

# GREEN (STILL) FOLLOWS WHITE

**A National Report on Inequitable  
Within-District Spending**

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# Introduction

Advocates and scholars have long decried an unequal and inequitable system of school finance that resulted in great disparities in funding across states and districts leading to unequal and inequitable learning opportunities for students based on zip code. Seventy years after the landmark decision of *Brown v. Board of Education*, the implied promise of an equitable opportunity to learn has not been fulfilled. After a brief period of declining segregation following the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, public school children have experienced an increase in racial and socio-economic isolation. Those who resisted *Brown* and argued then in favor of “separate but equal” have never delivered on the promise of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, either.

Often discussions of *Brown* center on evidence of psychological harm from de jure segregation and whether that harm has continued. However, our understanding of why separate can never be equal also speaks to the fiscal reality that isolated communities start with far less than their fair share of public resources. Multiple forms of racial and other discrimination in housing, transportation, employment, voter suppression and discriminatory business practices have contributed to the continuation of systemic oppression and inequity in educational opportunity and the entrenchment of patterns of educational segregation despite the end of de jure segregation and implementation of civil rights laws. Racial and socio-economic isolation in schooling is one of many contributors to the preservation of white privilege and the maintenance of the political power imbalance, especially at the state and local levels.

In other words, the control over education resources today, still reflects the longstanding societal power imbalance. The most obvious differences in resources are often observed when neighboring districts with substantially different student demographics are compared based on quantitative factors like per-pupil expenditures. Within large districts one can observe similar problems of decision-makers distributing education resources inequitably. The power imbalance that contributes to inter-district inequity can contribute to additional intra-district inequities in resources, including, but not limited to, quantifiable and persistent differences in per pupil expenditures between schools within the same school district.

School districts – through local school boards and superintendents – whether or not by design, often “distribute pivotal human, curricular, and infrastructure resources unevenly” (Darden & Cavendish, 2012, p. 62) with “better-paid, better-credentialed, and more experienced principals and teachers . . . in better-maintained environments” (Darden & Cavendish, 2012, p. 62) available to students from the more affluent neighborhoods within a given district while those across town or on the other side of the county receive fewer resources.

Although this report also examines within district inequities experienced along the lines of disability, poverty, and language status, the story of school-level resource inequity is inextricably linked to the history of segregation and racism in the United States. Even if we begin with *Brown*, the case that ended de jure segregation in schools, we see a history of practices, including housing discrimination that results in schools that remain largely segregated by race. Moreover, efforts by school districts to skirt desegregation orders gave rise the inclusion of the analysis of the *Green* factors before school districts ordered to desegregate were declared to have achieved unitary status and end court ordered monitoring (*Green v. County School Board of New Kent*, 391 U.S. 430, 1968). These factors include: (1) faculty, (2) staff, (3) transportation, (4) extracurricular activities, and

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(5) facilities. More than half (53%) of students in American public schools attend a school that racially concentrated (i.e., more than 75% white or more than 75% nonwhite) (Darden & Cavendish, 2012). The average per pupil revenue gap between concentrated white districts and concentrated nonwhite districts is \$2,226. This gap is compounded by the fact that

predominantly white districts tend to serve fewer students (at more funding per student). Moreover, the political reality of local school board elections is that racialized gerrymandering and voter suppression continue to throw new obstacles blocking the path shifting power which could improve resource equity in public education. Effectively, the green of dollars follows white student bodies when it flows from districts to schools.

Recent updates to federal legislation now require greater financial transparency at the school level, allowing us to examine the extent to which those disparities at the federal and state level persist at the local level. In this paper, we examine the scope of within-district inequity along the lines of race and ethnicity, as well as inequitable spending based on language status and family income. We find that inequities previously observed between states and districts persist between schools. This paper further explores these inequities where they are most pronounced. The findings presented should increase awareness that many observed within-district inequities likely reflect district level decisions about resource distribution which may be grounds for legal challenges. We conclude by making recommendations for policy changes as well as future research.

## **Background**

### **What is resource equity?**

Resource equity in the context of public education is the fair distribution of material and human resources that responds to the needs of each child in order to enable all students to thrive in a rigorous, safe, and supportive learning environment (see, e.g., Travers, 2018). These resources include, high-quality curricular materials and course offerings; qualified, diverse, and experienced teachers; extracurricular programs; academic support staff; social/emotional support staff; facilities and physical plant maintenance; and the funding that supports each of these resources. These are the in-school resources that support student learning. Research shows that schools with high percentages of students from low-income households and other marginalized populations need additional staff, supports, and services to achieve the same academic outcomes as their more advantaged peers (see, e.g., McKillip & Luhm, 2020; Duncombe & Yinger, 2004). A recent study examining North Carolina found that, in that state, the cost to provide every student with true educational opportunity would require a per pupil investment of around \$23,600 to \$28,000, more than double the state's current spending (Saldaña et al., 2024). This cost includes support and wrap-around services as well as the cost of prepared faculty and staff.

**To be truly equitable, districts must ensure that schools serving the highest-need students receive the greatest share of resources.**

Equal funding of schools within the same district is not sufficient if the distribution of students with greater needs is not equal at each school. To be truly equitable, districts must ensure that schools serving the highest-need students receive the greatest share of resources. In school finance, efforts to have the school resource distribution flow in accordance with need is often

referred to as a “progressive” distribution of resources; it provides more funding to schools serving higher populations of marginalized students than to their more privileged counterparts. Nonetheless, within this report we are not able to distinguish between progressive spending that is truly equitable and progressive spending that still falls short of meeting all of the additional needs within the district. “Flat” distributions, where per pupil spending is equal, regardless of need, fall short of an equitable goal. And, in stark contrast, “regressive” spending gives the fewest resources to the schools serving students with the greatest need. The regressive districts are often both unequal and profoundly inequitable.

**How are schools funded?**

Public schools are funded by state and local sources with relatively smaller contributions from the federal government<sup>1</sup> (United States Census Bureau, 2021). This is associated with the right to education being a matter of state - rather than federal - law. The primary source (81%) of local revenue for schools is property taxes. (NCES, 2024). In fact, in more 29 states, property taxes account for 30% or more of the total school funding. (Ibid.). Thus, a district’s ability to raise funds for its schools depends largely on its taxable property wealth. As a result, high-poverty (or, low property value) districts have a lower ability to raise funding for education, even at higher tax rates than do more

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<sup>1</sup> According to the U.S. Census Bureau’s 2021 Annual Survey of School System Finances, the average local contribution to K-12 education nationwide is 44.1%, the average state contribution is 45.3%, and the average federal contribution is 10.5% (United States Census Bureau, 2021).



affluent districts. This contributes to wide disparities in school district budgets, leaving state and federal aid to fill in the gaps. But in many districts these gaps are never filled.

Despite equalizing efforts found in many state and federal funding distribution formulae, significant inequities among districts persist. For example, one study by The Education Trust found that nationally, districts with the highest enrollments of Black, Latine, and Native students received as much as \$2,700 per student less than districts with the lowest enrollments of these students (Morgan, 2022). Another from the Education Law Center focused on disparities based on poverty level, finding that “only 19 states have even modestly progressive school funding systems with at least 5% more funding, on average, in high-poverty districts” (Farrie & Sciarra, 2022). In contrast, 17 states fund their schools regressively, spending less on their high-poverty districts, and 12 states have neutral funding systems, with no meaningful increase in funding for high-poverty districts (Farrie & Sciarra, 2022).

### **Does money matter?**

Research demonstrates the extent to which money matters in creating educational opportunity (see, e.g., (Bruce Baker, 2017); (Rebell M. A., 2017). For fifty years, school finance litigation cases have primarily focused on reforming state school funding systems as a means to address historical spending inequity between districts or to provide an adequate education for all students (Koski, 2017; Rebell M. A., 2009). Research shows that these legal strategies have made a difference. Court-ordered reforms have successfully increased the level of progressivity in school finance models (Oberfield & Baker, 2022). In turn, funding increases due to school finance reforms have raised student achievement and decreased achievement gaps in low-income districts (Lafortune, Rothstein, & Schanzenbach, 2018; Baker, Farrie, & Sciarra, 2016), increased test scores in mathematics, reading, science, and social studies (Guryan, 2001), improved college enrollment and completion (Hyman, 2017), and contributed to higher graduation rates and lower rates of adult poverty (Jackson, Johnson, & Persico, 2016).

### **Within District Inequity**

In this report, we use the term Within District Inequity (“WDI”) to describe the unequal and inequitable distribution of resources, especially funding, between schools



within a given district. Because the majority of school funding comes from taxes at the state and district level, the primary level of analysis of funding inequity has been at the district (see, e.g., Weathers & Sosina, 2022) and state (see, e.g., Farrie & Sciarra, 2022), rather than school, level. However, a provision of the Every Student Succeeds Act (“ESSA”) introduced a school finance reporting requirement that provides visibility into how school districts distribute funds among individual schools within their district boundaries. Starting with the 2018-19 school year, ESSA requires that school report cards include “the per-pupil expenditures of Federal, State, and local funds, including actual personnel expenditures and actual non-personnel expenditures of Federal, State, and local funds, disaggregated by source of funds, for each LEA and each school in the State for the preceding fiscal year” (Sec. 1111(h)(1)(C)(x)); Sec. 1111(h)(2)(C), emphasis added). Put more simply, this requires states to report each school’s total per-pupil expenditures along with each school’s disaggregated per-pupil expenditures of federal, state, and local funds. This new data reporting allows researchers to readily compare per-pupil expenditures across individual schools within a district. We use this data to consider only state and local funds. We do this for several reasons, including that many federal dollars are tied to special programs and are required to supplement rather than supplant state and local funding (see, e.g., Every Student Succeeds Act, 20 U.S.C. § 1118(b)(1), 2015).

**Within-district inequity can’t be explained by differences in property taxes; instead, district-level decisions on funding distribution warrant further interrogation.**

This report is focused on increasing the visibility of within-district school-level spending differences in order to deepen our understanding of how systemic injustice contributes to the inequitable opportunity to learn. First, within-district resource inequities reflect a different set of sources from inter-district inequity. Within-district inequity can’t be explained by differences in property taxes; instead, district-level decisions on funding distribution warrant further interrogation. Second, if district-level

funding distributions are not transparent, advocates can't be certain whether state and federal funds are reaching their intended targets. Specifically, these funds are often required to supplement (not replace) local funds and are intended to provide equitable opportunities to student populations with greater needs. Without oversight, district-level choices could undermine these equity efforts at the state and federal levels. Third, the presence of within-district inequities can compound disadvantage for students in high-poverty districts. As Ary Amerikaner, Vice President for P-12 Policy, Practice and Research at The Education Trust, told The Hechinger Report in a 2020 article: "Children attending high-poverty schools in relatively high-poverty districts can get hit twice — first by inequities because their district doesn't have the revenue and then unfair spending within their district" (Mathewson, 2020).

Finally, some scholars argue that within-district inequities can violate equal protection and education clauses in some state constitutions, potentially opening new avenues for school finance litigation (Warner-King & Smith-Casem, 2005).

The United States has created an education debt (Ladson-Billings, 2006). This debt arises out of a history of racism and oppression that denied educational opportunity - first in its entirety, then at levels of equality and adequacy - to BIPOC students. Within-district, facially race-neutral policies often lead to disparate experiences, including opportunity hoarding through school choice, additional churn through school closures, increased experiences of exclusionary discipline, and disparate access to resources (Diem & Welton, 2020). These disparities in educational opportunity (and, consequently, attainment) have led to disparities in income, wealth, health, and other life outcomes (Rothstein & Wilder, 2005).

## **Data and Methods**

To create a snapshot of within-district school spending inequities, we combined data from the following datasets:

- National Education Resource Database on Schools (NERD\$): Georgetown University's Edunomics Lab and Massive Data Institute compiles state-by-state datasets from per-pupil spending metrics on school report cards. The NERD\$

dataset is a first-of-its-kind data source for examining WDI. We look at data for the 2018-2019 school year.

- Common Core of Data, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data: The Common Core of data is a database of all public elementary and secondary schools maintained by the National Center for Education Statistics at the U.S. Department of Education. Specifically, we obtained enrollment by race for each school within a given district from this dataset. We use data for the same 2018-2019 school year.
- Civil Rights Data Collection (CRDC): First collected in the early 1970's, The CRDC is a biennial survey administered by the U.S. Department of Education's Office for Civil Rights. Among other information, this dataset contains information on which districts are under current desegregation orders or decrees. We use data from the most proximate collection year (2017-2018). This reflects the data available at the time funding decisions for the 2018-19 school year were likely made.

Our analysis focused specifically on traditional K-12 schools in multi-school districts. (For more specifics on our population of study, see Appendix B: Data and Methodology.) To construct meaningful comparisons, we divided each school district into three grade level bands: elementary, middle, and high. Grade level bands were based on highest grade served (so, for example, a K-8 school was classified as a middle school).

To locate school districts with possible school-level inequities, we examine per-pupil expenditures alongside school demographics. Differences in allocations to schools that fall along demographic characteristics drive our calculations for district regressivity. For our analysis, we look at each school's per-pupil expenditures from state and local funds.<sup>2</sup> We chose to exclude federal funds because federal funds can sometimes be used to mask spending inequities. (Additional information on our methodology is presented in Appendix B: Data and Methodology.)

Through this analysis, we identify three groups of interest:

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<sup>2</sup> For additional information and definitions, see Appendix A: Terms and Definitions.

- Regressive spending districts: Districts where the average per-pupil spending for the marginalized group of interest is lower than that for the privileged group. This measure is calculated by grade level (elementary, middle, and high) and for the district as a whole (where districts have regressive spending at one or more levels, without progressive spending at any level).
- Districts with wide spending stratification: Districts that were not identified as regressive but have both higher spending, privileged (H\$P) schools AND lower spending, marginalized (L\$M) schools. These districts have at least 10% district population in the target group and comparison group and have at least a 10% gap in expenditures between corresponding target groups
- Regressive districts with desegregation orders: These districts have regressive spending patterns between Black and White students and have desegregation orders in place with the U.S. Department of Education’s Office for Civil Rights (in 2017-18).

In this report we compare spending patterns for the following student demographics:

- Students eligible for the federal free/reduced price meal program (FRPL) compared to students who are not eligible for this program (non-FRPL).
- Students classified in the racial-ethnic categories of “American Indian/Alaska Native,” “Hispanic,” and “Black or African American” compared to students classified as “White.”
- Students with disabilities served under the Individuals with Disabilities in Education Act (IDEA) compared to students without identified disabilities under either IDEA or Section 504 (SWoD).
- English Learners (EL) compared to students not classified as English Learners (non-EL).

## **Findings**

Perhaps our most important finding is that across student groups, between one-third and more than one-half of students attend school in districts where funding patterns

are regressive for them. As we will discuss further below, this analysis is intended as an entry point for further inquiry. There are many reasons why a district may appear to have regressive or progressive funding patterns according to the data used in this analysis, that may not bear out upon closer examination of more detailed budget and expenditure information – or may bear out for good reason. For example, differences in spending may appear to be equitable in the year of examination, but when considered in a historical context, fall short of correcting a multi-year history of regressive and inequitable spending. Conversely, a given year may not appear to have achieved equity, but may be part of a larger, phased addition of resources designed to achieve equity over time.

