School Choice and State Constitutions
A Guide to Designing School Choice Programs
Second Edition

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Ten years ago, when our organizations first compiled this guide, there were 10 school choice programs awarding scholarships to attend private schools in six states and the District of Columbia. Today, four times as many students receive scholarships from 50 programs operating in 25 states and D.C., and many of those programs are brand new, suggesting substantial growth in numbers of students benefited in coming years.

Furthermore, the growing momentum and popularity of school choice will undoubtedly result in the demand for the creation of more school choice programs, including in those states where there currently are no such programs. Because opponents of school choice will undoubtedly continue to challenge new programs in court, it is important to ensure that these programs have the greatest possible likelihood of being upheld. Thus, as our predecessors noted in the foreword to the first edition of this guide, it is necessary that legislators draft school choice legislation with an eye toward its constitutionality under relevant state constitutional provisions.

This second edition, revised to incorporate legal developments over the past 10 years that have largely been favorable for school choice, should be the starting point of that drafting process. We encourage legislators to obtain copies of the American Legislative Exchange Council’s (ALEC) model legislation listed in this guide and to contact the Institute for Justice (IJ) for the more in-depth analysis that will be necessary in crafting specific legislation. The model legislation reflects the experience of ALEC members involved in drafting various sorts of school choice programs, and IJ has developed significant expertise in making any modifications necessary to respond to individual state constitutional provisions, many of which cannot be included in a brief guide such as this.

We look forward to a future where every state recognizes and supports parents’ rights to choose the best available education for their children. And we look forward to working with you to secure that future.

Scott Bullock
President and General Counsel
Institute for Justice

Lisa B. Nelson
Chief Executive Officer
American Legislative Exchange Council
When the Institute for Justice (IJ) and the American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) first published this 50-state survey in April 2007, the school choice movement stood at a crossroads. Just three years earlier, the U.S. Supreme Court had declined to extend the movement’s critical 2002 victory in Zelman v. Simmons-Harris, which held that providing aid to families who freely chose private schools, including religious schools, did not violate the federal Establishment Clause. Instead of holding that the federal Constitution not only permitted but also required the inclusion of religious options in school choice programs, the Court in Locke v. Davey held that Washington state could rely on a state constitutional provision to limit those options. Even though the Court refused to acknowledge that the provision at issue was a Blaine Amendment originally created to discriminate against Catholic schools, the result of that decision was that it left the door open to opponents of school choice to continue to argue that those provisions can be used to exclude all religious options from school choice programs. Consequently, the interpretation of Blaine Amendments and other state constitutional provisions remained a significant factor in limiting the possibilities for school choice in many states and gave substantial impetus to our decision to publish the 50-state survey.

Moreover, in 2006, the Florida Supreme Court in Bush v. Holmes interpreted the Florida Constitution’s education article to invalidate a statewide scholarship program designed to provide students trapped in Florida’s worst public schools with access to private schools. The Court held that the language of the Florida education article, commanding the Legislature to establish a system of public schools, meant that funding of that system was the exclusive means by which Florida could fund K-12 education. This decision—which was unmoored from the language of the education article, its history, precedent and basic canons of constitutional interpretation—largely eliminated Florida’s ability to provide publicly funded scholarship programs. And in 2007, it remained to be seen whether other courts would follow the Florida Supreme Court’s lead in interpreting their state constitution’s education article to limit their legislature’s ability to enact school choice programs.

Thankfully, every state supreme court to confront similar education-article challenges to school choice since then has declined to follow Florida’s lead. Thus, Bush v. Holmes remains a legal outlier with no impact outside Florida. And even though Locke left Blaine Amendments as obstacles to school choice, state supreme courts have more often than not chosen to interpret those amendments as barring only direct aid to religious schools, not aid to students who may choose to attend those schools. Thus, challenges to publicly funded scholarship programs in Alabama (2015), Indiana (2011) and North Carolina (2015) were turned back by those states’ high courts. And in 2013, the Arizona Court of Appeals rejected a similar challenge to the nation’s first Empowerment Scholarship Account program, which allows parents to use public funds to pay for private school tuition and other educational services, such as tutoring. Furthermore, tax credit programs, which generate scholarships by encouraging donations to private scholarship-granting organizations, have proven particularly resistant to legal challenges because the funding is
private rather than public. Efforts by school choice opponents to quash this alternative have failed at both the U.S. Supreme Court in 2011’s Arizona Christian School Tuition Organization v. Winn case and in numerous state courts, including those in Alabama, Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Montana and New Hampshire. Although several of these challenges to tax credit programs are ongoing, tax credit programs have proven sufficiently resilient in the courts that many states’ programs have not even been challenged to date (Kansas, Iowa, Louisiana, Oklahoma, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina and Virginia).

Although there have been a handful of legal setbacks for school choice in some states over the past decade, IJ has won far more of these cases than it has lost, with the result that the national legal trend points strongly in the direction of school choice’s constitutionality. Indeed, the success of school choice in the courts has certainly contributed to the rapidly growing number of school choice programs (50 programs in 25 states and the District of Columbia), as have the increasingly positive research findings from high-quality studies of existing programs.

Nonetheless, more programs have meant more lawsuits. There are currently eight lawsuits in active litigation, seven involving IJ in one way or another. These lawsuits are in Colorado (2), Florida (2), Georgia (1), Montana (1) and Nevada (2). As this list suggests, there has also been a shift in the location of school choice programs and resulting cases. Although the upper Midwest supplied much of the early school choice litigation, with cases in Illinois, Indiana, Ohio and Wisconsin, more recently the center of gravity moved south, with cases in Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana and North Carolina, several of which are not yet concluded. Now the focus has shifted again, with active cases in the western states of Colorado, Montana and Nevada.

The potential size of school choice programs has also increased, and this affects the likelihood of opponents challenging them. Many of the early programs were geographically limited and relatively small, and most of the existing very small programs have not been challenged. A number of the programs sustained since this survey was originally published are potentially large state-wide programs, including state-provided scholarships in Indiana and North Carolina, and tax-credit-generated scholarships in Arizona, Alabama, Florida and Georgia. The program with the broadest eligibility, Nevada’s brand new Education Savings Account program, has already drawn two separate challenges. One thing is plain: Having failed to kill school choice in the courts when the idea was new and untested legally and the programs were small in scope, opponents have not given up their efforts to use any and all state constitutional provisions they can find to halt the spread of educational freedom. It is our hope that this second edition of the survey can assist legislators and advocates in crafting school choice legislation that can best withstand the legal assaults that so often follow passage.

When IJ began defending parents of scholarship recipients of the first modern school choice program in Milwaukee, Wisconsin in 1991, that program provided fewer than 400 scholarships. Today, over 400,000 students attend private schools on scholarships from dozens of programs. Although that number is still small in relation to the 50 million children who attend public school, if these programs were a single school district, the 400,000-student district would be larger than the public school population of 15 individual states and D.C. School choice programs have come a long way in the last decade. And, with the legal momentum clearly on our side, there is every reason to expect continued growth in the decade to come.
Is school choice constitutional? In most states, if a program is designed properly, the answer should be yes.

Since the birth of the modern school choice movement in 1990, with the creation of a scholarship program for inner-city children in Milwaukee, members of the entrenched education establishment have fought to stop school choice, often through legal attack.

Meanwhile, public support for school choice has grown and, 26 years later, K-12 school choice flourishes in Milwaukee (after two unsuccessful legal challenges) and 10 other states, plus the District of Columbia. On February 12, 2007, Utah became the first state to offer universal school vouchers, marking an important watershed for the school choice movement. And in 2002, the U.S. Supreme Court vindicated school choice under the federal Constitution as it upheld Cleveland’s voucher program.

Yet the legal battle continues. Lacking any federal constitutional claims, school choice opponents now rely solely on state constitutions in their quest to maintain the educational status quo.

But their arguments are mostly red herrings and, in nearly every state, the question is not whether there can be school choice, but how best to achieve it. This guide, with its state-by-state breakdown of state constitutional provisions relevant to school choice, demonstrates that a well-crafted school choice program is viable in just about every state in the union. The key for policymakers is to understand the legal environment of their individual states and draft school choice legislation accordingly.

This guide provides policymakers with the facts about the state of the law on school choice and arms them with the tools to create programs most likely to survive legal scrutiny.

**SCHOOL CHOICE**

The term “school choice” describes any policy designed to enable parents to choose the best educational opportunity for their children, including public school transfer options, charter and magnet schools, home schooling, scholarships, vouchers, and tax credits or deductions. This guide focuses on the two forms of school choice that bring private schools into the mix of available educational options for parents of all financial means—vouchers and tax credits.

Vouchers are simply state-funded scholarships for K-12 students that enable them to select the school of their choice, just like the various scholarships that most states and the federal government provide for college students. Education Savings Account (ESA) programs are a variant on voucher programs, where the state provides funds to families that can be used for a wider array of educational expenses than the tuition and fees covered by traditional voucher programs, such as tutors, transportation, special education therapists and other specialists, curricula, and textbooks.

Tax credit programs come in several varieties. Tax-credit-funded scholarship programs enable individuals or corporations to receive a tax credit for donating a portion of their state tax liability to private scholarship-granting organizations. Personal tax credits and deductions give parents a tax break for approved educational expenses.

Refundable tax credit programs are a hybrid of the voucher and tax credit concepts, similar to the federal Earned Income Tax Credit. Eligible parents can receive tax credits for educational expenses up to the limit of tax...
they owe and then a “refund” from the government for any remaining educational expenses that are below a set ceiling on such expenses. Unlike the tax-credited portion, the “refunds” come from appropriated funds.

Of course, a number of states have no or very little in the way of personal income taxes (Alaska, Florida, Nevada, New Hampshire, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Washington and Wyoming), or have other inhibitions on providing personal income tax credits (e.g., Pennsylvania), which affect the sort of tax-credit school choice programs appropriate for those states. Thus, for example, Florida and Pennsylvania have large school choice programs that provide tax credits against corporate income taxes for donations to scholarship-granting organizations.1

SCHOOL CHOICE AND THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION

The U.S. Supreme Court delivered a resounding victory for school choice when it upheld Cleveland’s school voucher program in 2002 in Zelman v. Simmons-Harris. Rejecting a challenge under the Establishment Clause of the U.S. Constitution, the Court held that publicly funded K-12 voucher programs may include both religious and non-religious options, just as college aid programs like Pell Grants and the GI Bill have always done. The essential characteristics of a constitutional school voucher program, according to the Supreme Court, are:

• “Religious neutrality”—providing aid to a broad group of recipients identified without reference to religion and offering a wide array of options, again without regard to religion.

• “True private choice”—parents, not the government, choose the school, and the government itself does nothing to influence the choice of religious or non-religious options one way or the other.

A program with those two features is constitutional because it aids families seeking a better education for their children, not the schools they happen to choose. Because the aid flows to individuals instead of institutions, programs may include both religious and non-religious options without violating the federal Constitution.

SCHOOL CHOICE, STATE CONSTITUTIONS AND RELIGION

After the U.S. Supreme Court eliminated the federal Establishment Clause as a potential barrier to school choice in 2002, opponents were left with state constitutions as their only avenue for attacking school choice programs. Primarily, they rely on the religion and education provisions of state constitutions.

COMPELLED SUPPORT CLAUSES

“Compelled Support” Clauses are provisions in 29 state constitutions that were originally intended to prevent the establishment of an official state religion and to ensure that people were not forced to pay for things like churches and

This Guide, with its state-by-state breakdown of state constitutional provisions relevant to school choice, demonstrates that a well-crafted school choice program is viable in just about every state in the union.

1 In keeping with this emphasis, we have eliminated from this edition the information from the state-by-state descriptions of “Existing School Choice Programs” that indicated whether a state had public school choice or a charter school law. The vast majority of states now have some form or forms of public school choice.
ministers’ salaries. Generally, Compelled Support Clauses require that no one shall be compelled to attend or support a church or religious ministry without his or her consent. They were simply meant to protect religious minorities from the colonial-era practice of requiring church attendance and support for a colony’s established church.

School choice is an altogether different policy. Well-designed voucher programs are religiously neutral: They neither favor nor disfavor the choice of religious schools over other educational options. Parents participating in voucher programs who select religious schools freely and independently choose them from a host of religious and non-religious alternatives because they believe those schools provide the best educational opportunity for their children. As a result, no public money supports a particular church or religious institution; instead, the aid supports families in their attempts to secure high-quality education for their children—just like college scholarships are understood to support students rather than the schools they happen to attend. Parental choice is key. Voucher and tax credit programs support parents and children—no matter which schools they choose.

BLAINE AMENDMENTS

The notorious Blaine Amendments, found in 37 state constitutions, grew out of a well-documented atmosphere of anti-immigrant and anti-Catholic bigotry in the latter half of the 19th century. At the time, most public schools were thoroughly Protestant in orientation and pedagogy and distinctly inhospitable to Catholics. Catholics sought funding for their own schools, but a resulting anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic backlash led to a proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution by Maine Sen. James G. Blaine (hence the title “Blaine Amendment”) that would have prohibited the funding of any “sectarian” schools or institutions. In the parlance of the times, “sectarian” was code for “Catholic.” Blaine’s attempt to amend the U.S. Constitution failed, but it was picked up by many states and even became a requirement for entry into the union for many Western states.

The U.S. Supreme Court has recognized the Blaine Amendments’ “shameful pedigree” of religious and anti-immigrant discrimination, and the Arizona Supreme Court described them as “a clear manifestation of religious bigotry” in upholding a tax-credit scholarship program. As their history makes clear, Blaine Amendments were intended to prevent the government from directly funding Catholic school systems—again, a policy very different from modern school choice programs.

Neither voucher nor tax credit programs involve the kinds of special grants to private religious schools that Blaine Amendments sought to prohibit. Voucher programs provide scholarships to families—not schools—who can choose to use them at the school of their choice, religious or not. Similarly, tax credits and deductions allow parents to keep more of their own money, while tax-credit scholarship programs simply encourage individuals or corporations to donate their money to private scholarship funds.

Whether through vouchers, tax credits or tax deductions, any money that
happens to reach a religious school does so as the incidental result of the free and independent choices of parents empowered by the government to take charge of their children’s education—instead of leaving that decision to government officials.

**AVOIDING BLAINE AND COMPELLED SUPPORT PROBLEMS**

To avoid running afoul of state constitutions’ Compelled Support Clauses and Blaine Amendments, the most important decision a lawmaker can make is the choice between vouchers and tax credits.

State court interpretations of Religion Clauses vary widely, and only a handful of states have addressed them in the context of school choice. But many state courts have interpreted these provisions in analogous cases, such as programs that provide benefits like free transportation or secular textbooks to families using private schools. These cases—described in this guide—can provide guidance to lawmakers about how state courts may apply state Religion Clauses to education issues.

For example, if a state supreme court has already ruled that its Blaine Amendment or Compelled Support Clause prohibits using tax dollars to provide educational aid to families using private schools, then tax credit plans are likely a better approach. Since forgone tax revenue does not constitute public money, most state supreme courts do not or should not regard tax-credit-funded scholarships as subject to Blaine Amendment or Compelled Support limitations. For each state, we provide a recommendation of the best approach.

**STATE CONSTITUTIONS AND EDUCATION**

Every state constitution has provisions dealing with education that can be relevant for lawmakers considering school choice proposals.

So-called Uniformity Clauses are provisions within state constitutions that require the state government to fund a “uniform system of free public education,” or words to that effect. Wrenching those words from their proper context, school choice opponents have begun arguing, illogically, that such provisions do not simply require the government to establish public schools for all children within the state; they also forbid the government from going beyond that baseline requirement by providing education through means other than the traditional public school system.

This argument requires constitutional and linguistic gymnastics that few state supreme courts are likely to accept and that almost no state’s legal precedents support. Uniformity Clauses were never intended to impose a limit on educational innovation and creativity in the way legislators fulfill their obligation to provide children with a basic education. Rather, they were simply intended to ensure that the public school system has certain minimal characteristics. If a state...

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2 The Wisconsin Supreme Court twice considered the argument and rejected it. The Alabama, Indiana and North Carolina Supreme Courts have also rejected similar claims. The Florida Supreme Court, in an unprecedented and widely criticized opinion, accepted it.

Parents, not the government, choose the school, and the government itself does nothing to influence the choice of religious or non-religious options one way or the other.
chooses to go above and beyond that constitutional requirement, a uniformity provision should not be a bar.

The education articles of a few state constitutions have language that explicitly reserves all educational expenditures for public schools. For those states, tax credit programs are the only available school choice option in the absence of a constitutional amendment. Most other states have “state school funds,” usually called “common school funds,” and expenditures from those funds may only be used for public schools. Such funds contain the proceeds derived from federal lands given to the state for the purpose of establishing public schools and limit the use of the fund to public schools. In those states, vouchers should be funded from the general fund or some other source besides the state school fund.

A FINAL NOTE

This guide is intended to arm policymakers and advocates with the essential background needed to craft constitutional school choice legislation—and to forge ahead with confidence in delivering equal educational opportunity to all families, regardless of their means. But the analysis and recommendations in this guide are very general and should be just the beginning of your effort to understand school choice and your state constitution. The Institute for Justice is eager to provide expert legal review of school choice proposals. Such review, ideally at the earliest possible stage in the process, is essential.

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3 Michigan is the only state whose constitution explicitly forbids both voucher and tax benefit programs, although the Massachusetts Supreme Court has interpreted the Massachusetts Constitution broadly to the same effect. In such states, constitutional amendment is probably necessary to permit effective school choice.
This guide provides a state-by-state breakdown of the key elements a policymaker needs in order to understand the legal environment for school choice in any given state—and to craft appropriate legislation to expand educational opportunity.

**CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS**

We provide the text of and citations for state constitutional provisions most relevant to school choice, including Blaine Amendments, Compelled Support Clauses, any educational provisions that may impact how a school choice program is designed, and other provisions as necessary to help policymakers craft good legislation.

**RELEVANT CASE LAW**

This section lists and describes any federal and state cases interpreting key constitutional provisions. First, we list any cases from federal courts that arose out of that state. Sometimes these cases include or draw on interpretations of state constitutions in addition to any ruling based on the U.S. Constitution, so they can provide some useful information. They may also address an existing school choice program.

Next, we list cases from state courts. For both federal and state cases, we start with decisions from the highest court (for example, the U.S. Supreme Court for federal cases and a state supreme court for state cases) and list the most recent cases first. These are followed by lower court cases, again, most recent first.

Finally, the guide describes any official advisory opinions from state supreme courts and attorneys general that are relevant to school choice. Such opinions are not binding precedent, and courts are not required to follow them, but they can be persuasive in future litigation.

All cases and opinions include full legal citations so those interested in learning more can find the original sources.

**EXISTING PRIVATE SCHOOL CHOICE PROGRAMS**

Here we provide a listing of any existing private school choice programs, together with their statutory citations. A number of states now have multiple programs and this listing allows one to see the ever-increasing variety of school choice programs.

It is important for policymakers to understand what kinds of schooling options children in a state already enjoy. New school choice programs should be designed to enhance these options as a matter of good policy and of good law. Also, existing school
choice programs that include private school options provide evidence that the further expansion of school choice in that state is constitutional.

**ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

This section brings together the key elements—state constitutional provisions, relevant case law and existing school choice programs—to provide a brief analysis of the legal environment for school choice in a state. This is the Institute for Justice’s opinion about the safest approach to implementing school choice in a state and avoiding constitutional problems.

The key decision a policymaker must make is the choice between a voucher approach and a tax credit approach (or both), and we offer a recommendation for each state. We also point out, where applicable, other means of satisfying state constitutional requirements, such as avoiding the use of common school funds.

Finally, we list the American Legislative Exchange Council’s (ALEC) model legislation to provide a framework for drafting state-specific school choice proposals. Lawmakers should take care to consider the many issues presented in the drafting notes section of model bills. Modifications may be required to best suit the legal and policy environments of a given state.

**RESOURCES**

At the back of the guide (beginning on page 104), we provide descriptions of ALEC’s model school choice bills, a glossary to explain the legal jargon that is sometimes necessary when discussing constitutional case law, and information about national organizations that can help in the fight for equal educational opportunity.
Constitutional Provisions

Compelled Support Clause
“That no one shall be compelled by law to attend any place of worship; nor to pay any tithes, taxes, or other rate for building or repairing any place of worship, or for maintaining any minister or ministry ….” Alabama Const. Art. I, § 3.

Blaine Amendments
“No appropriation shall be made to any charitable or educational institution not under the absolute control of the state, other than normal schools established by law for the professional training of teachers for the public schools of the state, except by a vote of two-thirds of all the members elected to each house.” Alabama Const. Art. IV, § 73.

“No money raised for the support of the public schools shall be appropriated to or used for the support of any sectarian or denominational school.” Alabama Const. Art. XIV, § 263.

Relevant Case Law

Magee v. Boyd, 175 So. 3d 79 (Ala. 2015)
The Alabama Supreme Court upheld both of Alabama’s tax credit programs against several claims under the Alabama Constitution raised by the plaintiffs. Among other things, the Court held that neither of Alabama’s tax credit programs violate either of Alabama’s Blaine Amendments, since tax credits are not appropriations and are thus not governed by either provision. Furthermore, the tax credits are given to parents of students or taxpayers, not to religious institutions. Finally, the programs do not violate Alabama’s Compelled Support Clause because the programs are neutral toward religion, and any benefit to a religious institution from these programs is due to the choices of individuals, not the government.

Alabama Education Association v. James, 373 So. 2d 1076 (Ala. 1979)
After a change in U.S. Supreme Court Establishment Clause jurisprudence, the Alabama Supreme Court held that tuition grants to students attending private schools are constitutional.
under the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution and Alabama’s Blaine Amendment (Article XIV, Section 263) because the aid goes to the student, not the school.

*Opinion of Justices, 280 So. 2d 547 (1973)*

Following then-current U.S. Supreme Court Establishment Clause precedent, the Alabama Supreme Court opined that tuition grants to students attending “church colleges” would violate both the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution and one of Alabama’s Blaine Amendments (Article XIV, Section 263) because they would excessively entangle the state and religion.

**ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

Tax credit programs and vouchers are both school choice options for Alabama. Although the Alabama Constitution contains both a Compelled Support Clause and Blaine Amendment language, the Alabama courts have not interpreted these clauses expansively to prohibit school choice. Indeed, in 2015, the Alabama Supreme Court rejected a challenge to Alabama’s tax-credit-generated scholarship and refundable tax credit programs that raised claims under these (and several other) provisions of the Alabama Constitution in *Magee v. Boyd*.

