Purchasing the 2012, 2014, and 2016 IPS school board elections

Introduction

According to the truly transformative <u>IPS Racial Equity Policy and Black Lives Matter Resolution</u> (REP/BLM), racism is social and institutional power combined with racial prejudice. IPS defines racial prejudice as a system of advantage for those considered white, and of oppression for those who are not considered white

The IPS resolution mentions years 1922 (the year the IPS board created Attucks) and 1968/1970 of IPS history (the era when the board was sued by the feds for maintaining segregated schools long after Brown). IPS histories of the <u>Citizens School Committee</u> or 1950s-early 1960s events leading to 1970 lawsuit aren't noted. And, it skips the 1990's era and notably, major board changes of the 2010-2020 decade.

The 2010-2020 decade

REP/BLM also states "[*IPS*] has participated in maintaining a system of racial inequality in Indianapolis through its actions and inactions, policies and practices, budgets and priorities, advocacy and silence, and by too often privileging the prejudice of white parents over the well-being of Black students."

A review and analysis of "Purchasing the IPS school board elections" shows that the majority of donors to the winning candidate were mainly white wealthy males. Some were very wealthy.

The white money and power represented by the donations, whether intended or not, reveal a "system of advantage for those considered white." This made the board members who decided to take the donations (note: the IPS candidates did not have to take the money), whether they knew it or not, beholden to the donors.

- It is naïve to assume there were no strings attached to the money contributed to campaigns.
- It is naïve to think the donations did not represent white corporate and philanthropic foundation patriarchy.
- It is naïve to think the donations, intended or not, did not privilege white parents, and wealthy white parents in particular.

Part of the shameful history of IPS began in 1922, but where does it end?

Today's board construes a current picture of the bad part of the Indianapolis Public Schools as out there in the waters of history. The board criticizes this past, saying it's time for change. The dilemma for IPS is: if Supt. Johnson and the board take time to look down, they are standing in the water too.

The question: Does the 2012, 2014, and 2016 purchase of IPS school board seats discredit and delegitimize the past and current board members and the Supt. Ferebee and Supt. Johnson regimes?

"Then there's the obscenity of outside influence and \$300,000 to \$500,000 in outside money which bought three seats on the IPS school board."

~ Amos Brown, commentator, Indianapolis Recorder, 10.23.14

Purchasing the 2012, 2014, and 2016 IPS school board elections

What started out as a push for a few local charters (given freedom from certain traditional public education policy requirements) has grown. Now, <u>Indy is home of America's 2nd most privatized</u> <u>public school system</u>! New Orleans Public Schools is ranked first where every school is privatized.

Touted by <u>Education Secretary Betsy DeVos as a national model</u>, IPS is also known as an example of the privatization, of all things, public education. Read educator and IPS watchdog Dr. Jim Scheurich's "<u>The total neo-liberal misrepresentation of the recent history of Indianapolis K-12 education</u>."

Local citizens were not told back when the 2011 Mind Trust <u>Opportunity Schools</u> report came out, that possibly in 10 years <u>63.7%</u> of Indianpolis students would be in privatized schools. For more on charters, read closely: <u>Portfolio models</u>: <u>private ways of running public schools</u>. Check out the <u>IPS</u> <u>Portfolio Management</u> scheme here.

To the dismay of the Mind Trust leadership, its 2011 \$700.000 *Opportunity Schools* study and proposals never caught on. And, neither did Indy's NEO Plan--Mayor Ballard's Office of Education Innovation proposal called "Neighborhood of Educational Opportunity" or NEO.

Here is a chart connecting the dots among <u>Indy's NEO Plan power players</u>.

The NEO Plan's use of the term "high quality seats" turned people off. As well, the *Recorder*'s Amos Brown wrote a Feb 28, 2013 commentary," White flight' reason education reformers pushing change in Indy" (http://m.indianapolisrecorder.com/mobile/opinion/article_ocbb6212-81f4-11e2-a215-001a4bcf887a.html) followed by a Jul 13, 2013 column, "NEO Plan harmful for Black, minority students" (http://www.indianapolisrecorder.com/opinion/article_eef46606-ea3b-11e2-b6fc-0019bb2963f4.html). The NEO Plan was shelved.

