE: Yes.
- 18 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Riley.
- 19 MS. RILEY: No.
- 20 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Rouson.
- MR. ROUSON: Yes.
- 22 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Story.
- MS. STORY: No.
- 24 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Turbeville.
- MR. TURBEVILLE: No.

- 1 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Wilkinson.
- 2 MR. WILKINSON: No.
- 3 MS. FRIER: No?
- 4 MR. WILKINSON: No.
- 5 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Yablonski.
- 6 MR. YABLONSKI: No.
- 7 MS. FRIER: Vice Chair Scott.
- 8 VICE CHAIR SCOTT: No.
- 9 CHAIRMAN BENSE: And the vote is 19 to five
- 10 against the amendment.
- 11 Okay. We'll take up Amendment No. 11, the
- 12 last amendment, by Commissioner Barnett.
- 13 Commissioner Martha Barnett, you're recognized
- on your amendment.
- 15 MS. BARNETT: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
- 16 This amendment -- sorry. Thank you,
- 17 Mr. Chairman, this amendment is designed to
- 18 correct what I think is an unintended
- 19 consequence of the language as it now stands in
- 20 this proposed constitutional amendment. And I
- 21 have spoken with Commissioner Martinez about
- 22 this and I -- and he can certainly correct me
- 23 if I'm not relating his intentions correctly.

trustees, and there is a separate provision in

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21	the Florida constitution dealing with the
22	operation, maintenance, and governance of
23	higher education in the state university
24	system.
25	And in the process of being implemented,
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1	as you most of you probably know, there are
2	some aspects of it that are controversial. One
3	that is getting a lot of attention now is
4	whether the Legislature controls tuition or
5	whether the board of governors does. And
6	that's working its way through the system,
7	including even a constitutional amendment I
8	think that's been discussed during this
9	legislative session.
10	We as a Commission have not talked about
11	that issue. It's not been something that's
12	really been on our agenda in terms of the
13	governance.
14	When we took the language that is in
15	article IX, section 1 dealing with an adequate
16	provision at law to fund a high quality public

education for free public schools and for

higher education, in the current constitution they are in the same sentence. It's a long sentence, but they're in the same sentence.

When these two sentences were divided into, one, a sentence dealing with K through 12 free public education, and the second dealing with the state university system, we now have an amendment -- I mean, a language that we're

proposing that as a separate section would say,

"Adequate provision shall also be made by law

for the establishment, maintenance, and

operation of institutions of higher learning,"

et cetera.

That's your state university system. It is well settled, unquestioned rule of construction that the court would look at the later adopted amendment as controlling. And because this language would specifically say, adequate provision shall be made by law for the operation, for example, of higher -- of institutions of higher learning, it would negate the current constitutional provision

15	that	vests	that	authority	in	the	board	of
16	gover	nors.						

I don't think that was the intent of

Commissioner Martinez, nor do I think really

the intent of this body, or at least I would

hope that it would not be without a lot of

discussion about the implications of that.

And so my amendment takes out the period on lines 21 after the word "education," takes out the phrase "adequate provision shall also be made by law" and reverts it back to the way

it is in the current constitution, so that
there is a sentence -- it, of course, includes
this new language that is in the proposed
amendment -- but it is a sentence as opposed to
two separate sentences. And I don't think
creates the -- the issue that I've tried to
articulate. So that is the purpose of the
amendment.

CHAIRMAN BENSE: Okay. Commissioner Barnett having explained her amendment, are there questions? Commissioner Levesque, you're

12	recognized for a question.
13	MS. LEVESQUE: Thank you, Mr. Chairman.
14	Commissioner Barnett, I like your amendment. I
15	think it's a good amendment. I think we should
16	adopt it. So my question is: With my support, do
17	you think that your close on the amendment could
18	be a little shorter? That's all.
19	MS. BARNETT: Can I debate that?
20	(Laughter.)
21	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Any further questions?
22	(No response.)
23	Is there debate? Is there debate?
24	Commissioner Martinez, you want to say
25	something in debate?
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1	MR. MARTINEZ: I just on the record, I
2	support what Commissioner Barnett is doing Tt's

support what Commissioner Barnett is doing. It's not my intention at all to affect what's currently in the constitution with regards to higher

5 education or community colleges.