To avoid potential problems with the second of Alabama’s Blaine Amendments (Article XIV, Section 263), voucher program funding should explicitly come from sources other than the state’s public school fund.

*Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program*
**CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS**

**Blaine Amendment**
“The legislature shall by general law establish and maintain a system of public schools open to all children of the State, and may provide for other public educational institutions. Schools and institutions so established shall be free from sectarian control. No money shall be paid from public funds for the direct benefit of any religious or other private educational institution.” *Alaska Const.* Art. VII, § 1.

**RELEVANT CASE LAW**

*Sheldon Jackson College v. State*, 599 P.2d 127 (Alaska 1979)
The Alaska Supreme Court held that tuition assistance grants for students attending private colleges violates the state’s Blaine Amendment because (1) only private colleges benefit from the program, (2) the money effectively subsidizes private education, (3) the benefit provided is substantial, and (4) there is no distinction between giving money to the student and giving money to the school.

Viewing its Blaine Amendment as more restrictive than the federal Constitution, the Alaska Supreme Court held that transportation of private school students at public expense violates the Alaska Constitution.

**ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS**

Tax credit programs are Alaska’s best option for a school choice program. Because Alaska does not have an individual state income tax, a tax credit program would have to apply to corporate or other taxes.

A voucher program, however, would be problematic. Alaska courts have interpreted the state’s Blaine Amendment restrictively. Although its actual terms ban only “direct” aid, Alaska courts have rejected the distinction between aiding students and aiding the institutions those students choose to attend, thereby limiting the use of public funds to public educational institutions.

*Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program*
Blaine Amendments
“No public money or property shall be appropriated for or applied to any religious worship, exercise, or instruction, or to the support of any religious establishment.” Arizona Const. Art. II, § 12.

“No tax shall be laid or appropriation of public money made in aid of any church, or private or sectarian school, or any public service corporation.” Arizona Const. Art. IX, § 10.

Other Relevant Sections
“Neither the State, nor any county, city, town, municipality, or other subdivision of the state shall ever give or loan its credit in the aid of, or make any donation or grant, by subsidy or otherwise, to any individual, association, or corporation ....” Arizona Const. Art. IX, § 7.

“The legislature shall enact such laws as shall provide for the establishment and maintenance of a general and uniform public school system, which system shall include: 1. Kindergarten schools; 2. Common schools; 3. High schools; 4. Normal schools; 5. Industrial schools; 6. Universities, which shall include an agricultural college, a school of mines, and such other technical schools as may be essential, until such time as it may be deemed advisable to establish separate state institutions of such character.” Arizona Const. Art. XI, § 1. A.

RELEVANT CASE LAW

Plaintiffs challenged the Arizona tax-credit scholarship program under the federal Establishment Clause, arguing that they had standing as taxpayers who would be injured by the increase in government spending from the program. However, the U.S. Supreme Court found that the taxpayers did not have standing because they did not fall under the exception to the rule against taxpayer standing for claims of spending tax money in violation of the Establishment Clause. Furthermore, the Court held that the plaintiffs did not meet the causation and redressability requirements for standing because the tax credit was not a government expenditure and the program was implemented by private action, not state action.

The Arizona Court of Appeals found that the Empowerment Scholarship Account program did not violate the Arizona Religion Clause (Article II, Section 12) because the program was neutral toward religion. In addition, the program did not violate the state’s Aid Clause (Article IX, Section 10) because, unlike in Cain v. Horne, the funds in the account could be used for many types of educational services.

On appeal, the Arizona Court of Appeals held that the Corporate Tax Credit Scholarships program did not violate the federal Establishment Clause because it (1) had a valid, secular purpose and was neutral toward religion; (2) permitted parents and students to exercise free choice among various secular and religious educational options; and (3) did not create excessive government entanglement with religion.

The Arizona Supreme Court found that two voucher programs—one for children with special needs and another for children in foster care—were constitutional under Arizona’s Religion Clause (Article II, Section 12) because of the clause’s similarity to the federal Establishment Clause, but held that the voucher programs violated the state’s Aid Clause (Article IX, Section 10) for two reasons. First, the Court stated that the funds could only be used for private schools and, second, it rejected the defendants’ view that the voucher programs aided students rather than private schools.

The U.S. Supreme Court held that Arizona school district’s Bill of Rights did not violate an Arizona school district’s Bill of Rights by furnishing a student with a sign-language interpreter to facilitate his education at a religious school.

The Arizona Supreme Court held that tuition tax credits are constitutional under both the U.S. Constitution and the Arizona Constitution. They are part of a religiously neutral government program available to a large spectrum of citizens and do not
have the primary effect of advancing or inhibiting religion. Additionally, they do not overly entangle the government with religion because the state does not distribute funds or monitor their application. The Court recognized that the scholarships benefit children, not schools. In refusing to apply the state constitution’s Blaine Amendments broadly, the Arizona Supreme Court recognized the bigotry and prejudice underlying their enactment.

_Hull v. Albrecht_, 950 P.2d 1141, 1145 (Ariz. 1997)
The Arizona Supreme Court held that the “general and uniform requirement” of the Arizona Constitution’s education article applies only to the state’s constitutional obligation to fund a public school system that is adequate and that defining adequacy is a legislative task. A district may then choose to go above, but not below, the statewide minimum standards, and doing so will not run afoul of the general-and-uniform requirement.

The Arizona Supreme Court held that the state did not violate the first of Arizona’s Blaine Amendments (Article II, Section 12) when it leased a state university’s football stadium for prayer worship at a fair market value. The Court noted, “We believe that the framers of the Arizona Constitution intended by [Article II, Section 12] to prohibit the use of the power and the prestige of the State or any of its agencies for the support or favor of one religion over another, or of religion over nonreligion.”

The Arizona Supreme Court held that, by contracting with the Salvation Army, the state is not providing “aid” in violation of the second of Arizona’s Blaine Amendments (Article IX, Section 10). The Court noted, “The ‘aid’ prohibited in the constitution of this state is, in our opinion, assistance in any form whatsoever which would encourage or tend to encourage the preference of one religion over another, or religion per se over no religion.”
Constitutional Provisions

Compelled Support Clause
“[N]o man can, of right, be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship; or to maintain any ministry against his consent.” ARKANSAS CONST. Art. II, § 24.

Education Articles
“Intelligence and virtue being the safeguards of liberty and the bulwark of a free and good government, the State shall ever maintain a general, suitable and efficient system of free public schools and shall adopt all suitable means to secure to the people the advantages and opportunities of education.” ARKANSAS CONST. Art. XIV, § 1.

“No money or property belonging to the public school fund, or to this State, for the benefit of schools or universities, shall ever be used for any other than for the respective purposes to which it belongs.” ARKANSAS CONST. Art. XIV, § 2.

Relevant Case Law
A federal district court concluded that a state higher education scholarship program that permitted students to choose religious or non-religious colleges did not violate the Arkansas Constitution’s Compelled Support Clause.

Analysis and Recommendations

Both tax credit programs and vouchers are school choice options for Arkansas. Its constitution does not contain a Blaine Amendment and its Compelled Support Clause, while receiving little judicial attention, does not forbid religiously neutral school choice programs, provided funds allotted for the public schools are not used.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program
Blaine Amendments

“No public money shall ever be appropriated for the support of any sectarian or denominational school, or any school not under the exclusive control of the officers of the public schools; nor shall any sectarian or denominational doctrine be taught, or instruction thereon be permitted, directly or indirectly, in any of the common schools of this State.” CALIFORNIA CONST. Art. IX, § 8.

“Neither the Legislature, nor any county, city and county, township, school district, or other municipal corporation, shall ever make an appropriation, or pay from any public fund whatever, or grant anything to or in aid of any religious sect, church, creed, or sectarian purpose, or help to support or sustain any school, college, university, hospital, or other institution controlled by any religious creed, church, or sectarian denomination whatever; nor shall any grant or donation of personal property or real estate ever be made by the state, or any city, city and county, town, or other municipal corporation for any religious creed, church, or sectarian purpose whatever; provided, that nothing in this section shall prevent the Legislature granting aid pursuant to Section 3 of Article XVI.”

CALIFORNIA CONST. Art. XVI, § 5.

RELEVANT CASE LAW

California Statewide Communities Development Authority v. All Persons Interested, 2007 Cal. LEXIS 1914 (Cal. 2007)

The California Supreme Court held that the issuance of tax-exempt bonds for the benefit of “pervasively sectarian” religious schools would not necessarily violate the state’s second Blaine Amendment (Article XVI, Section 5).


The California Supreme Court held that lending textbooks to private schools violated the state constitution’s Blaine Amendments.


The California Supreme Court held that transporting private school students at public expense is constitutionally acceptable because it is aimed at child safety not education, and any benefit to the school is “incidental.”

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VOUCHERS

Tax credits are California’s best option for school choice. Vouchers are problematic given California’s very restrictive interpretation of its Blaine Amendments. That interpretation prevents any public body from the state down to the local school board from allowing any public money from any source whatsoever to go to a religious or private school. California courts have explicitly rejected the distinction between aiding students versus aiding schools.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program

A California Court of Appeals held that charter schools are considered “public schools” for the purpose of California’s first Blaine Amendment (Article IX, Section 8).

Woodland Hills Homeowners Organization v. Los Angeles Community College District, 266 Cal. Rptr. 767, 774 (Ct. App. 1990)
A California Court of Appeals upheld a community college’s temporary lease of surplus land to a religious organization at fair market value under California’s second Blaine Amendment (Article XVI, Section 5).

Board of Trustees v. Cory, 145 Cal. Rptr. 136, 139 (Ct. App. 1978)
Citing Bowker v. Baker, a California Court of Appeals held that direct payment of federal funds to private medical schools violates the first of California’s Blaine Amendments because it does not fit within the “incidental” or “indirect benefit exception,” and provides funds to schools “not under the exclusive control of officers of the public schools.”
CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

Compelled Support Clause
“No person shall be required to attend or support any ministry or place of worship, religious sect or denomination against his consent. Nor shall any preference be given by law to any religious denomination or mode of worship.” COLORADO CONST. Art. II, § 4.

Blaine Amendments
“No appropriation shall be made for charitable, industrial, educational or benevolent purposes to any person, corporation or community not under the absolute control of the state, nor to any denominational or sectarian institution or association.” COLORADO CONST. Art. V, § 34.

“Neither the general assembly, nor any county, city, town, township, school district or other public corporation, shall ever make any appropriation, or pay from any public fund or moneys whatever, anything in aid of any church or sectarian society, or for any sectarian purpose, or to help support or sustain any school, academy, seminary, college, university or other literary or scientific institution, controlled by any church or sectarian denomination whatsoever; nor shall any grant or donation of land, money or other personal property, ever be made by the state, or any such public corporation to any church, or for any sectarian purpose.” COLORADO CONST. Art. IX, § 7.

Education Articles
“The general assembly shall, as soon as practicable, provide for the establishment and maintenance of a thorough and uniform system of free public schools throughout the state ….” COLORADO CONST. Art. IX, § 2.

“The public school fund of the state shall, except as provided in this article IX, forever remain inviolate and intact and the interest and other income thereon, only, shall be expended in the maintenance of the schools of the state, and shall be distributed amongst the several counties and school districts of the state, in such manner as may be prescribed by law.” COLORADO CONST. Art. IX, § 3.

“The general assembly shall, by law, provide for organization of school districts of convenient size, in each of which shall be established a board of education, to consist of three or more directors to be elected by the qualified electors of the district. Said directors shall have control of instruction in the public schools of their respective districts.” COLORADO CONST. Art. IX, § 15.

EXISTING PRIVATE SCHOOL CHOICE PROGRAMS
None

RELEVANT CASE LAW


In a challenge to a scholarship program created by the Douglas County School District, the Colorado Supreme Court invalidated the program. Three justices held that the Choice Scholarship program violated the Colorado Constitution because the program helped some students attend religious schools, a fourth justice held that the program violated the state’s public school funding act, and three judges voted to uphold the program. The school district, the state and intervening parents have filed petitions for certiorari with the U.S. Supreme Court, which has not ruled yet on whether to accept review.
Currently, tax credit programs are the safest school choice option for Colorado, given the recent Colorado Supreme Court decision in Taxpayers for Public Education v. Douglas County School District. Any future voucher legislation should fund the program exclusively through state rather than local revenues in order to comply with the Colorado Supreme Court’s decision in Owens v. Colorado Congress of Parents.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program

Thomas v. Douglas County School Board, No. 1:16-cv-00876 (D. Colo. filed Apr. 19, 2016)
Following its loss at the Colorado Supreme Court in Taxpayers for Public Education v. Douglas County School District, the Douglas County School Board enacted a new voucher program that denied parents the opportunity to select religious schools for their children. Parents desiring to use scholarships at religious schools sued the school board in federal court in litigation that is ongoing.

Owens v. Colorado Congress of Parents, 92 P.3d 933 (Colo. 2004)
The Colorado Supreme Court held that a pilot voucher program violated the Colorado Constitution’s “local control” provision (Article IX, Section 15) because it required school districts to pass a portion of their locally raised funds to non-public schools over whose instruction the districts had no control.

The Colorado Supreme Court upheld the Colorado higher education grant program against a challenge brought under one of its Blaine Amendments (Article IX, Section 7) because the program benefits students, not their schools, because it is available to private as well as public school students, and because it eliminates any danger of indirectly supporting religious missions by attaching statutory conditions to the use of the money.
CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

Compelled Support Clause
“It being the right of all men to worship the Supreme Being, the Great Creator and Preserver of the Universe, and to render that worship in a mode consistent with the dictates of their consciences, no person shall by law be compelled to join or support, nor be classed or associated with, any congregation, church or religious association. No preference shall be given by law to any religious society or denomination in the state. Each shall have and enjoy the same and equal powers, rights and privileges, and may support and maintain the ministers or teachers of its society or denomination, and may build and repair houses for public worship.” CONNECTICUT CONST. Art. VII.

Education Articles
“There shall always be free public elementary and secondary schools in the state. The general assembly shall implement this principle by appropriate legislation.” CONNECTICUT CONST. Art. VIII., § 1.

“The fund, called the SCHOOL FUND, shall remain a perpetual fund, the interest of which shall be inviolably appropriated to the support and encouragement of the public schools throughout the state, and for the equal benefit of all the people thereof. The value and amount of said fund shall be ascertained in such manner as the general assembly may prescribe, published, and recorded in the comptroller’s office; and no law shall ever be made, authorizing such fund to be diverted to any other use than the encouragement and support of public schools, among the several school societies, as justice and equity shall require.” CONNECTICUT CONST. Art. VIII, § 4.

RELEVANT CASE LAW

A federal district court held that a Connecticut statute authorizing the state board of education to contract with operators of certain private nonprofit sectarian elementary and secondary schools for public purchase of secular educational services was unconstitutional because it excessively entangled the state with religion in violation of the Establishment Clause.

The Connecticut Supreme Court held that a law requiring transportation of private school students at public expense, even on days when the public schools were not in attendance,
Both tax credit and voucher programs are school choice options for Connecticut. They are consistent with the Connecticut Constitution and relevant Connecticut state court decisions.

The Connecticut Constitution contains no Blaine Amendment, and the Connecticut Supreme Court has twice ruled that transportation programs that include private school students benefit children, not schools. To avoid potential problems with Connecticut’s education article (Article VIII, Section 4), voucher program funding should come from sources other than the state’s public school fund.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program
Compelled Support Clause

“[Y]et no person shall or ought to be compelled to attend any religious worship, to contribute to the erection or support of any place of worship, or to the maintenance of any ministry, against his or her own free will and consent ....” DELAWARE CONST. Art I, § 1.

Blaine Amendment

“No portion of any fund now existing, or which may hereafter be appropriated, or raised by tax, for educational purposes, shall be appropriated to, or used by, or in aid of any sectarian, church or denominational school; provided, that all real or personal property used for school purposes, where the tuition is free, shall be exempt from taxation and assessment for public purposes.” DELAWARE CONST. Art X, § 3.

Education Articles

“The General Assembly shall provide for the establishment and maintenance of a general and efficient system of free public schools, and may require by law that every child, not physically or mentally disabled, shall attend the public school, unless educated by other means.” DELAWARE CONST. Art X, § 1.

“No part of the principal or income of the Public School Fund, now or hereafter existing, shall be used for any other purpose than the support of free public schools.” DELAWARE CONST. Art X, § 4.

“The General Assembly, notwithstanding any other provision of this Constitution, may provide by an Act of the General Assembly, passed with the concurrence of a majority of all the members elected to each House, for the transportation of students of nonpublic, nonprofit Elementary and High Schools.” DELAWARE CONST. Art X, § 5.

RELEVANT CASE LAW


The Superior Court of Delaware held that transporting private school students at public expense would “help build up, strengthen and make successful” religious schools in violation of the state’s Blaine Amendment.

Opinion of Justices, 216 A.2d 668 (Del. 1966)

The justices of the Delaware Supreme Court opined in an advisory opinion that a bill for transporting private school students at public expense would violate the Delaware Constitution because even incidental aid violates the language of the state’s Blaine Amendment.

A tax credit program is Delaware’s best option for school choice. The Delaware Constitution contains both a Compelled Support Clause and a Blaine Amendment. The restrictive interpretation of the latter by Delaware state courts makes a general voucher program problematic.

In 1934, a Delaware Superior Court ruled in Traub v. Brown that transporting private school students at public expense violated the state’s Blaine Amendment. In a 1966 advisory opinion in response to a legislative busing proposal, the Delaware Supreme Court opined that the Traub decision was correct. Voters passed a constitutional amendment to overcome this restrictive interpretation of the state’s Blaine Amendment, but it is likely that vouchers would require a similar amendment.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program
Blaine Amendment
“No revenue of the state or any political subdivision or agency thereof shall ever be taken from the public treasury directly or indirectly in aid of any church, sect, or religious denomination or in aid of any sectarian institution.” Florida Const. Art. I, § 3.

Education Articles
“The education of children is a fundamental value of the people of the State of Florida. It is, therefore, a paramount duty of the state to make adequate provision for the education of all children residing within its borders. Adequate provision shall be made by law for a uniform, efficient, safe, secure, and high quality system of free public schools that allows students to obtain a high quality education and for the establishment, maintenance, and operation of institutions of higher learning and other public education programs that the needs of the people may require ….” Florida Const. Art. IX, § 1(a).

“The school board shall operate, control and supervise all free public schools within the school district and determine the rate of school district taxes within the limits prescribed herein ….” Florida Const. Art. IX, § 4(b).

“The income derived from the state school fund shall, and the principal of the fund may, be appropriated, but only to the support and maintenance of free public schools.” Florida Const. Art. IX, § 6.

McKay Scholarships for Students with Disabilities
Florida Statutes Sections 1002.39, 1002.421

Voluntary Pre-kindergarten Education Program
Florida Statutes Section 1002.53

Corporate Tax Credit Scholarships
Florida Statutes Sections 1002.395, 1002.41

Personal Learning Scholarship Accounts
Florida Statutes Sections 393.063, 1002.385

RELEVANT CASE LAW

Appellants alleged that payments to certain organizations constituted payments to sectarian institutions contrary to Florida’s Blaine Amendment. After concluding that the trial court erred in ruling that the Blaine Amendment was limited to the school context, the appellate court held that the Amendment applied to contracts with faith-based organizations that offer substance abuse programs, making the contracts potentially unconstitutional.

McCall v. Scott, No. CA 002282 (Fla. 2d. Jud. Cir. May 18, 2014)
Plaintiffs’ complaint was dismissed with prejudice because they did not have taxpayer standing or any special injury supporting standing to challenge the Corporate Tax Credit Scholarship program. The case is on appeal.

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Citizens for Strong Schools, Inc. v. Florida State Board of Education, No. CA-4534 (Fla. 2d. Jud. Cir. May 24, 2016)
In a challenge to the adequacy of the state’s funding and control of the public schools, plaintiffs sought to show that the Florida Corporate Tax Credit and McKay programs contributed to the inadequacy of the public schools. The trial court found no negative effects on the uniformity or efficiency of the public school system, instead crediting evidence that these programs are reasonably likely to improve the quality and efficiency of the entire system. The case is on appeal.

Bush v. Holmes, 919 So. 2d 392 (Fla. 2006)
The Florida Supreme Court held that one of the state constitution’s education articles (Article IX, Section 1(a)) mandates the provision of education only through a “uniform” public school system. In an unprecedented ruling, the Court held that the state may use public funds only for traditional public schools and may not provide additional educational opportunities outside the traditional public system.

Bush v. Holmes, 886 So. 2d 340 (Fla. 1st DCA 2004), aff’d on other grounds, 919 So. 2d 392 (Fla. 2006)
The en banc Florida 1st District Court of Appeal held that Florida’s publicly funded voucher program violated the state’s Blaine Amendment.

Scavella v. School Board, 363 So. 2d 1095 (Fla. 1978)
The Florida Supreme Court held that a statute capping reimbursement expenses for districts educating special needs students at private schools did not violate the uniformity provision of the state constitution’s education article.

School Board v. State, 353 So. 2d 834 (Fla. 1977)
In one of its most searching analyses of the phrase “uniform system of free public schools,” the Florida Supreme Court held that it does not require that each county’s school board have the exact same number of board members.

Nohrr v. Brevard County Educational Facilities Authority, 247 So. 2d 304 ( Fla. 1971)
The Florida Supreme Court held that providing tax-exempt revenue bond proceeds to public and private universities, including religious colleges, does not violate the U.S. or Florida Constitutions. The bonds were issued for the secular purpose of expanding educational facilities, any aid to
The status of school choice in Florida is unclear. Unfortunately, in an unprecedented decision, the Florida Supreme Court struck down the state’s groundbreaking Opportunity Scholarships voucher program for children in chronically failing public schools. The Court declared that the program violated the state constitution’s education article, specifically the requirement to provide a “uniform” public education. Contrary to state supreme courts in Wisconsin and Ohio, the Florida Court decided that the Legislature may not provide educational options beyond those in the public schools. Still, the Court limited its decision to Opportunity Scholarships only, leaving untouched Florida’s other school choice programs.

Earlier in the same case, a Florida appellate court struck down Opportunity Scholarships under the state’s Blaine Amendment. That ruling ran counter to years of Florida Supreme Court rulings on the Blaine Amendment permitting “incidental” benefits to religious organizations as the by-product of programs designed to advance the general welfare. The Florida Supreme Court did not review that issue, and the validity of the appellate court’s holding is unclear under Florida law.