### **Regressive Districts**

We define districts with regressive spending as those where the average per-pupil spending for the privileged group is higher than spending for the marginalized group (by any amount) without progressive spending at any grade level for the specific student group comparison. If the average per-pupil spending for the marginalized group is the same as or up to 10% more than the privileged group, we consider the spending to be “flat.” While additional research is needed on the additional costs associated with

**We find that across student groups, between one-third and more than one-half of students attend school in districts where funding patterns are regressive for them.**

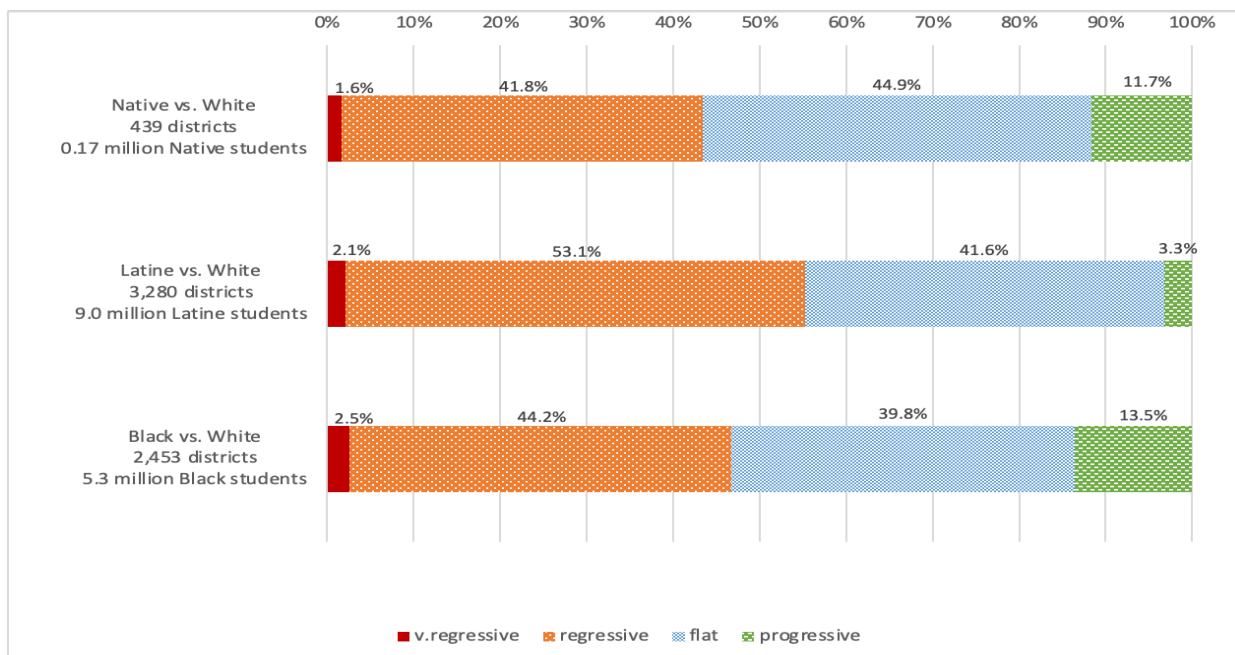
educating students overcoming societal obstacles, the IDEA considers the additional costs of educating a student with disabilities to be in excess of 40% more than the average non-disabled student. Thus, we anticipate that 10% additional spending for students from historically minoritized and marginalized backgrounds would be insufficient to address all of the

additional needs these students might present. Similarly, while we consider districts where the per pupil funding for relatively less advantaged students is 10% or more than their more advantaged peers to be “progressive,” that does not necessarily mean that it is

equitable. That is to say, the additional funding may still be insufficient to meet all of the additional needs of these students.

**Race/ Ethnicity.** Our findings begin by looking at spending patterns for major racial/ethnic groups. As seen in Figure 1, below, within-district inequities appeared to be most frequently experienced by Latine students compared with other racial/ethnic groups. However, Black students were the most likely to attend school in a district with “very regressive” spending.

Figure 1. Percentage of Students, by Race/Ethnicity, Enrolled in Analyzed Districts, by WDI Rating



Almost half (44.2%) of Black students attend schools in districts with regressive spending patterns for Black students compared with White students. But there is wide variation in within-district inequities for Black students – they are both most likely to attend schools in districts with very regressive spending patterns (2.5%) – where the district, on average, spends 10% less on Black students than White students and progressive spending patterns (13.2%) – where the district spends 10% more on Black students than White students.

It should also be noted that this study does not reflect the experiences of Native students attending schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Education. Native American students attending public schools not operated by the BIE were least likely to attend school in districts with regressive spending patterns for them. Specifically, 41.8% of Native students for which we were able to perform calculations were enrolled in districts that spent less on average for them, compared with White students. However, we couldn't determine a rating for about 1 in 4 Native students – which stands in stark contrast to other groups, where ratings were not determined for fewer than 5% of students.<sup>3</sup>

**Special Populations.** We next observe spending differences among special populations by their status compared to their peers in each of three areas: Students with Disabilities identified pursuant to the Individuals with Disabilities Act (IDEA); English Learners (EL); and students receiving Free or Reduced-Price Lunch (FRL). As shown in Figure 2, within-district inequities appear to be experienced most frequently by English learners than for other special populations. More than half of students in each of these groups attended school in districts that provided less funding for them than their more privileged peers. This is likely due to large, systemic patterns of inequities in districts or states that serve these students the most (and the geographic distribution of both groups of students), and patterns of overlap between these two student groups (78.4% of English learners are Latine according to the 2020-21 CRDC).

Students with disabilities are much less likely than most other student groups to attend school in districts with regressive spending patterns for them, and they're much more likely than other groups to attend school in districts where spending was "flat" (i.e., 0-10% more for that group). Nonetheless, as stated before, the need for additional supports for these students means that anything short of progressive spending is insufficient, and in many cases our 10% threshold for progressive spending does not mean that the distribution was equitable. Because the additional costs are, in our calculations, distributed among an entire school's student population, it is possible that

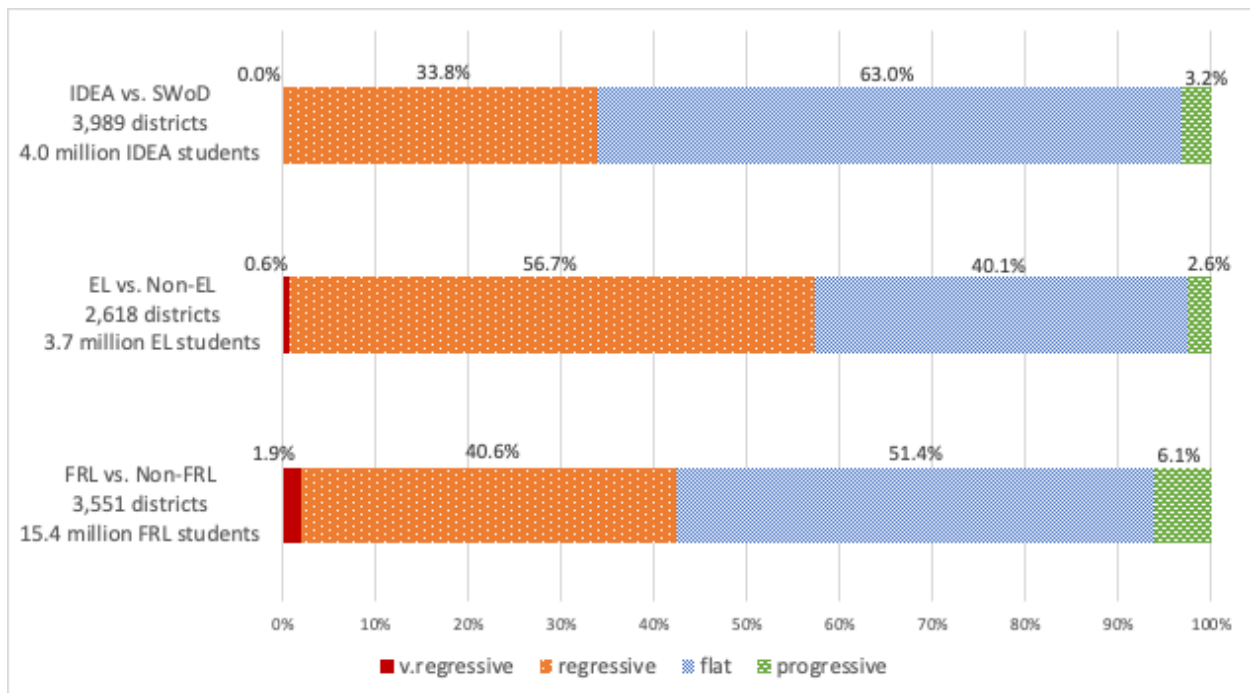
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<sup>3</sup> See Appendix B: Data and Methodology for additional information about the challenges of determining ratings for Native students.



the additional spending for these students appears diluted in our calculation.<sup>4</sup> Further, it should be noted that an additional 3-5% of all students enrolled in public schools are students with disabilities that are deemed eligible for supports and services pursuant only to Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973 (29 U.S.C. § 701 et seq.) are not represented in the numbers reported pursuant to IDEA (Losen, 2019). Students who receive support and services pursuant to Section 504 only do not receive any earmarked federal funds but are legally entitled to receive supports and services.

Figure 2. Percentage of Students, by Special Population, Enrolled in Districts, by WDI Rating



Even though research says that systems should be spending substantially more for students from low-income backgrounds, our analysis shows that 9 in 10 students who were eligible for free or reduced-price lunch were attending school in districts that

<sup>4</sup> Initially, the IDEA was supposed to provide 40% of the additional costs of educating students with disabilities. However, that has never been realized. In most years it has not reached even 30%. Nonetheless, students with disabilities should be getting more funding from the state because of the additional costs of providing a free and appropriate public education.

were not spending at least 10% more, compared with students not from low-income backgrounds.

Our analysis further identified 25 districts with regressive spending patterns overall (i.e., not just for specific grade bands) for all student groups examined. We present these districts in Table 1, below, along with the state in which they are located and the grade bands served. These districts are primarily distributed across the South and West.

*Table 1. Districts with Consistently Regressive Spending Patterns Across ALL Marginalized Student Groups (in WDI analysis)*

<b>State</b>	<b>District Name</b>	<b>Grade Spans</b>
<b>AL</b>	Madison County	Elem, Midd, & High
<b>AR</b>	Bentonville School District	Elem, Midd, & High
<b>AZ</b>	Buckeye Union High School District	High
<b>AZ</b>	Marana Unified District	Elem, Midd, & High
<b>AZ</b>	Mesa Unified District	Elem, Midd, & High
<b>AZ</b>	Phoenix Union High School District	High
<b>CA</b>	Manteca Unified	Midd & High
<b>CA</b>	Roseville Joint Union High	High
<b>CA</b>	Victor Elementary	Elem
<b>CO</b>	Cherry Creek 5	Elem, Midd, & High
<b>FL</b>	Duval	Elem, Midd, & High
<b>FL</b>	Polk	Elem, Midd, & High
<b>LA</b>	Jefferson Parish	Elem, Midd, & High
<b>NC</b>	Onslow County Schools	Elem, Midd, & High
<b>NM</b>	Las Cruces	Elem, Midd, & High
<b>NY</b>	Niagara Falls City School District	Elem & Midd
<b>OK</b>	Lawton	Elem, Midd, & High
<b>OK</b>	Western Heights	Elem & Midd
<b>TX</b>	Birdville ISD	Elem, Midd, & High
<b>TX</b>	Mesquite ISD	Elem, Midd, & High
<b>TX</b>	Rockwall ISD	Elem & Midd
<b>TX</b>	Spring ISD	Elem, Midd, & High
<b>UT</b>	Davis District	Elem, Midd, & High
<b>WA</b>	Edmonds School District	Elem, Midd, & High
<b>WA</b>	North Thurston Public Schools	Elem, Midd, & High

While we confined the preceding analysis to the first year of NERD\$ data, we also compared the districts classified as “very regressive” in our analysis with those deemed “regressive” in The Education Trust’s analysis of the second year of data. In this way, we hoped to consider whether the issues we begin to identify herein may be indicative of persistent issues within those districts. We found 16 districts with potentially persistent issues across any of the demographic comparison groups. These districts are presented in Table 2, below, along with the implicated student population.

*Table 2. Persistently Regressive Districts and Most Impacted Student Group*

<b>State</b>	<b>District Name</b>	<b>Student Population</b>
<b>AL</b>	Dekalb County	Latine, English Learner
<b>GA</b>	Grady County	Black
<b>ID</b>	Blaine County District	English Learner
<b>MI</b>	Grand Rapids Public Schools	Latine
<b>MI</b>	Southfield Public School District	Black
<b>MO</b>	Center 58	Black
<b>MO</b>	Riverview Gardens	English Learner
<b>MS</b>	Lamar County School District	Black, Latine
<b>NC</b>	Duplin County Schools	Latine
<b>NJ</b>	Camden City	English Learner
<b>NJ</b>	Newark City	Black, English Learner
<b>NM</b>	Silverbey	Latine
<b>OK</b>	Oklahoma City	Latine, English Learner
<b>TX</b>	Texarkana ISD	English Learner
<b>UT</b>	Duchesne District	Native
<b>VA</b>	Accomack County Public Schools	Black, Latine, English Learner

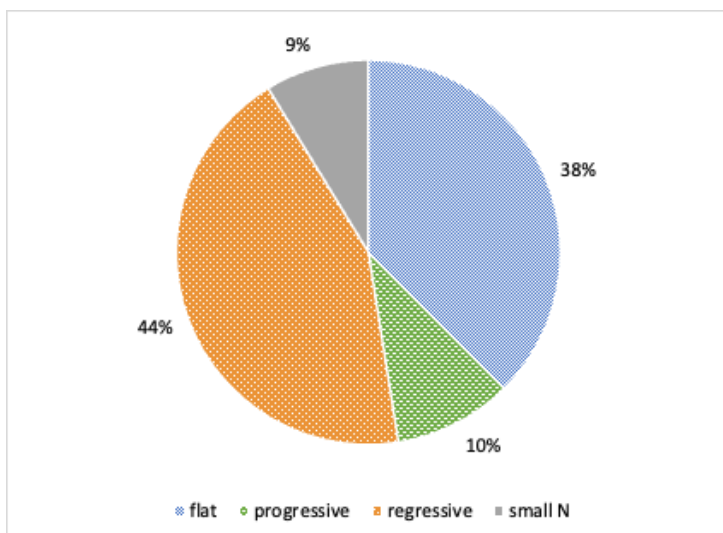
### **Districts with Desegregation Orders**

We next considered the 316 districts that indicated that they were under a desegregation order on the 2017-18 CRDC. These districts have been alleged and/or found to be operating in a manner that segregates students or staff on the basis of race or national origin in violation of the U.S. Constitution and/or Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Desegregation orders or plans are ordered by, submitted to, or entered into with a federal or state court, the Office for Civil Rights (OCR), or other federal or state agency or official and remain in effect until the district is found to be operating a unitary system

and has satisfied its obligations. While one of the federal government’s roles is as an enforcer of civil rights, the CRDC no longer collects school-level spending data. Thus, the ESSA data used in this analysis are our best source of information on school-by-school spending patterns and can provide important insight on the resource allocations within these districts.

A total of 316 districts had active desegregation orders, but we were only able to generate equity ratings for spending difference between Black and White students in 160 districts.<sup>5</sup> As shown in Figure 3, below, of those 160 districts, 10% had progressive spending patterns, 44% had regressive spending patterns, 38% had flat spending patterns, and 9% did not have enough Black or White students to be given a rating.

Figure 3. Equity Ratings for the 160 Districts with Desegregation Orders



# 44%

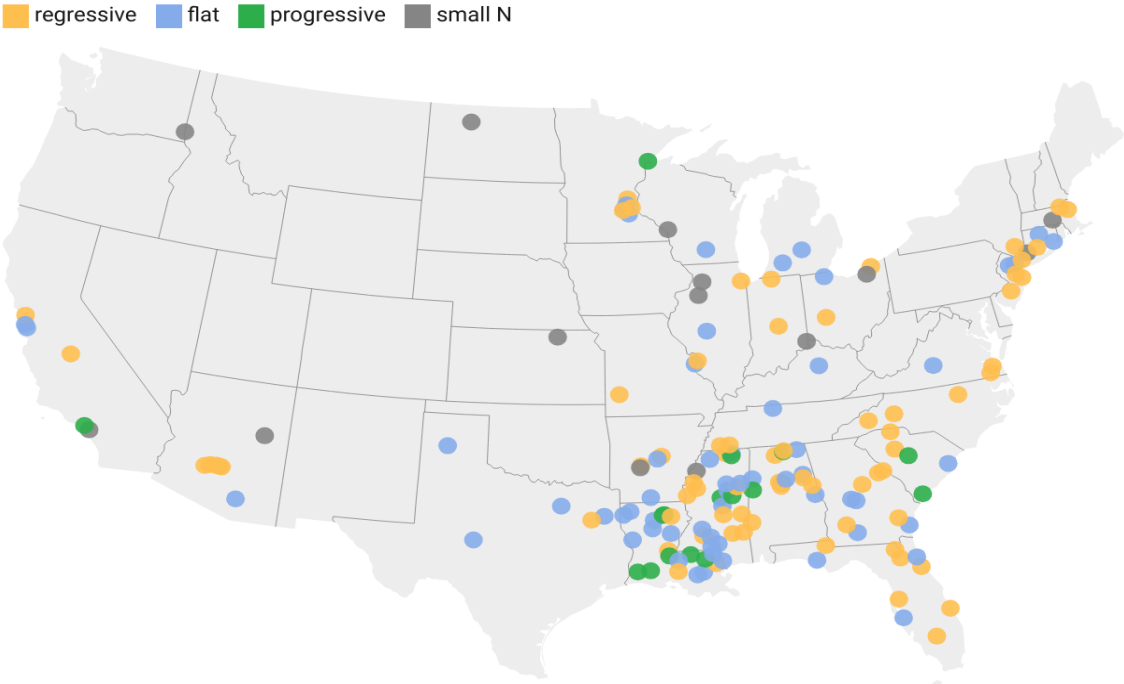
percentage of the 160 school districts under desegregation orders examined for this report with regressive spending with respect to Black students

While almost half (44%) of districts nationwide with active desegregation orders we analyzed had regressive spending, that average of 44% masks wide differences across states. In Texas and California, about 1 in 10 districts with desegregation orders had regressive spending, but in Florida and Tennessee, about two-thirds of districts with desegregation orders had regressive spending. Figure 4, below, maps the 160 districts

<sup>5</sup> The 156 districts without equity ratings either did not meet the criteria for inclusion—that is, they were too small, or they were not included in the NERD\$ database in 2018-19. Tables listing all districts in this analysis and their WDI rating can be found in Appendix C, Table 5a.

with desegregation orders included in our analysis.<sup>6</sup> The 70 districts with desegregation orders and regressive spending are spread across 22 states, which means that on average, there are about 3 regressive districts with desegregation orders in each state; however, a handful of states have MANY more districts with within-district spending inequities, despite being under monitoring for the ways in which the districts shortchange the educational experiences of Black students. States with at least 5 regressive districts with desegregation orders include Mississippi (ten districts), Alabama (seven), Florida (seven), Georgia (five), and Arizona (five). Special attention should be given to understanding within district spending inequities in these places and whether they are making progress toward meeting the requirements of their desegregation orders.

