### Funding, school staffing practices and duty-to-bargain

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## Student test performance progresses, 1970-2015, especially in math and for non-whites

Figure 1: Student achievement trends in the United States, by race and ethnicity, birth cohorts 1954–2007 (Shakeel and Peterson, 2022)



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## Achievement declined when COVID pandemic closed schools, especially in math

There were modest recoveries in math, even with federal funding; none in reading

Figure 2: Observed changes in achievement over time and estimated impact of ESSER III Funding (Goldhaber and Falken, 2024), see also Dewey et al. (2024)



## There have been large increases in expenditure in non-teaching staff

Figure 3: Changes in Expenditure, Enrollment, Salaries, and Staffing, 2002-2020



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Theory: how extra money impacts staffing

- Districts use revenue from own sources to maximize property values. (Lastra-Anadón and Peterson, 2023)
- School finance reforms provide unanticipated state grants (shocks), which alter spending patterns. Response to grants depends on whether districts are subject to state-mandated collective bargaining requirements—Duty-To-Bargain (DTB).

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### Data

- National Center of Education Statistics Common Core of Data staffing and teacher data, self-reported by districts
- Local revenue share, self-reported via School District Finance Survey (F-33)
- School finance reforms (Lafortune, Rothstein and Schanzenbach, 2018)
- State duty-to-bargain (DTB) data (Lovenheim and Willén, 2019)
- Outcome test data from National Assessment of Educational Progress (NAEP)

We use school finance reforms to estimate the effect of a change in state grants on staffing policies

Figure 4: School finance reforms by year



Source: Lafortune, Rothstein and Schanzenbach (2018)

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Sixty percent of students are in teacher duty-to-bargain states, since 1987

Figure 5: States with teacher duty-to-bargain laws



Source: Lovenheim and Willén (2019) https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2024-4jb0x ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0748-6309 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA 8/17

#### Dependent variables

- Teacher/ 100 pupils ratios: teachers
- Paraprofessionals
- Other school staff/ 100 pupils ratios: School counselors, other guidance counselors, school psychologists, instructional coordinators, Student Support Services Staff, Other support services staff, Librarians and media specialists, School Administrative Support, School Administrators
- District staff/ 100 pupils ratios: LEA Administrative Support, LEA Administrators

### Control variables

- Share with college parents
- Share disabled
- Share receiving Free or Reduced Lunches
- Share nonwhite,
- NO control current exp. per pupil
- In Individual level analyses (NAEP), we also include the same variables at the individual level (and current exp. per pupil)

### Summary of the NCES data

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	Ν
Total revenue	13.265	7.538	0.233	180.745	13319
per pupil (tsd.usd)					
Teachers	7.352	3.42	0	93.373	11311
per 100 pupils					
Paraprofessionals	2.133	3.617	0	131.944	11311
per 100 pupils					
Other school staff	3.047	4.945	0	162.168	10135
per 100 pupils					
District staff	0.775	1.219	0	45.612	11743
per 100 pupils					

Table 1: Summary ratios by category, 2015

Excludes the smallest 10% of districts (<83 students). Of reported total staff reported by districts, 1.4 per 100 pupil are unclassified.

### Synthetic difference-in-differences strategy

- Ensures parallel trends by reweighting units and time periods (Arkhangelsky et al., 2021), with staggered treatment (Porreca, 2022)
- ▶ We include units 1998-2015, for an N=216,07
- We use weights ω<sub>i</sub> and time periods λ<sub>i</sub> in a two-way state and time fixed effects regression to estimate average achievement effect of exposure to a school finance reform
- Post as a binary indicator of having experienced a finance reform, a vector of X time-varying district control variables, T time fixed effects, S, state fixed effect:

$$Y_{ist} = \sum (Post_{it} + \boldsymbol{X}_{it} + S_s + T_t) \hat{\lambda}_t \hat{\omega}_i$$
(1)

## School finance reforms result in more teachers, driven by increased hiring in non-DTB states

No significant effect on other staff

 Table 2: Effects of School Finance Reforms in staggered synthetic

 diff-in-diff Models, by DTB States and Non-DTB States

State Type	Teachers/ 100 pupils	Paraprof./ 100 pupils	Other sch. staff/ 100 pupils	District staff/ 100 pupils
All states	0.710*	0.0999	1.0544	0.060
	(0.306)	(0.2254)	(0.8393)	(0.453)
DTB States	0.204	0.0271	0.2786	0.178
	(0.295)	(0.3866)	(0.2946)	(0.382)
Non-DTB	1.088*	0.4147	1.8366	0.256
States	(0.382)	(0.3693)	(1.1757)	(0.133)

