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## Ballot Measure 15: Kids First

City Club of Portland (Portland, Or.)

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# CITY CLUB OF PORTLAND REPORT

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## Ballot Measure 15: Kids First

The Majority of Your Committee Found:

Oregon cannot allow its schools to disintegrate while the state struggles with an answer to the funding dilemma created by 1990 Measure 5. K-14 education faces a crisis in this biennium. Measure 15 will halt the present decline in education and preserve this important institution for the future. The Majority of your Committee recommends a "Yes" vote on Measure 15.

The Minority of Your Committee Found:

Oregon should not further sacrifice its representative form of government by eliminating legislative discretion over one-half of the state's General Fund budget. The Governor, the Legislature, the schools and the agencies involved should work together to present an integrated budget in partnership. Measure 15 is the wrong answer to a current problem. The Minority of your Committee recommends a "No" vote on Measure 15.



The City Club membership will vote on this report on Friday, October 28, 1994. Until the membership vote, the City Club of Portland does not have an official position on this report. The outcome of this vote will be reported in the City Club Bulletin dated November 4, 1994 (Vol. 76, No. 23).

# I. INTRODUCTION

Measure 15 amends Oregon's Constitution to require state funding of education, from kindergarten through community college (K-14), at the same level of funding as in the 1993-1995 biennium, adjusted for inflation or deflation and enrollment. The Legislative Revenue Office estimated that the 1993-95 base amount was \$5.5 billion. Approximately \$2.7 billion of this amount represents funds from such sources as local property taxes, timber taxes, and federal forest reserve funds. The Legislature appropriated the remaining \$2.9 billion from the state general fund.

Under Measure 15, the Legislature would follow three steps each biennium to determine the constitutional spending requirement established by the measure. First, it would adjust the 1993-1995 base amount for changes in consumer prices and enrollment. Second, it would determine the amount of funds available for K-14 education from all sources other than the general fund, such as property taxes and timber taxes. Third, the Legislature would appropriate the balance from the General Fund. As long as the Legislature appropriates the total amount calculated above, it can allocate that amount among school districts and community colleges as it desires.

Measure 15 will appear on the ballot as follows:

<b>Caption:</b>	Amends Constitution: State Must Maintain Funding for Schools, Community Colleges.
<b>Question:</b>	Shall constitution set minimum state funding of schools, community colleges based on funds available from listed sources in 1993-95 biennium?
<b>Explanation:</b>	Amends state constitution. Requires legislature to fund schools and community colleges at no less than 1993-95 base amount, as adjusted. Base amount is the funds needed to give schools and community colleges same funding they had in 1993-95 from listed sources. Base amount must be adjusted for inflation, deflation and enrollment changes. Legislature must compute base amount and adjustments before each biennium. Legislature may change the amount for any school or community college so long as it gives at least total funds required by measure.

(The language of the caption, question, and summary was prepared by the Attorney General of Oregon.)

Measure 15 constitutionally protects education funding as a priority. By itself, it raises no taxes. By itself, it directs no other areas of state spending. Its ramifications and effects, however, would be many.

## II. BACKGROUND

**The 1990 Measure 5.** Measure 15 is a direct outgrowth of the property tax limitation Oregon voters passed in 1990: Measure 5. Briefly stated, 1990 Measure 5 amended Oregon's Constitution to limit property taxes for two categories of expenditures: school taxes and non-school taxes. Schools include all public schools from pre-kindergarten through post-graduate, special education districts, and community colleges. Non-schools include city and county governments, special districts such as fire and water districts, and taxing units that cross local government boundaries such as METRO and the Port of Portland.

1990 Measure 5 froze non-school taxes at \$10 per \$1,000 of assessed value. The school taxes limit began at \$15 per \$1,000 of assessed value in the 1991-92 fiscal year, declining \$2.50 per year to the final limit of \$5 per \$1,000 of assessed value in the 1995-96 fiscal year. 1990 Measure 5 required that, through 1996, the Legislature replace from the General Fund any revenue lost to schools because of the limits on property taxes.

