



# THE ALLIANCE TO RECLAIM OUR SCHOOLS

**The Alliance to Reclaim Our Schools (AROS)** is an unprecedented alliance of parent, youth, community and labor organizations that together represent over seven million people nationwide. AROS is comprised of ten national partners: Advancement Project, Alliance for Educational Justice, the American Federation of Teachers, Center for Popular Democracy, Gamaliel, Journey for Justice Alliance, NYU Metro Center, the National Education Association, the National Opportunity to Learn Network and the Service Employees International Union. Together, we are the largest alliance of key stakeholders for education justice.

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## Introduction

During the spring of 2018, teachers in West Virginia, Kentucky, Oklahoma, Arizona, Colorado, North Carolina and Puerto Rico took to the streets demanding greater investment in their public schools. Their protests emerged, in part, out of frustration that so much school funding, slashed during the Great Recession of 2008, has yet to be restored.

But for African American and Latino communities, the under-funding of public schools goes back generations. Over the past fifty years we have short-changed students and their schools by hundreds of billions of dollars in federal education funding alone.

Policy-makers argue that there is no more money for education—*especially* in districts serving low-income and Black and Brown children. Yet, there is a direct correlation between dwindling resources for public schools and the ongoing political proclivity for transferring public dollars to the nation's wealthiest individuals and corporations. The rich are getting richer. Our schools are broke on purpose.

In a 2006 address then-President of the American Educational Research Association (AERA) Gloria Ladson-Billings introduced the concept of the “edu-

cation debt.”<sup>1</sup> Focusing solely on the “achievement gap,” she argued, failed to acknowledge the historic, economic, sociopolitical and moral foundations of the disparate educational outcomes between white students and students of color.

*Confronting the Education Debt*, by the Alliance to Reclaim Our Schools, embraces Ladson-Billings’ theory and argues that still today, the relative disenfranchisement of communities of color has allowed elected policymakers to pursue priorities that deny millions of children the educational opportunities they deserve.

Instead of funding our schools, policy decisions are made that increase personal and corporate wealth, drawing down public revenues in the process. Instead of funding our schools, we have seen an explosion of policies that criminalize Black and Brown communities, including staffing their schools with police officers instead of guidance counselors. Instead of funding public schools, privatization—through charters and vouchers—soaks up education dollars and strips the budgets of traditional public districts. All of these trends continue to compound the education debt.

**Between 2005 and 2017, public schools in the U.S. were underfunded by \$580 billion in federal dollars alone—money that was specifically targeted to support 30 million of our most vulnerable students.**

**Over that same period, the personal net worth of the nation's 400 wealthiest individuals grew by \$1.57 trillion.**

While acknowledging the historic nature of the education debt, this report takes a snapshot of time—the years between 2005 and 2017. A student who entered kindergarten in 2005 would have graduated from high school this past May. We use that time frame to explore the decisions and trends that have continued to deny Black, Brown and low-income students access to the schools they deserve, while enhancing the bank accounts of the richest Americans.

Based on data compiled for this report, between 2005 and 2017, public schools serving majorities of low-income students in the U.S. were underfunded by \$580 billion in federal dollars alone—for programs specifically targeted at our most vulnerable children. Over that same period, the personal wealth of the nation's 400 richest people grew by a combined \$1.57 trillion.<sup>2</sup> Priorities chosen, and decisions made by U.S. elected officials are implicated in both of these facts.

This persistent sabotage of public schools in Black, Brown and low-income communities is evident at all levels, in local, state and federal education policy. As our elected officials have stripped funding from schools, they have also presided over the systematic transfer of wealth from public to private hands, a massive investment in the criminalization of people of color and waged a methodical campaign to privatize public education through the proliferation of charter schools and voucher programs. Taken together, these policy priorities add up to a devastating assault on public schools in Black, Brown and

low-income communities and the students they serve. The debt we owe these students, schools and communities is vast and growing.

Public education itself is not the problem. Thousands of public schools across the nation have functional technology in every classroom, a well-stocked library and state-of-the-art science labs. Their young people are expected to be future leaders. There are public schools with classes small enough that teachers can individualize their instruction according to student needs. Public schools work, but only where they are fully resourced to do so. And that tends to be in white, middle class and affluent communities.

In contrast, without comparable resources, Black and Brown students are more likely to:

- sit in crowded classrooms;<sup>3</sup>
- be taught by first year teachers and/or by teachers who have not met basic certification requirements;<sup>4</sup>
- attend schools with higher teacher turnover rates;<sup>5</sup>
- have less access to high level math and science courses (often a prerequisite for college);<sup>6</sup>
- have less access to guidance counselors,<sup>7</sup> librarians, nurses, technology and other critical resources, and
- be removed from the classroom altogether and placed in some form of detention.<sup>8</sup>

Schools that fail to serve these children are not accidental, nor are they the fault of students, educators, unions, communities or parents—all of whom seem too often to take the blame. They are the logical outcome of the systematic exclusion of Black and Brown communities from the halls of political power where priorities are set and budgets determined.

*Confronting the Education Debt* reviews five components of this ongoing struggle for fairness and offers a roadmap for responding to what Ladson-Billings terms the “moral debt” — addressing “the disparity between what we know is right, and what we actually do.”

## The historic underpinnings of exclusion

The history of public education in the United States is a chronicle of great promise and of systematic exclusion. Until the 1960s, the nation did not even *profess* to serve all children equitably. Thomas Jefferson proposed a two-track education system with schools serving “the learned,” separate from those designed to serve “the laboring.” Southern states enacted laws making it a crime to teach enslaved people to read. Industrialists in the early 1800s created schools that emphasized discipline and obedience in order to turn out compliant factory workers. Children of the privileged class attended schools designed to turn out thinkers and leaders. Racial and class divides were strictly enforced.

In 1954 the U.S. Supreme Court declared the doctrine of “separate but equal” unconstitutional, ordering public schools to be integrated to better serve children of color and our collective good. Resistance to the Court’s ruling, from white people who sought to maintain the advantage of superior schools for their own children, was immediate and fierce. In most places, racial and class segregation persisted.

In the 1960s and 1970s Congress sought to address systemic funding and resource disparities in public

schools across the country. Since then, many state courts and legislatures have acknowledged the stark chasm between the resources provided to majority white schools and those offered to Black and Brown children. The *laws* have bent haltingly towards justice, but action has lagged. The excuse is often the same: There is no money, or money doesn’t matter.

