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The Intersection of Economic Disadvantage and Race and the Expanded Role of Parent-Led School-Supporting Nonprofit Organizations in K-12 Public Schools in the Richmond, Virginia, Metropolitan Area: A Mixed Methods Approach

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The Intersection of Economic Disadvantage and Race and the Expanded Role of
Parent-Led School-Supporting Nonprofit Organizations in K-12 Public Schools
in the Richmond, Virginia, Metropolitan Area: A Mixed Methods Approach

A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the
degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Virginia Commonwealth University.

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Abstract

THE INTERSECTION OF ECONOMIC DISADVANTAGE AND RACE AND THE EXPANDED ROLE OF PARENT-LED SCHOOL-SUPPORTING NONPROFIT ORGANIZATIONS IN K-12 PUBLIC SCHOOLS IN THE RICHMOND, VIRGINIA, METROPOLITAN AREA: A MIXED METHODS APPROACH

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A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at Virginia Commonwealth University.

Virginia Commonwealth University, 2018

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Nongovernmental actors have long been involved in the funding of U.S. K-12 public schools. With recent cuts to state funding to public education, however, groups called school-supporting nonprofits (Nelson & Gazley, 2014) have taken on a much larger role in school funding. Nonacademic, volunteer, parent-led groups such as parent teacher associations (PTAs), parent teacher organizations (PTOs), and booster clubs, especially, have grown in number and in amount of revenues raised, and are funding core school needs and functions. This situation confuses obligations of public institutions, undermines equity, and complicates the role of educational leaders. This mixed-methods study explores the influence of school-supporting nonprofit organizations (SSNPs), in the suburban districts in the Richmond, VA quad-county

metropolitan area. The focus of the current study is on the intersection of student economic disadvantage and race/ethnicity with the presence and types of SSNPs, their volunteer capacity and activities, and their financial capacity and impact. This study further examines why and how SSNPs exist as they do and how educational and nonprofit leaders manage their roles. Results show meaningful differences between groups in almost every variable, showing socioeconomic and racial disparities exacerbated by parent-led SSNP organizations. SSNPs at the most affluent schools with the most White and Asian students justify their work by touting the benefits to SSNP members' children, explaining that the raising of funds and providing of volunteer staffing is both a virtuous activity and needed for the schools they support to function. Educational leaders must share power with these groups. This phenomenon raises questions about the purpose of SSNPs as civic and nonprofit organizations, exacerbates already inequitable availability of educational opportunities and resources across schools, and threatens the public nature of public education. While many policy remedies for this problem exist, a priority is more public revenues and funding of public schools.

Chapter 1

School-Supporting Nonprofit Organizations: Background, Context, and Significance

I. Introduction

The problem in the popular consciousness. The stories in newspapers, magazines, and on-line publications about parent groups such as parent-teacher associations (PTAs), parent-teacher organizations (PTOs), and booster clubs in communities across the country—of their dominance, influence, and fundraising prowess—are prolific (McKenna, 2016; Rich, 2014). Recently, more media attention has focused on groups of White, middle-class parents in schools in gentrifying urban neighborhoods (Hinds, 2016; Mason, 2013; Quinlan, 2016). Due to deep cuts to budgets for public education, all of these parent groups and local educational foundations are increasingly funding essentials such as books, computers, and classroom staff (Bello, 2010; Koumpilova, 2010; Luttrell, 2015; Malone, 2010; Mason, 2013; Su, 2012a,b).

This situation seems to be especially prevalent in cities like New York. Parent-teacher groups associated with wealth, and White schools in neighborhoods such as Tribeca and the Upper West and East Sides, raise annually between \$500,000 and \$1.5 million each, earning them the title “public privates” (Spencer, 2012). Even New York City schools serving less affluent populations can raise as much as a couple hundred thousand dollars per year (Mason 2013). These groups pay for computers, printers, projectors, science kits, chess sets, classroom furniture, textbooks, library books, air conditioning units, substitute teachers, teacher aides,

enrichment teachers, field and overnight trips, automatic toilet flushers, bedbug detection, iPads®, administrative staff, and professional development (Mason, 2013; Spencer, 2012). New York is by no means unique. Bello (2010) documents cases in Cupertino, CA, where parents were raising \$2 million to preserve 110 teacher jobs; Mokena, IL, where a parent group sought to raise \$250,000 to sustain sports, extracurricular, and tutoring programs; and, Portage, MI, where parents were trying to raise \$1.3 million to offset state cuts that would necessitate a shorter school year and early retirement offers for some teachers. In Texas, the PTOs in one school district funded a new elementary school track, wireless Internet, computers, a computer lab, an outdoor space for physical education classes, maps, an atomic clock, and library books (Luttrell, 2015). In San Diego, parent groups have funded technology teachers, librarians, school nurses, arts and music classes, sports medicine courses, a digital media academy, with one school group raising upwards of \$180,000 (Calvert, 2011; Rich, 2014). In Minnesota, parent groups known as school site councils raise tens of thousands of dollars each year for educational technology as well as for classroom staff (Koumpilova, 2010). In the Chicago area, parent groups have funded full-day kindergarten and mounted monitor and overhead digital projectors (Malone, 2010). In Massachusetts, PTO groups have funded Spanish instructors, classroom aides, and educational technology (Luttrell, 2015). A high school athletic booster club in Hanover County, VA raised enough to outfit football facilities with revamped bleachers, a sky box overlooking the end zone, flat-screen televisions, and a special student section (“From Assistant to Head Coach,” 2016). A Richmond, VA, elementary school is currently raising \$25,000 to renovate broken bathrooms because the district lacks the funding for such infrastructure improvements (Rarrick, 2017).

These accounts illustrate the problematic aspects of the growing role of school-supporting nonprofits in school funding. For one, it can deepen inequities between schools and

school districts (Koumpilova, 2010; Malone, 2010; McIntyre, 2016; Spencer, 2012; Su, 2012a,b). Shirley Igo, who was president of the National PTA from 2001 to 2003, said as much:

When some schools are able to raise additional funds from outside sources, while other schools are not, we develop a multi-tiered education system that places many of our children at a great disadvantage. No child's education should depend on where he lives, his socioeconomic condition, or the ability of his community to add to his school's resources. (Luttrell, 2015, para. 6).