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Having said that, I would like to have a peaceful, amicable, and successful resolution to the debate that's otherwise going on with

9	regards to the state university system. But
10	it's not my intent to get involved in that
11	issue with this amendment.
12	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Further debate?
13	Commissioner Turbeville in debate. You're
14	recognized.
15	MR. TURBEVILLE: I just had a question. Can
16	we adopt this without objection rather than having
17	a roll call?
18	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Okay. Any more debate?
19	(No response.)
20	Are there objections to the amendment?
21	(No response.)
22	Seeing none, the amendment is adopted.
23	Unanimously, let the records reflect.
24	Okay. We've gone through the amendatory
25	process on committee substitute for
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1	Constitutional Proposal 40. We're now in the
2	question phase. We'll go to the debate phase
3	and then we'll vote.
4	Are there questions of the sponsor of the
5	proposal? Commissioner Barnett, you're

- 6 recognized for a question.
- 7 MS. BARNETT: I would like to have -- I'm not
- 8 completely sure what this proposal does. I don't
- 9 know the scope or intent of the programs that
- 10 it -- that it would pick up. I know that the
- intent is to allow for vouchers, to allow the
- 12 Legislature to create vouchers. I don't know
- whether it's intended to apply to charter schools.
- I don't know whether it's intended to apply to
- 15 virtual schools. I don't know whether it's
- intended to apply to a school format that we
- 17 haven't even thought of yet.
- 18 I don't really understand the scope of
- 19 what's involved here, and so I'd like
- 20 someone -- first I'd like the sponsor or others
- 21 who are intimately interested in this issue to
- 22 please, if only for the record, to make sure
- that we articulate what is the scope of this
- amendment.
- 25 And secondly, I would like someone to give

- 1 us information about the fiscal impact of this,
- 2 what it means. I think it's very important for

us to have an understanding about what burden,
if any, we are placing on the public school
system in Florida. Yesterday we discussed at
length funding public education and the
difficulties in funding public education if we
do away with Required Local Effort.

- I think it's very important for us to have some idea of what the fiscal impact of this is going to be on -- on the funding of education in Florida. So those were my two questions at this point, Mr. Chair.
- 14 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Turbeville, 15 you're recognized.
 - MR. TURBEVILLE: Thank you, Chairman. I know there were a few questions in there, so I'll try to specifically address the fiscal impact. In my previous life, I hate to admit this, but I did serve on the revenue estimating conference as a House appointee. It wasn't the most exciting duty that I've had, but we saw a lot of different proposals come by. We put fiscal estimates on -- on every bill that passed that session.
- 25 And I think it's -- the language is pretty

1	clear that there is no fiscal impact to this
2	language in and of itself. The Legislature
3	must create laws, and if there are laws
4	created, there may be fiscal impacts at a later
5	time based upon their ability to create these
6	laws.

Specifically, though, getting back to current law, there is a positive fiscal impact to the state by some of these privately funded programs, specifically the corporate income tax credit program is savings of \$70 million to the state every year. And I won't belabor the point.

Representative Traviesa made this point on the floor of the House yesterday, that that was confirmed by Florida TaxWatch, that it was confirmed by the Collins Center, as well as the House and Senate staff. Under current law that program saves \$70 million. If it's challenged, we don't fix the constitution and it's challenged, then there would be a fiscal impact based upon a lawsuit and overturning that

program.

24	So in order to keep the savings that the
25	state has put in place in law, we would need to

adopt this to prevent court challenge and the cessation of those programs that actually are saving the state money right now.

So, just to recap, the proposal in and of itself does not have fiscal impact because laws would have to change in order to create an impact.

CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Levesque, did you want to yield -- Commissioner Turbeville yields to Commissioner Levesque.

MS. LEVESQUE: Thank you, Mr. Chair. I agree with Commissioner Turbeville's point, but I would even go further to say, all of the current choice programs that are in existence, every single one saves the state money. McKay Scholarship saved the state money, corporate tax credit scholarships, charter schools, the Florida virtual school, the K8 virtual schools, every single one of them saves the state money, operating funds or

20 capital outlay funds.

So I would say that reversing the Bush v.

Holmes decision, which protects these programs,

ensures a fiscal savings to the state, and that

if we don't ensure that Bush v. Holmes is -- or

at least that the voters have the option to

vote on reversing Bush v. Holmes, then we could be creating a fiscal impact, because those programs are subject to challenge, which goes back to your original -- the first part of your question is, what's the scope. And the scope, I believe, of this amendment is to reverse the Bush v. Holmes decision.

So what was the scope of the Bush v.

Holmes decision? Mr. Meyer and others who

don't want us to do this amendment argue it was

very limited, that it only impacted opportunity

scholarships, that that was it, that the

Supreme Court made it very clear it was just

this one particular program.

Supporters of the amendment like myself argue that it was much broader than that, that

when the courts ruled that that, at a
minimum and that the Legislature could only
fund a free, safe, secure, high quality uniform
system of public schools, that I would argue
they went far beyond, because they used
examples of statutes that our charter schools
don't have to comply with. And by striking
down the private school option opportunity
scholarships, they were basically saying, these

programs are not identical, therefore they aren't allowed, and that has broad ranging impacts.

And I'm going to give you an example.

Since the last time that we were here, since
the last time we voted on this measure, there
was a lawsuit filed. And the lawsuit is filed
against the Schools of Excellence Commission,
which some of the members here may not know
about, but it's basically a statewide
chartering authority. Because as I said many
times when we originally proposed this, this is
not solely about vouchers. This is not solely

about scholarships to private schools. This is about any alternative that is different than the public school system, which charter schools are, virtual schools are, and other programs that the Legislature wants to authorize. We have several school districts in this state that have never authorized a single charter school.