Despite the uncertainties surrounding vouchers, tax credit programs are completely consistent with the Florida Constitution, even as interpreted by Holmes, because they involve private rather than public funds. As of press time, two cases unsuccessfully challenging the Florida Tax Credit Scholarship program are currently on appeal at the Florida Court of Appeals.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program
CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

Blaine Amendment
“No money shall ever be taken from the public treasury, directly or indirectly, in aid of any church, sect, cult, or religious denomination or of any sectarian institution.” GEORGIA CONST. Art. I, § II, ¶ VII.

Education Articles
“Pursuant to laws now or hereafter enacted by the General Assembly, public funds may be expended for any of the following purposes: (1) To provide grants, scholarships, loans, or other assistance to students and to parents of students for educational purposes .... ” GEORGIA CONST. Art. VIII, § VII, ¶ I.

“Authority is granted to county and area boards of education to establish and maintain public schools within their limits …. No independent school system shall hereafter be established.” GEORGIA CONST. Art. VIII, § V, ¶ I.

EXISTING PRIVATE SCHOOL CHOICE PROGRAMS

Georgia Special Needs Scholarships Program
Georgia Code Annotated Sections 20-2-2110 to -2118

Qualified Education Expense Tax Credit
Georgia Code Annotated Sections 20-2A-1 to -7, 48-7-29.16

RELEVANT CASE LAW

Plaintiffs, taxpayers who support the public schools, argued that the Georgia Tax Credit Scholarship program violates the Blaine Amendment, the Educational Assistance provision (Article VIII, Section VII, Paragraph 1) and several other state constitutional provisions, as well as the Georgia Tax Code. The Superior Court of Fulton County found that the plaintiffs lacked standing because they could show no injury. In addition, the court found that tax credits are not public funds to which those provisions apply. The case is on appeal.

Taetle v. Atlanta Independent School System, 625 S.E.2d 770, 771 (Ga. 2006)
In refusing to void a lease agreement between a local school district and a church, the Georgia Supreme Court held that “[a] political subdivision of this state cannot give money to a religious institution in such a way as to promote the sectarian handiwork of the institution. But that is not to say that a political subdivision of the state cannot enter into an arms-length, commercial agreement with a sectarian institution to accomplish a non-sectarian purpose.”
Richter v. Savannah, 127 S.E. 739 (Ga. 1925)
With no analysis, the Georgia Supreme Court reinstated a taxpayer suit seeking to stop the city of Savannah from paying for the services of a Catholic hospital.

Bennett v. La Grange, 112 S.E. 482 (Ga. 1922)
The Georgia Supreme Court held that a city’s contract with a Christian service organization to provide care for the city’s poor violated the precursor to Georgia’s current Blaine Amendment because the organization could not separate its religious and secular missions.

The Georgia attorney general opined that the federally funded Georgia Reading Challenge Program grants could not be made directly to churches or other religious institutions for the provision of after-school care, opportunities to improve student reading skills, and enhancement of student interest in reading without violating Georgia’s Blaine Amendment.

In an unofficial opinion expressing the views of the author and not those of the Attorney General’s Office, the senior assistant attorney general for Georgia opined that allowing a religious organization to generate income through use of school property under a lease arrangement at less than the fair market rental rate would violate the indirect aid language of Georgia’s Blaine Amendment.

In an unofficial opinion expressing the views of the author and not those of the Attorney General’s Office, the senior assistant attorney general for Georgia opined that a county school system can contract with a religious organization to provide after-school programs for its students if the arrangement does not involve a flow of public or school funds from the school system to the religious organization.
Both tax credit and voucher programs are school choice options for Georgia. The Georgia Constitution contains a Blaine Amendment, but it also contains an education provision (Article VIII, Section 7, Paragraph 1) that explicitly authorizes the General Assembly to provide grants and scholarships to students and parents for educational purposes, such as those of voucher programs. As of press time, an unsuccessful challenge to the Qualified Education Expense Tax Credit program is on appeal to the Georgia Supreme Court.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program

The Georgia attorney general opined that legislation providing $400 per academic year to Georgia students attending religious institutions of higher learning that were not primarily for religious training is consistent with Georgia’s Blaine Amendment.

1969 Opinion Attorney General No. 69-125 (copy available from the Institute for Justice)
The Georgia attorney general opined that the Georgia Supreme Court would consider unconstitutional a contract for goods or services between a public elementary or secondary school and a private religious school.

1945-47 Opinion Attorney General p. 222 (copy available from the Institute for Justice)
The Georgia attorney general opined that a county board of education may not expend public school funds to transport children to schools other than those operated by the public school system.

IJ client Robin Lamp, of Stockbridge, Georgia, is a single parent whose two daughters, Haley and Hannah, attend Eagle’s Landing Christian Academy.
**Constitutional Provisions**

**Blaine Amendment**

“The State shall provide for the establishment, support and control of a statewide system of public schools free from sectarian control … nor shall public funds be appropriated for the support or benefit of any sectarian or nonsectarian private educational institution, except that proceeds of special purpose revenue bonds authorized or issued under section 12 of Article VII may be appropriated to finance or assist: 1. Not-for-profit corporations that provide early childhood education and care facilities serving the general public; and 2. Not-for-profit private nonsectarian and sectarian elementary schools, secondary schools, colleges and universities.”

_Hawaii Const._ Art. X, § 1.

**Relevant Case Law**


The Hawaii Supreme Court held that a statute authorizing the transportation of private school students at public expense violated the state’s Blaine Amendment.


Hawaii’s attorney general concluded that a publicly funded Hawaii school voucher program would violate Hawaii’s Blaine Amendment, given the Hawaii Supreme Court’s broad interpretation of that provision.

**Analysis and Recommendations**

A tax credit program is the best school choice option for Hawaii given the history and restrictive interpretation of the state’s Blaine Amendment.

_Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program_
Compelled Support Clause
“No person shall be required to attend or support any ministry or place of worship, religious sect or denomination, or pay tithes against his consent ....” Idaho Const. Art. I, § 4.

Blaine Amendment
“Neither the legislature nor any county, city, town, township, school district, or other public corporation, shall ever make any appropriation, or pay from any public fund or moneys whatever, anything in aid of any church or sectarian or religious society, or for any sectarian or religious purpose, or to help support or sustain any school, academy, seminary, college, university or other literary or scientific institution, controlled by any church, sectarian or religious denomination whatsoever; nor shall any grant or donation of land, money or other personal property ever be made by the state, or any such public corporation, to any church or for any sectarian or religious purpose; provided, however, that a health facilities authority, as specifically authorized and empowered by law, may finance or refinance any private, not for profit, health facilities owned or operated by any church or sectarian religious society, through loans, leases, or other transactions.” Idaho Const. Art. IX, § 5.

Education Articles
“The stability of a republican form of government depending mainly upon the intelligence of the people, it shall be the duty of the legislature of Idaho, to establish and maintain a general, uniform and thorough system of public, free common schools.” Idaho Const. Art. IX, § 1.

“No religious test or qualification shall ever be required of any person as a condition of admission into any public educational institution of the state, either as teacher or student; and no teacher or student of any such institution shall ever be required to attend or participate in any religious service whatever. No sectarian or religious tenets or doctrines shall ever be taught in the public schools, nor shall any distinction or classification of pupils be made on account of race or color. No books, papers, tracts or documents of a political, sectarian or denominational character shall be used or introduced in any schools established under the provisions of this article, nor shall any teacher or any district receive any of the public school moneys in which the schools have not been taught in accordance with the provisions of this article.” Idaho Const. Art. IX, § 6.

RELEVANT CASE LAW
The Idaho Supreme Court held that although Idaho’s Blaine Amendment prohibits paying for a special education student’s placement in a religious school with public funds, the federal special education grant program, the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA), preempts the state law and requires parents to be reimbursed when a “free and appropriate education” is not offered in public schools as required by the IDEA.

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Tax credit programs are a viable school choice option for Idaho. Because of the restrictive interpretation of Idaho’s Blaine Amendment, the tax credit should be available to parents regardless of whether they have already paid funds to a private or parochial school. In that way, it will be clear that the credit is a refund of money for government services not used and that it is a benefit to the parent, not the school, as outlined by the attorney general’s 1997 opinion.

The Idaho Supreme Court is unlikely to uphold a voucher program that includes religious schools given that the Court struck down a statute allowing transportation of private school students at public expense as a violation of the state’s Blaine Amendment.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program

Epeldi v. Engelking, 488 P.2d 860 (Idaho 1971)
The Idaho Supreme Court held that the state could not subsidize the transportation of private school students without violating Idaho’s Blaine Amendment.

Idaho’s attorney general concluded that a bill to provide tax credits to parents who do not use public schools would likely be constitutional under Idaho’s Blaine Amendment because “[t]he credit is not dependent upon payment of money to a sectarian school, and any benefits to parochial schools are tenuous at best.”

He distinguished an earlier attorney general’s opinion by noting that under the tax credit proposal “there is no requirement that the taxpayer pay any money to a private or church affiliated school before being able to claim the credit. The benefit flows to the taxpayer / parent, not to the school.” The credit provides a benefit to parents for the stated purpose of relieving the burden on the state’s public school system.

1989 Ida. AG LEXIS 6, 10 (1989 Opinion Attorney General 42)
Idaho’s attorney general opined that the Idaho College Work Study Program, which uses public funds to pay for students’ on-campus jobs at public or private universities, violates Idaho’s Blaine Amendment because it would aid “postsecondary institutions controlled by churches, sectarian or religious denominations.”

1995 Idaho Attorney General Annotated Report 74 (copy available from the Institute for Justice)
An attorney general’s guideline concluded that a tax credit for tuition paid to non-public schools would be a “grant or donation of … money” in violation of Idaho’s Blaine Amendment.
CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

Compelled Support Clause
“No person shall be required to attend or support any ministry or place of worship against his consent ....” Illinois Const. Art. I, § 3.

Blaine Amendment
“Neither the General Assembly nor any county, city, town, township, school district, or other public corporation, shall ever make any appropriation or pay from any public fund whatever, anything in aid of any church or sectarian purpose, or to help support or sustain any school, academy, seminary, college, university, or other literary or scientific institution, controlled by any church or sectarian denomination whatever; nor shall any grant or donation of land, money, or other personal property ever be made by the State, or any such public corporation, to any church, or for any sectarian purpose.” Illinois Const. Art. X, § 3.

EXISTING PRIVATE SCHOOL CHOICE PROGRAMS

Tax Credits for Educational Expenses
35 Illinois Compiled Statutes 5/201m

RELEVANT CASE LAW

Board of Education v. Bakalis, 299 N.E.2d 737 (Ill. 1973)
The Illinois Supreme Court held that a statute requiring public school buses to transport private school students did not violate Illinois’ Blaine Amendment because it was primarily a health-and-safety measure for the benefit of all students and any aid to religious schools chosen by families was incidental.

People ex rel. Klinger v. Howlett, 305 N.E.2d 129 (Ill. 1973)
The Illinois Supreme Court held that the state cannot provide tuition grants to private elementary schools with no restrictions on the use of public funds because it could lead to public subsidization of religious services. Such subsidization would violate Illinois’ Blaine Amendment and the federal Establishment Clause, which the Court held impose identical restrictions on the establishment of official religions. In addition, the Court held that the state could not treat private school students...
and public school students differently with respect to textbooks and nursing services.

Cecrle v. Illinois Educational Facilities Authority, 288 N.E.2d 399 (Ill. 1972)
The Illinois Supreme Court held that the state could make tax-exempt bonds available to private, religious institutions without violating the federal Establishment Clause or the Illinois Constitution.

Troy v. Ketteler Manual Training School, 118 N.E. 743 (Ill. 1918)
The Illinois Supreme Court held that the state can use public funds to pay for childcare services at religious institutions because the children are not required to attend religious services and the schools receive no reimbursement for expenses associated with religious instruction.

Nichols v. School Directors, 93 Ill. 61 (1879)
The Illinois Supreme Court held that allowing public school buildings to be used for religious ceremonies when the schools are not in session does not compel a person to support a religion in violation of Illinois’ Compelled Support Clause.

Two Illinois courts of appeal held that Illinois’ tax credit for educational expenses is constitutional because it has a clearly secular legislative purpose of ensuring a well-educated citizenry and relieving public expense, has the primary effect of effectuating those purposes, and involves no more government entanglement with religion than many other state tax laws. The program is constitutional under both Illinois' Blaine Amendment and the federal Establishment Clause. Illinois courts interpret the state Blaine Amendment consistently with federal Establishment Clause case law.

Both tax credit and voucher programs are school choice options for Illinois. In the most recent cases, Illinois’ tax credit program was upheld from challenges under both the Establishment Clause and Illinois’ Religion Clauses. Two state appellate courts upheld the program in Toney v. Bower and Griffith v. Bower, and the Illinois Supreme Court let those decisions stand without reviewing them.

The Illinois Constitution contains both a Compelled Support Clause and a Blaine Amendment, but the Illinois Supreme Court has found only direct, unrestricted payments of public funds to religious schools unconstitutional. It approved the transportation of private school students at public expense and the use of public funds to pay for childcare services at religious institutions. In Board of Education v. Bakalis and Troy v. Ketteler Manual Training School, the Illinois Supreme Court permitted some public support for children attending religious schools, which suggests the Court understands that such aid supports children, not schools.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program
CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

Compelled Support Clause
“[N]o person shall be compelled to attend, erect, or support, any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry, against his consent.” INDIANA CONST. Art. 1, § 4.

Blaine Amendment
“No money shall be drawn from the treasury, for the benefit of any religious or theological institution.” INDIANA CONST. Art. 1, § 6.

Education Article
“(T)he General Assembly must provide, as the public policy of the State, for a uniform system of free public schools in the several districts of the State.” INDIANA CONST. Art. 8, § 1.

EXISTING PRIVATE SCHOOL CHOICE PROGRAMS

School Scholarship Tax Credit
Indiana Code Sections 6-3.1 to 30.5, 20-51-1

Choice Scholarship Program
Indiana Code Sections 20-51-1 to -4

Private School/Homeschool Deduction
Indiana Code Section 6-3-2-22

RELEVANT CASE LAW

Meredith v. Pence, 984 N.E.2d 1213 (Ind. 2013)
The Indiana Supreme Court held that the Choice Scholarship Program was constitutional. The program did not violate Article 8, Section 1 because that provision allows the Legislature to supplement the public school system with private options. And the program violated neither Indiana’s Blaine Amendment nor Compelled Support Clause because any benefit to religious schools was incidental to the choice of the schools by parents.

Embry v. O’Bannon, 798 N.E.2d 157, 166-167 (Ind. 2003)
The Indiana Supreme Court upheld dual-enrollment programs that allow private school students to also enroll in public schools and to receive publicly provided services in their private schools. The Court said the programs do not violate either Indiana’s Blaine Amendment or its Compelled Support Clause because they “do not confer substantial benefits upon any religious or theological institution, nor directly fund activities of a religious nature.” The Court went on to note that “‘incidental

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Both tax credit and voucher programs are school choice options for Indiana. In Meredith v. Pence, the Indiana Supreme Court made clear that student-assistance programs are permitted under Article 8, Section 1 (in the education article) of the state constitution, as well as that constitution’s Compelled Support Clause and Blaine Amendment.

**Model Legislation:** Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program

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**State ex rel. Johnson v. Boyd, 28 N.E.2d 256 (Ind. 1940)**

The Indiana Supreme Court held that neither Indiana’s Compelled Support Clause nor Indiana’s Blaine Amendment was violated when a Catholic church closed its parish school and donated the old school buildings to the state, which subsequently used the building as a public school and employed priests as teachers. Rejecting the contention that the church or religion were benefited by the school board’s retention of the priests, the Court noted that Indiana’s Religion Clauses are concerned with donations to religious schools that further their religious missions, not incidental benefits that may flow to a religious institution as a result of private choices—in this case, the board’s decision that the priests were qualified to teach the material provided by the public school curriculum.

1967 Ind. AG LEXIS 68 (1967 Opinion Attorney General Ind. 9); see also 1980 Ind. AG LEXIS 12 (1980 Opinion attorney general Ind. 96) (school board cannot deny free transportation to parochial students living along established bus routes but attending schools outside the school district)

The Indiana attorney general wrote that providing free bus transportation for parochial school students on the same basis as public school students does not violate Indiana’s Blaine Amendment because any benefit to parochial schools is incidental to the protection and education of children.
Constitutional Provisions

Compelled Support Clause

“[N]or shall any person be compelled to attend any place of worship, pay tithes, taxes, or other rates for building or repairing places of worship, or the maintenance of any minister, or ministry.” Iowa Const. Art. I, § 3.

Existing Private School Choice Programs

- **Tax Credits for Educational Expenses**
  - Iowa Code Section 422.9, .12

- **Educational Opportunities Act (Individual Tax Credit Scholarships)**
  - Iowa Code Section 422.11M

Relevant Case Law

  - A federal district court in Iowa held that a state tax deduction for school expenses, including private school tuition, does not violate the Establishment Clause because it is available to parents regardless of whether their child attends a public, private or religious school, neither advances nor inhibits religion, and does not entangle the state with religion. Additionally, the court held that the benefits stemming from the deduction go to the parents of the children, not the schools they choose.

  - The Iowa Supreme Court held that a law providing for chaplains and religious facilities at state penitentiaries does not violate Iowa’s Compelled Support Clause or the Free Exercise Clause of the federal Constitution because prisoners retain the ability to reasonably exercise their faith.

- **Knowlton v. Baumhover**, 166 N.W. 202 (Iowa 1918)
  - The Iowa Supreme Court held that although it was called a “public school,” educational instruction given in a church building by a Catholic priest constitutes a “sectarian school” and Iowa’s Compelled Support Clause prohibits the local school board from supporting such a school with public funds.

Analysis and Recommendations

Both tax credit and voucher programs are school choice options for Iowa. Iowa’s constitution contains a Compelled Support Clause, which the Iowa Supreme Court has interpreted as prohibiting direct payment of public funds to religious schools. In general, however, the Court has noted that the Compelled Support Clause seeks to achieve the same end as the federal Establishment Clause and should be interpreted in line with federal Establishment Clause precedent. Therefore, a religiously neutral voucher program of true private choice that gives money directly to parents is likely to be upheld in accordance with the U.S. Supreme Court’s decision in *Zelman*.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program
CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

Compelled Support Clause
“[N]or shall any person be compelled to attend or support any form of worship ....” Kansas Const. Bill of Rights § 7.

Blaine Amendment
“No religious sect or sects shall control any part of the public educational funds.” Kansas Const. Art. 6, § 6(c).

Education Article
“Local public schools under the general supervision of the state board of education shall be maintained, developed and operated by locally elected boards. When authorized by law, such boards may make and carry out agreements for cooperative operation and administration of educational programs under the general supervision of the state board of education, but such agreements shall be subject to limitation, change or termination by the legislature.” Kansas Const. Art. 6, § 5.

RELEVANT CASE LAW

The Kansas Constitution does not prohibit government aid to students attending sectarian schools where the aid benefits the student in a religiously neutral program.

A federal district court held that a state statute providing tuition to students attending qualified private universities, where all the qualified schools in the state were church-related, had the valid secular purpose of promoting higher education, did not primarily advance religion because the colleges were not overtly sectarian, and did not overly entangle the state with religion.

Atchison, T. & S. F. R. Co. v. Atchison, 28 P. 1000 (Kan. 1892)
The Kansas Supreme Court held that the city of Atchison had no power to impose a property tax on its citizens to aid private, sectarian schools or to promote private interests and enterprises.

EXISTING PRIVATE SCHOOL CHOICE PROGRAMS

Tax Credit for Low Income Students Scholarship Program
Kansas Statutes Annotated Sections 72-99a01 to -99a07 (Supp), 79-32, 138 (Supp)

ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Both tax credit and voucher programs are school choice options for Kansas. The Kansas Constitution contains a Compelled Support Clause and a Blaine Amendment but neither has received much judicial attention. Relative to other states’ variations, the scope of the Kansas Blaine Amendment is very limited; it only prevents religious sects from controlling public educational funds. As vouchers can be funded from any number of revenue sources and neither vouchers nor tax benefit programs give public money directly to religious schools, there is no possibility for religious control of the public education fund as a result of school choice programs. Additionally, Kansas’ case law demonstrates a strong tendency for adhering to federal precedent on Establishment Clause issues. In Zelman, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld school choice programs under the federal Constitution.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program
Compelled Support Clause

“[N]or shall any person be compelled to attend any place of worship, to contribute to the erection or maintenance of any such place, or to the salary or support of any minister of religion . . . .” KENTUCKY CONST. § 5.

Blaine Amendment

“No portion of any fund or tax now existing, or that may hereafter be raised or levied for educational purposes, shall be appropriated to, or used by, or in aid of, any church, sectarian or denominational school.” KENTUCKY CONST. § 189.

Education Articles

“No sum shall be raised or collected for education other than in common schools until the question of taxation is submitted to the legal voters, and the majority of the votes cast at said election shall be in favor of such taxation: Provided, The tax now imposed for educational purposes, and for the endowment and maintenance of the Agricultural and Mechanical College, shall remain until changed by law.” KENTUCKY CONST. § 184.

“All funds accruing to the school fund shall be used for the maintenance of the public schools of the Commonwealth, and for no other purpose, and the General Assembly shall by general law prescribe the manner of the distribution of the public school fund among the school districts and its use for public school purposes.” KENTUCKY CONST. § 186.

Other Relevant Provisions

“Taxes shall be levied and collected for public purposes only and shall be uniform upon all property of the same class subject to taxation within the territorial limits of the authority levying the tax . . . .” KENTUCKY CONST. § 171.

“Every act enacted by the General Assembly, and every ordinance and resolution passed by any county, city, town or municipal board or local legislative body, levying a tax, shall specify distinctly the purpose for which said tax is levied, and no tax levied and collected for one purpose shall ever be devoted to another purpose.” KENTUCKY CONST. § 180.

RELEVANT CASE LAW

University of the Cumberlands v. Pennybacker, 308 S.W.3d 668 (Ky. 2010)

The Kentucky Supreme Court held that an appropriation to found a pharmacy school at a religious university violated Section 189 of the Kentucky Constitution. The Court rejected the argument that the state could not rely upon Section 189 because it runs afoul of the federal Constitution, instead holding that Section 189 does not violate the First Amendment or the Equal Protection Clause. The Court also held that Section 189 was not a Blaine Amendment. Finally, the Court also invalidated as special legislation a scholarship program for pharmacy students who were to attend the new pharmacy school.

