

UNIVERSITY *of* WASHINGTON | COLLEGE OF EDUCATION

Generating Revenues to Fund Washington's Public Education System:

Insights from Academic Research to Inform
Adequate and Equitable School Finance Policy Solutions

Washington House Finance Committee
Legislative Work Session
January 11, 2024, 1:30 PM

David S. Knight
Associate Professor of Education Finance and Policy



Collaborators:

Min Sun, University of Washington
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Research Team:

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Claire McMorris, Seattle Public Schools
Lu Xu, University of Washington

My talk will address four key points

From prior research, we know...

1. Additional spending improves outcomes on average, but impacts depend on how funds are allocated and used
2. Schools serving higher-poverty student populations require additional resources to provide equal educational opportunity

And from our recent research at the Univ. of Washington, we know...

3. Washington's state school finance system does not allocate funding such that districts have adequate resources to meet student needs
4. Washington's mechanism for generating local property values is inequitable for taxpayers and school districts



Additional spending improves outcomes on average, but impacts depend on how funds are allocated and used



American Economic Journal: Applied Economics 2024, 16(1): 412-446
<https://doi.org/10.1257/aep.20230279>

What Impacts Can We Expect from School Spending Policy? Evidence from Evaluations in the United States¹

By C. KIRABO JACKSON AND CLAIRE L. MACKEVICIUS*

We conduct meta-analysis on a comprehensive set of studies of the impacts of US K-12 public school spending on student outcomes—estimating average marginal impacts and heterogeneity across contexts. On average, a policy increasing spending by \$1,000 per pupil for four years improves test scores by 0.032 SD and college-going by 2.8 pp. Moving beyond averages, we use estimates of heterogeneity and observable policy differences to produce informative probability distributions of policy effects. Effects are smaller for economically advantaged populations, marginal effects of capital spending are similar to noncapital, and effects are similar across baseline spending levels and geography. Confounding and publication biases are minimal. (JEL: I75, I21, I22, I26, I28)

Social scientists have long debated the effect of school spending on student outcomes. This debate is important as public K-12 education is one of the largest single components of government spending (OECD 2020), and current legal cases (see Lecker 2020) and policy decisions hinge on the extent to which, in what contexts, and how reliably increases in school spending causally impact students. Fortunately, in the past decade, there has been a notable increase in “credibly causal” papers using quasi-experimental variation (i.e., changes caused by specific identifiable policies) to identify the effect of school spending on student outcomes. While this new literature shows that increased school spending tends to improve student outcomes (Jackson 2020), there is little clarity on how much money matters, on average, how the marginal effects may vary across contexts, and what range of policy impacts one may expect to see in the future across different populations.

Key finding of recent (2024) meta-analysis:
\$1,000 increase in per-pupil spending =

↑ 0.032 SD increase in test scores

↑ 2.2 pp increase in college-going

Authors:



C. Kirabo Jackson

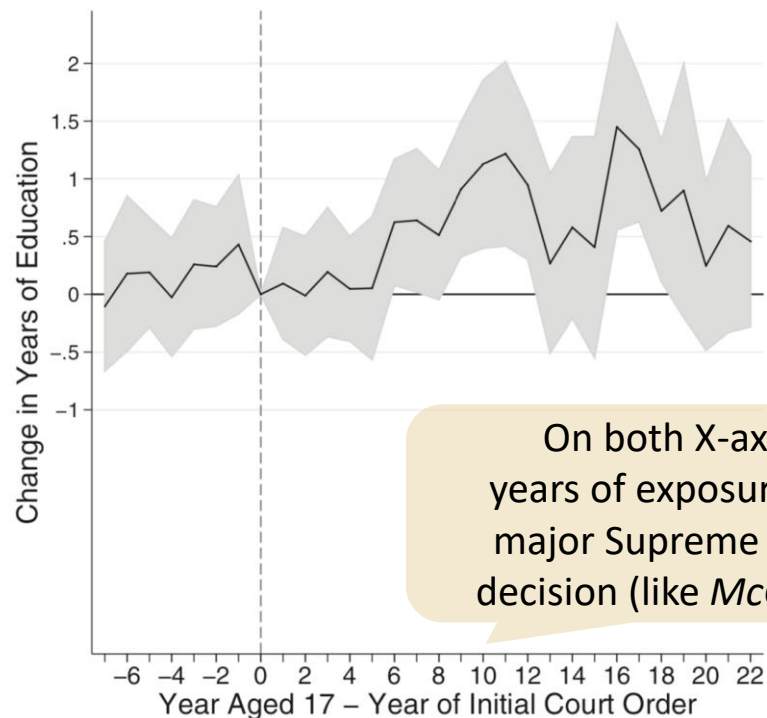


Claire Mackevicius



Measuring the impact of school spending is challenging, but there is now wide consensus that “money matters”

Panel A. Effect on Educational Attainment



On both X-axes:
years of exposure to a
major Supreme Court
decision (like *McCleary*)

FIGURE III

Panel B. Effect on Adult Wages (% increase)

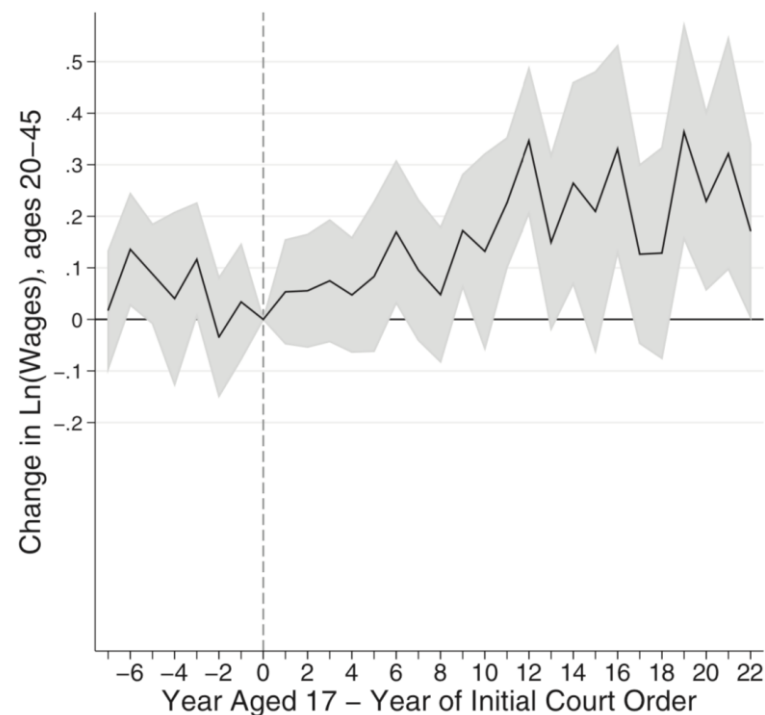


FIGURE IV

Authors:



C. Kirabo Jackson



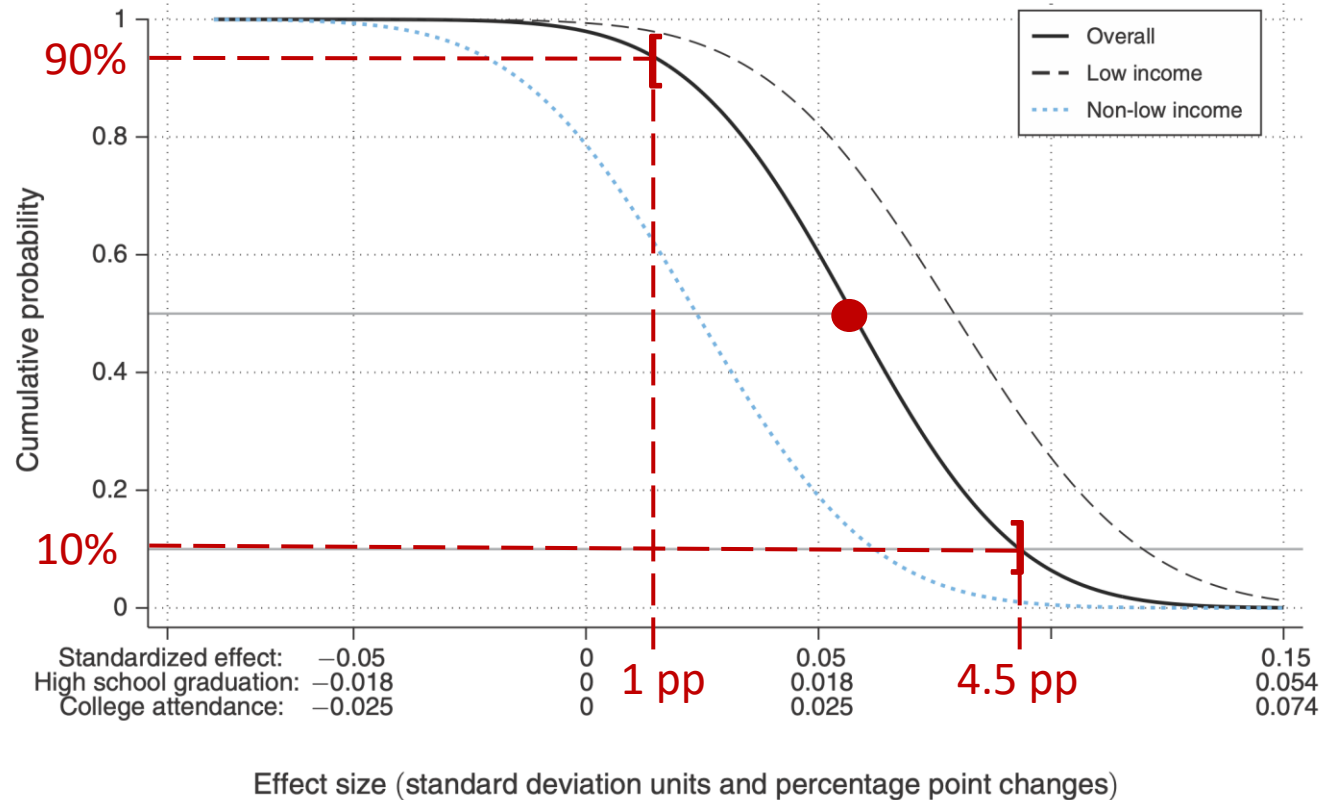
Rucker C. Johnson



Claudia Persico

Money matters, but the impacts depend on how funds are allocated and used

Figure 3. Probability of achieving the estimated effect on educational attainment



- 90% of the time, we expect a \$1,000 increase to increase college attendance by at least 1 pp over; 2.9 pp half the time, and up to 4.5 pp in rare cases (10% of the time)

Authors:



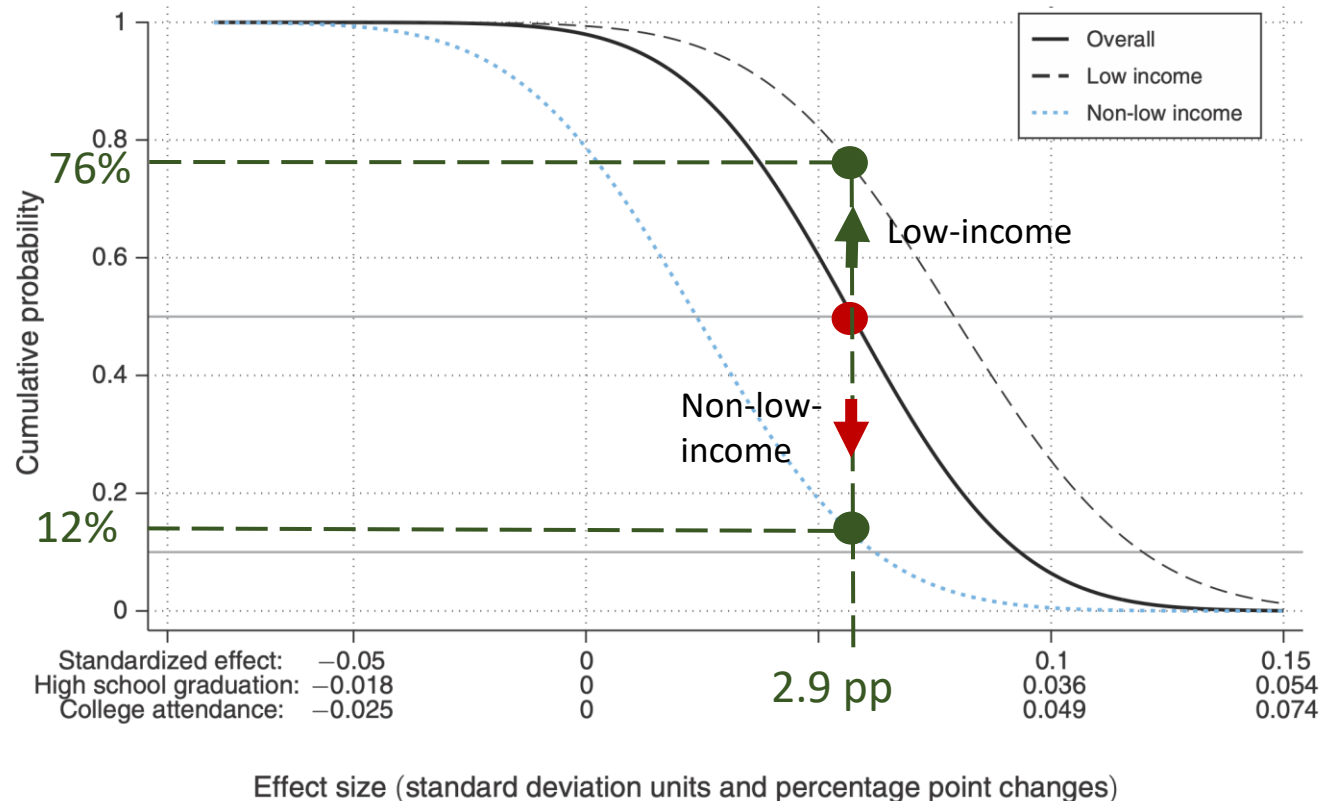
C. Kirabo Jackson



Claire Mackevicius

Money matters, but the impacts depend on how funds are allocated and used

Figure 3. Probability of achieving the estimated effect on educational attainment



- 90% of the time, we expect a \$1,000 increase to increase college attendance by at least 1 pp over; 2.9 pp half the time, and up to 4.5 pp in rare cases (10% of the time)
- Expected effects are larger and more consistent for lower-income students.

Authors:



C. Kirabo Jackson



Claire Mackevicius

From prior research, we know...

1. Additional spending improves outcomes on average, but impacts depend on how funds are allocated and used
2. Schools serving higher-poverty student populations require additional resources to provide equal educational opportunity. **But how much???**
 - Scholars do not know the answer to this question
 - The research offers some estimates of how the cost differs across context



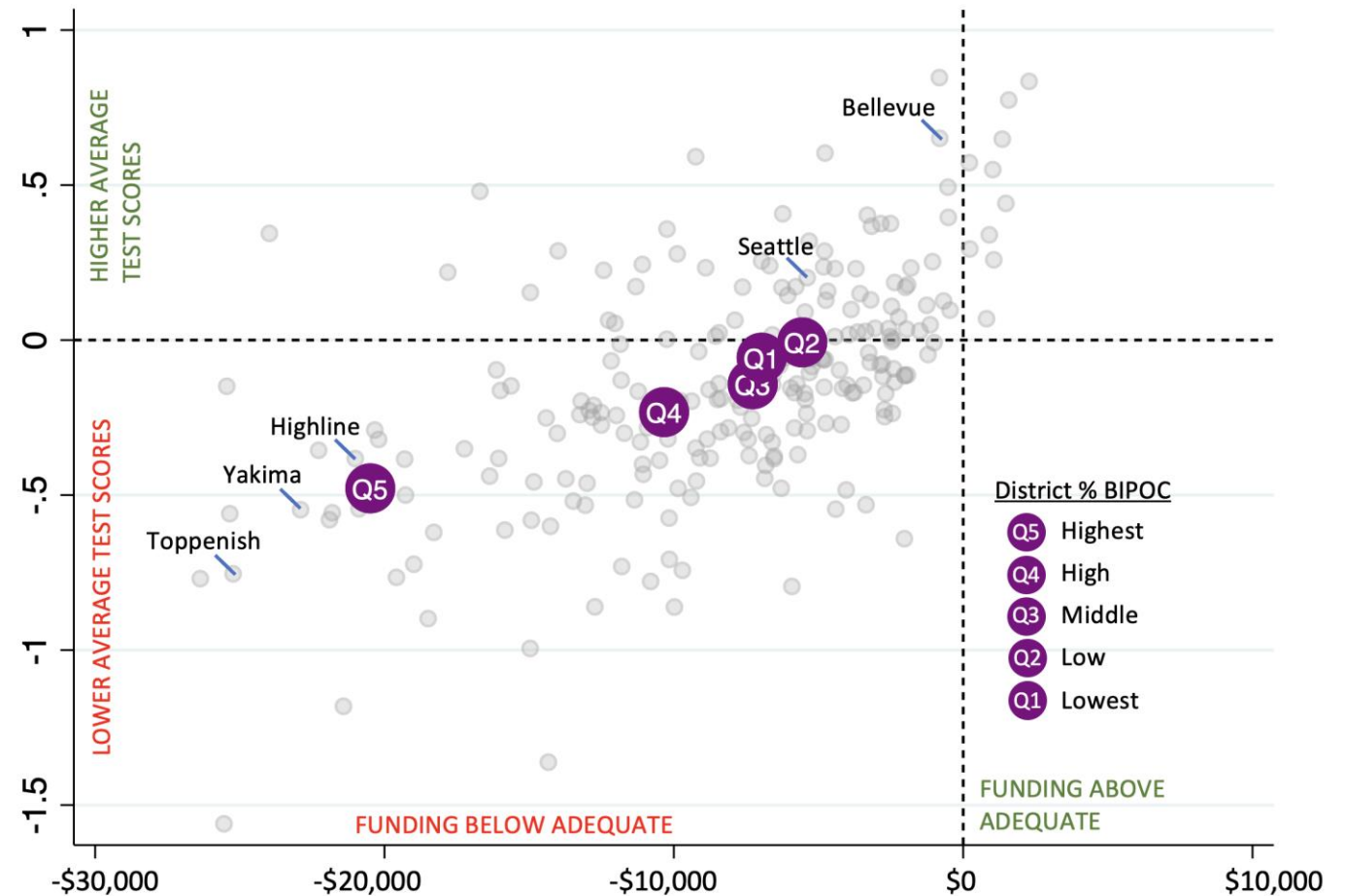
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Part 2: What have we learned from research on recent school finance reforms in Washington?



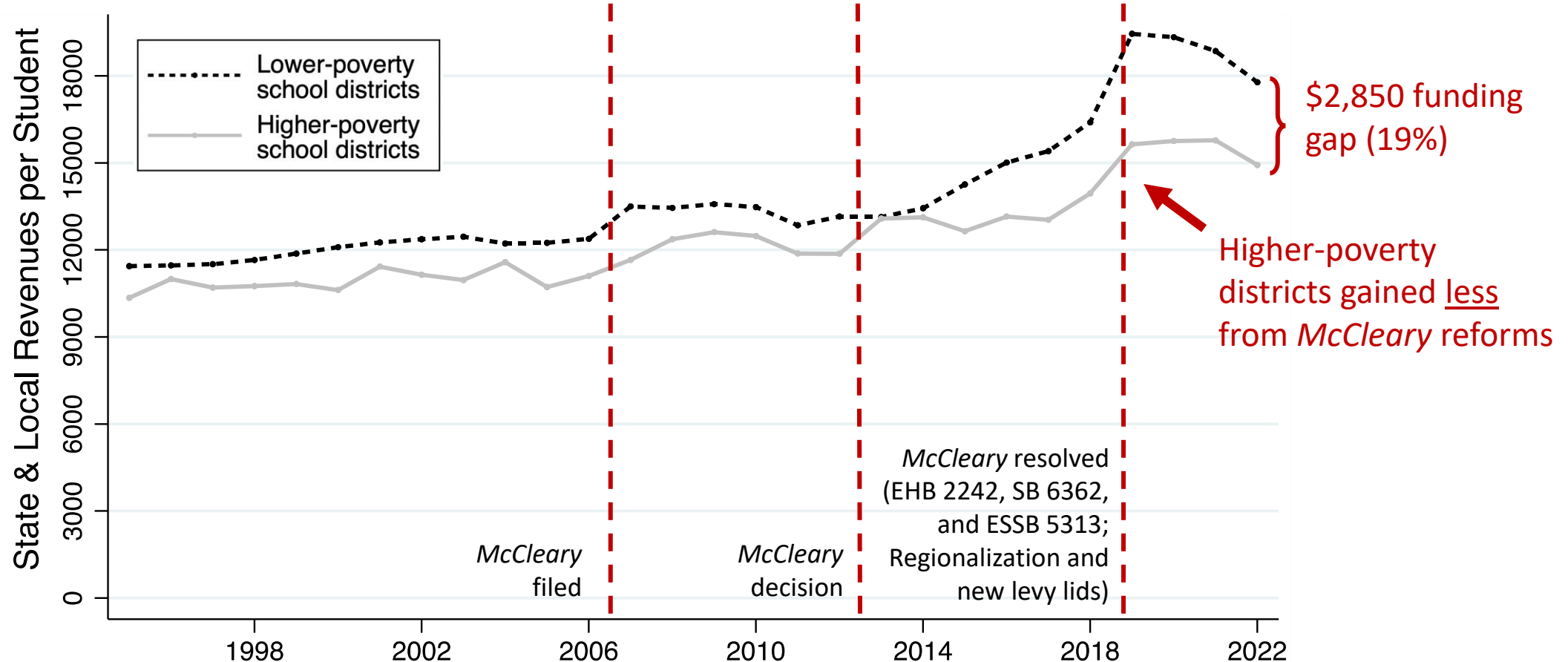
Few districts in Washington are “fully funded” but the size of funding gaps differs across districts

