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The Influence of Partisanship in Rhode Island School Board Elections

AUTHORS

Cameron Arnzen
Layla Ahmed
Benny Lispector
Thomas Sfinarolakis
Mariana Melzer

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Over 90,000 locally elected school board members serve across 13,000 U.S. school districts, with over 90% elected in nonpartisan, often off-cycle elections—a legacy of Progressive Era reforms aimed at shielding local education governance from partisan politics.¹ However, these elections typically see very low turnout (5-10%), raising concerns about representation and vulnerability to influence from organized interest groups.² In response, some states are proposing reforms to increase participation, such as aligning school board elections with federal cycles or making them explicitly partisan—changes that could significantly reshape the role of school boards amid growing political polarization.³

Rhode Island school board (school committee) elections are unique because they occur on-cycle with federal and state elections and individual localities decide whether elections are partisan. As of 2024, 17 of 38 districts hold partisan school board elections. More affluent and civically engaged communities in Rhode Island are more likely to have partisan school boards, though political leanings (e.g., share of Democratic voters) do not differ significantly between partisan and nonpartisan districts. Exit polling from two contested partisan school board elections reveals that voters prioritize student safety, mental health, and academics—issues that cut across party lines—though Republicans and Democrats differ on culture war issues like DEI and sex/gender education. Despite the presence of partisan elections, most Rhode Island voters—across political affiliations—prefer nonpartisan school board elections.

Nationalization & Polarization in School Board Elections

In today's media landscape, local school board elections are increasingly shaped by national political debates. Issues like Critical Race Theory, DEI, and book bans—once largely absent from local education discussions—now dominate many school board races, even when there's little local controversy. This nationalization is most visible in elections that are both on-cycle (held alongside federal or state contests) and partisan, where candidates often align with broader party platforms and national narratives.¹¹

By contrast, nonpartisan, off-cycle elections tend to be more focused on local concerns and less influenced by national polarization, though they suffer from lower voter turnout and less media coverage. The timing and structure of these elections matter: they shape who participates, how candidates campaign, and what issues gain traction.

Rhode Island offers a unique case. While all school board elections are on-cycle, some districts hold partisan elections and others do not. This variation allows researchers and policymakers to observe how election rules affect political dynamics in local education governance. As more states consider changing how school board elections are run, Rhode Island provides valuable insight into how national politics may reshape local schools.

Rhode Island School Board Elections

Just over half of the school districts in Rhode Island are governed by school boards composed of members with a partisan affiliation. Table 1 details which districts hold partisan school board elections. While the national conversation about partisanship in local education governance continues to evolve, Rhode Island provides a compelling lens through which to explore these differences. This rare policy variation within a single state allows us to explore whether political structures relate to meaningful differences in local demographics, income, investment in education, or election dynamics.

Rhode Island School Board Elections

As of 2024, just under half (17) of 36 school districts in Rhode Island hold partisan school board elections. All districts that hold school board elections alongside federal and state elections in November of even years. In both Central Falls and Providence, about half of the school boards are elected and half are appointed by the mayors.

Rhode Island law only guides the composition requirements of school boards (R.I. Gen. Laws § 16-2-5). The state has historically allowed each town to decide how to elect members for each school committee. This degree of local control means that towns and cities decide whether to have partisan or nonpartisan school boards.

Demographic & Economic Factors

Given that each town can determine (often through local referendums or Town Council policies) whether to have a partisan or nonpartisan school board. Table 1 details which localities have partisan or nonpartisan school boards. We compare community demographic and political factors along the dimension of school board election type, drawing on a range of publicly available indicators at the municipal level (each described in Appendix Table 1). Comparisons are described below.

DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

- **School District Size:** Towns with nonpartisan boards have larger average student enrollments (4,100 students) compared to towns with partisan school boards (2,631 students).
- **Household Income:** Towns with partisan school boards have a significantly higher average household income (\$136,884) than those with nonpartisan boards (\$108,994).
- **Racial Composition:** The average percentage of nonwhite students is lower in districts with partisan school boards (25.04%) than in districts with nonpartisan school boards (32.52%).
- **Poverty (FRL %):** Poverty rates in districts with partisan school boards (32.32%) are slightly lower than in nonpartisan ones (41.98%).
- **Local Revenues:** Districts with nonpartisan school boards average \$14,209 per pupil in local revenues while districts with partisan school boards average \$16,023 in local revenues, reflecting the differences in property values.
- **Total School Spending:** School districts with nonpartisan boards spend the same amount per student on average (\$22,133) as their partisan counterparts (\$22,358).

