#### **MEMORANDUM**

**TO:** House Education Committee

FROM: Joel D. Cook, Executive Director, Vermont-NEA

**DATE:** November 18, 2015

**SUBJECT:** "Affordable growth" thresholds

#### Introduction

The excess spending threshold mechanism (along with the several % adjustments to it over time) was designed to tamp down spending in the very highest spending districts. At this time last year, the finance workgroup floated a "surcharge" on local spending above the statewide average. This was our sentiment then – it certainly applies to consideration of the "allowable growth" concept:

"As a public policy device, it may be reasonable to establish some threshold, but this proposal is the latest in the incessant drive to decrease the threshold and increase the consequence. The specific underlying policy, particularly regarding education merit, is, as yet, unclear."

The "affordable growth" threshold hits all districts, those below average and those above average. It is bad for our children and their education and it is bad for taxpayers. It is reminiscent of the excise tax within the Affordable Care Act (See Attachment A).

## What follows

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### It's still all about health care inflation

In addition to mandates imposed by the state without funding (see Attachment B), it is the inexorable growth in health care costs that is at the root of any "excess" growth in per pupil spending. It is simply unfair to punish school districts and their employees, and our children, for necessary spending. Attachments C and D show that:

- Health care inflation, not within the control of employers and employees, affects employers and employees in like fashion;
- Health care inflation, along with unfunded state mandates, is the largest contributor to rises in school district spending; and
- Had health care inflation, since FY 2002, increased at the same rate as the general cost of living, schools would have spent \$71 million less in FY 2014 alone and nearly \$450 million less between FY 2002 and FY 2015.

#### **Basic tenets**

- The governance provisions of Act 46 need a fighting chance to demonstrate they will lead to improved educational opportunities. The strictures associated with applying the allowable growth provisions these next two years will undoubtedly diminish educational opportunities.
- It is fundamentally wrong to impose mandates with cost, and then not provide the funds necessary to meet them.
- It is worse then to turn around and blame school districts for "overspending" and punish their taxpayers for it with higher taxes.
- Vermont's tradition of having local electorates the same people who send
  Representatives to this building adopt school budgets is not common. School
  budgets in most states are the product exclusively of their school boards. Here, the
  people have a direct voice and direct control over any board seeking to spend
  more than its community approves.

#### **Basic recommendations**

- Scrap the "allowable growth threshold" altogether. School districts boards, employees, and voters – can and do reach good judgments about what they have to spend.
- Fund mandates now on the books. Doing that would keep just about all districts' budgets within their threshold anyway.
- If you insist on retaining the "allowable growth threshold," we will make further recommendations consistent with this testimony.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> We continue to insist on measuring school costs on a per pupil basis. Because we've been in an era of such pronounced annual decline in the number of school-aged Vermonters, the resulting fraction (total spending/# of pupils) makes almost any cost increase look outsized.

# Attachment A: Excise taxes compared (The ACA and Act 46)

Congress, in the Affordable Care Act (ACA), and this Legislature, in Act 46, each enacted a tax on spending above thresholds. How do they compare?

#### Tax amount

- The **ACA** imposes a <u>40% tax</u> on "excess" spending on the cost of employee health coverage.
- Act 46 imposes a <u>100% tax</u> on "excess" spending on the cost of our children's education.

### **Those affected**

- The **ACA** is dubbed a "<u>Cadillac</u>" tax, but it extends to nearly two-thirds of employer-provided health coverage now and, <u>ultimately</u>, to every "vehicle" on the road.
- Act 46 is dubbed a "cap" by some organizations and others, although it isn't, but, far from a tax on Cadillacs, it hits every "vehicle" on the road immediately.

### When in effect

- The **ACA** provided <u>vears</u> before the excise tax would take effect.
- **Act 46** provided **no time** before the excise tax would take effect.

#### **Purpose**

- The **ACA** excise tax is supposed to affect the <u>rate of increase</u> in health care costs **and raise revenue** at the same time.
- The **Act 46** excise tax is supposed to affect the <u>rate of increase</u> in per pupil spending and not increase taxes.

#### Effect on our school budgets

- The **ACA** excise tax, even if unchecked, will have either no or just minimal effect on school budgets (or most other budgets) until at least the early 2020's.
- The **Act 46** excise tax, if unchecked, will result in unavoidable increases in school taxes in each of the next two years. Because of its timing, unless repealed, it will increase "school" taxes.

#### **Buver's remorse**

- The **ACA** excise tax is the current object of "buyer's remorse," as thousands of employers and employee groups have sought its repeal and 100s in Congress are now sponsoring a bill to do just that.
- The **Act 46** excise tax appears to be experiencing something akin to buyer's remorse.