In fact, the NEO Plan was so bad, Cincinnati rejected it too. See Jan 24, 2017 *Cincinnati Inquirer* story "CEO quietly quits school accelerator [Accelerate Great Schools in Cincinnati (AGSC)]." According to Cincy's Laura Chapman, the Mind Trust's Pat Herrel was unable to raise the money he was hired to do. The Mind Trust brought back home. Read a local commentary on the situation: <u>http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/05/Mind-Trust-NEO-Plan-Pat-Herrel-flop-in-Cincy.pdf</u>. And, AGSC thrives as it backed winning Cincinnati Public Schools candidate Ben Lindy, a Teach for America alum, for the 2019 election. Read more: <u>An open letter on Ben Lindy's candidacy</u>.

So what to do next? Buy IPS!

Mind Trust's efforts to work with IPS had failed. Plan A, *Opportunity Schools* was ignored. Plan B, the NEO Plan got over scrutinized, critiqued, and finally rejected. The Mind Trust went into a long closed door session and came out with a plan that skipped the middle of the alphabet: Plan Z—just buy the IPS board.

Working with Stand for Children and their ground crew, Teach for America, the Mind Trust went about "Plan Z."

The privatization of public education

All this must be appreciated over a background of the 2012, 2014, and 2016 IPS school board elections which were bought by local and national corporate school reform supporters, consequently engineering the consent of the Indianapolis public for the privatization of their very own public schools.

"Privatization is a kind of reverse social contract: it dissolves the bonds that tie us together into free communities and democratic republics. It puts us back in the state of nature where we possess a natural right to get whatever we can on our own, but at the same time lose any real ability to secure that to which we have a right... Private choices rest on individual power... Public choices rest on civic rights, common responsibilities, and presume equal rights for all." ~ Benjamin Barber

A national movement to privatize public education

To understand more of the national background on IPS privatization, view <u>The corporate assault on</u> <u>public education</u>.

Also read, *Corporate Makeover of Public Education: What's at Stake?*, Fabricant & Fine's 2012 book.

For the scenario on the corporate takeover of our IPS, see Amos Brown's, "Is Stand for Children buying IPS school board election?" (*Indianapolis Recorder* 10.23.14) and other news stories and info on IPS board candidate's campaign funding:

- The truth about IPS board election campaign funding https://kheprw.org/chalkbeat-indiana-distorts-the-truth-about-ips-board-election-campaign-funding/
- Dark money clouds IPS election https://inschoolmatters.wordpress.com/2016/11/07/dark-money-clouds-ips-election/
- Incumbents in IPS board race post massive fundraising lead over challengers
- <u>https://www.wfyi.org/news/articles/incumbents-in-ips-board-race-post-massive-fundraising-lead-over-challengers</u>
- How much money is Stand for Children spending in school board elections and lobbying? https://www.wfyi.org/news/articles/how-much-money-stand-for-children-ips-school-board-elections-indiana-lobbying

Money from wealthy donors from outside the county and state influenced IPS elections For a clear example, note the large amounts of campaign contributions to Commissioner Sullivan:

 http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Mary-Ann-Sullivan-2014-Campaign-Contributions-IPS-School-Board-Election.pdf \$73,709.49 in contributions

Also note who gave and where they lived. IPS school board races were no longer a local phenomenon, but an event caught up in a national agenda to privatize/corporatize public education.

Commissioner Sam Odle

http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Samuel-Odle-2012-Campaign-Contributions-IPS-School-Board-Election.pdf \$61,924.56 Sam accepted \$10,000 from NYC Mayor Bloomberg

• Commissioner Kelly Bentley

http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/Kelly-Bentley-2014-Campaign-Contributions-IPS-School-Board-Election-1.pdf \$52,677.73

• Commissioner Lanier Echols

http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2012/11/Lanier-Echols-2014-Campaign-Contributions-IPS-School-Board-Election-1.pdf \$52,677.73

• Commissioner Michael O'Connor

http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Michael-OConnor-2016-Campaigncontributions-IPS-School-Board-Elections.pdf \$33,985.75