Results are consistent with two-way FE models of the relation between nonlocal revenue share and staffing: Two way FE Effects by quartile: Quartile

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# Teachers, other school staff increase math achievement in non-DTB states; district staff does in DTB states

Table 3: 2 year lag Math NAEP SDs, with district, year FEs, and controls

	(4)	(0)	(0)	(4)
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
DTB  imes Teachers	-0.00145			
	(0.00123)			
Teachers	0.00222*			
	(0.000908)			
DTB × Paraprofessionals	(	0.000716		
		(0.000710)		
		(0.00207)		
Paraprofessionals		0.00135		
		(0.00195)		
DTB  imes Other school staff			-0.00276	
			(0.00138)	
Other school staff			0.00347***	
			(0.000941)	
$DTB$ $\times$ District staff			(******)	0 0154*
				(0.0104
				(0.00037)
District staff				-0.0109*
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Observations	849689	849689	668252	781417 14/1

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### No staffing category is associated with reading achievement

Table 4: 2 year lag Reading NAEP SDs, with district, year FEs, and controls

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
DTB  imes Teachers	0.00231			
	(0.00149)			
Teachers	-0.00196			
	(0.00113)			
DTB  imes Paraprofessionals		0.000538		
		(0.00194)		
Paraprofessionals		-0.00285		
		(0.00171)		
DTB  imes Other school staff			0.00377***	
			(0.000914)	
Other school staff			-0.00300***	
			(0.000750)	
$DTB  imes District \ staff$				0.000500
				(0.00559)
District staff				-0.000311
				(0.00471)
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### Effects of state grants depend on DTB status

- 1. When districts receive unanticipated grants from the state they spend it on hiring more teachers if collective bargaining is not required.
- 2. More teachers and other school staff enhance math performance in non-DTB states but not otherwise.
- 3. More district staff, conditional on DTB, is better for math achievement. Suggests district staff needed to manage collective bargaining process and implement contract.

### Conclusion

- Adverse effects of collective bargaining on long-term outcomes (Lovenheim and Willén, 2019) may be due to staff reductions induced by union demands to use marginal resources for salaries and benefits.
- Duty-to-bargain seems to be at odds with hiring practices that foster (math) achievement, for teachers and for other school staff

### Appendix

In two-way FE models, greater nonlocal revenue share in DTB states is associated with increases in teachers and school staff

Table 5: Effects of Local Revenue Share on Staffing, in models with district and year fixed effects, and district controls by DTB States and Non-DTB States

	Teachers/	Parap./	Other sch. staff/	District staff/			
	100 pupils	100 pupils	100 pupils	100 pupils			
Panel A: Duty to Bargain States							
Nonlocal share	0.00957**	-0.00360	0.0152***	-0.00153			
	(0.00369)	(0.00449)	(0.00364)	(0.00126)			
Observations	9659	9659	9659	9584			
Panel B: Non-Duty to Bargain States							
Nonlocal share	0.00211	-0.00586*	0.00567	-0.00129			
	(0.00170)	(0.00261)	(0.00335)	(0.000687)			
Observations	10075	10075	10075	10063			

Standard errors in parentheses

Not a causal estimate (e.g. reverse causality: places that want to hire more https://doi.org/10.33774/apsa-2024-4jb0x **ORCID**: https://orcid.org/0000-0003-0748-6309 Content not peer-reviewed by APSA teachers may mobilize more nonlocal sources) Effects on teacher hiring are greater for districts at all levels of spending in non-DTB states

Table 6: Reform effects are higher for every level of spending in NonDTB states

Qtile.	Teachers/ 100 pupils		School staff/ 100 pupils		District staff/ 100 pupils	
	DTB	NonDTB	DTB	Non DTB	DTB	NonDTB
Q1 Low	0.657*	1.605*	-0.083	0.008	-0.045	0.315
Q2	(0.290)	0.701*	-0.000	-0.065	-0.057	0.236*
Q3	(0.362) 0.047	(0.356) 0.788*	(0.127) 0.037	(0.140) -0.020	(0.095) 0.070	(0.113) 0.271
	(0.474)	(0.348)	(0.175)	(0.183)	(0.176)	(0.551)
Q4 High	-0.667 (0.504)	1.405* (0.575)	0.009 (0.422)	-0.099 (0.287)	0.139 (0.421)	0.203 (0.543)

## Synthetic difference in difference plot (2006 reform): teachers per 100 pupils



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## Synthetic difference in difference plot (2006 reform): school staff per 100 pupils



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## Synthetic difference in difference plot (2006 reform): district staff per 100 pupils



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