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Neal v. Fiscal Court, Jefferson County, 986 S.W.2d 907 (Ky. 1999)
The Kentucky Supreme Court held that the Jefferson County Fiscal Court’s plan to allocate funds for the transportation of private elementary school students did not violate Kentucky’s Blaine Amendment. Distinguishing the earlier Fiscal Court of Jefferson County v. Brady decision, the Court noted that funds were paid to the transportation system administered by the board of education, not directly to individual schools, and benefits flowed “toward the safety and welfare of elementary age school children and not into the accounts of non-public schools.”

Fiscal Court of Jefferson County v. Brady, 885 S.W.2d 681 (Ky. 1994)
The Kentucky Supreme Court held that the Jefferson County Fiscal Court’s direct payment of county tax revenues to private schools for school transportation subsidies violated the Kentucky Blaine Amendment.

Fannin v. Williams, 655 S.W.2d 480 (Ky. 1983)
The Kentucky Supreme Court held that a Kentucky statute that provided state-supplied textbooks to children in private schools violated the Kentucky Blaine Amendment.

Butler v. United Cerebral Palsy of Northern Kentucky, Inc., 352 S.W.2d 203 (Ky. 1961)
The Kentucky Court of Appeals, which was then the state’s highest court, held that a statute authorizing public aid to private schools for exceptional children did not violate, among other constitutional provisions, Kentucky’s Blaine Amendment because the funds were for children’s “welfare” rather than “education.”

Rawlings v. Butler, 290 S.W.2d 801 (Ky. 1956)
The Kentucky Court of Appeals held that (1) a county school board’s rental of school buildings from a church, where the church did not attempt to influence or control the schools, did not violate the Kentucky Blaine Amendment; and (2) county fiscal courts may contribute tax funds to subsidize the transportation of private school students without violating the Kentucky Constitution, but may not use tax funds raised for public school purposes for the transportation of private school students.

Hodgkin v. Board for Louisville & Jefferson County Children’s Home, 242 S.W.2d 1008 (Ky. 1951)
The state’s highest court held that a shelter maintained by the city of Louisville and Jefferson County did not constitute a “common school” and was therefore not entitled to receive funds from the Common School Fund. However, the court specifically noted that nothing in the Kentucky Constitution prevented the state from funding such an institution through other sources of public money.

Sherrard v. Jefferson County Board of Education, 171 S.W.2d 963 (Ky. 1942)
The Kentucky Court of Appeals held that the portion of a Kentucky statute requiring that students attending private schools be given the same transportation rights as students of public schools violated Kentucky’s Blaine Amendment.

Pollitt v. Lewis, 108 S.W.2d (Ky. 1937)
The Kentucky Court of Appeals held that a statute purporting to give a private junior college organization the power to levy property taxes without submitting the question to the electorate violated Section 184, one of the Kentucky Constitution’s education articles. The junior college was not a “public school” within the meaning of Section 184, and the statute contained no provision for submitting the proposed tax to the voters.
Tax credit programs are a viable school choice option in Kentucky. The restrictive language of Kentucky’s constitution with respect to education funding and the more restrictive interpretation of Kentucky’s state Religion Clauses make instituting a general voucher program difficult, if not impossible.

*The education funding provision, Section 184, appears to foreclose a general voucher option because it requires that all funds raised for educational purposes be spent on public schools, unless the voters approve the expenditure by referendum. Butler v. United Cerebral Palsy, however, may create a limited exception for programs directed to special education students. The funding for such a program should explicitly come from a source other than the “common school fund,” and the money should be allotted to parents rather than schools. Most importantly, the program’s purpose should be couched in language other than “education,” such as child “safety” (the language of Neal v. Fiscal Court, Jefferson County) and child “welfare” (the language of Butler).

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Special Needs Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program
**CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS**

**Religion Provision**

“No law shall be enacted respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.” *Louisiana Const.* Art. I, § 8.1

**Education Article**

“The Legislature shall provide for the education of the people of the state and shall establish and maintain a public education system.” *Louisiana Const.* Art. VIII, § 1.

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1 Louisiana amended its constitution in 1973 to delete two Blaine Amendments that dated to 1879.

**RELEVANT CASE LAW**

*Louisiana Federation of Teachers v. State*, 118 So. 3d 1033 (La. 2013)

The Supreme Court of Louisiana held that the Louisiana Scholarship Program could not be funded through a constitutional budget mechanism designed exclusively for funding the public schools. Louisiana now funds the program through an appropriation of general revenues.

*Cochran v. Louisiana State Board of Education*, 281 U.S. 370 (1930)

The U.S. Supreme Court held that students and the state were the beneficiaries under a program providing textbooks to parochial school students, not the school or the religious denomination with which the school is affiliated.

*Helms v. Picard*, 151 F.3d 347 (5th Cir. 1998)

The 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals examined only federal Establishment Clause precedent and held that Louisiana’s special education program did not offend the Establishment Clause because (1) the statute’s purpose of improving educational opportunity for disabled students was secular and (2) the statute did not have the effect of advancing religion because it provides no incentive for parents to select religious institutions.

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**EXISTING PRIVATE SCHOOL CHOICE PROGRAMS**

**Louisiana Scholarship Program**

Louisiana Revised Statutes Annotated Sections 17:4011 to :4025

**Elementary and Secondary School Tuition Deduction**

Louisiana Revised Statutes Annotated Sections 47:293(9)(a)(xiv), 47:297.10

**School Choice Program for Certain Students with Exceptionalities**

Louisiana Revised Statutes Annotated Section 17:4031

**Tuition Donation Rebate Program**

Louisiana Revised Statutes Annotated Section 47:6301

*IJ client Valerie Evans and her son Gabriel*
Seegers v. Parker, 241 So. 2d 213 (La. 1970)  
(result overturned by subsequent constitutional amendment)

The Louisiana Supreme Court held that spending tax funds for secular educational services from teachers employed by private schools violated three provisions of the Louisiana Constitution: the prohibition against the enactment of any law respecting an establishment of religion and two Blaine Amendments subsequently repealed in 1973.

Borden v. Louisiana State Board of Education, 123 So. 655 (La. 1929)

Despite the presence of Blaine Amendments in the state constitution at the time of its decision, the Louisiana Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of a program in which public funds were used to purchase, among other things, textbooks for parochial schools. The Court explicitly accepted the argument that the primary beneficiaries of the aid were the children rather than the schools they attend.

Analysis and Recommendations

The Louisiana Constitution now contains parallel language to the federal Constitution’s Religion Clauses, and both tax credit and voucher programs are consistent with Louisiana’s current constitution. In Seegers v. Parker, the Louisiana Supreme Court specifically noted: “The great similarity of the establishment clause of our Constitution and that of the United States Constitution allows us to use the United States Supreme Court interpretations of the federal clause as an aid for interpreting our own.” Given that the U.S. Supreme Court’s ruling in Zelman upheld school vouchers under the federal Establishment Clause, it is likely that Louisiana’s Supreme Court would follow that decision.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program
**Constitutional Provisions**

**Education Articles**

“A general diffusion of the advantages of education being essential to the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people; to promote this important object, the Legislature are authorized, and it shall be their duty to require, the several towns to make suitable provision, at their own expense, for the support and maintenance of public schools; and it shall further be their duty to encourage and suitably endow, from time to time, as the circumstances of the people may authorize, all academies, colleges and seminaries of learning within the State; provided, that no donation, grant or endowment shall at any time be made by the Legislature to any literary institution now established, or which may hereafter be established, unless, at the time of making such endowment, the Legislature of the State shall have the right to grant any further powers to alter, limit or restrain any of the powers vested in any such literary institution, as shall be judged necessary to promote the best interests thereof.” MAINE CONST. Art. VIII, Pt. 1, § 1.

“For the purpose of assisting the youth of Maine to achieve the required levels of learning and to develop their intellectual and mental capacities, the Legislature, by proper enactment, may authorize the credit of the State to be loaned to secure funds for loans to Maine students attending institutions of higher education, wherever situated, and to parents of these students. Funds shall be obtained by the issuance of state bonds, when authorized by the Governor, but the amount of bonds issued and outstanding shall not at one time exceed in the aggregate $4,000,000. Funds loaned shall be on such terms and conditions as the Legislature shall authorize.” MAINE CONST. Art. VIII, Pt. 1, § 2.

“The inhabitants of any municipality shall have the power to alter and amend their charters on all matters, not prohibited by Constitution or general law, which are local and municipal in character. The Legislature shall prescribe the procedure by which the municipality may so act.” MAINE CONST. Art. VIII, Pt. 2, § 1.

**Relevant Case Law**

**Joyce v. State**, 951 A.2d 69 (Me. 2008)

The Maine Supreme Court held that a town that had no public high school could not provide a monthly subsidy to parents equal to the amount of tuition they paid to private schools to enable a student to attend a religious school, as this would circumvent the prohibition against paying tuition to sectarian schools.

**Eulitt v. Maine Department of Education**, 386 F.3d 344 (1st Cir. 2004)

The 1st U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals held that Maine’s law excluding parents who choose religious schools from the state’s “tuitioning” school choice system was still constitutional after Zelman.

**Existing Private School Choice Programs**

**Town Tuitioning Program (excludes religious schools)**

Maine Revised Statutes Annotated Title 20-A, Sections 2915 to 2955, 5203 to 5204, 5804, 5806
Tax credit and voucher programs are school choice options for Maine. The Maine Constitution contains no prohibitions on public funding of parental choice programs and Maine already has one of the nation’s oldest and most successful voucher programs—its “tuitioning” school choice system. This program provides public support for parents in towns too small to maintain public schools to send their children to the school of their choice. For nearly a century, parents in tuitioning towns were free to choose religious schools as well as public or private non-religious schools. In the early 1980s, Maine passed a law excluding parents who choose religious schools from the tuitioning program in the mistaken belief that it had to do so to comply with the federal Establishment Clause. Nonetheless, the Legislature faces no constitutional hurdle to removing its discriminatory ban on tuition payments for tuitioning students attending religious schools—or to offering broader school choice options to more Maine families.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program

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**Analysis and Recommendations**

Strout v. Commissioner, Maine Department of Education, 178 F.3d 57 (1st Cir. 1999)
The 1st U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals upheld Maine’s law excluding parents who choose religious schools from the state’s “tuitioning” school choice system.

The Maine Supreme Court upheld Maine’s discriminatory tuitioning law as a valid exercise of state power, even though the original justification for that law—complying with the federal Establishment Clause—was rejected by the U.S. Supreme Court in Zelman.

Bagley v. Raymond School Department, 728 A.2d 127 (Me.), cert. denied, 528 U.S. 947 (1999)
Prior to Zelman, the Maine Supreme Court held that denying tuition payments to parents in towns without a public high school who sent their children to religious schools did not violate the Free Exercise Clause of the First Amendment and actually was required to avoid violation of the First Amendment’s Establishment Clause.

School Committee of York v. York, 626 A.2d 935 (Me. 1993)
The Maine Supreme Court held that the Legislature does not have exclusive control over education; municipalities retain some authority over education policy.

Opinion of Justices, 261 A.2d 58 (Me. 1970)
The justices of the Maine Supreme Court opined that when the state buys secular educational services from religious schools, it subsidizes the schools in violation of the First Amendment and Maine’s education articles.
Constitutional Provisions

Compelled Support Clause
“[N]or ought any person to be compelled to frequent, or maintain, or contribute, unless on contract, to maintain, any place of worship, or any ministry ....”
MARYLAND DECL. OF RIGHTS Art. 36.

Education Articles
“The General Assembly, at its First Session after the adoption of this Constitution, shall by Law establish throughout the State a thorough and efficient System of Free Public Schools, and shall provide by taxation, or otherwise, for their maintenance.” MARYLAND CONST. Art. VIII, § 1.

“The School Fund of the State shall be kept inviolate, and appropriated only to the purposes of Education.” MARYLAND CONST. Art. VIII, § 3.

RELEVANT CASE LAW
Horace Mann League, Inc. v. Board of Public Works, 220 A.2d 51 (Md. 1966)
In upholding the constitutionality of state grants to colleges for academic buildings, the Maryland Court of Appeals, Maryland’s highest court, held, “Thus it is seen that grants to educational institutions at a level where the state has not attempted to provide universal educational facilities for its citizens have never, in Maryland, been held to be impermissible under Article 36, even though the institutions may be under the control of a religious order.”

Johns Hopkins University v. Williams, 86 A.2d 892 (Md. 1952)
Upholding a loan issued by the state to a private university against a challenge brought under Article III, Section 34, which prohibits the state from securing private debts, the Maryland Court of Appeals held, “There is no prohibition in the Constitution against making appropriations to private institutions, provided the purpose is public, or semi-public, and thousands and thousands of dollars are appropriated out of the annual receipts every year.”

Board of Education v. Wheat, 199 A. 628 (Md. 1938), see also Adams v. County Commissioners of St. Mary’s County, 26 A.2d 377 (Md. 1942)
The Maryland Court of Appeals held that using public money to provide transportation for children attending private or parochial schools does not violate Maryland’s Compelled Support Clause because religious institutions would be aided only incidentally as the by-product of proper legislative action to secure the education of children.

St. Mary’s Industrial School for Boys v. Brown, 45 Md. 310 (Md. 1876)
The Maryland Court of Appeals held that although the state could not appropriate money to an institution not under state control, it could contract with private and religious institutions for the care, training and education of state wards.

MARYLAND

EXISTING PRIVATE SCHOOL CHOICE PROGRAMS

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program

ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Both tax credit and voucher programs are school choice options for Maryland. The Maryland Constitution does not contain a Blaine Amendment and Maryland courts have a long tradition of reading its Compelled Support Clause narrowly. The Maryland Court of Appeals has upheld the constitutionality of transporting private school students at public expense and of contracting with religious institutions for the education of state wards. In more recent decisions, the court has noted that even direct grants to private educational institutions are acceptable when the state has not attempted to provide universal education at that level. Vouchers, which provide money directly to students and parents and only incidentally benefit the schools they choose to attend, are therefore likely to survive constitutional scrutiny.
**Blaine Amendment**

“No grant, appropriation or use of public money or property or loan of credit shall be made or authorized by the Commonwealth or any political subdivision thereof for the purpose of founding, maintaining or aiding any infirmary, hospital, institution, primary or secondary school, or charitable or religious undertaking which is not publicly owned and under the exclusive control, order and supervision of public officers or public agents authorized by the Commonwealth or federal authority or both … and no such grant, appropriation or use of public money or property or loan of public credit shall be made or authorized for the purpose of founding, maintaining or aiding any church, religious denomination or society. Nothing herein contained shall be construed to prevent the Commonwealth from making grants-in-aid to private higher educational institutions or to students or parents or guardians of students attending such institutions.” Massachusetts Const. Amend. Art. XVIII, § 2.

**RELEVANT CASE LAW**

**Wirzburger v. Galvin**, 412 F.3d 271 (1st Cir. 2005)

The 1st U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals held that the Massachusetts attorney general properly denied certification of a proposed initiative to amend the state’s Blaine Amendment to allow public financial support to be directed to students attending private, religiously affiliated schools because a separate constitutional provision places the Blaine Amendment off-limits to the initiative process. The court further held that this other provision did not impair the free exercise of religion under the First Amendment because the exclusions did not discriminate on the basis of religious belief or status.


A Massachusetts federal district court held that the reimbursement of special education costs under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) for a mentally ill high school student in a Christian school outside the state did not violate the Massachusetts Blaine Amendment because the state was compensating a child to whom it had abdicated its responsibilities under IDEA.


The Massachusetts Supreme Court held that a statute requiring transportation of private school students on public school buses was a community safety measure not unlike police or fire protection. Any benefit
Absent constitutional amendment, Massachusetts lacks any good school choice option. The Massachusetts Constitution contains an extremely restrictive Blaine Amendment, which cannot be altered via referendum. The Massachusetts Supreme Court has interpreted that Blaine Amendment broadly and allowed public funds to flow to private school students only under the federal Individuals with Disabilities Education Act and for transportation. In striking down a textbook loan program, the Court refused to distinguish between aiding students and aiding the schools they attend. In addition, the Massachusetts high court has opined that education tax credits would also violate the state’s Blaine Amendment, although its opinion is not considered binding precedent.


The Massachusetts Supreme Court held that using public funds to pay for special education services from private schools was not for the purpose of founding, maintaining or aiding private institutions in violation of Massachusetts’ Blaine Amendment. The Court noted that paying for special education services in private schools was required only after it was first determined that a public school lacked the ability or desire to meet the needs of special education students and that this requirement was intended to benefit children, not to aid or promote private schools.


Seeing no difference between loaning textbooks to private school students and loaning them to the school, the Massachusetts Supreme Court held that Massachusetts’ textbook lending law was unconstitutional. The Court further observed that textbooks are of use only in the educational context and therefore are a “basic educational tool” to be distinguished from other basic government services like police and fire protection.

**Opinion of Justices to Senate, 514 N.E.2d 353 (Mass. 1987)**

The justices of the Massachusetts Supreme Court opined that proposed legislation that would provide tax deductions for certain educational expenses (tuition, textbooks and transportation) incurred by taxpayers whose dependents attended public or nonprofit private primary and secondary schools would violate Massachusetts’ Blaine Amendment.


The justices of the Massachusetts Supreme Court opined that purchase by the commonwealth of secular educational services from private schools would violate Article XLVI, Section 2 of the Massachusetts Constitution, a precursor to Massachusetts’ current Blaine Amendment.

**Opinion of Justices, 236 N.E.2d 523 (Mass. 1968)**

The justices of the Massachusetts Supreme Court opined that the state could help finance construction projects at private universities without violating the Massachusetts Constitution.
Compelled Support Clause
“No person shall be compelled to attend, or, against his consent, to contribute to
the erection or support of any place of religious worship, or to pay tithes, taxes or
other rates for the support of any minister of the gospel or teacher of religion ....”

Blaine Amendments
“No money shall be appropriated or drawn from the treasury for the benefit of
any religious sect or society, theological or religious seminary; nor shall property
belonging to the state be appropriated for any such purpose.” Michigan Const.

“No public monies or property shall be appropriated or paid or any public credit
utilized, by the legislature or any other political subdivision or agency of the state
directly or indirectly to aid or maintain any private, denominational or other
nonpublic, preelementary, elementary, or secondary school. No payment, credit,
tax benefit, exemption or deductions, tuition voucher, subsidy, grant or loan of
public monies or property shall be provided, directly or indirectly, to support the
attendance of any student or the employment of any person at any such nonpublic
school or at any location or institution where instruction is offered in whole or in
part to such nonpublic school students ....” Michigan Const. Art. VIII, § 2.

RELEVANT CASE LAW
Council of Organizations & Others for Education about Parochial v. Governor, 566 N.W.2d 208 (Mich. 1997)
The Michigan Supreme Court held that the state’s charter school law does not violate
Michigan’s Blaine Amendments because the “academies” are “public.” The state exercises
control over the application-approval process and it controls the academies’ finances
in the same way it controls other public schools. Moreover, nothing in the Michigan
Constitution requires the state to retain complete control over a school for it to be
public.

The Michigan Supreme Court held that the incidental and indirect benefits flowing to
religious schools as a result of a “shared time” statute did not violate Michigan’s second
Blaine Amendment (Article VIII, Section 2). “Shared time” programs allow students to
leave their traditional classroom for part of the day and spend time at vocational schools.
Having specifically precluded both tax credit and voucher programs by constitutional amendment, Michigan has no school choice options without a constitutional amendment.


The Michigan Supreme Court advised that textbooks and supplies are essential aids that constitute a primary feature of the educational process and a primary element required for any school to exist. The Court concluded that a Michigan Blaine Amendment (Article VIII, Section 2) bars public funding for such primary and essential elements of a private school’s existence.

Traverse City School District v. Attorney General, 185 N.W.2d 9, 29-31 (Mich. 1971)

The Michigan Supreme Court held that one of the state’s Blaine Amendments (Article VIII, Section 2 as amended) now prohibits the use of public funds “directly or indirectly to aid or maintain” a non-public school.


A Michigan Court of Appeals held that a school district’s policy permitting a boys’ group that endorsed religion to use its facilities during non-school hours did not violate Michigan’s first Blaine Amendment (Article I, Section 4) or the federal Establishment Clause because many religious and secular groups used the facilities and the district did not endorse the boys’ group over any other group.


A Michigan Court of Appeals held that a statute permitting local school districts to furnish transportation without charge for students of state-approved private schools did not violate Michigan’s first Blaine Amendment (Article I, Section 4) because the statute’s intended and actual effect was to assist parents in complying with state compulsory education laws while recognizing their right to send their children to religious schools.


The Michigan Supreme Court advised the Legislature that the State School Aid Bill allowing the purchase of education services from private schools violates neither the First Amendment nor the first of Michigan’s Blaine Amendments (Article I, Section 4) because any support given to religious institutions is tenuous at best.
Compelled Support Clause

“[N]or shall any man be compelled to attend, erect or support any place of worship, or to maintain any religious or ecclesiastical ministry, against his consent ….” MINNESOTA CONST. Art. I, § 16.

Blaine Amendments

“[N]or shall any money be drawn from the treasury for the benefit of any religious societies or religious or theological seminaries.” MINNESOTA CONST. Art. I, § 16.

“In no case shall any public money or property be appropriated or used for the support of schools wherein the distinctive doctrines, creeds or tenets of any particular Christian or other religious sect are promulgated or taught.” MINNESOTA CONST. Art. XIII, § 2.

RELEVANT CASE LAW


The U.S. Supreme Court held that Minnesota’s tax deduction for education expenses, including the cost of tuition, textbooks and transportation, does not violate the federal Establishment Clause despite overwhelmingly benefiting parents with students in parochial schools. The deduction has the secular purpose of advancing education, is religiously neutral on its face, provides only indirect support to the schools, and does not foster excessive entanglement between religion and the government.

