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Educational Donations and Inequality in the San Diego Unified School District

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INTRODUCTION

Local educational foundations (LEFs) are nonprofit organizations affiliated with a school or a district that raise money on their behalf. Broadly speaking, these nonprofits are seen as philanthropic organizations that benefit the public. My research seeks to complicate this perception by contextualizing donations to schools in an unequal school system, and examine how donations from these foundations interact with this inequality. This research seeks to investigate whether LEFs benefit the schools in least need of assistance, that is, those with high test scores and white, middle or upper class students, thereby perpetuating the already existing inequalities. LEFs may also mask the structural problems within the educational system by allowing well intentioned parents to feel that their child receive a good public education, never realizing that private funds are what allow that education to exist.

LEFs arose in the wake of the *Serrano v. Priest* decisions in 1971, 1976 and 1977, and the passage of Proposition 13 in 1978. The rulings sought to address a system in which local property taxes paid for education, giving wealthier neighborhoods far higher funding for schools than poorer neighborhoods. By the 1978 ruling, a system of equalization was established, then voters intervened and restricted property tax rates. This resulted in a funding system that leaves California 36th in the nation in terms of per pupil funding (U.S. Census Bureau, 2013). In order to mitigate this, many wealthier districts turned to local educational foundations (Freelon et al., 2012).

Poorer districts, however, are inhabited by residents who have limited resources and therefore cannot afford foundations. The level of income inequality in the United States far exceeds peer nations, as does the level of childhood poverty (Adamson, 2012). This implies a

broader effect of poverty on education, especially because children are more likely to be poor than the general population (DeNavas-Walt and Proctor, 2015). Poorer districts have lower test scores, worse teachers, less parental involvement and face greater challenges with violence, stress, and mental health issues (Orfield, et al., 2011)(Currie, 2013)(Winn & Behizadeh, 2011). Poorer schools do receive federal money, but this money is restricted in terms of what it can be used for (Federal Register, 2002). LEFs compound inequality by giving more money to the schools that face the least challenges.

Poverty is distributed unequally in terms of race. Poverty rates are much higher for blacks and latinos than they are for whites (DeNavas-Walt and Proctor, 2015), and schools are often very racially segregated (Winn & Behizadeh, 2011). Racism in America has been well documented: people with black sounding names are less likely to be called for a job interview than similarly qualified applicants with white sounding names (Bertrand & Mullainathan, 2004), blacks and latinos are disproportionately arrested and convicted of drug crimes despite similar rates of usage, blacks and latinos are more likely to be killed by police, and may face discrimination or hate crimes (Currie, 2013).

Research has shown that a school in an urban area with a majority minority population and high rates of poverty will often look very different from a whiter, wealthier school. The presence and use of police officers and security personnel in these kinds of schools to escalate discipline matters to arrest has been termed the School to Prison Pipeline (STPP). The STPP exists at the intersection of race, education and criminal justice, and has been documented qualitatively and quantitatively to great effect (Winn & Behizadeh, 2011)(Pownall, 2013). These

schools also have more poorly qualified teachers because their conditions and rates of pay do not compete with their wealthier counterparts (NCES, 2000).

My research sought to establish statistically whether or not contributions from LEFs or other sources do indeed disproportionately benefit whiter, wealthier schools. My analysis focused on high schools in the San Diego Unified School District, the second largest district in California. The district is large and ethnically diverse, making it a useful, if non-representative, microcosm for California and the nation. Data was gathered from a variety of online sources from the district and the state, and also required some in person discussion with officials from the district. My analysis found whiteness to be a very strong indicator of donation funding.

INCOME INEQUALITY

The 2011 Occupy Wall Street protests drew attention to the severity of income inequality in the United States, drawing particular attention to the top 1% of the population. In 2010, the top 1% owned 34.1% of personal net worth, the next 9% owned 40.3%, and the bottom 90% owned just 25.6% (Keister, 2014). In the same year, the top 1% earned 17.2% of total income, the next 9% earned 27.2%, and the bottom 90% earned 55.6% (Keister, 2014). The United States ranks fourth highest in terms of income inequality among the 34 members of the OECD, after Mexico, Chile and Turkey (OECD, n.d.). Income inequality is increasing. According to the US Census Bureau (2011) "Between 2000 and 2011, experiences of households varied widely depending on their net worth quintile (See Figure 1). Median household net worth decreased by $5,124 for households in the first (bottom) net worth quintile, $7,056 (49.3%) for the second quintile, and $5,072 (6.9%) for the third quintile. Median household net worth increased by $18,433 (9.8%) for households in the fourth quintile, and by $61,379 (10.8%) for households in the highest (top)

quintile." The same study found that in 2011, the top quintile had a median wealth of $630,754, while the bottom quintile had a median wealth of -$6,029.

