



2016 ELECTION MEMO

FROM: Greg Brock, executive director
TO: Interested Parties
DATE: November 14, 2016
SUBJECT: Historic Wins for Educational Choice

SUMMARY

Tuesday's election was a historic success for the educational choice movement. With only a few exceptions, AFC-supported candidates won in convincing fashion in the vast majority of our target states, and opportunities to win additional seats materialized in places we had not previously imagined upon entering the election cycle or even on Election Day.

The election results present an opportunity to advance bold school choice proposals in several new states and/or to expand existing programs to help significantly more children access a better education.

We believe there are opportunities to pass or improve public charter and/or private school choice legislation immediately in new states like Missouri, Kentucky, Iowa and New Hampshire; and in current AFC target states of Arizona, Georgia Tennessee, Texas, Oklahoma, Ohio and Wisconsin. Other states present opportunities as well but will require a deeper analysis over the next several weeks.

Overall, AFC, the AFC Action Fund (527) and its affiliated state political committees spent just shy of \$5 million on election-related activities in 2016, split nearly evenly between the primary and general elections. Despite massive spending by the teachers' unions, a divisive political climate, and political trends that seemingly favored our opponents, AFC won 108 races and only 13 losses for the general election. In other words, in the general election, we won 89% of our targeted races.

AFC's state team focused our resources on the most genuinely competitive seats, developing professional and impactful political plans that truly made a decisive difference in many of these races. AFC's state teams were skillful at cultivating and evaluating candidates.

While AFC does not engage in federal elections, we are encouraged by the incoming Trump-Pence Administration pro-school choice positions and the congressional majority led by Speaker Paul Ryan and Senate Majority Leader Mitch McConnell. Three pro-school choice Democrats will join the ranks of the U.S. House of Representatives, former Democratic state legislator Al Lawson (FL), State Sen. Darren Soto (FL) and State Rep. Dwight Evans (PA). We believe all of this holds exciting promise for not only reauthorizing and growing the D.C. Opportunity Scholarship Program but also for broader and bolder initiatives to leverage federal money in ways that will complement what states are already doing to create more and better educational options for children.

State-by-State Results for Educational Choice

Arizona

AFC fought successfully to maintain the school choice majority in the Arizona Senate despite well-funded opposition. We increased the school choice majority in the state House, where we hope to pass a robust expansion of the state's Education Savings Account (ESA) program with the help of Governor Doug Ducey (R), a choice supporter, and provide equitable funding for charter and choice schools.

General					
First Name	Last Name	District	Party	I/C/O	W/L
Sylvia	Allen	LD 6	R	Senate - Incumbent	W
Steve	Yarbrough	LD 17	R	Senate - Incumbent	W
JD	Mesnard	LD 17	R	House - Incumbent	W
Jeff	Weninger	LD 17	R	House - Incumbent	W
Jill	Norgaard	LD 18	R	House - Incumbent	W
Frank	Schmuck	LD 18	R	Senate - Open	L (final votes being tallied)
Kimberly	Yee	LD 20	R	Senate - Incumbent	W
Kate	Brophy McGee	LD 28	R	Current Rep running for Open Senate seat	W (final votes being tallied)
Maria	Syms	LD 28	R	House - Open	W

Arkansas

We engaged modestly in Arkansas legislative races and were successful in three of four races, including defeating a longtime House member and opponent of educational choice.

General					
First Name	Last Name	District	Party	I/C/O	W/L
Richard	Womack	HD 18	R	Incumbent	W
Aaron	Pilkington	HD 69	R	Open	W
Dwight	Gonzales	HD 85	R	Challenger	L
Rebecca	Petty	HD 94	R	Incumbent	W

Florida

In what was a phenomenally successful election for educational choice in Florida, candidates backed by our Florida affiliate, the Florida Federation for Children (FFC), won 20 of 21 races, nearly all of which were highly competitive. Despite a union-backed legislative redistricting effort meant to roll back bipartisan school choice majorities, those majorities were instead strengthened.

Following the successful effort in Florida's August primary, Tuesday's general election highlight was the defeat of the teachers' union biggest ally and our biggest foe in the legislature in a South

Florida state Senate seat. The union spent over \$1 million to re-elect state Senator Dwight Bullard (D), an amount nearly equal to the entire FFC election budget for the state. Their efforts fell short, as Representative Frank Artiles (R) won this majority-Democratic district in Miami-Dade County, a stunning upset and a huge victory for educational choice.