So the state Legislature created the statewide chartering authority so that -- so that there would be another option and another route for charter schools to be created, and

that -- that system is being challenged, and it is being challenged based on the Bush v. Holmes decision.

Article IX, section 1A, the opponents of this charter school system say that it is unconstitutional because it creates an alternative system of education; it violates the constitutional requirement for a uniform system of public education. As in the Holmes case, the Legislature through the enactment has

11	created an alternative system to public
12	education.
13	So the purpose of this amendment is to
14	protect charter schools. It's to protect the
15	Schools of Excellence Commission and the
16	charter schools that will be that have
17	already been authorized, they have already
18	authorized charter schools to start this fall.
19	It's to protect virtual education. It's to
20	protect the McKay Scholarship Program. It's to
21	protect the alternatives that exist that are
22	alternatives in the public school system. So
23	that's what I would say the scope of that
24	proposal is.
25	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Further questions? We're in
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1	the question phase. Commissioner Miller.
2	MR. LES MILLER: Question of Commissioner
3	Turbeville. Commissioner Turbeville, you just
4	said this amendment would have no fiscal impact,
5	but in the same breath that you said it would have
6	to be implemented by the Legislature; am I

correct?

8	CHAIRMAN BENSE: You're recognized.
9	MR. TURBEVILLE: Just to clarify. I said
10	this amendment, it does not have an impact. And
11	the laws that are on the books right now, as
12	Commissioner Levesque has mentioned, provide
13	savings to the state. And so it's actually just
14	the opposite.
15	If there are additional court cases filed,
16	as Commissioner Levesque has shown us here
17	today, that affect those programs that save the
18	state money, it will do just the opposite if we
19	don't adopt this. It will cost the state money
20	if the laws that are currently in effect are
21	overturned due to a court case that's that's
22	outstanding.
23	MR. LES MILLER: Mr. Chairman, follow-up.
24	CHAIRMAN BENSE: You're recognized.
25	MR. LES MILLER: You only answered part of my
	76
1	question. The other part of my question was: If
2	this passes, will the Legislature have to
3	implement this amendment to create they have to
4	create law for this amendment, correct?

- MR. TURBEVILLE: I think -- I think the
 amendment is pretty clear -- Chairman, thank
 you -- that this is self-executing, there are laws
 on the books that already provide alternative
 methods of schools, and so this amendment is, in
- my opinion, self-executing. I think that's prettyclear.
- 12 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Further questions?
- MS. LEVESQUE: Mr. Chairman, if I --
- 14 MR. LES MILLER: I think Commissioner
- 15 Levesque wants to chime in on this, Mr. Chairman.
- 16 I yield.
- 17 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Let's stay in the question
- 18 phase. Further questions?
- 19 (No response.)
- 20 Okay. Let's go into debate. Is there
- 21 debate? Commissioner Lacasa, you're recognized
- in debate.
- MR. LACASA: I've been a supporter of
- vouchers throughout my entire political career.
- 25 And the reason wasn't because of an animosity

1 towards the education system that we have today,

the public education system. It wasn't because I

felt that -- that -- some irrational sense that

the bureaucracy in our public school system was

bloated or unresponsive or inefficient. It wasn't

any of that.

It's because I believe in the American capitalistic free enterprise system. I believe that -- that, when we look at education, we have to look at it the same way we look at any enterprise in our economy, from a macroeconomic perspective. If you do that, the first consideration is, how do we efficiently allocate our resources.

To me, an efficient allocation of resources means an attraction of capital at the best rates. Capital flows into the public education system. Everybody is willing to fund improvements to schools on a tax-exempt basis, but that's the public paying for all that capital.

If you have private capital flowing and risk capital flowing into the system, that's a far more efficient way to fund a portion of our

capital into education right now because there's no method to do it. The voucher program will allow that.

I feel also that we sacrifice what any manager on this panel recognizes as an incredible tool for improving profitability, improving results. Profitability here is degrees, education degrees. That is best management practices.

How does a system as monolithic as the system we have to today import from other systems on an efficient and effective basis best management practices? How does one system, a public system, learn from a private system if there is no significant private system to learn from? This is the essence of competition. This is the essence of how we evolve into a lean and mean and efficient production system -- production of degrees in this case.

You know, vouchers are not new in our

22 society. We voucher health care. I'm involved 23 now -- I've had the good fortune of being 24 involved in the healthcare system in our state 25 by being in the management of a health 79 1 maintenance organization. And whatever I 2 learned in my brief tenure there, I've learned 3 that we're, A, very heavily regulated, but 4 we're also learning from each other. We learn 5 from the regulators; we learn from our peers in our industry on how to best manage our 6 7 industry, because we're -- our sole client is 8 the Medicare system. We have one payer, the 9 government, but they voucher. 10 And what happens when they voucher to public -- to private companies? Individuals 11 12 eligible for Medicare get to make a choice. 13 Who do I get my services from? Who is going to 14 give me the best services for this dollar? And what are the centers from Medicare services 15 16 saying? Who's going to give us the best bang

I think that education in this country is

for our public dollar?