- In a recent policy brief, we combine per-pupil spending data with test score achievement data to estimate the cost of achieving a given level of academic proficiency
- Few districts in WA are fully funded* but the size of funding gaps differs across districts
- Higher-poverty districts are the most under-funded



* Fully funded to provide all students with equal educational opportunity to reach common adequate outcome goals. Source: Knight, D. S., Baker, B., Srikanth, A., Weber, M., & Fujioka, K. (2023). Creating an adequate and equitable school finance system in Washington State: Recommendations for state policymakers. Seattle WA: University of Washington. <http://hdl.handle.net/1773/51006>

Higher-poverty districts did not receive as large of funding increase following *McCleary*



Note: Low poverty refers to mean state and local per-pupil revenues for the 59 districts (20%) with the lowest rate of U.S. Census residential poverty, while high poverty refers to districts in the top 20% of student poverty. Revenues are adjusted for inflation to 2021-22 dollars. Results are similar when we adjust for local cost factors, see Knight, D. S. & Plecki, M. (2020). Establishing Priorities for Education Finance Under Fiscal Uncertainty: Recommendations for Washington State Policymakers. Seattle, WA: University of Washington College of Education.) N=295 school districts.

Two major changes from McCleary reforms were enacted in 2018-19 (in addition to large funding incr.)

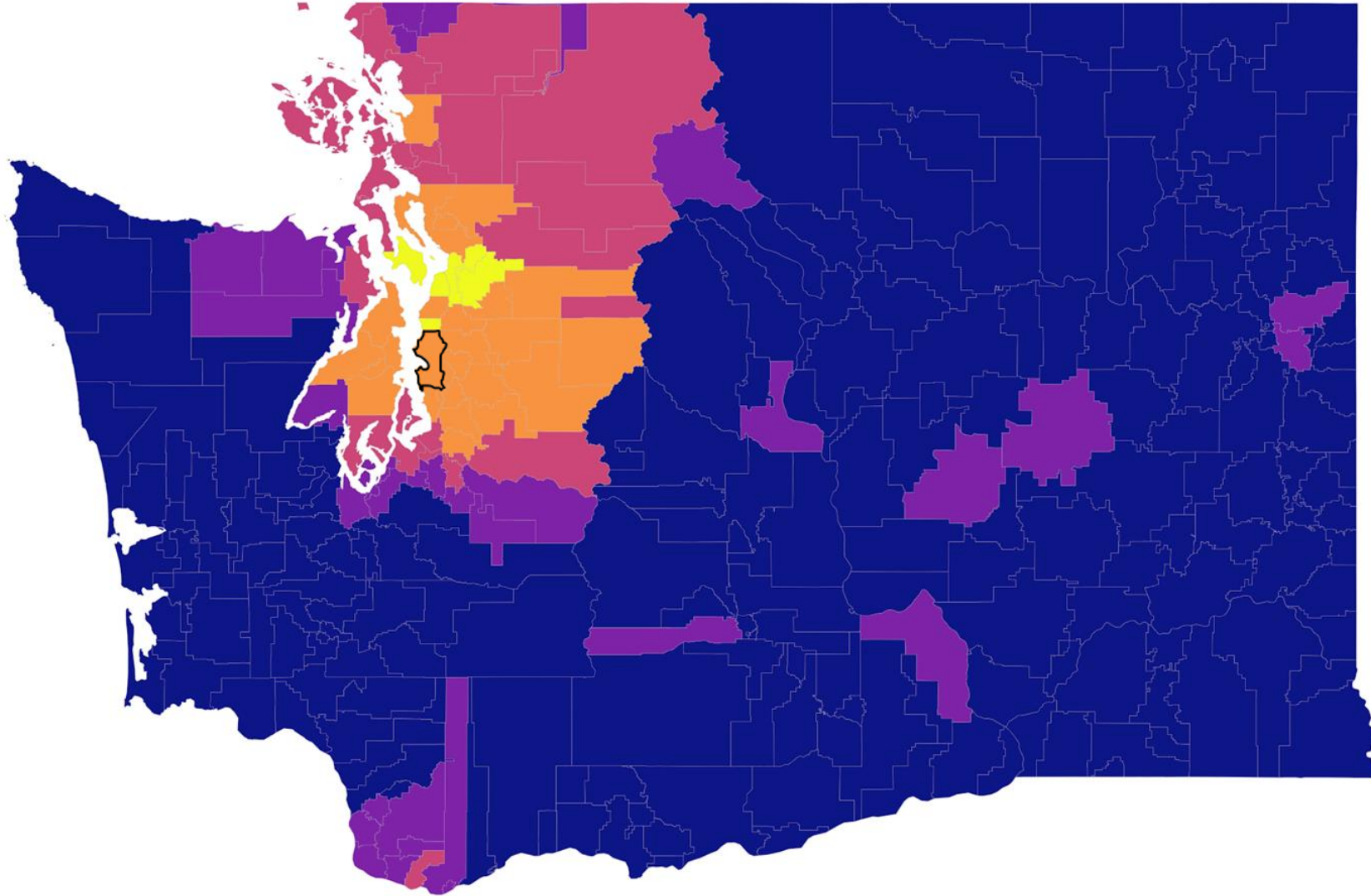
1.Regionalization

2.Levy lids

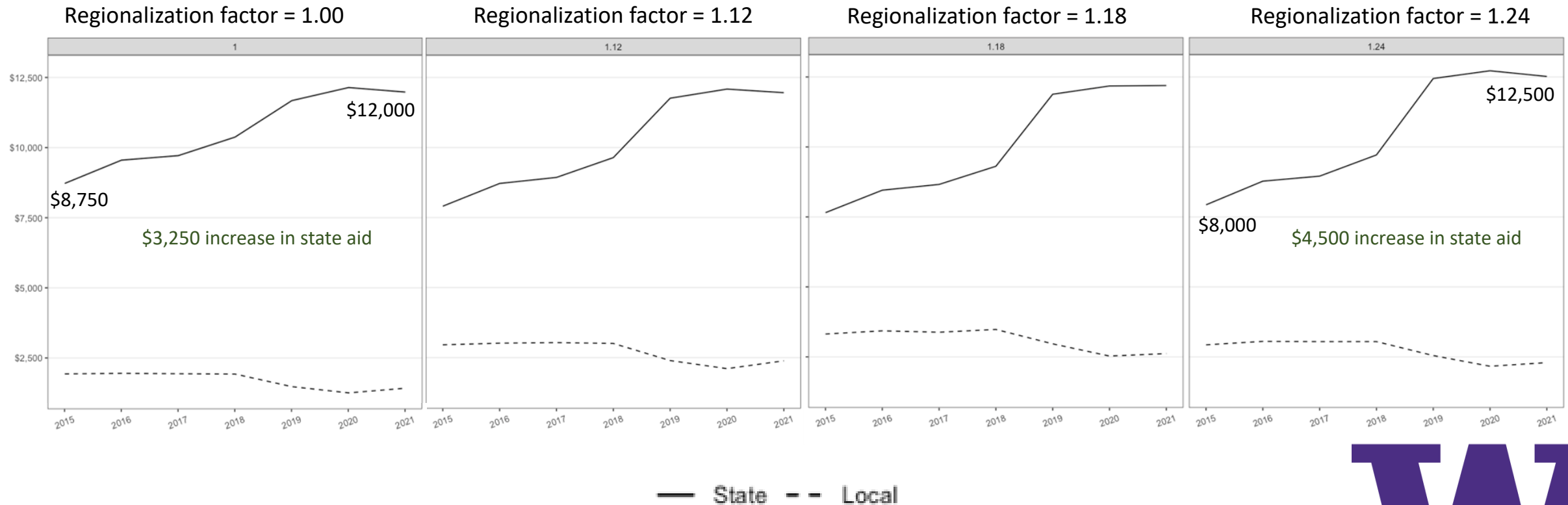


Regionalization factors were added in 2018-19 to adjust school funding for local cost of living

- Districts with higher regionalization factors are located primarily in the Puget Sound region
- Districts also receive experience bumps, but these and reg. factors are now being scaled back for many districts



Districts with higher 2018-19 regionalization factors received larger increases in state funding per pupil



Districts with regionalization factors of 1.18 and 1.24 received an additional \$4,500 per pupil in state aid, about \$1,250 more than districts with no regionalization, who received about \$3,250.



Now turning to levy lids

W

The state switched from a budget-based levy lid to a two-pronged cap (revenue and rate caps)

Before 2018-19

(Pre-Levy Lid Reform):

Districts can pass levies up to 28% of state and fed. revenues (“budget-based” levy lid)



Starting 2018-19

(Post-Levy Lid Reform):

Districts can pass levies up to the lesser of \$2,500 or \$2.50 *

* Note: for one year, during 2018-19, districts could receive levy revenue up to the lesser of \$2,500 or **\$1.50**, but the rate cap was expanded to \$2.50 the next year. Seattle has a special exception of a larger revenue cap. Revenue caps are adjusted each year for inflation.



The state switched from a budget-based levy lid to a two-pronged cap (revenue caps and rate caps)

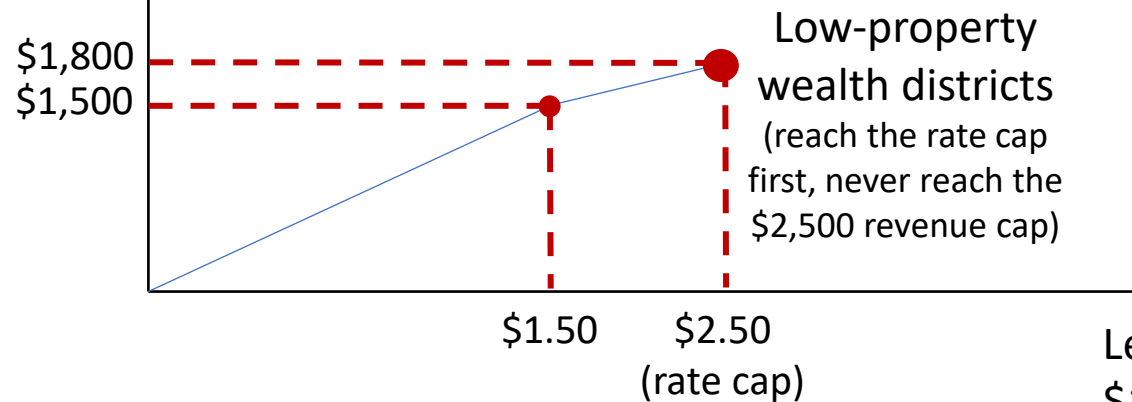
Two key findings related to recent levy lid reforms:

1. Higher-poverty, lower property wealth school districts pay higher levy rates, on average
2. Higher-poverty, lower property wealth school districts generate less levy revenue, and were disproportionately impacted by EHB 2242 *McCleary* levy lid reforms



How do levy lids affect high- and low-property wealth districts? How does Local Effort Assistance work?

