Peabody Journal of Education

ISSN: 0161-956X (Print) 1532-7930 (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/hpje20

Southern Hospitality: Democracy and School Finance Policy Praxis in Racist America

Davíd G. Martínez, David Osworth, David S. Knight & Julian Vasquez Heilig

To cite this article: Davíd G. Martínez, David Osworth, David S. Knight & Julian Vasquez Heilig (2023) Southern Hospitality: Democracy and School Finance Policy Praxis in Racist America, Peabody Journal of Education, 98:5, 482-499, DOI: 10.1080/0161956X.2023.2261308

To link to this article: https://doi.org/10.1080/0161956X.2023.2261308

PEABODY JOURNAL OF EDUCATION
2023, VOL. 98, NO. 5, 482–499
https://doi.org/10.1080/0161956X.2023.2261308

Routledge
Taylor & Francis Group

Southern Hospitality: Democracy and School Finance Policy Praxis in Racist America

Davíd G. Martínez[a], David Osworth[a], David S. Knight[b], and Julian Vasquez Heilig[c]

[a]University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC; [b]University of Washington, Seattle, WA; [c]Western Michigan University, Kalamazoo, MI

BSTR CT

Recent evidence suggests school resources are continually segregated from minoritized communities. This funding disparity impacts students' long-term outcomes in school and in their community. Political discourse has prioritized school defunding, privatization through vouchers and related policies, and tax relief and at the same time greater regulation of curriculum, content, and pedagogy in schools. Southern states in particular have moved to restrict access to a discourse of liberation and are threatening sanctions if schools implement specific content (e.g., race, and oppression). We explore the potential for school finance to create spaces that decrease democratic participation through school funding disparity. We use district-level panel data that combines National Center for Education Statistics and Census data from 2000 to 2018 to explore the patterns of school funding disparity in nine southern states; Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia. We find racial/ethnic make-up interacts with specific funding variables so that districts with higher percentages of minoritized students are at a disadvantage financially. We also find that states may over rely on local and federal funds to maintain funding levels despite increases in cost pressures.

Introduction

Public education in the United States consistently defines itself in relation to our democracy, evolving from the era of colonization through the present day. In that time, the continued affirmation of violence against people of color in the educational pipeline is cemented as part of that legacy. Quoting Alexis de Tocqueville, Van Der Bogert (2006) asserted that education is training in liberty, and that such training provides the foundation to live in freedom reminding us that democracy is not inherited, it is learned, "We create freedom, sustain it, grow from it, embed it in our families, communities, and institutions, and claim it as our heritage," (p. 149). By contrast, Richard T. Greener reminded his contemporaries that democracy and liberty were unfettered ideals; in fact, Greener asserted that democracy and liberty were not only a function of race and ethnicity, but dependent on geographical location (Greener, 1880).

In *The Emigration of Colored Citizens from the Southern States* Greener (1880) wrote,

> The South, has now had for three years home rule, "Autonomy;" and yet, instead of the renewed prosperity, harmony of races, and absence of political violence and lawlessness, which we were promised, we find demoralized credit, shameless repudiation, and organized lawlessness-rendering the condition of the Negro tenant class worse than at any period since slavery. (p. 22)

CONTACT Davíd G. Martínez david.martinez.242@gmail.com College of Education, Department of Educational Leadership and Policies, University of South Carolina, Wardlaw College Room 317, 820 Main St, Columbia, SC 29208

This sociostructural, geographical critique of the South after the effort to emancipate Enslaved Peoples underscores many of the current barriers that exist for minoritized communities. Policy and law are consistently used to degrade the power of liberation and minimize democratic participation (Steinberg & Kincheloe, 2010). The defacing of democracy often exists as a reunification of oppression. When incorporated into the norms of democracy, minoritized people suffer through exploitation of their freedom and the exploitation of power by privileged communities whose own proxy for liberation, freedom, and democracy is measured against a bare minimum of sufficiency for people of color (Keyssar, 2009; Lieberman et al., 2017).

In the U.S. the fight for democracy has often run parallel to a fight for education. With the inception of formal schooling in New England at the Boston Latin School in 1635, and Harvard University in 1636 the Colonies recognized that a basic level of formal knowledge is requisite to life in a democracy. This includes the participation of minoritized people in formal schooling, a direct contradiction of the historical reality across the Colonies and our bourgeoning democracy. Often erased is the way Enslaved Peoples, by virtue of their own emancipation, fought to inculcate formal schooling in the South to maintain their freedom (Davis, 2016; Ladson-Billings, 2006). Thus, the permanence of educational stratification, and by proxy democratic participation, is institutionalized in what the South, and to a larger extent the U.S., understands about formal education for communities of diverse racial, ethnic, linguistic, and cultural heritage. This lack of understanding then feeds stereotypes of what minoritized people are capable of in the schooling pipeline; when juxtaposed on the surface against the ever-present achievement gap, these stereotypes led to cultural ideologies centered in deficit narratives.

Ladson-Billings (2006) quoting the National Governors Association has defined the achievement gap as a deficit that exists between minoritized students and their White peers. Ladson-Billings places emphasis on what policymakers do to ameliorate the achievement gap, against the deficit ideologies that policymakers use to judge our students. Deficit theories about minoritized communities allow educational "reformers" to center individuals and communities at the crux of the academic achievement gap, functionally ignoring the systems and structures which create academic inequity. The policy focus relies heavily on economic characteristics, integrating an indifference to race disregarding the intersectional nuances of race and poverty (Briscoe & Khalifa, 2015; Henry & Dixson, 2016; Venzant Chambers & Spikes, 2016).

Furthermore, policymakers conceptually rely on frameworks grounded in deficit ideologies that work to maintain persecution, not ameliorate the historical disparity recognizable in the U.S. schooling system. As an example, in the discord of the SARS-CoV-2 (COVID-19) pandemic school resource inequities were highlighted among a myriad of challenges. These resource inequities further deteriorated the educational participation of minoritized students informing how they understand and participate in the democratic process, including how communities engage and understand cultural, political, and sociological discourse and debate. Many ideologically conservative southern states focused legislative efforts on content, curriculum, and pedagogical restriction in the wake of the pandemic. Conservative Legislatures then threatened public school funding if specific content (e.g., racism, oppression) was taught in public schools which impedes democratic dialogue and knowledge acquisition.

In this manuscript we question if the South is a place of democratic participation for people of color. We do so by examining school funding as a pipeline of equitable educational opportunities. The following research questions guide our study:

(1) What salient historical resource insufficiencies exist in ideologically conservative southern states?
(2) What is the contemporary educational policy landscape in ideologically conservative southern states that decrease, if at all, democratic participation?

Through a panel set of data and econometric analysis we investigate the historical school funding disparities across the South (i.e., AL, GA, KY, MS, NC, SC, TN, VA, WV) to expand the discourse of school funding equity in this region.

First, we provide a conceptual framework to problematize the South's historical context. We then examine the history of southern aggression towards minoritized communities, coercive education policy, and the current erosion of educational agency through policy. Next, we interrogate the relationship between state and local per-student funding and student poverty rates. We conclude with a discussion that describes the implications of school funding inequity in the South, and how democratic participation is mediated as a function of school finance inequity.

Conceptual framework

To confront educational resource disparity across the South we use Practice Theory framework (i.e., Site Ontology). Schatzki (2005) asserts practices are organized into interconnected spatial-temporal actions. These actions are grounded in heuristics, material objects, and place (i.e., site), that inform cultural, economic, social, and political ideologies (Green, 2009; Grootenboer et al., 2014; Schatzki, 2005; Schatzki et al., 2001). Participants engaged in practice collectively agree an action is best suited for a particular challenge (i.e., cohesion), and in the South, an action to mediate the participation of minoritized communities in schooling. The relationship between practice and the participant then works to restrain any discourse (e.g., advocacy, praxis) unfavorable toward the dominant group (Grootenboer et al., 2014; Schatzki, 2002, 2005). Southern states have continued to instigate forms of oppression and persecution through formal policy often informed by its historical Site Ontology (i.e., the contextual understanding of law, policy, and custom normative to a geographical space), which favors slavery and White supremacy as preferred practices. Furthermore, state legislative policy has the potential to resolve education funding inequity, but legislative action has maintained disparity as the preferred status quo (Driscoll et al., 2014; Rodriguez, 2018). This status quo is now intensified due to COVID-19, and minoritized communities are positioned to feel the pressure of fiscal austerity once again, as with the Great Recession (Baker B. D., 2014; Knight, 2017).

Figure A1 displays the interdependent spatial-temporal phenomena grounding policy praxis. In the center, school finance policy praxis is informed by organizational and material arrangements operating as constraints. Simultaneously, deservingness and heuristics work to create a belief structure about the community. Finally, the site, and the history of the site, informs the absolute design of the system. The site informs material and organizational arrangements; informs the constraints of school finance policy praxis. The site also informs the ideation of deservingness, and the bias employed in heuristic; the beliefs used in school finance policy praxis (Martínez & Spikes, 2020).