Measures of income inequality are important, but perhaps more important is measuring economic mobility. In a society that cherishes self made success stories as part of the American Dream, economic mobility tells us whether that ideal is a reality. A 2013 study by the Brookings Institution found that over the period 1987 to 2009 income inequality in the United States had risen significantly, and that 100% of the rise in male income inequality and 75% of the rise in female income inequality was attributable to persistent as opposed to transitory income inequality, indicating a decline in social mobility (Debacker et al., 2013). Collectively, these statistics give compelling evidence that the class structure in the United States is becoming entrenched and immobile. Educational inequality is not only one factor in creating persistent and in generational inequality, it is also exacerbated by it. The poor often live in neighborhoods with low performing schools, and are financially prohibited from access to resources like tutoring, books, computer and internet access.

Children are disproportionately affected by poverty, and those children who are affected by it face numerous threats to their educational achievement stemming from issues outside of school. Twenty-two percent of children in the United States live at or below the federal poverty level, while 45% of children live at or below double the federally defined poverty level, considered the bare minimum to cover expenses (Jiang et al., 2016). According the the Bureau of Justice Statistics (2014), "for the period 2008–12, persons living in poor households at or below the Federal Poverty Level (FPL) (39.8 per 1,000) had more than double the rate of violent victimization as persons in high-income households (16.9 per 1,000)." The 1995 Current

Population Survey showed that 17% of households with incomes less than 50% of the poverty level experienced food insecurity, compared to just 1.4% of those with incomes greater than 185% of poverty level (Hamilton et al., 1997). The stresses of poverty tax children and lead to worsened mental health outcomes (Zalewski et al., 2012).

The stresses of poverty and lack of access to social organizations that often accompanies create stresses for parents as well, undermining parents' ability to raise their children (Zalewski et al., 2012), and breeding child abuse and neglect (Currie, 2013, p.132-133). In a study using a 4,944 person sample from a nationally representative set of women it was found that children from poorer families had less affectionate contact with parents, were less likely to have interesting toys or activities, had fewer books, and were more likely to have an unsafe environment (Bradley et al., 2001).

The intellectual development of children is inhibited by poverty. A 1994 longitudinal study found significant correlations between poverty between birth and age 5 and lower IQ scores, especially when the poverty was persistent (Duncan et al.). The study also found that the effect of a female headed household on IQ was explained by income status of the family, indicating that worse cognitive development was a result of poverty and not family structure. The challenges that poor children face outside of school make it difficult for them to be successful in school. Schools that serve these students therefore have needs that wealthier schools do not, while often having less resources.

RACIAL SEGREGATION

The income inequality just discussed is heavily racialized, and this represents just one facet of the racial structure present in the United States. According to a Census Bureau report, in

2014 the median income for non-Hispanic white families was $61,317, for Asian families was $73,568, for black families was $35,902 and for Hispanic families was $40,337 (Denavas-Walt & Proctor, 2015). Another Census Bureau Report (Iceland, Weinberg, & Steinmetz, 2002) measured segregation using an evenness measurement "dissimilarity index" with a value of 1 indicating total segregation and a value of 0 indicating total integration. Using data from the year 2000, blacks were found to be the most segregated, with a score of .640, then Hispanics with a score of .509, then Asians or pacific islanders with a score of .411. The report found that on the period 1980-2000, segregation for blacks had decreased, and segregation for other races had increased slightly. Whatever the cause, neighborhood segregation is very visible evidence of a societal fissure.

In part because of neighborhood segregation, the integration mandate of *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) did not end school segregation. According to Orfield, Siegel-Hawley, and Kucsera's study of Southern California schools, (2011) "in 2008, the typical Latino student in Los Angeles Unified School District (LAUSD) went to a school where 6% of the students were white… In 2008, students in heavily segregated schools were three times as likely to have a teacher lacking full qualifications than in a majority white or Asian school... Over twice as many intensely segregated secondary schools were identified by the state as critically overcrowded compared to predominately white and Asian schools (those enrolling 0-10% underrepresented minority students)... Across Southern California, less than 50% of Grade 9 students in intensely segregated schools graduated on time. In schools educating a majority of white and Asian youth, 81% graduated on time." The legal removal of segregation has proved insufficient in creating racially integrated and equitable schooling.