Enrichment
Levy Per-Pupil
Revenues



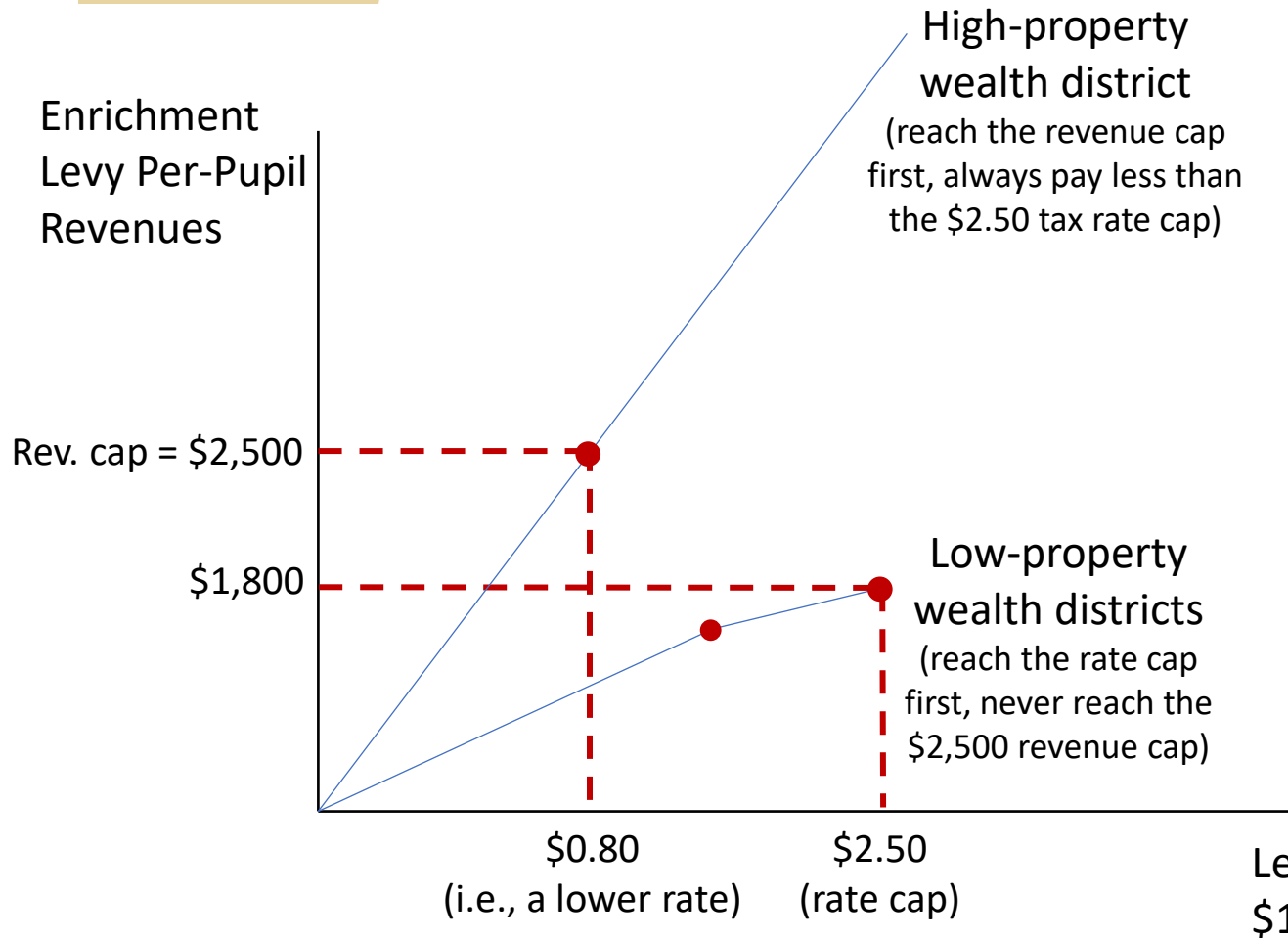
Levy tax rate (Dollars per \$1,000 of Assessed Value)

Note: "tax price" = amount of additional tax rate increase required to generate one additional dollar of tax revenue.

- Higher tax rates generate more revenue, but the amount of additional revenue generated (i.e., the "tax price") depends on local property values.
- Districts with lower property wealth have a higher "tax price"



How do levy lids affect high- and low-property wealth districts? How does Local Effort Assistance work?



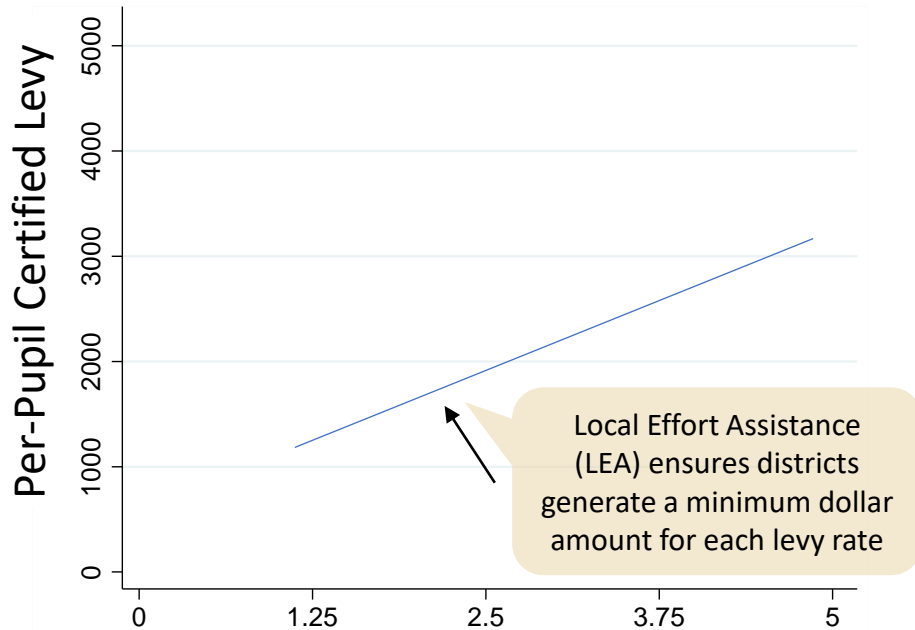
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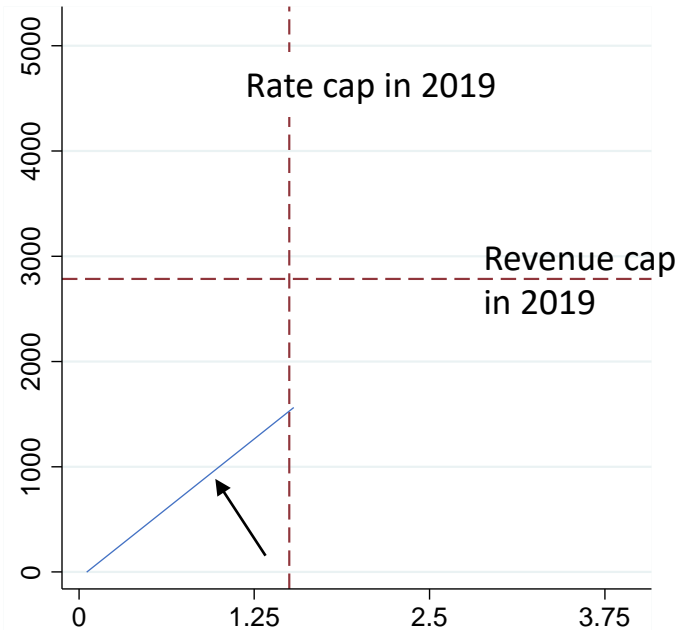
Note: “tax price” = amount of additional tax rate increase required to generate one additional dollar of tax revenue.

Lower property wealth, “rate capped” districts saw larger declines in local levy revenues (y-axis)

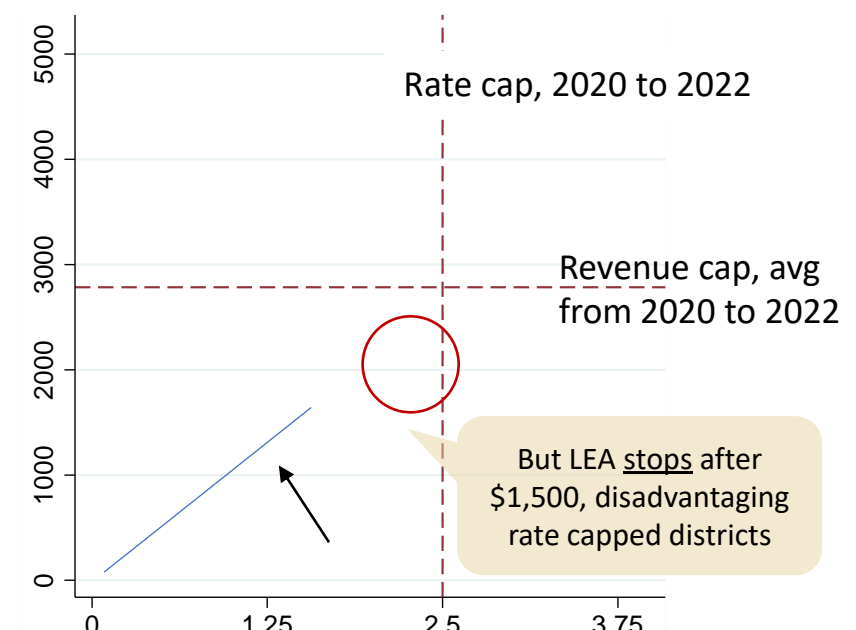
Panel A. 2016 to 2018 Average (pre-reform)



Panel B: 2019 (initial policy change)



Panel C: 2020 to 2022 (post-reform)



Levy Rate (Dollars per \$1,000 of Assessed Value)