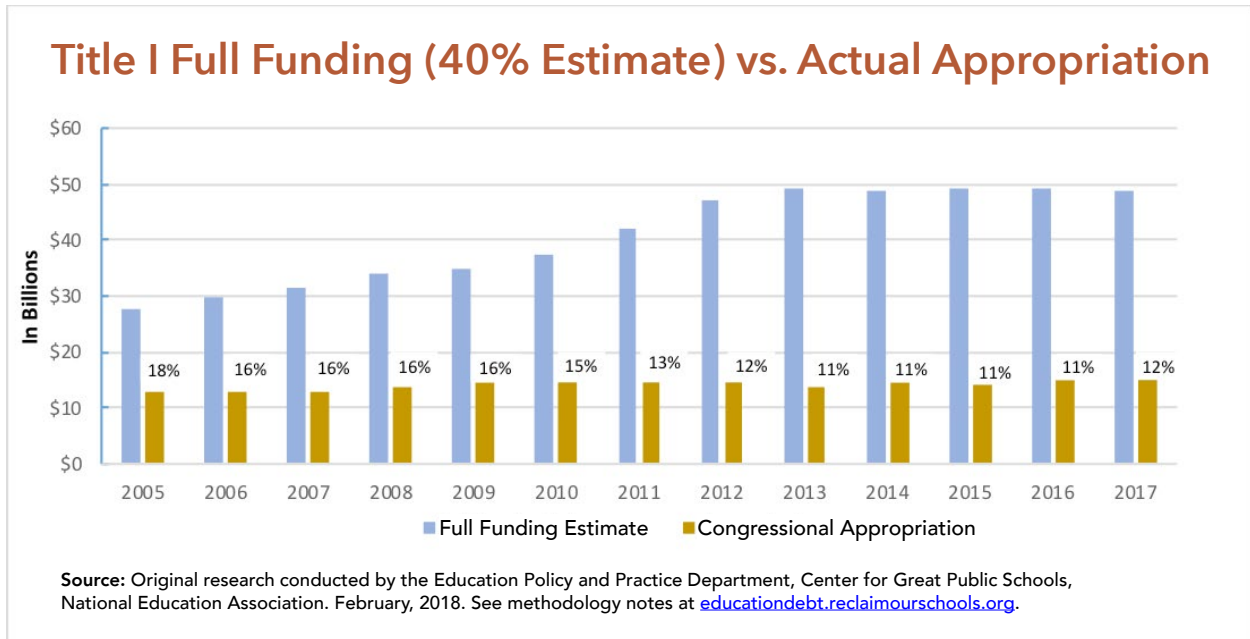
## Money matters

Although critics of public education have argued for years that money doesn’t matter for quality education, research has proven time and again that in fact, it matters a lot.<sup>9</sup>

Districts serving white and more affluent students spend *thousands to tens of thousands of dollars more, per pupil*, than high poverty school districts and those serving majorities of Black and Brown students.<sup>10</sup> The challenges faced by these schools—larger class size, fewer experienced teachers, the lack of libraries, science equipment, technology and counselors—all reflect a lack of resources. By failing to provide adequate funding, we deny these children the chance to fulfil their potential.

The fact that these funding disparities exist is not news. Since 2003, researchers in 25 states and the District of Columbia have conducted 41 “adequacy” studies that quantify the resources and conditions that students need to succeed in school. All but one of those studies recommended increased funding for public schools. Yet only eight states and D.C. have even partially adjusted state funding based on the findings. And the other 25 states have failed to even take on the task of determining what students need and how much it would cost to provide it.<sup>11</sup>

Educational racism is continuing and growing worse. Beginning in 2014 over half of public school students are students of color.<sup>12</sup> And despite decades of promises of equal justice under law, Black children are more segregated in their schools today than they were thirty years ago.<sup>13</sup>



## Congress has failed to fully fund targeted federal education programs

Though the federal government contributes only about 8 percent of all spending on K12 public schools, it is critical funding because the majority of that funding is directly targeted at students with the greatest needs—low income children and students with disabilities. Five decades of Congressional failure to fully invest in the two largest K-12 funding streams has denied these children and, we argue, all children, the additional supports they need.

### Title I – a war on poverty without the investment to win

President Johnson, in launching his “War on Poverty” recognized that a key front in the battle against poverty was the nation’s public schools. With the 1965 passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (ESEA), the federal government acknowledged that public schools in low-income communities need additional educational resources. Title I of the ESEA directs federal dollars to schools with high concentrations of students living in poverty.

Not only did lawmakers recognize the need for additional resources—they attempted to quantify it. Embedded in the law is the authorization—established by Congress in 1965—to provide school districts an additional 40 percent for each Title I-eligible child<sup>14</sup> so that their schools could offer supplemental supports such as reading specialists and smaller class sizes.

Having established that 40 percent target in the law, Congress immediately failed to fully fund it, not only in 1965 but in every year since. Over the past dozen years, Congressional appropriations for Title I have

Aggregated over the past 13 years—the length of a child’s elementary and secondary school career—Congress has failed to appropriate \$347 billion towards the education of low income students, primarily Black and Brown. That averages out to a shortfall of just under \$27 billion per year.



averaged less than half the promised funding (see appendix 1). That means that the over 56,000 Title I schools across the country lack the money they need to fully provide the supplemental supports viewed as critical by Congress in enacting the bill.

The impact of those annual under-funded appropriations is wrenchingly clear. If Title I was fully funded by Congress, the nation’s high-poverty schools could provide:

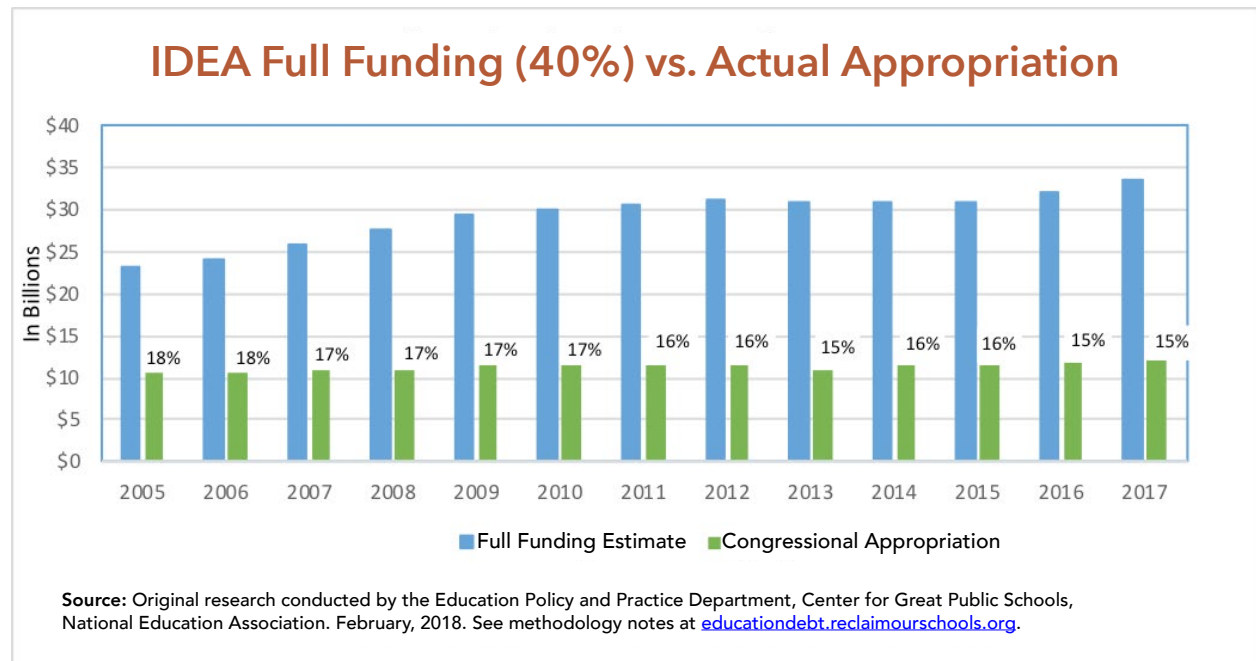
- health and mental health services for every student, including dental and vision services; *and*
- a full-time nurse in every Title I school; *and*
- a full-time librarian for every Title I school; *and*
- a full-time additional counselor for every Title I school, *or*
- a full-time teaching assistant in every Title I classroom across the country.<sup>15</sup>

If Congress funded Title I to the full amount authorized, schools serving concentrations of low-income students would have more resources that could make a real difference in student outcomes. But appropriation levels have never once met the Congressionally established goal. The same holds true for federal dollars authorized to support students with disabilities.

## Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA): A promise denied

In 1975, a decade after passing the ESEA, Congress sought to address the educational needs of students with disabilities. The Education of All Handicapped Children Act (now known as the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act, or IDEA) signaled a recognition by members of Congress that students with disabilities need additional services to allow them to achieve academically and sit side-by-side with their peers, and that the federal government had an obligation to help fund at least some of these services. IDEA is the second largest federal education program after Title I.

IDEA *requires* schools to identify and evaluate students thought to have disabilities and then to provide them with the supports they need in school. The financial assumption underlying IDEA is that on average, the cost of educating a child with disabilities is *twice* the cost of educating a non-disabled student.<sup>16</sup> IDEA made providing these additional services mandatory and Congress pledged that the federal government would pay up to 40 percent of the cost. Under the law, local and state funds must cover the remaining costs.



Once again, having established the formula, Congress failed to invest in it. Federal funding of IDEA has never approached the promised 40 percent mark (see Appendix 2). And because IDEA *guarantees* the necessary services for all students with disabilities, state and local governments must not only contribute their share, but also cover the unfunded federal contribution. With an estimated 6.5 million students currently being served by IDEA, even the best resourced school districts are finding it difficult to meet the needs. But in districts already struggling for resources, the mandate of IDEA has shattered school budgets, affecting educational quality for *all* students—those with, and without disabilities.

Since 2005, the aggregated federal underpayment to states to help provide services to students with disabilities has reached \$233 billion.<sup>17</sup> This amounts to an average of \$2,637 in additional funding each year for every special needs student in the country, 53 percent of whom are students of color.<sup>18</sup>

Since 2005, the federal underpayment to states to help provide services to students with disabilities has reached \$233 billion.

Fully funded, this federal contribution would have been more than enough to assign an additional teacher's assistant for every twelve students with disabilities in a school.<sup>19</sup>

The drain on local school district budgets has been so substantial that some states or districts have conspired to deny services to students who need—and have a right to—them,<sup>20</sup> and/or to slash programming and staffing across the board in order to meet the legal mandates of IDEA.

## State and local school funding short-changes Black, Brown and low-income schools

Federal short-changing of public schools, just through the two formula programs mentioned above, approached \$55 billion in 2017 alone. But federal funding provides only a small portion of total spending on public education. Most education spending comes from local and state funds. Here too, schools serving Black and Brown students are systematically sabotaged.

Local sources—primarily property tax revenues—contribute about 45 percent of funding for public schools (this percentage varies from state to state)—a foundation of education funding that inherently discriminates against low-income communities.<sup>21</sup>

With land and houses valued less on the market, low-income communities raise less revenue from property taxes than wealthy communities, and therefore have less to spend on their schools. This entrenched inequity has been recognized for decades.<sup>22</sup> The Ohio Supreme Court has found that state's system of funding public schools through property tax revenues unconstitutional—four times.<sup>23</sup> But change has proven difficult. Low-income communities have less political power. Wealthy districts are happy with the status quo.

State governments, which provide an average of 47 percent of school funding, can choose to use state money to offset local disparities in school resources. Only 11 states do so. Twenty states have flat funding formulas that do not distinguish between high- and low-poverty districts, and 17 states actually channel *more* resources to *wealthier* districts than to high-poverty ones.<sup>24</sup>

The anti-tax revolution that began in the 1980s made funding public education more difficult for everyone,





In Monmouth, Illinois, where 80 percent of students are low-income, schools are provided about \$7,808 per pupil in total expenditures. Just across the state in Lake Forest, Illinois, where 3 percent of students are low-income, the district spends \$26,074 per student—over three times more.

Baker, B.D., Srikanth, A., Weber, M.A. (2016). Rutgers Graduate School of Education/Education Law Center: School Funding Fairness Data System. Retrieved from <http://www.schoolfundingfairness.org/>

but particularly for low-property-wealth districts. These no tax/low tax policies have squeezed public budgets, while offering corporations and wealthy individuals relief from the “burden” of paying for public services like schools.

The recession in 2008 put the squeeze on overdrive. Property values—particularly in low-income communities—rapidly lost value. Faced with emptying coffers, and with tax hikes either barred by law or perceived as politically suicidal, state and district leaders responded with budget cuts and incredibly in some cases, with further tax *cuts* to wealthy corporations. Public schools, typically the largest line item in local budgets, bore the brunt. The impact was devastating in Black and Brown communities:

- In 2011, in the midst of the recession, the School District of Philadelphia laid off 150 school nurses. Two years later, twelve-year-old Laporshia Massey suffered an asthma attack at her school. Without a nurse on hand to evaluate her, school staff encouraged Laporshia to finish out the day. By the time she got home, her condition had deteriorated, and she died as her father rushed her to the hospital.<sup>25</sup> A few months later, a 7-year-old at Philadelphia’s Andrew Jackson Elementary School collapsed. Again, no nurse was on hand. The child died.<sup>26</sup>

Elected policy-makers’ responses to the recession impacted schools across the country, regardless of

race or income. But because inequities in resources were already entrenched before 2008, and because schools in low-income communities were already on shoestring budgets when the recession hit, the impacts for them were much more dramatic. And even as the recovery began to take hold, the resource chasm between schools serving white and more affluent children and those serving children of color deepened.

The Education Trust found that in 2015 on average, districts with large majorities of students of color provided about \$1,800 (13 percent) less *per student* than districts in the same state serving the fewest students of color.<sup>27</sup>

The same study found that *low-wealth* school districts on average, receive about \$1,000 less per student in state funding than wealthy districts.

State legislatures have the power, but perhaps not the will, to ensure even a modicum of fairness in the funding of public schools.

These gaps are not going away – in fact in some places, they are growing. In New York State, the per pupil spending gap between the wealthiest 100 districts in the state and the poorest 100 districts has grown by 24 percent in just the last five years, to nearly \$10,000 per pupil. That spending, denied to 297,000 low-income students, translates into larger

class sizes, fewer guidance counselors, and less access to art and music programming.<sup>28</sup>

In the face of clear and convincing evidence that schools serving Black, Brown and low-income students are being systematically under-funded, policy-makers typically argue that there simply is no more money. But that is not entirely honest. We live in the wealthiest nation in the world. Funding public education—or not—is a matter of priorities.

## Tax codes and corporate subsidies help the rich get richer, while draining public coffers

The accumulation and concentration of wealth is enabled by decisions made each year by elected officials. Over the past several decades, lawmakers have stripped public funding from programs and services that Americans depend on, in favor of taxation policies that benefit the wealthy.

At the end of World War II, in the late 1940s and 1950s, the top marginal tax rate was above 90 percent. Today it is 37 percent. The world saw an explosion of billionaires in 2017—growing at the pace of two new billionaires per day.<sup>29</sup> But we don't tax that wealth fairly. While public schools struggle without needed resources, America's vast riches are increasingly concentrated in the hands of the fewest people.<sup>30</sup>

The tax reform package passed by Congress in December 2017 continues the trend. And the law-

The nation's twenty-five most successful hedge fund managers together earned more money in 2014 than the combined salaries of every kindergarten teacher in the nation.