Several of these victories in legislative seats across Florida were due in part to television advertising that featured scholarship parents holding opponents accountable, and a brilliant ground game in which scholarship parents made tens of thousands of phone calls and knocked on voters' doors in key races. These are the same low-income families the ongoing teachers' union lawsuit seeks to evict from the state's tax credit scholarship program.

GENERAL					
First Name	Last Name	District	Party	I/C/O	W/L
Frank	Artiles	SEN 40	R	Open	W
Daphne	Campbell	SEN 38	D	Open	W
Anitere	Flores	SEN 39	R	Open	W
Keith	Perry	SEN 8	R	Open	W
Kelli	Stargel	SD 22	R	Incumbent	W
Dana	Young	SEN 18	R	Open	W
Mike	Bileca	HD 115	R	Incumbent	W
Chuck	Clemons	HD 21	R	Open	W
Bob	Cortes	HD 30	R	Incumbent	W
John	Couriel	HD 114	R	Open	L
Manny	Diaz Jr.	HD 103	R	Incumbent	W
Randy	Fine	HD 53	R	Open	W
Gayle	Harrell	HD 83	R	Incumbent	W
Shawn	Harrison	HD 63	R	Incumbent	W
Mike	Miller	HD 47	R	Incumbent	W
George	Moraitis	HD 93	R	Incumbent	W
Kathleen	Peters	HD 69	R	Incumbent	W
Ross	Spano	HD 59	R	Incumbent	W
Chris	Sprowls	HD 65	R	Incumbent	W
Jackie	Toledo	HD 60	R	Open	W
Chris	Latvala	HD 67	R	Incumbent	W

Georgia

With a limited number of competitive general election opportunities for legislative seats, our affiliated Georgia political operation built on its success earlier this year in state legislative primary races by defending our biggest ally in the state Senate and adding school choice supporters in the state House of Representatives.

Gov. Nathan Deal's ballot measure to create an "Opportunity School District" that would allow the state to take over or shut down failing schools and convert them to charters, known as Amendment 1, was rejected by a 60-40% margin. The teachers' union spent millions to defeat the measure.

General					
First Name	Last Name	District	Party	I/C/O	W/L
Hunter	Hill	SD 6	R	Incumbent	W
Meagan	Hanson	HD 80	R	Challenger	W
Stacey	Evans	HD 42	D	Incumbent	W
Emory	Dunahoo	HD 30	R	Incumbent	W
Joyce	Chandler	HD 105	R	Incumbent	W
Clay	Cox	HD 108	R	Open	W
Michael	Williams	SD 27	R	Incumbent	W
Mike	Cheokas	HD 138	R	Incumbent	L
Vernon	Jones	HD 91	D	Open	W
Sam	Teasley	HD 37	R	Incumbent	W
Beth	Beskin	HD 54	R	Incumbent	W
Karen	Mathiak	HD 73	R	Open	W

Indiana

Indiana elections produced tremendous success for the educational choice movement in a crucial state. Lieutenant Governor Eric Holcomb (R), who trailed in many polls in the weeks leading up to the election, scored a surprisingly strong victory in the open seat race to replace Governor Mike Pence. Having served as a key advisor to former Governor Mitch Daniels during the initial enactment of Indiana's education reforms five years ago, Holcomb is a true school choice champion, advocating strongly and frequently for parents during his campaign.

We were also thrilled to see challenger Jennifer McCormick (R) oust State Education Superintendent Glenda Ritz (D) by a 53-47% margin. Ritz, who defeated our great champion Tony Bennett four years ago, loudly attacked the voucher program and charter schools during her term as Superintendent. These wins, combined with our success in preserving the large majority for educational choice in the state legislature, mean that we enter 2017 with a stronger position than ever before in Indiana.

AFC supported both Holcomb and McCormick directly, but to preserve the strong legislative majority for educational choice, AFC supported Hoosiers for Quality Education PAC, our local allied partner.