Table 2

| District | Election Type |
|------------------------------|-----------------|
| Barrington | Partisan |
| Bristol Warren | Nonpartisan |
| Burrillville | Partisan |
| Chariho | Partisan |
| Coventry | Nonpartisan |
| Cranston | Nonpartisan |
| Cumberland | Nonpartisan |
| East Greenwich | Partisan |
| East Providence | Nonpartisan |
| Exeter-West Greenwich | Partisan |
| Foster | Nonpartisan |
| Foster-Glocester | Nonpartisan |
| Glocester | Nonpartisan |
| Jamestown | Partisan |
| Johnston | Partisan |
| Lincoln | Nonpartisan |
| Little Compton | Partisan |
| Middletown | Nonpartisan |
| Narragansett | Nonpartisan |
| New Shoreham | Nonpartisan |
| Newport | Nonpartisan |
| North Kingstown | Partisan |
| North Providence | Partisan |
| North Smithfield | Nonpartisan |
| Pawtucket | Partisan |
| Portsmouth | Partisan |
| Providence | Nonpartisan |
| Scituate | Partisan |
| Smithfield | Partisan |
| South Kingstown | Partisan |
| Tiverton | Nonpartisan |
| Warwick | Nonpartisan |
| West Warwick | Partisan |
| Westerly | Partisan |
| Woonsocket | Nonpartisan |

In Rhode Island, more affluent communities are more likely to have partisan school board. This is reflected in both differences in average household income, poverty rates, and local education revenues. Additionally, larger school districts tend to be governed by nonpartisan school boards. Given that localities decide whether to have a partisan school board, there may be an underlying governance philosophy that sees partisanship not as a divisive force but as a mechanism for transparency and political accountability. Conversely, nonpartisan elections may be viewed as preferable in more socioeconomically diverse or complex communities where coalition-building and consensus are prioritized. Importantly, despite the wealth differences between towns with partisan and nonpartisan school boards, state funding equalizes differences across towns with partisan and nonpartisan school boards as total school spending per pupil is the same.

POLITICAL FACTORS

- **Partisanship:** There is no difference in political composition by school board election type. Towns with nonpartisan school boards (48.28% Democrat) are similar to those with partisan school boards (48.52% Democrat).
- **Civic Engagement:** Towns with higher average civic engagement (70.46% voter turnout rate) are more likely to have partisan school boards compared to those with lower average civic engagement (66.92% voter turnout rate).
- **Number of Candidates for School Board:** There is little difference between the number of candidates who run in school board elections across partisanship. Nonpartisan races average 1.43 candidates per seat, while partisan races average 1.47 candidates per seat.
- **Contested School Board Elections:** Approximately 58% of partisan school board races were contested compared to only 49% of nonpartisan races.

In terms of political factors, more Democratic/Republican communities (by 2020 presidential vote-share) are similarly likely to have a partisan school board, contesting possible perceptions that partisanship may differently benefit one party over the other. However, more civically engaged communities are slightly more likely to have partisan school boards.

Nonpartisan and partisan school board elections appear to attract similar numbers of candidates. The number of individuals willing to run for office in a school board election appears to be unrelated to whether they have to run with a party affiliation. However, of the 5 school board seat vacancies that have occurred in the last three election cycles, 4 of them occurred in nonpartisan races.

However, 58% of partisan school board races were contested (more candidates than available were seats), while only 49% of nonpartisan races were contested. Partisan school board races appear to draw more political contestation than nonpartisan races. However, of the partisan school board races in the last three election cycles, only 43% were contested by at least one Republican and at least one Democrat. Though these elections are drawing more political contestation, it is more often among members of the same political party and/or individuals who run as Independents.

These trends merit further investigation, especially as more states and municipalities reconsider the structure of their local elections. Rhode Island towns provide a useful information for this analysis. Its small size and policy variation make it easier to control for regional and structural differences while highlighting whether and how partisanship matters.