1990 Measure 5 placed no restriction, however, on reductions to the state's previous support of education. In the 1989-91 biennium, before 1990 Measure 5, the General Fund provided almost \$1.2 billion for "basic" support of K-12 education. Total general operating revenue for K-12 was \$4.3 billion, which included property taxes and a variety of state and federal funding sources, including grants and timber fees. General operating revenues for community colleges in 1989-91 were \$362 million.

**The 1991-93 Biennium.** Because of the phasing of reductions for school property taxes, the Legislature faced a relatively small problem of General Fund replacement in the 1991-93 biennium. The 1991-93 biennial budget contained \$461 million for 1990 Measure 5 replacement and \$1.635 billion for "basic" school support, all provided from existing resources. Total general operating revenue for K-12 was \$5 billion, with an additional \$415 million for community colleges.

**The 1993-95 Biennium.** In the 1993-95 biennium the General Fund faced a shortfall of \$1.2 billion between projected revenues and current services budgets for all General Fund programs. Current services budgets reflect inflation or deflation and changes in the constituent population, such as numbers of students, but no changes in service levels. The Legislature filled \$266.9 million of this shortfall by broadening the uses of lottery funds, increasing higher education tuition, and reallocating some federal funds.

Program reductions accounted for the remaining \$870 million. The table on the next page shows how the Legislature allocated the shortfall among the various programs in the General Fund.

	1993-95 Biennium	
	Share of the General Fund (%)	Reduction from Calculated Current Services Budget (\$ mill.) (%)
K-12 Schools	38	550 17.7
Community Colleges	4	29 10.4
Higher Education	11	54 6.9
Human Resources	27	101 5.3
Public Safety	12	29 3.6
All Other	8	106 NA

As the table shows, K-12 education both is the largest single component of the General Fund budget and bore the largest share of budget reductions. In contrast, Public Safety bore only 3.6 percent of the shortfall, while it comprises 12 percent of the total General Fund budget. As a result, total general operating revenues for K-12 education in 1993-95 were \$4.99 billion — approximately \$9 million less than 1991-93. Because property tax collections have exceeded estimates, the Legislative Revenue Office now estimates that K-12 will actually receive just over \$5 billion for the biennium.

Community colleges fared better in the 1993-95 legislative session. General operating revenues for community colleges were \$431 million in the 1993-95 biennium, a four percent increase over 1991-93.

**The Equalization Law.** The impact of the funding reduction varied from school district to school district because of allocations between districts required by the state's 1991 equalization law. In general, this law requires equal per student expenditures, after adjustments for variations in costs between districts. Some districts have benefitted significantly under this law, such as Salem, while others like Portland have lost revenues and stand to lose considerably more in the future. Adoption of full equalization in 1995-96 could lower Portland's funding by approximately thirteen percent, or \$40 million. Substantial reductions could also occur in such diverse districts as Rainier, Gold Beach, Sherwood, and Lake Oswego.

The combined effects of the budget shortfall in 1993-95 and partial implementation of the equalization formula caused some hardship for most school districts and severe problems in others. The Portland Public Schools' funding dropped from \$706 million in the 1991-93 biennium to \$634 million in the 1993-95 biennium. In general, school districts attempted to minimize the effects on students by trimming administrative staff and special programs, and using reserves built in prior years.

Measure 15 does not affect the equalization law. The Legislature may change the amount appropriated for any school district or community college as long as it appropriates the entire statewide funding amount required by Measure 15.

**The 1995-97 Biennium.** The anticipated funding shortfall for the 1995-97 biennium is at least as great as in the 1993-95 biennium. Projections from the Legislative Revenue Office are for a \$8.5 billion General Fund current services budget. Anticipated revenues, including reallocations of federal funds and use of lottery money, are \$7.6 billion. This leaves a \$867 million shortfall.