Finally, if practice is informed by history as states across the South work to mitigate the effects of school finance disparity they will continue to assert White dominance through seemingly race neutral policy that works to exacerbate educational inequity in minoritized communities (Dumas, 2015; Montoya et al., 2016; Stovall, 2006). Through our framework, we argue the oppression of minoritized communities is so enmeshed in southern states' Site Ontology it is challenging to develop state-level policy discourse that supports school funding equity for all students. The manifestation of oppressive practices arise through policy praxis and school finance policy creation devaluing local advocates for fear of interrupting the dominant discourse (Crenshaw, 2002; Crenshaw et al., 2019; Mitchell, 2013; Tate, 1997). We contend understanding school finance policy praxis in the South requires us to understand the belief structure and constraints that make school finance policy praxis possible in the context of the site and its history.

Literature review

The aim of this study is to use a Site Ontology (Schatzki, 2005) theoretical framework to understand school finance disparity in southern states. Site Ontology informs our methodology, from the research questions we posed, our choices of methods, and the literature we use to situate our analysis. To engage appropriately with this theory, we frame our literature review to provide a historical, political, and social context we contend manifests the ways in which resource allocation disparities occur. First, we review the history of racial aggression in the South. Then, we highlight the trends of coercive educational policy. And finally, we present the current policy landscape which reduces teacher agency and free speech through restrictive and reductive policies specifically targeting race-based content.

History of southern aggression

The southern states are significant to the legacy of enslavement and settler colonialism in the U.S. Many southern states acted as ports of entry for ships bringing Enslaved Peoples to the "New World" and continued to act as entry points for the slave trade until it was federally outlawed in 1808 (Littlefield, 1990; McMillan, 1994). While slavery was not isolated to southern states during this period of settler colonialism, these states continued to engage in internal slave trading following the end of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. States that engaged in this internal trading included Georgia, North and South Carolina, Maryland, and Virginia (McMillan, 1994).

Slavery in the U.S. was a brutal and dehumanizing practice. The South maintained a system of commerce that required labor and promoted enslavement as means of economic stability (Brady, 1972; Genovese, 2012). Carter et al. (2011) noted, "slavery was in large part, but not in total, a system of power relations where whites used violence, and more often the threat of violence, to impel blacks to obey their wishes," (p. 137). Slavery acted to control not only the bodies but also the minds of the Enslaved Peoples; in 1740 the education of slaves became illegal in South Carolina specifically (Collins, 2002; Hale, 2021). The legacy of slavery can be summarized by the decision in *Dred Scott v. Sanford* which illustrated the federal stance on the value of non-White people and their rights (Bell, 2004).

Following emancipation, across the South the planter class innovated practices which continued the systemic oppression of Black and Brown bodies to act as free labor; the brutal inmate leasing programs and the use of debt peonage allowed for slavery to continue in new ways regardless of the 13th Amendment (Daniel, 1972). Despite continued exploitation by the planter class during the Reconstruction era, formerly Enslaved Peoples played a vital role in the creation of universal free education in the U.S., prioritizing strong constitutional language with fiscal support beyond localities (Anderson, 1988). Despite these efforts, southern states set up a system of public schools for minoritized communities that were both segregated and underfunded (Fine et al., 2005). Anderson (1988) noted that, "the most oppressive feature of black secondary education was that southern local and state governments, though maintaining and expanding the benefits of public secondary education for white children, refused to provide public high school facilities for black children," (p. 186). When public education was funded for People of Color in the South it often focused on industrial training, ultimately reifying class differences between Black and White students (Anderson, 1988). Education of Black people in southern states was undergirded by the ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which effectively sanctioned de jure public school segregation (Baker R. S., 2006). While this segregation was challenged by *Brown v. Board of Education*, the "integration" that was carried out left the hopes for racial equity unrealized (Bell, 2004; Jones & Hancock, 2005). *Brown* came to symbolize a fight for desegregation, but plaintiffs sought increased resources for their children, not exposure to White violence through intracommunity displacement (Banks, 2004; Butchart, 1979). In the wake of desegregation orders, districts decreased funds to schools which integrated and created school choice policies which disrupted resources to these schools while maintaining segregation (Hale, 2021). The legacies of slavery and Jim Crow are still felt today whether as differences in Black and White generational wealth (O'Connell, 2012) or in educational opportunities and outcomes (Ladson-Billings, 1998).

This history of oppression functions to reify White supremacy from initial colonization to present day and is important to understanding the South's Site Ontology. Often these policies have been leveraged to sacrifice the well-being of marginalized people to preserve the power of a White ruling class (Bell, 2004). Highlighted above, education has long been noted as a requisite for democracy in the U.S. As marginalized groups have struggled to increase access to schooling, however, policy actors have worked to further restrict this access. The legacy of aggression nationally and in the South can be seen as access to quality education has often been reserved for the most privileged among U.S. society. Kozol's (1991) seminal work illustrated the way in which the promise of public schooling has not been fully realized for many communities in the U.S. If education is necessary for the continuation of democracy, current policies exclude marginalized communities from their civic actualization.

This history influences present day school finance issues in the South. Several studies document especially large resource disparities among school systems in southern states (Garda, 2007; Houck, 2010; Tran et al., 2021). For instance, Smith et al. (2022) analyzed the impact of school finance policy change in South Carolina, acknowledging that changes in policy lead to school finance disparity for minoritized communities. Rolle et al. (2008) examined school finance disparity in North Carolina, concluding that North Carolinas history of racism against Black communities is a positive and significant predictor of spending. In a follow-up study, Needham and Houck (2021) found that teacher salary inequity is often related to Black students and English language learners. Black (2020) in particular noted "the deepest and most consistent funding gaps are in the Southeast and Southwest, with far smaller funding gaps in the Upper Midwest and Northeast" (p. 242), pointing to privatization policies as exacerbating these finance challenges, and placing the civic and economic futures of many students at risk.

Coercive educational policy

Following in the tradition of Dewey (1923), scholars have continued to seek greater understanding of the complex interplay between education and its potential for democracy. Labaree (1997) posited that educational conflict in the U.S. can be tied to three competing educational goals: democratic equality, social efficiency, and social mobility. In the present era of school reform, corporate and political regimes have sought to erode education as a public good and weaken schooling's potential for democratic freedom (Ravitch, 2013). This is not a localized phenomenon, rather one that can be tied to a national sentiment of disinvestment from schools, particularly those which serve communities of color (Lipman, 2013, 2015).

Lipman (2013) noted that many policies enacted in Black and Brown spaces engage in coercive governance and remove democratic participation from community schooling. Lipman (2013) connected the erosion of democracy in education to hegemonic logics; they wrote, "ruling classes must constantly reassert moral and intellectual leadership so that dominated or subordinate classes consent to their own domination rather than being simply forced into inferior positions," (p. 560). The present trend toward high stakes accountability from No Child Left Behind (NCLB) to the Every Student Succeeds Act opens the door for policies which are punitive in nature (Mathis & Trujillo, 2016). Policies that presume to be race neutral and fair are often to the detriment of communities of color (Lipman, 2013; Osworth, 2022) The erosion of democratic structures in schooling act as a vehicle to further reproduce White supremacy and erode democratic participation.

Erosion of agency

The current policy climate in the U.S. has supported conservative lawmakers in southern states as they pass legislation aimed at degrading democracy through public schooling. To better understand the policy landscape in the states we examined, we present salient legislation which has recently been

passed in these states. Content restrictive policy has been introduced in all of the states included in the study; these policies often target content on race, racism, and oppression.

North Carolina is the only state in our study where a content restrictive policy was vetoed. There is variation in the language across the legislation, the sentiment, however, is quite consistent; this legislation hopes to keep historically accurate conversations regarding race and oppression out of the classroom to protect the feelings of White students. Tennessee's SB0623 states that teachers cannot teach that, "This state or the United States is fundamentally or irredeemably racist or sexist." The bill later states that curriculum can include: "the impartial instruction on the historical oppression of a particular group of people based on race, ethnicity, class, nationality, religion, or geographic region." These concepts are in conflict; without being able to acknowledge the way in which race and racism fundamentally undergirds the historical oppression in the U.S. results in an inability to accurately teach history. Instead of history students will be taught myths. Freire (1970/2018) noted that by creating myths through which the oppressed view their experience limits democracy and furthers oppression. This policy limits marginalized students' access to accurate history, further perpetuating pedagogy which is focused on management as opposed to honoring marginalized students' knowledge (Darder, 2012).

