# School Spending and Student Outcomes: Evidence from Revenue Limit Elections in Wisconsin

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This study examines the relationship between K-12 public school spending and student outcomes.

- Ooes additional public school spending improve student outcomes?
- If so, what is the magnitude of the effect? What are the mechanisms?
- Which types of expenditures are most effective? (e.g., instructional versus capital)

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## Introduction Motivation



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- The total amount that a school district in WI can spend is capped by state-imposed revenue limits.
- If a district wishes to exceed these caps, it must seek voter approval in a local referendum.
- The empirical strategy leverages close elections in a dynamic regression discontinuity design.
- By law, school districts must hold separate elections for operational and capital expenditure increases.

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Narrowly passing an "operational referendum" leads to:

- A \$500 (5%) increase in per-pupil operational expenditures (no change in capital outlays)
- Improvements in school inputs (reductions in class sizes and teacher turnover, increases in teacher compensation and experience)
- Improvements in student outcomes (test scores, dropout rates, postsecondary enrollment)

In contrast, I find no evidence that narrowly approving a "bond referendum" leads to improvements in student outcomes.

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### Does money matter in public education?

• Early observational studies found no evidence that additional spending improves student outcomes (Hanushek, 2003; Coleman et al., 1966).

New, quasi-experimental studies generally find more positive effects. However, these studies either:

- Estimate the joint impact of increases in operational and capital expenditures (Candelaria and Shores, 2019; Lafortune et al., 2018; Jackson et al., 2015)
- Or focus exclusively on capital expenditure effects (Rauscher, 2019; Hong and Zimmer, 2016; Martorell et al., 2016; Cellini et al., 2010)

My study shows that additional spending can improve student outcomes, but how the additional resources are allocated matters.

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### School District Revenue by Source (2014-15)



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Time Series of Wisconsin's School Mill Rate



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- The only means of exceeding revenue limits is through the passage of a local referendum.
- A simple majority vote from residents in the district is required for the initiative to pass.
- Residents who vote in favor implicitly agree to an increase in property taxes.
- Since 1993, roughly 80% of school districts have attempted at least one operational referendum (1,213 individual questions).

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### Wisconsin Department of Public Instruction

- Operational Referenda: referendum-level data (type, the amount, intended purpose, actual wording, vote share, voter turnout)
- District-level student outcomes (WKCE test scores, dropout rates, postsecondary enrollment)
- Individual-level teacher data (average teacher experience, student-staff ratios, teacher turnover, and teacher compensation)

### National Center for Education Statistics

• Detailed district-level expenditure and revenue data

Summary Stats

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- Ideally, randomly assign additional spending to some school districts and not others.
- While such an experiment is infeasible, the RD research design uses close elections to approximate it.
- Traditional RD analysis is complicated by the dynamic nature of referenda.
- Cellini et al. (2010) developed dynamic RD estimators that extend the usual RD in a cross-sectional analysis.
- The estimator can be adjusted to any setting in which an entity holds multiple elections.

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- Suppose that district d holds a referendum in year  $t \tau$  and that the referendum receives vote share  $v_{d,t-\tau}$ . Let  $P_{d,t-\tau}$  be equal to one if district d passes a referendum in year  $t \tau$  and zero otherwise.
- A district outcome in year *t* can be specified as a function of the full history of referendum passages:

$$y_{dt} = \sum_{\tau=0}^{\bar{\tau}} P_{d,t-\tau} \beta_{\tau} + \varepsilon_{dt}$$
(1)

- In general, we might expect  $E[\varepsilon_{dt}P_{d,t-\tau}] \neq 0$ .
- A simple regression like (1) is likely to yield a biased estimate of the  $\beta_{\tau}$ 's.