Voter Attitudes in Rhode Island Partisan School Board Elections

To understand how voters use candidate partisan affiliation in local school board elections, we conducted an exit poll of two politically contested school board elections in Rhode Island. We staffed a team of students in Smithfield, RI (two precincts) and Richmond, RI (one precinct). These districts were selected because they 1) held partisan school board elections, 2) had contested elections with at least one Republican and one Democrat competing for at least one seat, and 3) were politically competitive in the 2020 presidential election. These criteria allowed us to poll voters in school districts where candidate partisan ID was likely to be a consideration amongst voters.

Exit poll workers approached every other voter on their way out of the polling location to complete a survey either via filling out a paper survey or by scanning QR codes to complete their survey on their phone. Voters were asked to rank their educational priorities, to describe where they got information about school board candidates, and to rank their priorities for school board candidates. Voters were also asked about who they voted for in the presidential and school board elections. At the end of the day, we ended up with 320 responses. Themes and patterns in voter preferences related to the role of partisanship are discussed below.

Educational Priorities

Voters were asked to rank a list of current education issues. The table below shows the top five voter priorities. Across the board, voters prioritized student mental health and well-being and student safety. These were followed closely by getting back to the basics, academic improvement and focusing on students' post-graduation goals.

Table 3

| Voter's Educational Priorities |
|--|
| 1. Student mental health and well-being (1.19 points) |
| 2. Student safety (1.08 points) |
| 3. Getting back to the basics (0.87 points) |
| 4. Academic improvement (0.83 points) |
| 5. Focusing on students' post-graduation goals (0.76 points) |

Voters ranked issues based on importance. Highest priority issues were assigned 5 points, second highest were assigned 4, etc. Issues not ranked were assigned a value of 0. The above measures are a score representing the average prioritization of each issue and are comparable across issues and across party identity: higher numbers mean higher issue salience. The highest-ranking issues for each are presented above.

Given the responses on page 10, there appears to be a consensus among voters to be more focused on students and academics. None of the more nationalized, social issues surfaced as top priorities overall. However, we did find that voters from different political parties prioritized issues differently. The table below breaks out the educational priorities by political party.

Table 4

| Voter's Educational Priorities by Political Party | | |
|---|--|---|
| Republicans | Independents | Democrats |
| 1. Limiting sex/gender education (1.24 points) | 1. Getting back to the basics (1.18 points) | 1. Student mental health and well-being (1.95 points) |
| 2. Getting back to the basics (1.24 points) | 2. Focusing on students' post-graduation goals (1.11 points) | 2. Student safety (1.49 points) |
| 3. Academic improvement (0.88 points) | 3. Academic improvement (0.94 points) | 3. Increasing focus on diversity, equity, and inclusion (0.87 points) |
| 4. Student Safety (0.83 points) | 4. Student safety (0.79 points) | 4. Academic improvement (0.76 points) |
| 5. Student mental health and well-being (0.81 points) | 5. Limiting sex/gender education (0.72 points) | 5. Ensuring Access for Students with Special Needs (0.69 points) |

Voters ranked issues based on importance. Highest priority issues were assigned 5 points, second highest were assigned 4, etc. Issues not ranked were assigned a value of 0. The above measures are a score representing the average prioritization of each issue and are comparable across issues and across party identity: higher numbers mean higher issue salience. The highest-ranking issues for each are presented above.