- Commissioner Venita Moore <u>http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Venita-Moore-2016-Campaign-Contributions-</u> <u>IPS-School-Board-Elections.pdf</u> \$25,711.61
- Commissioner Diane Arnold http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2020/07/Diane-Arnold-2016-Campaign-Contributions-IPS-School-Board-Elections.pdf \$16,353.60

For more read:

- Indianapolis Education Reform Player Profiles
- Corporate School Boarding Indy Style
- <u>Hoosier School Heist: How Corporations and Theocrats Stole Democracy From Public Education</u>

Here's info on IPS Supt. Ferebee's million dollar team he brought in with him from North Carolina: <u>http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/IPS-2016-17-pay-info-Dr.-Ferebees-NC-team.pdf</u>

Another group of publications takes a look at this time period where unprecedented amounts of money came into IPS elections, especially from out of state contributors:

- http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Democracy-for-Sale-What-happened-in-Denver-in-2011-will-happen-in-Indianapolis-in-2012.pdf
- http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Who-Runs-Our-IPS.pdf
- http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2016/03/Corporate-School-Boarding-Indy-Style.pdf

More news stories and columns on the overkill of IPS pro-reform candidate campaign finances against their poorly funded opponents

- Academic shame for charter schools! Amos Brown Nov 6, 2014
 "Maybe if the school reformers spent some of their filthy lucre they wasted in the IPS race on improving the quality of charter school board members and teachers and encouraged real instruction instead of listening to out-of-town educational scam artists, the majority of Indy's charters would be 'high performing' schools for our kids."
 <u>http://www.indianapolisrecorder.com/opinion/article_10ff4coc-65e2-11e4-8df2-03f7d5b55bcf.html</u>
- Don't bet on big bucks in IPS election Dan Carpenter Oct 30, 2014
 "Convince them [the public], in short, of the wisdom of the Mind Trust and Stand for Children and Democrats for Education Reform and the billionaires behind the industry of professional critics and charter school entrepreneurs who seek to own the operation."
 <u>http://thestatehousefile.com/commentary-dont-bet-big-bucks-ips-election/18192/</u>
- Indy's Chamber wants to elect an un-diverse IPS school board slate Amos Brown Sep 4, 2014 "Voters, parents and students in IPS don't need Michael Bloomberg or other out-of-town fat cats to decide our school board election. Indianapolis voters and Indianapolis dollars and resources should decide who governs all of our city/county's eleven school districts. Not out-of-town cash and meddlers like the Chamber's Star Chamber selection committee." <u>http://www.indianapolisrecorder.com/opinion/article_6co6aa28-344b-11e4-b8fc-0019bb2963f4.html</u>
- The Mind Trust is a Trojan Horse That is Destroying Indianapolis Public Education Jim Scheurich <u>https://kheprw.org/the-mind-trust-is-a-trojan-horse-that-is-destroying-indianapolis-public-education/</u>

- Who's giving money to IPS school board candidates? Campaign finance filings reveal contributions from Indianapolis philanthropists, out-of- state reformers and more. Oct 17, 2014 *Chalkbeat* <u>https://in.chalkbeat.org/2014/10/17/21094278/who-s-giving-money-to-ips-school-board-</u> <u>candidates#.Colombo</u>.
- 2014 elections disaster for Dems, except for Indianapolis seats Amos Brown Nov 13, 2014 <u>http://www.indianapolisrecorder.com/opinion/article_08ab7088-6b5c-11e4-abe4-</u> <u>of389a79a5e5.html?mode=image&photo=0</u>

Another way to misuse democratic processes is a sort of "reverse takeover" move where groups like Stand for Children become akin to "corporate raiders" when they lead the organization of persons or entities to "buy" school board seats with thousands, even hundreds of thousands of dollars. ~ Amos Brown, 2014

• IPS' corporate-bought board needs to pay attention to real crises in IPS Amos Brown Jan 29, 2015 <u>http://www.indianapolisrecorder.com/opinion/article_61c555c8-a7d7-11e4-ac39-d31c221ea357.html</u>

2017 IPS high school choice experiment: IPS and Radio One inveigle students and parents into accepting the district's new Career Academy model

Note, especially, the late 2017 commentary, "<u>Without parents present: IPS tries to engineer the</u> <u>consent of students to accept its plan to reinvent high school</u>." The meetings discussed are examples of the extent to which the district and the local business community went to justify the manipulation of students and families—and public opinion—to accept an IPS high school corporate <u>Career Academy</u> model of public education.