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probably one of the most sacred, one of the
most important functions that we have, and if
we want to make it better, and if we want to
make it efficient from a financial perspective
as we move forward, we must find better ways to
manage it, macroeconomically sensible ways.
Thank you.

CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Miller in debate. Les Miller. MR. LES MILLER: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. First and foremost, this will have a fiscal impact. If this amendment passes, it has to come back to the Legislature, and the Legislature will have to put it into law. There are 320,000 students in private schools, and if this passes then a voucher of \$3,900 per student, that's a hit of the budget of \$1.25 billion, so it does have a fiscal impact. Be ever mindful of that. Here we go again with the challenge of --

Here we go again with the challenge of -
I mean, the debate of -- having a challenge of
the program we have in place right now being
challenged, and again, it's a scare tactic that

the programs we have in place right now, being
the McKay Scholarship, being the corporate
voucher and all the other things that's out
there will be challenged because the mere fact
is that if we don't pass this then somebody's
going to put it in the courts, and we're going
to lose.

And I say that if you pass this, this will be challenged, and you will definitely have those programs challenged. And you could very

well lose them if this is challenged. My
thought process is be careful what you ask for,
because if you pass this, I guarantee you it's
going to be in court, and I guarantee you all
the other things that you don't want to happen
will come forth.

And lastly -- I'll be quick. I heard yesterday someone said well, we want vouchers because that's what poor people want. Poor people got to have that. That's what they request. I represented the poorest district in the Senate for six years, in Tampa and

13	St. Petersburg and Manatee County, the poorest	
14	district. I still live in that district. I	
15	still live in east Tampa. Poor people don't	
16	want vouchers. Poor people want well-funded,	
17	top quality schools in their neighborhoods.	
18	That's when they want. They don't want	
19	vouchers. So please don't come forth telling	
20	people this is what poor people want, because	
21	this is not what poor people want. Again, they	
22	want top quality public schools, well-funded,	
23	in their districts.	
24	This is wrong. It's going to be	
25	challenged, and what you don't want to happen	
	8	2
1	is going to happen. So again, be careful what	
2	you ask for. When it happens, I'll be the	
3	first to say I told you so.	
4	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Gelber in	
5	debate.	
6	MR. GELBER: Thank you. I think what we're	
7	doing on this bill is terrible, and if this bill	
8	was longer, I would ask you to read it.	
9	(Laughter.)	

A couple issues, and I really do -- I mean, first of all on the savings, everybody talks about the savings to these programs.

It's pretty much theoretical, because if you take 20 kids out of a school, you're not saving money to the school system, because you still are paying for the same teachers and capital expenditures and energy and everything else, so that, whenever we talk about it in the Legislature, we also know it's a theoretical savings, but it's not an actual savings.

And there's another downside, lots of these programs when you privatize. I did oversight for the United States Senate into public education. They're rife with fraud, and in fact we've seen -- in fact, even in the

corporate tax credit program, a couple of the scholarship funding organizations were, in fact, guilty of fraud. And, ironically, the state attorney argued it was public money at that time and the -- and they had to change their view on whether or not it was public

- 7 money or not in the course of the trial.
- 8 But the thing I think -- and that's a
- 9 minor point -- I think the larger point is, we
- 10 will be the first state, I believe, to create a
- 11 mandate for publicly financed private
- 12 education. Imagine that. I mean, this year
- the Legislature is going to be cutting --
- because of our cuts to education, we're going
- to be cutting after-school programs, reading
- 16 coaches, police officers, security officers in
- school. We're going to be cutting -- we're
- going backwards.
- And we're going to, while we announce
- 20 that, also put on the ballot to the whole --
- 21 for the whole world to see that we are the
- 22 first state I think to create an actual mandate
- for these kinds of programs, and I don't
- 24 understand why you want to do that.
- 25 And all you folks who think this is a

- great idea, be very careful what you ask for.
- 2 If it fails, you know, because this governor is
- 3 going to have at least three Supreme Court

appointments, maybe more, but it's going to be very easy for this Supreme Court to understand what the will of the people is when this thing fails and it's very clear that nobody wants these programs to be supported by the Legislature.

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So be careful what you ask for. You may be creating the best legislative intent ever for what you fear happening, because what you fear happening hasn't happened. It hasn't happened. All of these other programs you talk about, ironically, they were all created by the Legislature, which ironically has exactly the same ability to put things on the ballot. I don't know why you think it's within your mandate or your province or your -- or the heartland of your mission to go into school vouchers when all the programs you're talking about were created by the exact same Legislature that has the ability to do exactly what you're doing right here.