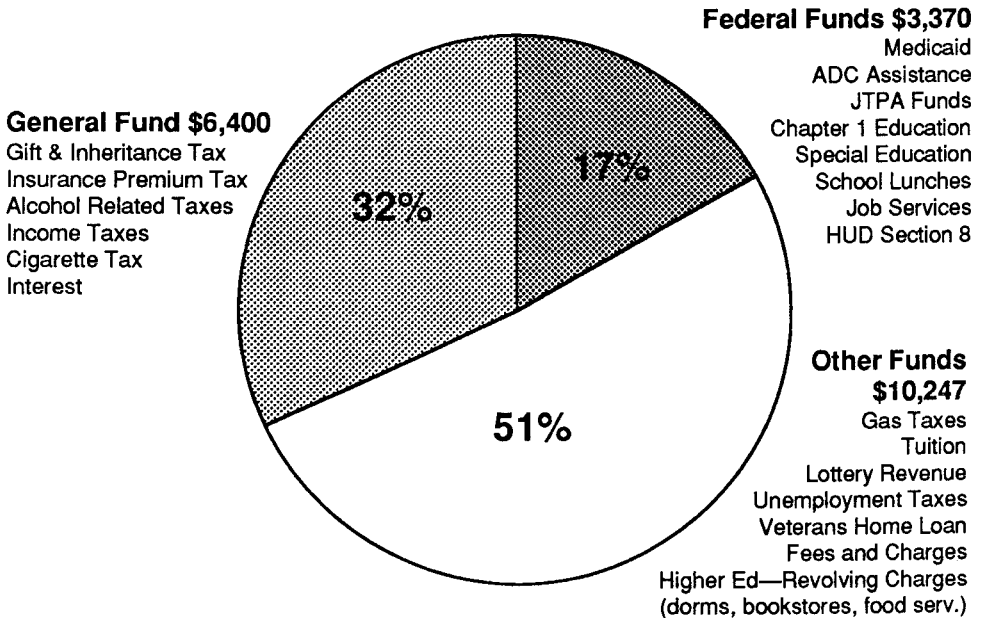
The table below compares the results of spreading this same shortfall proportionately among programs and according to the mandates of Measure 15.

	Current Service Budget (\$ mill.)	Proportionate Cuts Budget (\$ mill.)	Change (%)	Measure 15 Budget (\$ mill.)	Change (%)
School Aid	\$4,055	\$3,634	-10%	\$4,215	+ 4%
Other Programs	4,295	3,849	-10%	3,268	-24%

The proportionate cuts represent a 10.4 percent decrease in General Fund support to 1995-97 current services budgets. Measure 15 would increase General Fund school aid \$160 million, or four percent, over 1995-97 current services budgets, while decreasing support to other programs by 24 percent.

**The General Fund.** The last important piece of background information is an understanding of the role of the General Fund in the state's overall budget. As the chart below illustrates, the General Fund comprises slightly less than one-third of the total state budget.