Revenue capped districts

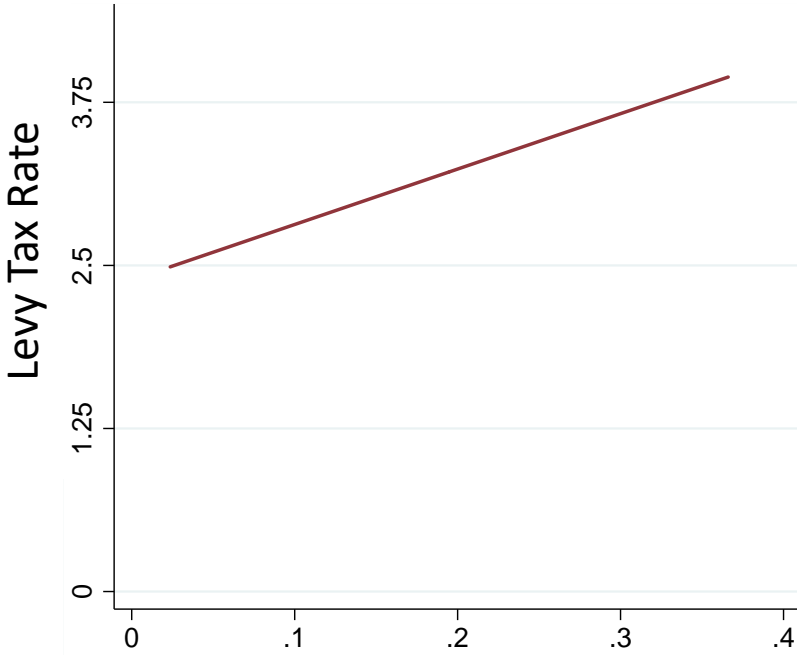
Rate capped districts

Not applicable (pre-reform)

A logical question then, is whether higher-poverty, lower-property wealth districts are paying lower tax rates...?

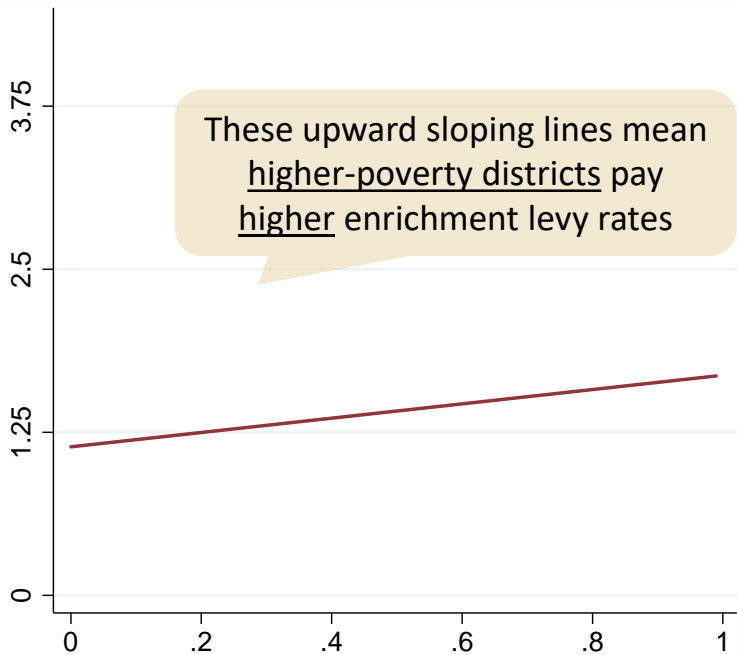
Even with LEA, lower property wealth districts (higher-poverty) pay a higher local levy tax rate

Panel A. 2016 to 2018 Avg. (pre-reform)



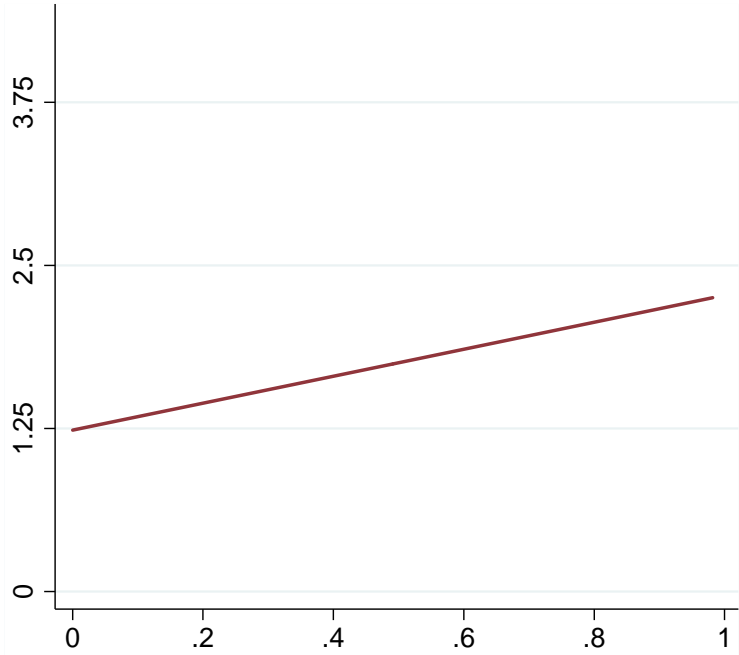
Revenue capped districts

Panel B: 2019 (initial policy change)



Rate capped districts

Panel C: 2020 to 2022 (post-reform)

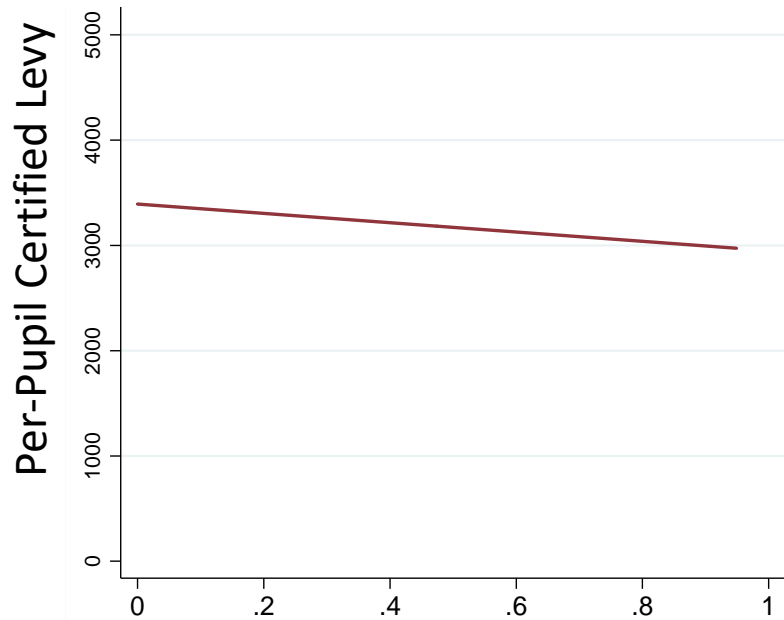


Not applicable (pre-reform)

But are higher-poverty, lower-property wealth districts are generating more revenues from those higher tax rates...?

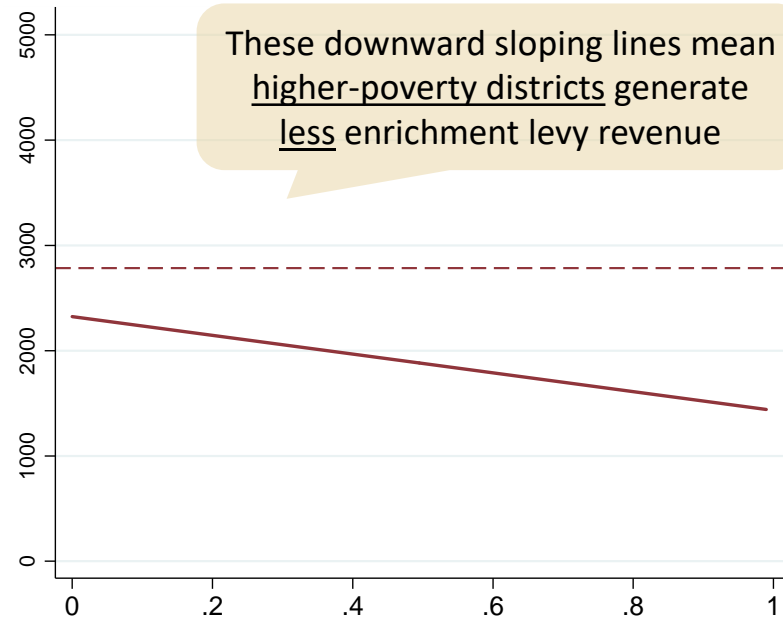
And even with LEA, lower poverty wealth districts generate substantially less local revenue

Panel A. 2016 to 2018 Avg. (pre-reform)



Revenue capped districts

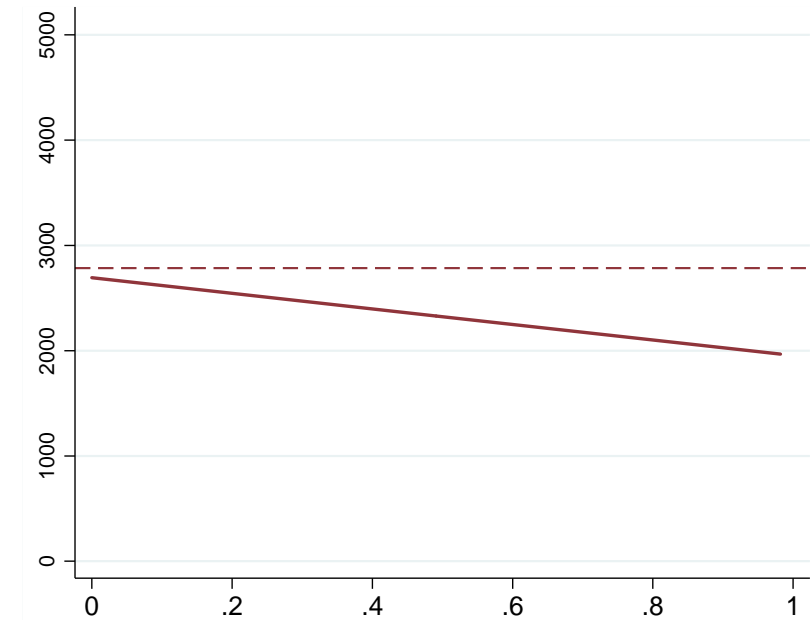
Panel B: 2019 (initial policy change)



These downward sloping lines mean higher-poverty districts generate less enrichment levy revenue

Rate capped districts

Panel C: 2020 to 2022 (post-reform)



Not applicable (pre-reform)

Wrapping up

From prior research, we know...