Source: *Inequality.org*, citing Congressional Budget Office "Trends in Family Wealth." Available at: <https://inequality.org/facts/wealth-inequality>

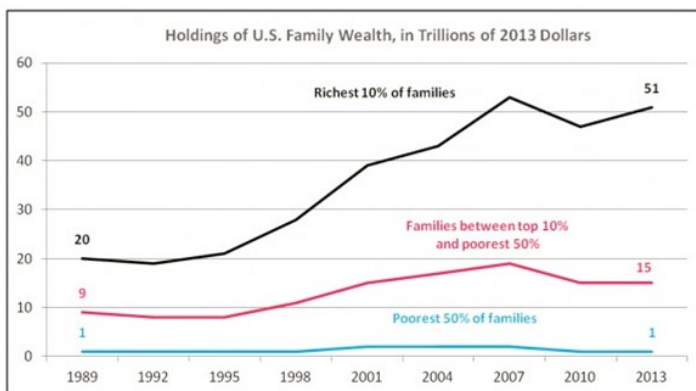
makers who promoted and voted for it, know this. It is no accident that in 2019 when the law goes into effect, more than half of its benefits will go to the richest five percent of taxpayers.

This largesse heaped upon the already wealthy isn't free: the new tax code is expected to cost the federal treasury as much as \$1.5 trillion in lost revenues over the next decade.<sup>31</sup> The Institute on Taxation and Economic Policy (ITEP) calculates that, since 2000, federal tax changes have reduced federal revenues by \$5.1 trillion. Two-thirds of that money has flowed to the richest 20 percent of Americans.<sup>32</sup>

These tax giveaways to the rich directly impact federal revenues available for programs like infrastructure, health care and public education. But members of Congress repeatedly vote to serve the interests of the wealthy rather than to fully fund programs like Title I and IDEA, which directly benefit millions of students and public schools.

At the state level as well, tax policy favors the wealthy and politically powerful. ITEP reported in 2015 that virtually every state tax system takes a much greater share of income from low- and middle-income families than from wealthy families. The effective state and local tax rates for the poorest 20 percent of indi-

## Household Wealth





### Oklahoma: Everything is *not* OK

A decade of cuts to the top income tax rate in Oklahoma has reduced state revenues by more than \$1 billion annually. While the wealthy have seen their tax rates go down, the state's public schools have suffered:

- 20% of the state's school districts have moved to a 4-day school week because of budget cuts;
- In the last 5 years, enrollment in Oklahoma public schools grew by 15,000 students, while the number of teachers dropped by 700;
- There are 525 fewer world language classes being taught in the state's schools today and 1,115 fewer art and music classes.

*Source: Oklahoma Policy Institute, "State Funding Crisis and the Teacher Walkout: Resources and Information," March, 2018. Available at: <https://okpolicy.org/state-funding-crisis-and-the-teacher-walkout-resources-information/>*

viduals and families is 10.9 percent, while the top 1 percent pays about 5.4 percent.<sup>33</sup>

In addition to wealthy individuals, corporations are also advantaged by federal, state and local tax policies. While the federal corporate tax in the United States is set at 35 percent, after loopholes and deductions the effective tax rate that corporations pay is only about 14 percent. These tax breaks alone cost the federal government at least \$181 billion in annual revenue, based on 2013 estimates by the Government Accountability Office.<sup>34</sup>

At the state and local levels, it has been argued that corporate and residential tax abatements are a useful tool to encourage development in impoverished

neighborhoods, or during an economic downturn. But many of these corporate hand-outs are significantly short-changing local public schools:

- A current estimate shows there is about \$1.2 billion in abated real estate value in the City of Cincinnati. In the past two years alone, the city has granted or extended 110 tax abatements to local developers. The abatements allow developers to pay the equivalent of taxes due on only 25 percent of their properties' value. The program's guidelines promise that the city government will "make whole" the school budget by backfilling the revenues lost through these abatements. But with a significant increase in abatements in the last few years, the city has not kept its promise. Aggregating the revenues lost through these developer tax breaks, and even after backfilling payments from the City, Cincinnati Public Schools are losing about \$8.4 million every year.<sup>35</sup>
- Boston, like many U.S. cities, plays host to large non-profit institutions like universities, museums and hospitals. Some of these institutions hold massive endowments and their presidents and CEOs take home seven-figure salaries. Yet, their non-profit status exempts them from paying local property taxes despite that they benefit from city services like fire and police protection, snow clearing and trash removal... and public schools. In fact, 49 percent of the city's land is untaxed, straining the city's budget. In response, Boston, along with over 200 other cities has created a "Payment in Lieu of Taxes," or PILOT program, that establishes a framework for contributions from tax exempt entities to offset the costs of city services they receive.<sup>36</sup> Since 2012, Boston's tax-exempt corporations have contributed about \$60 million less than the program requests.<sup>37</sup> Meanwhile, Boston Public Schools have suffered annual budget cuts that have affected about half of the district's schools each year.



## Rising investments in corrections and policing divert spending for schools

The nation’s evolving spending priorities not only explicitly advantage the wealthy, they also have become increasingly hostile to communities of color.

Racial disparities have always been a feature of the U.S. criminal justice system, but the targeting of Black and Brown young people increased in the backlash to the Civil Rights Movement and the so-called Southern Strategy of the Republican Party.

A series of state and federal policies beginning in the late 1960s labeled Black youth as “delinquent,” criminalized drug users, deepened the relationship between the military and the police and led to a mass incarceration movement that has swept Black and Brown bodies into prison at astounding rates.

There are currently an estimated 2.3 million people behind bars in the United States, including 48,000 young people being held in juvenile facilities.<sup>38</sup> National spending on corrections, police and the courts has skyrocketed, reaching over \$265 billion in 2012.

Black and Brown people are dramatically over-represented in this population, making up 57 percent of the prison population while only 29 percent of the total population.

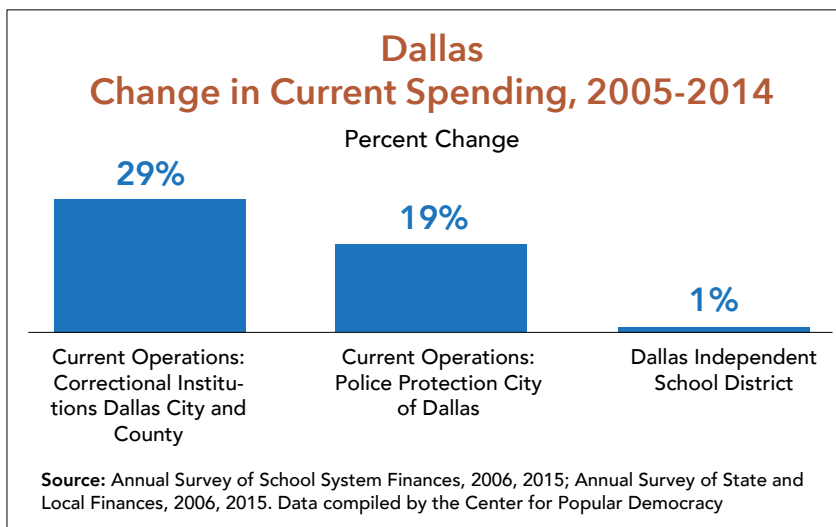
This “new Jim Crow,” as Michelle Alexander has referred to it, has swept up young people as well.<sup>39</sup> More than 2,300 children under the age of 18 are behind bars for so-called “status offenses” –those that would not be considered illegal if the individual was over 21. Over half of those are for truancy. And, as with the prison population in general, African American and Brown children are over-represented among this population. While less than 14 percent of all youth under 18 in the country are Black, 43 percent of boys and girls in juvenile facilities are Black.<sup>40</sup>

State and local funding patterns over the past 15 years show this increasing prioritization of corrections and police over public education.