General					
First Name	Last Name	District	Party	I/C/O	W/L
Michael	Aylesworth	HD 11	R	Incumbent	W
Baird - R	Baird	HD 44	R	Incumbent	W
Robert	Behning	HD 91	R	Incumbent	W
Brian	Bosma	HD 88	R	Incumbent	W
Mike	Braun	HD 63	R	Incumbent	W
Woody	Burton	HD 58	R	Incumbent	W
Martin	Carbaugh	HD 81	R	Incumbent	W
Bob	Cherry	HD 53	R	Incumbent	W

Christopher	May	HD 65	R	Open	W
Edward	Clere	HD 72	R	Incumbent	W
Tony	Cook	HD 32	R	Incumbent	W
Doug	Miller	HD 48	R	Incumbent	W
Dale	Devon	HD 5	R	Incumbent	W
Jeff	Ellington	HD 62	R	Incumbent	W
Bill	Fine	HD 12	R	Incumbent	L
William	Friend	HD 23	R	Incumbent	W
David	Frizzell	HD 93	R	Incumbent	W
Doug	Gutwein	HD 16	R	Incumbent	W
Bob	Heaton	HD 46	R	Incumbent	W
Dave	Heine	HD 85	R	Open	W
Todd	Huston	HD 37	R	Incumbent	W
Jack	Jordan	HD 17	R	Open	W
Jim	Pressel	HD 20	R	Open	W
Mike	Karickhoff	HD 30	R	Incumbent	W
Cindy	Kirchhofer	HD 89	R	Incumbent	W
Don	Lehe	HD 25	R	Incumbent	W
Matt	Lehman	HD 79	R	Incumbent	W
Dan	Leonard	HD 50	R	Incumbent	W
Jim	Lucas	HD 69	R	Incumbent	W
Mil	Smith	HD 59	R	Incumbent	W
Peggy	Mayfield	HD 60	R	Incumbent	W
Robert	Morris	HD 84	R	Incumbent	W
Alan	Morrison	HD 42	R	Incumbent	W
David	Ober	HD 82	R	Incumbent	W
Julie	Olthoff	HD 19	R	Incumbent	
Kathy	Richardson	HD 29	R	Incumbent	W
Donna	Schaibley	HD 24	R	Incumbent	W
Ben	Smaltz	HD 52	R	Incumbent	W
Edmond	Soliday	HD 4	R	Incumbent	W
Mike	Speedy	HD 90	R	Incumbent	W
Greg	Steuerwald	HD 40	R	Incumbent	W
Holli	Sullivan	HD 78	R	Incumbent	W
Tim	Brown	HD 41	R	Incumbent	W
Jeff	Thompson	HD 28	R	Incumbent	W
Jerry	Torr	HD 39	R	Incumbent	W
Heath	VanNatter	HD 38	R	Incumbent	W
Tim	Wesco	HD 21	R	Incumbent	W

David	Wolkins	HD 18	R	Incumbent	W
Dennis	Zent	HD 51	R	Incumbent	W
Cindy	Ziemke	HD 55	R	Incumbent	W
Ed	Charbonneau	SD 5	R	Incumbent	W
Brandt	Hershman	SD 7	R	Incumbent	W
Blake	Doriot	SD 12	R	Open	W
David	Long	SD 16	R	Incumbent	W
Luke	Kenley	SD 20	R	Incumbent	W
Michael	Cridler	SD 28	R	Incumbent	W
John	Ruckelshaus	SD 30	R	Open	W
Aaron	Freeman	SD 32	R	Open	W
R. Michael	Young	SD 35	R	Incumbent	W
Jack	Sandlin	SD 36	R	Open	W
Rod	Bray	SD 37	R	Incumbent	W

Louisiana

When the state legislature agreed to transfer governance for New Orleans charter schools and the open enrollment choice system back to the Orleans Parish School Board earlier this year, it created serious concern among education reformers about preserving the interests of charter school students and parents. Therefore, we engaged in the school board campaigns, and we are pleased to report that all seven board seats in Orleans Parish are now filled by reformers. This was a stunning and unexpected defeat for the education establishment and creates hope for the future of schools in New Orleans.

General					
First Name	Last Name	District	Party	I/C/O	W/L
Ethan	Ashley	OPSB D2	D	Challenger	W
Leslie	Ellison	OPSB D4	D	Incumbent	W
Woody	Koppel	OPSB D6	D	Incumbent	W
Nolan	Marshall	OPSB D7	D	Incumbent	W

Nevada

Nevada was our one electoral disappointment in which AFC had a significant direct investment of resources. With a razor-thin Republican legislative majority in both houses of the state legislature, and multiple races that remained toss-ups right through Election Day, we had to run the table to preserve the legislative majority for educational choice here. This state bucked the national trends and went decisively Democratic, aided by a surge among Latino voters, as well as the turnout machine of outgoing Sen. Harry Reid, who was heavily invested in efforts to see the Democratic candidate hold his seat.