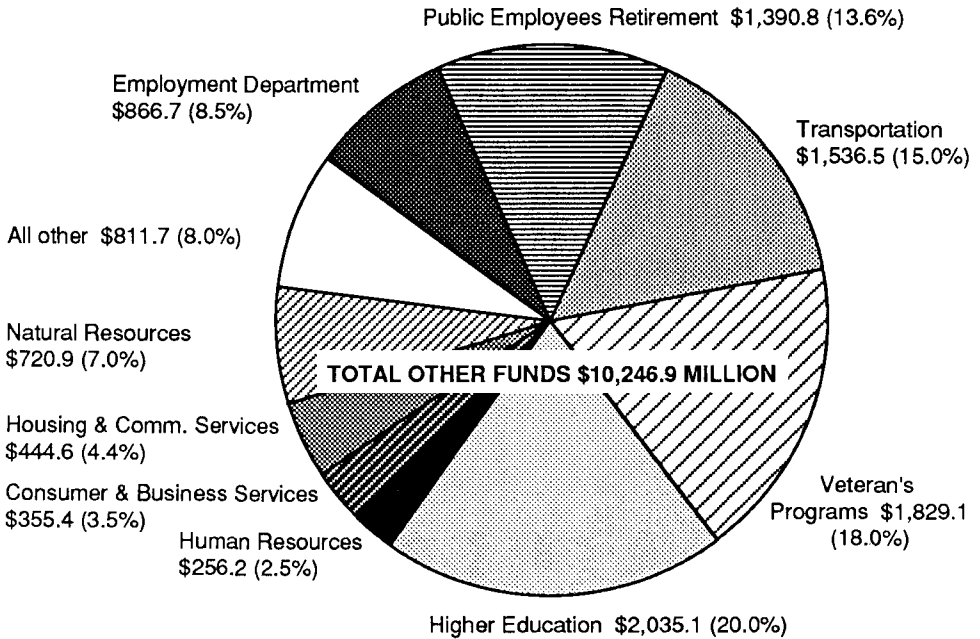
**State of Oregon Source of Funds**  
**Total Budget—\$20,017 Million**  
 Millions of Dollars



Source: State of Oregon Legislative Revenue Office

The chart below shows the allocation of these non-General Funds in the 1993-95 budget:

### 1993-95 Oregon Other Funds Budget Dollars Millions



Source: State of Oregon Legislative Revenue Office

Measure 15 has no effect on these other funds and the programs they support. Nor can the Legislature reallocate any of these revenue sources or reduce funding in these programs to fill the shortfall between General Fund revenues and current services budgets.

**Past City Club Position.** In a 1987 report on long-term school finance reform, the Club recommended the creation of the Oregon Education Fund to achieve stable and equitable school finance for Oregon. This Fund would:

- Use revenues assessed at a rate or rates that do not distinguish by geographic area;
- Be constitutionally dedicated to funding basic education;
- Incorporate all current miscellaneous local sources, such as the County School Fund;

- Incorporate all current state contributions, such as the Common School Fund, and establish an appropriate growth factor for the dedicated General Fund appropriations; and
- Offset current local property tax collections to the extent of any new revenue source or sources incorporated in the Oregon Education Fund.

This concept differs from Measure 15 only in that the Club contemplated tax reform to accompany this new Fund and a local option for school districts to offer more than the basic program through local levies. The City Club has not revisited this issue since the passage of 1990 Measure 5 significantly limited total tax revenues.

### III. ARGUMENTS IN FAVOR

Proponents made the following arguments in favor of Measure 15:

- The Legislature disproportionately reduced K-14 spending in the 1993-95 biennium to fill the gap between General Fund revenues and budgets. This forced school districts to cut programs and personnel, although some districts minimized cuts with a direct impact on classrooms by using reserve funds. Measure 15 will fund schools at current service levels, preventing a recurrence in 1995-97 or future bienniums of cuts to K-14 education.
- Measure 15 establishes expenditures for K-14 education as a priority over other General Fund expenditures, including public safety and human resources. This recognizes the importance of a sound public education system to Oregon's long-term economic attractiveness and vitality and the strength of its communities. Because Measure 15 is a constitutional amendment, the legislature cannot change the priority of spending on K-14 education without a vote of the people.
- Among the nation's major cities, Portland has one of the largest percentages of students within the district enrolled in the public school system. Without Measure 15, limits on the funds available to Portland Public Schools would result in a shift to private schooling that would be difficult, if not impossible, to stop. This shift to private schooling would lessen the ethnic and socio-economic diversity that adds so much to the quality of urban education.
- Measure 15 will provide stable funding for schools and community colleges, including adjustments up or down for changes in enrollment and inflation or deflation. Stable funding may allow education to achieve greater economies by facilitating long-term planning.
- Measure 15 will prevent General Fund budget cuts from aggravating the funding decreases some districts have faced because of the effects of the 1991 state education funding equalization law.