Students of color also face racism in the criminal justice system that impacts their lives. From December 2007 to September 2011, black males received sentences 19.5% longer than white males for similar crimes, up significantly from previous periods (United States Sentencing Commission, 2012). Blacks are also more likely to be stopped by police: in 2011, New York City police were making 800,000 stop and frisks per year, 87% of which were of minorities (Currie, 2013, p.204). The war on drugs has disproportionately affected minorities, as blacks have been as much as 20 times as likely to be arrested for drug use, whereas differences in rates of drug use between races are very small (Drucker, 1999). As of 2013 2.3 million people in America were incarcerated, a rate higher than anywhere else in the world (Currie, 2013, p.187). The federal prison population is 34% Hispanic and 37.7% black, compared with a population that is 17.4% Hispanic and 13.2% black. As of 2010, African Americans are incarcerated at a rate almost seven times that of whites, and two and a half times that of Hispanics (Currie, 2013, p.190). African American and Hispanic students are therefore disproportionately affected by having a relative who is incarcerated and therefore no longer present in their life, disproportionately likely to have been arrested themselves, and disproportionately likely to have had encounters with the police.

It should be no surprise, then that blacks have less trust in government institutions than whites (Miller & Hoffman, 1998). This mistrust of government institutions creates a barrier to forming relationships between parents, students, and schools.

SCHOOL TO PRISON PIPELINE

The racialized nature of schools, neighborhoods and criminal justice converge to create what has been named the School to Prison Pipeline. Students who attend racially segregated, low

income schools often face high rates of suspension and expulsion in part due to zero-tolerance policies that escalate minor rule violations. In one high school, a student was expelled after a butter knife fell out of her locker (Francescani, 2007). Some schools also have strong police presences that escalate offenses that would normally be dealt with by school administration to the criminal justice system. In *Police in the Hallways* (2011), Nolan describes in great detail how police patrol the hallways of "Urban Public High School", often escalating minor altercations like failing to present identification into criminal behavior like disorderly conduct or resisting arrest. After being arrested or cited, students at this school had to miss more school to attend hearings, and often have to pay fines that their families could not afford. In a review of literature, Winn and Behizadeh cite several sources concluding that teachers are often more likely to discipline black students than white students (2011). The same article shows that children in urban public schools "routinely encounter surveillance and policing more than a rigorous curriculum and safety net of caring adults." The New York City Civil Liberties Union found that in New York City, Zero Tolerance policies disproportionately punish minority and low SES students (Pownall, 2013). These interactions with police officers make students feel less safe in their schools, deprive them of instruction time, and can lead to further encounters with the law. According to labelling theory, early interactions with the law can lead a person to think of themself as a criminal, and therefore engage in criminal behaviours. Students who are arrested are much less likely to graduate than those who have not been arrested (Sweeten, 2006), and indeed any form of exclusionary punishment increases a student's likelihood of dropping out (Sibka, 2000).

Cultural differences between blacks and whites are often seen by school officials as signs of deficiency or defiance. A review of literature found some evidence to suggest that cultural differences between African Americans students and White authority figures lead to increased disciplinary action (Gregory et al., 2010). African American Vernacular English (AAVE) is spoken by many black students and faces a social stigma (Padney, 2000). Students who speak AAVE in school are often told they are wrong, and may face challenges in literacy evaluations because their comprehension is not recognized because of the language difference (Wheeler et al., 2012).

An evaluation of San Diego Unified School District's discipline policies conducted by doctoral students at Harvard University concluded that "Like many urban districts, San Diego Unified School District disproportionately disciplines, suspends, and expels students of color. These practices contribute to compromised long-term outcomes for these students including cycles of absenteeism, truancy, disengagement, academic failure, and dropout (Arthurs et al., 2014)." Some attempts have been made to address this issue. On September 27, 2014, California Assembly Bill 420 made it illegal to expel a student for "willful defiance", a catch all category that can include behaviors such as refusing to follow a teacher's instructions, and San Diego Unified has implemented restorative justice policy that has dropped expulsion by 60% (Burks, 2015).

TEACHER QUALITY

Majority minority schools have more difficulty recruiting and retaining qualified teachers than their whiter counterparts. Schools that are >50% minority students are less likely to have

teachers with a degree in the field they are teaching in (NCES, 2000). Teacher attrition is a problem in all schools, with more than 30% of all teachers leaving within 5 years, but low income schools suffer rates as much as 50% higher than this (Ingersoll, 2001). In 2001, students in California's most segregated minority schools were more than five times as likely to have uncertified teachers as students in predominantly White schools (Darling-Hammond, 2008).

Teacher qualifications are important: in an analysis conducted in South Carolina, measures of teacher qualifications accounted for 64% of the total variance in student outcomes (Darling-Hammond, 2004). Including the proportion of low-income and minority students in each district increased the variance explained to 84%. A study using over 2 million students' test scores and tax records created a value-added measure of teacher quality and stated "We estimate that replacing a teacher whose true VA [value added] is in the bottom 5 percent with an average teacher would increase the present value of students lifetime income by $267,000 per classroom taught" (Chetty, 2012).