Attachment B: <u>A sampling of (unfunded) State acts that have increased property taxes</u>							
<u>2006-2015</u>							
2006							
Annual audits for tech centers							
2007							
Moratorium on school construction state aid							
2008							
Increased school district payment to teen parent education programs							
2009							
General Fund transfer to Education Fund frozen for 2 years Community High School of Vermont costs taken from Education Fund							
2010							
Teacher retirement changes induce long-serving teachers to postpone retirement							
2011							
"Permanent" reduction in General Fund transfer to Education Fund (>\$23 million/year)							
Community High School of Vermont funding brought permanently within Education Fund (>\$4 million/year)							
2012							
Restrictive regulations regarding use of physical restraint							
2013							
Dual enrollment Personalized learning plans Early college							

- Prekindergarten education Retired teachers health benefit payment

Attachment C: Vermont school districts' health insurance costs as portion of total school districts' spending											
	Fiscal years 1997-2015										
Fiscal year	Total	Health insu	rance premiums f	or <u>active</u> employe	es paid to VEHI	HAD PREMIUMS REMAINED 8.81% OF TOTAL SCHOOL SPENDING					
	school spending										
		Total	By employEEs	By EmployERs	Employer-paid	Total	<b>Employer-paid</b>	Total	Total spending		
			assume:		health insurance	school spending	premiums	school spending	would have been		
			14%		premiums as %	less employer-	would have been:	would have been:	<b>LOWER</b> than		
					of total	paid premiums			it was by:		
					school spending	was:		1.0881(b-e)/(b-e)			
а	b	С	d	e	f	g	h	i	j		
	(From AOE)	(From VEHI)	(.14 x c)	(c- d)	(e/b)	(b - e)	(i - g)	or (1.0966 x g)	(b − i)		
1997		\$49,809,196	\$6,973,287	\$42,835,909	#DIV/0!						
1998		\$51,791,190	\$7,250,767	\$44,540,423	#DIV/0!						
1999		\$62,158,582	\$8,702,201	\$53,456,381	#DIV/0!						
2000		\$66,925,091	\$9,369,513	\$57,555,578	#DIV/0!						
2001		\$82,757,354	\$11,586,030	\$71,171,324	#DIV/0!						
2002	\$923,175,625	\$94,543,170	\$13,236,044	\$81,307,126	8.81%	\$841,868,499	\$81,324,497	\$923,192,996	(\$17,371)		
2003	\$972,232,509	\$104,239,427	\$14,593,520	\$89,645,907	9.22%	\$882,586,602	\$85,257,866	\$967,844,468	\$4,388,041		
2004	\$1,027,831,358	\$123,259,665	\$17,256,353	\$106,003,312	10.31%	\$921,828,046	\$89,048,589	\$1,010,876,635	\$16,954,723		
2005	\$1,086,057,298	\$134,441,903	\$18,821,866	\$115,620,037	10.65%	\$970,437,261	\$93,744,239	\$1,064,181,501	\$21,875,797		
2006	\$1,155,642,452	\$148,508,435	\$20,791,181	\$127,717,254	11.05%	\$1,027,925,198	\$99,297,574	\$1,127,222,772	\$28,419,680		
2007	\$1,200,652,855	\$159,175,172	\$22,284,524	\$136,890,648	11.40%	\$1,063,762,207	\$102,759,429	\$1,166,521,636	\$34,131,219		
2008	\$1,257,153,372	\$165,216,603	\$23,130,324	\$142,086,279	11.30%	\$1,115,067,093	\$107,715,481	\$1,222,782,575	\$34,370,797		
2009	\$1,313,344,042	\$180,051,884	\$25,207,264	\$154,844,620	11.79%	\$1,158,499,422	\$111,911,044	\$1,270,410,466	\$42,933,576		
2010	\$1,356,914,686	\$181,536,729	\$25,415,142	\$156,121,587	11.51%	\$1,200,793,099	\$115,996,613	\$1,316,789,712	\$40,124,974		
2011	\$1,358,006,220	\$189,981,320	\$26,597,385	\$163,383,935	12.03%	\$1,194,622,285	\$115,400,513	\$1,310,022,798	\$47,983,422		
2012	\$1,375,270,354	\$194,352,589	\$27,209,362	\$167,143,227	12.15%	\$1,208,127,127	\$116,705,081	\$1,324,832,208	\$50,438,146		
2013	\$1,414,424,021	\$201,305,348	\$28,182,749	\$173,122,599	12.24%	\$1,241,301,422	\$119,909,717	\$1,361,211,139	\$53,212,882		
2014	\$1,444,003,421	\$223,305,198	\$31,262,728	\$192,042,470	13.30%	\$1,251,960,951	\$120,939,428	\$1,372,900,379	\$71,103,042		
2015		\$229,889,215	\$32,184,490	\$197,704,725	#DIV/0!						
			_					TOTAL:	\$445,918,929		

The bottom line(s): If health insurance costs had remained 8.81% of total school spending,

<sup>1.</sup> We would have spent \$71 million less in FY 2014 alone, and

<sup>2.</sup> Between FY 2002 and FY 2015, school spending cumulatively would have been nearly \$450 million less than it was.