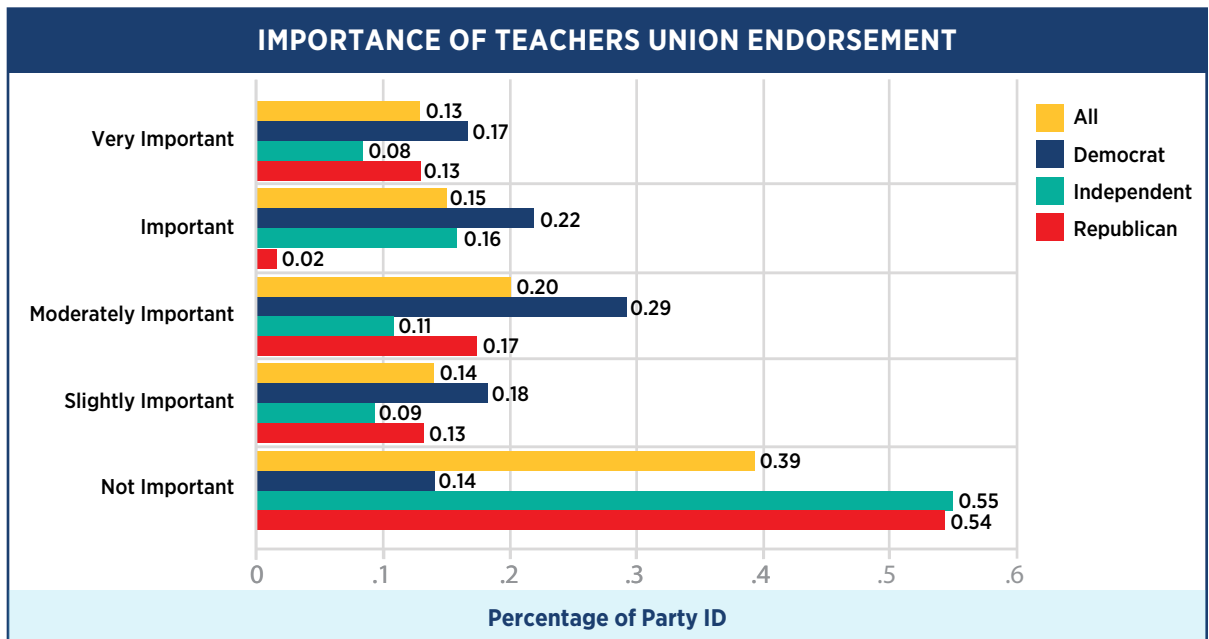
Democrats in the sample strongly prioritized student mental health and well-being as well as student safety (the highest salience issues for any group). Both issues also ranked among the top-five educational priorities for Republicans, and student safety ranked among the top-five educational priorities for Independents. Across all groups, academic-focused priorities were salient to voters: academic improvement is a top five priority for each group, while Republicans and Independents expressed a desire to get back to the basics.

While Republicans ranked limiting sex/gender education as their most salient issue, increasing focus on DEI ranked among the highest priorities for Democrats, representing the partisan divide in social and cultural issues that may crowd out focus on academics.

Importance of Teachers' Union Endorsement

School board elections are often critiqued as beholden to organized interest groups such as teachers' unions.¹² This influence, however, depends on low voter turnout in off-cycle elections. Given that RI school board elections occur alongside federal and state elections in November, low voter turnout is not as much of an issue. To understand the role of teachers' unions, voters were asked, "Often, the local or state teacher union endorses school board candidates. Would this endorsement be important to you?"