The unequal quality of teachers across schools and districts has resulted in legal action. The plaintiffs in the lawsuit *Vergara v. California* allege that teacher tenure and firing practices make it unreasonably difficult to fire what they call "grossly incompetent teachers", and that these teachers end up in low-income, high minority areas. The California Teachers Association intervened in the case on the side of the defense, they argue that teacher competency should be addressed with additional professional development. In 2014 a judge issued a strongly-worded ruling that California teacher tenure, hiring processes and firing processes violated students' right to equal protections under the law, at one point stating "This court finds that both students and teachers are unfairly, unnecessarily, and for no legally cognizable reason (let alone a

compelling one), disadvantaged by the current Permanent Employment". The judgement was stayed pending appellate review. In April 2016 a three judge panel on the Court of Appeal reversed the decision, holding that the law did not violate the constitution. The plaintiffs are planning an appeal to the California Supreme Court. Whether a political solution to the problem of teacher quality can be reached is an open question.

FRAMING THE PROBLEM

For the most part, academic and public discussion of LEFs has been oriented towards increasing parent involvement and effectiveness. This investigation revealed only a few scholarly articles have been critical of their role. Cuatto lays out the problem nicely (2003)

> *The purpose is not to criticize the dedicated parents and school officials involved in these fundraising enterprises… I will discuss the state's responsibility to provide funding for an equally good education for each and all of its young citizens, and how private donations, while well-intentioned, obscure this responsibility. Further, the LEF solution to the problem of inadequate funding could very well delay the time when the state will own up to this responsibility, meanwhile exacerbating the already existing inequalities among school districts.*

While the intention of these foundations is to increase the quality of education, the effect is likely a perpetuation of educational inequality as higher income neighborhoods are able to raise more money for their schools.

The existing literature notes that the increase in LEFs in California corresponds roughly to the passage of Proposition 13 after *Serrano v. Priest*. In 1968-1969, 55.7% of public education revenues came from local property taxes, leading districts with lower property values to either

enact higher property tax rates or have lower levels of funding (G.F.G., 1972). In *Serrano v. Priest*, the California Supreme Court ruled that this funding system violated the Equal Protections Clauses of the State and Federal Constitutions. Ultimately, this led to the passage of California Proposition 13 (1978), which capped real property taxes at 1% and restricted annual increases of assessed value to an inflation factor not to exceed 2% per year, while prohibiting reassessment of a new base year value to cases of a change in ownership or a completion of a new construction. Since California's schools were funded in large part through property taxes, this resulted in a funding problem.

It is possible to see the rise of LEFs as a way of perpetuating the funding inequities that existed pre- *Serrano v. Priest*. The intention of the ruling was to reduce educational funding inequality across districts. Brunner and Sonstelie (1996) examine the results of *Serrano v. Priest*, and discovered that the number of local educational foundations in California steadily increased from 1971 to 1995. They also note that the districts that lost money as a result of the case were more likely to have a foundation. 11.1% of districts that had a negative change in revenue from 1970 to 1990 due to equalization had nonprofits that generated revenue greater than $100 per pupil, as compared to 6.6% for those with a 0-20% increase, 1.8% for those with a 20-40% increase, and 1.1% for those with over a 40% increase. The districts that had a negative change in revenue as a result of equalization are districts with higher property values.

Brunner and Sonstelie (1996) note another way of getting around new funding constraints, that is implementing a parcel tax which taxes property per parcel of land rather than as a percentage of value. This kind of tax is allowed by Proposition 13 with a ⅔ majority vote, and can be implemented by a school district. This kind of tax is regressive because it applies

equally regardless of property value, and has overwhelmingly been implemented in already wealthy neighborhoods. Despite this, the California legislature debated moving the required vote to 55% to make it easier for districts to pass parcel taxes (McGhee et al., 2013). Parcel taxes are concentrated in wealthier school districts especially in the San Francisco Bay area. Marin County has the highest level of parcel tax funding, averaging $1318 per student per year (McGhee et al., 2013).

DATA ANALYSIS

My analysis focuses on San Diego Unified School District (SDUSD), the second largest school district in California with just over 130,000 students. The district has 117 elementary schools, 25 middle schools, 24 high schools, 11 atypical/alternative schools and 25 charter schools. My analysis focused on non-charter high schools, three of which are atypical or alternative schools.