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2. Schools serving higher-poverty student populations require additional resources to provide equal educational opportunity

And from our recent research at the Univ. of Washington, we know...

3. Washington's state school finance system does not allocate funding such that districts have adequate resources to meet student needs
4. Washington's mechanism for generating local property values is inequitable for taxpayers and school districts



Thank you!

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Ji Ho Yang, M.A.
Alex Lui, M.A.
Claire McMorris, B.A.



Appendix slides



What are the two primary goals of any state school finance system?

1. Provide all children with equal opportunity to achieve common outcome goals
 - a) Funding should be both adequate and equitable to meet student needs
 - b) Requires more per-pupil resources in some districts (equality v. equity)
 - c) **WA's policy tools**: categorical funding, including Learning Assistance Program (LAP), Transitional Bilingual Instructional Program (TPIB), and special education (SPED), **but** student weights embedded in the Prototypical School Model are only used for SPED.

2. Equalize the tax base to provide equity for taxpayers and school districts
 - a) Districts passing levies should have equal opportunity to generate revenues
 - b) Households face equal tax burden for given quality of gov. services
 - c) **WA's policy tool**: enrichment levy equalization, called Local Effort Assistance (LEA), **but** no equalization for capital projects levies, tech levies, trans. levies, or bonds.

What policy levers might help address current school finance challenges?

STATE LEGISLATURE

For the short term:

- Increase Local Effort Assistance (LEA)
- Address regionalization
- Increase Learning Assistance Program (LAP)
- Expand capital funding (e.g., SCAP program)
- Assess ESSHB 1238 and ESHB 1436

Broader, bolder changes:

- Add weights to prototypical school model
- Move to a dollar-based funding system, rather than a resource-based

SCHOOL DISTRICTS

For the short term:

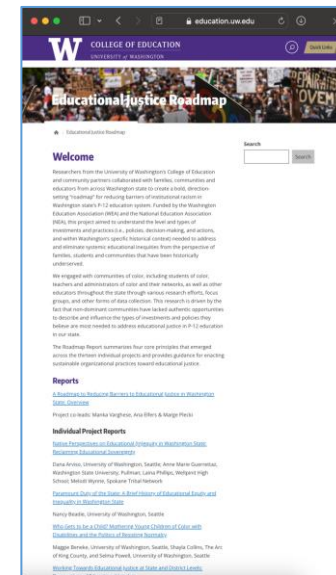
- Recognize the inherent inequity in across-the-board cuts
- Consider short term class size increases to avoid RIFs

Broader, bolder changes:

- Develop / strengthen community partnerships to support after school, summer, dual credit, etc.

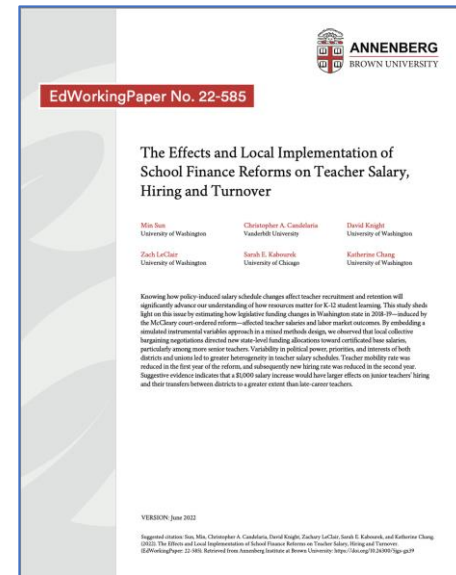
New funding improved teacher retention

- Most new funding invested in teacher salaries; larger pay increases for veteran teachers (Sun et al., 2022)
- Salary increases improved teacher retention; effects were largest among novice teachers (Sun et al., 2022)
- Preliminary analyses find little impacts on grad rates in years 1 - 4, 2018-19 to 2021-22, or math, ELA prof, but year 2 missing; COVID influence (Candelaria et al., 2023)



(Knight et al., 2022).

<https://www.education.wa.edu/ejr/>



(Sun et al., 2022).

https://www.edworkingpapers.com/sites/default/files/a_i22-585.pdf

**2023 APPAM
Fall Research Conference**
November 9-11, 2023
Atlanta, Georgia

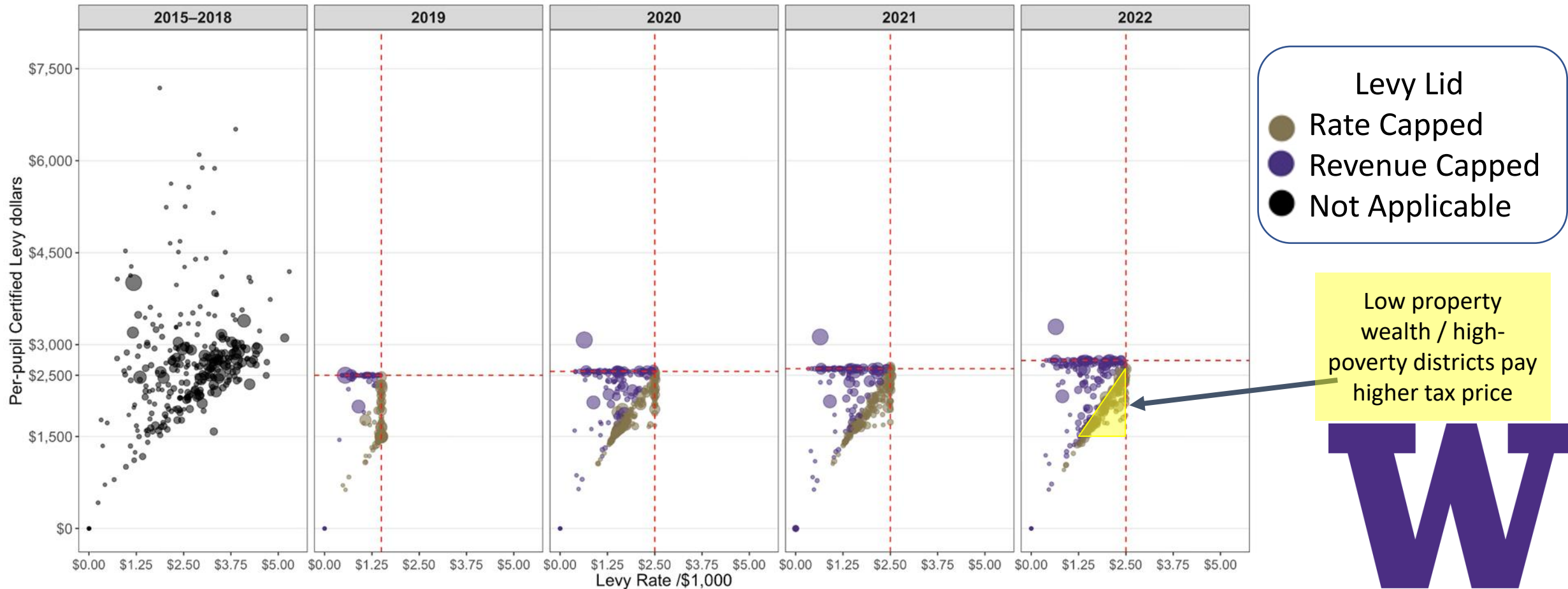
Policy that
Matters:
Making Public
Services
Work for All

(Candelaria et al., 2023).

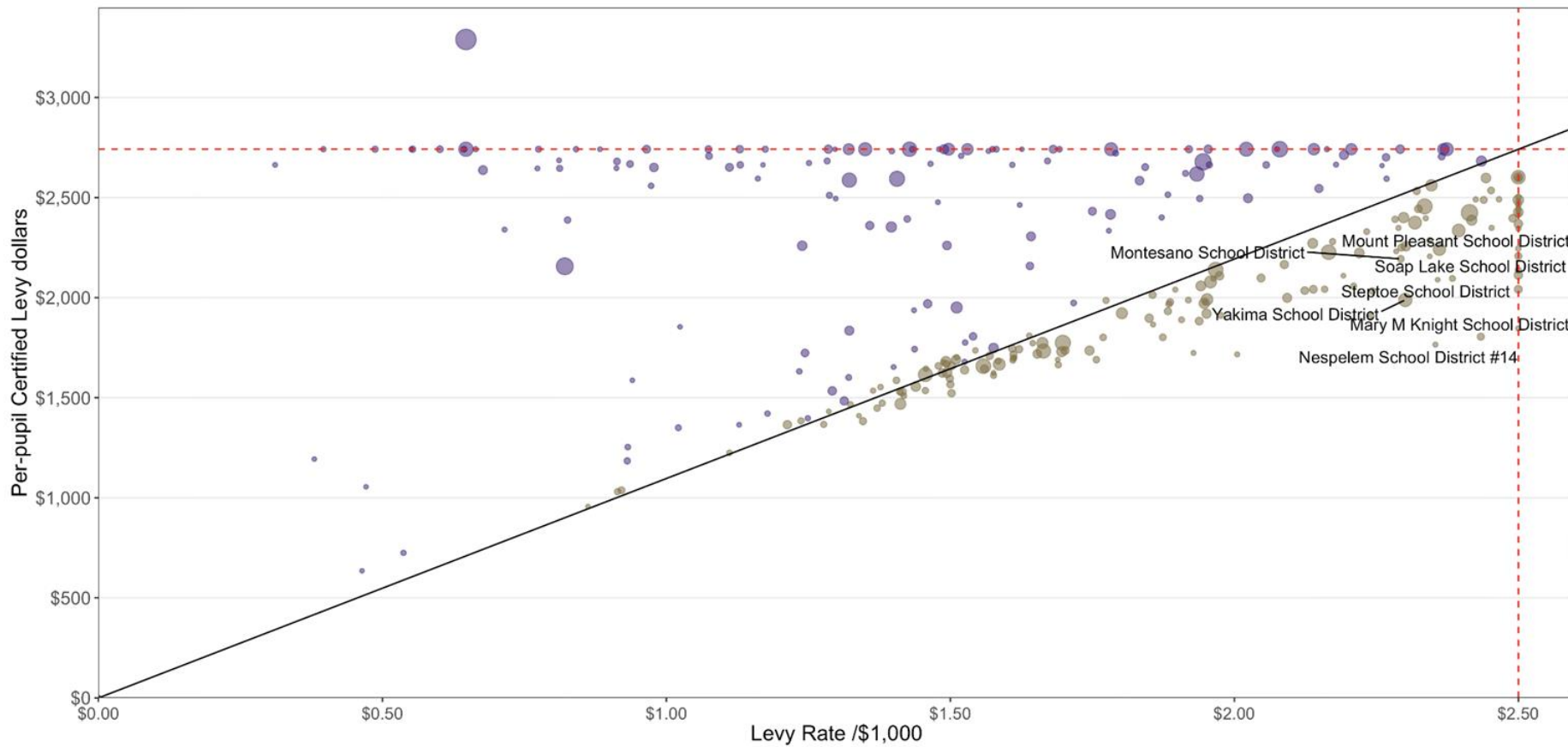
<https://appam.confex.com/appam/2023/meetingapp.cgi/Paper/48633>