For example, between 2005 and 2014, total inflation-adjusted spending for the Dallas Independent School District was basically flat, while adjusted city spending on police increased by 19 percent and spending on correctional institutions by the city and county increased 29 percent.<sup>41</sup>

Even within the flat spending on public schools, tens of millions of dollars from the Dallas Independent School District Budget went to “Security and Monitoring Services” which includes salaries for police assigned to schools.

Instead of funding quality education for Black and Brown children, we spend money on controlling them. State and local governments have made large investments in the harassment, detention and prosecution of Black and Brown youth through a set of policies collectively known as the School-to-Prison-Pipeline. Across the country, as in Dallas, dollars allocated to school budgets are increasingly spent on metal detectors, surveillance and police officers. In 2017, the National Association of School Resource Officers claimed that school policing was the fastest-growing area of



law enforcement. Today, 24 percent of elementary schools, and 42 percent of high schools (not including justice facilities) have sworn law enforcement officers on campus. Fifty-one percent of high schools with high Black and Brown enrollment have sworn law enforcement officers.<sup>42</sup>

These strategies result in schools that feel increasingly prison-like, with metal detectors, security cameras, armed police officers and “zero tolerance” or “no excuses” regimes that emphasize compliance and criminalize behaviors that used to be addressed with demerits. They are also expensive. The school safety and security industry was reported to be a \$2.7 billion market as of 2015.<sup>43</sup> Much of that \$2.7 billion is public money, stripped from education budgets and now enriching the private security industry.

School districts are spending more and more on security—with budgets that are not expanding commensurately. School staffing has suffered accordingly. In some instances, reduced school staffing has led administrators to engage police officers in situations that violate memorandums of understanding between schools and local police departments around the roles of school-based police.

This year’s string of horrific school shootings has intensified the call for *more* police in schools, more security features and even the arming of educators—a prospect that could cost over \$1 billion, even on the assumption that only about 20 percent of teachers would be trained and equipped with guns.<sup>44</sup> None of these strategies has been proven to reduce the risk of school shootings. In many communities of color they are particularly unwelcomed. Black and Brown students will feel safer when their teachers are armed with up-to-date textbooks and their schools with modern technology, guidance counselors and health and mental health providers. There is no indication that more police officers, more guns and more security cameras in a school contribute positively to academic outcomes.



The U.S. Department of Education reports that 1.6 million students in the U.S. attend a school that has hired a law enforcement officer, but no school counselor.

U.S. Department of Education, Office for Civil Rights. 2013-2014 *Civil Rights Data Collection, A First Look*. Last modified October 28, 2016. Retrieved May 18, 2018 from <https://www2.ed.gov/about/offices/list/ocr/docs/2013-14-first-look.pdf>

## Privatization extracts funds from public schools

The movement to privatize public schools (among other services) is a deliberate strategy to defund the public sector and throw open the education “marketplace” to private interests.

Charter schooling did not begin as a privatization strategy. But it was quickly seized upon as such. Twenty years of charter schooling—now legal in 44 states plus Washington, D.C. and Puerto Rico—has systematically stripped public school budgets through the creation of a parallel structure of privately-operated, publicly-funded schools. Once again, the relative lack of political power in Black and Brown districts and decades of under-funding was easily exploited to justify “blowing up the system,” allowing privatizers to target these school districts with the aggressive proliferation of “choice.” Nationally, most charter school students are Black or



Brown, and many majority Black and Brown school districts are nearly buckling under a relentless campaign of charter expansion.<sup>45</sup>

A new report by In the Public Interest (ITPI) adds to a growing body of research showing the devastating financial toll this movement has had on public schools.<sup>46</sup> Researchers found that charter schools cost the San Diego Unified School District (SDUSD) over \$65 million each year—or about \$620 per public school student.

A separate study of Los Angeles—with the country’s largest charter sector—found that the Los Angeles Unified School District had over \$591 million in 2015 alone in lost revenues and added costs due to charter schools.<sup>47</sup> Additional cost studies have been conducted in Nashville, Michigan, Pennsylvania, Durham and elsewhere.<sup>48</sup> The findings are consistent: the privatization of schools has contributed to austerity conditions in traditional public schools. Moody’s Investment Services has issued several briefs warning of the financial instability visited on public school districts caused by the rapid prolifera-

tion of charter schools.<sup>49</sup>

Despite these warnings, the U.S. Congress continues to appropriate millions of dollars to the Department of Education’s Charter Schools Program (CSP). With a budget of \$500 million this year, the CSP is the nation’s largest bankroller—public or private—of new charter start-ups and network expansions. In other words, the U.S. Department of Education is funding and operating a grant program that undermines public schools.

These policy decisions—whether to cut taxes on the wealthy, offer subsidies to corporations, invest in the world’s largest mass incarceration system or hand money to private corporations to run our schools—all impact the bottom lines of tens of thousands of public schools that continue to attempt to educate well over 90 percent of the nation’s students.



## A roadmap for addressing the education debt

In 1948 as Europe began its recovery after World War II, Congress approved a massive initiative to aid Western Europe in that recovery process. The Marshall Plan, named for then-Secretary of State George C. Marshall, committed over \$13 billion (over \$110 billion in today's dollars) in economic assistance over a period of four years to help rebuild war-torn regions, remove barriers to trade, modernize industry and more.

If the U.S. can fund an aid package for Western Europe to spur economic development, why not a project here at home, dedicated to rebuilding the nation's public education system, particularly in under-served districts and communities that have been so badly weakened by decades of financial sabotage?

This country owes a debt to Black, Brown and low-income students who have been attending public schools rendered incapable of providing them with the academic and social experiences that would help them emerge as successful workers, engaged citizens and participants in our democracy. We cannot make up for decades of neglect. But we can commit to set things right moving forward.

### What we want

The Alliance to Reclaim Our Schools promotes a particular, research-based vision of a fully-resourced, academically challenging and student-centered public school. We call them “Sustainable Community Schools.”\*

Americans know what these great public schools look like. They offer wide-ranging academic opportunities that encourage students to find and pursue subjects that engage them. They are staffed with experienced teachers, adequate numbers of guidance counselors and full-time librarians. They have small class sizes to allow for individualized attention. They



are guided by a culture of respect and focused on teaching and learning, not on compliance and regimentation. They provide health, mental-health and other wraparound services to students and the surrounding community. And they are publicly owned and operated, with elected boards accountable to the communities they serve.

A national commitment to our schools—a Marshall Plan for education justice—would generate the policy change and public backing to invest in public schools for the benefit of our entire society. Schools that have been denied the resources they deserve for so long would be targeted first.

We live in the wealthiest nation in the world. We can make this commitment, if we have the will to do what's right. The Alliance to Reclaim Our Schools believes that the road to confronting the education debt lies before us.

\* Many of our state and local partners have different names for these schools.

**The roadmap includes:**

### **1. Funding of Title I and IDEA to their authorized ceilings.**

In 2017, Congress appropriated \$15.4 billion to Title I. According to the formula authorized in the law, that appropriation should have been \$48.7 billion, a shortfall of \$33.3 billion.

Full federal funding of the Individuals with Disabilities Education Act (IDEA) in 2017 would have provided \$33.5 billion instead of the actual appropriation of \$12 billion—a shortfall of over \$21 billion. That funding, available to school districts to alleviate the drain on local budgets would allow districts to increase supports to students with disabilities and might have eased budget cuts across the board in these districts, preventing teacher layoffs and program cuts.