SDUSD is an extremely diverse district. The ethnic makeup of the student body is 47% Hispanic, 23% White, 10% African-American, 5% Filipino 5% Indo-Chinese, 3% Asian, .3% Native American, .6% Pacific Islander, and 5% multiracial. English learners make up 27% of the student body and 59% are eligible for free or reduced meal. The distribution of students among school sites is very uneven. Though the district is only 5% Filipino, Morse High School is 40% Filipino. Nine of 29 non-charter High Schools are less than 10% white, 6 are less than 5% white. At Crawford High School, 89% of students qualify for free or reduced cost lunch, whereas only 18% of students at Scripps Ranch High School do. The diversity and variance of the district

allow for interesting analysis within a district, whereas other studies have focused on differences between districts.

Direct analysis of local educational foundations is difficult because there is no centralized registry, so foundations can only be found by searching through tax forms of nonprofits on the internet[1]. My research instead turned to the data available from the schools themselves. Financial data was collected from budget status summary reports from July 2014 available from the San Diego Unified School District's website, demographic data was obtained from the 2013-2014 official enrollment reports from the same website. Some budget status summary reports were originally missing from the website, but after I went to the District Offices, they were uploaded.

My analysis focuses on the budget category for money donated to a school, labelled "08000". However, discrepancies between 08000 funding numbers and budget numbers for LEFs could be quite large, indicating not all donation money is counted in this category. I was told by a school official that if an LEF wished to pay for buses for a field trip or pay a teacher's salary, the school would have to touch that money, and it would appear in the 08000 category. I was unable to obtain an explicit description of what would not appear in this category.

For my analysis, I used 08000 funds per student as a dependent variable. This was found by dividing total number of 08000 funds at the school by the enrollment. Kearny High School and San Diego High School are divided into four separate schools each with their own budget, but also have a budget for the school complex. 08000 funds from the complex were divided evenly among the schools in the complex and added to the total, then divided by enrollment to find 08000 funds per student for these schools.

[1] www.guidestar.org

I hypothesized that a positive correlation would be found between the percentage of white students at a school and the amount of 08000 funding per student at that school. I also hypothesized that there would be a negative correlation between the percentage of students eligible to receive free or reduced cost lunch, a determination that is made based on income, and 08000 funding per student. I hypothesized that the correlation between percentage of students eligible for free or reduced cost lunch and 08000 funding per student would be greater than the correlation between the percentage of white students at a school and 08000 funding per student.

The data had one outlier, Kearny Mesa Construction Tech, now called Kearny Mesa Engineering, Innovation and Design. As visible in Figures 1 and 2, this school received approximately $340 per student per year, almost twice as much funding per student as the next highest school. I spoke with the vice principal of the school who told me that because of the school's engineering focus, it was able to partner with a number of local businesses in engineering. This kind of donation appears significantly different from other schools' donations. It is focused on businesses rather than parents and relatives, and it likely represents a donation from outside the community. Kearny Mesa Construction Tech is part of the Kearny Educational Complex, which shares one campus. The other three high schools in the complex received $8, $49, and $23 per student per year, also suggesting something unusual about Kearny Mesa Construction Tech. Because of its extreme level of 08000 funding per student and because of its unusual situation, it was not included for the analysis. One data point, San Diego High School of International Studies, was missing from the analysis because it was not available on the website and multiple attempts to obtain financial information from the district were unsuccessful.