Figure 3

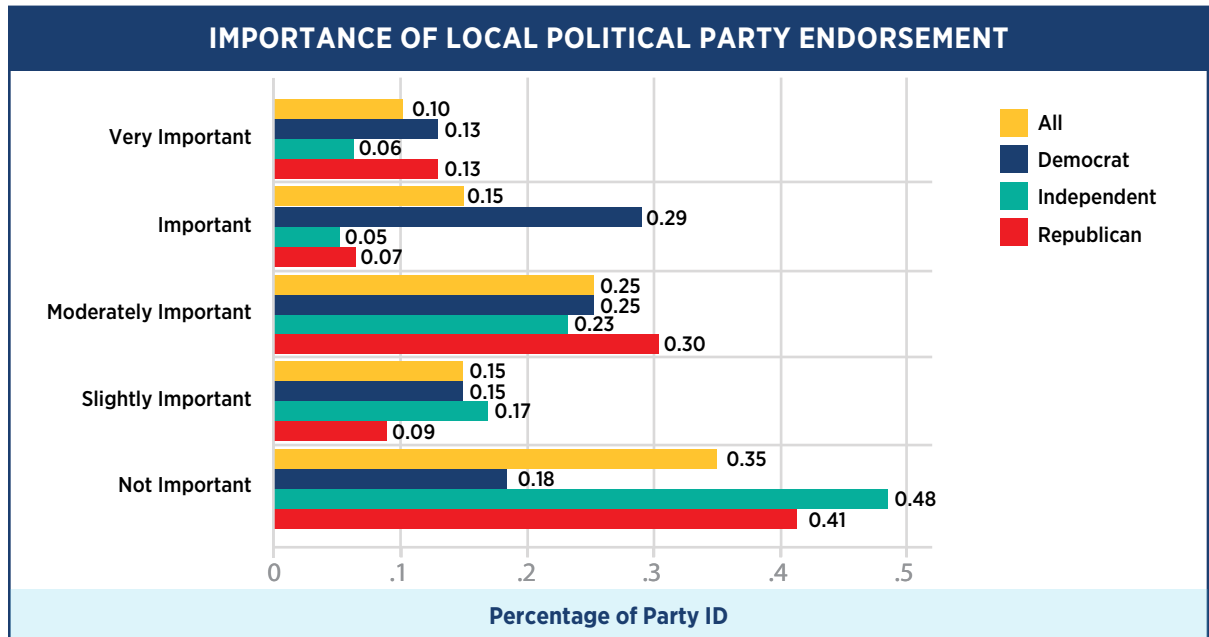


While only 28% of respondents expressed that an endorsement from a teacher's union would be either "very important" or "important" for their vote choice, 39% of Democrats expressed the same. Inversely, 53% of respondents noted that such an endorsement would be only "slightly important" or "not important". This low importance is driven by 64% of Independents and 67% of Republicans. Endorsements by teachers' unions appear to be slightly more important for Democrats than Independents and Republicans.

Importance of Political Party Endorsements

Given that some school board elections in RI are partisan, local political parties may be more involved in these races than in other states. Voters in two partisan districts were asked, “Sometimes, local political parties make endorsements in local school board elections. Would this endorsement be important to you?”

Figure 4



Similarly, only 25% of voters expressed that an endorsement from a local political party would be “very important” or “important” to their choice for school board, though 42% of Democrats expressed the same. As with an endorsement from teachers’ unions, 50% of respondents expressed that a local political party’s endorsement was only “slightly important” or “not important” for their vote choice, including 65% of Independents and 50% of Republicans. Local political parties and teachers’ unions, both of which do regularly endorse candidates in school board elections, appear to have more sway with Democratic voters.

Priorities for Selecting School Board Candidate(s)

As with any election, a variety of factors influence voters’ choices for school board elections. Voters were asked, “We know that information is sometimes hard to access in school board elections. Please rank up to five sources that were available to you from most (1) to least (5) important.” Responses were coded for salience, so that they can be compared across issues and groups.

Table 5

| Factors Shaping Voter School Board Candidate Preferences | | | |
|--|-------------|------|-----------|
| Factor | Republicans | All | Democrats |
| Political Party | 1.36 | 1.06 | 1.28 |
| Occupation | 0.26 | 0.44 | 0.49 |
| Policy Stances | 2.19 | 1.72 | 1.49 |
| Incumbent | 0.12 | 0.25 | 0.27 |
| Endorsements | 0.10 | 0.16 | 0.12 |
| Time in District | 0.71 | 0.48 | 0.43 |
| Children in District | 0.50 | 0.34 | 0.18 |
| Personal Knowledge of Candidate | 1.02 | 0.72 | 0.54 |
| Opinions of Friends/Family | 0.24 | 0.32 | 0.28 |
| N | 42 | 232 | 83 |