Therefore, control of both legislative chambers of the legislatures shifted from Republican to Democrat, meaning that the anti-educational choice Democratic legislative leaders will now drive the agenda in the state, despite support for choice among some rank-and-file Democratic

members and Democratic parents. This will make protecting charter schools and replacing the funding mechanism for the Nevada Education Savings Account (ESA) program much more difficult. Governor Brian Sandoval (R) has said he will prioritize the ESA in his budget.

General					
First Name	Last Name	District	Party	I/C/O	W/L
Carrie	Buck	SD 5	R	Challenger	L
Victoria	Seaman	SD 6	R	Open (current House member)	L
Heidi	Gansert	SD 15	R	Open	W
Jim	Marchant	AD 37	R	Open	W
Richard	McArthur	AD 4	R	Open	W
Artemus	Ham	AD 5	R	Open	L
David	Gardner	AD 9	R	Incumbent	L
Derek	Armstrong	AD 21	R	Incumbent	L
Stephen	Silberkraus	AD 29	R	Incumbent	L
Justin	Watkins	AD 35	D	Open	W
Nick	Phillips	AD 41	R	Open	L

North Carolina

Educational choice supporter Gov. Pat McCrory (R) is currently trailing state Attorney General Roy Cooper (D) in a gubernatorial race that has not yet been called, due to the fact that Cooper leads McCrory by around 4,000 votes out of over 5 million cast – a margin of less than one-tenth of 1%, triggering a recount.

Local allies assure us that a potential McCrory loss will be mitigated because of the charter reforms that have been passed and the important 10-year funding increase for the voucher program that was locked in last legislative session. Furthermore, the North Carolina constitution requires only a 3/5 majority for any override of any future gubernatorial veto, a threshold which is realistically achievable considering the strong school choice majority in the legislature.

One bright spot is that a new Superintendent of Public Instruction, Mark Johnson, was elected, ousting the incumbent Superintendent, an opponent of choice. Johnson is a Teach for America alumnus and an ally.

AFC supported the political efforts of our allied state partner organization in North Carolina, which targeted most of its election investments toward preserving a legislative majority for education reform.

General					
First Name	Last Name	District	Party	I/C/O	W/L
Nelson	Dollar	HD 36	R	Incumbent	W
Gary	Pendleton	HD 49	R	Incumbent	L
Rob	Bryan	HD 88	R	Incumbent	L

John	Bradford	HD 98	R	Incumbent	W
William	Brawley	HD 103	R	Incumbent	W
Scott	Stone	HD 105	R	Incumbent	W
Chad	Barefoot	SD 18	R	Incumbent	W

Ohio

While AFC does not engage in election activity in Ohio, Republicans gained seats in the General Assembly and our two biggest legislative champions switched chambers – switching from House to Senate and vice versa – giving us more leaders who will prioritize school choice legislation.

Oklahoma

Opponents in Oklahoma chose to make this year’s primary and general elections a litmus test on parental choice issues. It backfired as we beat their state legislative candidates soundly in the primary and ran the table in the general election races. These efforts create the perfect narrative and momentum leading into next year’s legislative session to enact robust ESA legislation and expand charter schools.

General					
First Name	Last Name	District	Party	I/C/O	W/L
Rob	Standridge	SD 15	R	Incumbent	W
Julie	Daniels	SD 29	R	Open	W
Nathan	Dahm	SD 33	R	Incumbent	W
Dan	Newberry	SD 37	R	Incumbent	W
Kevin	McDugle	HD 12	R	Open	W
Tim	Downing	HD 42	R	Open	W
Elise	Hall	HD 100	R	Incumbent	W

Tennessee

We picked up two additional seats for educational choice in the state House (one of which was the defeat of an incumbent we narrowly failed to defeat in 2014) and defended two incumbents that the teachers' union believed they would certainly defeat. This is a big boost as we prepare for next year's legislative session and once again attempt to pass meaningful voucher or choice legislation and expand charter schools.