So maybe you think that it is your job,

- 1 but I don't think it is. I think your job and 2 the job of this Commission is to reform
- Florida's tax system. I think if you asked the
- 4 average Floridian whether the people they were
- 5 hoping would provide thoughtful relief and
- 6 reform to Florida's dysfunctional and
- 7 inequitable tax system, if they spent a minute
- 8 of their day on vouchers for public education,
- 9 they would be shot, as they rightfully should
- 10 be.

- You know, I make a living over at -- I 11
- 12 don't really make a living there, I work down
- 13 the hall; and I often have to say things to
- people I like that makes everybody feel 14
- 15 uncomfortable. But I think that's really my
- 16 job as a minority leader, but it's also my job
- 17 here to tell you: I think this is as
- 18 wrong-headed a proposal as this Commission
- 19 could come up with.
- 20 And I always go to -- one of my favorite
- 21 poems is by Katharine Lee Bates. She wrote it
- 22 driving from the World's Fair I think in 1896,
- 23 and it was a beautiful poem that later became

1	"Confirm thy soul through self-control, thy
2	liberty through law." And I always thought of
3	that as counseling restraint, that sometimes
4	simply because you have the power and the
5	authority to do something, doesn't mean you
6	should always use it, because sometimes
7	restraint is really what a democracy needs.

And this is one of those occasions. You do not need to do this. There are plenty of other folks better postured to do it, and you have a mandate that I think was pretty important that you ought not take with something that is clearly a frolic, and I believe ideologic reform. This is not what we ought to be doing, something you ought to be doing, and I urge you to vote no simply for that reason.

CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Kyle in debate.

MR. KYLE: Thank you, Mr. Chair. I, of course, support the measure. I'd like to touch on

21	a few things that have been talked about already	•
22	The fiscal no-issue. There is no fiscal	
23	impact from this amendment, from this measure.	
24	There will be no fiscal impact from this	
25	measure if it is enacted, because basically the	
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funding for our school system, although they complete every year with everything else, they compete every year for their money with the Legislature, and the money they get is basically -- if you want to put it down in its most simplistic form -- is based on the number of students they have in their district.

And they get -- there's a formula that probably would take up most of that wall if you wrote it up the side, because they get extra money for special needs kids, if they have a reduction in the school year, because there's almost basically what would be called the census.

If they have a reduction, then they lose some of the money because they're not teaching those kids. But if they have a certain number

18	of kids, they come to the Legislature to
19	compete for their money. It's stuck in that
20	formula. They will get that amount of money
21	for the kids they are teaching.
22	Will there be a decrease in the funding
23	there is a program that is enacted for

25 the number of kids whose parents choose not to

if

send them to those schools and choose to send
them to another school. Why would they get
money for children they are no longer teaching?
There will be no fiscal impact even if it is
enacted.

vouchers? Yes. But the decrease will be in

We heard some -- a lively debate yesterday on CP02, and one of the commissioners said, you know, it's the people's money. They're smart. Let them decide. Well, why wouldn't we let them decide on how they want their money expended as well? I think this is clearly within the purview of this Commission, as this deals with the expenditure of funds, and whether or not the Legislature has the

opportunity to create an alternative system, especially for schools that are failing.

I think the public is knowledgeable, and Commissioner Gelber says, you know, you may not like the result. Well -- but they deserve to be heard on the issue, and maybe the people who support the measure won't like the result. Maybe it will be no. So be it. But give them the opportunity to decide whether or not they want their Legislature to expend the funds in this manner. If they don't, they'll vote it

down; and if they do it and they don't like the way the Legislature is doing it, they'll vote them out.

And just because the Legislature can do it doesn't mean that, you know, we should just ignore it, because it does come within our purview. If we just ignore it, well, why did we do CP02? The Legislature could do that.

Why are we doing that? They could do it.

Because there are some things that they just -- that are difficult issues that they can't

12	tackle, which is why we exist, and which is why	
13	we should give the people an opportunity to be	
14	heard on this issue.	
15	And lastly, I think if you go talk to any	
16	parent I don't care, rich, poor, whatever	
17	and who has children and you ask them, what	
18	kind of education do you want for their child?	
19	They're not going to say well, I want a good	
20	public-funded education, public school.	
21	They're going to say no, I want the best	
22	education for my child. They just want the	
23	best, and they should have a choice, an	
24	opportunity to decide what is the best	
25	education for their child. Give them that	
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1	choice. Give them an opportunity to be heard	
2	on it. If it's no, again, so be it. I support	
3	the measure. Thank you, Mr. Chair.	
4	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Further debate? Further	
5	debate.	

Okay. I think members know where they are on the issue. Commissioner -- oh, Commissioner

(No response.)