Figure 4. Map of Districts with Desegregation Plans that have Regressive Ratings



Because districts under desegregation orders are supposed to be working to eliminate the vestiges of segregation, school funding policies and practices that result in

<sup>6</sup> A state-by-state breakdown of WDI ratings for districts under desegregation order can be found in Appendix C, Table 5b.

schools serving more Black students receiving less in per pupil funding than those serving predominantly white student populations raises the possibility that the spending pattern is a vestige of the prior unlawful discrimination. In some cases, districts that are experiencing regressive spending on Black (as compared to white) students may be facing other discriminatory practices. For example, Table 3, below, lists districts under desegregation with regressive spending for Black students and disparities in their rates of exclusionary discipline. Specifically, these districts:

- (1) Reported current desegregation orders in both the 2017-18 and 2020-21 Civil Rights Data Collections,
- (2) Had regressive spending in 2017-18 (as calculated for this report), and
- (3) Removed Black students from their classroom learning environment through out-of-school suspension for at least five more days per 100 students than white students as calculated by the UCLA Center for Civil Rights Remedies using CRDC data for the 2015-16 academic year (Losen & Martinez, 2020).

These disparities strongly point to a system of administration resulting in different learning experiences on the basis of race, one that under-invests in schools serving Black students (as compared to their white peers) and disproportionately removes those same Black students from the learning environment through exclusionary discipline. The fact that these conditions exist in schools that are under orders to or have agreed to redress ongoing harms of segregation makes them all the more suspect.

Table 3. Districts Under Desegregation Order with Regressive Spending and Discipline Disparities

<b>State</b>	<b>District Name</b>	<b>Grade Levels in District</b>	<b>Days of Lost Instruction per 100 Students – Black:White gap</b>
<b>AL</b>	Hoover City	Elem, Midd, & High	25.5
<b>AL</b>	Jefferson County	Elem, Midd, & High	67.5
<b>AL</b>	Madison County	Elem, Midd, & High	19.0
<b>AL</b>	Randolph County	Elem & High	7.6
<b>AR</b>	Hot Springs School District	Elem	24.9
<b>AZ</b>	Agua Fria Union High School District	High	47.1
<b>AZ</b>	Buckeye Elementary District	Midd	23.7
<b>AZ</b>	Tempe School District	Elem & Midd	8.0
<b>CA</b>	Fresno Unified	Elem, Midd, & High	40.7
<b>CA</b>	Oakland Unified	Elem, Midd, & High	39.2
<b>CT</b>	West Haven School District	Elem	25.9
<b>FL</b>	Bradford	Elem	32.7
<b>FL</b>	Flagler	Elem, Midd, & High	35.3
<b>FL</b>	Hendry	Elem, Midd, & High	23.1
<b>FL</b>	Indian River	Elem, Midd, & High	66.4
<b>FL</b>	Jackson	Elem, Midd, & High	13.1
<b>FL</b>	Pasco	Elem, Midd, & High	28.8
<b>GA</b>	Baldwin County	Elem	47.8
<b>GA</b>	Columbia County	Elem, Midd, & High	18.1
<b>GA</b>	Dougherty County	Elem, Midd, & High	46.5
<b>GA</b>	Mcduffie County	Elem	84.8
<b>GA</b>	Wayne County	Elem & Midd	73.6
<b>IL</b>	Chsd 218	High	11.2
<b>IN</b>	South Bend Community School Corp	Elem, Midd, & High	122.4
<b>LA</b>	St. Martin Parish	Elem, Midd, & High	45.7
<b>LA</b>	St. Tammany Parish	Elem, Midd, & High	40.9
<b>MA</b>	Lynn	Elem, Midd, & High	11.4
<b>MN</b>	Anoka-Hennepin Public School Dist.	Elem, Midd, & High	32.2
<b>MN</b>	Shakopee Public School District	Elem & Midd	13.7
<b>MN</b>	West St. Paul-Mendota Hts.-Eagan	Elem & Midd	46.1
<b>MO</b>	Rockwood R-Vi	Elem, Midd, & High	62.5
<b>MS</b>	Benton County School District	High	67.2
<b>MS</b>	Brookhaven School District	Elem	32.4



<b>State</b>	<b>District Name</b>	<b>Grade Levels in District</b>	<b>Days of Lost Instruction per 100 Students – Black:White gap</b>
<b>MS</b>	Cleveland School District	Elem	67.2
<b>MS</b>	Jones County School District	Elem & High	28.0
<b>MS</b>	Meridian Public School District	Elem & Midd	41.8
<b>MS</b>	Scott County School District	Midd & High	25.3
<b>MS</b>	Starkville- Oktibbeha Consolidated School District	Elem	147.0
<b>MS</b>	Wayne County School District	Midd	45.0
<b>NC</b>	Asheville City Schools	Elem, Midd, & High	138.5
<b>NC</b>	Franklin County Schools	Elem, Midd, & High	55.3
<b>NC</b>	Hickory City Schools	Elem, Midd, & High	97.2
<b>NJ</b>	Old Bridge Township	Elem & Midd	23.7
<b>NY</b>	Mount Vernon School District	Elem, Midd, & High	24.1
<b>NY</b>	Newburgh City School District	Elem & Midd	144.3
<b>OH</b>	Painesville City Local	Elem	122.2
<b>OH</b>	Springfield Local	Elem	40.5
<b>SC</b>	Cherokee County	Elem, Midd, & High	48.0
<b>SC</b>	Newberry	Elem, Midd, & High	70.5
<b>VA</b>	Newport News Public Schools	Elem, Midd, & High	164.0
<b>VA</b>	Suffolk Public Schools	Elem, Midd, & High	50.4

The analyses presented thus far raise more questions than answers. In our next report, we will take a closer look at the districts still under desegregation orders as the court ordered requirements may enable a closer look at the resource distribution, and they may present important opportunities to pursue remedies to inequity. However, there remains a great deal of information relevant to identifying inequity and protecting the civil rights of students that should be considered alongside the spending patterns. One critically important area of review are patterns of spending stratification in districts that may appear to have flat or even progressive spending, but where there are serious pockets of inequity which are observable when we look at the stratification of progressive and non-progressive spending that would be overlooked if we only applied the standard definitions and focused solely on spending that appears regressive.

## Non-Regressive Districts with Wide Spending Differences

**There are a number of districts that were not identified as regressive, but still have wide spending differences between some schools in the district.**

We believe that there are likely many children attending schools with inequitable spending patterns that were not captured by our standard analysis of regressive spending. Although a deeper review of these districts and their budgets is beyond the scope of this report, we next examine districts with wide spending differences as ones likely deserving additional scrutiny. There are many reasons this kind of pattern could

exist – those reasons could reflect meaningful, equity-forward strategic resource allocation decisions to a legacy of historic spending practices that haven’t been eliminated. In districts identified through this analysis, it’s critically important to triangulate data with other sources to confirm whether the insight represents a pattern. We encourage advocates to consider whether there are outlier schools in their districts.

**Latine vs. White.** There were 77 districts that were not identified as having regressive spending patterns between Latine students and White students, yet still had wide spending stratification within the district. Most of the districts had ‘flat’ spending, but 10 of them were identified as having progressive spending patterns overall, despite the wide spending stratification. Table 4 below, includes districts with at least 2 L\$M schools, 2 H\$P schools, and at least 10 L\$M or H\$P school.

Table 4. Districts with Wide Spending Stratification for Latine Students

State	District Name	Percentage Latine Students	Schools in the District	L\$M Schools	H\$P Schools	Equity Rating
CA	Los Angeles Unified	77%	631	57	22	flat
FL	Miami-Dade	69%	323	32	11	flat
HI	Aiea-Moanalua-Radford	19%	251	3	10	flat
FL	Hillsborough	39%	214	7	6	flat
NC	Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools	26%	171	2	8	flat
CA	San Diego Unified	43%	166	4	6	flat
NM	Albuquerque	66%	132	5	7	flat

**Black vs. White.** There were 92 districts that were not identified as having regressive spending patterns between Black students and White students, yet still had wide spending stratification within the district. These districts are listed in Table 5, below. Most of the districts had ‘flat’ spending, but almost one-third (27) of them were identified as having progressive spending patterns overall, despite the wide spending stratification. Table 5 includes all districts with at least 2 L\$M schools, 2 H\$P schools, and at least 10 L\$M or H\$P schools.

*Table 5. Districts with Wide Spending Stratification for Black Students*

<b>State</b>	<b>District Name</b>	<b>Percentage Black Students</b>	<b>Schools in the District</b>	<b>L\$M Schools</b>	<b>H\$P Schools</b>	<b>Equity Rating</b>
<b>AL</b>	Baldwin County	12%	41	2	5	flat
<b>AL</b>	Huntsville City	41%	37	2	3	progressive
<b>AK</b>	Anchorage	5%	80	2	4	flat
<b>CA</b>	Los Angeles Unified	8%	631	31	22	progressive
<b>FL</b>	Broward	38%	208	6	11	flat
<b>FL</b>	Miami-Dade	24%	323	16	11	progressive

**FRL vs. Non-FRL.** There were 87 districts that were not identified as having regressive spending patterns between students from low-income backgrounds (as defined by free and reduced-price lunch eligibility) and peers, yet still had wide spending stratification within the district. Most of the districts had ‘flat’ spending, but 14 of them were identified as having progressive spending patterns overall, despite the wide spending stratification. Table 6, below, includes all districts with at least 2 L\$M (low spending, marginalized population) schools, 2 H\$P (high spending, privileged population) schools, and at least 10 L\$M or H\$P schools.

Table 6. Districts with Wide Spending Stratification for Students from Low-Income Backgrounds

State	District Name	Percentage FRL Students	Schools in the District	L\$M Schools	H\$P Schools	Equity Rating
CA	Los Angeles Unified	83%	631	40	43	flat
NV	Clark	78%	324	13	17	flat
FL	Miami-Dade	78%	323	24	26	flat
TX	Houston ISD	83%	245	10	7	flat
FL	Hillsborough	66%	214	11	6	flat
FL	Broward	64%	208	3	10	flat
MD	Montgomery	38%	199	2	13	flat
NM	Albuquerque	74%	132	6	5	progressive

**Across Multiple Analyses.** For these three marginalized-privileged comparisons, 21 districts consistently show up on the lists of districts with wide spending stratification (see Table 7, below). Notably, most (13) of the districts called out below are in states with county-wide school districts. It is easier to hide within-district inequities in these countywide districts. This is one of the biggest reasons that school-level spending data are important.

Table 7. Districts With Stratification in All Three Analyses

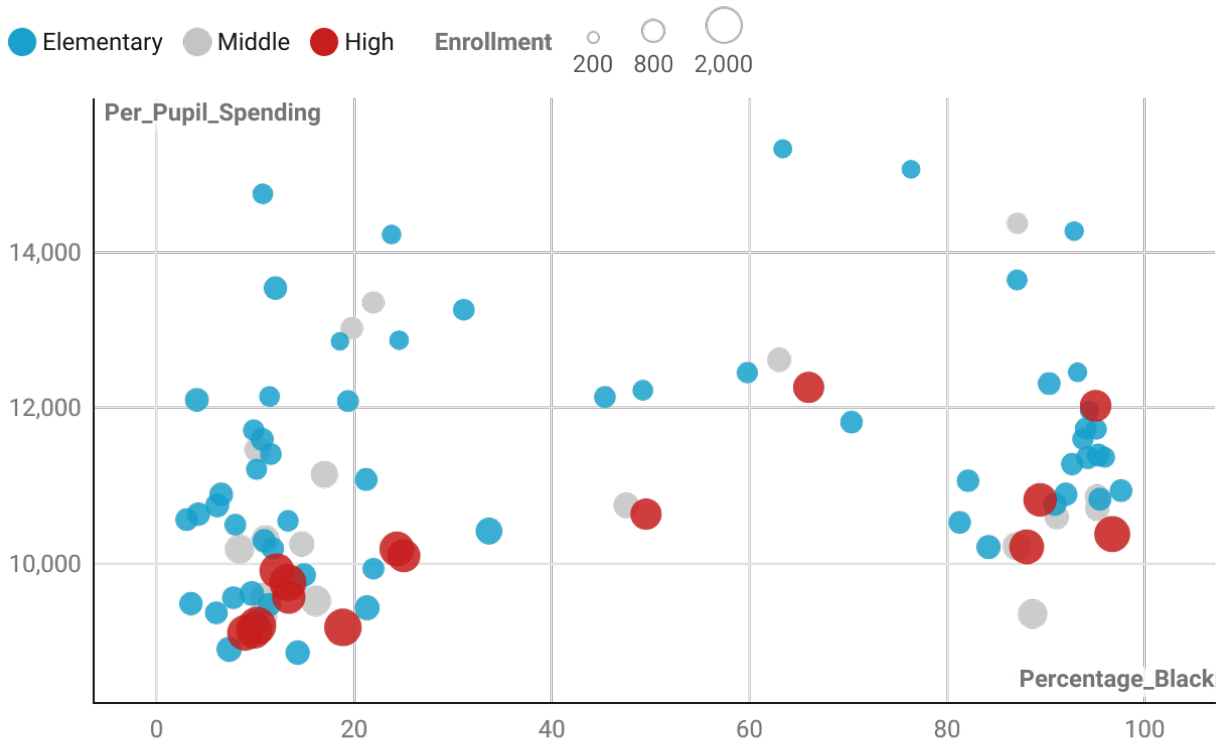
State	District Name	Schools in the District	FRL Students		Black Students		Latine Students	
			L\$M	H\$P	L\$M	H\$P	L\$M	H\$P
CA	Los Angeles Unified	631	40	43	31	22	57	22
CA	San Diego Unified	166	3	4	1	6	4	6
FL	Miami-Dade	323	24	26	16	11	32	11
FL	Hillsborough	214	11	6	8	6	7	6
FL	Pinellas	113	3	1	2	2	2	2
GA	Fulton County	93	1	4	1	4	2	4
GA	Muscogee County	52	5	2	4	6	2	6
KY	Jefferson County	133	4	1	3	5	3	5
LA	East Baton Rouge Parish	70	1	3	1	2	4	2
MD	Anne Arundel	110	2	6	4	9	1	9
MD	Howard	74	2	1	4	1	1	1
NY	NYC Geographic District # 2	103	2	3	1	4	3	4
NY	NYC Geographic District #31	71	2	4	1	5	1	5
NC	Winston Salem / Forsyth County	71	3	2	1	3	3	3

State	District Name	Schools in the District	FRL Students		Black Students		Latine Students	
			L\$M	H\$P	L\$M	H\$P	L\$M	H\$P
<b>NC</b>	Guilford County Schools	118	4	6	4	4	1	4
<b>NC</b>	Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools	171	1	10	5	8	2	8
<b>SC</b>	Charleston County School District	70	7	1	6	1	5	1
<b>TX</b>	Fort Bend ISD	76	3	3	1	6	1	6
<b>TX</b>	Garland ISD	66	3	3	2	2	2	2
<b>TX</b>	Katy ISD	64	1	1	1	4	1	4
<b>WI</b>	Milwaukee School District	121	2	1	4	2	4	2

In addition, it's worth calling a closer examination of two districts in the list above that have otherwise progressive ratings on average, despite having wide spending stratification within the district: Charleston County (SC) and Fulton County (GA). Understanding this discrepancy is just a first step. To dig deeper, we examine the school-by-school data in each of these districts.