### **2. 25,000 Sustainable Community Schools serving our most vulnerable students.**

Together, with federal, state and local commitments, we could create 25,000 Sustainable Community Schools by 2025 as a starting point, and as a down-payment on ensuring that every student has access to the resources he or she needs to achieve.

### **3. A new focus for the U.S. Department of Education: ensuring and incentivizing equity in public schools across the country.**

In addition to fully funding its own programs, the federal government must play another critical role in a national recommitment to eliminating the education debt. It must enforce equity, ensuring not only the investment, but the targeting of that investment to the schools and students who have been denied for so long. By incentivizing equitable school funding at the state level, as well as ensuring accountability and full-funding at the federal level, the U.S. Department of Education must lead this charge and ensure that states and districts join in building the schools that all our students deserve.

## How we pay for it

Addressing the education debt requires commitment from policy-makers at every level, from members of school boards to city councils, from state legislators to members of Congress. At each level there is work to be done and decades of debt to be addressed. There is no magic formula, but the opportunity exists to invest billions in our schools if we begin to dismantle the policies that have stripped public budgets of critical funds while enriching the already wealthy and fueling privatization.

### A. Make the wealthy pay their fair share of taxes

Decades of decisions by members of Congress and state legislatures have signed off on a giant transfer of public dollars to private pockets. Unwinding these policies can quickly flood federal and state coffers with the necessary resources to transform schools in Black and Brown communities into fully functional educational institutions:

- Rescinding the 2017 tax code changes, which overwhelmingly favor the top 1 percent of income earners, could pump billions in to the federal budget – more than enough to offer full funding to Title I and IDEA.
- Closing the federal carried interest loophole could increase federal revenues by between \$1.8 and \$2 billion annually or, according to some researchers, by as much as \$18 billion annually.<sup>50</sup> Only a few—the top .01 percent—benefit from this provision.<sup>51</sup> Their personal wealth is staggering: the twenty-five most successful hedge fund managers in 2014 together earned more money in a single year than the combined salaries of every kindergarten teacher in the nation—all 158,000 of them.<sup>52</sup> The President could close this provision unilaterally—and in fact promised to do so during his campaign.

In Connecticut, if the state captured the additional revenue by charging a surtax on hedge fund and private equity income, as much as \$520 million annually could be pumped into the state's coffers. That funding could provide:

- Access to a new laptop, plus internet access and technology support for every public school student in the state; or
- Year-round before- and after-school programming, summer programming, pediatric care, access to mental health services, dental and eye exams for every low-income student in the state; or
- A \$350,000 budget increase for every single public school in the state; or
- 5 additional teachers for every school in the state.

Calculated based on state demographics from <http://edsight.ct.gov/SASPortal/main.do>, teacher salary cost from <http://www.nea.org/home/38465.htm> and cost of wraparound services from <https://etc.usf.edu/141/costs.html>.

- If the carried interest loophole is not closed at the federal level, states can impose a surcharge on carried interest income at the state level. Almost a dozen states are considering bills that would “repatriate” this revenue at the state level. If passed, they could raise hundreds of millions of dollars annually for state coffers. Research shows, for example, that Illinois could raise over \$1.7 billion; Massachusetts, \$564 million; and New York State an additional \$3.5 billion.<sup>53</sup>
- New York and California have passed so-called “millionaire’s taxes” that increase the tax rate on a state’s highest earners. Similar measures are under consideration in Massachusetts, New Jersey and Rhode Island.



## **B. Require wealthy corporations to pay their fair share**

- Corporate tax reform to close existing loopholes at the federal level could raise tens of billions of dollars. Corporate tax breaks cost the federal government at least \$181 billion annually based on 2013 estimates by the Government Accountability Office.
- Reduce state and local subsidies to businesses for economic development projects and hold school funding immune from tax abatements.<sup>54</sup>
- Enforce and strengthen programs like Payment in Lieu of Taxes (PILOT) to ensure that wealthy institutions pay their fair share towards local budgets. Of 23 educational institutions in Boston that are asked to pay PILOT, only 5 paid their full cash amount in 2017.

## **C. Divest from the school-to-prison pipeline**

We cannot invest in the successful future of our young people and at the same time spend millions surrounding them with armed law enforcement officers and surveillance equipment. No child deserves to be surrounded by a blanket statement of mistrust and fear when they are trying to learn.

Cities can divest from programs that criminalize young people and instead invest in those same children to help them succeed. In fiscal year 2017, New York City paid \$357 million to the New York Police Department (NYPD) for its School Safety Division, which employs 4,692 School Safety Agents and armed officers to work in the city's public schools, serving 1.1 million students. At the same time, in those same schools, the City employs only 2,800 full-time guidance counselors, and 1,252 full-time social workers.<sup>55</sup>

Distorted priorities like these exist in school districts across the country. If we truly expect all students to achieve their potential, we must surround them with educational resources, not security personnel.

## **D. Place a moratorium on new charter schools and voucher programs**

- The U.S. government is the nation's largest source of start-up funding for new charter schools. The Department of Education's Charter Schools Program now spends \$500 million each year to seed new charter schools. That funding could instead be recommitted to strengthening traditional public schools, supporting the creation of Sustainable Community Schools that include all the components necessary to ensure student success.

These are just a sampling of ways that public dollars could be clawed back and reinvested in our public schools. No longer will teachers, parents and students believe the lies that "money doesn't matter" or that "there is no money." Policy-makers took those resources from Black and Brown schools through their votes—and policy-makers can return them.



## Conclusion

The public education that we offer to our children reflects *our* expectations for their futures, not their own or their parents'. One look at the disparities in resources—expectations—between public schools in affluent and white communities and those in Black and Brown communities across the country starkly defines the differences:

- At Milwaukee's Marshall High School (94 percent Black and Brown), students are offered four years of English, in classes with the less-than-inspirational titles of "English 9," "English 10," "American Authors" and "British Authors." A few miles away, at Menomonee Falls High School (79 percent white), students can opt for English electives including "Mystery and Suspense," "Contemporary Issues," "Science Fiction and Fantasy," and more.
- At Manual High School in Denver (96 percent students of color), Spanish is the only world language offered. In the arts, students can opt for "Drawing and Painting," "Digital Design," "Drama," "Music Composition," and choir. A few miles away at Cherry Creek High School in Greenwood Village (33 percent students of color), students can elect Spanish, French, German, Latin or Chinese language courses and over 20 classes in the arts, including ceramics, jewelry making, video production, jazz band, chamber orchestra and many others.<sup>56</sup>

The opportunities provided to students like those at Menomonee Falls and Cherry Creek are available because of money. We invest in students through budgets—whether through local budgets, state education funding or appropriations votes in Congress that determine which programs will be fully funded and which will not.

A study released in 2015 found that for low-income children, as little as *10 percent more funding per pupil*, maintained through 12 years of public school is associated with a greater likelihood that the student would finish high school, achieve 10 percent higher earnings as an adult, and a 6 percentage point reduction in the annual incidence of adult poverty.<sup>57</sup>

Ten percent is pocket-change for a nation that has orchestrated the rise of an unmatched billionaire class. In the richest nation in the world, *it is possible* to fully fund all our public schools, and to provide our most vulnerable children with the educational resources and additional supports and services they need to achieve at the highest levels.