2018 Too little, too late: Mind Trust (MT) admits it strategically avoided grassroots community input and wants to do so now

MT has finally apologized for its decade of top down control of the Indianapolis education narrative and thus IPS. "The Mind Trust's new CEO pledges to listen to critics and look to parents to lead changes" is the title of a *Chalkbeat* story:

https://in.chalkbeat.org/2018/5/17/21104987/the-mind-trust-s-new-ceo-pledges-to-listen-to-criticsand-look-to-parents-to-lead-changes

MT's Brandon Brown states: "We learned that it's critically important to involve a diversity of opinions on the front end so that we're shaping our thinking as much as we can. We learned that it's also very important to engage the community at the grasstops and the grassroots level when you are proposing massive changes to the system."

IPS parents beware: The fox guarding the henhouse wants to recruit you Question: over the last decade have hundreds of IPS parents self-organized to bring MT into the IPS conversation? No.

We know now, IPS parents were left out of the conversation. Now groups like AACI must look at the big, big money big behind the strategy to gaslight IPS parents.

2020 RiseIndy: The latest effort by local and national corporate reformers to buy IPS

A Dec 11, 2019 story in the *Indianapolis Recorder* on RiseIndy (RI) (<u>https://riseindy.org/</u>) was titled, "<u>A new Indianapolis education PAC wants to bypass controversy. That could be hard.</u>" It looks like Indy's latest attempt to maintain control of the pro-corporate reform IPS board wants to avoid the "...debate between charter and traditional public schools" and take the highroad by emphasizing achievement.

This is all bunkum

Claiming neutrality does not disguise the reason for the RI, whose sole mission is to, in fact, get into the debate and win it: to win the 2020 IPS election--and, to win no matter what it costs.

All anyone has to do is see what's at stake if local and national corporate reformers lose control of IPS. The years of de-democratizing IPS via privatization will begin to end.

2 seats

Four seats are up for grabs this November. If RI loses 2 of the 4, the majority faction of the board will be democratic pro-public schools.

The 2012-2016 IPS elections

We can now see in the above research, that Stand for Children (SfC) was instrumental in buying the 2012, 2014, and 2016 elections.

The 2018 election was a setback for corporate reformers. In a Nov 8, 2018 WFYI story, "<u>Two</u> <u>incumbent school board members lost their elections</u>" we see the loss by 2 pro-privatization commissioners (Sullivan and Rodriguez) led to some infighting between SfC and Sullivan.

RI was created to see that corporate reformers don't lose again

Just look at RI's staff, board and advisory: <u>https://riseindy.org/our-team</u>. RI is not an up from an "up from the pavement" movement, but "a well oiled" effort by Indy's local neo-liberal Black and white middle class Republicans and corporate Democrats to use their money and power to privatize, of all things, public education.

Some of the RI team: Connecting the dots among local pro-privatization people

- Jasmin-Shaeed-Young is wife of Ahmed Young, formerly of Office of Education Innovation and current IPS Chief of Staff/General Council. She is also sister of Mariama Shaheed, principal of the charter school at44, and Kameelah Shaheed-Dialio, former Mind Trust employee who has followed David Harris to the help with the City Fund scheme. Read <u>Indiana's destroy public</u> education leader is going national.
- Charlie Wiles is the Executive Director of the Center for Interfaith Cooperation (CIC). Judge David Shaheed, father of the the above Shaheed sisters, is CIC board president. CIC is located in the Inter-Church Center at 46th and Michigan Rd. where RI has met.
- Larry Smith Teach for America Board of Directors
- John Ackerman Teach for America Board of Directors
 Read <u>How Teach for America evolved into an arm of the charter school movement</u>
- Al Hubbard donated \$5,000 to IPS Commissioner Odle's 2012 campaign and \$5,000 each to the 2014 campaigns of Commissioners Sullivan and Bentley.
- Marianne Glick donated \$1,000 IPS Commissioner Odle's 2012campaign and \$200 to Commissioner Bently's 2014 campaign.
- Bill Shrewsberry of Mind Trust's board gave \$500 to IPS Commissioner Odle 's 2012 campaign
- Bart Peterson donated \$500 to 2014 IPS Commissioner Sullivan's campaign
- Ceasar Roman's Institute for Quality Ed is Fred Klipsch's organization. Fred donated \$12M to Marian University in 2017. The now Klipsch School of Education houses Teach for America.
- Jasmine Burditt was with Mayor Hogsett's Office of Education Innovation
- Patrick Jones is former Chas Tindley leaders and now with the Mind Trust
- Representatives of GEO Foundation and Christel House add to RI's pro-charter DNA