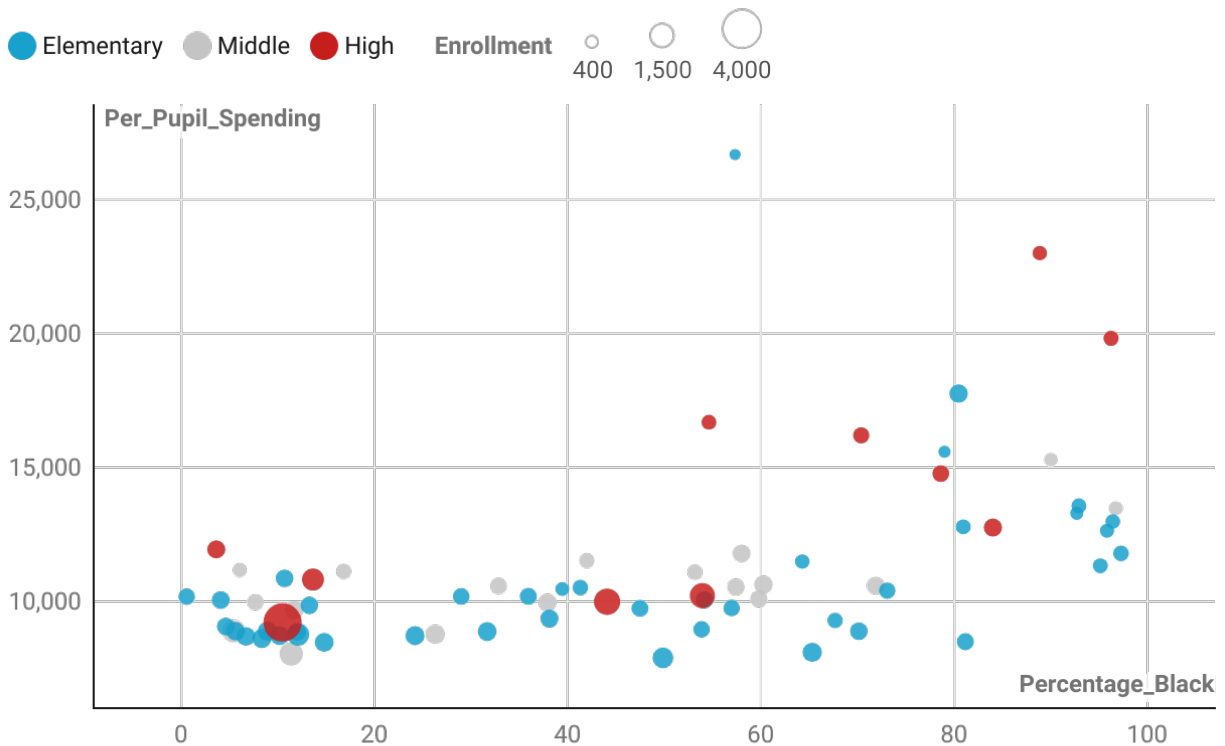
Figure 5 below, is a weighted scatter plot of individual schools in Fulton County, Georgia. The X-axis indicates the percentage of students in the school identifying as Black. The Y-axis indicates the per pupil expenditures for that school. The size of the dot indicates the enrollment. We have also color-coded the grade level: blue dots represent elementary schools; gray, middle; red, high. The figure, overall, demonstrates why the district has an overall rating of "progressive"; generally, as the percentage of Black students increases, so does spending. The figure also shows that the schools in Fulton County are largely segregated, with most schools having either fewer than 20% Black students (the cluster to the left) or more than 80% Black students (the cluster on the right). Most schools that are predominantly white are clustered around the \$10,000 band; those that are predominantly Black, between the \$10,000 and \$12,000 bands. However, one middle school that is approximately 88% Black students falls noticeably below the \$10,000 per pupil spending band while an elementary school that is approximately 10% Black students has per pupil spending in excess of \$14,000. These are notable examples of stratified schools within an otherwise progressive district.

Figure 5. State and Local Per-Pupil Spending, by Percentage of Black Students - Fulton County, GA



The overall progressivity of spending for Black students relative to their White peers is perhaps more discernable in Figure 6, below, which shows the distribution of schools in the Charleston, South Carolina district. It appears that the per-pupil spending, overall, increases rapidly as the percentage of Black students increases. The relationship appears to be exponential. The figure indicates that while schools with fewer than 20% Black students have per pupil expenditures around the \$10,000 band, schools with more than 80% Black students fall largely between \$12,000 and \$23,000. However, the lowest spending elementary schools have more than half of students identifying as Black – and those schools are also among the larger elementary schools. There is also very wide variation in spending between high schools in the district. Across high schools, the difference in spending between the 25<sup>th</sup> and 75<sup>th</sup> percentiles is almost \$6,000 – which is high, given that the average spending is about \$13,250 per student. In contrast, average spending in elementary schools is about \$10,350, and the difference between the 25<sup>th</sup> and 75<sup>th</sup> percentile is \$2,100.

Figure 6. State and Local Per-Pupil Spending, by Percentage of Black Students - Charleston, SC



In both of these cases, there may be good explanations for these outliers in the overall spending pattern. Moreover, the size of these districts means that the relative impact of these outlier schools on the overall calculation of per pupil expenditures is small. We encourage advocates to consider whether there are outlier schools in their districts, even if the overall spending patterns are flat or progressive.

## Discussion and Recommendations

The new financial transparency requirements are a first step to addressing the inequitable distribution of resources between schools within districts. Our analysis shows that between one-third and one-half of Black, Latine, Native, and English Learner students, as well as students with disabilities and students from low-income backgrounds attend schools in districts that spend less, on average, on them than their peers. These overall patterns tell us that there is work to be done in certain districts to ensure that they are providing fair funding to marginalized groups of students. Through multiple measures of inequity – including regressive spending for multiple student



groups, regressive spending in other independent analyses, and a concurrent oversight for segregation issues – this analysis identifies multiple districts for further investigation. In addition, we have identified several districts which do not exhibit overall regressive spending patterns but do have pockets of unfair spending in the district in which there are low-spending schools with larger marginalized populations of students and high-spending schools with larger privileged populations of students.

### **Causes And Contributions of Inequitable Funding**

While we are unable to pinpoint the precise reason for inequitable spending in the districts identified in this report, there are a few known contributors to this issue. First, the legacy of segregation continues to drive inequities in educational experience, both between districts and between schools within the same district (Murray, 2018). Even within districts, schools tend to remain segregated - both by race and by poverty (Orfield & Jarvie, 2020; Orfield, Kucsera, & Siegel-Hawley, 2012). Where schools were once segregated by law (de jure segregation), they tend to resegregate when released from federal court oversight/ desegregation orders (Reardon et al., 2012). And, even where law did not explicitly segregate schools, schools tend to be segregated based on patterns of residential segregation (considered to be de facto segregation) (Rothstein, 2015). Moreover, districts that wish to counteract the effects of de facto segregation are prohibited from engaging in voluntary integration efforts pursuant to Parents Involved (2007). The concentrations of students facing greater obstacles in schools

Alternatively, a potential remedy to double segregation and the negative effects of concentrated poverty on students may be to loosen exclusionary zoning regulations within a district (Rothwell, 2012). However, school choice programs which may in theory have the potential to provide relief, in practice are offered and exercised in ways in which more privileged parents hoard opportunities for their children (Murray, 2018). For example, well-connected parents may have greater access to influence admission decisions or, in some more extreme cases, may have access to the carefully controlled knowledge necessary to participate in the system. Moreover, when the students with the greatest ability to exercise choices leave their neighborhood schools, the schools they leave are often left with lower enrollment and a smaller allocation of essential district resources (Murray, 2018). Advocates in districts in which residential segregation - both

racial and/or poverty - should consider whether revised attendance boundaries might better integrate student populations and result in a more equitable distribution of resources. The strong correlation between race and poverty means that by advocating for integration on the basis of wealth, which is not a protected class, efforts may sidestep concerns about the limitations of Parents Involved.

Notwithstanding our critique of segregative attendance boundaries, nothing in this report should be construed to support voucher and voucher-like policies. To the contrary, the literature supports the idea that these programs (1) deprive students of important civil rights protections (Fiddiman & Yin, 2019; Mead & Eckes, 2018; Welner & Green, 2018), (2) increase segregation (Potter, 2017), (3) increase costs rather than saving money (Shand & Levin, 2021), and (4) fail to improve student outcomes (Austin, Waddington & Berends, 2019; Mills & Wolf, 2019; Webber et al., 2019; Figlio & Karbownik, 2016; Usher & Kober, 2011). Moreover, these programs arise out of a history of attempts to avoid desegregation (Ford, Johnson & Partelow, 2017).

Second, fundraising and philanthropy can exacerbate the effects of wealth segregation within districts (Murray, 2018). PTA/Os raise approximately \$425,000,000 annually (Brown, Sargard, & Benner, 2017), an amount that is growing rapidly (Nelson & Gazley, 2014). This additional support may provide everything from field trip opportunities, to classroom supplies for teachers, to technology, to additional teachers and/or “specials” classes (Murray, 2018). Advocates who believe that private philanthropy and/or parent fundraising may be exacerbating inequities in their district may be encouraged to learn that efforts to regulate what how these funds can be spent or pooling funds for district-wide distribution does not appear to have negatively impacted the ability to raise funds (Murray, 2018). However, it is important to note that this is not the only form of parental involvement that may impact overall school success (Ryan, 2010). Rather, the availability of higher-income parents to participate in schools in myriad ways is another reason why schools should be integrated on the basis of wealth and race.

Finally, it is important to note that intra-district inequity sometimes becomes inter-district inequity through a process known as secession. The Court’s decision in *Miliken v. Bradley* gave “near-sacred status” to school district boundaries by finding interdistrict

integration efforts impermissible except where there was an inter-district violation (EdBuild, 2017). However, districts under desegregation orders are still meant to be bound by *Wright v. Council of Emporia* (407 U.S. 451, 464, 1972) which assessed the constitutionality of municipal secession on the effect of rather than the motivation for the secession (although the case of Gardendale, Alabama shows this is not a perfect protection against secession, even in districts under desegregation order). In our companion piece, we explore cases of intra-district inequity, including that of Baldwin County, Alabama. In this report, Baldwin County was one of the counties in which we saw stratification with some high spending, privileged schools and some low spending, minoritized schools in the same district. One of those high spending schools would be part of the Orange Beach secession (along with two new schools built after the years of data examined in this report). Rather than a cause of within district inequity, secession appears to be the result of the kind of racial and wealth segregation that contributes to intra-district inequity. More affluent families desiring to maintain their advantage to the exclusion of others in the district may seek to leave the district altogether.

#### Dimensions of Intra-District Inequity

Throughout this report, we advocate for progressive spending, that is, spending more on historically marginalized and minoritized populations who face additional obstacles in their educational journeys. It is important to note that simply providing equal funding is not sufficient to meet the additional needs that some students bring to school. Additionally, it is important to note that progressive spending that is nonetheless inadequate will also fail to meet the needs of all students. A recent study in North Carolina found that the level of spending necessary to ensure all students an opportunity to thrive was between “\$23,600 to \$28,000 per pupil” (Saldaña et al., 2024) an increase in the current budget of more than 200%. Thus, in considering this report in the context of their own districts, advocates should take note of both any regressivity and stratification in spending as well as the level of funding relative to the needs of the students.

Although beyond the scope of this report, in future reports we will explore the relationship between inequitable spending and the allocation of other resources such as teachers (quality and diversity), curricular content, instructional time and attention, school climate, student supports and services, and school facilities. For example, teacher

salaries are one of the largest items on a school's budget. More privileged schools tend to have more experienced and better qualified teachers than do schools serving minoritized populations. This can be a driver of higher spending at the H\$P school. It may also be a reflection of better conditions at those schools that arise out of the historical disparities in spending. It is often associated with disparities in curricular offerings, such as Advanced Placement or International Baccalaureate courses that better prepare students to succeed in college. Thus, the relationship between disparities in these dimensions may be both a cause and an effect of disparities in spending. As advocates consider next steps in their quest to obtain more equitable spending in their district, they should take note of additional data on the opportunities afforded students in higher spending schools. Dimensions of Resource Equity (ARE, 2023) provides one framework that advocates can use to help understand resources, beyond spending, that ultimately impact students' learning and can describe "how well" funding is used to meet students' needs. Additionally, data from the Civil Rights Data Collection is a powerful tool for advocates hoping to understand students' experiences and access to resources in schools. This year's data release includes a tool that visualizes much of the CRDC data for all schools, districts, states, and the country and allows comparisons between district, state, and national averages for indicators like student-to-counselor ratios, percentages of novice teachers, and access to Algebra I in middle school or AP courses in high school.

### Recommendations

The analysis presented is intended to be useful to local policymakers and advocates seeking more equitable resource allocation in their district. We encourage advocates to look at the indicators of within-district inequity alongside data on outcomes as well as with their direct experience over time, as well as what they can see from reviewing the school district's line-item budget. To that end, advocates should explore school budgets for their district. At a minimum, districts should be publishing school budget documents that are accessible and easy to understand and that include individual school expenditures-level expenditures. Some red flags local advocates can look for are if there are large differences by school in revenue yet the source of the difference cannot be explained. Further, advocates should be wary of reports of flat spending whereby the district reports the same per-pupil expenditure at each school. If the school district is

providing the identical amount per student, yet one school has a much higher percentage of low-income students or students with disabilities, that equality in spending should be deemed inequitable.

Often school boards need to be pressed to provide more details. Consider, for example, a district where the differences in spending between a H\$P high school and a L\$M high school is largely attributable to differences in teacher salaries. Advocates might press the school board on (1) recruitment efforts to obtain more experienced and better qualified teachers at the L\$M, (2) differences in class sizes (and any affiliated space issues) between the two schools, (3) disparities in curricular offerings that may be a result of differences in teacher development (e.g., whether more teachers at the H\$P site are qualified to provide Advanced Placement instruction). Teacher experience and development differences may also result in differing classroom management strategies and abilities associated with disparities in exclusionary discipline, a component of school climate and culture. Conversely, proposed budgets sometimes reflect an average teacher salary multiplied by the site's FTE. Thus, they may conceal higher spending at a school site with more experienced or better qualified teachers. This information may not appear on the face of published budget documents, but should be part of advocates' initial considerations.

Advocates wishing to engage with their school board should plan to hold the district accountable for consistently publishing easy-to-read school budget documents to increase school funding transparency down to the school level. They should also seek additional data points, as referenced above, to provide a broader picture of the inequities reflected in budget numbers. Where multiple data points tell the same story of inequity, more concrete action is warranted.

Because inequities in school funding are the result of policy choices, not random/natural occurrences, advocates should work to identify and address the potential root causes of inequitable spending. As such, advocates are encouraged to ask for the "why" behind spending decisions. The Resource Equity Guidebook on school funding from the Alliance for Resource Equity is a good starting point for this work. Some common drivers of budget differences are: (1) school size (with smaller schools having a relatively higher rates of overhead), (2) student population (i.e., equity, students with

disabilities, English learners, and students from economically disadvantaged backgrounds often have slightly higher per pupil allocations in a base budget), (3) school type (e.g., schools with special programs often have higher spending, where these schools also serve a more privileged population than the overall district, this can be a driver of inequity), (4) enrollment projections and school utilization (i.e., paying for empty seats), (5) teacher compensation and vacancies (e.g., if a position went unfilled and/or was filled with a long-term sub, actual spending may be lower than projected), (6) ad hoc exceptions (i.e., where parents use social capital to obtain additional opportunities for their students) (ARE, 2023). Advocates can further engage by auditing district funding allocation models for schools to determine whether they promote equity and participating in working or technical groups designed to review how districts allocate funds and other resources to schools.

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## **Appendix A: Terms and Definitions**

**Federal Funds** - Education funds from federal sources. Federal funds are typically distributed as grants dedicated to certain programs or student populations, including students from low-income families (Title I funds) and students with disabilities (IDEA funds).

**Latine** - We use the term Latine rather than Latino/a in order to be gender inclusive (similar to estudiante). While Latinx may also be used in a gender inclusive manner, we understand the term to be anglicized and unpronounceable to Spanish speakers.

**Per-pupil expenditure** - Per pupil expenditure or per pupil spending is a measure of school spending that enables comparison across schools with student populations of different sizes. It is calculated by dividing the total expenditures assigned to the school by the number of students in that school.

**Share of Central Expenditures** - Allocation to the school sites of expenditures that are made for the district as a whole, including salaries of district-based personnel (e.g., human resource officers). States and districts have some flexibility in determining which expenditures to treat as “site” or “central,” and in their methods for allocating shares of central expenditures to school sites.