Chuck Saylor, National PTA President from 2007 to 2009, agreed: “The National PTA discourages parents from raising money for school operations . . . parents need to hold officials accountable” (Bello, 2010, para. 3). Furthermore, dollars that otherwise would have contributed to a larger pot of tax dollars are kept within wealthier communities (McKenna, 2016; Reich, 2013a). Parents in these groups can become so preoccupied with fundraising that they ignore the root of the problem: inadequate funding (Koumpilova, 2010; Luttrell, 2015; McKenna, 2016; Reich, 2013a). Such a focus on fundraising also enables politicians’ negligence in raising and allocating sufficient funding for public schools. In addition, the White and affluent parents who are often part of these groups, especially in gentrifying urban schools, can marginalize non-White and lower income parents (Malone, 2014; Quinlan, 2015; Quinlan, 2016). Finally, this situation can give parent volunteers a certain amount of power, perhaps inappropriately so, over budgetary decisions (Quinlan, 2016; Spencer, 2012).

However, there are positives highlighted in these accounts as well. Some claim that the funds raised by parent groups are negligible in the bigger picture and that parent groups serve to deepen engagement and investment of parents, keeping many families in public schools who might otherwise go to private schools (Hinds, 2016; Luttrell, 2015; Mason, 2013; McIntyre,

2016; McKenna, 2016; Rich, 2014; Spencer, 2012; Su, 2012a,b). However, even the parents who express skepticism say that such fundraising brings the school community together for a good cause (Koumpilova, 2010; Luttrell, 2015; Mason, 2013; Spencer, 2012). Educational leaders, who may think such practices inequitable, may ultimately be more concerned about getting sufficient funding for their students and schools (Koumpilova, 2010; Luttrell, 2015; Malone, 2010).

The current study. This mixed-methods study explores the footprint and influence of school-supporting nonprofit organizations (SSNPs), specifically nonacademic, all volunteer, parent-led groups including PTAs, PTOs, and booster clubs in the suburban districts in the Richmond, VA quad-county metropolitan area. In particular, this study focuses on the intersection of student economic disadvantage and race/ethnicity with the presence and types of SSNPs, their volunteer capacity and activities, and their financial capacity and impact. This study further examines why and how SSNPs exist as they do in the suburban Richmond, VA quad-county metropolitan area, how educational and nonprofit leaders there are experiencing, navigating, and justifying their role.

In this chapter, I will review the literature on the topic, first going over my literature search and then clarifying what is meant by SSNPs. Then, I will provide the context of this phenomenon in terms of school finance and the history of civic associations and parent groups in this country. That leads to a review of the rise and expansion of SSNP organizations, including how they have expanded in number and revenues, what they have been found to fund, and who benefits from them. Then, I will narrow my focus to literature concerning the specific context of this particular study: the suburbs and the Richmond, VA quad-county area. Finally, I will

present the contributions and significance of the study as well as the purpose and research questions.

II. The Search for Literature

The literature on the role of SSNPs draws from many fields, including educational leadership, education policy, history of education, politics of education, school finance, sociology of education, nonprofit studies, and political science. Search terms and key words employed in the initial search were: *education support organization, school sponsoring nonprofits, school-supporting nonprofits, private money public schools, education nonprofit, voluntary contributions, voluntary contributions to schools, public school finance, school budgets, parental involvement in parent teacher group, and parental involvement in parent teacher groups*. After this search, additional references were located within the literature—in citations, bibliographies, and reference lists and via referral by committee members and colleagues.

Ultimately, the literature referenced and cited in this study comprise a collection of peer-reviewed and scholarly journal articles, trade magazine articles, journalistic articles and reports, policy reports, and books. My first priority was to review peer-reviewed and scholarly research studies on the specific topic of parent groups. My next priority was to review the same plus policy reports, especially those by established scholars in their fields on more general topics. Some nonacademic studies and surveys, were presented in educational leadership trade journals. I reviewed accounts that were presented in the popular press as I found them, as they were referred to me, and as they were published in the many education media outlets I regularly read.

III. Clarification of Terms

There are many different types of organizations and nonprofits that support K-12 public schools, but this study focuses on PTAs, PTOs, and booster clubs, which make up the majority of

such organizations. Meno (1984) identifies SSNPs as “support organizations that are program-centered to raise money for specific activities” (p. 131). He mentions individual PTAs, PTOs, and various booster clubs, such as for athletics, band, orchestra, choral, debate, and drama. In 2007, there were more than 19,300 nonprofits, also known as education support organizations, which invested about \$4.3 billion in U.S. K-12 public schools (de Leon, Roeger, De Vita, & Boris, 2010). These groups included booster clubs, parent-teacher groups, public education funds, scholarship funds, and high school alumni/ae associations. The majority (73%) were PTAs and PTOs, and 7% were booster clubs. Of the 16,383 SSNPs in Nelson and Gazley’s (2014) dataset, 70.2% were PTAs and PTOs and 15.1% were booster clubs.

PTAs, PTOs, and booster clubs are nonprofit organizations classified as 501(c)(3)s by the Internal Revenue Code of 1954 and revised versions thereof. The 501(c)(3)s includes nonstock corporations and trusts that are established for charitable, educational, religious, and civic purposes that are exempt from taxation, and to which donations are tax-deductible (Hall, 2006). Weston, Cook, Murphy, and Ugo (2015) define PTAs as, “dues-paying affiliates of their state and the national PTA structure” that are “governed by specific requirements regarding their fund raising and how the funds may be used” (p. 5), while PTOs are similar but are not affiliated with any national group. Weston et al. state, “both seek to engage parents in the education of their children—with fundraising being one of their activities—and are commonly associated with a specific school” (p. 5). Booster clubs are described as supporting the clubs, extra-curricular activities, and sports teams of a particular school by developing fundraising strategies that include connecting with local businesses in exchange for some kind of advertising, purchasing supplies and equipment, or even paying staff associated with the activity (Addonizio, 2000, 2001; Weston et al., 2015).