Each year that America defaults on this investment, we shortchange the nation. It is time to confront the education debt, and to ensure racial justice and equity in public education and beyond. We need a concerted commitment to fully invest in schools serving Black, Brown and low-income students and communities.

## Appendix 1: Title I Funding Gaps by State

Note: for a full spreadsheet of funding gap data by state and year, visit <http://educationdebt.reclaimourschools.org>

State	2005-2017			2017		
	Actual Appropriation \$ millions	Full Funding Estimate \$ millions	Funding Gap \$ millions	Actual Appropriation \$ millions	Full Funding Estimate \$ millions	Funding Gap \$ millions
Alabama	\$2,865	\$8,503	<b>\$5,639</b>	\$250	\$787	<b>\$538</b>
Alaska	\$486	\$1,044	<b>\$558</b>	\$43	\$100	<b>\$57</b>
Arizona	\$3,914	\$11,126	<b>\$7,212</b>	\$348	\$1,073	<b>\$725</b>
Arkansas	\$1,930	\$5,749	<b>\$3,820</b>	\$162	\$527	<b>\$364</b>
California	\$22,008	\$62,234	<b>\$40,226</b>	\$1,824	\$5,747	<b>\$3,923</b>
Colorado	\$1,873	\$5,798	<b>\$3,925</b>	\$152	\$507	<b>\$356</b>
Connecticut	\$1,465	\$4,588	<b>\$3,123</b>	\$129	\$451	<b>\$322</b>
Delaware	\$537	\$1,408	<b>\$871</b>	\$51	\$153	<b>\$102</b>
Dist. of Columbia	\$606	\$1,371	<b>\$765</b>	\$47	\$126	<b>\$79</b>
Florida	\$9,291	\$26,191	<b>\$16,900</b>	\$852	\$2,530	<b>\$1,677</b>
Georgia	\$6,265	\$18,162	<b>\$11,897</b>	\$537	\$1,679	<b>\$1,141</b>
Hawaii	\$611	\$1,644	<b>\$1,033</b>	\$53	\$159	<b>\$105</b>
Idaho	\$667	\$2,071	<b>\$1,404</b>	\$58	\$194	<b>\$135</b>
Illinois	\$8,086	\$24,110	<b>\$16,024</b>	\$675	\$2,246	<b>\$1,571</b>
Indiana	\$3,159	\$9,642	<b>\$6,483</b>	\$264	\$864	<b>\$600</b>
Iowa	\$1,039	\$3,347	<b>\$2,308</b>	\$97	\$333	<b>\$236</b>
Kansas	\$1,293	\$3,837	<b>\$2,544</b>	\$107	\$347	<b>\$240</b>
Kentucky	\$2,754	\$7,977	<b>\$5,223</b>	\$230	\$723	<b>\$493</b>
Louisiana	\$3,808	\$10,768	<b>\$6,960</b>	\$315	\$987	<b>\$673</b>
Maine	\$656	\$1,960	<b>\$1,304</b>	\$54	\$173	<b>\$120</b>
Maryland	\$2,495	\$7,224	<b>\$4,729</b>	\$230	\$719	<b>\$490</b>
Massachusetts	\$2,906	\$8,813	<b>\$5,907</b>	\$243	\$818	<b>\$575</b>
Michigan	\$6,538	\$18,625	<b>\$12,087</b>	\$503	\$1,595	<b>\$1,092</b>
Minnesota	\$1,812	\$5,826	<b>\$4,013</b>	\$163	\$560	<b>\$397</b>
Mississippi	\$2,422	\$6,834	<b>\$4,412</b>	\$199	\$617	<b>\$418</b>
Missouri	\$2,955	\$9,069	<b>\$6,114</b>	\$251	\$830	<b>\$580</b>
Montana	\$573	\$1,511	<b>\$938</b>	\$48	\$129	<b>\$81</b>
Nebraska	\$824	\$2,487	<b>\$1,663</b>	\$75	\$245	<b>\$170</b>
Nevada	\$1,277	\$3,528	<b>\$2,251</b>	\$130	\$379	<b>\$249</b>
New Hampshire	\$504	\$1,213	<b>\$709</b>	\$43	\$112	<b>\$69</b>
New Jersey	\$3,885	\$12,300	<b>\$8,415</b>	\$363	\$1,246	<b>\$883</b>
New Mexico	\$1,476	\$4,124	<b>\$2,648</b>	\$119	\$362	<b>\$242</b>



CONFRONTING THE EDUCATION DEBT

State	2005-2017			2017		
	Actual Appropriation \$ millions	Full Funding Estimate \$ millions	Funding Gap \$ millions	Actual Appropriation \$ millions	Full Funding Estimate \$ millions	Funding Gap \$ millions
New York	\$15,265	\$41,650	<b>\$26,385</b>	\$1,202	\$3,708	<b>\$2,506</b>
North Carolina	\$4,866	\$14,553	<b>\$9,687</b>	\$449	\$1,418	<b>\$970</b>
North Dakota	\$439	\$670	<b>\$230</b>	\$37	\$67	<b>\$30</b>
Ohio	\$6,808	\$20,833	<b>\$14,026</b>	\$555	\$1,796	<b>\$1,241</b>
Oklahoma	\$1,985	\$5,819	<b>\$3,834</b>	\$168	\$541	<b>\$373</b>
Oregon	\$1,825	\$5,568	<b>\$3,743</b>	\$152	\$505	<b>\$353</b>
Pennsylvania	\$7,138	\$21,025	<b>\$13,887</b>	\$618	\$2,025	<b>\$1,406</b>
Rhode Island	\$648	\$1,902	<b>\$1,253</b>	\$53	\$175	<b>\$122</b>
South Carolina	\$2,738	\$8,241	<b>\$5,504</b>	\$242	\$786	<b>\$544</b>
South Dakota	\$545	\$1,010	<b>\$465</b>	\$47	\$91	<b>\$44</b>
Tennessee	\$3,388	\$9,990	<b>\$6,602</b>	\$305	\$940	<b>\$635</b>
Texas	\$17,016	\$48,870	<b>\$31,854</b>	\$1,415	\$4,408	<b>\$2,993</b>
Utah	\$974	\$3,116	<b>\$2,142</b>	\$87	\$293	<b>\$206</b>
Vermont	\$421	\$733	<b>\$312</b>	\$35	\$62	<b>\$27</b>
Virginia	\$3,047	\$9,534	<b>\$6,488</b>	\$258	\$882	<b>\$624</b>
Washington	\$2,649	\$8,284	<b>\$5,635</b>	\$228	\$771	<b>\$543</b>
West Virginia	\$1,216	\$3,489	<b>\$2,273</b>	\$96	\$305	<b>\$208</b>
Wisconsin	\$2,623	\$7,894	<b>\$5,271</b>	\$208	\$678	<b>\$470</b>
Wyoming	\$420	\$709	<b>\$288</b>	\$35	\$65	<b>\$29</b>
Puerto Rico	\$6,097	\$17,818	<b>\$11,721</b>	\$407	\$1,349	<b>\$942</b>

**Source for Title I funding gap:** actual appropriations by state are from the U.S. Department of Education Budget Service. (Actual appropriations in FY 2009 exclude one-time American Recovery and Reinvestment Act funds.) NEA calculated each state's maximum basic grant by multiplying the number of children, age 5-17, living in families below the poverty level (which comprises almost all of the children that are Title I-eligible) in each state by the state's adjusted per-pupil expenditure as defined in statute.