**Site Expenditures** - All school expenditures made specifically for or by a school site, including all salaries of full-time site-based personnel (e.g., classroom teachers).

**State and Local Funds** - Education funds from state and local sources. These funds come from sources such as state income taxes, sales taxes, lottery funds, and local property taxes. Each state has its own system for raising public education funds and for allocating those funds to districts. Approximately 92% of school funding comes from state and local sources.

# Appendix B: Data and Methodology

## Data sources

This analysis uses data from several sources: school spending data comes from the 2018-19 National Education Resource Database on Schools (NERD\$); data on school and district characteristics, school-level student demographics (including the percentage of students who are from low-income backgrounds, Black, Latino, Native, and White) come from the 2018-19 Common Core of Data (CCD); and data on enrollment of English learners and students with disabilities, as well as data on desegregation orders come from the 2017-18 Civil Rights Data Collection. The Common Core of Data does not include school-level enrollment for students with disabilities or English Learners, so enrollment for these groups were taken from the CRDC. The CRDC is a biennial data collection, so we matched CRDC data from the closest available year (2017-2018) to NERD\$ and Common Core data from 2018-19. While unlikely, it is possible that the enrollment of a demographic group shifted enough between 2017-18 and 2018-19 that the difference that appear in the analysis merit further exploration.

## Data Exclusions

To conduct the analysis, researchers first removed schools that were considered out-of-scope, including schools focused on adult education, alternative schools, special education schools, vocational schools, virtual schools, and shared-time schools, schools that exclusively served pre-school students,<sup>7</sup> and schools with fewer than 50 students. Researchers also removed charter schools because there was no mechanism in the datasets to consistently tie charter schools to either the geographically closest district or the district supervising the charter. Finally, researchers removed districts where there fewer than three elementary schools, two middle schools, or two high schools. The original data set included 98,649 schools in 17,486 districts across 50 states (including the District of Columbia) from the NERD\$ database. Data for South Dakota were not

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<sup>7</sup> Some of the included elementary schools served pre-kindergarten and transitional kindergarten students alongside older grades. These schools were retained in the sample.

included in the NERD\$ file used for this analysis. After all exclusion rules were applied, the final dataset included 49,724 schools in 4,023 districts.<sup>8</sup>

## Calculations

We looked at each school's per-pupil expenditures from state and local funds. This measure included both site expenditures and the school's share of central expenditures. This measure was available for most states except Ohio and Oregon, where we looked at each school's per-pupil expenditures from state, local, and federal funds. We chose to exclude federal funds in all other states because federal funds can sometimes be used to mask spending inequities.

To identify school districts with possible school-level inequities ("Regressive Districts"), we examined per-pupil expenditures alongside student population characteristics. To calculate the district per pupil spending within each school level for each demographic group, researchers:

1. multiplied the demographic group enrollment in the school by the school per-pupil expenditure; summed this product for each level in each district
2. summed the demographic group enrollment within each level in each district
3. divided the step 1 value by the step 2 value, producing a district average within each school level for per-pupil spending, for each demographic group.

We labeled a district as regressive if it spent less on the marginalized group than the privileged group, even if the amount was only \$1 per student. We consider this a conservative approach to regressivity.

- **Example Calculation**

- **Middle School A** has 20 FRL students and 80 non-FRL students. Per-pupil spending at **Middle School A** is \$13,000.

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<sup>8</sup> In the NERD\$ data, schools in New York City are assigned 32 geographic districts, and two citywide districts. This analysis preserves the distinction between these districts and does not treat New York City as a single school district. There are district-level resource allocation decisions that may impact across and within these districts, which this analytic decision would mask. On the other hand, keeping the entities separate could allow for a more nuanced understanding of differences in resource allocation between neighboring schools, which provides more detailed information to help remedy any inequities that are identified through this analysis.



- **Middle School B** has 60 FRL students and 40 non-FRL students. Per-pupil spending at **Middle School B** is \$10,000.
- **The District** that governs Middle Schools **A & B** shows average spending across schools of \$10,750 on each FRL middle school student and \$12,000 on each non-FRL middle school student. **The District** shows **regressive spending** on FRL students at the middle school level.
- If spending is also not progressive (i.e., it's flat/neutral or regressive) at other levels, then spending in **The District** is regressive.

### **Student groups and comparisons**

Throughout the analyses, we examine spending patterns for certain groups of students that are historically marginalized, minoritized, and underserved in our education system. First, we considered students who have experienced historical marginalization due to race and/or ethnicity: Black, Latin, and Native students. We compare these students to their White counterparts. We also consider students from special populations, including students from low-income backgrounds (who are eligible for free or reduced-price lunch), English learners, and students with disabilities (under the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA)). We compare these groups of students to other groups that do not share those characteristics.

When analyzing data for these groups and making comparisons, it's important to consider several caveats and limitations.

- Students from low-income backgrounds: While FRPL eligibility is a commonly used proxy for economic background in education research, it is an imprecise measure of economic need. There are problems of limited reporting (especially in high school). In addition, it's well documented that FRPL is a less precise measure for student economic need in schools given the expansion of the Community Eligibility Provision.<sup>9</sup>
- When considering comparisons between Black, Latine, or Native students and White students, we note three caveats:
  1. In general, comparisons of students of color to White students run the risk of centering "whiteness" as the "right" experience. In school funding, comparing experiences of students of color to white students is more appropriate given the country's history of marginalization of indigenous people, Black people, and immigrants of Latine background, including

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<sup>9</sup> <https://www.urban.org/policy-centers/center-education-data-and-policy/projects/measuring-student-poverty>

through housing segregation which creates inequities in school funding – especially between districts, but also within.<sup>10</sup>

2. The Latine student group is not a monolith – sometimes, it’s more instructive to consider race of Latines in addition to ethnicity.<sup>11</sup> Unfortunately, current race and ethnicity reporting guidance does not facilitate reporting the race of any student that indicates that they are Hispanic or Latino, even if the student also indicates a racial identity. A student that indicates that they identify as Black and Latine (Hispanic), will only be reported out as Hispanic.
3. Finally, given the [erasure](#) of Native students from education data, inequities for Native students are harder to measure. Just 1% of the country’s students in public schools are identified as Native in the data used in this analysis. Further, about 1 in 4 districts do not have enough students to be considered for the analysis – compared to about 2% of districts with too few Black or Latine students to be considered. Districts with enough students to be included in the analysis are concentrated in only a handful of states, including Oklahoma, Nevada, Alaska, Montana, and Arizona. On top of that, while 90% of Native students are likely captured in the data, 10% attend schools operated by the Bureau of Indian Education – which is not included here and provides students with an inadequate education (Woods, 2020). Some states are investing more in data infrastructure that would allow them to better track students’ racial identity and tribal affiliation (Lieberman, 2023). But results from these efforts will take years to show up in the data.

## **Limitations of the analysis**

### ***Using spending data to measure within-district inequities***

Examining school spending data provides an entry point to estimate whether there should be concerns about whether the resources that go into meeting students’ needs are being allocated inequitably.<sup>12</sup> School spending is one data point that – thanks to ESSA and NERD\$ – is available on a national scale. With that said, there are several limitations of using these data to understand inequities in funding between schools in districts, including a lack of data on funding from private sources, including parent groups; difficulty in quantifying the contributions of charter schools (including virtual

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<sup>10</sup> <https://www.shankerinstitute.org/segfunding>

<sup>11</sup> <https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12552-014-9132-3> and <https://www.pewresearch.org/hispanic/2021/11/04/majority-of-latinos-say-skin-color-impacts-opportunity-in-america-and-shapes-daily-life/>

<sup>12</sup> <https://educationresourceequity.org/dimensions-of-equity/>

schools that are charters) to observed inequities; and trouble quantifying the levels of inequity, because the field needs continued research to determine how much more is enough.

***One data point does not make a trend***

This analysis is intended as an entry point for further inquiry. Data from a single year – especially the first year that the data were reported – is subject to anomalies. Findings from this analysis based on 2017-18 data should be triangulated with findings from subsequent years of NERD\$ data, as well as other data sources. It’s also important to understand the extent to which students are experiencing the right combination of other resources – like experienced and diverse educators, high-quality and culturally responsive curriculum, access to advanced coursework, and social-emotional supports – to meet their needs.

## Appendix C: Data Tables

**Appendix Table 1a: Percentage of Marginalized Students Enrolled in Districts, by District WDI Rating and Race/Ethnicity**

Student Group / Comparison	Extra Regressive	Regressive	Progressive	Flat	Small N
Black vs. White					
All Grades	2.5%	43.2%	13.2%	38.9%	2.1%
Elementary	0.5%	45.0%	12.7%	39.1%	2.8%
Middle	6.2%	41.1%	12.8%	37.9%	2.0%
High	2.2%	42.4%	14.5%	39.7%	1.2%
Latine vs. White					
All Grades	2.1%	52.1%	3.2%	40.8%	1.8%
Elementary	0.8%	53.5%	3.0%	40.4%	2.4%
Middle	4.5%	51.6%	3.1%	39.1%	1.6%
High	2.0%	50.1%	3.7%	43.2%	1.0%
Native vs. White					
All Grades	1.2%	30.9%	8.6%	33.2%	26.1%
Elementary	1.2%	31.6%	8.2%	32.6%	26.4%
Middle	1.1%	33.2%	7.3%	33.2%	25.2%
High	1.3%	27.8%	10.2%	34.1%	26.5%

**Appendix Table 1b: Percentage of Marginalized Students Enrolled in Districts, by District WDI Rating and Special Population**

Student Group / Comparison	Extra Regressive	Regressive	Progressive	Flat	Small N
FRL vs. Non-FRL					
All Grades	1.8%	39.2%	5.9%	49.6%	3.5%
Elementary	0.6%	39.6%	5.7%	50.5%	3.6%
Middle	4.3%	40.5%	5.6%	45.7%	3.9%
High	1.8%	37.0%	6.5%	51.7%	3.1%
EL vs. Non-EL					
All Grades	0.6%	56.2%	2.6%	39.8%	0.7%
Elementary	0.5%	54.6%	2.5%	41.5%	0.9%
Middle	0.8%	62.8%	2.5%	33.4%	0.5%
High	0.8%	54.2%	3.3%	41.3%	0.5%
IDEA vs. non-SWD					
All Grades	0.0%	33.7%	3.2%	63.0%	0.0%
Elementary	0.0%	34.5%	1.9%	63.6%	0.0%
Middle	0.0%	33.5%	5.6%	60.9%	0.0%
High	0.0%	32.5%	3.5%	64.0%	0.0%

**Appendix Table 2a: Districts by WDI Rating by Race/Ethnicity**

Student Group & Grade Span	Measure	Rating						% Rating				
		Very Regressive	Regressive (does not include very regressive)	Flat	Progressive	Too Small	Total	Very Regressive (worse than -10%)	Regressive (-10% to 0%)	Flat (0 to 10%)	Progressive	Too Small
<b>Black vs. White</b>												
ALL GRADES	Number of Districts	17	1,341	991	104	1,570	4,023	0%	33%	25%	3%	39%
	Student Group Enrollment	134,131	2,346,442	2,114,252	718,616	114,685	5,428,126	2%	43%	39%	13%	2%
	Total Enrollment	390,487	13,804,827	10,876,219	3,020,970	3,659,779	31,752,282	1%	43%	34%	10%	12%
Elementary	Number of Districts	14	1,236	865	88	1,308	3,511	0%	35%	25%	3%	37%
	Student Group Enrollment	12,507	1,118,290	971,701	315,869	68,568	2,486,935	1%	45%	39%	13%	3%
	Total Enrollment	41,735	6,762,511	5,291,910	1,360,348	2,337,952	15,794,456	0%	43%	34%	9%	15%
Middle	Number of Districts	9	902	509	82	523	2,025	0%	45%	25%	4%	26%
	Student Group Enrollment	87,957	578,078	533,746	179,677	28,413	1,407,871	6%	41%	38%	13%	2%
	Total Enrollment	247,951	3,296,240	2,549,279	742,836	729,787	7,566,093	3%	44%	34%	10%	10%
High	Number of Districts	11	687	412	91	326	1,527	1%	45%	27%	6%	21%
	Student Group Enrollment	33,667	650,074	608,805	223,070	17,704	1,533,320	2%	42%	40%	15%	1%
	Total Enrollment	100,801	3,746,076	3,035,030	917,786	592,040	8,391,733	1%	45%	36%	11%	7%
<b>Latino vs. White</b>												
ALL GRADES	Number of Districts	14	1,859	1,361	46	743	4,023	0%	46%	34%	1%	18%
	Student Group Enrollment	190,096	4,792,140	3,750,961	294,142	168,615	9,195,954	2%	52%	41%	3%	2%
	Total Enrollment	405,685	16,821,336	12,287,130	961,365	1,276,766	31,752,282	1%	53%	39%	3%	4%
Elementary	Number of Districts	11	1,702	1,197	42	559	3,511	0%	48%	34%	1%	16%
	Student Group Enrollment	35,042	2,371,170	1,789,065	131,953	106,228	4,433,458	1%	53%	40%	3%	2%
	Total Enrollment	64,071	8,355,226	6,180,363	426,971	767,825	15,794,456	0%	53%	39%	3%	5%
Middle	Number of Districts	9	1,155	599	39	223	2,025	0%	57%	30%	2%	11%
	Student Group Enrollment	105,367	1,195,430	905,804	72,654	38,074	2,317,329	5%	52%	39%	3%	2%
	Total Enrollment	231,927	4,060,526	2,783,649	232,555	257,436	7,566,093	3%	54%	37%	3%	3%
High	Number of Districts	12	840	432	36	207	1,527	1%	55%	28%	2%	14%
	Student Group Enrollment	49,687	1,225,540	1,056,092	89,535	24,313	2,445,167	2%	50%	43%	4%	1%
	Total Enrollment	109,687	4,405,584	3,323,118	301,839	251,505	8,391,733	1%	52%	40%	4%	3%
<b>Native vs. White</b>												
ALL GRADES	Number of Districts	8	191	209	31	3,584	4,023	0%	5%	5%	1%	89%
	Student Group Enrollment	2,751	70,948	76,322	19,791	60,115	229,927	1%	31%	33%	9%	26%
	Total Enrollment	73,669	4,717,524	7,804,187	497,697	18,659,205	31,752,282	0%	15%	25%	2%	59%
Elementary	Number of Districts	3	166	175	26	3,141	3,511	0%	5%	5%	1%	89%
	Student Group Enrollment	1,285	34,576	35,683	8,990	28,841	109,375	1%	32%	33%	8%	26%
	Total Enrollment	26,031	2,125,498	3,455,772	208,167	9,978,988	15,794,456	0%	13%	22%	1%	63%
Middle	Number of Districts	3	153	168	22	1,679	2,025	0%	8%	8%	1%	83%
	Student Group Enrollment	600	17,465	17,492	3,852	13,253	52,662	1%	33%	33%	7%	25%
	Total Enrollment	26,205	1,198,670	1,990,530	118,323	4,232,365	7,566,093	0%	16%	26%	2%	56%
High	Number of Districts	8	131	154	24	1,210	1,527	1%	9%	10%	2%	79%
	Student Group Enrollment	866	18,907	23,147	6,949	18,021	67,890	1%	28%	34%	10%	27%
	Total Enrollment	21,433	1,393,356	2,357,885	171,207	4,447,852	8,391,733	0%	17%	28%	2%	53%