School-supporting nonprofit organizations such as PTAs, PTOs, and booster clubs do not usually function in the same ways that SSNPs like local school district or local education foundations, community organizations, and academically-g geared nonprofits do. Community organizations are “nonprofits specifically focused on education and tied to a school or district but are organized by some other local entity” (Weston et al., 2015, p. 5). Nelson and Gazley (2014) distinguish between nonacademic “non-profit” and academic “school-supporting charitable organizations” (p. 544) and include among the nonacademic ones PTAs, PTOs, alumni/ae associations, booster clubs, school foundations, and local endowments. Furthermore, school-sponsoring charitable organizations operate on a school level instead of on a district or state level basis where local education foundations, community foundations, and independent foundations operate, often in support of larger education reform initiatives (Hansen, 2008). District-created local education foundations raise funds at the district level for the public school systems they serve, while SSNPs, such as PTAs, PTOs, and booster clubs, raise funds at the school level through collection of membership dues, fundraising, earned income, and philanthropic gifts (Brunner & Imazeki, 2005; Nelson & Gazley, 2014).

IV. School Funding: A General Context

While school funding mechanisms vary from state to state, K-12 public schools are commonly funded by a combination of local, state, and federal monies. Most funding from states and localities is derived from property taxes. On average, 9% is from the federal government, 46% from the state, and 45% from localities (Baker, Sciarra, & Farrie, 2018). This was not always the case. Between 1910 and 1930, the average local share was about 80%, derived mostly from property taxes and the average state share was less than 20%, raised from

sales, corporate, and personal income taxes (Addonizio, 2000). Spurred by concerns about equity across localities, in the mid-1990s the local share fell while the states' share increased.

Virginia cities, counties, and towns levy different kinds of taxes and tax rates differ from jurisdiction to jurisdiction (Salmon & Alexander, 2014). Local governments levy real estate taxes, tangible personal property taxes, utility taxes, and sales and use taxes, and some localities collect specific real estate taxes or impose taxes such as on purchases of hotel rooms, meals, and cigarettes. In Virginia, Commissioners of the Revenue assesses tangible personal property while the County Boards of Supervisors establish property tax rates at a rate per \$100 assessed value. Sales tax is mostly collected by the state as significant source of revenues—Virginia has a 5.3% combined local and state sales tax and returns 1% of sales tax receipts specifically to localities for public schools. Virginia collects a 6% flat tax on corporate income and otherwise collects income tax. Localities are not permitted to collect local income tax, and while the majority of school boards across the nation are fiscally independent, all of Virginia's 133 school boards are fiscally dependent and have no revenue-raising authority.

Despite the different means from state to state of funding K-12 public schools, states share three pillars of school finance standards: equity, adequacy, and fiscal neutrality (Baker & Green, 2008). Equity is concerned with “variations or relative differences in educational, resources, processes, and outcomes across children” (p. 203). Horizontal equity means that “resources should be equally available to all students attending schools within a state, provided all students have equal needs” (p. 204). Vertical equity “applies to those cases where specific students or groups of students have identifiably different educational needs and where meeting those needs requires additional resources” (p. 204). Adequacy is concerned with “in more absolute terms, how much funding, how many resources, or what quality of educational

outcomes are sufficient to meet state constitutional mandates” (p. 203). Fiscal neutrality means that “variations in resources across children should not be a function of the wealth of a community in which a child happens to live” (p. 204).

Nontraditional sources of school funding. Nontraditional or nontax sources of revenues for schools became more prevalent in the late 20th century as enrollments in and expectations of public schools grew while funding revenues became flat (Addonizio, 2000, 2001; Pijanowski & Monk, 1996). In an examination of 645 school districts in New York state, Monk and Roelke (1994) showed that 3.7% of total revenues came from alternative sources, and these did not even include in-kind or volunteer time contributions. Pijanowski and Monk (1996) argued that nontax revenue sources have always played a role in school districts, but that school districts were at the time beginning “to rely on them to unprecedented degrees” (p. 5). They saw the increasing role of nontax revenues to fund K-12 education as part of the larger context of efforts to expand the role that community and parent groups played in local school governance and to increase the cooperation between schools and their surrounding communities. Sources of nontax revenues have included adopt-a-school initiatives; school user and developer fees; partnerships with institutions of higher education; government agencies; and private businesses; donations; volunteer services; and, educational foundations, booster clubs, and parent-teacher organizations (Addonizio, 2000, 2001; Meno, 1984; Pijanowski & Monk, 1996).

More recently, researchers have identified even more sources of nonpublic funding in public schools (Golanda & Dagley, 1994; Hansen, 2008; Nelson & Gazley, 2014; Zimmer, Krop, & Brewer, 2003). Through the public and nonprofit management lens of “coproduction,” where citizens serve both as consumers and agents of the “provision of public services,” Nelson and Gazley (2014, p. 543-544) provide the most recent study of SSNPs. They describe them as

arising during times of “government failure” (p. 544), as a mechanism for collecting and distributing voluntary contributions to augment the delivery of educational services. These include parent-teacher organizations such as PTAs and PTOs, alumni/ae associations, and booster clubs for athletics and other clubs. Foundations include school foundations, school division foundations, community foundations, and independent foundations. Local businesses and corporations support schools with donations. Schools draw revenues from fees for course materials, events, and overdue library books. In addition, in-house commercial activities such as school merchandise sales and sales from vending machines, and initiatives such as box tops and spirit nights supply funds for K-12 public schools. Volunteer services have a cash value. Individuals give charitable gifts and bequests. Finally, teacher and principal purchases provide funding value.