- Measure 15 allows education to join the ranks of other state programs that have constitutional or statutory funding guarantees or requirements, such as the public highways, roads, streets, and roadside rest areas.
- The Oregon Constitution requires that the Legislature provide for a uniform and general system of common education. This is the only state program required by the Constitution. Measure 15 will complement this requirement with a spending priority.
- 1990 Measure 5 required that the Legislature replace property tax revenues lost to the schools only through the 1995-96 fiscal year. Measure 15 will ensure that state replacement of these revenues continues.
- Measure 15 neither requires the imposition or payment of additional taxes nor prevents further property tax reductions scheduled under the 1990 Measure 5.
- Measure 15 will force the Legislature to address the implications of 1990 Measure 5 by either downsizing government or finding additional revenue sources.
- Based on preliminary polling, Measure 15 has more voter support than other school funding options, such as local option property taxes and freezing the Measure 5 property tax reductions.
- Measure 15 will improve school districts' ability to meet the requirements of Oregon's 1991 Education Reform Act, H.B. 35651, and the Legislature can hold them accountable for their performance on an individual district basis.
- The education political constituency will support fiscal reform even with Measure 15 because the measure does not provide the education funding necessary to implement all the elements of H.B. 3565, such as longer school years.

## IV. ARGUMENTS IN OPPOSITION

Opponents made the following arguments against Measure 15:

- Measure 15 forces the Legislature to fund K-14 education regardless of the impact of this requirement on other state programs. In the 1995-97 biennium, Measure 15 would force cuts, some of which may be drastic, in other General Fund programs, such as public safety, human services, and higher education. The 24 percent reduction predicted for other programs if Measure 15 passes could result in:
  - the closure of correctional institutions; and
  - a dramatic increase in college tuition.

1. The Education Reform Act established several objectives intended to make Oregon youth the best educated citizens in the nation by the year 2000, and a work force equal to any in the world by the year 2010. Among the objectives are:
  - Establishing Certificates of Initial Mastery (CIM) and Advanced Mastery (CAM) that match the highest of any in the world for all students; and
  - Offering alternative learning options for students experiencing difficulties in achieving the CIM and CAM.

- Measure 15 would constitutionally limit a key legislative responsibility: the allocation of state revenues among competing programs. As such, it:
  - moves Oregon further away from a representative form of government capable of making political decisions; and
  - exacerbates Oregon’s lack of trust in its elected representatives.
- Measure 15 will create a divisive force between agencies, such as schools and social service agencies, which should work together to achieve the greatest level of all services at the lowest cost.
- Measure 15 further decreases Oregon’s flexibility to respond to the changing needs of its population, given that two-thirds of state spending is already dedicated.
- Measure 15 constitutionally requires spending on K-14 education without any corresponding revenue. No other state program is in a similar situation. While the Constitution dedicates revenues from the gasoline tax to roads, it does not require spending in the absence of any gasoline tax revenue.
- Measure 15 will create a precedent for other groups to seek “spending priority” for their favored programs, whether they be prisons, human services, or higher education.
- The spending provided under Measure 15 would become the maximum amount available for K-14 education as people begin to view it much like the property tax “safety net” in 1987. The funds necessary to implement fully the Education Reform Act, H.B. 3565, will not be available.
- Funds available for education may still erode under Measure 15 if the Legislature reclassifies programs and expenditures to K-14 education to place them within that funding umbrella.
- Measure 15 does not create, and may in fact prevent, an integrated strategy for children in general and education in particular. Removing available funds from programs for early childhood care and family support will result in children unprepared to learn, even if K-14 is well funded. Increasing the cost of college education will also harm Oregon’s older children and may force some of them out of state.
- The constitutional guarantee of funds for K-14 education will lessen the accountability of Oregon’s educational system.
- While Measure 15 may send a message of voter frustration to the Legislature, the constitutional nature of Measure 15 means it will persist, with all its flaws, even if Oregon ultimately addresses the funding problems created by 1990 Measure 5.