South Carolina has limited agency through policy that governs school budgets, since the individual pieces of legislation were not passed through the traditional channels. H630 section 1.105 uses the budget to constrain the content being taught in classrooms. A portion of H630 reads that no materials for students or staff can inculcate that, "meritocracy or traits such as a hard work ethic are racist or sexist or were created by members of a particular race to oppress members of another race." South Carolina's is not the only policy to target specifically meritocracy, Tennessee and Virginia also make specific mention to meritocracy. These policies hinder teachers' ability to engage in conversations around power and privilege. This legislation ultimately obstructs teacher free speech as well as reduces students' ability to develop critical thinking skills which ultimately support a healthy democracy. These policies further reinforce deficit ideologies and devalue the epistemologies of marginalized communities (Khalifa, 2018).

Data and methods

Data

We constructed a district-level panel data set that includes data from the National Center of Education Statistics Common Core of Data, the U.S. Census Bureau's Annual Survey of School System Finances and Small Area Income and Poverty Estimates, and the Education Comparable Wage Index data set (Taylor & Fowler, 2006), from 2000–2018 school years. The data were checked for outliers, and we test the sensitivity of our results when imposing restrictions at the 1.5 percentile and the 98.5 percentile. The analytic data set includes a total of 24,210 district-year observations from 2000–2018. We limit the sample to traditional local education agencies (LEA) in Alabama, Georgia, Kentucky, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia. Independent, private, residential, juvenile detention/correctional, rehabilitation, military, early childhood education, and charter LEAs were excluded in this analysis as they are structurally incongruous.

Analytic method

We explore the relationship between state and local per-student funding and sociodemography. We focus on state and local revenues and expenditure variables because states have less control over federal revenue (Odden & Picus, 2020). To make equivalent comparisons we control for the Census estimate for poverty, labeled Pov_{dt} in Equation (1). We include a vector of district covariates, X_{dt} which indexes for district d in year t, that influence the cost of education and are a function of community

wealth. These covariates include sale of property, general taxes, district size, urbanicity, and the local cost of wages (Baker B. D. et al., 2022).

$$\mathrm{PPF}_{dt} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 \% \ \mathrm{Pov}_{dt} + \mathrm{X}_{dt}{}' \ \lambda + \varepsilon_{\mathrm{dt}}$$

Findings

Table 1 shows descriptive data for our central variables of interest. These variables incorporate all states from 2000–2018. As a percentage of total enrollment, Black and White students comprise approximately 89% of the total sample of students across the data set. LatinX students account for approximately 4.4% overall. While the LatinX demographic is comparatively low, the association with English learners makes this group sufficiently important to understanding school finance need. English learners account for approximately 2.2% of the total sample. When examined using a Pearson correlation, the correlation between LatinX students, and percentage of English learners is approximately 87.3%. The average student poverty rate, based on U.S. Census figures is 24%, while the percent of students qualifying for Free or Reduced-price Lunch (FRLP) is 55%. This figure is slightly higher because it represents the percent of students living in households at or below 185% of the poverty threshold. For all states in our sample, student poverty rates have increased over time, from 2000–2018, as shown in Figure A2.

Table 1 contains measures of district spending. For instance, the average per pupil expenditure of our sample is about $11,700, however the total per-pupil expenditure for instruction is $5,900. The difference here is not uncommon, per-pupil expenditures often account for major areas of spending, this is then averaged across students. It is important to recognize, however, that $5,900 are those expenditures directly related to teacher salaries and benefits, and instructional supplies and purchased services. The average teacher salary in our sample $59,843. Table 1 also shows information regarding expenditures on capital outlay per-pupil, a mean of $835 per-pupil, and textbook expenditures per-pupil, $48. In Figure A3 we show that from 2000–2018 Kentucky, South Carolina, and Tennessee increased while Georgia, North Carolina, and West Virginia decreased state revenue per-pupil.

Another complication of both instructional expenditures and average teacher salaries are changes in relation to state revenue to fund education through state funds. To understand this relationship, we created composite variables for both average teacher salary and instructional expenditures using the following specification:

$$Composite\ PPF^{s}_{jt} = \sum_{i=1}^{n_{jt}} \left(\frac{Per - Pupil\ State\ Revenue^{s}_{ijt}}{Funding\ Var^{s}_{ijt}} \right)$$

where *Funding Var* is either average teacher salary or per-pupil instructional expenditures, *i* indexes the district, *j* indexes the state, *t* indexes the year.

Figure A4 indicates state revenue has remained constant in relation to district expenditures on teacher salaries. The expectation is that the state share of revenue would increase as expenditures increase, as these increases likely reflect, in some part, increases in cost. However, Figure A4 indicates that increases have at most been modest, and in some cases, Alabama and Kentucky, the state proportion of revenue allocated per-pupil has not substantially counterbalanced increases in average teacher salaries.

Further complicating the relationship between what is spent on students, and the actual state allocation for schools, Figure A5 shows an inverse relationship showing state revenue has not counterbalanced increases in instructional expenditures for students (i.e., funding spent on teacher salaries and benefits, instructional supplies, purchased services) from 2000–2018 for all states in our sample. Figure A6 shows the relationship between the average mainstreamed teacher salary expenditures per-pupil and state revenue. This is the average expenditures for base salaries paid to certified teachers of regular instructional programs, dissimilar to average

Table 1. Descriptive statistics variables of interest 2000–2018.

Variables	N	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
Student Demographic Variables					
%Black	22,039	27.3%	28.50	0.00%	100.00%
%White	22,039	61.7%	30.50	0.00%	100.00%
%LatinX	22,039	4.4%	6.50	0.00%	70.00%
% EL	17,930	2.2%	3.90	0.00%	84.70%
%SPED	21,832	14.1%	4.20	0.00%	100.00%
Community Demographic Variables					
Poverty	21,995	24.30%	9.50	1.00%	71.00%
Free-Reduced Lunch	21,678	55.33%	23.73	0.00%	100.00%
LocRev: Property Taxes	15,536	$14,500,000	$43,000,000	$0.00	$627,200,000
LocRev: Property Sales	15,463	$69,532	$525,000	$0.00	$39,654,000
Per-Pupil Revenue Variables					
Rev. Per-pupil	21,267	$12,804.97	$2,122.93	$8,666.77	$19,899.06
Rev. Per-pupil State	21,267	$7,071.50	$1,534.10	$3,617.66	$11,513.13
Rev. Per-pupil Local	21,267	$4,049.68	$1,748.92	$1,528.51	$10,996.74
Rev. Per-pupil State Local	21,267	$11,178.45	$1,831.26	$7,632.89	$17,519.70
Rev. Per-pupil Federal	21,267	$1,594.66	$711.67	$415.75	$4,217.57
District Expenditure Variables					
Avg. Tch. Sal.	16,121	$59,843.23	$14,314.23	$0.00	$172,000.00
Textbook Ex. Per-pupil	16,212	$47.71	$68.42	$0.00	$5,500.00
Avg. Tch. Sal.: Mainstream Educational Services Per-pupil	16,212	$2,396.64	$608.35	$0.00	$14,388.98
Exp. Per-pupil	21,923	$11,708.01	$20,164.06	$1,190.49	$2,330,000.00
Instruction Exp. Per-pupil	21,923	$5,918.96	$5,697.65	$654.22	$637,000.00
Capital Outlay Exp. Per-pupil	22,018	$834.75	$2599.01	$0.00	$252,500

teacher salaries that encompasses all educators in the district. The average teacher salary expenditures directed toward mainstream educational services is $2,396.64. From Figure A6 we see that state revenue per-pupil has remained constant or decreased compared to average mainstreamed teacher salary.

Table A1 shows the results of our regression analyses, which correlate school district revenue with the percentage of Black students in a district. To simplify our results, we estimate predicted values without the sample, using STATA's margins command. The first two columns show state per-pupil revenue rates for districts with 10% and 90% enrollment of students identified as Black. In 2001, districts with a Black student enrollment of 90% received $6,198 per student in state revenues, compared to $6,387 for districts with a Black student enrollment of 10%, creating a gap of –$189. The local revenue advantage of $196 further impedes funding equity. In 2018 districts serving a higher percentage of Black students received $901 less in state revenues per-pupil. We also analyzed these gaps for extreme poverty; at 10% and 90%.

Finally, Table A2 shows the district disparity that exists with respect to teacher salaries and instructional expenditures per-pupil in high and low proportion of Black students; at 10% and 90%. When examining teacher salary, we see the gap between high-low Black student proportion districts has increased from –$937 in 2005 to –$1,913 in 2017. The steepest year for the gap is 2007, at the onset of the Great Recession, –$3,250. When examining instructional expenditures per-pupil, we see there is a gap that did not exist prior to the Great Recession. After, however, the gap grows topping out in 2014 at –$361, and in 2017 the gap was –$289. This same pattern exists for

expenditures on teacher's salaries for mainstream classes with the steepest gap being –$85, 2016, and –$30 in 2017.