Public-private partnerships in U.S. K-12 public schools. Private entities, including what I term “Big Philanthropy” or “Big P” groups, have a long history of involvement in public education in the United States. As early as the 1640s, businesses such as the West Indies Company established their own schools, but soon shifted from operating schools to supporting them (Hansen, 2008). In some cases, education was taken on by nonprofit organizations such as churches and charities (Hall, 2006). Later, but before the 1830s, schools functioned not as part of any system or network of schools but “locally and autonomously”; towns and municipalities developed and funded their own schools with no supervision or input from the state (Bogotch, 2005, p. 7; Neem, 2017). Many of these schools served White and male students only.

As systems of public schooling were established, separate from religious institutions, they were professionalized (Neem, 2017). In the post Civil War era, six major organizations helped establish primary and normal schools for Blacks in the South that focused on vocational,

industrial, and agricultural education (Simpson, 2007). In the early 20th century, local citizens lost influence as the business influence in the scientific management movement sought to improve government efficiency (Kowalski, 2010). At the same time, organizations and foundations filled the gaps left by insufficient civil rights legislation and government interventions (Simpson, 2007).

Businesses pulled back support from public education in the 1960s and 1970s but re-engaged in the 1980s (Hansen, 2008). In particular, the release of *A Nation at Risk* in 1983 turned the attention of the business community to public education, serving as a catalyst for public-private partnerships (Kowalski, 2010). By that time, public education needed the funding from business because of disinvestment at local, state, and federal levels. In 1983, only 17% of K-12 schools were part of such partnerships, but by 2000, many more were (Kowalski, 2010). Local businesses and corporations funded local schooling by donating goods and services including equipment, mini-grants, tutors, speakers, and materials and establishing partnerships to create or improve particular programs (Hansen, 2008).

More recently, there has been a growth in foundation, or Big P, spending on K-12 public education, but the nature and target of the funding has shifted from contributions given directly to schools to those given towards reform efforts (Reckhow & Snyder, 2014). Foundations that support public education include older ones such as the Ford and Annenberg Foundations and newer ones such as the Gates Foundation, Walton Family Foundation, Broad Foundation, Dell Foundation, Pisces Foundation, and NewSchools Venture Fund (Hansen, 2008). By 2004, about 60,000 independent foundations existed, and the biggest contributor to education was the Gates Foundation, giving \$246 million in 2002 (Hansen, 2008). Despite this massive growth in investment, private funding remains a small proportion of overall K-12 public education

spending (Greene, 2015; Hansen, 2008). Greene (2015) posits that philanthropic contributions only accounted for about \$2 billion annually compared to overall K-12 spending of \$600 billion. However, unlike dollars from local organizations and foundations, very little from these larger foundations goes directly to schools; instead, most goes to research and advocacy that is focused on systematic changes and changes in the way tax dollars are spent (Hansen, 2008; Hess & Henig, 2015; Snyder, 2015). Increasingly, foundations either fund or act as “jurisdictional challengers,” organizations that compete with or offer alternatives to the public sector, such as Teach for America, New Leaders for New Schools, and the Knowledge is Power Program (Reckhow & Snyder, 2014, p. 186).

The great recession. The Great Recession began in December 2007 and did not start to lift until June 2009. It had a major impact on funding for K-12 public education. When the housing bubble burst, unemployment rose, home and property values dropped as did revenues derived from state and local property, income, and sales taxes (Baker, Sciarra, & Farrie, 2014; Leachman, Masterson, & Figueroa, 2017). According to the Census Bureau, even adjusting for inflation and growth, total school funding fell from 2010 to 2012 for the first time since 1977 while health care, retirement, and special education costs rose (Casselmann, 2014). In 2009, via the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act, the federal government gave out \$100 billion in stimulus funding to maintain prerecession levels of support to education. This infusion of funds protected many classrooms from serious cuts, but once the stimulus ended, federal support eroded, and states and localities did not restore funding levels.

A recent report by a research and policy institute, the Center on Budget Policy and Priorities, found that despite an economic recovery from the Great Recession, state aid remained low and cuts made to K-12 public education budgets have remained (Leachman et al., 2017). As

of 2015, 29 states were spending less per pupil on school funding than they were in 2008. As of the 2017-2018 school year, at least 12 states had cut general funding for K-12 public schools by 7% or more. A few years prior, the situation was more dire with at least 35 states spending less per student in the 2013-2014 school year than they did before the recession (Leachman, Masterson, & Wallace, 2016).

In summary, local per pupil funding has either fallen, or not been restored to pre-recession levels (Leachman et al., 2017). Most localities have found it politically unfeasible to raise more revenues via raising property taxes. Furthermore, even as the national economy was showing signs of recovery from the recession, localities were still struggling. At the local level, overall, 64% of the nation's roughly 14,000 school districts spent less per student in 2012 than in 2009, after adjusting for inflation (Casselmann, 2014). In Virginia, total state funding from 2008 to 2015, accounting for inflation, dropped by 9.9% while combined local and state funding has declined in the Commonwealth by 8.1% (Leachman et al., 2017).

V. The Confluence of Civic Organizations and Parent Groups

The vast majority—70.2% in Nelson and Gazley's (2014) dataset, for example—of SSNPs are PTAs, PTOs, and booster clubs are nonprofit, voluntary, civic associations. Hence, a history of parent groups as civic organizations in American public schooling is worth recounting. Much of the nonprofit literature explores nonprofit, voluntary associations and especially nongovernmental organizations and nonprofit organizations that receive payment in exchange for services (Frumkin, 2005; Steinberg, 2006; Weisbrod, 1975). School-supported nonprofits do not fall into that category, yet much from that literature on civic organization and nonprofit studies can be applied to SSNPs. For example, Steinberg (2006) examines nonprofit organizations that rely on donations (monetary and volunteer) and on membership dues, which does describe

SSNPs. Furthermore, some of the literature, especially on civic associations, specifically includes data and trends on SSNPs, especially PTAs and PTOs (Ladd, 1999; Putnam, 2000; Skocpol, 2003). Finally, several authors and researchers, including Crawford and Levitt (1999), Cutler (2000), Putnam (2000), Reese (1978), and Woyshner (2003) focus specifically on the PTA as a national organization.