Stark v. Independent School District, No. 640, 123 F.3d 1068 (8th Cir. 1997)

The 8th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals held that although a public elementary school’s students were all of one religion and the school adhered to its landlord’s request that technology not be used in the building, the Minnesota Constitution was not violated because no religious instruction occurred at the school. Therefore, although public funds were used to support the school, no public funds were expended in support of religious belief or instruction.
Both tax credit and voucher programs are school choice options for Minnesota. The Minnesota Supreme Court’s 1970 decision regarding bus transportation indicates that the Court distinguishes between aiding students and aiding the schools they choose to attend. Significantly, more recently the Minnesota Supreme Court elected not to review a decision of the Minnesota Court of Appeals that held that neither the state’s Compelled Support Clause nor its Blaine Amendment are violated by government programs aimed at helping students, even if those programs incidentally aid religious organizations.

Minnesota has already created school choice tax benefit programs, and the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the tax deduction.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program

**Minnesota Higher Education Facilities Authority v. Hawk, 232 N.W.2d 106 (Minn. 1975)**

The Minnesota Supreme Court held that bonds issued for the purpose of financing construction projects at institutions of higher education do not constitute an expenditure of public funds and accordingly do not violate the Minnesota Constitution’s Compelled Support Clause or Blaine Amendments.

**Minnesota Civil Liberties Union v. State, 224 N.W.2d 344 (Minn. 1974)**

Applying now-outdated federal precedent, the Minnesota Supreme Court held that a statute allowing a tax credit for private education costs violated the federal Establishment Clause on the now-rejected premise that tax credits are the functional equivalent of unrestricted cash payments to parents for sending their children to religious schools.

**Americans United v. Independent School District, 179 N.W.2d 146 (Minn. 1970)**

The Minnesota Supreme Court upheld a busing statute allowing private school students to ride on public school buses against a challenge brought under one of Minnesota’s Blaine Amendments (Article XIII, Section 2) because the program’s primary purpose and effect was neither to benefit nor support religious schools, despite providing incidental and indirect encouragement of private school attendance.

**Minnesota Federation of Teachers v. Mammenga, 500 N.W.2d 136 (Minn. Ct. App. 1993)**

The Minnesota Court of Appeals held that a statute allowing high school students to enroll in classes at public or private colleges at state expense did not violate Minnesota’s Compelled Support Clause or Blaine Amendments because any benefits flowing to religious colleges were indirect and incidental, students could attend either public or private colleges to take non-religious courses, the state reimbursed only 42 percent of actual costs, and religious colleges separated funds received to ensure that benefits were used for non-religious purposes.
Blaine Amendment
“No religious or other sect or sects shall ever control any part of the school or other educational funds of this state; nor shall any funds be appropriated toward the support of any sectarian school, or to any school that at the time of receiving such appropriation is not conducted as a free school.” Mississippi Const. Art. VIII, § 208.

Other Relevant Provision
“No law granting a donation or gratuity in favor of any person or object shall be enacted except by the concurrence of two-thirds of the members elect of each branch of the Legislature, nor by any vote for a sectarian purpose or use.” Mississippi Const. Art. IV, § 66.

RELEVANT CASE LAW

Chance v. Mississippi State Textbook Rating & Purchasing Board, 200 So. 706, 713 (Miss. 1941)
The Mississippi Supreme Court held that loaning public textbooks to private school pupils does not violate Mississippi’s Blaine Amendment because “[t]he books belong to, and are controlled by, the state; they are merely loaned to the individual pupil therein designated ....” The Court further held that any aid to religious schools is incidental and, were the state to deny use of those books based on the student’s choice of a religious school, it might well violate other parts of the Mississippi Constitution.

Otken v. Lamkin, 56 Miss. 758 (Miss. 1879)
The Mississippi Supreme Court held that a statute allotting part of the common school fund to students attending private schools violated the express terms of Mississippi’s Blaine Amendment.

ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Both tax credit and voucher programs are school choice options for Mississippi. Its constitution contains a Blaine Amendment but the Mississippi Supreme Court held that the state could provide textbooks to private and religious school students without violating its terms. By distinguishing between aiding students and aiding the schools they choose to attend, the Mississippi Supreme Court has provided strong support for a voucher program.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program
Compelled Support Clause
“That no person can be compelled to erect, support or attend any place or system of worship, or to maintain or support any priest, minister, preacher or teacher of any sect, church, creed or denomination of religion; but if any person shall voluntarily make a contract for any such object, he shall be held to the performance of the same.” Missouri Const. Art. I, § 6.

Blaine Amendments
“That no money shall ever be taken from the public treasury, directly or indirectly, in aid of any church, sect or denomination of religion, or in aid of any priest, preacher, minister or teacher thereof, as such; and that no preference shall be given to nor any discrimination made against any church, sect or creed of religion, or any form of religious faith or worship.” Missouri Const. Art. I, § 7.

“Neither the general assembly, nor any county, city, town, township, school district or other municipal corporation, shall ever make an appropriation or pay from any public fund whatever, anything in aid of any religious creed, church or sectarian purpose, or to help to support or sustain any private or public school, academy, seminary, college, university, or other institution of learning controlled by any religious creed, church or sectarian denomination whatever; nor shall any grant or donation of personal property or real estate ever be made by the state, or any county, city, town, or other municipal corporation, for any religious creed, church, or sectarian purpose whatever.” Missouri Const. Art. IX, § 8.

Education Article
“The proceeds of all certificates of indebtedness due the state school fund, and all moneys, bonds, lands, and other property belonging to or donated to any state fund for public school purposes, and the net proceeds of all sales of lands and other property and effects that may accrue to the state by escheat, shall be paid into the state treasury, and securely invested under the supervision of the state board of education, and sacredly preserved as a public school fund the annual income of which shall be faithfully appropriated for establishing and maintaining free public schools, and for no other uses or purposes whatsoever.” Missouri Const. Art. IX, § 5.

RELEVANT CASE LAW
Trinity Lutheran Church of Columbia v. Pauley, 788 F.3d 779 (8th Cir. 2015), cert. granted, 136 S. Ct. 891 (2016)
Trinity Lutheran Church sued the state for violation of its federal constitutional rights under the Free Exercise Clause, the Establishment Clause and the Equal Protection Clause after the state relied upon its Blaine Amendment in order to deny the church a grant to resurface its playground. The 8th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals held that none of these clauses require the state to violate its own Blaine Amendment by providing grants to the church. In addition, the court held that
denying the grant was not unconstitutional religious discrimination under the Missouri Constitution because granting the state funds would have violated the Blaine Amendment.


The U.S. Supreme Court held that the state’s Blaine Amendments and Compelled Support Clauses cannot justify a state university’s policy denying religiously affiliated student groups the right to meet in university buildings.

**Barrera v. Wheeler**, 531 F.2d 402 (8th Cir. 1976)

The 8th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals held that children attending non-public schools in Missouri are entitled to receive federal funds for remedial education programs comparable in quality, scope and opportunity to children in public schools, notwithstanding the Missouri Blaine Amendments.


A federal district court held that using public funds to provide transportation for a disabled student from parochial to public school does not violate the Establishment Clause of either the U.S. Constitution or the Missouri Constitution.


A three-judge federal district court held that the state’s refusal to provide school bus transportation to religious school pupils did not violate the students’ equal protection rights because the decision was not irrational.


A federal district court held that a parent’s right to choose a religious private school for his children did not mean that the state was compelled to finance his child’s private school education, nor did he have a constitutional right to any credit for his taxes which supported the public schools simply because he would not or could not make use of them.
Americans United v. Rogers, 538 S.W.2d 711 (Mo. 1976)
The Missouri Supreme Court held that publicly funded higher education grants do not violate the Missouri Constitution because the public purpose of the statute, promoting higher education, overrides any incidental benefit to a private individual or private college.

Mallory v. Barrera, 544 S.W.2d 556 (Mo. 1976)
The Missouri Supreme Court held that use of any part of federal Title I education funds by the state to provide remedial education to elementary and secondary school children on the premises of parochial schools violates the Blaine Amendments of the Missouri Constitution.

Paster v. Tussey, 512 S.W.2d 97 (Mo. 1974)
The Missouri Supreme Court held that requiring public school boards to provide textbooks to teachers in private schools violates the Compelled Support Clause of the Missouri Constitution, while requiring textbooks to be provided to pupils attending private schools violates a Blaine Amendment (Article IX, Section 8).

McDonough v. Aylward, 500 S.W.2d 721 (Mo. 1973)
The Missouri Supreme Court held that being required to pay taxes does not interfere with parents' constitutional right to send their children to religiously oriented schools.

Special District for Education & Training of Handicapped Children v. Wheeler, 408 S.W.2d 60 (Mo. 1966); see also Harfst v. Hoegen, 163 S.W.2d 609, 614 (Mo. 1942)
The Missouri Supreme Court held that the state may not use public school funds to send public school speech teachers into the parochial schools to provide speech therapy.

Berghorn v. Reorganized School District, 260 S.W.2d 573 (Mo. 1953)
The Missouri Supreme Court held that schools taught by Catholic nuns are not free public schools and therefore may not receive public funds.

McVey v. Hawkins, 258 S.W.2d 927 (Mo. 1953)
The Missouri Supreme Court held that use of state and school district funds for transportation of parochial school students violated one of Missouri’s education provisions (Article IX, Section 5), which required that all funds earmarked for public schools be used to maintain free public schools and for no other purposes.

**Analysis and Recommendations**

Tax credit programs are Missouri’s best option for a school choice program. A voucher program would require a state constitutional amendment to overturn the restrictive interpretations given to its Blaine Amendments by the Missouri Supreme Court.

*Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program*
Blaine Amendment
“(1) The legislature, counties, cities, towns, school districts, and public corporations shall not make any direct or indirect appropriation or payment from any public fund or monies, or any grant of lands or other property for any sectarian purpose or to aid any church, school, academy, seminary, college, university, or other literary or scientific institution, controlled in whole or in part by any church, sect, or denomination. (2) This section shall not apply to funds from federal sources provided to the state for the express purpose of distribution to non-public education.” MONTANA CONST. Art. X, § 6.

Education Articles
“(1) It is the goal of the people to establish a system of education which will develop the full educational potential of each person. Equality of educational opportunity is guaranteed to each person of the state. (2) The state recognizes the distinct and unique cultural heritage of the American Indians and is committed in its educational goals to the preservation of their cultural integrity. (3) The legislature shall provide a basic system of free quality public elementary and secondary schools. The legislature may provide such other educational institutions, public libraries, and educational programs as it deems desirable. It shall fund and distribute in an equitable manner to the school districts the state’s share of the cost of the basic elementary and secondary school system.” MONTANA CONST. Art. X, § 1.

“The public school fund shall forever remain inviolate, guaranteed by the state against loss or diversion.” MONTANA CONST. Art. X, § 3.

“The supervision and control of schools in each school district shall be vested in a board of trustees to be elected as provided by law.” MONTANA CONST. Art. X, § 8.

Other Relevant Provisions
“No appropriation shall be made for religious, charitable, industrial, educational, or benevolent purposes to any private individual, private association, or private corporation not under control of the state.” MONTANA CONST. Art. V, § 11(5).

RELEVANT CASE LAW

Parents challenged as unconstitutional under the Religion and Equal Protection Clauses of the Montana and U.S. Constitutions the Department of Revenue’s administrative rule precluding participation of religious schools in the new Tax Credit for Contributions to Student Scholarship Organizations program. The trial judge granted parents’ motion for a preliminary injunction, and the case is ongoing at the trial court.
Montana State Welfare Board v. Lutheran Social Services, 480 P.2d 181, 186 (Mont. 1971)
The Montana Supreme Court held that “payment of public assistance to indigent expectant mothers is not an unconstitutional ‘appropriation,’ ‘loan,’ ‘donation,’ or ‘grant’ in violation of the Montana Constitution, simply because such persons may request the counseling and assistance of [religious] private adoption agencies.” The Court went further and held that “[i]n no way do we find that [religious] private adoption agencies are directly or indirectly benefited by payments to or on behalf of a qualified recipient, nor have they ever received such funds.”

The Montana Supreme Court held that a special tax to pay for teachers at a local Catholic school violates the explicit terms of Article IX, Section 8 (the predecessor of the current Blaine Amendment, Article X, Section 6) because it uses public money to aid a sectarian school by paying for its teachers.

Both tax credit and voucher programs are school choice options for Montana. The state constitution contains a Blaine Amendment on which the Montana Supreme Court premised its 1970 decision striking down a special tax for generating funds to pay teachers in private schools, which, unlike school choice programs, constitutes a direct appropriation to private schools. The amendment has received little subsequent attention. The Montana Supreme Court showed an inclination in Montana State Welfare Board v. Lutheran Social Services to recognize a distinction between aiding students and aiding the schools they choose to attend.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program

IJ client Kendra Espinoza is a single mom who needs Montana’s tax-credit scholarship program to send her daughters to private school.
CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

Compelled Support Clause
“No person shall be compelled to attend, erect or support any place of worship against his consent ….” NEBRASKA CONST. Art. I, § 4.

Blaine Amendment
“1. Notwithstanding any other provision in the Constitution, appropriation of public funds shall not be made to any school or institution of learning not owned or exclusively controlled by the state or a political subdivision thereof; Provided, that the Legislature may provide that the state or any political subdivision thereof may contract with institutions not wholly owned or controlled by the state or any political subdivision to provide for educational or other services for the benefit of children under the age of twenty-one years who are handicapped, as that term is from time to time defined by the Legislature, if such services are nonsectarian in nature.

2. All public schools shall be free of sectarian instruction.

3. The state shall not accept money or property to be used for sectarian purposes; Provided, that the Legislature may provide that the state may receive money from the federal government and distribute it in accordance with the terms of any such federal grants, but no public funds of the state, any political subdivision, or any public corporation may be added thereto.

4. A religious test or qualification shall not be required of any teacher or student for admission or continuance in any school or institution supported in whole or in part by public funds or taxation.” NEBRASKA CONST. Art. VII, § 11.1

1 This provision was amended in 1976. Previously, it prohibited the appropriation of public funds “in aid of” any sectarian or denominational school or college, or any educational institution that is not exclusively owned and controlled by the state or a governmental subdivision thereof.

RELEVANT CASE LAW

Father Flanagan’s Boys Home v. Department of Social Services, 583 N.W.2d 774 (Neb. 1998)
The Nebraska Supreme Court rejected the state’s attempt to invoke its Blaine Amendment to avoid paying private schools for educating special needs students under a contract signed by the state. The Court held that payments under such a contract are not the type of appropriations prohibited by Nebraska’s Blaine Amendment.

Cunningham v. Lutjeharms, 437 N.W.2d 806 (Neb. 1989)
The Nebraska Supreme Court held that lending textbooks to private schools does not violate the First Amendment’s Establishment Clause because it merely makes available to all children the benefits of a general program to lend schoolbooks free of charge. The Court found that the textbooks were secular in nature and the program would not require excessive monitoring.

State ex rel. Creighton University v. Smith, 353 N.W.2d 267, 272 (Neb. 1984)
The Nebraska Supreme Court held that the fact that a private institution derives indirect benefits from a contract with the state does not “transform payments for contracted services into an
Both tax credit and voucher programs are school choice options for Nebraska. Its constitution contains a Blaine Amendment that was changed in 1972 and 1976, which created a large divide in the state’s case law. As altered, it prohibits only appropriations “to” rather than “in aid of” sectarian schools. Applying the updated Blaine Amendment, the Nebraska Supreme Court has held that the state can supply textbooks to private school students at public expense and can contract with religious schools without violating the Nebraska Constitution. School choice programs intended to help students and having only incidental effects on the schools they attend are therefore likely to be constitutional.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program
CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

Blaine Amendment
“No public funds of any kind or character whatever, State, County or Municipal, shall be used for sectarian purpose [sic].” NEVADA CONST. Art. 11, § 10.

Education Article
“The legislature shall provide for a uniform system of common schools … any school district which shall allow instruction of a sectarian character therein may be deprived of its proportion of the interest of the public school fund during such neglect or infraction ….” NEVADA CONST. Art. 11, § 2.

EXISTING PRIVATE SCHOOL CHOICE PROGRAMS

Nevada Educational Choice Scholarship Program
Nevada Revised Statutes Sections 388D.250, .260, .270, .280

Nevada Education Savings Accounts (ESA)
Nevada Revised Statutes Sections 387.124, .1235

RELEVANT CASE LAW

Schwartz v. Lopez, 382 P.3d 886 (Nev. 2016)
Taxpayer plaintiffs challenged Nevada’s Education Savings Account (ESA) program under Nevada’s Blaine Amendment and the education article’s requirement that the Legislature establish a uniform system of common schools. The Nevada Supreme Court held that the program did not violate the Blaine Amendment by providing public funds for a sectarian purpose and that the education article’s common school requirement did not prohibit the state from encouraging other forms of education. The Court also found that the state had not properly funded the ESA program.

State v. Hallock, 16 Nev. 273 (Nev. 1882)
The Nevada Supreme Court held that public money given to a Catholic orphanage violates the Blaine Amendment of the Nevada Constitution.

Attorney General Opinion 276 (copy available from the Institute for Justice)
The Nevada attorney general opined that “[t]he requirement of a federal statute that a school district which receives a grant for special aid to educationally deprived children make such aid available to pupils of private schools does not violate Nevada’s Blaine Amendment … if federal moneys are kept separate.”

Attorney General Opinion 67 (copy available from the Institute for Justice)
The Nevada attorney general opined that “[t]he prohibition of expenditures of public funds for sectarian purposes, as contained in Nevada’s Blaine Amendment, was primarily included for the purpose of preventing sectarian religious instruction in public schools, as indicated by Const., Art. 11, § 9, which prohibits sectarian instruction in any school or university established under the state Constitution.”

IJ clients Aimee and Heath Hairr have five adopted children. Their eldest, Nolan, was floundering in his public school. Nolan endured intense bullying, but his public school continuously failed to protect him. The Hairrs just want Nolan to have a safe learning environment and for their other children to have the same.
The Nevada attorney general opined that “[h]ome instruction of a private or parochial school student by public school teachers when such student is ill is an unconstitutional expenditure of public funds for sectarian purpose. However, if such student enrolls in the public school during his illness he may then receive such home instruction.”

The Nevada attorney general opined that “[s]tate funds may be used to hospitalize crippled children in a sectarian hospital where no instruction of any kind is imparted, and such use does not violate Nevada’s Blaine Amendment.”

Both voucher and tax credit programs are school choice options in Nevada. In Duncan, the Nevada Supreme Court held that providing aid to Nevada families through an ESA program did not constitute the use of state funds for a sectarian purpose and that Nevada’s education article did not limit state education spending to the public school system.

Tax benefits to generate scholarships aimed at offsetting the cost of private education are another possible school choice option. But because Nevada does not have a state income tax, any tax benefit program would have to be limited to corporate taxes.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program
CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

Compelled Support Clause
“But no person shall ever be compelled to pay towards the support of the schools of any sect or denomination ….” \textit{New Hampshire Const.} Pt. FIRST, Art. 6.

Blaine Amendment
“Provided, nevertheless, that no money raised by taxation shall ever be granted or applied for the use of the schools or institutions of any religious sect or denomination.” \textit{New Hampshire Const.} Pt. SECOND, Art. 83.

Other Relevant Provisions
“Every member of the community … is therefore bound to contribute his share in the expense of such protection ….” \textit{New Hampshire Const.} Pt. FIRST, Art. 12.
“[A]nd to impose and levy proportional and reasonable assessments, rates, and taxes, upon all the inhabitants of, and residents within, the said state ….” \textit{New Hampshire Const.} Pt. SECOND, Art. 5.

RELEVANT CASE LAW

The Supreme Court of New Hampshire ruled that the taxpayer-plaintiffs did not have standing to sue the school choice tax credit program because they lacked any personal injury.

The New Hampshire Supreme Court opined that a tax deduction for parents of private school children would be unconstitutional.

The New Hampshire Supreme Court held that aiding educational institutions by exempting them from taxation is a proper exercise of the legislative power.

The justices of the New Hampshire Supreme Court opined that a proposed voucher program violated the New Hampshire Constitution because it contained no safeguard to prevent use of public funds for religious purposes.

\textit{Opinion of the Justices}, 233 A.2d 832 (N.H. 1967)
The justices of the New Hampshire Supreme Court opined that appropriating money from a sweepstakes fund directly to parochial institutions violates the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment.

\textit{Opinion of the Justices}, 113 A.2d 114 (N.H. 1955)
The justices of the New Hampshire Supreme Court opined that nursing education scholarships do not violate the New Hampshire Constitution because they were religiously neutral and intended to further the teaching of the science of nursing.

EXISTING PRIVATE SCHOOL CHOICE PROGRAMS

\textbf{School Choice Scholarship Program}
\textit{New Hampshire Revised Statutes}
Sections 77-G:1 to -G:10

ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A tax credit program is New Hampshire’s best option for school choice. It is well established within New Hampshire case law that tax exemptions aimed at promoting education for all New Hampshire citizens but incidentally affecting religious institutions are constitutionally acceptable. They serve a legitimate public purpose and comport with New Hampshire’s “uniform and reasonable” and “fair share” tax laws as interpreted by New Hampshire’s state courts.

The New Hampshire Supreme Court has not ruled on the constitutionality of vouchers under its Blaine Amendment, but it did suggest in its 1992 advisory opinion that they would violate the Blaine Amendment. Although advisory opinions are not binding legal precedent, they can be persuasive to courts in subsequent cases. One potential way of avoiding the Blaine Amendment would be to use a non-tax source, such as lottery proceeds, to fund the program.

\textit{Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program}

The Encarnacion family, IJ clients
**Constitutional Provisions**

**Compelled Support Clause**

“[N]or shall any person be obliged to pay tithes, taxes, or other rates for building or repairing any church or churches, place or places of worship, or for the maintenance of any minister or ministry, contrary to what he believes to be right or has deliberately and voluntarily engaged to perform.” *New Jersey Const.* Art. I, ¶ 3.

**Education Provisions**

“The Legislature shall provide for the maintenance and support of a thorough and efficient system of free public schools for the instruction of all the children in the State between the ages of five and eighteen years.” *New Jersey Const.* Art. VIII, § IV, ¶ 1.

“The fund for the support of free public schools … shall be securely invested, and remain a perpetual fund; and the income thereof, except so much as it may be judged expedient to apply to an increase of the capital, shall be annually appropriated to the support of free public schools, and for the equal benefit of all the people of the State; and it shall not be competent, except as hereinafter provided, for the Legislature to borrow, appropriate or use the said fund or any part thereof for any other purpose, under any pretense whatever.” *New Jersey Const.* Art. VIII, § IV, ¶ 2.