Many of these RI members are all the same corporate reform people, who supported the 2012, 2014, 2016 purchase of IPS, being recycled for the November battle for the destiny of our IPS.

RI's Gary Borden Public School Allies: Buying school board races across the country One of the more important members of the RI team is Mr. Borden. According to an Oct 24, 2019 news item, "<u>Political arm of charter friendly group the city fund has 15 million and is now spending on</u> <u>school board races</u>," Public School Allies is the political arm of The City Fund (TCF). TCF is an organization with ambitions to spread charter schools and the "portfolio model" of school reform across the country. *Borden and Public School Allies plan to spend \$15 million to influence state and local elections over the next 3 years*. He's in Indianapolis to make sure RI candidates win.

City Fund is where Mind Trust's David Harris and Kameelah Shaheed-Dialio are now Last December, The City Fund told *Chalkbeat* that it had raised \$189 million and had given out \$15 million to organizations in seven target cities: <u>https://www.badassteacher.org/bats-blog/the-city-fund-spending-prolifically-to-privatize-public-education-by-thomas-ultican</u>. Keep in mind, "<u>Total Neoliberal Misrepresentation of Recent History of Indy K-12 Ed</u>," a post by Indy's Dr. Scheurich, estimated over \$500,000 was spent on a district-wide 2018 IPS seat. How much will the RiseIndy PAC and other donors spend to win the 4 open 2020 IPS board seats...\$1-2 million?

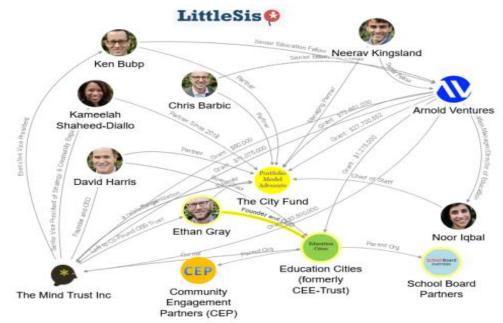
Commentary: How the upcoming election will play out: debates, mailers, bait & switch Due to the pandemic, there will be fewer public debates. RI will resort to flooding homes with mailers for its board candidates. Other candidates won't have this luxury. It won't be publicized, but incumbent candidates like Diane Arnold will retire if they win. Someone like her will take her place. Remember, this is how Commissioners O'Connor and Rodriguez got their foot in the door.

Conclusion

"This is not about education at all. It's about power." ~ James Baldwin

IPS, RiseIndy, and national and local corporate school reformers are on the wrong side of history: A democracy does not privatize its schools

A multi-racial, multi-ethnic democratic republic does not privatize its schools. Public schools in a democracy have a civic purpose: create critically conscious citizens. How come RI doesn't realize they are on the wrong side of history? It's money. Money and power, not education policy, run RI.



Connecting the dots: Indy and the nation

Two books have been published recently which specifically studyIPS as 1) a national example of issues surrounding the dark politics of school board elections, and 2) a district with an historical underbelly of educational politics whose high schools did not challenge, but actually maintained our city's status quo of race and class inequalities.

Outside Money in School Board Elections: The nationalization of education politics (2019)

"We are trying to understand why a donor living in Atherton, Calif. would give to school board candidates thousands of miles away—in places like...Indianapolis," said co-author Prof. Reckhow. She helped analyze donor data, including the background of donors and relationships of the donors using social network analysis. "We found that these donors are not simply isolated individuals with an unusual interest in school board elections—these are highly active campaign contributors who also gave large sums to out-of-state congressional elections, and may have shared ties to education-related organizations."