**Appendix Table 2b: Districts by WDI Rating for Special Populations**

Student Group & Grade Span	Measure	Rating						% Rating				
		Very Regressive	Regressive (does not include very regressive)	Flat	Progressive	Too Small	Total	Very Regressive (worse than -10%)	Regressive (-10% to 0%)	Flat (0 to 10%)	Progressive	Too Small
<b>FRL vs. Non-FRL</b>												
ALL GRADES	Number of Districts	13	1,642	1,806	90	194	3,745	0%	44%	48%	2%	5%
	Student Group Enrollment	290,645	6,265,618	7,936,153	943,242	564,912	16,000,570	2%	39%	50%	6%	4%
	Total Enrollment	376,907	11,577,499	15,600,538	1,943,800	636,768	30,135,512	1%	38%	52%	6%	2%
Elementary	Number of Districts	8	1,476	1,558	77	157	3,276	0%	45%	48%	2%	5%
	Student Group Enrollment	50,297	3,235,281	4,130,169	469,649	290,637	8,176,033	1%	40%	51%	6%	4%
	Total Enrollment	61,028	5,863,061	7,845,447	901,216	346,509	15,017,261	0%	39%	52%	6%	2%
Middle	Number of Districts	8	936	788	68	69	1,869	0%	50%	42%	4%	4%
	Student Group Enrollment	171,178	1,596,046	1,800,764	221,760	153,433	3,943,181	4%	40%	46%	6%	4%
	Total Enrollment	220,772	2,821,368	3,462,887	451,215	158,535	7,114,777	3%	40%	49%	6%	2%
High	Number of Districts	10	659	617	74	70	1,430	1%	46%	43%	5%	5%
	Student Group Enrollment	69,170	1,434,291	2,005,220	251,833	120,842	3,881,356	2%	37%	52%	6%	3%
	Total Enrollment	95,107	2,893,070	4,292,204	591,369	131,724	8,003,474	1%	36%	54%	7%	2%
<b>ELL vs. Non-ELL</b>												
ALL GRADES	Number of Districts	17	1,470	1,083	48	1,399	4,017	0%	37%	27%	1%	35%
	Student Group Enrollment	24,055	2,103,570	1,488,105	97,022	27,263	3,740,015	1%	56%	40%	3%	1%
	Total Enrollment	116,245	16,468,778	11,665,853	798,352	2,695,069	31,744,297	0%	52%	37%	3%	8%
Elementary	Number of Districts	12	1,365	975	46	1,107	3,505	0%	39%	28%	1%	32%
	Student Group Enrollment	12,801	1,277,714	970,442	57,299	20,436	2,338,692	1%	55%	41%	2%	1%
	Total Enrollment	43,464	7,868,893	5,796,386	369,183	1,708,892	15,786,818	0%	50%	37%	2%	11%
Middle	Number of Districts	12	986	581	35	411	2,025	1%	49%	29%	2%	20%
	Student Group Enrollment	6,440	484,961	258,114	19,004	3,722	772,242	1%	63%	33%	2%	0%
	Total Enrollment	42,924	4,253,293	2,601,809	179,032	489,035	7,566,093	1%	56%	34%	2%	6%
High	Number of Districts	7	727	404	36	352	1,526	0%	48%	26%	2%	23%
	Student Group Enrollment	4,814	340,895	259,549	20,719	3,105	629,081	1%	54%	41%	3%	0%
	Total Enrollment	29,857	4,346,592	3,267,658	250,137	497,142	8,391,386	0%	52%	39%	3%	6%
<b>IDEA vs. SWoD</b>												
ALL GRADES	Number of Districts	4	1,657	2,291	37	28	4,017	0%	41%	57%	1%	1%
	Student Group Enrollment	769	1,362,746	2,545,319	128,724	363	4,037,921	0%	34%	63%	3%	0%
	Total Enrollment	7,373	10,391,377	20,337,554	944,171	63,822	31,744,297	0%	33%	64%	3%	0%
Elementary	Number of Districts	3	1,455	1,997	28	22	3,505	0%	42%	57%	1%	1%
	Student Group Enrollment	256	710,125	1,310,707	38,418	251	2,059,756	0%	34%	64%	2%	0%
	Total Enrollment	3,019	5,295,078	10,170,205	279,240	39,276	15,786,818	0%	34%	64%	2%	0%
Middle	Number of Districts	2	948	1,039	27	9	2,025	0%	47%	51%	1%	0%
	Student Group Enrollment	305	336,398	611,473	56,642	51	1,004,868	0%	33%	61%	6%	0%
	Total Enrollment	2,113	2,463,861	4,699,068	389,981	11,070	7,566,093	0%	33%	62%	5%	0%
High	Number of Districts	2	711	776	29	8	1,526	0%	47%	51%	2%	1%
	Student Group Enrollment	208	316,224	623,139	33,665	61	973,297	0%	32%	64%	3%	0%
	Total Enrollment	2,241	2,632,438	5,468,281	274,950	13,476	8,391,386	0%	31%	65%	3%	0%

**Appendix Table 3a: Comparison of Districts with Very Regressive Spending Patterns From WDI Analysis to EdTrust Analysis – for Black Students**

State	District Name	NCYL Rating	EdTrust Rating
<b>AL</b>	Tuscaloosa City	v.regressive	flat
<b>CA</b>	Livermore Valley Joint Unified	v.regressive	not rated
<b>GA</b>	Grady County	v.regressive	regressive
<b>IL</b>	City Of Chicago Sd 299	v.regressive	progressive
<b>MI</b>	Clintondale Community Schools	v.regressive	not in dataset
<b>MI</b>	Garden City Public Schools	v.regressive	not in dataset
<b>MI</b>	Southfield Public School District	v.regressive	regressive
<b>MI</b>	Vassar Public Schools	v.regressive	not in dataset
<b>MO</b>	Center 58	v.regressive	regressive
<b>MO</b>	Lesterville R-Iv	v.regressive	not in dataset
<b>MS</b>	Coahoma County School District	v.regressive	not in dataset
<b>MS</b>	Lamar County School District	v.regressive	regressive
<b>NC</b>	Duplin County Schools	v.regressive	flat
<b>NJ</b>	Newark City	v.regressive	progressive
<b>PA</b>	Laurel Highlands Sd	v.regressive	flat
<b>TX</b>	Rice Cisd	v.regressive	not in dataset
<b>VA</b>	Accomack County Public Schools	v.regressive	regressive



**Appendix Table 3b: Comparison of Districts with Very Regressive Spending Patterns  
From WDI Analysis to EdTrust Analysis – for Latine Students**

State	District Name	WDI Rating	EdTrust Rating
AL	Dekalb County	v.regressive	regressive
AL	Tuscaloosa City	v.regressive	flat
IL	City Of Chicago Sd 299	v.regressive	flat
IL	Summit Sd 104	v.regressive	not in dataset
MA	Lawrence	v.regressive	flat
MI	Grand Rapids Public Schools	v.regressive	regressive
MS	Lamar County School District	v.regressive	regressive
NC	Duplin County Schools	v.regressive	regressive
NC	Swain County Schools	v.regressive	not in dataset
NM	Silvercity	v.regressive	regressive
OK	Oklahoma City	v.regressive	regressive
OR	Morrow Sd 1	v.regressive	not in dataset
TX	Rice Cisd	v.regressive	not in dataset
VA	Accomack County Public Schools	v.regressive	regressive

**Appendix Table 3c: Comparison of Districts with Very Regressive Spending Patterns  
From WDI Analysis to EdTrust Analysis – for Native Students**

State	District Name	WDI Rating	EdTrust Rating
AK	Chatham	v.regressive	not in dataset
AK	Lake And Peninsula	v.regressive	not in dataset
KS	Chetopa-St. Paul	v.regressive	not in dataset
NC	Duplin County Schools	v.regressive	no rating for this group
UT	Duchesne District	v.regressive	regressive
WA	Cape Flattery School District	v.regressive	not in dataset
NY	New York City Geographic District #17	v.regressive	not in dataset
NY	New York City Geographic District #27	v.regressive	not in dataset

**Appendix Table 3d: Comparison of Districts with Very Regressive Spending Patterns From WDI Analysis to EdTrust Analysis – for English Learner Students**

<b>State</b>	<b>District Name</b>	<b>WDI Rating</b>	<b>EdTrust Rating</b>
<b>AL</b>	Dekalb County	v.regressive	regressive
<b>CA</b>	Mariposa County Unified	v.regressive	not in dataset
<b>CA</b>	Mountain Empire Unified	v.regressive	not in dataset
<b>CA</b>	Placer Union High	v.regressive	no rating for this group
<b>IA</b>	Jesup	v.regressive	not in dataset
<b>ID</b>	Blaine County District	v.regressive	regressive
<b>ID</b>	Kuna Joint District	v.regressive	not in dataset
<b>IL</b>	Rochelle Ccsd 231	v.regressive	not in dataset
<b>MN</b>	Lac Qui Parle Valley School Dist.	v.regressive	not in dataset
<b>MO</b>	Riverview Gardens	v.regressive	regressive
<b>NJ</b>	Camden City	v.regressive	regressive
<b>NJ</b>	Newark City	v.regressive	regressive
<b>NY</b>	Sweet Home Central School District	v.regressive	flat
<b>OK</b>	Oklahoma City	v.regressive	regressive
<b>PA</b>	Penridge Sd	v.regressive	no rating for this group
<b>TX</b>	Texarkana Isd	v.regressive	regressive
<b>VA</b>	Accomack County Public Schools	v.regressive	regressive

**Appendix Table 4a: Districts with Wide Spending Stratification for Black Students**

State	District Name	% Black Students	Total # Schools	# of L\$M Schools	# of H\$P Schools	Equity Rating
AL	Baldwin County	12%	41	2	5	flat
AL	Dallas County	72%	9	1	1	progressive
AL	Huntsville City	41%	37	2	3	progressive
AK	Anchorage	5%	80	2	4	flat
AZ	Tucson Unified District	6%	81	1	14	flat
AR	Pulaski Co. Spec. School Dist.	40%	23	1	1	flat
CA	Panama-Buena Vista Union	9%	24	1	1	flat
CA	Los Angeles Unified	8%	631	31	22	progressive
CA	San Diego Unified	7%	166	1	6	flat
CO	Adams-Arapahoe 28j (Aurora)	18%	48	1	1	progressive
CO	Denver County 1	10%	126	4	1	progressive
FL	Alachua	36%	35	1	3	flat
FL	Brevard	14%	82	1	8	flat
FL	Broward	38%	208	6	11	flat
FL	Miami-Dade	24%	323	16	11	progressive
FL	Hillsborough	21%	214	8	6	flat
FL	Palm Beach	28%	163	3	6	flat
FL	Pinellas	21%	113	2	2	progressive
FL	Sarasota	9%	37	1	1	flat
FL	Volusia	17%	68	2	3	flat
GA	Atlanta Public Schools	68%	65	1	1	progressive
GA	Dekalb County	58%	112	2	9	flat
GA	Fulton County	41%	93	1	4	progressive
GA	Henry County	52%	47	3	2	flat
GA	Muscogee County	60%	52	4	6	flat
IL	Joliet Psd 86	24%	19	1	1	flat
IL	Rockford Sd 205	33%	36	2	2	flat
IN	Evansville Vanderburgh School Corp	11%	37	1	1	progressive
IN	School City Of Hammond	33%	18	1	1	flat
KS	Olathe	7%	50	1	1	flat
KY	Jefferson County	35%	133	3	5	flat
LA	Acadia Parish	34%	24	1	3	flat
LA	Caddo Parish	67%	55	2	4	flat
LA	East Baton Rouge Parish	73%	70	1	2	progressive
LA	Rapides Parish	46%	43	2	2	flat
LA	St. Landry Parish	59%	31	3	1	flat
LA	St. Mary Parish	40%	21	2	1	flat
MD	Anne Arundel	20%	110	4	9	flat

State	District Name	% Black Students	Total # Schools	# of L\$M Schools	# of H\$P Schools	Equity Rating
MD	Baltimore County	38%	155	1	4	flat
MD	Frederick	13%	60	2	11	flat
MD	Howard	24%	74	4	1	flat
MD	Montgomery	22%	199	7	13	flat
MD	Prince George's	51%	180	17	5	flat
MN	Burnsville Public School District	31%	10	1	1	flat
MS	Madison County School District	37%	20	1	1	progressive
NE	Omaha Public Schools	24%	81	2	6	flat
NJ	Collingswood Borough	8%	5	1	1	flat
NJ	Jersey City	22%	38	1	2	progressive
NY	New York City Geographic District # 2	5%	103	1	4	progressive
NY	New York City Geographic District #13	47%	37	1	1	progressive
NY	New York City Geographic District #26	5%	32	1	3	flat
NY	New York City Geographic District #31	12%	71	1	5	flat
NY	New York City Geographic District #25	3%	46	1	4	flat
NY	Rochester City School District	52%	49	2	1	flat
NC	Cumberland County Schools	45%	81	5	7	flat
NC	Winston Salem / Forsyth County Schools	29%	71	1	3	flat
NC	Guilford County Schools	42%	118	4	4	flat
NC	Iredell-Statesville Schools	15%	34	1	4	progressive
NC	Johnston County Public Schools	15%	44	2	2	flat
NC	Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools	35%	171	5	8	progressive
NC	Nash-Rocky Mount Schools	55%	27	1	1	flat
NC	Public Schools Of Robeson County	22%	34	1	4	flat
OH	Cleveland Municipal	63%	100	1	3	flat
OH	Columbus City School District	51%	97	1	2	flat
OK	Oklahoma City	20%	78	1	6	progressive
PA	Philadelphia City Sd	41%	208	4	7	flat
SC	Berkeley County School District	30%	44	1	4	flat
SC	Charleston County School District	39%	70	6	1	progressive
SC	Horry	17%	47	1	3	flat
SC	Richland School District One	70%	44	1	3	progressive
TN	Hamilton County	26%	70	1	5	flat
TN	Knox County	12%	82	1	6	progressive
TN	Davidson County	34%	122	3	3	flat
TX	Allen Isd	13%	22	1	2	flat
TX	Amarillo Isd	11%	52	1	3	flat
TX	Conroe Isd	8%	56	3	1	flat
TX	Dallas Isd	22%	222	7	11	flat

<b>State</b>	District Name	% Black Students	Total # Schools	# of L\$M Schools	# of H\$P Schools	Equity Rating
<b>TX</b>	Fort Bend Isd	25%	76	1	6	progressive
<b>TX</b>	Fort Worth Isd	22%	123	1	5	progressive
<b>TX</b>	Garland Isd	18%	66	2	2	flat
<b>TX</b>	Houston Isd	23%	245	7	6	progressive
<b>TX</b>	Katy Isd	11%	64	1	4	flat
<b>TX</b>	Lewisville Isd	11%	58	1	3	flat
<b>TX</b>	Mckinney Isd	14%	28	1	1	flat
<b>VA</b>	Chesterfield County Public Schools	24%	60	1	2	flat
<b>VA</b>	Fairfax County Public Schools	10%	188	2	7	flat
<b>VA</b>	Halifax County Public Schools	39%	7	1	2	flat
<b>VA</b>	Prince William County Public Schools	20%	91	2	2	flat
<b>VA</b>	York County Public Schools	11%	15	1	1	flat
<b>WA</b>	Seattle School District #1	15%	88	1	3	progressive
<b>WI</b>	Green Bay Area Public School District	10%	36	1	2	progressive
<b>WI</b>	Milwaukee School District	56%	121	4	2	progressive

**Appendix Table 4b: Districts with Wide Spending Stratification for Latine Students**

State	District Name	% Latine Students	Total # Schools	# of L\$M Schools	# of H\$P Schools	Equity Rating
<b>AL</b>	Tuscaloosa County	11%	33	1	2	flat
<b>AK</b>	Anchorage	12%	80	4	4	flat
<b>AZ</b>	Peoria Unified School District	34%	39	1	2	flat
<b>AR</b>	Little Rock School District	15%	37	2	1	progressive
<b>CA</b>	Fremont Unified	14%	38	1	3	flat
<b>CA</b>	Los Angeles Unified	77%	631	57	22	flat
<b>CA</b>	Mt. Diablo Unified	41%	42	1	3	flat
<b>CA</b>	Pleasant Valley	36%	11	1	1	flat
<b>CA</b>	Poway Unified	16%	37	1	1	flat
<b>CA</b>	San Diego Unified	43%	166	4	6	flat
<b>CA</b>	San Francisco Unified	26%	73	1	4	progressive
<b>CA</b>	Solana Beach Elementary	13%	7	1	2	flat
<b>FL</b>	Bay	10%	26	1	1	flat
<b>FL</b>	Miami-Dade	69%	323	32	11	flat
<b>FL</b>	Hillsborough	39%	214	7	6	flat
<b>FL</b>	Manatee	36%	46	1	3	flat
<b>FL</b>	Pinellas	19%	113	2	2	flat
<b>GA</b>	Atlanta Public Schools	8%	65	5	1	flat
<b>GA</b>	Fulton County	17%	93	2	4	progressive
<b>GA</b>	Muscogee County	10%	52	2	6	flat
<b>HI</b>	Aiea-Moanalua-Radford	19%	251	3	10	flat
<b>IL</b>	Indian Prairie Cusd 204	12%	31	1	3	flat
<b>IL</b>	Cusd 200	17%	19	1	1	flat
<b>KY</b>	Jefferson County	12%	133	3	5	flat
<b>LA</b>	East Baton Rouge Parish	11%	70	4	2	flat
<b>MD</b>	Anne Arundel	17%	110	1	9	flat
<b>MD</b>	Baltimore County	11%	155	1	4	flat
<b>MD</b>	Howard	12%	74	1	1	flat
<b>MD</b>	Saint Mary's	8%	25	1	2	flat
<b>MI</b>	Ann Arbor Public Schools	10%	29	1	2	flat
<b>MN</b>	St. Paul Public School District	15%	56	1	2	flat
<b>NV</b>	Washoe	41%	89	1	1	flat
<b>NJ</b>	Collingswood Borough	19%	5	1	1	flat
<b>NM</b>	Albuquerque	66%	132	5	7	flat
<b>NY</b>	New York City Geographic District # 2	15%	103	3	4	progressive
<b>NY</b>	New York City Geographic District # 6	86%	45	2	2	progressive
<b>NY</b>	New York City Geographic District #11	40%	61	2	1	flat