**Relevant Case Law**

**Everson v. Board of Education**, 330 U.S. 1 (1947)

The U.S. Supreme Court held that the First Amendment does not prohibit New Jersey from spending public funds to pay the bus fares of parochial school pupils as a part of a general program under which it paid the fares of students attending public schools.


The New Jersey Supreme Court held that the state could allow religious groups that fully reimbursed school boards for related out-of-pocket expenses to use school facilities on a temporary basis for religious services without violating the federal or New Jersey Constitutions.


Applying federal Establishment Clause precedent, the New Jersey Supreme Court held that supplying public funds for the construction of dorms at private colleges passes constitutional scrutiny as long as the buildings are not used for religious instruction and the school does not discriminate on the basis of religion in its admissions.

**Everson v. Board of Education**, 44 A.2d 333 (N.J. 1945)

New Jersey’s highest court held that the transportation of private school students at public expense was designed to help parents comply with mandatory attendance laws, which is a public purpose, and therefore does not violate the New Jersey Constitution.

**Analysis and Recommendations**

Both tax credit programs and vouchers are school choice options for New Jersey. Its constitution does not contain a Blaine Amendment, and its Compelled Support Clause, while receiving little judicial attention, does not appear to preclude the use of funds other than those allotted for the public schools to support educational vouchers.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program
CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

Compelled Support Clause
“No person shall be required to attend any place of worship or support any religious sect or denomination ....” New Mexico Const. Art. II, § 11.

Blaine Amendments
“[N]o part of the proceeds arising from the sale or disposal of any lands granted to the state by congress, or any other funds appropriated, levied or collected for educational purposes, shall be used for the support of any sectarian, denominational or private school, college or university.” New Mexico Const. Art. XII, § 3.

“Provision shall be made for the establishment and maintenance of a system of public schools which shall be open to all the children of the state and free from sectarian control, and said schools shall always be conducted in English.” New Mexico Const. Art. XXI, § 4.

Other Relevant Provisions
“No appropriation shall be made for charitable, educational or other benevolent purposes to any person, corporation, association, institution or community, not under the absolute control of the state ....” New Mexico Const. Art. IV, § 31.

“Neither the state nor any county, school district or municipality, except as otherwise provided in this constitution, shall directly or indirectly lend or pledge its credit or make any donation to or in aid of any person ....” New Mexico Const. Art. IX, § 14.

RELEVANT CASE LAW

Moses v. Skandera, 367 P.3d 838 (N.M. 2015), petition for cert. filed, New Mexico Association of Non-Public Schools v. Moses (U.S. May 19, 2016) (No. 15-1409)
Rejecting the theory that textbooks benefit the children rather than their schools, the New Mexico Supreme Court held that lending instructional materials for free to students who attend private schools involved an appropriation of state funds and violated one of New Mexico’s two Blaine Amendments (Article XII, Section 3).

Miller v. Cooper, 244 D.2d (N.M. 1952)
The New Mexico Supreme Court reaffirmed that religious groups cannot use public school facilities to disseminate religious material but refused to enjoin religious individuals from teaching in public schools.
Tax credits are the best choice for New Mexico given the recent ruling in Moses v. Skandera, in which the New Mexico Supreme Court held that lending instructional materials for free to students who attend private schools was an appropriation and violated Article XII, Section 3, one of two Blaine Amendments in the state constitution. The reasoning of that decision appears to bar vouchers.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program
CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

Blaine Amendment

“Neither the state nor any subdivision thereof, shall use its property or credit or any public money, or authorize or permit either to be used, directly or indirectly, in aid or maintenance, other than for examination or inspection, of any school or institution of learning wholly or in part under the control or direction of any religious denomination, or in which any denominational tenet or doctrine is taught, but the legislature may provide for the transportation of children to and from any school or institution of learning.” New York Const. Art XI, § 3.

EXISTING PRIVATE SCHOOL CHOICE PROGRAMS

None

RELEVANT CASE LAW

Board of Education v. Allen, 392 U.S. 236 (1968)

The U.S. Supreme Court held that New York’s textbook loan program does not violate the First Amendment by including children in religious schools because it was intended to aid students, not to benefit parochial schools as such. Any benefit parochial schools received was minimal and therefore not an establishment of religion.


The New York Court of Appeals, New York’s highest court, held that a statute creating a separate school district for members of a specific religious denomination had the primary effect of advancing religion and therefore constituted an impermissible accommodation to a single religious group in violation of the First Amendment.


The New York Court of Appeals held that providing a deaf student with a translator at public expense does not violate the New York Blaine Amendment if the translator does not teach the student religion.

Board of Education v. Allen, 228 N.E.2d 791 (N.Y. 1967), aff’d, 392 U.S. 236 (1968)

The New York Court of Appeals held that New York’s textbook loan program does not violate the state’s Blaine Amendment because the amendment was never intended to prohibit state policies that might ultimately entail some benefit to parochial schools. The court explicitly rejected the reasoning and conclusion of the Judd v. Board of Education case, which forbade inclusion of religious school students in a transportation program,
Despite an initially restrictive interpretation of its Blaine Amendment, New York courts have abandoned that approach and both tax credit and voucher programs are school choice options for New York. New York’s highest state court held in Board of Education v. Allen that the Blaine Amendment was never intended to bar government programs providing incidental benefits to parochial schools.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program

and the Smith v. Donahue case, which prohibited providing free textbooks to students in religious schools.


The New York Court of Appeals held that although busing all students to their schools was primarily for the benefit of the child, it still had the effect of giving an incidental benefit to religious schools and thus violated New York’s Blaine Amendment prohibiting indirect aid.

Sargent v. Board of Education, 69 N.E. 722 (N.Y. 1904)

The New York Court of Appeals held that using public funds to pay Catholic nuns to educate orphans does not violate the New York Blaine Amendment because the orphanage was not a “school,” and other provisions within the New York Constitution explicitly allow for this type of expenditure.


The appellate division held that, pursuant to specific legislation and the deep concern for child safety and welfare evinced in New York’s constitution, local school boards must provide nursing services to parochial school students or reimburse parents for acquiring those services on their own.


The appellate division held that a school board cannot transport private school students on public buses for field trips without some statutory authority and that although parents have the right to send their children to private or parochial schools, there is no corresponding right to equal state aid once they make that decision.


The Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court held that state aid could go to a school that was founded and administered by a religious order but was not directly controlled by that order and did not teach any particular religious doctrine to the exclusion of other religious denominations.


In holding that providing textbooks to parochial school students at public expense violated the U.S. and New York Constitutions, the appellate division held that furnishing books and ordinary school supplies to the pupils of religious schools aids those schools.
Religion Provision
“All persons have a natural and inalienable right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences, and no human authority shall, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience.” NORTH CAROLINA CONST. Art. I, § 13

Education Articles
“The people have a right to the privilege of education, and it is the duty of the State to guard and maintain that right.” NORTH CAROLINA CONST. Art. I, § 15.

“Religion, morality, and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools, libraries, and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.” NORTH CAROLINA CONST. Art. IX, § 1.

“The General Assembly shall provide by taxation and otherwise for a general and uniform system of free public schools …” NORTH CAROLINA CONST. Art. IX, § 2.

“The proceeds of all lands that have been or hereafter may be granted by the United States to this State, and not otherwise appropriated by this State or the United States; all moneys, stocks, bonds, and other property belonging to the State for purposes of public education; the net proceeds of all sales of the swamp lands belonging to the State; and all other grants, gifts, and devises that have been or hereafter may be made to the State, and not otherwise appropriated by the State or by the terms of the grant, gift, or devise … shall be faithfully appropriated and used exclusively for establishing and maintaining a uniform system of free public schools.” NORTH CAROLINA CONST. Art. IX, § 6. (Section 7 repeats this text with respect to the County Education Fund)

RELEVANT CASE LAW

Hart v. State, 774 S.E.2d 281 (N.C. 2015), and Richardson v. State, 774 S.E.2d 304 (N.C. 2015)

Plaintiffs sued North Carolina, arguing that the Opportunity Scholarships program was unconstitutional because it violates the North Carolina Constitution’s education provisions (Article I, Section 15 and Article IX, Sections 2 and 6), which they viewed as requiring that the state limit its K-12 educational expenses to supporting public schools; the public purpose language of Article V, Sections 2(1) and 2(7), because they believed the program lacked a proper public purpose; and the discrimination language in Article I, Section 19 because the religious schools could discriminate based on religion. The state Supreme Court rejected these arguments, finding that public funds may be spent on other types of education besides the public schools and that the program did not create an alternate system
Both tax credits and vouchers are school choice options for North Carolina. The North Carolina Constitution does not have a Blaine Amendment or a Compelled Support Clause, and state cases look to federal Establishment Clause precedent. In Zelman, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld school choice programs under the federal Constitution. In 2014 in the Hart v. State and Richardson v. State cases, the North Carolina Supreme Court upheld the new Opportunity Scholarship program against a challenge under North Carolina’s education article and public purpose article.

To avoid any potential problems with Article IX, Sections 6 and 7 of the North Carolina Constitution, voucher program funding should explicitly come from sources other than the state’s public school fund.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program

A federal district court held that state tuition assistance to students at colleges did not constitute excessive entanglement of the state with religious activities because the colleges were not pervasively sectarian and, although there was a religious presence, inculcation of religion was not the colleges’ primary purpose.

Heritage Village Church & Missionary Fellowship, Inc. v. State, 263 S.E.2d 726, 730 (N.C. 1980)
In striking down a statute imposing more burdensome licensing requirements on religious organizations than others, the North Carolina Supreme Court explicitly linked interpretation of the Religion Clauses in the North Carolina Constitution to interpretations of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution.

State Education Assistance Authority v. Bank of Statesville, 174 S.E.2d 551, 559 (N.C. 1970)
The North Carolina Supreme Court held that a state agency could issue tax-exempt bonds to acquire student loan debt without violating the North Carolina Constitution because advancing education is a public purpose. The Court went on to hold that “[s]ubject to constitutional limitations, methods to facilitate and achieve the public purpose of providing for the education or training of residents of this State in institutions of higher education or post-secondary schools are for determination by the General Assembly.”
Constitutional Provisions

Blaine Amendment
“All colleges, universities, and other educational institutions, for the support of which lands have been granted to this state, or which are supported by a public tax, shall remain under the absolute and exclusive control of the state. No money raised for the support of the public schools of the state shall be appropriated to or used for the support of any sectarian school.” North Dakota Const. Art VIII, § 5.

Education Articles
“A high degree of intelligence, patriotism, integrity and morality on the part of every voter in a government by the people being necessary in order to insure the continuance of that government and the prosperity and happiness of the people, the legislative assembly shall make provision for the establishment and maintenance of a system of public schools which shall be open to all children of the state of North Dakota and free from sectarian control. This legislative requirement shall be irrevocable without the consent of the United States and the people of North Dakota.” North Dakota Const. Art VIII, § 1.

“The legislative assembly shall provide for a uniform system of free public schools throughout the state, beginning with the primary and extending through all grades up to and including schools of higher education, except that the legislative assembly may authorize tuition, fees and service charges to assist in the financing of public schools of higher education.” North Dakota Const. Art VIII, § 2.

Relevant Case Law

A federal district court held that North Dakota’s higher education tuition assistance program violated the First Amendment’s Establishment Clause because “[t]he net effect is that students attending two sectarian religious schools in North Dakota operated for express religious purposes are receiving state financial assistance.”

Gerhardt v. Heid, 267 N.W. 127 (N.D. 1936)
The North Dakota Supreme Court held that wearing religious garb while teaching in a public school does not violate North Dakota’s Blaine Amendment because it merely identifies the religion of the teacher rather than attempting to convert the students.

Todd v. Board of Education, 209 N.W. 369, 371 (N.D. 1926)
The North Dakota Supreme Court held that the requirement of a “uniform system of free public schools” does not mean “that school facilities provided in any district by means of taxes imposed therein shall be available to pupils from other districts without charge.”

The school district may not distribute educational technology funds to private schools.

Analysis and Recommendations

Both tax credit and voucher programs are school choice options for North Dakota. Although its constitution contains a Blaine Amendment, a voucher program funded from sources other than the public school fund complies with its terms. It is unclear whether North Dakota adheres to federal precedent on Establishment Clause issues, and the Uniformity Clause within its education provisions has received very little judicial attention.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program.
CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

Compelled Support Clause
“No person shall be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or maintain any form of worship, against his consent ....” Ohio Const. Art. I, § 7.

Education Articles
“The principal of all funds, arising from the sale, or other disposition of lands, or other property, granted or entrusted to this State for educational and religious purposes, shall be used or disposed of in such manner as the General Assembly shall prescribe by law.” Ohio Const. Art. VI, § 1.

“The general assembly shall make such provisions, by taxation, or otherwise, as, with the income arising from the school trust fund, will secure a thorough and efficient system of common schools throughout the state; but no religious or other sect, or sects, shall ever have any exclusive right to, or control of, any part of the school funds of this state.” Ohio Const. Art. VI, § 2.

EXISTING PRIVATE SCHOOL CHOICE PROGRAMS

Cleveland Scholarship & Tutoring Program
Ohio Revised Code Annotated Sections 3313.974 to .975

Autism Scholarship Program
Ohio Revised Code Annotated Section 3310.41

Ohio Educational Choice Scholarships
Ohio Revised Code Annotated Section 3310.02

Jon Peterson Special Needs Scholarship Program
Ohio Revised Code Annotated Sections 3310.51 to .64

Income-Based Scholarship Program
Ohio Revised Code Annotated Section 3310.032

RELEVANT CASE LAW

The U.S. Supreme Court held that Cleveland’s Scholarship and Tutoring Program does not violate the Establishment Clause because the program is neutral with respect to religion, provides benefits directly to a wide spectrum of individuals, and allows those individuals to freely choose between religious and non-religious schools.

The U.S. Supreme Court held that state statutes that provided tax credits to parents of pupils in predominantly religious schools, who incurred educational expenses in excess of those borne by parents generally in securing approved primary and secondary schooling for their children, violated the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment.

Simmons-Harris v. Goff, 711 N.E.2d 203 (Ohio 1999)
The Supreme Court of Ohio held the Cleveland Scholarship and Tutoring Program does not violate
Both tax credit and voucher programs are school choice options for Ohio. The Ohio Supreme Court upheld Cleveland’s voucher program under both the state and U.S. Constitutions, and the Ohio Legislature has since enacted several more voucher programs.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program

either the federal Establishment Clause or the state constitution’s Compelled Support or education clauses, but struck down the program after concluding it violated the single-subject rule contained in the state constitution because it was passed as part of the state budget. The Legislature quickly re-authorized the program as stand-alone legislation.

Protestants & Other Americans United for Separation of Church & State v. Essex, 275 N.E.2d 603 (Ohio 1971)
The Ohio Supreme Court held that allotting federal money and equipment to private schools to compensate them for testing or educating deaf and disabled students does not violate the Ohio Constitution because the aid to the school is incidental at best.

Findley v. Conneaut, 62 N.E.2d 318 (Ohio 1945)
The Ohio Supreme Court held that a will providing for the establishment of a private polytechnic industrial school in which the teaching of Protestant religion is to be a prominent feature authorizes the creation of a religious school, for which municipalities are not allowed to issue bonds or expend funds raised by taxation.

Board of Education v. Minor, 23 Ohio St. 211 (Ohio 1872)
In refusing to enforce resolutions passed by the state board of education that would prohibit the reading of all religious materials in public schools, the Ohio Supreme Court held that the state constitution neither prohibits nor requires religious instruction, or the reading of religious books, in the public schools of the state.

Honohan v. Holt, 244 N.E.2d 537 (Ohio Ct. Com. Pl. Franklin County 1968)
An Ohio Court of Common Pleas held that the indirect benefits flowing to religious schools from the transportation of their pupils at public expense do not constitute the support prohibited by the Compelled Support Clause of the Ohio Constitution.

An Ohio Court of Common Pleas held that religious segregation of students in public schools is not per se invalid, nor is the wearing of religious garb by teachers impermissible. The court did hold, however, that the particular “release time” program, which allowed students to leave class for religious instruction in adjacent classrooms or buildings, amounted to the use of public funds for operation of parochial schools and was therefore unconstitutional.
CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

Blaine Amendment
“No public money or property shall ever be appropriated, applied, donated, or used, directly or indirectly, for the use, benefit, or support of any sect, church, denomination, or system of religion, or for the use, benefit, or support of any priest, preacher, minister, or other religious teacher or dignitary, or sectarian institution as such.” Oklahoma Const. Art. II, § 5.

Education Articles
“Provisions shall be made for the establishment and maintenance of a system of public schools, which shall be open to all the children of the state and free from sectarian control; and said schools shall always be conducted in English: Provided, that nothing herein shall preclude the teaching of other languages in said public schools.” Oklahoma Const. Art. I, § 5.

“Section thirteen in every portion of the State, which has been granted to the State, shall be preserved for the use and benefit of the University of Oklahoma and the University Preparatory School, one-third; of the normal schools now established, or hereafter to be established, one-third; and of the Agricultural and Mechanical College and Colored Agricultural and Normal University, one-third. The said lands or the proceeds thereof as above apportioned to be divided between the institutions as the Legislature may prescribe: Provided, That the said lands so reserved, or the proceeds of the sale thereof, or of any indemnity lands granted in lieu of section thirteen shall be safely kept or invested and preserved by the State as a trust, which shall never be diminished, but may be added to, and the income thereof, interest, rentals, or otherwise, only shall be used exclusively for the benefit of said educational institutions. Such educational institutions shall remain under the exclusive control of the State and no part of the proceeds arising from the sale or disposal of any lands granted for educational purposes, or the income or rentals thereof, shall be used for the support of any religious or sectarian school, college, or university, and no portion of the funds arising from the sale of sections thirteen or any indemnity lands selected in lieu thereof, either principal or interest, shall ever be diverted, either temporarily or permanently, from the purpose for which said lands were granted to the State.” Oklahoma Const. Art. XI, § 5.

EXISTING PRIVATE SCHOOL CHOICE PROGRAMS

Lindsey Nicole Henry Scholarships for Students with Disabilities
Oklahoma Statutes Title 70, Sections 13-101.1 to .2

Oklahoma Equal Opportunity Education Scholarships
Oklahoma Revised Statutes Title 68, Section 68-2357.206

RELEVANT CASE LAW

Plaintiffs sued, arguing that a Ten Commandments monument on the Oklahoma State Capitol grounds violated the state constitution’s Blaine Amendment. Even though the monument was donated by a private party, the Oklahoma Supreme Court agreed with the plaintiffs, finding that the Blaine Amendment was violated because the monument supports religion.

Oliver v. Hofmeister, 368 P.3d 1270 (Okla. 2016)
In a break with precedent that had formerly made Oklahoma hostile territory for voucher programs, the Oklahoma Supreme Court held that the Lindsey Nicole Henry Scholarships program did not violate the Blaine Amendment of the Oklahoma Constitution because the program is neutral with respect to religion. Because the parent—not the government—decides where the child goes to school and receives the aid in consideration for their not attending the public schools, the aid is for the student, not for the sectarian school.

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Tax credit programs and voucher programs are school choice options for Oklahoma. In 2016, in *Oliver v. Hofmeister*, the Oklahoma Supreme Court upheld a scholarship voucher program against a Blaine Amendment challenge because the program was neutral with respect to religion. In the opinion, the Court distinguished between helping students (permissible) and helping the religious schools they choose to attend (impermissible) and held that the voucher program fell into the first category.

**Model Legislation:**
- Education Savings Account, Parental School Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental School Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program

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*Burkhardt v. City of Enid,* 717 P.2d 608 (Okla. 1989)
The Oklahoma Supreme Court held that a municipality’s purchase of a local community college and subsequent lease of the college back to its original owners did not violate Oklahoma’s Blaine Amendment because the college was not religious. The Court noted that, even if it were, the city could still enter into the arrangement assuming it received sufficient consideration.

*Meyer v. City of Oklahoma City,* 496 P.2d 789 (Okla. 1972)
The Oklahoma Supreme Court held that maintenance by Oklahoma City of a cross on the city’s fairgrounds, at a slight but continuing public expense, did not violate Oklahoma’s Blaine Amendment because it was not operated for the use or benefit of any particular religion or sect and its religious symbolism was obscured by the commercial atmosphere in which it was placed.

*Board of Education for Independent School District No. 52 v. Antone,* 384 P.2d 911, 913-14 (Okla. 1963); *see also Gurney v. Ferguson,* 122 P.2d 1002 (Okla. 1941)
The Oklahoma Supreme Court held that transporting pupils of parochial schools at public expense aided the schools and was forbidden by Oklahoma’s Blaine Amendment.

*State ex rel. Town of Pryor v. Williamson,* 347 P.2d 204 (Okla. 1959)
The Oklahoma Supreme Court held that the state’s Blaine Amendment did not prohibit the building and maintenance of a non-denominational, nonsectarian chapel on state grounds at public expense.

*Murrow Indian Orphans Home v. Children,* 171 P.2d 600 (Okla. 1946)
The Oklahoma Supreme Court held that the state’s Blaine Amendment did not prohibit the state from contracting with religious orphanages to provide care for needy children.

*Sharp v. Guthrie,* 152 P. 203, 408 (Okla. 1915)
In upholding a city’s ability to sell a public park to a religious university for a dollar, the Oklahoma Supreme Court reasoned: “The city having the right to sell the property, and the consideration being adequate, it would make no difference whether the grantee be a sectarian institution or not, for a sale upon a sufficient consideration would not be within the prohibition of section 5, art. 2 of the Constitution [Oklahoma’s Blaine Amendment].”

The Oklahoma Supreme Court held that a city franchise contract that required a tram line to provide half fare rides for all schoolchildren, whether they are public or parochial school students, does not violate the state’s Blaine Amendment. In its reasoning, the Court noted that children have a right to attend private school and that the reduced fares help promote the education of children. In addition, the Court stressed that the city could not discriminate on the basis of religion in a contract.

*Connell v. Gray,* 127 P. 417 (Okla. 1912)
The Oklahoma Supreme Court held that the president of a state college could not require students to pay for a Christian athletic association as a condition of their enrollment without violating the state’s Blaine Amendment.
Blaine Amendment
“No money shall be drawn from the Treasury for the benefit of any religious [sic], or theological institution, nor shall any money be appropriated for the payment of any religious [sic] services in either house of the Legislative Assembly.” Oregon Const. Art. I, § 5.