The results of our descriptive analysis of funding in the South provides context for understanding how the South itself prioritizes education, as a right, and as part of the democratic process. Informed by Schatzki (2002), we understand these findings as the culmination of the South's Site Ontology, informed by their history of prioritizing the well-being of the wealthy (e.g., the planter class). Policy actors across these states have curated mechanisms historically which lead to these types of funding disparities. Policy structures allow for significant school finance disparities to accumulate over time, based on racialized divestment, and differences in property value between districts educating a majority of Black students and those educating a majority of White students unveiling the consummate presence of racism.

Our intention is not to debate how much funding is necessary for schools to operate a system that supports every student in a manner that progresses their life-course in an equitable manner; rather we posit that continuing the legacy of school funding disparity across the South inevitably impedes students from full agency and liberation of their education and by proxy of their democratic participation. Schooling is currently compelled and if southern lawmakers are unwilling to fully fund schools with higher proportions of minoritized students to a level greater than minimal sufficiency, they are relegating these students to oppressive spaces economically and educationally as is the legacy of their Site Ontology. This seems the status quo for the South, as it continues to assert its legacy of enslavement and genocide, and in this context if not directly physically, through the proxy of knowledge and knowledge acquisition.

Discussion

John Dewey (1923) asserted that,

> The undemocratic suppression of the individuality of the teacher goes naturally with the improper restriction of the intelligence of the mind of the child. The mind, to be sure, is that of a child, and yet, after all, it is mind. To subject mind to an outside and ready-made material is a denial of the ideal of democracy, which roots itself ultimately in the principle of moral, self-directing individuality.

However, the principal objective in the South has been, and will continue to be the degradation of both teaching and democracy (MacLean, 2017). What Southern politicians have accomplished, is nothing short of extraordinary allowing wealthy White capitalists to dictate the goals of schooling, democracy, policy, politics and law, and ultimately the goals of terminating any and all formal educational opportunities for people of color, and to a large extent all marginalized people (Driver, 2014; MacLean, 2017; Schneider, 2016). This includes funding for schools, consistently shown to aid in supporting the needs of students in every community (Martínez, 2021; Martínez & Vazquez-Heilig, 2022).

Ultimately we find that this summary information is troubling. First, one should question if these states account for yearly changes in the cost of the relative labor market or of actual physical materials, including infrastructure. Political pundits often bemoan the increases of funding for education, however, if those increases meagerly attend to inflation, or increases in cost, then how are states evaluating equity for students in poverty, or students from minoritized communities who often require greater amounts of services due to extemporaneous variables not immediately associated with the daily existence of schools. Furthermore, advocates should question how impeding school funding equity directly impacts students' and communities' ability to assert their liberation and participate in a full and unfettered democracy. The many challenging pieces of information elicit the need to dig further into the fiscal variables to ascertain how they are related to race.

Our findings are congruent with Black's (2020) assertion that in the Southeast privatization has hollowed funding provided to public schools. As public structures are hollowed out this

has deleterious effects on the civic capacity of society. Giroux (2004/2017) noted, "under neoliberalism all levels of government have been hollowed out and largely reduced either to their policing function or to maintaining the privileges of the rich and the interests of corporate power holders—both largely white," (p. 76). Without adequate funding, education is more likely to revert to banking models which work to reify the existing power structures (Freire, 1970/2018). As conservative political regimes in the South leverage reforms like charter schooling, high-stakes accountability, privatization, and takeover in concert with current funding models they successfully gatekeep civic participation (Black, 2020; Lipman, 2013; Ravitch, 2013).

The dominant logic governing school finance policy in southern states prioritizes fiscal capacity and equity for taxpayers, but politicians are remiss to neglect the student. The policy in these spaces ignores the important historical context of racial oppression and how that history contributes to funding inequity, and the erosion of democracy for minoritized people. This is only exacerbated by the current political regimes' flurry of policy which erodes the agency of education to function for democratic equality. Black communities still experience disparity in access to voting (Cobb, 2018), fair housing practices and land ownership (Besbris, 2020; Park & Quercia, 2020), and equity and access in the schooling pipeline (Baker B. & Cotto R., 2020; Martínez & Spikes, 2020). These inequities persist despite landmark legislation and court cases such as the Emancipation Proclamation (1863), the 13th Amendment (1865), *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), the Civil Rights Act (1964), the Voting Rights Act (1965), and the Fair Housing Act (1968). These inequities continue to preclude the Black community from prosperity, while simultaneously allowing White families to accumulate greater wealth and power. Furthermore, property wealth informs tax levies which directly impact school funding availability and the political power structure of the South has maintained accordance with wealthy property owners, something minoritized communities are constantly struggling to obtain. These power relationships then dismantle the flow of school funding and may potentially segregate funding away from Black communities. Our study certainly shows this is the case, school districts with a higher proportion of Black students are at a distinct disadvantage, and Southern politicians must now work to ameliorate these challenges.

Conclusion

Public education has often been a vehicle for democracy in the U.S. However, wealthy, White, elite, upper-middle-class communities enjoy abundant learning opportunities, while minoritized communities suffer through oppressive educational spaces and over-policing (Bristol & Mentor, 2018). Minoritized communities contend with the erosion of public education through private enterprise and advocates should question if this intersection evokes capital and labor connections of the U.S. chattel slavery era that oppresses minoritized communities by labor of body and by labor of the mind? In their protection of the status quo, southern states have dismantled democracy paramount to the maintenance of freedom and emancipation in schooling and threatened further action through funding decreases.

School finance policy is developed based on the Site Ontology of the place and how it understands people and education. Among these varied ontologies are embodiments of a culture viewed through the hegemony of White normative society. This embodied culture includes intangible valued laden qualities, and in the South itself this value comes from a direct correlation to who holds dominion over others and who is dominated. Largely this embodied culture is restrictive based in a capitalist society that sought dominion over minoritized bodies, and specifically Black bodies. By virtue, providing fewer resources to schools largely educating minoritized students is a way to maintain control over culture and democracy. Historically, education is positioned as the great equalizer, but therein lies the problem; equality is not maintained, nor is it sufficient to overcome the structural barriers that provide the context of southern schools. Finally, to upend the totalitarianism that pervades the South, maintain

liberty, and democracy, minoritized communities must demand better than sufficiency. We must continue to problematize the antidemocratic status quo of the South and the damage to democracy caused by racial segregation and educational persecution.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Author bios

Davíd G. Martínez, Ph.D. is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Educational Leadership and Policies at the College of Education of the University of South Carolina. Davíd is a protean critical school finance policy scholar connecting policy knowledge and praxis through multimethod inquiry. His research focuses on the intersection of Education Finance Policy, Critical Theory/Critical Race Theory, and Equity of Educational Opportunity. Through the lens of Rawlsian Social Justice and Aristotelian Equity Davíd seeks to understand how school finance policy impacts funding availability and spending in low-income, ethnically and linguistically diverse, minoritized communities.

David Osworth is a Ph.D. Candidate and Graduate Research Assistant in the department of Leadership, Learning Design, and Inquiry at the University of South Carolina. He holds an M.Ed. and B.S. from Rutgers University. David uses critical research methodologies to interrogate equity and access through research on educational policy and leadership. His current research focuses primarily on school takeover, school discipline, and district-university partnerships.

David S. Knight is an Associate Professor of Education Finance and Policy at the University of Washington. His research examines school finance policy, focusing on funding equity, educator labor markets, and cost-effectiveness analysis. He studies educational systems through the lens of economic theory and methodologies. His work emphasizes distributive justice, racial/ethnic and socioeconomic finance equity, and policies aimed at reducing inequality, improving resource allocation strategies, and addressing longstanding racial and income-based disparities in educational opportunity. His work is published in leading academic journals and has been covered in national media outlets such as *EdWeek*, *NPR*, and *The Seattle Times*.

Julian Vasquez Heilig is the Provost and VP of Academic Affairs at Western Michigan University, where he has been instrumental in boosting national rankings and fostering diversity and enrollment. Specializing in K-12 education, equity, and innovation, he has authored 75+ publications and is ranked among *EdWeek*'s top 200 U.S. education scholars. Heilig has testified before legislative bodies, advised political campaigns, and volunteered for numerous educational organizations. With 30+ awards to his name—including honors from California State Assembly, Diversity in Ed Magazine, and being commissioned a Kentucky Colonel—his impact is nationally recognized. He holds a Ph.D. from Stanford and other degrees from the University of Michigan. His work has also appeared in major media outlets like *The New York Times* and *The Washington Post*. Full CV at bit.ly/ProfJVHcv.