Early role of civic organizations. Civic organizations are classified as nonprofit, voluntary associations and have long been part of American civil society. White male classical political theorists such as Thomas Hobbes, George Washington, James Madison, John Locke, Montesquieu, John Stuart Mill, Alexis de Tocqueville, and William Ellery Channing wrote a great deal about them (Frumkin, 2005; Hall, 2006). (While the opinions of these thinkers about these groups varied, all references to citizens, the people, and their voices, are limited to White men.) In Locke's conception, these groups represented the vital right to associate. John Stuart Mills and later de Tocqueville felt they allowed individuals to voice their ideas and achieve collective action while gaining valuable experience in political activism and engagement. Madison saw associations as helping to better bring out the views of the minority so that the majority would not dominate unfettered. However, Hobbes, Washington, and Channing thought they could be dangerous and co-opt the state and, hence, usurp the will of the people. Even de Tocqueville saw them as potentially a tool of the aristocracy to compensate for their smaller numbers.

Nineteenth century. Cutler (2000) argues that at least since the 1840s, parents and educators have competed for clout but also cooperated to achieve educational and social reforms. However, during the 19th century, between 1800 and 1850, the school took on a greater role in cognitive and even moral domains. Cutler claims that "the balance of power shifted from the

home to the school” as White middle-class mothers focused more on “procreation and nurture” and the urban poor had increasingly less time for childcare (p. 1). Furthermore, until the 20th century, public school leaders fulfilled their duties as quasivolunteer civic leaders, not as professionals. However, from midcentury to midcentury, school leadership came to be professionalized and grew to encompass democratic school leadership, curriculum and instruction, system building, community and social activism, political advocacy, public intellectualism, bridging K-12 and the university, and change agency (Bogotch, 2005).

At the same time, by the 1850s, participation in civic associations was much more widespread among all White, Protestant men and many joined professional, athletic, religious, cultural, social service, and political associations (Hall, 2006). Post Civil War through the 1920s, increasingly immigrants, African-Americans, Jews, Catholics, and women also formed their own associations (Hall, 2006).

The progressive era. From 1890 to 1930, the advent of bureaucratic changes, such as compulsory school laws and professionalization of teaching and administration, brought the school even more power (Cutler, 2000). Contemporaneously, during the Gilded Age, which took place during last decades of the 19th century, and subsequent Progressive Era, massive growth in civic and voluntary associations took place, creating the infrastructure for the current network of voluntary and civic groups including SSNPs (Hall, 2006; Putnam, 2000). This was due in part to the ratification in 1913 of the Sixteenth Amendment to the Constitution which established a national income tax. In turn, Congress gave tax-exempt status to organizations that were “organized and operated exclusively for charitable, scientific, and educational purposes” (Frumkin, 2005, p. 11). Historians debate whether the voluntary and civic organizations that formed during the Progressive Era were about social reform, to help immigrants and working-

class people and reduce social inequality, or social control, to control and civilize them, especially given that the era was rife with segregative and exclusionary practices (Putnam, 2000; Reese, 1978). For example, Reese (1978) argues that the organized home-school parent groups subscribed to classist beliefs such as the superiority of the middle-class home.

Increasing numbers of White women joined these civic and voluntary associations, especially those in urban centers (Reese, 1978). The groups emphasized social reform in light of increased poverty, industrialization, and immigration (Hall, 2006; Putnam, 2000; Woyshner, 2003). The undertaking of these reforms was spurred first by the shock of the widespread poverty, especially of children, caused by the industrial depression of 1893 and also by lower birthrates for White middle- and upper-class women and the invention of more time-saving household appliances (Reese, 1978). In this activism, White women were not seeking to find their way out of the home, unless for social purposes, or to make feminist stances. Rather, this activism served as a means for expansion of the notion of home, more opportunities to supervise their children when not at home, and to bolster their influence, especially since women had not yet won the right to vote (Hall, 2006; Reese, 1978). The General Federation of Women's Clubs was established in 1890 and advocated for governmental food inspections; stricter housing codes; safer drinking water; workplace protections for women; and services for the poor, disabled, and women (Putnam, 2000). Some women's clubs built new or beautified existing schools, provided vacation schools, created daycares, served school lunches, and oversaw the adoption of curricular programs such as in domestic science that would serve as an extension of the home (Reese, 1978; Woyshner, 2003).

A movement to establish kindergartens in the 1870s, to provide a wholesome educational environment plus programs for educating kindergarten parents, helped to fuel the growth of

mothers' clubs, and the National Congress of Mothers (NCM) was founded (Putnam, 2000; Reese, 1978). The National Congress of Mothers was formed by Alice McLellan Birney, convening for the first time in 1897, with the idea of educating mothers about the science of motherhood and domestic life, as well as to advocate for social and child welfare reforms including infant health clinics, a separate juvenile justice system, kindergartens, and playgrounds (Crawford & Levitt, 1999; Cutler, 2000; Putnam, 2000; Woyshner, 2003). The establishment of NCM led to the establishment of local mothers' and parents' clubs across the United States which set to work establishing kindergartens and getting playgrounds and new school buildings built (Reese, 1978; Woyshner, 2003). These groups emphasized making schools, especially urban ones, more (middle class) home-like and sanitary. Women's and parents' groups donated and raised funds towards the purchase of portraits of family life, other decorations, and outside landscaping (Crawford & Levitt, 1999; Reese, 1978).

Although the NCM was intended to be inclusive across race-, ethnic-, and class-based groups, in practice the organization was neither. For one, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the NCM's closest ally, did not allow Black women to become members (Woyshner, 2003). Due to their desire to get out from under the control and paternalism of the NCM White-led groups, the National Association of Colored Women's Clubs was established in 1896 (Putnam, 2000; Woyshner, 2003). Even clubs that claimed to be racially integrated segregated members by race during meetings and conventions (Cutler, 2000; Woyshner, 2003). In some cities, Chicago, for example, there were attempts to attract immigrant parents (Reese, 1978), but mostly these clubs were dominated by nonimmigrant, White, middle-class women who could be hostile and patronizing to women from other backgrounds (Cutler, 2000).