## V. MAJORITY DISCUSSION

The Majority of your Committee supports the passage of Measure 15 because Oregon cannot allow its schools to disintegrate while the state struggles with an answer to the funding dilemma created by 1990 Measure 5. Despite the serious effects Measure 15 may have on other institutions and the general principle that the Legislature should determine funding priorities, the majority believes that K-14 education faces a crisis in this biennium. Measure 15 will halt the present decline of public K-14 education and preserve the current level of service without raising new taxes or interfering with the further downsizing of government, a purported goal of 1990 Measure 5. In addition, Measure 15 creates stable funding for education in Oregon—a long-time goal shared by many. Funding stability alone will have a beneficial effect on planning for the quality of education in Oregon.

**The crisis in K-14 education.** 1990 Measure 5 began a five-year downward ratchet in property taxes available for many schools districts but required that the Legislature replace the lost funds through 1996. In the 1991-93 biennium, the replacement obligation was only \$462 million and the Legislature actually increased basic school support by approximately \$400 million. By 1993, however, the Legislature faced a \$1.5 billion replacement obligation. While the 1993-95 budget funded this obligation, the Legislature decreased the state's previous support of K-12 education by over \$500 million. General operating revenues for K-12 fell by \$9 million, allowing nothing for inflation and enrollment growth. While this significant funding decrease had varying effects on school districts, your Committee heard of few districts that did not make cuts and eliminate virtually all reserves to survive the 1993-95 biennium.

The response of the Portland Public Schools is typical of many. The district cut overhead dramatically, opened all areas of its facilities operation to competitive bidding, and postponed purchases. Nonetheless, in the current school year, many classes have 30 to 34 students. Dr. Jack Bierwirth, Portland's superintendent, estimates that the student/teacher ratio will rise to 38 students per teacher if education receives the currently projected cuts in the 1995-97 biennium. It takes little imagination to envision the plunge in the quality of education that will occur with classes of this size.

Experiences elsewhere in the United States show that large class sizes, deteriorating buildings, and obsolescent textbooks prompt a shift of students to private schools. The effects of further 1995-97 cuts could make it impossible for Portland to maintain the high level of enrollment it now enjoys. If large class sizes and other effects force students to private schools, Portland would lose even more state funding, which is based on per-student formulas. The district could enter a downward spiral that would be hard to reverse.

Education is a cornerstone of Oregon's future economic health and quality of life, and, because the Portland Public Schools serve more students than any other district in Oregon, the health of its school system is a major indicator of both. Measure 15 will preserve education and, thereby, help preserve the state's future.

The Minority questions the extent of the crisis in education, speculating that education may receive greater funding in the 1995-97 biennium. The Majority of your Committee believes we cannot take the risk.

**Stability.** Consistent with the City Club's 1987 report on long-term school finance, the passage of Measure 15 will provide stable, constitutionally-dedicated, funding for Oregon's K-14 schools. Prior to 1990 Measure 5, education's reliance on local levies for the majority of its funds produced, in many districts, significant funding instability. With Measure 5, decision-making over the majority of educational funding passed to the Legislature and the political process surrounding allocation of Oregon's General Fund.

Measure 15's requirement for a base level of funding from biennium to biennium will provide K-14 a stability unknown in the recent past and is, perhaps, the most important long-term effect of this measure. Because Measure 15 is a constitutional amendment, the Legislature cannot change the funding guarantee for K-14 education without a vote of the people.

Stability in school budgets will allow educators to concentrate on teaching and on planning. Where appropriate, this planning can facilitate shifting of curriculum strategies to delivery of relevant performance-based education outlined in the recently passed Education Reform Act, HB 3565. With stable funding, Oregon can establish baseline data, for measuring educational improvement results, that is not clouded by intermittent loss of funding.