ORCID

Davíd G. Martínez http://orcid.org/0000-0002-6991-0016
David Osworth http://orcid.org/0000-0001-6778-4928
David S. Knight http://orcid.org/0000-0002-4067-155X
Julian Vasquez Heilig http://orcid.org/0000-0003-0992-1669

References

Anderson, J. D. (1988). *The education of Blacks in the South, 1860–1935*. The University of North Carolina Press.
Baker, B., & Cotto, R., Jr. (2020). The under-funding of Latinx -serving school districts. *Phi Delta Kappan*, *101*(6), 40–46. https://doi.org/10.1177/0031721720909593
Baker, B. D. (2014). *America's most financially disadvantaged school districts and how they got that way: How state and local governance causes school funding disparities*. Center for American Progress.
Baker, B. D., DiCarlo, M., & Weber, M. (2022). *The adequacy and fairness of state school finance system* (5th ed.). Albert Shanker Institute. https://www.schoolfinancedata.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/12/SFID2023_annualreport.pdf
Baker, R. S. (2006). Paradoxes of desegregation: African American struggles for educational equity in Charleston, South Carolina, 1926–1972. University of South Carolina Press.
Banks, T. L. (2004). Brown at 50: Reconstructing Brown's promise. *Washburn Law Journal*, *44*(1), 31–64.

Bell, D. (2004). *Silent covenants: Brown v. Board of Education and the unfulfilled hopes for racial reform*. Oxford University Press.
Besbris, M. (2020). *Upsold: Real estate agents, prices, and neighborhood inequality*. University of Chicago Press.
Black, D. W. (2020). *School house burning: Public education and the assault on American democracy*. Public Affairs.
Brady, P. S. (1972). The slave trade and sectionalism in South Carolina, 1787–1808. *The Journal of Southern History*, *38*(4), 601–620. https://doi.org/10.2307/2206151
Briscoe, F. M., & Khalifa, M. A. (2015). 'That racism thing': A critical race discourse analysis of a conflict over the proposed closure of a black high school. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *18*(6), 739–763. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2013.792798
Bristol, T. J., & Mentor, M. (2018). Policing and teaching: The positioning of Black male teachers as agents in the universal carceral apparatus. *The Urban Review*, *50*(2), 218–234. https://doi.org/10.1007/s11256-018-0447-z
Butchart, R. E. (1979). Understanding the retreat from integration and affirmative action: Implications of some historical parallels. *Peabody Journal of Education*, *57*(1), 1–9. https://doi.org/10.1080/01619567909538260
Carter, P. L., Butler, D., & Dwyer, O. (2011). Defetishizing the plantation: African Americans in the memorialized south. *Historical Geography*, *39*(1), 128–146.
Cobb, J. (2018). Voter-suppression tactics in the age of Trump. *The New Yorker*. https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2018/10/29/voter-suppression-tactics-in-the-age-of-trump
Collins, P. H. (2002). *Black feminist thought: Knowledge, consciousness, and the politics of empowerment*. Routledge.
Crenshaw, K. W. (2002). The first decade: Critical reflections, or "A foot in the closing door". In F. Valdes, J. M. Culp, & A. P. Harris (Eds.), *Crossroads, directions, and a new critical race theory*. Temple University Press.
Crenshaw, K. W. Harris, L. C., Martinez HoSang, D., & Lipsitz, G. (2019). *Seeing race again: Countering colorblindness across the disciplines*. University of California Press. https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520972148
Daniel, P. (1972). *The shadow of slavery: Peonage in the South, 1901–1969*. University of Illinois Press.
Darder, A. (2012). Schooling bodies: Critical pedagogy and urban youth. *Fine Print*, *35*(2), 3–10.
Davis, A. Y. (2016). *Freedom is a constant struggle: Ferguson, Palestine, and the foundations of a movement*. Haymarket Books.
Dewey, J. (1923). *Democracy and education: An introduction to the philosophy of education*. Macmillan.
Driscoll, L. G., Knoeppel, R. C., Della Sala, M. R., & Watson, J. R. (2014). Economic growth, productivity, and public education funding: Is South Carolina a death spiral state? *Educational Considerations*, *41*(2), 27–32. https://doi.org/10.4148/0146-9282.1070
Driver, J. (2014). Supremacies and the southern manifesto. *Texas Law Review*, *92*(1), 1053–1135.
Dumas, M. J. (2015). Contesting white accumulation: Toward a materialist anti-racist analysis of school desegregation. In K. Bowman (Ed.), *The pursuit of racial and ethnic equality in American public schools: Mendez, Brown, and beyond* (pp. 291–313). Michigan State University Press.
Fine, M., Bloom, J., Burns, A., Chajet, L., Guishard, M., Payne, Y., Perkins-Munn, T., & Torre, M. E. (2005). Dear Zora: A letter to Zora Neale Hurston 50 years after Brown. *Teachers College Record*, *107*(3), 496–528. https://doi.org/10.1177/016146810510700307
Freire, P. (2018). *Pedagogy of the oppressed: 50th anniversary edition* (M. B. Ramos, Trans.). Bloomsbury. (Original work published 1970).
Garda, R. A., Jr. (2007). Coming full circle: The journey from separate but equal to separate and unequal schools. *Duke Journal of Constitutional Law & Public Policy*, *2*(2007), 1–92.
Genovese, E. D. (2012). *The political economy of slavery: Studies in the economy and society of the slave south*. Wesleyan University Press.
Giroux, H. A. (2017). *The terror of neoliberalism: Authoritarianism and the eclipse of democracy*. Routledge. (Original work published 2004).
Green, B. (2009). *Understanding and researching professional practice*. Brill Sense. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789087907327
Greener, R. T. (1880). The emigration of colored citizens from the southern states. *Journal of Social Science*, *11*, 22–35.
Grootenboer, P., Edwards-Groves, C., & Rönnerman, K. (2014). Leading practice development: Voices from the middle. *Professional Development in Education*, *41*(3), 508–526. https://doi.org/10.1080/19415257.2014.924985
Hale, J. N. (2021). *The choice we face: How segregation, race, and power have shaped America's most controversial education reform movement*. Beacon.
Henry, K. L., Jr., & Dixson, A. D. (2016). "Locking the door before we got the keys": Racial realities of the charter school authorization process in post-Katrina New Orleans. *Educational Policy*, *30*(1), 218–240. https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904815616485
Houck, E. A. (2010). Teacher quality and school resegregation: A resource allocation case study. *Leadership and Policy in Schools*, *9*(1), 49–77. https://doi.org/10.1080/15700760802630210
Jones, J. H., & Hancock, C. R. (2005). Brown V Board of Education at 50: Where are we now? *Negro Educational Review*, *56*(1), 91.
Keyssar, A. (2009). *The right to vote: The contested history of democracy in the United States*. Basic Books.
Khalifa, M. (2018). *Culturally responsive school leadership*. Harvard Education Press.