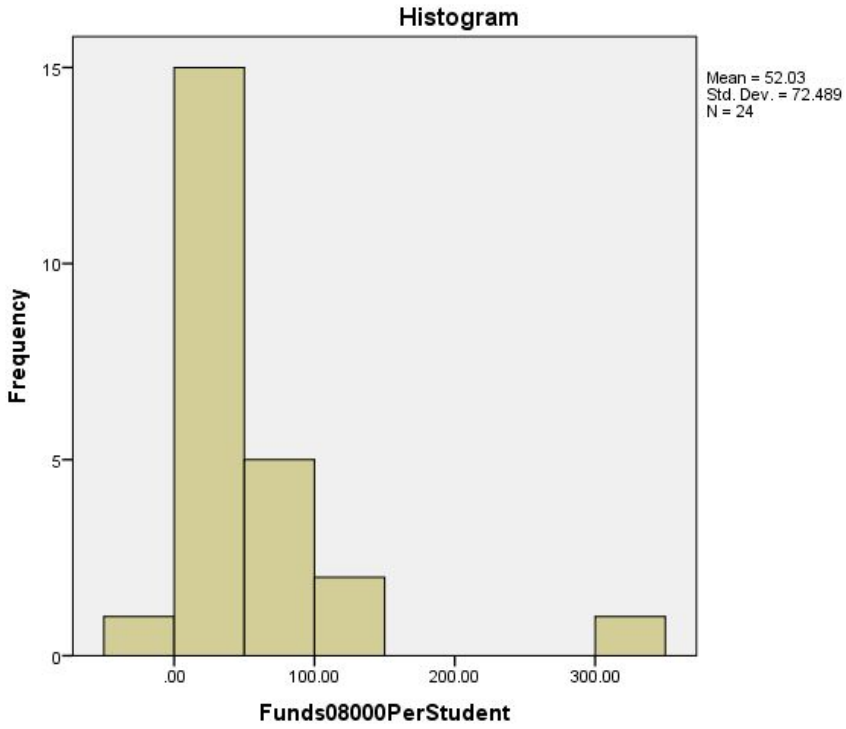

Figure 1: 08000 Funds Per Student Distribution Histogram

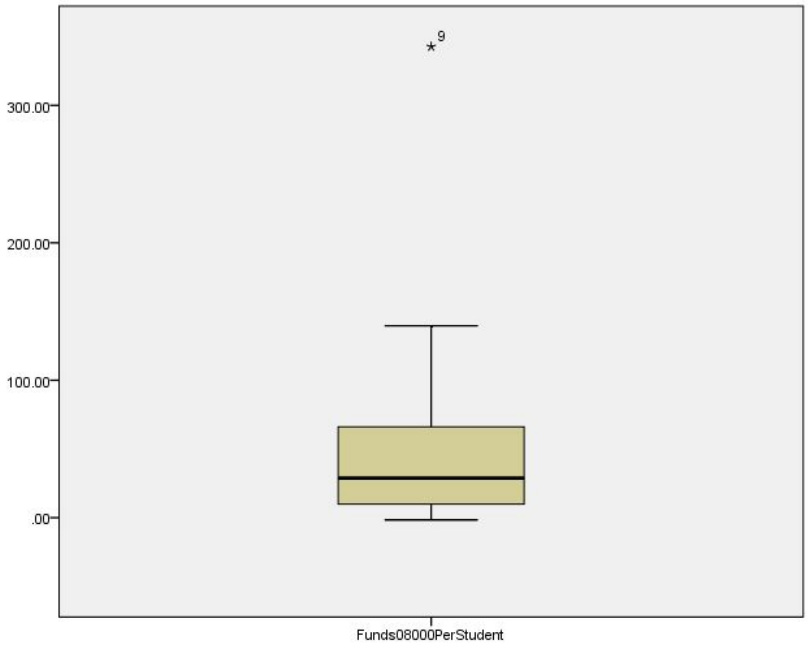

Figure 2: 08000 Funds Per Student Distribution Box Plot

A linear regression model was used to compare 08000 funds per student at each school with the percentage of white students at the school, and with the percentage of students on free and reduced lunch. I first used a Pearson correlation between each independent variable separately and the dependent variable. Using two tailed significance test, percent white was correlated with 08000 funds per student, r=.86, p<.001. With a two tailed significance test, percent free or reduced lunch was correlated with 08000 funds per student, r=-.75, p<.001. The large r values indicate a very strong correlation in each of these models, which are both highly significant.

Next, I used a linear regression model with percent white and percent on free or reduced lunch as independent variables and 08000 funds per student as the dependent variable. The model was significant, F(2,20)=30.497, p<.001. The percent of white students significantly contributed to 08000 funding (β=.720, p=.001) but percent free and reduced lunch did not contribute significantly (β=-.170 p=.331). Contrary to my hypothesis, whiteness of the school was more important than percentage of students with free or reduced lunch for predicting the amount of 08000 funds received.

Correlations between 08000 funds per student and other variables were run. Percentage of Black students (r=-.56, p=.005), percentage Hispanic (r=-.53, p<.01), and percentage of English language learners (r=-.71, p<.001) were correlated with 08000 funds per student. 08000 funds per student were also correlated with enrollment (r=.46 p<.05), and was correlated with higher pupil teacher ratio (r=.50 p<.05). Percentage of Asian, Filipino, Indochinese, Native American, Pacific Islander and Multiracial students did not have significant correlations with 08000 funds per student.

The effect for percentage Black students and Hispanic students became insignificant when run as a linear regression with either percentage white students or students on free or reduced lunch, while the latter variables maintained their significance. Percentage of English learners became insignificant when run with percentage of white students as a linear regression, but was significant ($\beta = -.413$, $p < .05$) when run with percentage free and reduced lunch ($\beta = -.50$ $p < .01$).

API is the Academic Performance Index, which measures academic performance of a school based on several standardized tests. 08000 funding per student was correlated with API score ($r = .632$, $p < .01$), however, when run as a linear regression the correlation disappeared when taking race into account.