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9	Barnett, you're recognized in debate.
10	MS. BARNETT: I saw Commissioner Levesque and
11	others
12	CHAIRMAN BENSE: I think she got her debate
13	in during the question phase.
14	Commissioner Johnson.
15	MS. JOHNSON: I was listening carefully, as I
16	always do, to Senator Miller, Commissioner Miller,
17	and I agree with the things that he said. Again,
18	I reach a different conclusion, but I think we
19	agree with the end result.
20	The high quality education, and that's
21	what, whether you're working class, whether
22	you're the upper income, that's what we're all
23	trying to achieve for our children, and for our
24	state, because we also have to have a strong
25	workforce. And I stand back and look again at
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1	our task and our role and what we're trying to
2	accomplish for the next 20 years.
3	We are entering a time of global
4	competitiveness. We are entering an
5	information age. And we have to arm ourselves,

6	our	workforce,	and	our	students	with	the	best
7	poss	sible educat	tion					

Our current public education system is not	
pad. But it must be better, so how do we get	
it there? And the way I view this, as a	
win-win. We get the opportunity to burn the	
candle at both ends	

Under the leadership of people like

Senator Miller, our educational system over the

last several years has improved. There's more

accountability; all students are doing better.

I believe that our teachers, our communities,

our students, our parents should be applauded.

But it still must be better. And I support

continuing to fund education at the most

responsible and highest levels to achieve those

efficiencies.

But in the meantime, we have people that are being left behind. We have people that live in all communities that could benefit from

1 some choice, choice that does not weaken the

2 public education system but makes us all

stronger and better. I would hate to have
those in communities that don't have perfect
schools to not have the opportunity to reach
out and do better now, not just for those
people but for all of us. I would hate for us
to not have a mechanism that would allow us to
prepare a workforce that we need for the next
20 years.

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- 11 So I say that this is a good proposal, 12 that it allows us to do several things. 13 Continue to support our public school systems 14 and continue to support the choice that is 15 needed to provide a competitiveness in the quality of education today without delay, to 16 17 improve our workforce, to empower parents, and 18 to give these students choice. I support this 19 very good amendment.
 - CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Rouson in debate. You're recognized.
- MR. ROUSON: Thank you very much, Mr. Chair.

 On August 14th, 1874, Jonathan Clarkson
- On August 14th, 1874, Jonathan Clarkson

 Gibbs, II, died. And I think he dies again

 today. Educated man from Princeton Theological

Seminary who opened up several schools when

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2	black children were not allowed in certain
3	other schools, and entered his prominence when
4	he became the first black secretary of state in
5	Florida and the first black superintendent of
6	public instruction. In St. Petersburg we have
7	a high school named after him.
8	But I can understand why he elevated to
9	this position of superintendent of public
10	instruction and how the constitution created
11	the board of education, and largely he's
12	credited with the public school system as we
13	know it today.
14	We must find ways to continue building on
15	the quality of a free public school system and
16	not do things that create a crack in the wall
17	and threatens the entire foundation of a free
18	public school system. And to me, this does

 $\label{lem:commissioners} \mbox{ And I would urge my fellow commissioners} \\ \mbox{to vote against this amendment.}$

22 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Commissioner Barnett, you're

just that.

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- 23 recognized in debate.
- MS. BARNETT: Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I
- 25 believe that a free public school system, free

- 1 public education is the cornerstone of a free
- 2 society. I believe that education is the great
- 3 equalizer --
- 4 UNIDENTIFIED SPEAKER: Amen.
- 5 MS. BARNETT: -- and it is the hope of every
- 6 parent that their child will get a great
- 7 education. I understand that different people
- 8 require different kinds of education and that we
- 9 need to accommodate that. But I believe that
- 10 public dollars should be spent on public
- 11 education. And I believe the people of the State
- of Florida agree with me on that.
- 13 If you look at article IX, section 1, and
- by now all of us know these words by heart.
- But I just want to remind each of us that the
- people in the State of Florida have said, the
- 17 education of children is a fundamental value of
- 18 the people of the state, and that it's a
- 19 paramount duty to provide a high quality free

20	public education.	
21	If we adopt this proposal and it's adopted	
22	by the people of Florida, it will require the	
23	Legislature to divert public dollars into	
24	private education. That's the intent.	
25	Certainly, the focus and the heartstring that	
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1	gets pulled is the vouchers, but in truth this	
2	will require public funding of private	
3	education.	
4	I disagree with those who say it has no	
5	fiscal impact. At a minimum you are diverting	
6	public funds out of the education system when	
7	you take the kids out of the public education	
8	system. But it's a much more complicated	
9	answer than that.	
10	If you look at what's happened to public	
11	education in the last two years, and if you	
12	read anything, you know that we are barely	
13	meeting the needs of the state today. We are	
14	barely providing an adequate public education.	
15	This proposal will raise questions about	

the uniformity, which is another constitutional

17	mandate, a uniform education, when you have it
18	out of the public school system and into
19	alternatives we don't even know what they are
20	today.
21	In 2007/2008, \$565 million were taken out
22	of the FEFP. That's the public that's the

of the FEFP. That's the public -- that's the funding formula. 2008/9, this year,

\$362 million are coming out of the system.

This doesn't count some of the property tax

Florida.

issues that we've all heard about. There's not enough money for public education today.