RELEVANT CASE LAW

Eugene Sand & Gravel, Inc. v. City of Eugene, 276 Or. 1007 (Or. 1076)
The Oregon Supreme Court adopted the federal Lemon test for resolving challenges under its Blaine Amendment. Oregon courts have continued this parallel interpretation of the federal Establishment Clause and Section 5 ever since.

The Oregon Court of Appeals rejected abandonment of the parallel interpretation, interpreting Oregon’s Religion Clauses as intended to maintain neutrality toward religion.

The Oregon Supreme Court held that secular textbooks could not be supplied to parochial school students at public expense under Oregon’s Blaine Amendment.

Applying the reasoning of Dickman, the Oregon Court of Appeals held that Oregon’s Blaine Amendment prevented the state from paying the salaries of teachers who teach secular subjects to parochial school students only.

ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Tax credit and voucher programs are both options for Oregon. Both are consistent with the federal Establishment Clause, with which the Oregon courts maintain a parallel interpretation of the state’s Blaine Amendment.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental School Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental School Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Great School Tax Credit Program, Autism Scholarship, Family Education Tax Credit Program
CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

Compelled Support Clause

“[N]o man can of right be compelled to attend, erect or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry against his consent ....” PENNSYLVANIA CONST. Art. 1, § 3.

Blaine Amendment

“No money raised for the support of the public schools of the Commonwealth shall be appropriated to or used for the support of any sectarian school.” PENNSYLVANIA CONST. Art. 3, § 15.

Other Relevant Provisions

“No appropriation shall be made for charitable, educational or benevolent purposes to any person or community nor to any denominational and sectarian institution, corporation or association: Provided, That appropriations may be made for ... loans for higher educational purposes to residents of the Commonwealth enrolled in institutions of higher learning except that no scholarship, grants or loans for higher educational purposes shall be given to persons enrolled in a theological seminary or school of theology.” PENNSYLVANIA CONST. Art. 3, § 29.

“No appropriation shall be made to any charitable or educational institution not under the absolute control of the Commonwealth, other than normal schools established by law for the professional training of teachers for the public schools of Pennsylvania, except by a vote of two-thirds of all the members elected to each House.” PENNSYLVANIA CONST. Art. III, § 30.

RELEVANT CASE LAW


A federal district court held that in accordance with the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act a state could reimburse parents for private school tuition without violating either the U.S. or Pennsylvania Constitutions because the payments do not advance religion.

Haller v. Department of Revenue, 728 A.2d 351 (Pa. 1999)

The Pennsylvania Supreme Court held that a tax exemption for the sale and use of “religious publications” sold by “religious groups” violates the First Amendment’s Establishment Clause because it shows a preference for religious communications without some overarching secular purpose. The exemption’s narrow focus makes it unconstitutional.


The Pennsylvania Supreme Court held that free school bus transportation provided to parochial school children does not violate the U.S. or state Constitutions because any benefit to a religious institution is indirect and incidental.

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Both tax credit and voucher programs are school choice options for Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania Constitution contains a Compelled Support Clause and a Blaine Amendment. The latter restricts the use of funds “raised for the public schools” but can be avoided entirely by funding vouchers from other government revenue. State case law demonstrates a strong adherence to federal Establishment Clause precedent and includes a distinction between “appropriations” and “payments for services rendered,” which should ensure voucher legislation’s compliance with the Blaine Amendment.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program.
**Constitutional Provisions**

**Compelled Support Clause**

“[N]o person shall be compelled to frequent or to support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatever, except in fulfillment of such person’s voluntary contract …” Rhode Island Const. Art. I, § 3.

**Existing Private School Choice Programs**

Corporate Tax Credit Scholarships
Rhode Island General Laws Sections 44-62-1 to -7

**Relevant Case Law**

*Rhode Island Federation of Teachers v. Norberg*, 630 F.2d 855 (1st Cir. 1980)

The 1st U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals held that a Rhode Island statute allowing a tax deduction for educational expenses violated the Establishment Clause. The deduction was overwhelmingly claimed by parents of students in parochial schools, which meant it had more than an incidental effect on the advancement of religion, according to the court. In addition, ensuring that only secular materials were deducted would result in excessive entanglement. The U.S. Supreme Court later upheld a similar program in Minnesota in *Mueller v. Allen*.


The Rhode Island Supreme Court held that a community was not required to pay for the education of resident students who chose to attend religiously affiliated high schools because the community had already provided for free education at certain public high schools outside the community.


The Rhode Island Supreme Court upheld a textbook loan program challenged under the state’s Compelled Support Clause. The Court reasoned that Rhode Island’s Compelled Support Clause is no more restrictive than the federal Establishment Clause and the U.S. Supreme Court had upheld a similar program in New York in *Board of Education v. Allen*.


Examining federal Establishment Clause jurisprudence, the Rhode Island Supreme Court upheld a statute granting tax exemption for religious buildings against a First Amendment challenge.

**Analysis and Recommendations**

Both tax credit and voucher programs are school choice options for Rhode Island. Given that Rhode Island courts adhere to federal Establishment Clause precedent when interpreting the state’s Compelled Support Clause, it is likely that the *Zelman* decision, with its distinction between aiding students and aiding the schools they choose to attend, will be persuasive.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program
Constitutional Provisions

Blaine Amendment
“No money shall be paid from public funds nor shall the credit of the State or any of its political subdivisions be used for the direct benefit of any religious or other private educational institution.” South Carolina Const. Ann. Art. XI, § 4.¹

Education Article
“The General Assembly shall provide for the maintenance and support of a system of free public schools open to all children in the State and shall establish, organize and support such other public institutions of learning, as may be desirable.” South Carolina Const. Ann. Art. XI, § 3.

1 Prior to its amendment in 1973, the Blaine Amendment read: “The property or credit of the State of South Carolina, or of any county, city, town, township, school district, or other subdivision of the said State, or any public money, from whatever source derived, shall not, by gift, donation, loan, contract, appropriation, or otherwise, be used, directly or indirectly, in aid or maintenance of any college, school, hospital, orphan house, or other institution, society or organization, of whatever kind, which is wholly or in part under the direction or control of any church or of any religious or sectarian denomination, society or organization.” South Carolina Const. Ann. Art. XI, § 9 (repealed).

Relevant Case Law

Durham v. McLeod, 192 S.E.2d 202, 204 (S.C. 1972)²
The South Carolina Supreme Court held that using public money to guarantee student loans for students attending private schools did not violate South Carolina’s Blaine Amendment because the program is religiously neutral and supports higher education, not institutions of higher education. It was on that basis that the Court distinguished its holding in Hartness v. Patterson.

Hartness v. Patterson, 179 S.E.2d 907 (S.C. 1971)³
The South Carolina Supreme Court held that giving public tuition grants to students attending private schools violates South Carolina’s Blaine Amendment because there

2 Decided under since-repealed version of the South Carolina Blaine Amendment that had prohibited “direct or indirect” aid to parochial schools.

3 Decided under since-repealed version of the Blaine Amendment that had prohibited “direct or indirect” aid to parochial schools.

Educational Credit for Exceptional Needs Children 2013-14
South Carolina Session Laws Chapter 1B Section 1
Refundable Educational Credit for Exceptional Needs Children
South Carolina Code Annotated Section 12-6-1145

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Both tax credit and voucher programs are school choice options for South Carolina. They are completely consistent with the South Carolina Constitution and relevant South Carolina state court decisions.

In 1973, South Carolina amended its Blaine Amendment by eliminating the ban on “indirect” funding of private educational institutions. According to the authoritative “West Committee,”1 the change reflected the framers’ intent to allow public funds to be used to assist students who independently choose to attend private educational institutions, but to prohibit direct government subsidization of those institutions.

From the school choice perspective, this change is important for two reasons. First, a voucher program represents precisely the type of funding the framers of the current version of the state’s Blaine Amendment (Article XI, Section 4) wished to allow. Second, South Carolina Supreme Court cases like Hartness v. Patterson that reject the distinction between aid to students and aid to institutions are no longer valid, as they were premised on constitutional language that was later deleted in order to allow student benefit programs.

When crafting school choice legislation, South Carolina lawmakers may want to pattern it on the South Carolina Higher Education Excellence Enhancement Program,2 which does an excellent job of adhering to the requirements of the South Carolina Constitution and the jurisprudence of South Carolina courts. The program includes a detailed legislative findings section that explicitly recognizes the role of private institutions in helping the state meet the needs of low-income and educationally disadvantaged students. Additionally, funds for the program are appropriated from the Education Lottery Account, and there are express rules governing their use.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program

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1 Final Report of the Committee to Make a Study of the South Carolina Constitution of 1895.

2 SCCA 2-77-10 to -50.
CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

Compelled Support Clause
“[N]o person shall be compelled to attend or support any ministry or place of worship against his consent nor shall any preference be given by law to any religious establishment or mode of worship.” SOUTH DAKOTA CONST. Art. VI, § 3.

Blaine Amendments
“No money or property of the state shall be given or appropriated for the benefit of any sectarian or religious society or institution.” SOUTH DAKOTA CONST. Art. VI, § 3.
“No appropriation of lands, money or other property or credits to aid any sectarian school shall ever be made by the state, or any county or municipality within the state, nor shall the state or any county or municipality within the state accept any grant, conveyance, gift or bequest of lands, money or other property to be used for sectarian purposes, and no sectarian instruction shall be allowed in any school or institution aided or supported by the state.” SOUTH DAKOTA CONST. Art. VIII, § 16.

Other Relevant Provision
“Notwithstanding the provisions of section 3, Article VI and section 16, Article VIII, the Legislature may authorize the loaning of nonsectarian textbooks to all children of school age.” SOUTH DAKOTA CONST. Art. VIII, § 20.1

1 This provision was added to the South Dakota Constitution in 1986 and specifically negates the results in the Elbe and McDonald cases.

RELEVANT CASE LAW

Pucket v. Hot Springs School District No. 23-2, 526 F.3d 1151 (8th Cir. 2008)
The 8th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals ruled that the parents of private religious school students did not have standing to challenge the district on its discontinuing the busing of private school students since the district did not have the authority to bus the students.

The South Dakota Supreme Court held that South Dakota’s textbook loan program was a violation of South Dakota’s Blaine Amendments and declined to overturn a similar earlier ruling in McDonald v. School Board.

In re N. C. B. Careers, 298 N.W.2d 526 (S.D. 1980)
The South Dakota Supreme Court held that tax exemptions for religious institutions are not the functional equivalent of appropriations and therefore do not violate South Dakota’s Blaine Amendments. Merely relieving the church of an obligation to support the state is not the same thing as the state supporting the church.

McDonald v. School Board, 246 N.W.2d 93 (S.D. 1976)
In holding that a textbook loan program was unconstitutional, the South Dakota Supreme Court concluded that South Dakota’s Blaine Amendments were intended to prohibit in every form, whether as

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Because South Dakota does not have a state income tax, a corporate tax-credit-generated scholarship program is the best school choice option for South Dakota, given the South Dakota Supreme Court’s restrictive interpretation of the state’s Religion Clauses. That Court has explicitly rejected the distinction between aiding students and aiding the schools they choose to attend. By equating the former with the latter, the Court appears to have foreclosed a voucher option. Although Article VIII, Section 20 was later enacted to authorize textbook loans to private school students, the South Dakota Supreme Court cases that prompted the amendment are still good law outside the context of textbook loan programs.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program
CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

Compelled Support Clause
“[T]hat no man can of right be compelled to attend, erect, or support any place of worship, or to maintain any minister against his consent ….” Tennesseee Const. Art. I, § 3.

Education Article
“The State of Tennessee recognizes the inherent value of education and encourages its support. The General Assembly shall provide for the maintenance, support and eligibility standards of a system of free public schools. The General Assembly may establish and support such postsecondary educational institutions, including public institutions of higher learning, as it determines.” Tennesseee Const. Art. XI, § 12.

EXISTING PRIVATE SCHOOL CHOICE PROGRAMS

Individualized Education Account Program
Tennessee Code Annotated Sections 49-10-14012 to -14067

RELEVANT CASE LAW

A federal district court held that Tennessee’s Student Assistance Program does not violate the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment because money is paid directly to the student rather than the institution and without reference to the public or private nature of the school.

A federal district court held that Tennessee’s Tuition Grant Program violates the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment because money is paid directly to the school a student chooses to attend with no limits on the manner in which that money can be used. While the case was on appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, the Tennessee Legislature amended the program, leading the Supreme Court to vacate the decision and remand it to the lower court. The Legislature then repealed the whole statute and replaced it with the Tennessee Student Assistance Program, which was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1977 in Americans United for Separation of Church & State v. Blanton.

Carden v. Bland, 288 S.W.2d 718 (Tenn. 1956)
The Tennessee Supreme Court held that reading Bible passages and reciting the Lord’s Prayer did not amount to the establishment of a state religion.

A school voucher program would be constitutional.

Article 11, Section 12 does not prohibit the state giving money to private educational institutions.

ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Both tax credit and voucher programs are school choice options for Tennessee, although tax credit programs would (due to the absence of a state income tax on individuals) have to rely on corporate income and other taxes. Its constitution contains no Blaine Amendment and its Compelled Support Clause has received little judicial attention. In Carden v. Bland, the Tennessee Supreme Court noted that Tennessee’s Compelled Support Clause and the First Amendment were practically synonymous.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program.
CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

Compelled Support Clause
“No man shall be compelled to attend, erect or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry against his consent.” TEXAS CONST. Art. I, § 6.

Blaine Amendments
“No money shall be appropriated, or drawn from the Treasury for the benefit of any sect, or religious society, theological or religious seminary; nor shall property belonging to the State be appropriated for any such purposes.” TEXAS CONST. Art. I, § 7.

“[The permanent school fund and the available school fund may not be appropriated to or used for the support of any sectarian school].” TEXAS CONST. Art. VII, § 5(c).

Education Article
“A general diffusion of knowledge being essential to the preservation of the liberties and rights of the people, it shall be the duty of the Legislature of the State to establish and make suitable provision for the support and maintenance of an efficient system of public free schools.” TEXAS CONST. Art. VII, § 1.

EXISTING PRIVATE SCHOOL CHOICE PROGRAMS

None

RELEVANT CASE LAW

Church v. Bullock, 109 S.W. 115 (Tex. 1908)
The Texas Supreme Court held that reading from the King James Bible and reciting the Lord’s Prayer did not turn a Texas public school into a “sectarian” institution because both are critical to developing students’ moral faculties.

1975 Tex. AG LEXIS 285, Letter Advisory No. 105
The Texas attorney general concluded that distribution of state-owned textbooks to private school pupils would not violate a Blaine Amendment (Article I, Section 7) of the Texas Constitution because it would provide only “minimal benefits to the sectarian activities of nonpublic schools.”

1973 Tex. AG LEXIS 231, 15-16 Opinion No H-66
The Texas attorney general concluded that providing public funds to parochial schools through tuition equalization grants under a religiously neutral program is not inherently unconstitutional under the Texas Constitution because although Texas’ second Blaine Amendment (Article VII, Section 5) “prohibits aid to sect[s],” “not all denominational institutions are sectarian in the constitutional sense.”

ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Both tax credit and voucher programs are school choice options for Texas. The few interpretations of Texas’ Blaine Amendments and its Compelled Support Clause that exist do not prohibit providing aid to parents to enable them to select public or private schools for their children. Such programs must be funded by sources other than the permanent and available school funds defined in Sections 2, 5 and 6b of the education article (Article VII) of the Texas Constitution. Because Texas has no state income tax, a tax credit program will have to use corporate or other taxes.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program
CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

Blaine Amendments

“[N]o public money or property shall be appropriated for or applied to any religious worship, exercise or instruction, or for the support of any ecclesiastical establishment.” Utah Const. Art. I, § 4.

“Neither the state of Utah nor its political subdivisions may make any appropriation for the direct support of any school or educational institution controlled by any religious organization.” Utah Const. Art. X, § 9.

Education Articles

“The Legislature shall provide for the establishment and maintenance of the state’s educational system, including: (a) a public education system, which shall be open to all children of the state; and (b) a higher education system. Both systems shall be free from sectarian control.” Utah Const. Art. X, § 1.

“The public education system shall include all public elementary and secondary schools and such other schools and programs as the Legislature may designate ....” Utah Const. Art. X, § 2.

“(1) There is established a permanent State School Fund which shall consist of revenue from the following sources:
(a) proceeds from the sales of all lands granted by the United States to this state for the support of the public elementary and secondary schools;
(b) 5% of the net proceeds from the sales of United States public lands lying within this state;
(c) all revenues derived from nonrenewable resources on state lands, other than sovereign lands and lands granted for other specific purposes;
(d) all revenues derived from the use of school trust lands;
(e) revenues appropriated by the Legislature; and
(f) other revenues and assets received by the fund under any other provision of law or by bequest or donation.
(2) (a) The State School Fund principal shall be safely invested and held by the state in perpetuity.
(b) Only the interest and dividends received from investment of the State School Fund may be expended for the support of the public education system as defined in Article X, Section 2 of this constitution …
(3) There is established a Uniform School Fund which shall consist of revenue from the following sources:
(a) interest and dividends from the State School Fund;
(b) revenues appropriated by the Legislature; and
(c) other revenues received by the fund under any other provision of law or by donation.
(4) The Uniform School Fund shall be maintained and used for the support of the state’s public education system as defined in Article X, Section 2 of this constitution and apportioned as the Legislature shall provide.” Utah Const. Art. X, § 5.

“All revenue from taxes on intangible property or from a tax on income shall be used to support the systems of public education and higher education as defined in Article X, Section 2.” Utah Const. Art. XIII, § 5.

EXISTING PRIVATE SCHOOL CHOICE PROGRAMS

Carson Smith Scholarships for Special Needs Students
Utah Code Annotated Sections 53A-1a-701 to -710

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Both tax credits and voucher programs are school choice options for Utah. They are completely consistent with the Utah Constitution and relevant Utah state court decisions.

In its most thorough analysis of the more general of the Utah Constitution’s Blaine Amendments (Article I, Section 4) to date, the Utah Supreme Court held in *Society of Separationists, Inc. v. Whitehead* that if public “money or property are provided on a nondiscriminatory basis” and they are “equally accessible to all,” the government program at issue complies with the Utah Constitution. A voucher program in which students use publicly funded scholarships to attend private, religious or public schools of their choice undoubtedly satisfies those requirements.

Legislators should stress that the purpose of the voucher program is to expand educational opportunities on a non-discriminatory basis and that the public funds used for vouchers are not for the benefit of the schools children decide to attend, but for the children themselves. In addition, if funds derived from the income tax are used, the Legislature should be sure to state that publicly financed scholarship programs are a part of the public education system under the education article (Article X, Section 2).

*Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program*
Compelled Support Clause

“[A]nd that no person ought to, or of right can be compelled to attend any religious worship, or erect or support any place of worship, or maintain any minister, contrary to the dictates of conscience....” VERMONT CONST. Ch. I, Art. 3.

RELEVANT CASE LAW


The Vermont Supreme Court held that permitting parents in “tuitioning” towns—where the town pays tuition to the parent’s school of choice instead of maintaining public schools—to choose religious schools violated the Vermont Constitution’s Compelled Support Clause because there are no restrictions to ensure that state funds would not support religious worship.

Campbell v. Manchester Board of School Directors, 641 A.2d 352 (Vt. 1994)

Noting changes in First Amendment jurisprudence, the Vermont Supreme Court held that requiring a local school district to reimburse a parent who sent his child to a parochial school did not violate the First Amendment. The decision overrules Swart v. South Burlington Town School District, 167 A.2d 514 (Vt. 1961), which held the opposite.

Vermont Educational Buildings Financing Agency v. Mann, 247 A.2d 68 (Vt. 1968)

The Vermont Supreme Court held that a statute allowing a state agency to issue tax-exempt revenue bonds to finance construction of buildings on behalf of private colleges and universities neither advanced nor inhibited religion and therefore did not violate the First Amendment.

ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Tax credits are Vermont’s best school choice option. Its constitution contains a Compelled Support Clause that the Vermont Supreme Court has read to exclude parents who choose religious schools from participating in the current voucher program.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program
CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

Compelled Support Clause
“No man shall be compelled to frequent or support any religious worship, place, or ministry whatsoever ....” VIRGINIA CONST. Art. I, § 16.

Blaine Amendment
“The General Assembly shall not make any appropriation of public funds, personal property, or real estate to any church or sectarian society, or any association or institution of any kind whatever which is entirely or partly, directly or indirectly, controlled by any church or sectarian society ....” VIRGINIA CONST. Art. IV, § 16.

Education Articles
“The General Assembly shall provide for the compulsory elementary and secondary education of every eligible child of appropriate age, such eligibility and age to be determined by law. It shall ensure that textbooks are provided at no cost to each child attending public school whose parent or guardian is financially unable to furnish them.” VIRGINIA CONST. Art. VIII, § 3.

“The supervision of schools in each school division shall be vested in a school board, to be composed of members selected in the manner, for the term, possessing the qualifications, and to the number provided by law.” VIRGINIA CONST. Art. VIII, § 7.

“No appropriation of public funds shall be made to any school or institution of learning not owned or exclusively controlled by the State or some political subdivision thereof; provided, first, that the General Assembly may, and the governing bodies of the several counties, cities and towns may, subject to such limitations as may be imposed by the General Assembly, appropriate funds for educational purposes which may be expended in furtherance of elementary, secondary, collegiate or graduate education of Virginia students in public and nonsectarian private schools and institutions of learning, in addition to those owned or exclusively controlled by the State or any such county, city or town; second, that the General Assembly may appropriate funds to an agency, or to a school or institution of learning owned or controlled by an agency, created and established by two or more States under a joint agreement to which this State is a party for the purpose of providing educational facilities for the citizens of the several States joining in such agreement; third, that counties, cities, towns and districts may make appropriations to nonsectarian schools of manual, industrial or technical training and also to any school or institution of learning owned or exclusively controlled by such county, city, town or school district.” VIRGINIA CONST. Art. VIII, § 10.

“The General Assembly may provide for loans to, and grants to or on behalf of, students attending nonprofit institutions of higher education in the Commonwealth whose primary purpose is to provide collegiate or graduate education and not to provide religious training or theological education ....” VIRGINIA CONST. Art. VIII, § 11.

RELEVANT CASE LAW

Phan v. Virginia, 806 F.2d 516 (4th Cir. 1986)
The 4th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals held that nothing in the Virginia Constitution prevents the state from reimbursing a disabled student attending an out-of-state religious college for incidental living expenses.