The Minority argues that a constitutional amendment is the wrong answer to the current funding dilemma and that Measure 15 furthers Oregon's movement toward a "Town Hall" government. The Majority of your Committee believes in the general principles of representative government and that spending priorities should adapt to the needs of the time. This general principle, however, must bow to extreme circumstances. Constitutional protection for K-14 funding will not be unique in Oregon. The Majority of your Committee believes education is at least as important as roads and parks, revenues for which are constitutionally dedicated, and the other programs covered in the two-thirds of Oregon's budget that are dedicated in one way or another.

**Effects on Other State Programs.** Your Committee heard considerable debate about the potential effect of Measure 15 on other General Fund programs. The Legislative Revenue Office predicts other programs will face 24 percent reductions in current services budgets if Measure 15 passes, and only 10 percent reductions if it does not pass and the Legislature allocates the projected budget shortfall proportionately. The General Fund reductions, however, have less effect on programs that receive support from additional sources. For example, based on the 1993-95 biennial budget, a 24 percent reduction in General Fund contributions to higher education would have represented only 6.7 percent of its total budget.

The Majority of your Committee was persuaded that, if the cuts to programs other than K-14 education are not what the public wants, the impetus for tax reform will increase. Measure 15 ensures that Oregon's exemplary public education system survives while the debate over tax reform rages.

## VI. MAJORITY CONCLUSION

The Majority of your Committee favors Measure 15's dedicated education funding primarily because of the high priority we place on education and its critical role in Oregon's economic and social vitality. We agree with the Minority that increasing the portion of overall state revenue dedicated in one way or another weakens the ability of representative government to react responsibly to changing economic situations in adjusting state budgets. For K-14 education, however, the situation is critical, particularly in the 1995-97 biennium. The Majority of your Committee lacks confidence that Oregon will achieve the comprehensive tax reform necessary to give stable funding to our children's future by means other than Measure 15.

## VII. MAJORITY RECOMMENDATION

For the above reasons, the Majority of your Committee recommends a "Yes" vote on Measure 15.

Respectfully submitted,

Steve Poland  
Pam Arden  
Len Frieser  
David Ludwig  
Annette Mattson-Kraus

## VIII. MINORITY DISCUSSION

The Minority of your Committee agrees with several of the underpinnings of the Majority's support for Measure 15:

- Education is important;
- Funding education is important;
- The effects of 1990 Measure 5 and school funding equalization caused serious budget problems for some K-12 school districts in the 1993-95 biennium, including the Portland Public Schools and other districts that serve the majority of Oregon's school children; and
- The Legislature must responsibly fund K-14 education for the 1995-97 biennium, both on an overall basis and in consideration of the needs of individual districts.

The Majority and Minority also agree that constitutional spending requirements are poor public policy. Where the Minority differs from the Majority is in our unwillingness to declare that the 1995-97 biennium confronts public education with such a crisis that a constitutional amendment is the only choice. The Minority of your Committee believes other means exist to accomplish the last assumption stated above: a responsible outcome for education in the 1995-97 session.

Measure 15 would amend Oregon's Constitution to require such funding to occur, not only in this biennium but for all bienniums in the future. Unlike other programs with funding priority such as transportation, Measure 15 includes no funding for this spending guarantee. The Legislature must meet it from the General Fund. As explained in the Background, the General Fund comprises only about one-third of the State's budget and, in 1993-95, K-14 education consumed more than half of the General Fund. Thus, for the 1995-97 biennium and beyond, the Legislature would have the ability to allocate funds only for approximately one-sixth of the total state budget.

The arguments for constraining the Legislature's ability to balance priorities and react to Oregon's changing needs center on two assumptions: K-14 education will enter an irreversible downward slide if further cuts occur in the 1995-97 biennium, and the Legislature cannot be trusted. Reasons exist to question both assumptions.