Knight, D. S. (2017). Are high-poverty school districts disproportionately impacted by state funding cuts?: School finance equity following the great recession. *Journal of Education Finance*, *43*(2), 169–194.
Kozol, J. (1991). *Savage inequalities: Children in America's schools*. Broadway Books.
Labaree, D. F. (1997). Public goods, private goods: The American struggle over educational goals. *American Educational Research Journal*, *34*(1), 39–81. https://doi.org/10.3102/00028312034001039
Ladson-Billings, G. (1998). From Soweto to the South Bronx: African Americans and colonial education in the United States. In C. A. Torres & T. R. Mitchell (Eds.), *Sociology of education: Emerging perspectives* (pp. 347–264). State University of New York Press.
Ladson-Billings, G. (2006). From the achievement gap to the education debt: Understanding achievement in US schools. *Educational Researcher*, *35*(7), 3–12. https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X035007003
Lieberman, R., Mettler, S., Pepinsky, T. B., Roberts, K. M., & Valelly, R. (2017, August 29). Trumpism and American democracy: History, comparison, and the predicament of liberal democracy in the United States. http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.3028990
Lipman, P. (2013). Economic crisis, accountability, and the state's coercive assault on public education in the USA. *Journal of Education Policy*, *28*(5), 557–573. https://doi.org/10.1080/02680939.2012.758816
Lipman, P. (2015). Capitalizing on crisis: Venture philanthropy's colonial project to remake urban education. *Critical Studies in Education*, *56*(2), 241–258. https://doi.org/10.1080/17508487.2015.959031
Littlefield, D. C. (1990). The slave trade to colonial South Carolina: A profile. *The South Carolina Historical Magazine*, *91*(2), 68–99.
MacLean, N. (2017). *Democracy in chains: The deep history of the radical right's stealth plan for America*. Penguin.
Martínez, D. G. (2021). Interrogating social justice paradigms in school finance research and litigation. *Interchange: A Quarterly Review of Education*, *52*(2), 297–317. https://doi.org/10.1007/s10780-021-09418-4
Martínez, D. G., & Spikes, D. D. (2020). Se Acabaron Las Palabras: A post-mortem *Flores v. Arizona* disproportional funding analysis of targeted English Learner (EL) expenditures. *Educational Policy*, *36*(5), 942–980. https://doi.org/10.1177/0895904820917370
Martínez, D. G., & Vazquez-Heilig, J. (2022). An opportunity to learn: Engaging in the praxis of school finance policy and civil rights. *Minnesota Journal of Law and Inequality*, *40*(2), 311–334. https://lawandinequality.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/05/Vol.-402-Full-Issue.pdf
Mathis, W. J., & Trujillo, T. M. (2016). *Lessons from NCLB for the every Student succeeds act*. National Education Policy Center. http://nepc.colorado.edu/publication/lessons-from-NCLB
McMillan, R. (1994). Savannah's coastal slave trade: A quantitative analysis of ship manifests 1840–1850. *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, *7*(2), 339–359.
Mitchell, K. (2013). Race, difference, meritocracy, and English: Majoritarian stories in the education of secondary multilingual learners. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *16*(3), 339–364. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2011.645569
Montoya, R., Matias, C. E., Nishi, N. W., & Sarcedo, G. L. (2016). Words are wind: Using Du Bois and Bourdieu to 'unveil' the capricious nature of gifted and talented programs. *Journal for Critical Education Policy Studies*, *14*(1), 127–143.
Needham, C., & Houck, E. A. (2021). Allotting inequity: Evaluating North Carolina's classroom teacher funding. *Journal of Education Human Resources*, *39*(2), 184–213. https://doi.org/10.3138/jehr-2020-0034
O'Connell, H. A. (2012). The impact of slavery on racial inequality in poverty in the contemporary U.S. South. *Social Forces*, *90*(3), 713–734. https://doi.org/10.1093/sf/sor021
Odden, A., & Picus, L. O. (2020). *School finance: A policy perspective* (6th ed.). McGraw-Hill Education.
Osworth, D. (2022). Looking toward the field: A systematic review to inform current and future school takeover policy. *Research in Educational Policy and Management*, *4*(1), 1–21. https://doi.org/10.46303/repam.2022.1
Park, K. A., & Quercia, R. G. (2020). Who lends beyond the red line? The community reinvestment act and the legacy of redlining. *Housing Policy Debate*, *30*(1), 4–26. https://doi.org/10.1080/10511482.2019.1665839
Ravitch, D. (2013). *Reign of error: The hoax of the privatization movement and the danger to America's public schools*. Alfred A. Knopf.
Rodriguez, S. (2018). 'Good, deserving immigrants' join the Tea Party: How South Carolina policy excludes Latinx and undocumented immigrants from educational opportunity and social mobility. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, *26*(103), 1–33. https://doi.org/10.14507/epaa.26.3636
Rolle, A., Houck, E. A., & McColl, A. (2008). And poor children continue to wait: An analysis of horizontal and vertical equity among North Carolina school districts in the face of judicially mandated policy restraints 1996–2006. *Journal of Education Finance*, *34*(1), 75–102.
Schatzki, T. R. (2002). *The site of the social: A philosophical account of the constitution of social life and change*. Pennsylvania State University Press. https://doi.org/10.1515/9780271023717
Schatzki, T. R. (2005). Peripheral vision: The sites of organizations. *Organization Studies*, *26*(3), 465–484. https://doi.org/10.1177/0170840605050876
Schatzki, T. R., Knorr-Cetina, K., & von Savigny, E. (2001). *The practice turn in contemporary theory*. Routledge.
Schneider, M. K. (2016). *School choice: The end of public education?* Teachers College Press.

Smith, S. J., Martínez, D. G., & Tran, H. (2022). South Carolina's Act 388: Exploring the relationship of tiered reimbursement on school district revenue. *eJEP: eJournal of Education Policy*, *23*(1), n1.

Steinberg, S. R., & Kincheloe, J. L. (2010). Power, emancipation, and complexity: Employing critical theory. *Power & Education*, *2*(2), 140–151. https://doi.org/10.2304/power.2010.2.2.140

Stovall, D. (2006). Forging community in race and class: Critical race theory and the quest for social justice in education. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, *9*(3), 243–259. https://doi.org/10.1080/13613320600807550

Tate, W. F. (1997). Critical race theory and education: History, theory and implications. *Review of Research in Education*, *22*(1), 195–250. https://doi.org/10.3102/0091732X022001195

Taylor, L. L., & Fowler, T. (2006). *A comparable wage approach to geographic cost adjustment*. National Center for Education Statistics.

Tran, H., Aziz, M., & Reinhardt, S. F. (2021). Rage against the machine: The legacy of education leaders' valiant struggle for social justice in Abbeville v. South Carolina. *Journal of School Leadership*, *31*(3), 166–188. https://doi.org/10.1177/1052684619899612

Van Der Bogert, R. (2006). Democracy during hard times. *Teachers College Record*, *108*(13), 146–169. https://doi.org/10.1177/016146810610801307

Venzant Chambers, T. T., & Spikes, D. D. (2016). "Tracking [is] for Black people": A structural critique of deficit perspectives of achievement disparities. *The Journal of Educational Foundations*, *29*(1–4), 29–53.

Appendix

Table A1. Estimated per-pupil funding gap between high and low-percentage of Black students within a school district, 2001–2018; 10% and 90%.

	State Revenue			Local Revenue			State and Local Revenue		
	Low	High	Diff.	Low	High	Diff.	Low	High	Diff.
2001	$6,387	$6,198	–$189	$4,389	$4,193	–$196	$10,506	$11,204	$699
2002	$6,357	$6,259	–$98	$4,465	$4,316	–$149	$10,589	$10,911	$322
2003	$6,342	$6,075	–$267	$4,542	$4,385	–$157	$10,517	$11,002	$485
2004	$6,161	$6,003	–$157	$4,742	$4,564	–$178	$10,592	$11,049	$457
2005	$6,255	$6,279	$24	$4,774	$4,740	–$34	$10,757	$11,326	$569
2006	$6,507	$5,916	–$591	$4,760	$5,098	$338	$11,172	$11,129	–$42
2007	$6,822	$6,245	–$577	$5,057	$5,332	$275	$11,678	$11,743	$65
2008	$7,044	$6,505	–$540	$4,900	$5,360	$460	$11,837	$11,747	–$90
2009	$6,843	$6,130	–$714	$5,043	$5,366	$323	$11,726	$11,530	–$195
2010	$6,249	$5,346	–$903	$5,066	$5,435	$369	$11,122	$11,319	$197
2011	$6,236	$5,257	–$979	$4,760	$5,091	$330	$10,828	$10,620	–$208
2012	$6,270	$5,141	–$1,129	$4,585	$4,829	$244	$10,686	$10,197	–$489
2013	$6,252	$5,164	–$1,088	$4,438	$4,890	$452	$10,484	$10,225	–$259
2014	$6,226	$5,174	–$1,052	$4,594	$4,863	$269	$10,656	$10,469	–$187
2015	$6,353	$5,472	–$881	$4,551	$4,912	$361	$10,692	$10,569	–$123
2016	$6,416	$5,522	–$894	$4,660	$4,984	$324	$10,856	$10,805	–$51
2017	$6,499	$5,607	–$892	$4,744	$5,015	$271	$11,079	$10,790	–$290
2018	$6,618	$5,717	–$901	$4,802	$5,006	$204	$11,296	$10,970	–$326

Estimates are based on predicted values from regression-adjusted averages for districts with 10% and 90% Black student enrollment, weighting by total student enrollment.

Table A2 Estimated per-pupil funding gap directly related to teacher/educator funding between high and low-percentage of Black students within a school district, 2005–2017; 10% and 90%.

	Average Teacher Salary			Instructional Exp. Per-pupil			Teacher Sal. Mainstream		
	Low	High	Diff.	Low	High	Diff.	Low	High	Diff.
2005	$58,657	$57,720	–$937	$5,066	$5,191	$124	$2,200	$2,143	–$58
2006	$57,302	$58,951	$1,648	$5,307	$5,391	$84	$2,235	$2,323	$88
2007	$56,791	$53,542	–$3,250	$5,697	$5,749	$52	$2,352	$2,307	–$45
2008	$63,101	$63,724	$623	$6,015	$6,020	$5	$2,549	$2,651	$102
2009	$63,709	$62,144	–$1,565	$6,085	$5,994	–$92	$2,536	$2,615	$79
2010	$63,993	$61,897	–$2,097	$6,047	$5,885	–$162	$2,530	$2,597	$67
2011	$62,504	$59,444	–$3,060	$5,959	$5,755	–$204	$2,483	$2,507	$24
2012	$58,165	$57,134	–$1,031	$5,941	$5,780	–$162	$2,465	$2,497	$31
2013	$57,130	$55,234	–$1,896	$5,947	$5,728	–$220	$2,470	$2,447	–$23
2014	$56,915	$55,527	–$1,388	$6,063	$5,702	–$361	$2,487	$2,428	–$59
2015	$58,096	$55,931	–$2,165	$6,185	$5,864	–$321	$2,519	$2,452	–$67
2016	$58,438	$57,051	–$1,387	$6,321	$5,980	–$341	$2,559	$2,474	–$85
2017	$59,703	$57,791	–$1,913	$6,503	$6,214	–$289	$2,620	$2,591	–$30

Estimates are based on predicted values from regression-adjusted averages for districts with 10% and 90% Black student enrollment, weighting by total student enrollment.