During this era, social services such as education became professionalized. In fact, home-school groups formed in part in response to the bureaucratization of public education and the professionalization of teaching (Cutler, 2000; Reese, 1978; Woyshner, 2003). Subsequently, tensions arose between professional educators and the mostly female volunteers in women's and parent's groups (Cutler, 2000; Putnam, 2000; Reese, 1978). Reese (1978) and Cutler (2000) especially note the lack of clear boundaries between where the home and the authority of the parent ended and where that of the school began. These new groups represented parents' efforts to carve out a space of their own within the increasing institutionalization of public education and to keep educators more in touch with "the life of the average citizen" (Reese, 1978, p. 3). This was especially complicated by gender, class, and ethnic dynamics (Cutler, 2000). Newly professionalized White male administrators began to see the growing influence and numbers of these "aggressive" White women volunteers as meddling and as a threat to White male power and autonomy (Cutler, 2000; Reese, 1978; Woyshner, 2003).

Post World War I era. Eventually, in 1924, the NCM changed its name to the National Congress of Parents and Teachers, or the PTA (Woyshner, 2003). During this post World War I era, state and local PTA groups became more common, and the PTA continued to promote and sponsor social welfare initiatives for families and children (Crawford & Levitt, 1999; Cutler, 2000). During the Depression years, the PTA offered emergency services and supplementary nutrition programs (Crawford & Levitt, 1999). In dire financial times, educators saw the need for the support and advocacy of parents (Cutler, 2000).

The tensions between school professionals and the women in civic groups continued in the Depression era. Woyshner (2003) cites, in particular, the work of Teachers College professors Julian Butterworth (1928) and Elmer Holbeck (1934), who were concerned about the

focus of clubwomen on raising funds and wanted home-school groups to be limited to school activities such as homework help, parenting workshops, and to raise funds only for special activities and for impoverished school districts. Their concern was that fundraising activities gave the PTA too much power and influence over educational policies, legislation, and practices. On the other hand, some educational leaders viewed the involvement of parent groups as good for raising the profile of their schools and as good sources of allies to advocate for higher quality teachers and facilities (Cutler, 2000; Reese, 1978). Some also viewed organized parent groups as easier to manage than individual parents—the groups defined their role and provided an outlet for their energy (Cutler, 2000). For Black communities, fundraising on the part of Black mothers was desperately needed to support the public schools neglected by the state (Woyshner, 2003).

During the Depression era, White PTA groups shifted from an emphasis on social reforms to cooperation with school administrations, enrichment, and fundraising. Thus, the PTA cast a wider net which Woyshner (2003) claims contributed to the increase in PTA membership starting in 1930. In addition, with increased industrialization, the rise of the manufacturing sector in the 1930s, President Hoover's promotion of voluntary and civic organizations, came the "democratization of consumption" and increased participation in philanthropic and civic organizations by many working and middle-class Americans, giving them organizational and skills in navigating the political process (Hall, 2006, p. 49; Skocpol, 2003). This also brought together some Americans of different classes and occupations to advocate for legislation and policies, though not those who were excluded because of their race or religion, (Skocpol, 2003). Some local PTA groups endeavored to include more men (Cutler, 2000) and more working-class participation by having meetings in the evenings. The change in name, from mothers to parents was clearly intended to bring more men into the fold. However, for the most part, these efforts

were not successful, and because these parent organizations were often established under the guise of expanding the influence of the women in the home, education activism was perceived as women's work (Crawford & Levitt, 1999; Reese, 1978). There were some attempts to put female PTA leaders on school boards, but the PTA remained a White, middle-class organization of stay-at-home mothers dedicated to preserving family life (Cutler, 2000; Crawford & Levitt, 1999). In addition, while the National Congress of Colored Parents and Teachers Association remained robust and pursued an alliance with the White PTA, the PTA did not make space for Black women to lead, nor were the inclusive policies that the PTA may have had on paper implemented in practice, especially not at the local level (Woyshner, 2003).

While educators grasped the importance of such groups, they still understood their own role in schools to be of primary importance and remained concerned about the meddling of PTAs and the potential usurpation of control (Cutler, 2000). Furthermore, as the mission of the school expanded, especially in urban centers, to include health and social services, the line between home and school became even more blurred. Woyshner (2003) argues that in this new era, the tensions between professional educators and parent volunteers did not diminish.

Post World War II era. The postwar era was marked by a centralizing of authority and advocacy and by both growth and shrinking membership. During World War II, the PTA remained active even as parents were occupied with the war and presented a weekly radio show called *The Family in War* (Crawford & Levitt, 1999). During the post World War II era, parents and teachers largely enjoyed a relationship of reciprocity and trust—parental participation in their community schools was expected (Cutler, 2000). In the 1950s, the PTA facilitated a polio vaccination campaign (Crawford & Levitt, 1999). By then, during the baby boom, local PTAs were among the most popular secular organizations in the United States. Between 1945 and

1960, the percentage of parents who joined the PTA doubled and membership in the organization hit its peak, growing from 3.5 to 12 million members and comprising almost half of American families (Crawford & Levitt, 1999; Putnam, 2000).

At the same time, in 1954, the tax code was modified to bring together different types of nonproprietary organizations, including voluntary associations under one regulatory and tax umbrella and as a result, giving to nonprofit organizations became a way to give donors the maximum tax benefits. Activities such as advocacy that previously were done by more local groups and trade associations shifted to national associations with large memberships that operated on both national and local levels (Hall, 2006; Skocpol, 2003).