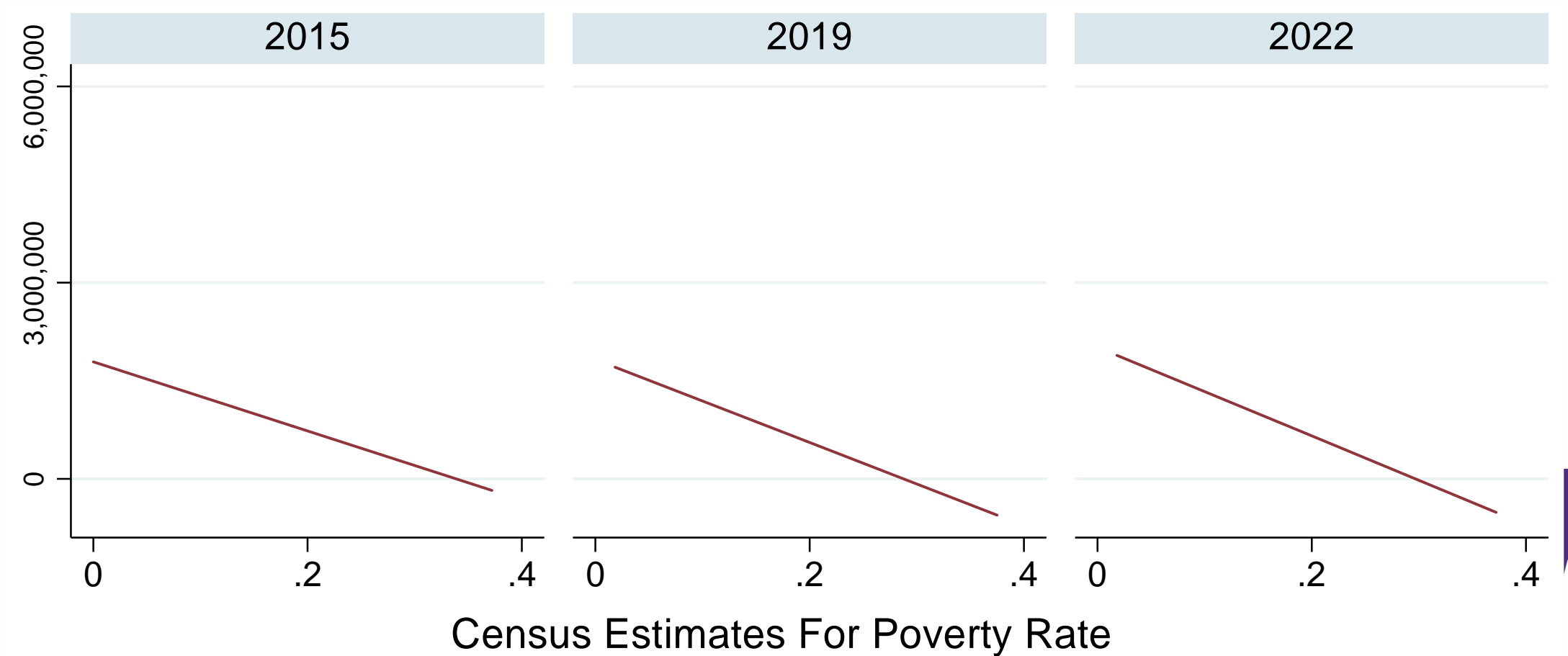
Both revenue capped and rate capped districts saw decreases in local revenues (y-axis)



Some districts are levying a tax rate with very high tax price



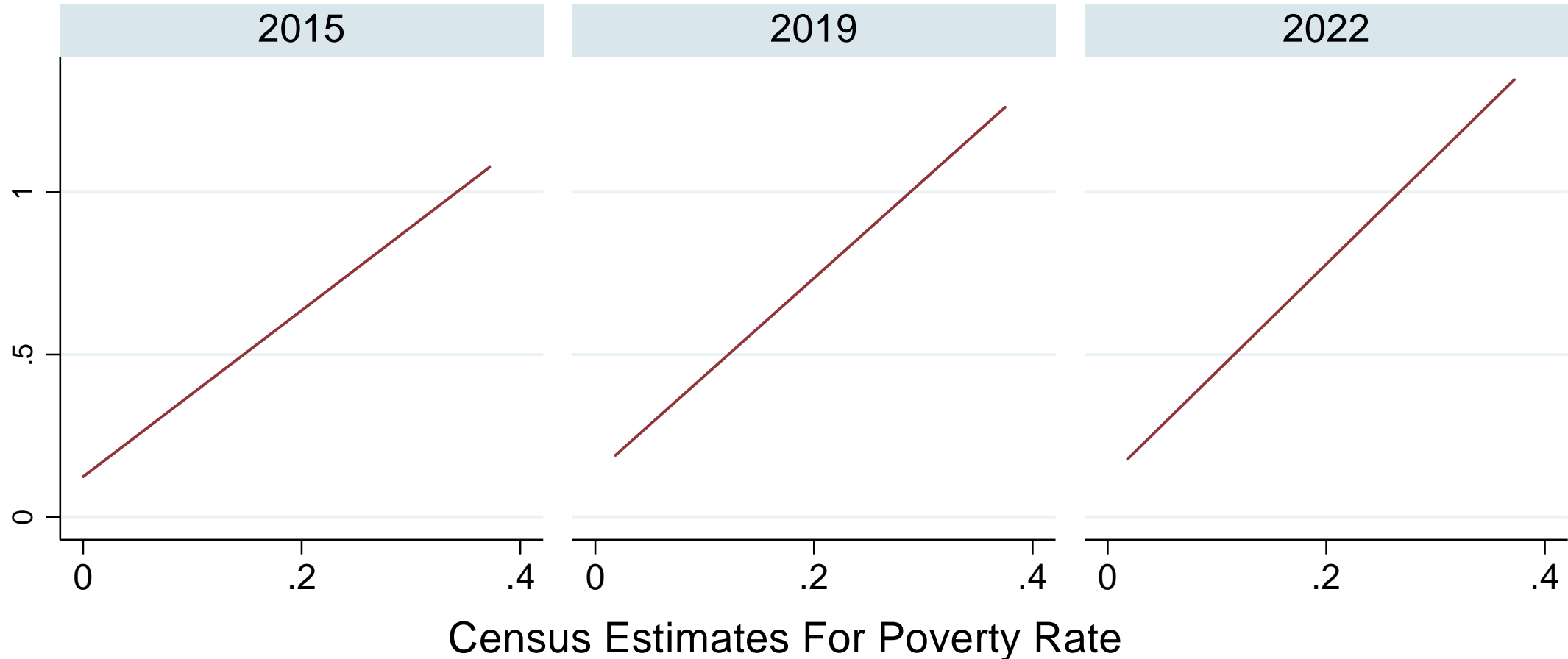
Property values and U.S. Census poverty rates (SAIPE) are positively correlated



Source: Washington Office of Superintendent for Public Instruction, property value and levy valuation report; U.S. Census Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates.



Free/reduced price lunch rates and U.S. Census poverty rates (SAIPE) are positively correlated