The most compelling evidence that disproportionate budget cuts to education in the 1995-97 biennium would cause a crisis came from the Portland Public Schools. As noted above in the Background section, Portland saw its funding drop significantly from the 1991-93 biennium to the 1993-95 biennium as the combined effect of General Fund budget cuts and partial implementation of equalization. Measure 15 does not affect the equalization law and Portland could lose up to 13 percent of its 1995-96 annual budget with full implementation of equalization. This compares to the 6.5 percent Portland

may lose if the Legislature repeats its actions of the 1993-95 biennium. Unless the Legislature revisits the equalization formula, Portland's schools may still suffer and enter the downward spiral the Majority believes Measure 15 will prevent. A constitutional change that may not fix the perceived crisis seems unwarranted.

Your Committee heard from some witnesses that, because the Legislature disproportionately cut K-12 education in the 1993-95 biennium, this pattern will continue. Others disagreed. No one disputes that allocating whatever budget shortfall may actually appear for the 1995-97 biennium will be complex. Measure 15, however, would reduce this debate to simple slogans, which are all a general election campaign allows. Before starting a trend toward constitutional funding to protect voters' favorite programs, Oregon should attempt to preserve the viability of a representative form of government.

A better process would be for the Governor, the Legislature, the schools, and the agencies involved to work together to present an integrated budget in partnership. Measure 15 prevents a partnership approach by constitutionally funding one "partner" at the expense of the others. While education is clearly a priority, a broad definition of education could well include many human resource, public safety, and higher education programs. One opponent argued that "education" must begin with pre-natal care. Cutting social services that prepare children for school to preserve the school system would be self-defeating. Nor does education necessarily end with community college. Increasing the cost of Oregon's universities could adversely affect Oregon's older children.

Moreover, a collaborative effort by all could identify what the state perceives as its mission in providing services for its citizens. That, in turn, might bring more consensus on priorities. It is clear that the public has little knowledge of our state government: what state agencies do, what reforms have occurred, and the budget process. Both proponents and opponents of Measure 15 could make better use of their funds by cooperating to educate voters on these issues.

Measure 15 continues the impetus of 1990's Measure 5 in its underlying distrust of government. This is perhaps its most destructive aspect on a long-term basis. The Constitution gives the Legislature "the power to establish an agency to exercise budgetary control over all ... agencies of the State Government." (Article III, Section 2.) Measure 15 effectively removes this legislative function by mandating funding for K-14, regardless of total General Fund revenues. In a worst case scenario, Measure 15 could require the state to spend more on K-14 education than is available in the General Fund. Limitations on the Legislature's budgetary control by constitutional amendments will eventually destroy effective representative government and substitute ballot measure budgeting.

## IX. MINORITY CONCLUSION

A constitutional amendment is a poor way to send a voter message of frustration to the Legislature. The problems created by 1990 Measure 5 require a comprehensive solution that only the Legislature, with significant citizen input, can achieve. Measure 15 will postpone, if not permanently preclude, this comprehensive solution.

## X. MINORITY RECOMMENDATION

For the above reasons, the Minority of your Committee recommends a "No" vote on Measure 15.

Respectfully submitted,

Duncan Smith  
Lynette Weigand  
Pamela Lesh, Chair

Research Advisors: Alan Brickley and Wayne Lei served as research advisors to both the Majority and Minority of the Committee.



# XI. APPENDIX

## Witnesses

Bruce Adams, Oregon Education Association  
Jack Bierwirth, Superintendent of Portland Public Schools  
Ellen Lowe, Ecumenical Ministries of Oregon  
Rece Bly, drafter of Measure 15  
Julie Brandis, Association of Oregon Industries  
Jeff Chicoine, Citizens for Oregon Schools  
Alice Dale, Director Oregon Public Employees Union  
Terry Drake, Legislative Revenue Office  
Sue Hagemeyer, Portland Citizens for Public Schools  
John Lattimer, Legislative Fiscal Office  
Tim Nesbitt, Assistant Director Oregon Public Employees Union  
Robert Nosse, Oregon Student Lobby  
Norma Paulus, Superintendent of Public Instruction for Oregon

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