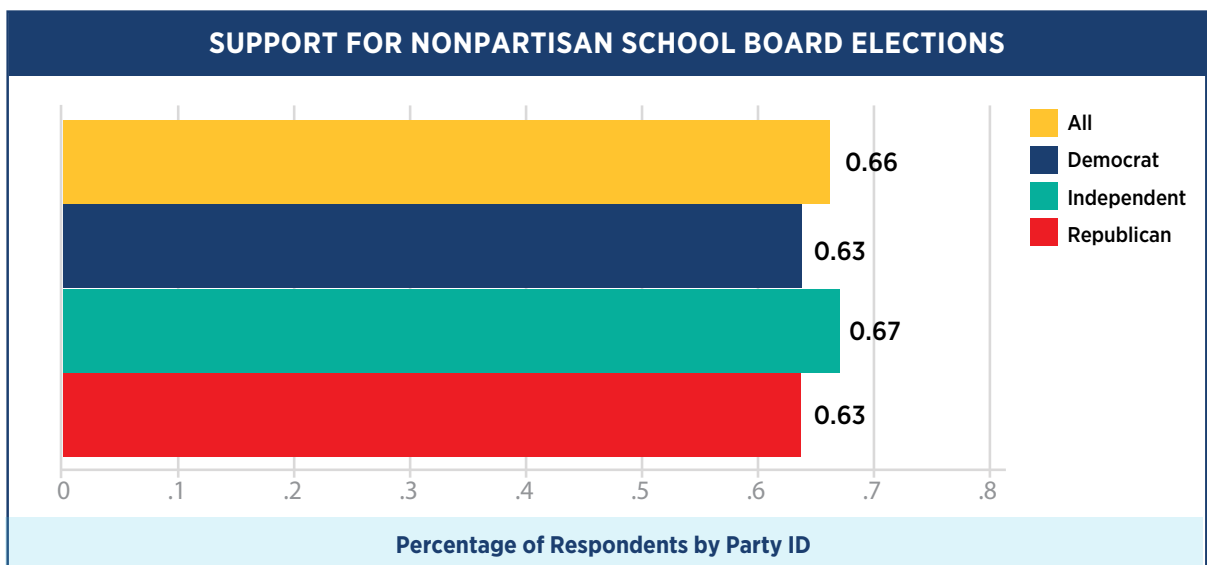
Highest priority factors were assigned 5 points, second highest were assigned 4, etc. Factors not ranked were assigned a value of 0. The above measures are a score representing the average prioritization of each factor. The highest factors are presented in darker colors and are comparable across issues and subgroups.

For all voters, as well as Republicans and Democrats, a candidates policy stances were the most important and salient factor for their school board vote choice. Policy stances were particularly salient for Republicans (2.19 points), compared to Democrats (1.49 points). Political party was the second most important factor for voters’ choice for school board, though Republicans and Democrats were higher than the whole sample, meaning that Independents and individuals who didn’t identify with a party scored the importance of partisanship much lower. Personal knowledge of the candidate also appeared important for Republicans (1.02 points), though considerably less so for Democrats (0.54 points).

Partisanship in School Board Elections

Finally, Rhode Island school board elections are quite unique in that they occur on-cycle with federal and state elections, and they can be partisan. This unique electoral structure situates local school board elections as ripe for the influence of both polarization and nationalization. Voters in the two partisan school districts were asked, “Currently, unlike most states, Rhode Island School Board Elections can be partisan, meaning candidates can run as Republicans or Democrats. Most states hold nonpartisan elections for school boards. Would you support this change in Rhode Island?”

Figure 5



Across the board, two-thirds of voters believed that school board elections should be non-partisan. This number includes a majority of Democrats (63%), Republicans (63%), and Independents (67%). Though some school districts in Rhode Island may run partisan elections, there appears to be a belief among voters that partisan politics does not belong in these races. This, combined with the strong influence of more traditional campaigning in local elections, paints a picture that school board elections are still different, despite increasing polarization and nationalization in American politics.

Rhode Island shows that changing how school board elections are run—whether by timing them with bigger elections or making them partisan—can affect who votes and how competitive races are. But even in partisan elections, most voters still care most about student safety, mental health, and academics, not national political fights. For policymakers and educators, the takeaway is clear: while reforms can boost turnout and visibility, most people don’t want party politics to dominate local school decisions.