## Appendix 2: IDEA Funding Gaps by State

Note: for a full spreadsheet of funding gap data by state and year, visit <http://educationdebt.reclaimourschools.org>

State	2005-2017			2017		
	Actual Appropriation \$ millions	Full Funding Estimate \$ millions	Funding Gap \$ millions	Actual Appropriation \$ millions	Full Funding Estimate \$ millions	Funding Gap \$ millions
Alabama	\$2,305	\$5,096	<b>\$2,792</b>	\$187	\$441	<b>\$254</b>
Alaska	\$460	\$1,026	<b>\$565</b>	\$38	\$101	<b>\$63</b>
Arizona	\$2,363	\$6,947	<b>\$4,584</b>	\$204	\$616	<b>\$413</b>
Arkansas	\$1,421	\$3,799	<b>\$2,378</b>	\$115	\$340	<b>\$225</b>
California	\$15,532	\$35,534	<b>\$20,002</b>	\$1,256	\$3,044	<b>\$1,788</b>
Colorado	\$1,957	\$4,925	<b>\$2,968</b>	\$164	\$418	<b>\$255</b>
Connecticut	\$1,686	\$3,742	<b>\$2,056</b>	\$137	\$326	<b>\$189</b>
Delaware	\$433	\$1,113	<b>\$680</b>	\$37	\$102	<b>\$65</b>
Dist. of Columbia	\$218	\$751	<b>\$532</b>	\$19	\$71	<b>\$52</b>
Florida	\$8,050	\$23,451	<b>\$15,401</b>	\$661	\$2,152	<b>\$1,491</b>
Georgia	\$4,130	\$11,587	<b>\$7,457</b>	\$348	\$1,046	<b>\$698</b>
Hawaii	\$505	\$1,405	<b>\$899</b>	\$41	\$125	<b>\$84</b>
Idaho	\$701	\$1,823	<b>\$1,122</b>	\$58	\$167	<b>\$109</b>
Illinois	\$6,417	\$16,489	<b>\$10,071</b>	\$518	\$1,398	<b>\$880</b>
Indiana	\$3,266	\$9,591	<b>\$6,325</b>	\$266	\$806	<b>\$540</b>
Iowa	\$1,549	\$4,178	<b>\$2,630</b>	\$126	\$382	<b>\$257</b>
Kansas	\$1,352	\$3,744	<b>\$2,392</b>	\$110	\$332	<b>\$222</b>
Kentucky	\$2,003	\$6,089	<b>\$4,085</b>	\$162	\$557	<b>\$394</b>
Louisiana	\$2,396	\$5,531	<b>\$3,135</b>	\$194	\$492	<b>\$298</b>
Maine	\$694	\$1,988	<b>\$1,293</b>	\$56	\$174	<b>\$118</b>
Maryland	\$2,538	\$6,034	<b>\$3,496</b>	\$206	\$522	<b>\$316</b>
Massachusetts	\$3,601	\$8,982	<b>\$5,381</b>	\$292	\$756	<b>\$464</b>
Michigan	\$5,073	\$11,839	<b>\$6,766</b>	\$410	\$961	<b>\$550</b>
Minnesota	\$2,406	\$6,802	<b>\$4,396</b>	\$195	\$622	<b>\$427</b>
Mississippi	\$1,517	\$3,708	<b>\$2,191</b>	\$123	\$323	<b>\$199</b>
Missouri	\$2,881	\$7,824	<b>\$4,943</b>	\$234	\$688	<b>\$454</b>
Montana	\$471	\$1,121	<b>\$649</b>	\$39	\$102	<b>\$64</b>
Nebraska	\$947	\$2,782	<b>\$1,835</b>	\$77	\$265	<b>\$188</b>
Nevada	\$891	\$2,848	<b>\$1,956</b>	\$77	\$251	<b>\$174</b>
New Hampshire	\$602	\$1,578	<b>\$976</b>	\$49	\$134	<b>\$85</b>
New Jersey	\$4,585	\$13,390	<b>\$8,805</b>	\$372	\$1,144	<b>\$772</b>
New Mexico	\$1,156	\$2,824	<b>\$1,668</b>	\$94	\$241	<b>\$147</b>

CONFRONTING THE EDUCATION DEBT

State	2005-2017			2017		
	Actual Appropriation \$ millions	Full Funding Estimate \$ millions	Funding Gap \$ millions	Actual Appropriation \$ millions	Full Funding Estimate \$ millions	Funding Gap \$ millions
New York	\$9,626	\$22,850	<b>\$13,223</b>	\$780	\$1,900	<b>\$1,120</b>
North Carolina	\$4,132	\$11,528	<b>\$7,396</b>	\$346	\$1,020	<b>\$674</b>
North Dakota	\$353	\$908	<b>\$556</b>	\$31	\$97	<b>\$66</b>
Ohio	\$5,544	\$13,806	<b>\$8,262</b>	\$449	\$1,232	<b>\$783</b>
Oklahoma	\$1,877	\$6,203	<b>\$4,325</b>	\$153	\$581	<b>\$429</b>
Oregon	\$1,634	\$4,303	<b>\$2,669</b>	\$132	\$402	<b>\$269</b>
Pennsylvania	\$5,411	\$14,876	<b>\$9,465</b>	\$438	\$1,313	<b>\$875</b>
Rhode Island	\$555	\$1,490	<b>\$935</b>	\$45	\$120	<b>\$75</b>
South Carolina	\$2,238	\$6,304	<b>\$4,066</b>	\$182	\$604	<b>\$422</b>
South Dakota	\$420	\$1,054	<b>\$634</b>	\$36	\$103	<b>\$67</b>
Tennessee	\$2,992	\$7,059	<b>\$4,067</b>	\$244	\$635	<b>\$391</b>
Texas	\$12,463	\$30,630	<b>\$18,166</b>	\$1,036	\$2,855	<b>\$1,819</b>
Utah	\$1,390	\$3,644	<b>\$2,254</b>	\$116	\$333	<b>\$217</b>
Vermont	\$340	\$710	<b>\$370</b>	\$30	\$63	<b>\$34</b>
Virginia	\$3,583	\$9,886	<b>\$6,303</b>	\$292	\$897	<b>\$605</b>
Washington	\$2,803	\$7,155	<b>\$4,352</b>	\$227	\$652	<b>\$425</b>
West Virginia	\$963	\$2,751	<b>\$1,788</b>	\$77	\$250	<b>\$173</b>
Wisconsin	\$2,639	\$6,894	<b>\$4,254</b>	\$214	\$612	<b>\$398</b>
Wyoming	\$357	\$860	<b>\$503</b>	\$31	\$88	<b>\$57</b>
Puerto Rico	\$1,442	\$4,023	<b>\$2,581</b>	\$123	\$281	<b>\$158</b>

**Source for IDEA funding gap:** actual appropriations by state are from the U.S. Department of Education Budget Service. (Actual appropriations in FY 2009 exclude one-time American Recovery and Reinvestment Act funds.) For fiscal years 2002-06, NEA calculated each state's maximum grant based on 40 percent of the national average per-pupil expenditure (APPE) multiplied by the number of children with disabilities the state served. For fiscal years 2007-17, consistent with P.L. 108-446, NEA calculated each state's maximum grant based on 40 percent of the national APPE multiplied by the number of children with disabilities served and adjusted for each state's annual changes in child population and poverty rate. To adjust each state's annual changes in child population and poverty rate, NEA used data by state from the U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, Annual Social and Economic Supplement. The national APPE for each year is from the Department's Budget Service.



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