# Attachment D: The portion of school spending growth attributable to health care inflation Fiscal years 1997-2015

Fiscal year	Schoo	ol spending		Health insurance premiums for <u>active</u> employees paid to VEHI							Effect of health care inflation	
	Total	annual incr	ease	Total premiums paid			Annual increases in premiums paid*			on total school spending		
		\$	%	Total By employEEs By En		By EmployERs	Total	Total By EmployERs %		as % of	as % of	
					assume:					total spending	annual growth	
					14%							
а	b	С	d	e	f	g	h	i	j	k	I	
	(From AOE)	(b – b')	(c/b')	(From VEHI)	(.14 x e)	(e - f)	(e - e' )	(g - g')	(i/g')	(g/b)	(i/c)	
1997				\$49,809,196	\$6,973,287	\$42,835,909				#DIV/0!		
1998				\$51,791,190	\$7,250,767	\$44,540,423	\$1,981,994	\$1,704,515	3.98%	#DIV/0!		
1999				\$62,158,582	\$8,702,201	\$53,456,381	\$10,367,392	\$8,915,957	20.02%	#DIV/0!		
2000				\$66,925,091	\$9,369,513	\$57,555,578	\$4,766,509	\$4,099,198	7.67%	#DIV/0!		
2001				\$82,757,354	\$11,586,030	\$71,171,324	\$15,832,263	\$13,615,746	23.66%	#DIV/0!		
2002	\$923,175,625			\$94,543,170	\$13,236,044	\$81,307,126	\$11,785,816	\$10,135,802	14.24%	8.81%		
2003	\$972,232,509	\$49,056,884	5.31%	\$104,239,427	\$14,593,520	\$89,645,907	\$9,696,257	\$8,338,781	10.26%	9.22%	17.00%	
2004	\$1,027,831,358	\$55,598,849	5.72%	\$123,259,665	\$17,256,353	\$106,003,312	\$19,020,238	\$16,357,405	18.25%	10.31%	29.42%	
2005	\$1,086,057,298	\$58,225,940	5.66%	\$134,441,903	\$18,821,866	\$115,620,037	\$11,182,238	\$9,616,725	9.07%	10.65%	16.52%	
2006	\$1,155,642,452	\$69,585,154	6.41%	\$148,508,435	\$20,791,181	\$127,717,254	\$14,066,532	\$12,097,218	10.46%	11.05%	17.38%	
2007	\$1,200,652,855	\$45,010,403	3.89%	\$159,175,172	\$22,284,524	\$136,890,648	\$10,666,737	\$9,173,394	7.18%	11.40%	20.38%	
2008	\$1,257,153,372	\$56,500,517	4.71%	\$165,216,603	\$23,130,324	\$142,086,279	\$6,041,431	\$5,195,631	3.80%	11.30%	9.20%	
2009	\$1,313,344,042	\$56,190,670	4.47%	\$180,051,884	\$25,207,264	\$154,844,620	\$14,835,281	\$12,758,342	8.98%	11.79%	22.71%	
2010	\$1,356,914,686	\$43,570,644	3.32%	\$181,536,729	\$25,415,142	\$156,121,587	\$1,484,845	\$1,276,967	0.82%	11.51%	2.93%	
2011	\$1,358,006,220	\$1,091,534	0.08%	\$189,981,320	\$26,597,385	\$163,383,935	\$8,444,591	\$7,262,348	4.65%	12.03%	665.33%	
2012	\$1,375,270,354	\$17,264,134	1.27%	\$194,352,589	\$27,209,362	\$167,143,227	\$4,371,269	\$3,759,291	2.30%	12.15%	21.78%	
2013	\$1,414,424,021	\$39,153,667	2.85%	\$201,305,348	\$28,182,749	\$173,122,599	\$6,952,759	\$5,979,373	3.58%	12.24%	15.27%	
2014	\$1,444,003,421	\$29,579,400	2.09%	\$223,305,198	\$31,262,728	\$192,042,470	\$21,999,850	\$18,919,871	10.93%	13.30%	63.96%	
2015				\$229,889,215	\$32,184,490	\$197,704,725	\$6,584,017	\$5,662,255	2.95%	#DIV/0!	#DIV/0!	

<sup>\*</sup>These numbers reflect actual annual costs, not annual premium rate increases.

## The bottom line(s):

- 1. Neither school districts nor their employees are responsible for health care inflation;
- 2. They are both, along with the rest of us, equally affected by it; and
- 3. Health care inflation is the largest contributor to rises in school spending.