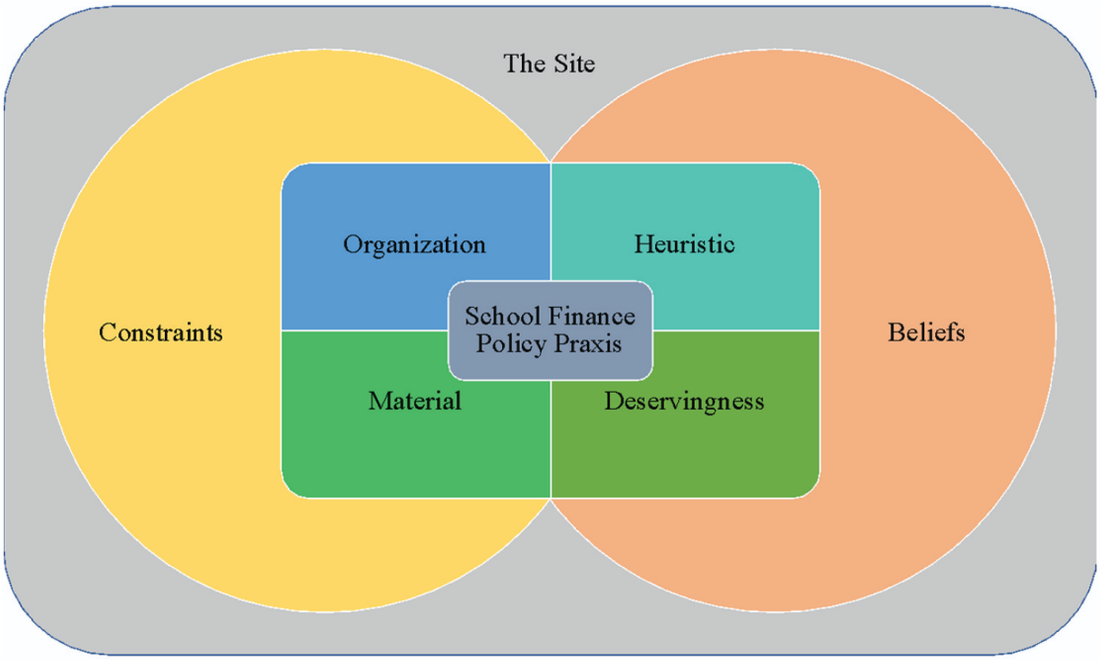

Figure A1. Theoretical interdependent relationship of school finance policy praxis.

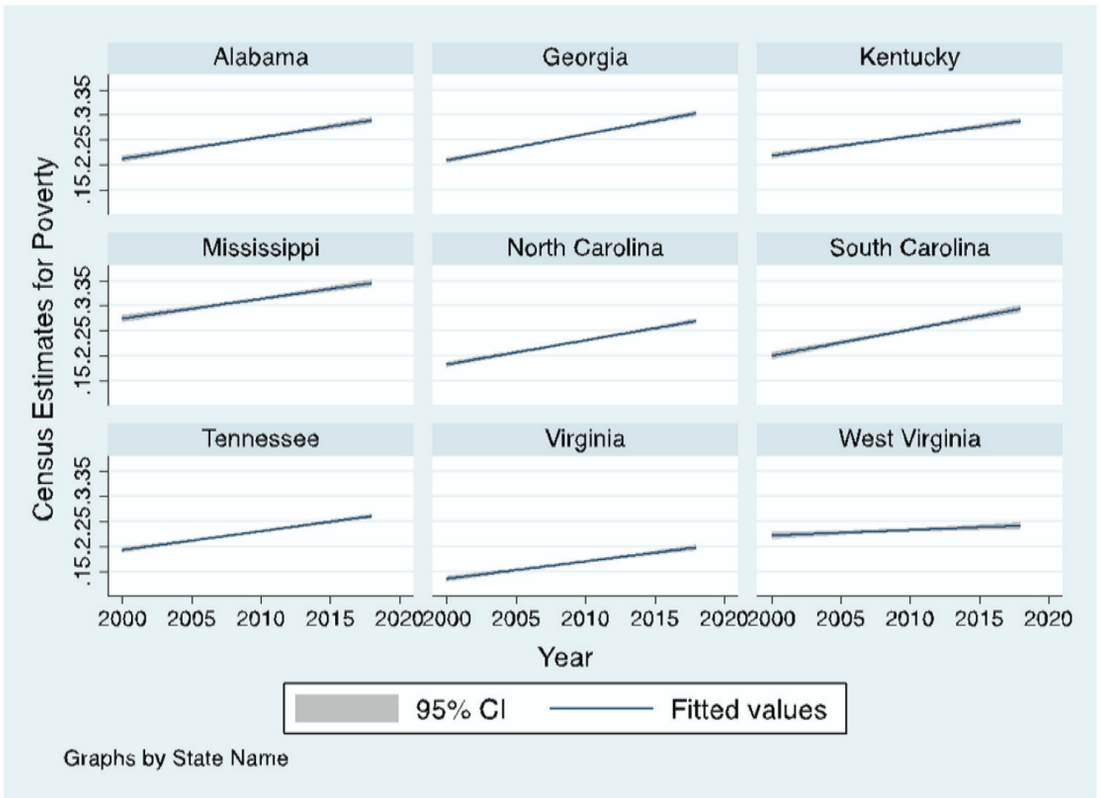

Figure A2. Percentage of poverty by state and year.

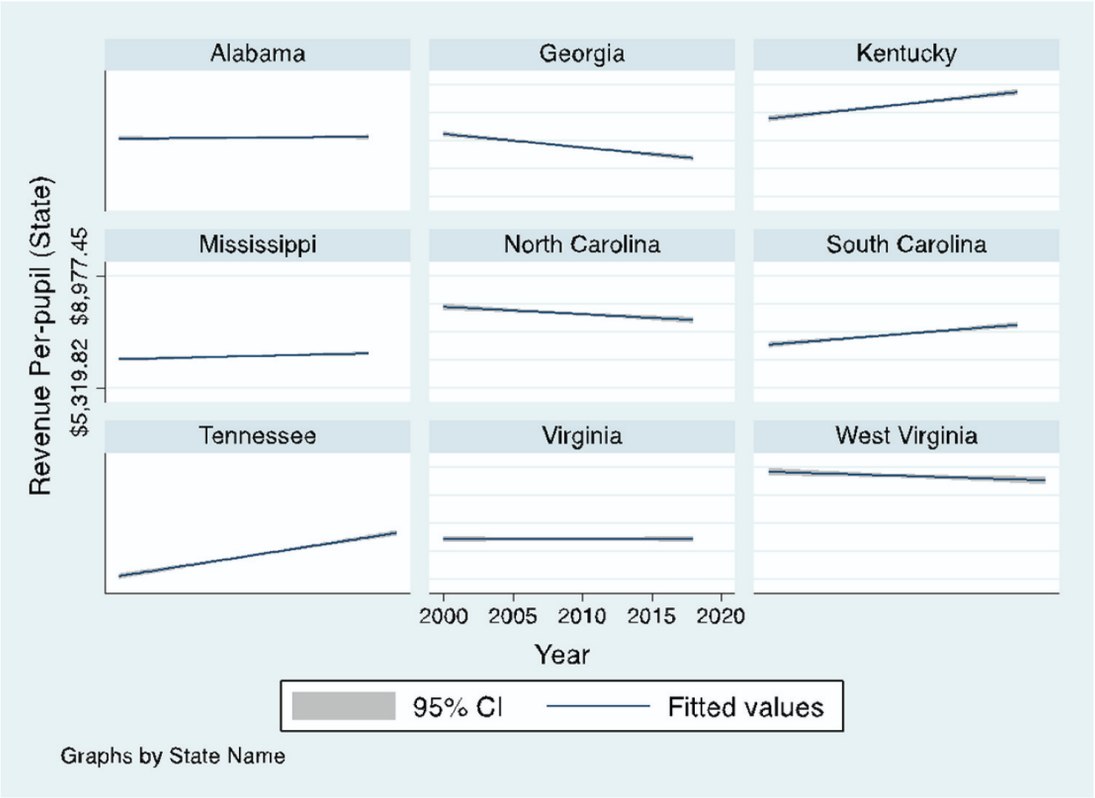

Figure A3. Per-pupil revenue, state.