Table 6

| District | Election Type | Percent FRL | Income (Per Capita) | Percent Nonwhite | Expenditures (Per Pupil) | Local Revenues (Per Pupil) |
|------------------------------|--------------------|--------------|---------------------|------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| Barrington | Partisan | 12.1% | \$75,957 | 24.1% | \$18,839.00 | \$14,532.00 |
| Burrillville | Partisan | 41.7% | \$43,512 | 12.5% | \$20,697.00 | \$10,052.00 |
| Central Falls | Appointed | 92.4% | \$19,552 | 81.1% | \$28,452.00 | \$1,494.00 |
| Coventry | Nonpartisan | 38.3% | \$44,386 | 16.4% | \$21,119.00 | \$11,327.00 |
| Cranston | Nonpartisan | 55.2% | \$41,572 | 57.5% | \$20,729.00 | \$9,861.00 |
| Cumberland | Nonpartisan | 26.7% | \$49,036 | 30.8% | \$17,451.00 | \$10,315.00 |
| East Greenwich | Partisan | 12.0% | \$78,905 | 23.5% | \$18,961.00 | \$15,176.00 |
| East Providence | Nonpartisan | 53.6% | \$42,159 | 41.9% | \$22,421.00 | \$10,323.00 |
| Foster | Nonpartisan | 25.3% | \$42,667 | 5.0% | \$25,616.00 | \$16,557.00 |
| Glocester | Nonpartisan | 22.6% | \$43,577 | 9.6% | \$20,558.00 | \$13,382.00 |
| Jamestown | Partisan | 10.3% | \$82,009 | 8.1% | \$37,334.00 | \$28,653.00 |
| Johnston | Partisan | 55.9% | \$42,144 | 47.4% | \$23,249.00 | \$12,761.00 |
| Lincoln | Nonpartisan | 34.4% | \$48,976 | 27.6% | \$20,496.00 | \$13,819.00 |
| Little Compton | Partisan | 18.3% | \$99,744 | 10.1% | \$40,705.00 | \$36,129.00 |
| Middletown | Nonpartisan | 36.0% | \$52,689 | 38.4% | \$23,211.00 | \$14,781.00 |
| Narragansett | Nonpartisan | 26.9% | \$45,843 | 15.5% | \$30,028.00 | \$24,573.00 |
| Newport | Nonpartisan | 73.9% | \$55,691 | 67.9% | \$29,005.00 | \$14,901.00 |
| New Shoreham | Nonpartisan | 39.7% | \$38,175 | 33.3% | \$46,427.00 | \$42,008.00 |
| North Kingstown | Partisan | 26.4% | \$55,950 | 19.8% | \$21,382.00 | \$15,838.00 |
| North Providence | Partisan | 53.0% | \$40,425 | 53.8% | \$20,740.00 | \$9,893.00 |
| North Smithfield | Nonpartisan | 25.4% | \$47,793 | 20.7% | \$19,185.00 | \$13,393.00 |
| Pawtucket | Partisan | 70.3% | \$33,541 | 78.4% | \$23,038.00 | \$4,237.00 |
| Portsmouth | Partisan | 20.2% | \$60,121 | 19.3% | \$21,244.00 | \$16,502.00 |
| Providence | Nonpartisan | 83.0% | \$34,521 | 91.7% | \$27,466.00 | \$6,703.00 |
| Scituate | Partisan | 23.5% | \$53,077 | 4.8% | \$23,786.00 | \$18,164.00 |
| Smithfield | Partisan | 20.1% | \$43,696 | 18.3% | \$18,804.00 | \$13,969.00 |
| South Kingstown | Partisan | 28.2% | \$46,636 | 20.1% | \$26,354.00 | \$21,658.00 |
| Tiverton | Nonpartisan | 34.4% | \$48,796 | 14.7% | \$23,767.00 | \$15,551.00 |
| Warwick | Nonpartisan | 47.7% | \$44,193 | 31.4% | \$24,619.00 | \$16,058.00 |
| Westerly | Partisan | 43.8% | \$50,919 | 22.8% | \$28,936.00 | \$20,878.00 |
| West Warwick | Partisan | 60.2% | \$40,596 | 37.4% | \$23,296.00 | \$9,222.00 |
| Woonsocket | Nonpartisan | 67.7% | \$29,142 | 54.1% | \$22,645.00 | \$3,733.00 |
| Bristol Warren | Nonpartisan | 40.3% | — | 18.0% | \$23,269.00 | — |
| Exeter-West Greenwich | Partisan | 22.5% | — | 13.9% | \$29,325.00 | — |
| Chariho | Partisan | 30.9% | — | 11.4% | \$22,985.00 | — |
| Foster-Glocester | Nonpartisan | 24.7% | — | 10.8% | \$24,019.00 | — |

— Consolidated districts don't have comparable values in this data.