And I am very concerned, not about the opportunity scholarships or the 700 or 800 or a thousand kids who took advantage of those.

That's not a lot of money. I'm not concerned about them. I would hope that they would have an opportunity in the public system, or otherwise, but I am concerned about, I think as Commissioner Rouson said, not just the crack in the wall but the hole in the dam, and that this is going to undermine public education in

If I'm right, I think you have to
calculate the fiscal impact of this based on
the potential that you would fund, that people
would demand public dollars for private
education. And you look at the number of
students today being educated in the private
system, and it is over a billion dollars
potentially coming out of state dollars,
taxpayer dollars, for private education.

I voted yesterday for CP2, because I believe that we need to find a way to relieve the property tax burden for people in this

state. I heard them loud and clear. But I voted for that with a lot of reservations, because I also heard from people in the school system about their concern about losing a stable source of revenue. And because I am such a believer in the constitutional promise of high quality public education for the citizens, for the children of this state.

I think this is going to add another billion dollars, potentially. May not be year

11	one, year two, year three, but it's going to	
12	add another billion or \$2 billion to the	
13	burden, that now we're going to be asking our	
14	Legislature to find those dollars. They're	
15	going to have to find those dollars somewhere.	
16	I don't know if the burden is too much.	
17	It's made me worry about what we're doing in	
18	the combination of these two proposals and the	
19	impact it's going to have on public education.	
20	I appreciate, deeply appreciate the	
21	concerns of Commissioner Martinez and Levesque	
22	and Lacasa and others. I know they come at	
23	this out of a deep concern for children too.	
24	It's just it's one of those times where I	
25	think people with a common goal see a different	
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1	way to get there.	
2	I cannot support this. And I would ask	
3	that each of you look into your heart and	
4	whether we can put this kind of burden on the	

CHAIRMAN BENSE: Further debate?

taxpayers of Florida and whether we can

jeopardize Florida's public education system.

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8 Commissioner Martinez in debate.

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9 MR. MARTINEZ: Mr. Chairman, thank you. I'm 10 going to not try to be repetitive. I just want to

close up and address a couple points here.

measured, very prudent amendment that has

I think that what we're proposing at this

stage with all of the amendments is a very

improved significantly during this process.

16 Through the suggestions of Commissioner

17 Barnett, through some of the comments made by

18 my colleague to my right, who nonetheless is

against it, we have made amendments to the

amendments to refine it, to make it measured,

21 to make it more prudent.

My colleague to my right, Commissioner

Gelber, says that we will be the first state to

mandate a public financing private education.

Well, that's not correct. Not that we were the

second or third, it's just that we're not going

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2 to be doing that at all.

3 And to make that absolutely clear, this

Commission has passed language unanimously,

adding the last sentence of a subsection, which makes it very clear that we're not creating an entitlement to a publicly financed private program. So through the process of this Commission, we've improved upon that, and we've made sure that the mandate does not exist.

As far as the fiscal impact -- I don't take offense to this -- our Government Services Committee issued a report on public education. You've heard me refer to this before. I have a copy right here. It may have run out in the bookstore. You're welcome to get it. It's a hundred and some pages long.

And in it they are summarizing on pages 17 through 19 the presentation from the Collins Center. A nonpartisan nonpolitical group, they came to us to talk about innovation and efficiencies in education. And they mention in particular the choice programs that we have in our state. And through their computation -- we've summarized it -- they presented

total taxpayer savings of the choice programs in our state amounted to \$4,465,435,449.

That's a lot of billions. And it's certainly something that was useful before the economic downturn and is going to be even more useful as we go into the next couple years. So not only is, in my opinion, the school choice option a good thing for kids, but it's also a good thing for our state fiscally as well as in other matters.

Let me just close by saying this. If we vote this out today, this doesn't become the law. It goes on the ballot, and the people will vote for it or against it. And it's going to be -- it's going to be a high hurdle to get it passed. I'm well aware of that. Any of the process, whether it gets passed or not, there's going to be a lot of attention focused on education. And that in and of itself is a great thing. You will have the whole state and the people and the parents and the educators involved in a debate on our public education system and on the education of our kids. And

1	So I encourage you to vote for this
2	proposal, not only because it is good on the
3	merits, but because it will give the people of
4	the state an opportunity to decide for
5	themselves whether they want this in our
6	constitution. Thank you.
7	CHAIRMAN BENSE: Further debate? Further
8	debate?
9	(No response.)
10	Okay. Seeing none, Commissioner
11	Turbeville, you're recognized to close on your
12	proposal.
13	MR. TURBEVILLE: Thank you, Chairman. Thank
14	you, members. History repeats itself. And we
15	have seen recently that education options are
16	being challenged in court and those options are
17	being taken away from parents and from students.
18	As we've heard the debate today, I think
19	it's pretty clear, there is no mandate for a
20	private program that's explicitly written in

this proposal, and I think it's also clear that

there's no negative fiscal impact to this
proposal. In fact, as Commissioner Martinez
mentions, there's some positive impact for the
state; and it's positive for a couple of

reasons. And I'll just give you one example.