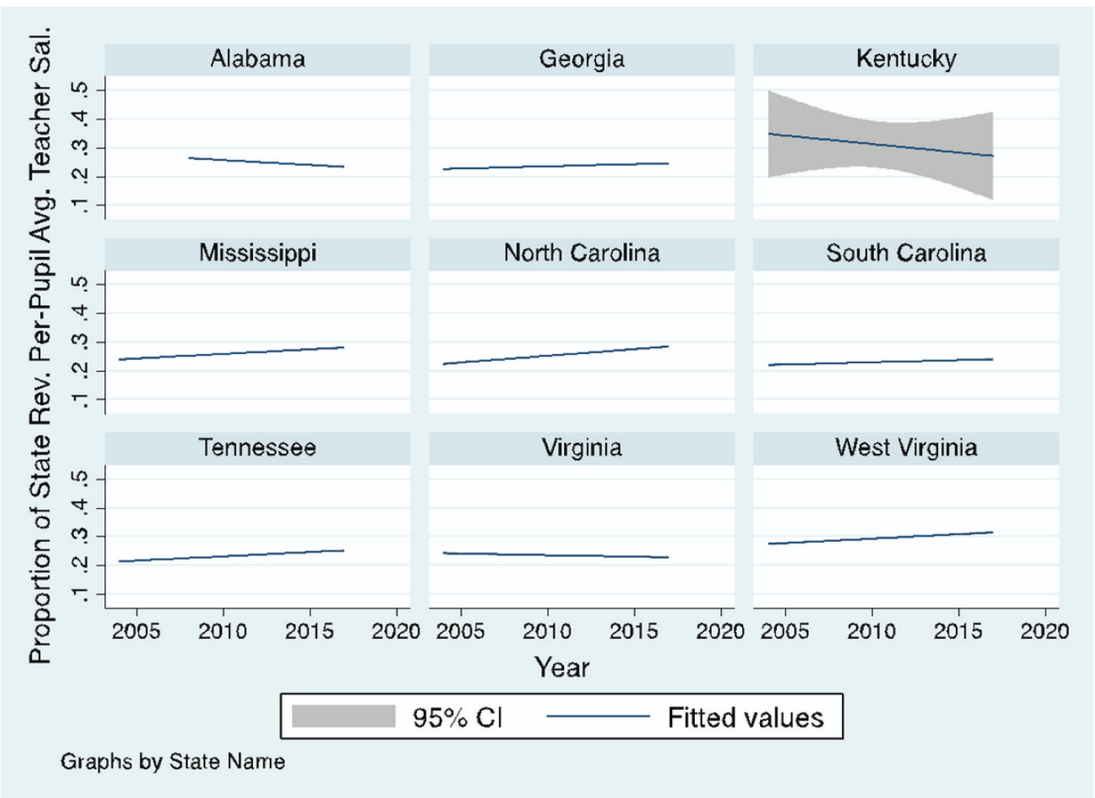

Figure A4. Proportion of state revenue per-pupil and average teacher salary.

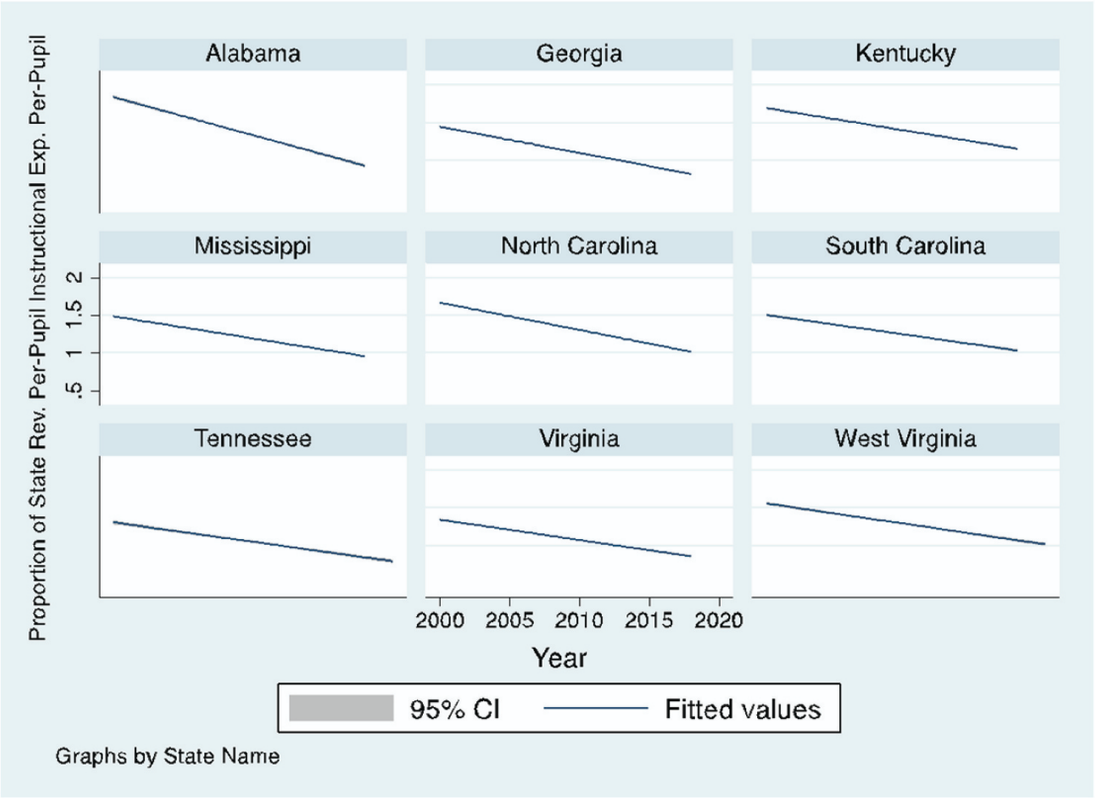

Figure A5. Proportion of state revenue per-pupil and instructional expenditures.

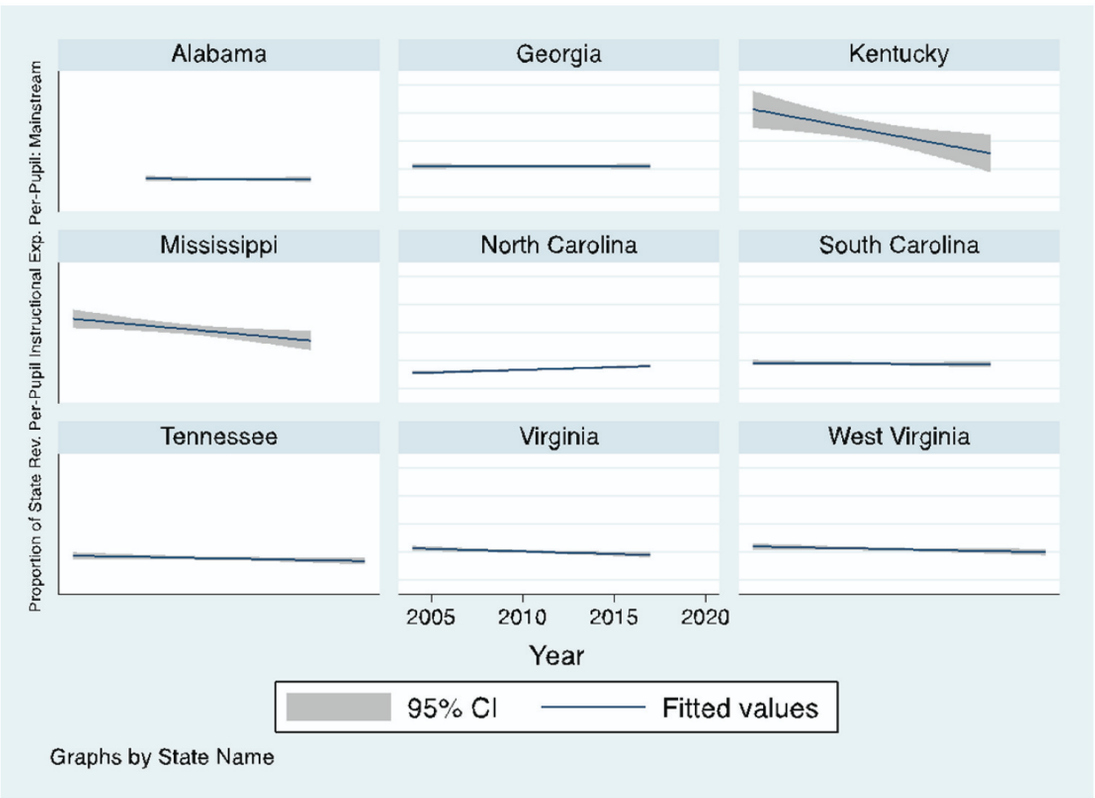

Figure A6. Proportion of state revenue per-pupil and instructional expenditures mainstream.