General					
First Name	Last Name	District	Party	I/C/O	W/L
Paul	Sherrell	HD 43	R	Challenger	W
Jay	Reedy	HD 74	R	Incumbent	W
Dennis	Powers	HD 36	R	Incumbent	W
Dawn	White	HD 37	R	Incumbent	W
Steve	Dickerson	SD 20	R	Incumbent	W
Todd	Gardenhire	SD 10	R	Incumbent	W
Sabi	Kumar	HD 66	R	Incumbent	W
Bryan	Terry	HD 48	R	Incumbent	W
Ed	Butler	HD 41	R	Challenger	L
Mike	Curcio	HD 69	R	Open	W

Wisconsin

It was a very strong election night for school choice supporters in Wisconsin. In the general election, AFC-endorsed candidates were 40 for 41. We beat back the union's most vocal supporter, who was trying to return to her Assembly seat, and instead of just barely holding our school choice majority in the state Senate, we expanded it. Combined with the continued leadership of our great champion Governor Scott Walker, the legislative majority for educational choice means that our issue enters 2017 in its strongest political position in the history of our issue in Wisconsin.

General					
First Name	Last Name	District	Party	I/C/O	W/L
Tom	Tiffany	SD 12	R	Incumbent	W
Dan	Feyen	SD 18	R	Open	W
Todd	Novak	AD 51	R	Incumbent	W
Rob	Summerfield	AD 67	R	Open	W
Patrick	Snyder	AD 85	R	Open	W
Scott	Krug	AD 72	R	Incumbent	W
Sheila	Harsdorf	SD 10	R	Incumbent	W
Andre	Jacque	AD 2	R	Incumbent	W
David	Steffen	AD 4	R	Incumbent	W
Jim	Steineke	AD 5	R	Incumbent	W
Gary	Tauchen	AD 6	R	Incumbent	W

Jason	Fields	AD 11	D	Incumbent	W
Rob	Hutton	AD 13	R	Incumbent	W
Dale	Kooyenga	AD 14	R	Incumbent	W
Joe	Sanfelippo	AD 15	R	Incumbent	W
Jessie	Rodriguez	AD 21	R	Incumbent	W
Janel	Brandtjen	AD 22	R	Incumbent	W
Paul	Tittl	AD 25	R	Incumbent	W
Tyler	Vorpagel	AD 27	R	Incumbent	W
Rob	Stafsholdt	AD 29	R	Open	W
Shannon	Zimmerman	AD 30	R	Open	W
Amy	Loudenbeck	AD 31	R	Incumbent	W
Tyler	August	AD 32	R	Incumbent	W
Cody	Horlacher	AD 33	R	Incumbent	W
Mary	Czaja	AD 35	R	Incumbent	W
John	Jagler	AD 37	R	Incumbent	W
Joel	Kleeffisch	AD 38	R	Incumbent	W
Joan	Ballweg	AD 41	R	Incumbent	W
Jeremy	Thiesfeldt	AD 52	R	Incumbent	W
Michael	Schraa	AD 53	R	Incumbent	W
David	Murphy	AD 56	R	Incumbent	W
Robert	Brooks	AD 60	R	Incumbent	W
Samantha	Kerkman	AD 61	R	Incumbent	W
Robin	Vos	AD 63	R	Incumbent	W
Kathleen	Bernier	AD 68	R	Incumbent	W
Romaine	Quinn	AD 75	R	Incumbent	W
John	Macco	AD 88	R	Incumbent	W
John	Nygren	AD 89	R	Incumbent	W
Julian	Bradley	AD 94	R	Challenger	L
Lee	Nerison	AD 96	R	Incumbent	W
Cindi	Duchow	AD 99	R	Incumbent	W

Other States of Interest in which AFC did not invest

New Hampshire –New Hampshire has a very small means-tested scholarship tax credit program, and 2016 election results present a serious opportunity to expand that program. Voters elected Chris Sununu as governor and flipped control of both houses of the legislature into Republican hands.

Iowa – While we were disappointed to see our biggest Democratic champion in the legislature lose his seat, the Iowa Senate went strongly Republican and enactment of a large-scale ESA program appears very possible. The House has already passed legislation, Governor Terry Branstad (R) supports it, and 100% of the returning Republican Senators support the legislation.

Kentucky – Kentucky was one of the last states in the South to go Republican for its state legislature, and on Tuesday it went strongly that direction. There is now there is a supportive Governor (Republican Matt Bevin), House, and Senate for parental choice. It was possible before that school choice legislation could be passed with a Democratic House, but with a Republican House, chances are better than ever for both meaningful private choice and charter legislation.

Missouri – The Missouri legislature has repeatedly passed educational choice legislation in a bipartisan manner only to see it vetoed by the outgoing Democratic Governor. However, school supporter Eric Greitens (R) was elected to the open gubernatorial seat, creating a great opportunity to pass charter school and private choice legislation next session.