A parent who's working two jobs and who's benefiting from a scholarship program to go to a private school, that's -- that's savings from the state. If the parent was not willing to sacrifice and work and pay the difference between what that scholarship provides and what the tuition is in the private school, that parent and that child would be going to a public school every day and the state would be paying a much higher per people funding level for that student.

So I would hope that we would vote for this. I think we're all pretty sure of where we are on the votes today. I don't think this debate on my part or the close is going to change anyone's opinion.

But the education options are important

- and they're important because children are not
- 20 uniform. They learn in different ways, and so
- I hope we'll work together, pass this, and
- 22 allow the Legislature and parents in the future
- 23 to have a system that addresses all the needs
- of students in the state. Thank you.
- 25 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Okay, members, Commissioner

25 CHAINMAN BENSE. ORdy, Inclided 3, Collin 133101101

- 1 Turbeville having closed, the question recurs on
- 2 first passage of committee substitute for
- 3 Constitutional Proposal 40 as amended.
- 4 Nancy, please call the roll.
- 5 MS. FRIER: Chair Bense.
- 6 CHAIRMAN BENSE: Yes.
- 7 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Barney Barnett.
- 8 MR. BARNETT: Yes.
- 9 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Martha Barnett.
- MS. BARNETT: No.
- 11 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Bostick.
- MR. BOSTICK: Yes.
- 13 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Corcoran.
- MR. CORCORAN: Yes.
- MS. FRIER: Commissioner D'Alemberte.

- MR. D'ALEMBERTE: No.
- 17 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Hogan.
- 18 MR. HOGAN: Yes.
- 19 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Johnson.
- 20 MS. JOHNSON: Yes.
- 21 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Kyle.
- MR. KYLE: Yes.
- MS. FRIER: Commissioner Lacasa.
- MR. LACASA: Yes.
- MS. FRIER: Commissioner Levesque.

- 1 MS. LEVESQUE: Yes.
- 2 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Martinez.
- 3 MR. MARTINEZ: Yes.
- 4 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Mathis.
- 5 MS. MATHIS: Yes.
- 6 MS. FRIER: Commissioner McKay.
- 7 MR. MCKAY: Yes.
- 8 MS. FRIER: Commissioner McKee.
- 9 MR. MCKEE: No.
- 10 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Les Miller.
- 11 MR. LES MILLER: No.
- 12 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Randy Miller.

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13 MR. RANDY MILLER: Yes.
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- 14 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Moore.
- MR. MOORE: No.
- MS. FRIER: Commissioner Riley.
- 17 MS. RILEY: Yes.
- 18 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Rouson.
- MR. ROUSON: No.
- 20 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Story.
- MS. STORY: Yes.
- MS. FRIER: Commissioner Turbeville.
- MR. TURBEVILLE: Yes.
- 24 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Wilkinson.
- MR. WILKINSON: Yes.

- 1 MS. FRIER: Commissioner Yablonski.
- 2 MR. YABLONSKI: Yes.
- 3 MS. FRIER: Vice Chair Scott.
- 4 VICE CHAIR SCOTT: Yes.
- 5 CHAIRMAN BENSE: And by your vote the
- 6 proposal passes, 19 to six.
- 7 Why don't we take about a ten-minute break
- 8 here. Just to complete the order of day, we're
- going to take up CP26 here in about 15 minutes,

10	about 10:45. After that, pass or fail, the
11	Style and Drafting Committee will meet. The
12	staff of the Style and Drafting has already
13	begun working, so it's a work in process.
14	Also, reminder that there is public testimony
15	on CP26. So if you would like to speak, be
16	sure to fill out a form.
17	MS. BARNETT: Mr. Chairman?
18	CHAIRMAN BENSE: We'll come back after Style
19	and Drafting after Style and Drafting, we'll
20	come back for the motion to adopt the order and
21	majority vote to accept the recommendations, and
22	then final passage.
23	(Brief recess was taken.)
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2	CERTIFICATE OF REPORTER
3	
4	
5	
6	STATE OF FLORIDA)

7	COUNTY OF LEON)
8	
9	I, LISA D. FREEZE, Notary Public, certify
10	that I was authorized to and did stenographically
11	report the proceedings herein, and that the transcript
12	is a true and complete record of my stenographic notes.
13	I further certify that I am not a relative,
14	employee, attorney or counsel of any of the parties,
15	nor am I a relative or employee of any of the parties'
16	attorney or counsel connected with the action, nor am I
17	financially interested in the action.
18	WITNESS my hand and official seal this 25th
19	day of April, 2008.
20	
21	
22	
23	LISA D. FREEZE, RPR, NOTARY PUBLIC 2894 REMINGTON GREEN LANE
24	TALLAHASSEE, FL 32308 850-878-2221
25	030 010-2221