Drawing on a detailed study of elections in 5 districts (Bridgeport, CT, Denver, Indy, LA, and New Orleans), the authors explore what happens when national issues percolate downward into local politics. They suggest that the involvement of wealthy individuals and national organizations in local school board elections are signs of the nationalization of local education politics that potentially have significant implications for equity and democracy.

- <u>https://education.msu.edu/news/2019/book-explores-external-funding-for-school-board-elections/</u>
- <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=K1EHuFnLaYw</u>

Making a Mass Institution: Indianapolis and the American High School (2020)

Dr. Steele describes how Indianapolis created a divided and unjust system of high schools over the course of the 20th century, one that effectively sorted students geographically, economically, and racially. Indy began its secondary system with a singular, decidedly academic Shortridge, but ended the 1960s with multiple high schools with numerous paths to graduation.

Some of the schools were academic (Broad Ripple), others vocational (Manual/Tech), and others still for what was eventually called "life adjustment" (Harry E. Wood). This system mirrored the multiple forces of mass society that surrounded it, as it became more bureaucratic, more focused on identifying and organizing students based on perceived abilities, and more anxious about teaching conformity to middle-class values. Through his analysis of IPS, Dr. Steele argues that high school, as it evolved into a mass institution, was never fully the domain of policy elites, school boards and administrators, or students, but a complicated and ever-changing contested meeting place of all three.

• <u>https://www.amazon.com/Making-Mass-Institution-Indianapolis-Directions/dp/1978814402</u>

Contact Prof. Steele at <u>steelek@uwosh.edu</u> or 920-424-7231

Epilogue

Where does the Indianapolis Community stand? Corporatocracy or Democracy?

"Market competition favors the already powerful and if you unleash competition, then schools which are powerful from the start, are going to thrive and those that are not powerful are not magically somehow able to develop the ability to compete."

~ Pamela Grundy, Parents Across America, Charlotte, NC

Superintendents Ferebee and Johnson obtained their status and power to privatize the district by an unprecedented (and successful) effort to buy the IPS school board

These raw histories of facts and news commentaries directly challenge the political authenticity of the Ferebee and/or Johnson regimes. The antics of the Mind Trust and their sidekick Stand for Children, can now be viewed as shady local and national-level political deals. Here, according to Amos Brown, school reformers, "...spent some of their filthy lucre..." to grab control and privatize public education.

Yes, the above elections are over. The 2012, 2014, and 2016 IPS school board races were corrupted by big money—indeed a "coup" by local and national entities to take over the school district.

To help IPS voting constituents unpack and analyze the possible corporate influences on the 2020 IPS elections, here are some final political insights by 2 Black American educators:

Prof. Lester Spence

- <u>The neo-liberal turn in Black politics</u>
- The Intersection: Lester Spence On Neo-liberalism's Effect on Black Politics. *Detroit Today* Jul 6, 2016

https://wdet.org/posts/2016/07/06/83418-the-intersection-lester-spence-on-neoliberalismseffect-on-black-politics/

- "How Bill Cosby, Obama and Mega-Preachers Sold Economic Snake Oil to Black America" <u>https://caribreport.com/2018/05/05/how-bill-cosby-obama-and-mega-preachers-sold-</u> <u>economic-snake-oil-to-black-america-must-read/</u>
- *How the "free market" has devastated black communities*. TED Talk <u>https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vDJormxhmVI</u>

Dr. Keith Benson

 "To the Black Education Reform Establishment: Be Real with Who You Are and Whose Interest You Represent" http://vorcreatex.com/wp-content/uploads/2019/03/To-the-Black-Education-Reform-

Establishment-Be-Real-with-Who-You-Are-and-Whose-Interest-You-Represent.pdf

"Purchasing the 2012, 2014, and 2016 IPS school board elections" is an essay, analysis, and commentary by John Harris Loflin, researcher for Parent Power, the Indianapolis affiliate of Parents Across America, and Indy's Education-Community Action Team. Since 2011, each has been involved in keeping IPS democratic.

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