• Under the standard RD assumption, endogeneity can be addressed by augmenting equation (1) in the following way:

$$y_{dt} = \sum_{\tau=0}^{\bar{\tau}} (P_{d,t-\tau}\beta_{\tau} + m_{d,t-\tau}\kappa_{\tau} + f_g(v_{d,t-\tau})) + \mu_d + \theta_t + \varepsilon_{dt}$$
(2)

- $m_{d,t-\tau}$  is an indicator for presence of a referendum on the ballot in year  $t-\tau$
- $f_g(v_{d,t-\tau})$  is a flexible function of the vote share
- $\mu_d$ ,  $\theta_t$  represent district and year FEs, respectively
- $\beta_{\tau}$  measures the impact of passing a referendum in a narrow election in time  $t \tau$  on outcomes in year t

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## Operational Referenda Results First Stage



January 3, 2020 14 / 22

## Operational Referenda Results First Stage



Detailed Support Services

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Placebo for Bond Measures



January 3, 2020 16

16 / 22

## Operational Referenda Results Second Stage



January 3, 2020 17 / 22

Second Stage



Robustness Heterogeneity by Institution Type

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#### Mechanisms



Effects by Staff Category

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#### Mechanisms



January 3, 2020 20 / 22

- Earlier studies found little association between school spending and student outcomes, though they were unable to draw causal claims.
- Exploiting a novel source of plausibly exogenous variation in school spending, I find substantial improvements in test scores, retention, and postsecondary enrollment.
- Importantly, in the paper I show that how the additional resources are allocated matters: operational expenditures appear to be more effective at impacting student outcomes.

- Additional Questions or Comments?
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Dependent Variable	All	Never	Proposed	Diff
	Districts	Proposed	At Least One	(2)-(3)
Fiscal Outcomes				
Revenue Limits PP	9,767	9,853	9,738	115
	(1,800)	(2,726)	(1,346)	(63)
Total Expenditures PP	10,598	10,528	10,622	-94
	(1,992)	(2,847)	(1,599)	(66)
Inst. Expenditures PP	6,373	6,340	6,384	-45
	(1,042)	(1,430)	(871)	(34)
Support Services PP	3,817	3,806	3,821	-15
	(1,060)	(1,508)	(856)	(35)
Other Expenditures PP	408	383	417	-34
	(125)	(146)	(116)	(4)
Number of School Districts	421	314	107	421

Dependent Variable	All Districts	Never Proposed	Proposed At Least One	Diff (2)-(3)
Student Outcomes				
Dropout Rate	1.51	2.68	1.01	1.67
% Adv or Prof. 10th Grade	(1.97) (2.91) Iv or Prof. 10th Grade 45.67 43.94		(1.03) 46.16	(0.31) - <b>2.22</b>
Destas en deux Franklissent	(12.81)	(13.48)	(12.57)	(0.55)
Postsecondary Enrollment	(0.43)	(0.42)	0.44 (0.11)	- <b>0.02</b> (0.01)
Number of School Districts	421	314	107	421

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## Results First Stage: Detailed Support Services Accounts





(d) Student Transportation

Back to First Stage Results

- Linear, quadratic specification of the vote share
- District-level demographics
- Non-parametric RD with optimal bandwidth (Calonico et al., 2014)
- ITT Estimator
- Controls for election turnout
- Controls for the presence of a bond measure
- Controls for recurring vs nonrecurring
- End analysis prior to Act 10
- Estimate leads and leave out the year prior to the election

### Results Robustness: Linear and Quadratic Specifications



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## Results

Robustness: Linear and Quadratic Specifications



#### (c) Postsecondary Enrollment

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(a) Share of Economically Disadvantaged

#### (b) Share of Minority Students

Go Back to Second Stage



January 3, 2020 12 / 14

	Year Relative to the Election			
Dependent Variable	1 yr	2 yrs	3 yrs	4 yrs
Student-Total Staff Ratio	-0.19	-0.24	-0.19	-0.28
	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.12)	(0.13)
Student-Licensed Staff Ratio	-0.28	-0.28	-0.24	-0.38
	(0.13)	(0.14)	(0.17)	(0.19)
Student-Support Staff Ratio	-1.15	-1.79	-1.63	-1.78
	(0.75)	(0.79)	(0.85)	(0.89)
Student-Administrative Staff Ratio	11.72	2.67	0.01	7.23
	(13.44)	(10.80)	(11.60)	(11.46)

Go Back to Mechanisms

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- Heterogeneity by district demographics and socioeconomic characteristics / before and after Act 10
- Additional outcomes (crime, disciplinary incidents, test score gaps)
- Within-district effects: how do districts allocate the additional money across schools?
- Do increases in property taxes crowd out local private contributions?
- School finance effects: after 1993, state aid increases and property taxes decline where does the additional money come from (e.g., income taxes)?