State	District Name	% Latine Students	Total # Schools	# of L\$M Schools	# of H\$P Schools	Equity Rating
<b>NY</b>	New York City Geographic District #13	20%	37	1	1	progressive
<b>NY</b>	New York City Geographic District #31	31%	71	1	5	flat
<b>NC</b>	Pitt County Schools	11%	37	2	2	flat
<b>NC</b>	Buncombe County Schools	18%	42	4	4	flat
<b>NC</b>	Cabarrus County Schools	19%	37	1	3	flat
<b>NC</b>	Cleveland County Schools	6%	27	1	1	flat
<b>NC</b>	Winston Salem / Forsyth County Schools	28%	71	3	3	progressive
<b>NC</b>	Guilford County Schools	17%	118	1	4	flat
<b>NC</b>	Iredell-Statesville Schools	15%	34	1	4	flat
<b>NC</b>	Johnston County Public Schools	26%	44	1	2	flat
<b>NC</b>	Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools	26%	171	2	8	flat
<b>NC</b>	Craven County Schools	12%	25	1	1	flat
<b>NC</b>	Pender County Schools	17%	18	1	1	progressive
<b>NC</b>	Union County Public Schools	21%	50	1	1	progressive
<b>NC</b>	Wilson County Schools	21%	25	1	1	flat
<b>OR</b>	Beaverton Sd 48j	25%	50	1	3	flat
<b>OR</b>	North Clackamas Sd 12	19%	26	1	3	flat
<b>SC</b>	Charleston County School District	11%	70	5	1	progressive
<b>SC</b>	Richland School District One	6%	44	1	3	flat
<b>TN</b>	Knox County	11%	82	1	6	flat
<b>TN</b>	Davidson County	27%	122	2	3	flat
<b>TN</b>	Sevier County	15%	25	1	1	flat
<b>TX</b>	El Paso Isd	81%	80	1	2	flat
<b>TX</b>	Fort Bend Isd	26%	76	1	6	flat
<b>TX</b>	Frisco Isd	12%	69	1	7	flat
<b>TX</b>	Garland Isd	48%	66	2	2	flat
<b>TX</b>	Georgetown Isd	45%	15	1	1	flat
<b>TX</b>	Katy Isd	35%	64	1	4	flat
<b>TX</b>	Keller Isd	20%	38	1	2	flat
<b>TX</b>	Leander Isd	27%	40	1	2	flat
<b>TX</b>	North East Isd	61%	67	1	2	flat
<b>TX</b>	Northside Isd	67%	111	2	5	flat
<b>TX</b>	Prosper Isd	13%	11	1	1	flat
<b>UT</b>	Jordan District	15%	51	1	1	flat
<b>VA</b>	Virginia Beach Public Schools	13%	80	1	3	flat
<b>WA</b>	Bellevue School District	13%	27	1	3	flat
<b>WA</b>	Everett School District	20%	25	3	3	flat
<b>WA</b>	Evergreen School District (Clark)	25%	32	1	1	flat

State	District Name	% Latine Students	Total # Schools	# of LSM Schools	# of HSP Schools	Equity Rating
<b>WA</b>	Seattle School District #1	12%	88	1	3	flat
<b>WI</b>	Milwaukee School District	25%	121	4	2	flat



**Appendix Table 4c: Districts with Wide Spending Stratification for Students from Low-Income Backgrounds**

State	District Name	% FRL Students	Total # Schools	# of L\$M Schools	# of H\$P Schools	Equity Rating
AL	Baldwin County	44%	41	1	2	flat
AL	Huntsville City	53%	37	2	4	progressive
AL	Mobile County	73%	79	2	3	flat
AL	Shelby County	35%	28	1	1	progressive
AZ	Paradise Valley Unified District	37%	41	2	4	flat
AR	Little Rock School District	72%	37	2	1	flat
CA	East Whittier City Elementary	56%	13	1	1	flat
CA	Los Angeles Unified	83%	631	40	43	flat
CA	Mt. Diablo Unified	45%	42	1	1	flat
CA	Ontario-Montclair	89%	31	1	2	flat
CA	San Diego Unified	58%	166	3	4	flat
CA	San Francisco Unified	49%	73	1	1	flat
FL	Brevard	54%	82	1	7	flat
FL	Broward	64%	208	3	10	flat
FL	Miami-Dade	78%	323	24	26	flat
FL	Hillsborough	66%	214	11	6	flat
FL	Manatee	55%	46	1	2	flat
FL	Marion	61%	47	2	2	flat
FL	Okaloosa	50%	34	2	2	flat
FL	Palm Beach	63%	163	3	5	flat
FL	Pasco	60%	77	1	1	flat
FL	Pinellas	57%	113	3	1	flat
FL	Sarasota	54%	37	1	1	flat
FL	Volusia	71%	68	2	1	flat
GA	Dekalb County	77%	112	3	11	flat
GA	Fulton County	51%	93	1	4	progressive
GA	Henry County	54%	47	1	1	flat
GA	Muscogee County	82%	52	5	2	flat
HI	Aiea-Moanalua-Radford	47%	251	1	1	flat
ID	Nampa School District	59%	21	1	2	flat
ID	Pocatello District	53%	20	1	1	flat
IL	Mclean County Usd 5	34%	23	1	2	flat
IL	Rockford Sd 205	69%	36	3	1	flat
IL	Indian Prairie Cusd 204	17%	31	2	3	flat
KS	Wichita	75%	45	3	3	flat
KY	Jefferson County	58%	133	4	1	flat
LA	East Baton Rouge Parish	61%	70	1	3	flat
LA	Rapides Parish	65%	43	1	2	flat

State	District Name	% FRL Students	Total # Schools	# of L\$M Schools	# of H\$P Schools	Equity Rating
<b>MD</b>	Anne Arundel	35%	110	2	6	progressive
<b>MD</b>	Frederick	31%	60	1	2	progressive
<b>MD</b>	Howard	21%	74	2	1	flat
<b>MD</b>	Montgomery	38%	199	2	13	flat
<b>MI</b>	Walled Lake Consolidated Schools	29%	19	1	1	flat
<b>MS</b>	Madison County School District	39%	20	1	1	progressive
<b>NV</b>	Clark	78%	324	13	17	flat
<b>NJ</b>	Jersey City	66%	38	2	1	flat
<b>NM</b>	Albuquerque	74%	132	6	5	progressive
<b>NY</b>	New York City Geographic District # 2	29%	103	2	3	flat
<b>NY</b>	New York City Geographic District #17	81%	45	1	1	flat
<b>NY</b>	New York City Geographic District #31	58%	71	2	4	flat
<b>NC</b>	Cumberland County Schools	84%	81	5	3	flat
<b>NC</b>	Pitt County Schools	69%	37	2	1	flat
<b>NC</b>	Cabarrus County Schools	46%	37	1	2	flat
<b>NC</b>	Caldwell County Schools	68%	24	1	1	flat
<b>NC</b>	Chatham County Schools	51%	17	1	2	progressive
<b>NC</b>	Winston Salem / Forsyth County Schools	70%	71	3	2	progressive
<b>NC</b>	Gaston County Schools	74%	51	1	5	flat
<b>NC</b>	Guilford County Schools	71%	118	4	6	flat
<b>NC</b>	Charlotte-Mecklenburg Schools	61%	171	1	10	progressive
<b>NC</b>	Nash-Rocky Mount Schools	87%	27	1	1	flat
<b>NC</b>	Orange County Schools	48%	12	1	1	flat
<b>NC</b>	Union County Public Schools	37%	50	1	1	progressive
<b>OK</b>	Tulsa	84%	75	3	4	flat
<b>OR</b>	Beaverton Sd 48j	36%	50	1	1	flat
<b>SC</b>	Berkeley County School District	66%	44	1	3	flat
<b>SC</b>	Charleston County School District	61%	70	7	1	progressive
<b>SC</b>	Horry	64%	47	1	2	flat
<b>SC</b>	Richland 2	61%	32	1	1	flat
<b>TX</b>	Clear Creek Isd	36%	43	1	1	flat
<b>TX</b>	Comal Isd	33%	29	1	2	flat
<b>TX</b>	El Paso Isd	76%	80	1	2	flat
<b>TX</b>	Fort Bend Isd	44%	76	3	3	progressive
<b>TX</b>	Frisco Isd	12%	69	1	2	flat
<b>TX</b>	Garland Isd	67%	66	3	3	flat
<b>TX</b>	Houston Isd	83%	245	10	7	flat
<b>TX</b>	Katy Isd	32%	64	1	1	progressive
<b>TX</b>	Keller Isd	30%	38	1	2	flat

<b>State</b>	<b>District Name</b>	<b>% FRL Students</b>	<b>Total # Schools</b>	<b># of L\$M Schools</b>	<b># of H\$P Schools</b>	<b>Equity Rating</b>
<b>TX</b>	Lamar Cisd	48%	35	1	1	flat
<b>TX</b>	Northside Isd	53%	111	2	5	flat
<b>TX</b>	Richardson Isd	58%	52	3	5	flat
<b>TX</b>	United Isd	77%	43	1	1	flat
<b>VA</b>	Chesterfield County Public Schools	41%	60	1	2	flat
<b>WA</b>	Vancouver School District	49%	34	1	3	flat
<b>WV</b>	Harrison County Schools	50%	24	1	1	flat
<b>WV</b>	Mercer County Schools	63%	24	1	1	flat
<b>WI</b>	Kenosha School District	59%	31	1	2	flat
<b>WI</b>	Milwaukee School District	79%	121	2	1	flat

**Appendix Table 5a: WDI Ratings for Districts with Desegregation Orders**

State	District Name	Grade Levels in District	Equity Rating (Black Students)	Deseg. Plan in 2020-21
AL	Calhoun County	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	No
AL	Chambers County	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	Yes
AL	Choctaw County	High	regressive	No
AL	Decatur City	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
AL	Homewood City	Elem	flat	Yes
AL	Hoover City	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
AL	Huntsville City	Elem, Midd, & High	progressive	Yes
AL	Jackson County	Midd & High	flat	Yes
AL	Jefferson County	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
AL	Lamar County	High	flat	Yes
AL	Madison County	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
AL	Oxford City	Elem	regressive	No
AL	Pickens County	Elem & High	progressive	Yes
AL	Randolph County	Elem & High	regressive	Yes
AL	Trussville City	Elem	flat	Yes
AL	Lanett City	NA	NA	Yes
AL	Leeds City	NA	NA	Yes
AL	Piedmont City	NA	NA	Yes
AR	El Dorado School District	Elem	flat	Yes
AR	Hot Springs School District	Elem	regressive	Yes
AR	Jacksonville North Pulaski School District	Elem	regressive	Yes
AR	Lake Hamilton School District	Midd	small N	Yes
AR	Pulaski Co. Spec. School Dist.	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	Yes
AR	CAMDEN FAIRVIEW SCHOOL DIST.	NA	NA	Yes
AR	CUTTER-MORNING STAR SCH. DIST.	NA	NA	Yes
AR	DOLLARWAY SCHOOL DISTRICT	NA	NA	Yes
AR	ENGLAND SCHOOL DISTRICT	NA	NA	Yes
AR	FORREST CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT	NA	NA	Yes
AR	FOUNTAIN LAKE SCHOOL DISTRICT	NA	NA	Yes
AR	HAMBURG SCHOOL DISTRICT	NA	NA	Yes
AR	JESSIEVILLE SCHOOL DISTRICT	NA	NA	Yes
AR	JUNCTION CITY SCHOOL DISTRICT	NA	NA	Yes
AR	LAKESIDE SCHOOL DISTRICT	NA	NA	Yes
AR	MOUNTAIN PINE SCHOOL DISTRICT	NA	NA	Yes
AR	WATSON CHAPEL SCHOOL DISTRICT	NA	NA	Yes
AZ	Agua Fria Union High School District	High	regressive	Yes
AZ	Buckeye Elementary District	Midd	regressive	Yes

State	District Name	Grade Levels in District	Equity Rating (Black Students)	Deseg Plan in 2020-21
<b>AZ</b>	Holbrook Unified District	Elem	small N	No
<b>AZ</b>	Mesa Unified District	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	No
<b>AZ</b>	Phoenix Elementary District	Midd	regressive	No
<b>AZ</b>	Tempe School District	Elem & Midd	regressive	Yes
<b>AZ</b>	Tucson Unified District	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	Yes
<b>AZ</b>	Kaizen Education Foundation dba Discover U Elementary School	NA	NA	No
<b>AZ</b>	Kaizen Education Foundation dba Liberty Arts Academy	NA	NA	No
<b>AZ</b>	Kaizen Education Foundation dba Mission Heights Preparatory	NA	NA	No
<b>AZ</b>	Wilson Elementary District	NA	NA	Yes
<b>CA</b>	Cupertino Union	Elem & Midd	flat	Yes
<b>CA</b>	East Whittier City Elementary	Elem & Midd	small N	Yes
<b>CA</b>	Fresno Unified	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
<b>CA</b>	Los Angeles Unified	Elem, Midd, & High	progressive	Yes
<b>CA</b>	Oakland Unified	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
<b>CA</b>	Palo Alto Unified	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	Yes
<b>CA</b>	Arvin Union	NA	NA	No
<b>CA</b>	Belmont-Redwood Shores Elementary	NA	NA	No
<b>CA</b>	Community School For Creative Education	NA	NA	No
<b>CA</b>	Everest Value	NA	NA	No
<b>CA</b>	Midway Elementary	NA	NA	No
<b>CA</b>	PARA LOS NINOS - EVELYN THURMAN GRATTS PRIMARY	NA	NA	No
<b>CA</b>	PARA LOS NINOS CHARTER	NA	NA	No
<b>CA</b>	PARA LOS NINOS MIDDLE	NA	NA	No
<b>CA</b>	Santee	NA	NA	Yes
<b>CA</b>	SBE - Olive Grove Charter	NA	NA	NA
<b>CA</b>	Sierra Academy of Expeditionary Learning	NA	NA	No
<b>CA</b>	University Preparatory Value High	NA	NA	No
<b>CA</b>	Willow Creek Elementary	NA	NA	Yes
<b>CA</b>	Woodside Elementary	NA	NA	Yes
<b>CT</b>	Groton School District	Elem & Midd	flat	Yes
<b>CT</b>	Hartford School District	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	Yes
<b>CT</b>	New Canaan School District	Elem	small N	Yes
<b>CT</b>	West Haven School District	Elem	regressive	Yes
<b>CT</b>	Connecticut Technical Education and Career System	NA	NA	Yes
<b>CT</b>	NEW FAIRFIELD SCHOOL DISTRICT	NA	NA	Yes

State	District Name	Grade Levels in District	Equity Rating (Black Students)	Deseg Plan in 2020-21
<b>CT</b>	Stamford Academy	NA	NA	NA
<b>FL</b>	Baker	Elem	regressive	No
<b>FL</b>	Bay	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	Yes
<b>FL</b>	Bradford	Elem	regressive	Yes
<b>FL</b>	Flagler	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
<b>FL</b>	Hendry	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
<b>FL</b>	Indian River	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
<b>FL</b>	Jackson	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
<b>FL</b>	Manatee	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	Yes
<b>FL</b>	Pasco	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
<b>FL</b>	St. Johns	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	Yes
<b>FL</b>	LAFAYETTE	NA	NA	No
<b>GA</b>	Baldwin County	Elem	regressive	Yes
<b>GA</b>	Colquitt County	Elem & Midd	flat	Yes
<b>GA</b>	Columbia County	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
<b>GA</b>	Dougherty County	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
<b>GA</b>	Glynn County	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	Yes
<b>GA</b>	Houston County	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	Yes
<b>GA</b>	Mcduffie County	Elem	regressive	Yes
<b>GA</b>	Peach County	Elem & Midd	flat	Yes
<b>GA</b>	Wayne County	Elem & Midd	regressive	Yes
<b>GA</b>	Calhoun County	NA	NA	No
<b>GA</b>	Crisp County	NA	NA	Yes
<b>GA</b>	Early County	NA	NA	Yes
<b>GA</b>	Glascocock County	NA	NA	Yes
<b>GA</b>	Lincoln County Schools	NA	NA	Yes
<b>GA</b>	Taylor County	NA	NA	Yes
<b>GA</b>	Telfair County	NA	NA	Yes
<b>GA</b>	Vidalia City	NA	NA	Yes
<b>GA</b>	Washington County	NA	NA	Yes
<b>GA</b>	Wheeler County	NA	NA	No
<b>IA</b>	Decorah Community School District	NA	NA	Yes
<b>IA</b>	Postville Comm School District	NA	NA	Yes
<b>IA</b>	Villisca Comm School District	NA	NA	Yes
<b>ID</b>	Lewiston Independent District	Elem & Midd	small N	Yes
<b>IL</b>	Chsd 218	High	regressive	Yes
<b>IL</b>	Kewanee Cusd 229	Midd	small N	Yes
<b>IL</b>	Springfield Sd 186	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	Yes