Based on this analysis, it is concluded that the most important variable for determining the amount of 08000 funding per student at a school is the proportion of white students attending the school (Figure 3).

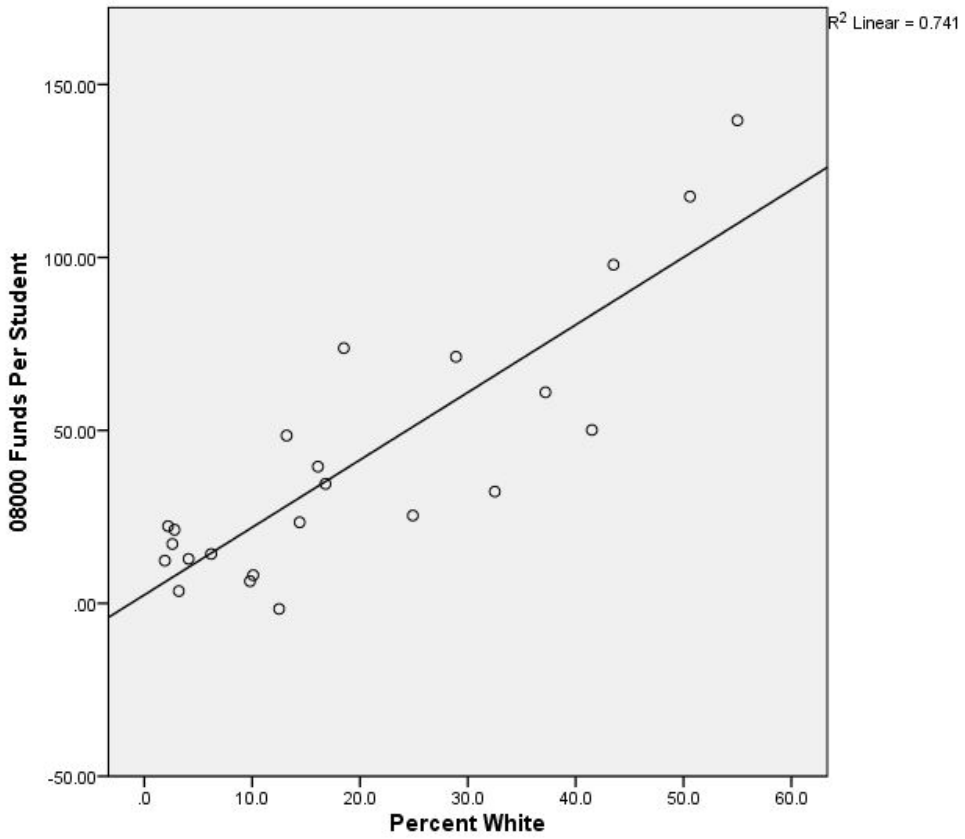

Figure 3: Percent white students vs. 08000 Funds Per Student

EXPLANATION OF FINDINGS

I hypothesized that poverty, coded as students on free or reduced lunch, would be most important in determining the amount of funding donated to a school based on the idea that families would donate money according to the dictates of their income. So why was race more important?

There are several possible theoretical answers: Whites have more wealth than other races even controlling for income, social networks are largely determined by race meaning whites have

more wealth in their network even if they lack personal wealth, and nonwhites are more likely to distrust government institutions than whites.

Using eligibility for free or reduced cost lunch as a proxy for income may be inadequate because it does not take into account the severity of poverty experienced by student families, nor does it take into account the extent of wealth among student families. A more rigorous analysis of income may discover that income is more important when a more detailed methodology is used.

Race may appear more significant given the specific district used for analysis. San Diego Unified School District encompasses several wealthy white neighborhoods and several poor, ethnically diverse neighborhoods. Excluded from the district are the nearby cities of Santee, Lakeside, and El Cajon, which have large white working class and poor populations. The geographical boundaries of the district may overemphasize racial differences in income.

SIGNIFICANCE OF FINDINGS

I have established a significant correlation between 08000 funding and the whiteness of a school, but the total amounts of 08000 funding make up only a small portion of the total budget. My outlier statistic, Kearny Mesa Construction Tech High School, obtained 4.3% of its funding from 08000 funds, the next highest received 2.5%, then 2.1%, 1.9%, 1.2% and 1.1%. This does raise important questions about the importance of 08000 funding, though there is reason to think that this funding is significant. There is a correlation between 08000 funding and API scores, but causality is unclear especially because the correlation disappears when taking race into account.