Notes: Election type refers to the 2024 election type. FRL is the percentage of students in a district that qualify for Free or Reduced Lunch.

Sources: Rhode Island Department of Education 2024; U.S. Census; National Center for Education Statistics

Appendix 1. Data Sources & Measures

Table 7

| Data Sources & Measures | | |
|---|-------------|--|
| Measure | Year | Source |
| Enrollment | 2020 | National Center for Education Statistics |
| Household Income | 2024 | American Community Survey |
| Percent Nonwhite | 2024 | Rhode Island Department of Education |
| Free/Reduced Lunch | 2024 | Rhode Island Department of Education |
| Per Pupil Expenditures | 2020 | National Center for Education Statistics |
| Local Revenues Per Pupil | 2020 | National Center for Education Statistics |
| Candidates Per Seat | 2020 - 2024 | Rhode Island Secretary of State |
| Proportion Contested | 2020 - 2024 | Rhode Island Secretary of State |
| Politically Competitive (Major political party vote shares are within 5 percentage points) | 2024 | Rhode Island Secretary of State |
| Percent Democrat | 2024 | Rhode Island Secretary of State |
| Turnout (Percent of registered voters who cast a ballot) | 2020 | Rhode Island Secretary of State |

Appendix Table 2

Table 8

| Summary Statistics for Survey Responses | | |
|---|-------|-----------|
| | Mean | Responses |
| District: | | |
| Smithfield | 81.9% | 320 |
| Richmond | 18.1% | 320 |
| Presidential Vote Choice | | |
| Kamala Harris | 55.9% | 256 |
| Donald Trump | 37.5% | 256 |
| Other | 6.6% | 256 |
| Partisan Affiliation | | |
| Democrat | 37.7% | 260 |
| Independent | 22.3% | 247 |
| Republican | 20.0% | 260 |
| Demographics | | |
| Parent | 40.2% | 266 |
| 18-24 | 7.8% | 320 |
| 25-34 | 14.1% | 320 |
| 35-44 | 22.5% | 320 |
| 45-54 | 13.4% | 320 |
| 55-64 | 10.0% | 320 |
| 65+ | 8.1% | 320 |
| Some High School | 0.6% | 320 |
| High School Diploma | 5.0% | 320 |
| Some College or Associate's Degree | 14.1% | 320 |
| Bachelor's Degree | 33.8% | 320 |
| Post Graduate Degree | 26.9% | 320 |

Endnotes

- 1 Henig, Jeff. 2013. *The End of Exceptionalism in American Education*. Anzia, Sarah. 2013. *Timing and Turnout: How Off-Cycle Elections Favor Organized Groups*.
- 2 Benjamin-Webb, S., DeMio, P.S. and Partelow, L. 2024. "Fact sheet: Local school board elections matter." Center for American Progress. Accessed Mar. 27, 2025.
- 3 Blad, E. 2023. "More states consider Partisan School Board races as education debates intensify." Education Week.
- 4 Hayes, Danny, and Jennifer L. Lawless. "The decline of local news and its effects: New evidence from longitudinal data." *The Journal of Politics* 80.1 (2018): 332-336.
- 5 Ballotpedia: Rules Governing Party Labels in School Board Elections, https://ballotpedia.org/Rules_governing_party_labels_in_school_board_elections
- 6 In some cases, states allow the districts/localities to decide, in some local parties decide, while in others, it requires state legislation to alter election structure.
- 7 Municipalities were classified based on their 2024 school board election type.
- 8 Ballotpedia: Rules Governing School Board Election Dates and Timing, https://ballotpedia.org/Rules_governing_school_board_election_dates_and_timing
- 9 Hawaii does not hold school board elections, as members are appointed in the single school district.
- 10 Voters in these elections typically skew older, whiter, and non-parents. I.E., Kogan et al. 2021. "The Democratic Deficit in U.S. Education Governance" *American Political Science Review*, 115(3): 1082-1089.
- 11 Hopkins, Daniel. 2018. *The Increasingly United States: How and Why American Political Behavior Nationalized*. The University of Chicago Press.
- 12 Moe, Terry. 2011. *Special Interest: Teachers Unions and Americas Public Schools*. Brookings.