Despite the great growth in number of students, in the 1960s and 1970s, the PTA experienced shrinking membership (Crawford & Levitt, 1999; Putnam, 2000; Skocpol, 2003). Between 1959 and 1975, public school enrollment grew by over 9 million students, but the PTA lost 5 million members (Crawford & Levitt, 1999). Kowalski (2010) describes increasing mistrust of government and its institutions starting in the 1960s as well as increasing conflict among groups as the country became more diverse. Additionally, in cases of school district consolidation and judicial rulings regarding school finance notions of adequacy, districts became less localized and more centralized at the state level (Kowalski, 2010). Cutler (2010) describes anticommunist hysteria, White flight, and teacher strikes as also eroding feelings of reciprocity and trust. Lower income and middle-class parents began to assert their right to be part of educational decision making in their children's schools which manifested in the formation of organizations such as the Parents Union for Public Schools and the United Parents Association. There were increasing opportunities for parent participation at the federal, state, and local levels, such as in advisory groups (Cutler, 2000).

Shrinking membership continued in the 1970s and into the 1980s. In the 1970s and 1980s, the PTA emphasized smoking, alcohol, drug, and substance-abuse prevention. Even though the PTA was fully integrated by the 1970s, the perception that it was a mostly White, middle-class, and suburban organization continued (Crawford & Levitt, 1999). For working-class parents, parents of color, and parents wanting change, the PTA was seen as out of touch and part of the problem (Cutler, 2000). By 1980, PTA membership decreased by almost 50% from its height in the early 1960s (Crawford & Levitt, 1999). Though there was a small resurgence in the 1980s with membership increasing to 7 million members, between 1990 and 1997, public school enrollment increased by another 5 million students, yet the PTA lost half a million members (Crawford & Levitt, 1999). In the early 1960s, there had been 47,000 local chapters; by 1984, there were only 24,400 and by 1998, that number had only increased to 25,533 (Crawford & Levitt, 1999). Putnam (2000) places this phenomenon within a larger trend of declining participation in civic and voluntary organizations. Crawford and Levitt (1999) see it as attributable in part to women entering the workforce in greater numbers and the increase in the number of single mother-headed households. Both note loss of membership due to racist reactions to the PTA's support of busing and other racial integration efforts as well as to the rise of individual PTO groups and school-based management teams.

The place of civic organizations in modern society. By now, this sector has come to represent a diverse set of “voluntary mediating institutions” with members that share values and interests (Frumkin, 2005 p. 13). Frumkin (2005) outlines three characteristics of nonprofit organizations: “1) they do not coerce participation; 2) they operate without distributing profits to stakeholders; and 3) they exist without simple and clear lines of ownership and accountability” (Frumkin, 2005, p. 3).

It is not always clear which or whose interests the nonprofit and voluntary sectors represent. Some see them as increasing civic engagement by engaging, empowering, and uniting individuals left out of or without access to the mainstream political process, giving them a role and a voice, a sense of community that collectively works to fill needs and solve public problems (Frumkin, 2005; Steinberg, 2006). However, Frumkin (2005) also describes the nonprofit and voluntary sector as a “contested area between the state and the market where public and private concerns meet and where individual and social efforts are united.” The actions of nonprofit and voluntary organizations reveal tensions between private benefit and public social goods. Steinberg (2006) points to education in particular as a service that produces the collective benefit of preparing students for being participants in a democratic society and the private benefit of credentials that can be exchanged for a salary.

Weisbrod (1975) discusses how the nonprofit reacts to fill government failure in the provision of public goods. Nonprofit organizations provide what the most demanding consumers of government services want. Or, as Ferris (1998) notes, nonprofit organizations are able to increase community satisfaction with public services more than government alone. The concept of “club good theory” (p. 142) under the “service-delivery rubric” (p. 140) could be used to describe organizations such as SSNPs in that they do work to add on to government services that benefit the organizations’ members, or in the case of SSNPs, the members’ children. The members work together to provide goods but “under conditions that they control, including being able to exclude individuals from participating and benefiting” (Ferris, 1998, p. 142). Similarly, nonprofits can be viewed as “supplementary to government” in that they “meet a demand for public goods” (Young, 2000, p. 150) that the government is not providing. When the government is sufficiently providing public services, private funding of said functions decreases

and when it is not, it increases. This is relevant to SSNPs. Some taxpayers may not be willing to contribute towards schools their children do not directly benefit from, but are willing to spend money to supplement their own children's educational experiences at public schools, especially when they are spending less than they would for private schooling.

Trust in government is lower now which enables nonprofits like SSNPs to step in and act outside of the governmental realm to fill in gaps and solve social problems that many citizens do not want the government funding or solving (Frumkin, 2005). This represents the concepts of localism, self-help, independence, and working outside of government-generated solutions. Because nonprofits do not distribute profits to people from the sale of goods or services, people trust them and perceive that they are act in the interest of the public good. As Frumkin puts it, "In the end, nonprofit and voluntary organizations are authorized to act in the public interest by the communities in which they operate" (p. 6). Furthermore, as President George H. W. Bush's "a thousand points of light" reference did in 1998, nonprofits such as SSNPs appeal to both conservatives and progressives. Smaller government, less government spending, and individual action meets social activism, good causes, and benefits to the public good.

Nonprofits are choice-driven in that stakeholders choose to donate to and volunteer with them, and can choose to withdraw that time, effort, and funding at any time (Douglas, 1987; Frumkin, 2006). This is a palatable alternative to generating revenues for public institutions such as schools through taxes. Before investing, contributors want to see value and usefulness in what the nonprofit does and that donations of money and time will serve as investment in society and a reflection of their own values with a tangible a return on their investment.

Public spending also influences donations to these organizations. Political scientist Charles Murray examined private giving versus public spending in the 1960s and found that

when public spending on social programs is higher, private giving was lower; he found the inverse in the 1980s (Frumkin, 2005; Hall, 2006). Economist Alan Reynolds found that by the 1990s, private philanthropy-funded nonprofit efforts that were nearly the same as those of government (Frumkin, 2005). The number of registered tax-exempt nonprofit organizations in the United States increased from fewer than 13,000 in 1940 to more than 1.5 million by the end of the century (Hall, 2006). The role of an active nonprofit and voluntary sector and less robust government spending continued in the 2000s (Young, 2000).