Certainly, donation funding represents only one piece of a larger structure of educational inequality. However, the existence of significant donations to schools in certain neighborhoods

may indicate a broader appetite for higher funding for education. California ranks 36th in terms of per pupil funding per state at $9,220 per year, compared to an average of $10,700 per year for the country (U.S. Census Bureau 2013), and accounting for inflation funding in California has been on the decline. Given this lack of funding, even a small amount can alleviate some of the burden of delivering a good education on a small budget. 08000 funds are also unrestricted in terms of what they can be spent on, unlike most other money that schools are allocated. This means that 08000 funding can be spent on things like arts education, field trips and extracurriculars.

LIMITATIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The total amount of 08000 funding I found may not represent the total money spent on behalf of a school. The tax forms filed by the Foundation of La Jolla High School indicate that it had a 2013 revenue of $713,104 and expenses of $661,776, and 2014 revenue of $584,896 and expenses of $657,632, and assets of $981,050 at the end of 2014. The 08000 funding for La Jolla High School totals only $217,559. The money spent by the foundation is three times the amount recorded by the school. When I spoke to district employees in the budget operations department they were unable to explain this discrepancy. Physical donations of objects are not taken into account in my data, and may be significant. Money raised by booster clubs for sports or other extra curricular activities may not be well documented. Parents may raise money without ever incorporating as a nonprofit or involving school administration.

The numbers I have calculated may also be an indicator of how much money parents spend on their own children's education outside of school. Though this correlation has yet to be established, 08000 funding may be a good indicator of how much of the student body has access

to computers, the internet, tutoring, and extracurricular activities such as art, sports, or academic programs that exist outside of school or during summer vacations.

My data also does not reflect donations for school construction projects, which are financed separately from the day to day operations of a school, and does not account for large, one time donations. A case study of the impact of these kinds of donations is La Jolla High School. The Coggan Family Aquatic Complex is located adjacent to La Jolla High School, and run by the La Jolla Aquatic Complex Foundation, tax forms indicate it had a 2014 revenue of $738,931, expenses of $692,186 and end of year assets of $860,434. The complex broke ground in September 2002, and was built with the help of a $1.2 million donation from the Coggan family. The project was also helped along by the former San Diego City Manager, who helped organize the city to move a road and do a land swap with the district to get the project done (Dailey 2012). The complex hosts the La Jolla High School boys and girls swim, dive and water polo teams at their olympic-sized pool. La Jolla High School is planning to break ground on a new bioscience facility in Summer 2016, estimated to cost between 6 and 10 million dollars, and according to Hi-Tide, the LJHS newspaper, to be financed half from donations and half from district funds. According to the LJHS bioscience center website, the center has met half of its fundraising target, with money from The Monsanto Company, The Salk Institute, The Preuss Foundation, and a variety of other corporate, nonprofit, and individual sources. These enormous donations are not considered in my analysis, but pending further analysis, my results suggest that the link between donations received and whiteness of a school may extend to this kind of donation as well.

Another area of consideration is the ability of whiter, higher income schools to mobilize and self advocate for construction funding. The new La Jolla High School bioscience center will obtain half of its funding from the district. Were they able to obtain the funding because they had a plan, their own funding to match, and the political connections to make it happen? Another example of this is a project to build a new performing arts center at Patrick Henry High School. The $10 to $13 million dollar project is funded by San Diego ballot proposition S and California ballot proposition 1D, as well as by donations from outside groups and individuals. While this project will oudoubtably be valuable to the community and the school, the argument for proposition S when it was placed on the ballot stated

> ***PROP. S MAKES URGENTLY NEEDED REPAIRS TO OUR NEIGHBORHOOD SCHOOLS.***
>
> *Most San Diego schools are 40+ years old. Prop. S repairs leaky roofs, frayed electrical wiring, leaky pipes and plumbing. Prop. S fixes school bathrooms, dangerous heating and electrical systems, broken steps, and cracked sidewalks. Prop. S replaces deteriorating portable classrooms.*

The distribution of funding for construction from ballot propositions is beyond the scope of this analysis, but certainly merits further investigation.

Once a more comprehensive look at donations and funding distribution is achieved, it should be possible to more accurately determine how much explanatory power these variables have in measures of achievement like standardized test scores and college outcomes.

CONCLUSION

When looking at the data presented here, there is a question that arises: are LEFs a form of charitable giving? Without context, they certainly look like it (and our tax forms agree). Any complaint about someone giving to education seems to be either overly picky or downright ungrateful. But when a person donates to a school that their child or grandchild or relative attends, while a school 30 miles away is in far greater need, the question carries more weight. Is that charitable giving, or simply acting in the self interest of their own family or community? The current state of our educational system means that giving to schools is wrapped up in inequalities that it is bound to interact with. When giving helps those who least need it, and those closest to the givers, the idea of charity seems much harder to hang on to.

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