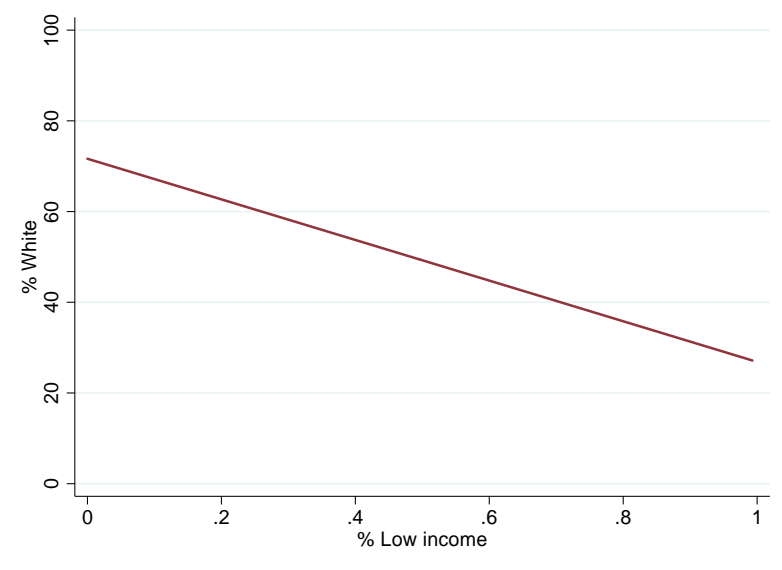
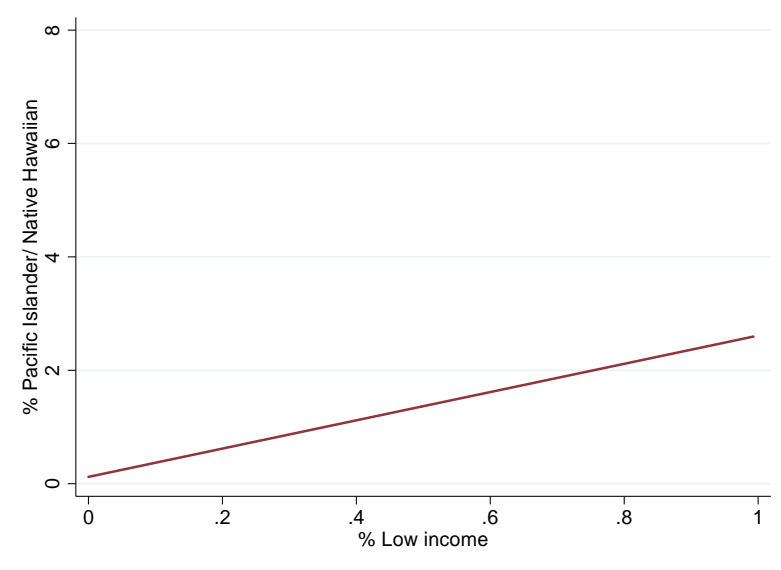
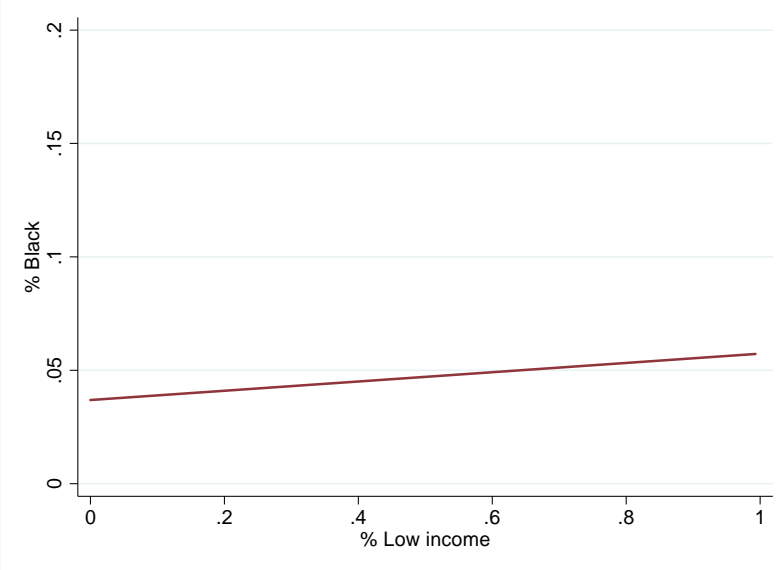
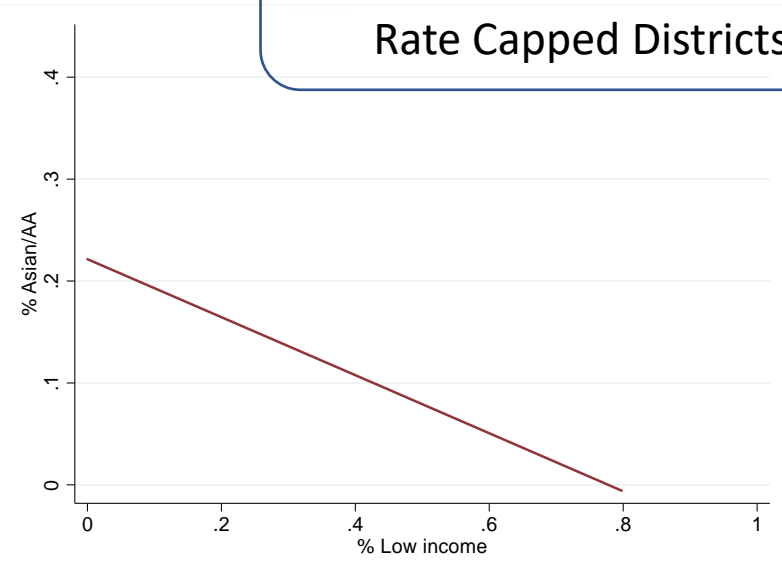
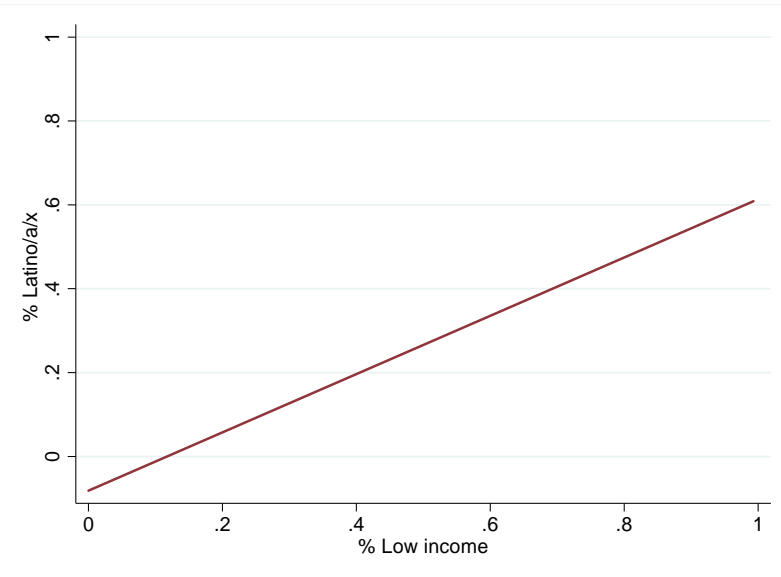
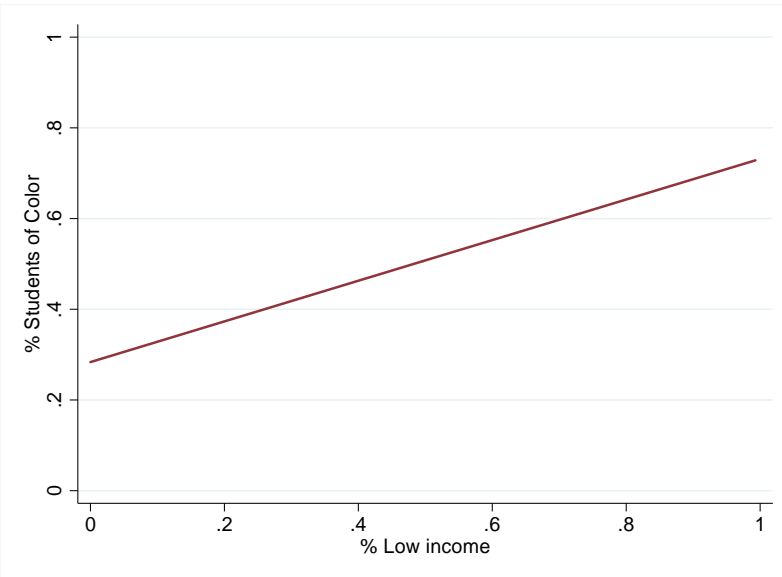
Source: Washington Office of Superintendent for Public Instruction, Enrollment file; U.S. Census Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates.



Rate capped districts serve a more racially diverse and higher-poverty student population

Legend

- Revenue Capped Districts
- Rate Capped Districts

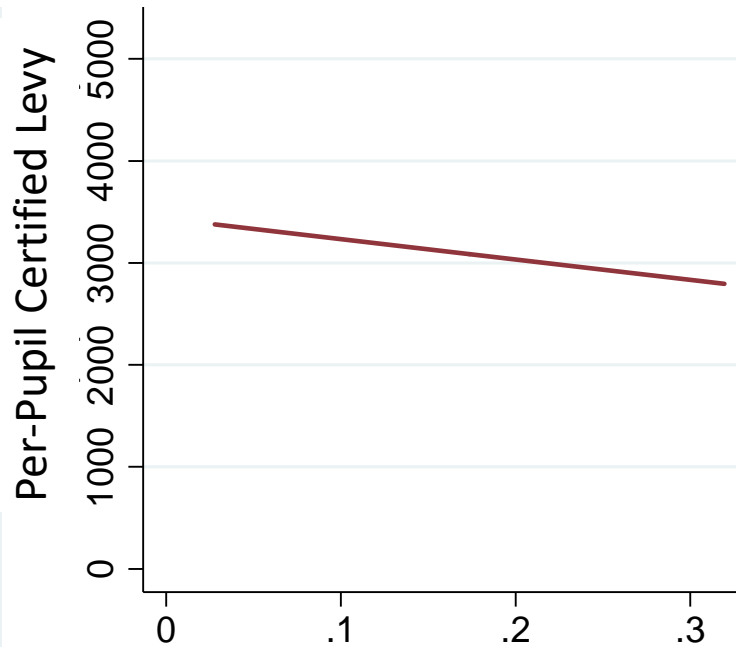


Source: author's calculation based on OSPI enrollment and levy data, school year 2021-22



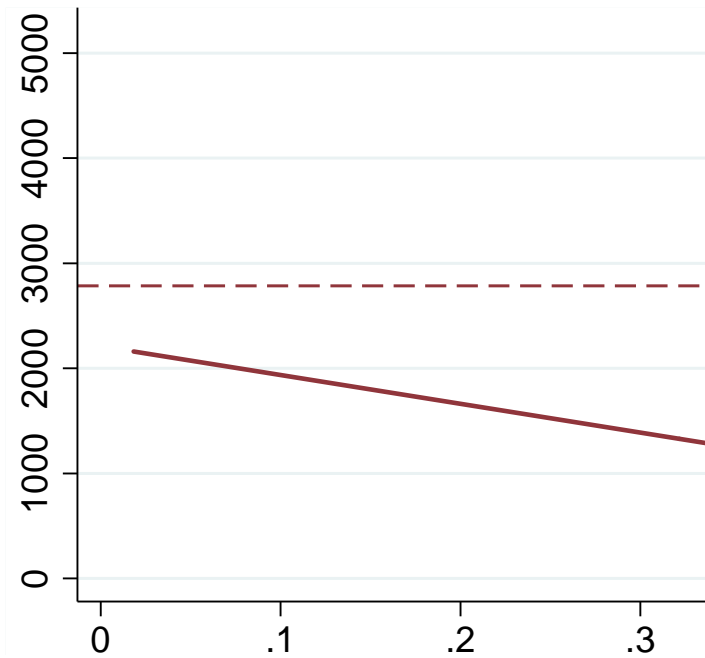
Even with LEA, lower-poverty districts generate substantially less local revenue

Panel A. 2016 to 2018 Avg. (pre-reform)



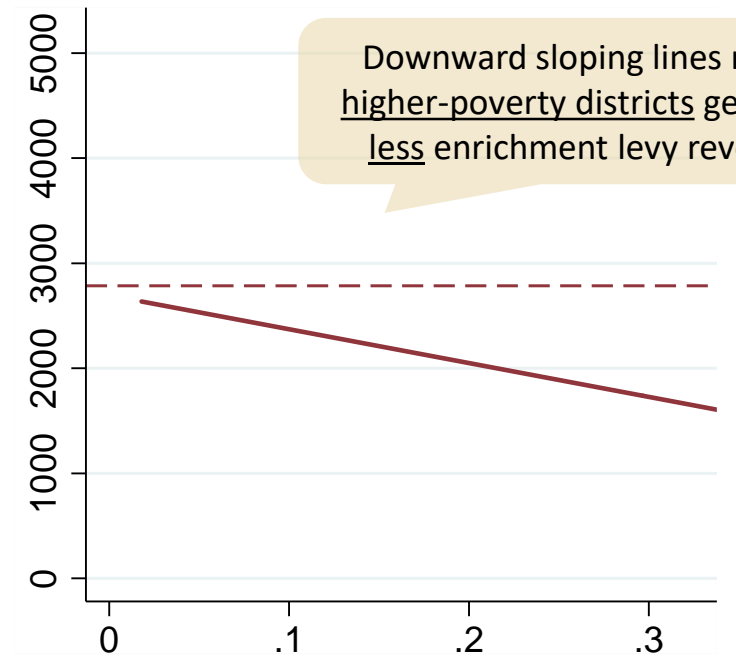
Revenue capped districts

Panel B: 2019 (initial policy change)



Rate capped districts

Panel C: 2020 to 2022 (post-reform)



Not applicable (pre-reform)