State	District Name	Grade Levels in District	Equity Rating (Black Students)	Deseg Plan in 2020-21
IL	Sterling Cusd 5	Elem	small N	Yes
IL	Bluford Unit School District 318	NA	NA	No
IL	Schuyler-Industry CUSD 5	NA	NA	Yes
IN	Indianapolis Public Schools	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	No
IN	South Bend Community School Corp	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
IN	South Dearborn Community Sch Corp	Elem	small N	No
IN	Culver Community Schools Corp	NA	NA	No
IN	IN Sch for the Blind & Vis Imprd	NA	NA	Yes
KS	Barnes	Midd & High	small N	Yes
KY	Fayette County	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	Yes
LA	Avoyelles Parish	Elem & High	regressive	No
LA	Bossier Parish	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	Yes
LA	Caddo Parish	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	Yes
LA	Calcasieu Parish	Elem, Midd, & High	progressive	Yes
LA	Catahoula Parish	High	flat	Yes
LA	City Of Monroe School District	Elem, Midd, & High	progressive	No
LA	Desoto Parish	Midd & High	progressive	Yes
LA	East Feliciana Parish	Elem	progressive	Yes
LA	Jackson Parish	High	flat	No
LA	Jefferson Davis Parish	Elem, Midd, & High	progressive	Yes
LA	Ouachita Parish	Elem, Midd, & High	progressive	Yes
LA	Pointe Coupee Parish	Midd	flat	No
LA	Richland Parish	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	No
LA	Sabine Parish	High	flat	Yes
LA	St. James Parish	Elem & High	flat	Yes
LA	St. John The Baptist Parish	Midd & High	flat	Yes
LA	St. Martin Parish	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
LA	St. Tammany Parish	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
LA	Tangipahoa Parish	Elem, Midd, & High	progressive	Yes
LA	Washington Parish	Elem & High	flat	Yes
LA	Winn Parish	High	flat	No
LA	A.E. Phillips Laboratory School	NA	NA	Yes
LA	Delhi Charter School	NA	NA	No
LA	Delta Charter Group	NA	NA	No
LA	Edgar P. Harney Spirit of Excellence Academy	NA	NA	NA
LA	Esperanza Charter School	NA	NA	No
LA	Greater Grace Charter Academy Inc	NA	NA	NA
LA	Lafayette Academy	NA	NA	No

State	District Name	Grade Levels in District	Equity Rating (Black Students)	Deseg Plan in 2020-21
LA	Lincoln Preparatory School	NA	NA	No
MA	Auburn	Elem	small N	No
MA	Lowell	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
MA	Lynn	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
MA	Collegiate Charter School of Lowell	NA	NA	Yes
MA	Lee Public Schools	NA	NA	Yes
ME	Isle Au Haut Public Schools	NA	NA	No
ME	Sedgwick Public Schools	NA	NA	No
MI	Kalamazoo Public Schools	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	Yes
MI	Lansing Public School District	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	Yes
MI	Camden-Frontier School	NA	NA	No
MI	Ecorse Public Schools	NA	NA	Yes
MI	Fremont Public School District	NA	NA	No
MI	Global Tech Academy	NA	NA	Yes
MI	Keys Grace Academy	NA	NA	No
MN	Anoka-Hennepin Public School Dist.	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
MN	Duluth Public School District	Elem, Midd, & High	progressive	Yes
MN	Eden Prairie Public School District	Elem	flat	No
MN	Lakeville Public School District	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	No
MN	Robbinsdale Public School District	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	Yes
MN	Shakopee Public School District	Elem & Midd	regressive	Yes
MN	West St. Paul-Mendota Hts.-Eagan	Elem & Midd	regressive	Yes
MN	ELLSWORTH PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICT	NA	NA	Yes
MN	HMONG COLLEGE PREP ACADEMY	NA	NA	No
MN	LINCOLN INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL	NA	NA	Yes
MN	LITCHFIELD PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICT	NA	NA	Yes
MN	Minnesota Math and Science Academy	NA	NA	No
MN	NEW LONDON-SPICER SCHOOL DISTRICT	NA	NA	No
MN	NEW ULM PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICT	NA	NA	Yes
MN	ROCKFORD PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICT	NA	NA	No
MO	Mehlville R-Ix	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	Yes
MO	Rockwood R-Vi	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
MO	St. Louis City	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	No
MO	ELSBERRY R-II	NA	NA	No
MO	SPECL. SCH. DST. ST. LOUIS CO.	NA	NA	No
MO	ST LOUIS LANG IMMERSION SCHOOL	NA	NA	No
MO	VALLEY PARK	NA	NA	Yes
MO	WILLOW SPRINGS R-IV	NA	NA	No



State	District Name	Grade Levels in District	Equity Rating (Black Students)	Deseg Plan in 2020-21
MS	Attala County School District	High	progressive	No
MS	Benton County School District	High	regressive	Yes
MS	Brookhaven School District	Elem	regressive	Yes
MS	Choctaw County School District	Elem	flat	No
MS	Clarksdale Municipal School District	Elem & Midd	small N	No
MS	Cleveland School District	Elem	regressive	Yes
MS	Copiah County School District	High	flat	Yes
MS	Jones County School District	Elem & High	regressive	Yes
MS	Lawrence County School District	Midd	flat	Yes
MS	Leake County School District	High	flat	Yes
MS	Louisville Municipal School District	High	progressive	Yes
MS	Marion County School District	Elem & High	flat	Yes
MS	Meridian Public School District	Elem & Midd	regressive	Yes
MS	North Tippah School District	High	flat	No
MS	Picayune School District	Elem	flat	Yes
MS	Scott County School District	Midd & High	regressive	Yes
MS	South Tippah School District	High	progressive	Yes
MS	Starkville- Oktibbeha Consolidated School District	Elem	regressive	Yes
MS	Sunflower County Consolidate School District	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
MS	Tate County School District	Elem & High	flat	Yes
MS	Walthall County School District	High	flat	Yes
MS	Wayne County School District	Midd	regressive	Yes
MS	Webster County School District	High	flat	No
MS	West Point Consolidated School District	Elem	flat	Yes
MS	Western Line School District	High	regressive	No
MS	ABERDEEN SCHOOL DIST	NA	NA	No
MS	COLUMBIA SCHOOL DISTRICT	NA	NA	Yes
MS	FRANKLIN CO SCHOOL DIST	NA	NA	No
MS	KEMPER CO SCHOOL DIST	NA	NA	Yes
MS	LAUREL SCHOOL DISTRICT	NA	NA	Yes
MS	LEFLORE CO SCHOOL DIST	NA	NA	Yes
MS	MONTGOMERY CO SCHOOL DIST	NA	NA	(Yes)
MS	MOSS POINT SEPARATE SCHOOL DIST	NA	NA	Yes
MS	NESHOBA COUNTY SCHOOL DISTRICT	NA	NA	Yes
MS	NORTH PIKE SCHOOL DIST	NA	NA	Yes
MS	PEARL PUBLIC SCHOOL DISTRICT	NA	NA	Yes
MS	QUITMAN SCHOOL DIST	NA	NA	Yes
MT	Frazer H S	NA	NA	Yes

State	District Name	Grade Levels in District	Equity Rating (Black Students)	Deseg Plan in 2020-21
MT	Rocky Boy H S	NA	NA	Yes
NC	Asheville City Schools	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
NC	Franklin County Schools	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
NC	Hickory City Schools	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
NC	Charlotte Learning Academy	NA	NA	NA
NC	Francine Delany New School	NA	NA	Yes
NC	Lakeside Charter Acad fka Thunderbird	NA	NA	No
ND	Lewis And Clark Public School District	High	small N	No
ND	GRENORA 99	NA	NA	No
ND	ROLETTE 29	NA	NA	No
ND	STRASBURG 15	NA	NA	No
ND	WHITE SHIELD 85	NA	NA	No
NJ	Lenape Regional	High	regressive	No
NJ	Montclair Town	Elem & Midd	flat	Yes
NJ	Morris Public School District	Elem	flat	Yes
NJ	Neptune Township	Elem	regressive	No
NJ	Old Bridge Township	Elem & Midd	regressive	Yes
NJ	Cresskill Public School District	NA	NA	Yes
NJ	Elsinboro Township School District	NA	NA	Yes
NJ	Englewood Public School District	NA	NA	No
NJ	Lumberton Township Board of Education	NA	NA	Yes
NM	TAOS INTERNATIONAL SCHOOL	NA	NA	No
NM	TWENTY-FIRST CENTURY	NA	NA	NA
NM	WALATOWA CHARTER HIGH	NA	NA	Yes
NY	Mount Vernon School District	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
NY	Newburgh City School District	Elem & Midd	regressive	Yes
OH	Painesville City Local	Elem	regressive	Yes
OH	Perrysburg Exempted Village	Elem	flat	No
OH	Springfield Local	Elem	regressive	Yes
OH	Warrensville Heights City	Elem	small N	Yes
OH	Central High School	NA	NA	Yes
OH	Green Local	NA	NA	No
OH	Kelleys Island Local	NA	NA	No
OH	New Knoxville Local	NA	NA	Yes
OH	REACH Academy	NA	NA	NA
OH	Rise & Shine Academy	NA	NA	No
OH	Sheffield-Sheffield Lake City	NA	NA	Yes
OH	Valley View Local	NA	NA	Yes

State	District Name	Grade Levels in District	Equity Rating (Black Students)	Deseg Plan in 2020-21
<b>OK</b>	CACHE	NA	NA	No
<b>OK</b>	CUSHING	NA	NA	Yes
<b>OK</b>	JAY	NA	NA	No
<b>OK</b>	LOMEGA	NA	NA	Yes
<b>OK</b>	MOSELEY	NA	NA	No
<b>OK</b>	OKLAHOMA YOUTH ACADEMY	NA	NA	No
<b>OK</b>	PAOLI	NA	NA	Yes
<b>OK</b>	SANKOFA MIDDLE SCHL (CHARTER)	NA	NA	No
<b>PA</b>	Alliance for Progress CS	NA	NA	No
<b>PA</b>	Erie Rise Leadership Academy Charter School	NA	NA	No
<b>PA</b>	Franklin Towne Charter Elementary School	NA	NA	No
<b>PA</b>	Franklin Towne CHS	NA	NA	No
<b>PA</b>	Green Woods Charter School	NA	NA	NA
<b>PA</b>	Pan American Academy CS	NA	NA	No
<b>PA</b>	People for People CS	NA	NA	No
<b>PA</b>	Philadelphia Montessori CS	NA	NA	Yes
<b>RI</b>	Village Green Virtual	NA	NA	No
<b>SC</b>	Beaufort County Schools	Elem, Midd, & High	progressive	Yes
<b>SC</b>	Cherokee County	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
<b>SC</b>	Georgetown County School District	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	Yes
<b>SC</b>	Newberry	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	No
<b>SC</b>	Richland School District One	Elem, Midd, & High	progressive	No
<b>SC</b>	Allendale 01	NA	NA	Yes
<b>SC</b>	Florence 01	NA	NA	Yes
<b>TN</b>	Fayette County	Elem & Midd	regressive	Yes
<b>TN</b>	Hardeman County	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	No
<b>TN</b>	Robertson County	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	Yes
<b>TX</b>	Amarillo Isd	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	Yes
<b>TX</b>	Garland Isd	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	Yes
<b>TX</b>	Longview Isd	Elem & Midd	flat	No
<b>TX</b>	San Angelo Isd	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	Yes
<b>TX</b>	Tyler Isd	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	No
<b>TX</b>	AMHERST ISD	NA	NA	No
<b>TX</b>	BETA ACADEMY	NA	NA	No
<b>TX</b>	BUCKHOLTS ISD	NA	NA	No
<b>TX</b>	BURNET CISD	NA	NA	No
<b>TX</b>	CARRIZO SPRINGS CISD	NA	NA	Yes
<b>TX</b>	SANDS CISD	NA	NA	No
<b>TX</b>	WIMBERLEY ISD	NA	NA	Yes

State	District Name	Grade Levels in District	Equity Rating (Black Students)	Deseg Plan in 2020-21
<b>UT</b>	Athenian eAcademy	NA	NA	No
<b>VA</b>	Lynchburg Public Schools	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	Yes
<b>VA</b>	Newport News Public Schools	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
<b>VA</b>	Suffolk Public Schools	Elem, Midd, & High	regressive	Yes
<b>VA</b>	ENTERPRISE ACADEMY/NEWPORT NEWS CITY	NA	NA	NA
<b>VA</b>	LYNCHBURG CITY SECONDARY ALTERNATIVE	NA	NA	Yes
<b>VA</b>	RADFORD CITY PBLC SCHS	NA	NA	No
<b>WA</b>	Curlew School District	NA	NA	No
<b>WA</b>	Great Northern School District	NA	NA	No
<b>WI</b>	Holmen School District	Elem	small N	No
<b>WI</b>	Madison Metropolitan School District	Elem, Midd, & High	flat	Yes
<b>WI</b>	Baldwin-Woodville Area School District	NA	NA	Yes
<b>WI</b>	Belleville School District	NA	NA	No
<b>WI</b>	North Crawford School District	NA	NA	No
<b>WI</b>	Woodruff J1 School District	NA	NA	Yes

**Appendix Table 5b: WDI Ratings for Districts with Desegregation Orders, by State**

State	WDI Rating				Not included in Analysis	Total # of Districts with Desegregation Plans	Percentage of Districts with Desegregation Plans that have Regressive Ratings
	regressive	flat	progressive	small N			
<b>Total</b>	70	60	16	14	156	316	22.2%
<b>AL</b>	7	6	2	-	3	18	38.9%
<b>AR</b>	2	2	-	1	12	17	11.8%
<b>AZ</b>	5	1	-	1	4	11	45.5%
<b>CA</b>	2	2	1	1	14	20	10.0%
<b>CT</b>	1	2	-	1	3	7	14.3%
<b>FL</b>	7	3	-	-	1	11	63.6%
<b>GA</b>	5	4	-	-	10	19	26.3%
<b>IA</b>	-	-	-	-	3	3	0%
<b>ID</b>	-	-	-	1	-	1	0%
<b>IL</b>	1	1	-	2	2	6	16.7%
<b>IN</b>	2	-	-	1	2	5	40.0%
<b>KS</b>	-	-	-	1	-	1	0%
<b>KY</b>	-	1	-	-	-	1	0%
<b>LA</b>	4	10	7	-	8	29	13.8%
<b>MA</b>	2	-	-	1	2	5	40.0%
<b>ME</b>	-	-	-	-	2	2	0%
<b>MI</b>	-	2	-	-	5	7	0%
<b>MN</b>	3	3	1	-	8	15	20.0%
<b>MO</b>	2	1	-	-	5	8	25.0%
<b>MS</b>	10	11	3	1	12	37	27.0%
<b>MT</b>	-	-	-	-	2	2	0%
<b>NC</b>	3	-	-	-	3	6	50.0%
<b>ND</b>	-	-	-	1	4	5	0%
<b>NJ</b>	3	2	-	-	4	9	33.3%
<b>NM</b>	-	-	-	-	3	3	0%
<b>NY</b>	2	-	-	-	-	2	100.0%
<b>OH</b>	2	1	-	1	8	12	16.7%

State	WDI Rating				Not included in Analysis	Total # of Districts with Desegregation Plans	Percentage of Districts with Desegregation Plans that have Regressive Ratings
	regressive	flat	progressive	small N			
<b>OK</b>	-	-	-	-	8	8	0%
<b>PA</b>	-	-	-	-	8	8	0%
<b>RI</b>	-	-	-	-	1	1	0%
<b>SC</b>	2	1	2	-	2	7	28.6%
<b>TN</b>	2	1	-	-		3	66.7%
<b>TX</b>	1	4	-	-	7	12	8.3%
<b>UT</b>	-	-	-	-	1	1	0%
<b>VA</b>	2	1	-	-	3	6	33.3%
<b>WA</b>	-	-	-	-	2	2	0%
<b>WI</b>	-	1	-	1	4	6	0%