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Tax credit programs are Virginia’s best school choice option. 

“Virginia’s constitution contains an express provision allowing publicly funded vouchers at private, non-religious schools. However, the Institute for Justice regards excluding the choice of religious schools as constitutionally questionable under the First Amendment and Equal Protection Clauses.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program
CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

Blaine Amendments
“No public money or property shall be appropriated for or applied to any religious worship, exercise or instruction, or the support of any religious establishment....” Washington Const. Art. I, § 11.

“All schools maintained or supported wholly or in part by the public funds shall be forever free from sectarian control or influence.” Washington Const. Art. IX, § 4.

Education Article
“The legislature shall provide for a general and uniform system of public schools.” Washington Const. Art. IX, § 2.

RELEVANT CASE LAW

The U.S. Supreme Court upheld Washington state’s exclusion of a theology major from a state-funded college scholarship program. The Court held that Washington could justify this exclusion as a way to avoid an unconstitutional establishment of religion under the state constitution. Importantly, the Court carved out only a narrow exception—public funding for the religious training of clergy—to the general rule requiring equal treatment of religious and non-religious options. Indeed, the scholarship program allowed students to select religious schools, as well as public and non-religious private schools, much like K-12 school choice programs. It only excluded students actually training to be ministers.

State ex rel. Gallwey v. Grimm, 48 P.3d 274 (Wash. 2002)
The Washington Supreme Court held that a state educational grant program for “placebound” students—those whom the state identified as not likely to complete a four-year degree without public financial assistance—that included religious schools does not violate Washington’s first Blaine Amendment (Article I, Section 11) because the program was not intended to aid religious schools. The program stipulates that participating students may not select schools that require religious instruction or worship. Additionally, the Court held that Washington’s other Blaine Amendment (Article IX, Section 4) did not apply to institutions of higher education.

Malyon v. Pierce County, 935 P.2d 1272 (Wash. 1997)
The Washington Supreme Court held that a sheriff’s department’s chaplaincy program does not violate Washington’s first Blaine Amendment (Article I, Section 11) because the chaplains are not paid for their time.

The Washington Supreme Court held that Washington’s first Blaine Amendment (Article I, Section 11) prevented the state from using public funds to pay for a handicapped student’s seminary studies.

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In accordance with its holding in Health Care Facilities Authority v. Spellman, the Washington Supreme Court held that granting tax-exempt revenue bond proceeds to religious colleges did not transfer public funds or property to a sectarian institution. For that reason, Washington’s first Blaine Amendment (Article I, Section 11) did not apply.

In upholding a statute that provided tax-exempt bond proceeds for nonprofit hospitals, the Washington Supreme Court held that although the bonds were enabled by a public body, “the money was not acquired either for or from the general public” and therefore did not violate Washington’s first Blaine Amendment (Article I, Section 11).

The Washington Supreme Court invalidated both a higher education and a K–12 tuition aid grant programs for violating Washington’s Art. IX, § 4 and the federal Establishment Clause.

Calvary Bible Presbyterian Church v. Board of Regents, 436 P.2d 189 (Wash. 1967)
The Washington Supreme Court held that when public school students read the Bible as a piece of literature among other works in a class required for graduation, it does not violate either of Washington’s Blaine Amendments. The class imposes no religious or sectarian message on its students.

Perry v. School District No. 81, 344 P.2d 1036 (Wash. 1954)
The Washington Supreme Court held that allowing religious groups to distribute attendance cards and make announcements about the released-time program on public school grounds is a use of school facilities supported by public funds for the promotion of a religious program and therefore violates Washington’s first Blaine Amendment (Article I, Section 11).

The Washington Supreme Court struck down a transportation program for private school students. The Court said the program violated Washington’s Blaine Amendments because the public would incur some additional expense if private school students were transported on public school buses.

The Washington Court of Appeals held that although the Salvation Army should be treated as a church and its receipt of appropriated grants and its exemption from paying unemployment insurance taxes confer “appropriated” funds and benefits, such an appropriation does not violate Washington’s first Blaine Amendment (Article I, Section 11) because the state’s purpose in doing so is to fund a secular drug treatment program.

ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Because Washington lacks a state income tax, a corporate tax-credit-generated scholarship program is its best school choice option. The Washington Constitution contains Blaine Amendment language in two provisions, and both have been interpreted by the Washington Supreme Court as being more restrictive than their federal Establishment Clause counterpart. This state of affairs forecloses voucher programs.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program
Compelled Support Clause

“[A]nd the legislature shall not prescribe any religious test whatever, or confer any peculiar privileges or advantages on any sect or denomination, or pass any law requiring or authorizing any religious society, or the people of any district within this State, to levy on themselves, or others, any tax for the erection or repair of any house for public worship, or for the support of any church or ministry, but it shall be left free for every person to select his religious instructor, and to make for his support, such private contract as he shall please.” West Virginia Const. Art. III, § 15.

RELEVANT CASE LAW

The West Virginia Supreme Court held that the 14th Amendment’s Equal Protection Clause was not violated when the state stopped transporting private school students at public expense. The state may treat public and private school students differently when allotting state education funds if it has a valid financial reason for doing so.

Acknowledging changes in federal equal protection jurisprudence, the West Virginia Supreme Court held that failing to provide transportation to private school students was not a violation of the 14th Amendment. However, the Court reaffirmed its earlier conclusion that school boards were required by statute to provide either transportation or an equivalent stipend to private school students and that doing so did not constitute a violation of the First Amendment or West Virginia’s Compelled Support Clause.

The West Virginia Supreme Court held that a county school board’s refusal to transport Catholic school students on its buses violated the provisions of a West Virginia statute requiring it to transport “all children of school age.” It then went further and held that the school board’s policy deprives Catholic children and their parents of their right of religious freedom in violation of the provisions of the First Amendment and even more clearly in violation of the comprehensive provisions of the Compelled Support Clause.

Gissy v. Board of Education, 143 S.E. 111 (W. Va. 1928)
The West Virginia Supreme Court required a public school board to reimburse parents who complied with West Virginia’s mandatory education statute by sending their children to a private, parochial school because no public high school existed in their district. The school board had argued that it was only required to reimburse for public school tuition.

ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Both tax credit and voucher programs are school choice options for West Virginia. The West Virginia Supreme Court has generally interpreted its Compelled Support Clause in a parallel fashion to the First Amendment, and there is no indication in its case law that it would not apply Zelman to uphold a state voucher program.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program
Compelled Support Clause
“[N]or shall any person be compelled to attend, erect or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry, without consent ….” WISCONSIN CONST. Art. I, § 18.

Blaine Amendment
“[N]or shall any money be drawn from the treasury for the benefit of religious societies, or religious or theological seminaries.” WISCONSIN CONST. Art. I, § 18.

Education Articles
“The legislature shall provide by law for the establishment of district schools, which shall be as nearly uniform as practicable; and such schools shall be free and without charge for tuition to all children between the ages of 4 and 20 years; and no sectarian instruction shall be allowed therein ….” WISCONSIN CONST. Art. X, § 3. (as amended April 1972).

“Provision shall be made by law for the establishment of a state university … and no sectarian instruction shall be allowed in such university.” WISCONSIN CONST. Art. X, § 6.

RELEVANT CASE LAW
Freedom from Religion Foundation, Inc. v. McCallum, 324 F.3d 880 (7th Cir. 2003)
The 7th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals held that the state’s contract with a Christian “halfway house” did not violate the Establishment Clause because prisoners were able to choose that particular program from a range of other, secular options and prisoners were not pressured to be Christian or convert to Christianity before participating. The court compared the “halfway house” program to the education vouchers at issue in Zelman and concluded that neither provided unconstitutional support to religion.

A federal district court held that the state’s subsidization of internet wiring at a religious school does not violate the Establishment Clause because all schools are eligible for subsidies, without regard to whether they are religiously affiliated, because the telecommunications conduits provided are neutral as to information passing through them, benefits flowing to religious schools are small relative to the total program, and religious schools are not being relieved of a burden they previously bore, as they would not be participating in this particular internet linkage but for the availability of the subsidy.

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Vincent v. Voight, 614 N.W.2d 388 (Wis. 2000)
In a suit challenging the state’s school finance system, the Wisconsin Supreme Court held that its education provision requiring uniform public schools (Article X, Section 3) related to the character of instruction offered in the public schools and not the size, boundaries or composition of the school districts. The clause does not require absolute uniformity in either educational offerings or per-pupil expenditures among school districts.

The Wisconsin Supreme Court held that the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program does not violate either the state’s Compelled Support Clause or its Blaine Amendment because students are not compelled to attend religious schools and any benefits to such schools are incidental. The Court also affirmed the conclusions of Davis, an earlier uniformity challenge to the school choice program.

Davis v. Grover, 480 N.W.2d 460 (Wis. 1992)
The Wisconsin Supreme Court upheld the Milwaukee Parental Choice Program from a legal challenge under Wisconsin’s uniformity provision (Article X, Section 3). The Court also rejected opponents’ claim that the program violated Article 4, Section 18 of the Wisconsin Constitution, a prohibition on private or local bills.

State ex rel. Wisconsin Health Facilities Authority v. Lindner, 280 N.W.2d 773 (Wis. 1979)
The Wisconsin Supreme Court held that the Wisconsin Health Facilities Authority, which was created to improve healthcare services by providing tax-exempt bonds to Catholic hospitals, among others, does not violate Wisconsin’s Compelled Support Clause or Blaine Amendment because the aid flows predominantly to the secular aspects of health care and therefore does not have the primary effect of advancing religion.

State ex rel. Holt v. Thompson, 225 N.W.2d 678 (Wis. 1975)
The Wisconsin Supreme Court held that a “released time statute,” which allows students to leave school for part of the day to receive

Single father Tony Higgins’ daughter, Chironda, began the voucher program in 1994 at Urban Day School, later graduating from St. Joan Antida High School.
Both tax credit and voucher programs are school choice options for Wisconsin. Its constitution contains a Compelled Support Clause and a Blaine Amendment, but the Wisconsin Supreme Court interprets both in accordance with federal Establishment Clause jurisprudence. Even before Zelman, the Wisconsin Supreme Court upheld the groundbreaking Milwaukee Parental Choice Program from a legal challenge under the First Amendment and Wisconsin’s Compelled Support Clause and Blaine Amendment. The Wisconsin Supreme Court also rejected the first-ever uniformity challenge to a school choice program, holding that although the Legislature is required to provide public schooling to all, it can also offer additional educational opportunities outside the traditional public school system.

**Model Legislation:** Education Savings Account, Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Universal Eligibility), Parental Choice Scholarship Program (Means-Tested Eligibility), Special Needs Scholarship Program, Foster Child Scholarship Program, Autism Scholarship, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program

All three of Pilar Gomez’s children have enjoyed school choice. Andrés began in the third grade at St. Lawrence Catholic School (now Prince of Peace). The private school caught what public schools had missed, diagnosing Andrés with attention deficit disorder.
CONSTITUTIONAL PROVISIONS

Blaine Amendments
“No money of the state shall ever be given or appropriated to any sectarian or religious society or institution.” WYOMING Const. Art. 1, § 19.

“No appropriation shall be made for charitable, industrial, educational or beneficent purposes to any person, corporation or community not under the absolute control of the state, nor to any denominational or sectarian institution or association.” WYOMING Const. Art. 3, § 36.

Education Article
 “[N]or shall any portion of any public school fund ever be used to support or assist any private school, or any school, academy, seminary, college or other institution of learning controlled by any church or sectarian organization or religious denomination whatsoever.” WYOMING Const. Art. 7, § 8.

RELEVANT CASE LAW

State ex rel. McPherren v. Carter, 215 P. 477 (Wyo. 1923)
The Wyoming Supreme Court held that a supplemental award of public funds to the widow of a sheriff killed in the line of duty does not violate Article 3, Section 36 as an unconstitutional gift to a private person. It is the functional equivalent of a “payment for service rendered” rather than an outright gift.

1982 Wyo. AG LEXIS 21 (Wyo. AG 1982)
The Wyoming attorney general concluded that holding public school baccalaureate services inside a church where religious activities including prayer and singing of hymns may occur would violate neither the First Amendment nor the Wyoming Constitution.

ANALYSIS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A tax-credit-generated scholarship program is Wyoming’s best choice for school choice of some form, even though Wyoming does not have a state income tax. Its constitution contains two Blaine Amendments, neither of which has received much judicial attention, but Article 3, Section 36 appears to explicitly forbid appropriating money to individuals for educational purposes.

Model Legislation: Education Savings Account, Great Schools Tax Credit Program, Family Education Tax Credit Program
The American Legislative Exchange Council’s (ALEC) Education Task Force has drafted several pieces of model legislation designed to provide a framework for crafting state-specific programs. The model legislation listed below is available online at www.alec.org. This list represents all school choice programs mentioned throughout this publication.

**School Choice Legislation**

**Education Savings Account Act**
This bill creates a program where a state puts funds in education savings accounts that parents draw upon for a wide array of educational services for their children. The funds are provided in lieu of a standard public school education.

**Parental Choice Scholarship Program Act (Universal Eligibility)**
This bill creates a scholarship program for all students to attend the public or non-public elementary or secondary school of their choice.

**Parental Choice Scholarship Program Act (Means-Tested Eligibility)**
This bill creates a scholarship program for students from low- and middle-income families to attend the public or non-public elementary or secondary school of their choice.

**Special Needs Scholarship Program Act**
This bill creates a scholarship program for students with special needs to attend the public or non-public elementary or secondary school of their choice.

**Foster Child Scholarship Program Act**
This bill creates a scholarship program for students in foster care to attend the public or non-public elementary or secondary school of their choice.

**Autism Scholarship Act**
This bill provides students with autism the option to attend the public or non-public elementary or secondary school of their choice.

**Great Schools Tax Credit Program Act**
This bill authorizes a tax credit for individual or corporate contributions to organizations that provide educational scholarships to eligible students to attend the public or non-public elementary or secondary school of their choice.

**Family Education Tax Credit Program Act**
This bill authorizes a tax credit for individual families’ educational expenses including tuition, fees and other related expenses.

**Charter Schools Act**
This bill allows groups of citizens to seek charters from the state to create and operate innovative, outcome-based schools exempt from many of the state laws and regulations governing public schools.

**Open Enrollment Act**
This bill creates a process by which students would be able to attend the public school of their choice throughout the state.
**Attorney General Opinions:** Formal or informal responses of the state attorney general to legal questions. Such opinions are not binding on the courts but can be persuasive.

**Blaine Amendment:** Any state constitutional provision that, like the failed amendment to the federal Constitution of the same name, prohibits providing public funds to “sectarian” schools. These amendments were designed to retain a monopoly on state education funds for the then-generically Protestant public schools, while denying equal funding to Catholic (i.e., “sectarian”) schools.

**Charter Schools:** Deregulated public schools usually operated by a board of directors independent of any school district.

**Compelled Support Clause:** Any state constitutional provision that provides that no one shall be compelled to support a church or ministry without their consent.

**Education Provisions:** The provisions in all state constitutions establishing a public education system.

**Education Savings Accounts (ESAs):** Programs in which states provide students with deposits into parent-controlled accounts that must be spent on education-related expenses. To date, all ESA programs use appropriated funds much like voucher programs do, although theoretically ESAs could be funded through tax-credited donations by taxpayers awarded by ESA-granting organizations.

**Equal Protection Clause:** A clause found in the U.S. Constitution and many state constitutions assuring people “the equal protection of the laws,” usually understood to prohibit discrimination on the basis of race, color, national origin or religion.

**Establishment and Free Exercise Clauses:** The Religion Clauses of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution: “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof.” The U.S. Supreme Court made these clauses binding on state and local governments in the 1940s.

**Free and Appropriate Public Education (FAPE):** The basic entitlement created by the federal Individuals with Disabilities Education Act for children requiring special education.

**Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA):** A federal law that provides special education funds to states in return for their meeting federal standards for services and procedures.
Parallel Interpretation: Interpreting similar language in the U.S. and state Constitutions in a similar way to arrive at a similar result.

Precedent: A legal concept referring to a case that has resolved a particular legal question that lower courts are bound to follow and that the deciding court will usually follow, absent a strong reason for concluding it is wrong or has become unworkable.

Public School Choice: Policies allowing students to enroll in public schools they would not be assigned to based upon their residence. Intradistrict choice allows students to transfer to other schools within the same district, while interdistrict choice permits transfers to schools in other districts. Such programs can be voluntary, in which the receiving school or district may or may not agree to accept any transfer students, or mandatory, in which the receiving school or district cannot deny admittance to transfer students.

Refundable Tax Credits: A hybrid program containing elements of both vouchers and tax credit programs. Taxpayers can claim a credit for educational expenditures on their children’s education, but if the amount of tax credited is exceeded by the amount of creditable expenses, then the state makes up the difference from appropriated funds.

Released-Time Programs: Public school programs that allow students to be released during school hours to receive religious instruction at off-campus private facilities.

School Choice: Broadly speaking, any sort of educational program allowing parents to choose which school their children attend. Narrowly speaking, an educational program that enables parents to choose a private school for their children.

Supreme Court Advisory Opinions: Answers to legal questions posed to the court by governors or state legislatures. They do not constitute binding precedent because they are not rendered in an adversarial setting like a lawsuit, but, as the personal opinions of the sitting justices of the state supreme court, they can be persuasive.

Tax Credit: Tax relief that permits parents to more easily fund a private education for their children either directly or by encouraging other taxpayers to contribute to charitable organizations providing scholarships.

Voucher: In the school choice context, a program that provides tuition funding to families that allows them to choose a private school for their children—a publicly funded scholarship for K-12 students.
Additional Resources for School Choice

**American Federation for Children**  
www.federationforchildren.org

The American Federation for Children works to build support for and implement publicly funded school choice programs that provide low-income families with educational opportunity. In doing so, the Federation not only protects those programs that are already serving families in need, but also expands and enhances them and initiates new, larger and even more effective models.

**Cato Institute’s Center for Educational Freedom**  
www.cato.org/centers/center-educational-freedom

The Cato Institute’s Center for Educational Freedom was founded on the principle that parents are best suited to make important decisions regarding the care and education of their children. The Center’s scholars seek to shift the terms of public debate in favor of the fundamental right of parents and toward a future when state-run schools give way to a dynamic, independent system of schools competing to meet the needs of American children.

**EdChoice (formerly the Friedman Foundation for Educational Choice)**  
www.edchoice.org

Dubbed “the nation’s leading voucher advocates” by *The Wall Street Journal*, EdChoice is a nonprofit organization established in 1996. The origins of the organization lie in Milton and Rose D. Friedman’s long-standing concern about the serious deficiencies in America’s elementary and secondary public schools. The best way to improve the quality of education, in their view, is to equip all parents with the freedom to choose the schools that their children attend. EdChoice builds upon this vision, clarifies its meaning to the public and amplifies the national call for true education reform through school choice.
Heartland Institute & School Reform News
www.heartland.org

The Heartland Institute is a national nonprofit research and education organization whose mission is to discover and promote free-market solutions to social and economic problems. School Reform News is the Heartland Institute’s national monthly outreach publication for school reformers.

Heritage Foundation
www.heritage.org/schoolchoice

Founded in 1973, the Heritage Foundation is a research and educational institute—a think tank—whose mission is to formulate and promote conservative public policies based on the principles of free enterprise, limited government, individual freedom, traditional American values and a strong national defense. The Foundation produces research and commentary on school choice and other education reforms.

Manhattan Institute for Policy Research
www.manhattan-institute.org

The Manhattan Institute for Policy Research conducts education research that focuses on improving two main reforms of public education: school choice and accountability.
Richard D. Komer

Richard D. Komer has served as a senior litigation attorney at the Institute for Justice (IJ) since 1993. An expert on state and federal constitutional law on school choice, he served as counsel in IJ’s successful defense of school choice programs in numerous states—including the landmark U.S. Supreme Court victories for school choice in *Zelman v. Simmons-Harris* and *Arizona Christian School Tuition Organization v. Winn*. He has also authored numerous Supreme Court amicus briefs on constitutional issues surrounding school choice.

Prior to his work at the Institute, Komer worked as a civil rights lawyer for the federal government, working at the departments of Education and Justice, as well as at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission as a special assistant to the chairman, Clarence Thomas. His most recent government employment was as deputy assistant secretary for civil rights at the Department of Education.

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Olivia Grady

Olivia Grady conducted all of the research involved in updating this guide while a research assistant at the Institute for Justice. Grady received her law degree from Tulane University in 2014, where she was President of the Tulane Federalist Society and a member of the *Tulane Journal of Technology and Intellectual Property*. She received her undergraduate degree from Rice University in 2011.
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The authors would also like to thank IJ Senior Attorney Bert Gall who edited this guide, and Don Wilson and Laura Maurice of IJ’s design team who designed and produced it. Lastly, we dedicate this guide to all those clients and their children whom IJ has represented in its work defending school choice programs around the country. Their commitment to obtaining the best available education for their children inspires and energizes us every day.
The Institute for Justice (IJ) is a nonprofit, public interest law firm that litigates to secure school choice, economic liberty, private property rights, freedom of speech and other vital individual liberties and to restore constitutional limits on the power of government. Founded in 1991, IJ is the nation’s only libertarian public interest law firm, pursuing cutting-edge litigation in the courts of law and in the court of public opinion on behalf of individuals whose most basic rights are denied by government.

IJ helped secure the landmark U.S. Supreme Court victory for school choice in Cleveland in *Zelman v. Simmons-Harris* and has successfully defended school choice programs nationwide, including in Alabama, Arizona, Georgia, Florida, Illinois, Indiana, Montana, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Ohio and Wisconsin.

The American Legislative Exchange Council (ALEC) is the nation’s largest non-partisan, individual membership organization of state legislators, with over 2,400 legislator members from all 50 states and 87 former members serving in the U.S. Congress. ALEC works to advance the Jeffersonian principles of free markets, limited government, federalism and individual liberty through a non-partisan, public-private partnership between America’s state legislators and concerned members of the private sector, the federal government and the general public.

ALEC supports efforts to offer parents more choices in education both as a matter of principle and as a promising solution to the increasing challenges facing America’s K-12 education system. As a part of this commitment, ALEC continues to look for ways to better inform and engage its state legislative members and the general public regarding the legislative opportunities that may exist in their states.
We look forward to a future where every state recognizes and supports parents’ rights to choose the best available education for their children.