Many nonprofits have become professionalized—they have fewer active and individual members and rely more on salaried staff (Frumkin, 2005; Putnam, 2000; Skocpol, 2003). Posey-Maddox (2013) documented the concept of professionalization in her research of SSNPs in gentrifying urban schools, though not in terms of paid employees but in how the groups operate and the skills of the parents taking over leadership roles. In a way, nonprofits playing this role appeal to notions of social entrepreneurship—“social entrepreneurs who use the nonprofit form to pursue their private visions of the public good” (Frumkin, 2005, p. 22). Entrepreneurs, leaders, donors, and volunteers are relied upon for ideas, funding, and time and hence drive the existence of the sector (Frumkin, 2005). Because they are filling a gap, they are granted control. This concept fits in with other neo-liberal trends in our society.

Think local, act local. Some scholars focus on the localized priorities of nonprofits. For example, sociologist C. Wright Mills sees associations as serving to pacify individual citizens and steer their energies into smaller, localized movements and activities that would not challenge the status quo of existing power structures (Frumkin, 2005). Crawford and Levitt (1999) note participation in PTA groups in particular have shifted from being based on shared concerns about public education to being based on localized, individual-based concerns. Ladd (1999) and

Wuthnow (1998) have also found that parents have shifted their activity from the PTA, and in some cases disaffiliating from it, which is a larger group with umbrella state and national organizations and networks, to smaller, more local, school-level organizations such as PTOs and booster clubs, working on local projects. This enabled them to keep dues money and volunteer hours within their local communities and schools. In fact, parental involvement in schools has not decreased but has increased; it is just “decentralized” (Ladd, 1999, p. 26).

Mark S. Granovetter (as cited in Frumkin, 2005, p. 44) states that nonprofit and voluntary organizations now serve to provide a mechanism to form weak ties that are needed to do things that groups such as SSNPs do, such as gather information and mobilize parents in a school community for a cause, issue, or legislation related to the educational experiences of their children. For example, Dillon (1993, para. 7) documented the rise in New York City of “smaller, scrappier” non-PTA parents groups that engage in advocacy around more school funding and other local issues, such as neighborhood violence and antidrug campaigns. Nonprofit and voluntary associations can build social capital for mutual benefit. However, groups specifically such as PTAs can be narrow in scope as the people they bring together can be homogenous and not work across racial, geographic, and socioeconomic lines, focusing on issues that benefit or are of concern to their particular communities. This means not every individual has a voice through these organizations, nor are they particularly democratic (Clemens, 2006; Frumkin, 2005; Skocpol, 2003). Skocpol (2003) sees this as organizations such as parent-led SSNPs being led by and representative of only the most educated and most wealthy Americans and not focusing on broader community matters or mobilizing advocacy regarding important national and state issues and legislation concerning public education. She argues that while many people

and issues were certainly excluded from the activities of civic organizations in the past, that what has been lost is a sense of shared democratic values and activism.

VI. The Rise and Expansion of SSNP Organizations

While membership in traditional civic organizations such as the PTA has decreased since the post-World War II peak, the number of SSNP organizations have increased as have the amount of funds they are raising (Brown, Sargrad, & Benner, 2017; Crawford & Levitt, 1999; de Leon et al., 2010; Ladd, 1999; Nelson & Gazley, 2014; Putnam, 2000; Wuthnow, 1998).

Nowhere has this phenomenon been more apparent than in the state of California, which serves as a case study of sorts (Brunner & Imazeki, 2005; Brunner & Sonstelie, 2003; Weston et al., 2015). In addition, the phenomenon seems to have increased since the Great Recession and has meant SSNPs are funding core school needs, but inequitably so. Increased reliance on SSNPs has undermined equity at the national, state, district, and school levels. Overwhelmingly, the available research shows that more affluent districts, schools, families, and students participate in and benefit from SSNP fundraising (Brown et al., 2017; Brunner & Imazeki, 2005; Crawford & Levitt, 1999; Freidus, 2016; Golanda & Dagley, 1994; Lareau & Munoz, 2012; Posey-Maddox, 2013, 2016a; Putnam, 2015; Weston et al., 2015; Zimmer et al., 2003). Principals and educational leaders play a role in the rise and expansion of SSNPs as they help to procure funds and interface with SSNPs (Golanda & Dagley, 1994; Krueger, 2007; Lareau & Munoz, 2012; Pawlowski, 2007; Pijanowski & Monk, 1996).

California. In 1971, the state Supreme Court ruled in *Serrano v. Priest* that per pupil property tax revenue across districts be equally distributed (Brunner & Imazeki, 2005; Brunner & Sonstelie, 2003). The passage of Proposition 13 followed in 1979, which reduced property tax rates on homes, farms, and businesses, setting it at 1% across the state and granted the state the

power to distribute it (Brunner & Imazeki, 2005; Brunner & Sonstelie, 2003). Prior to the *Serrano* ruling and the passage of Proposition 13, the per-pupil spending rate was 10% higher in California than it was nationally. After, the rate declined to roughly 15% below national rates. The most affluent districts experienced the greatest declines (Brunner & Imazeki, 2005; Brunner & Sonstelie, 2003). Ostensibly to make up for that, the source of discretionary revenue has shifted from property taxes to voluntary contributions (Brunner & Imazeki, 2005; Brunner & Sonstelie, 2003). More recently, the 2012 passage of Proposition 30 and the Local Controlled Funding Formula in 2013, and a healthier state economy has meant more funding for districts and schools that serve low-income students and English Language Learners and higher per-pupil funding rates, which are now at prerecession levels contributions (Brunner & Imazeki, 2005; Brunner & Sonstelie, 2003; Weston et al., 2015). Nevertheless, substantial state control over funding has continued, the role of private fundraising in localities as an option for increasing revenues has expanded, and voluntary contributions in California have increased even more since the recession (Weston et al., 2015).

The increase in the number of SSNPs. In the 1970s and 80s, PTA membership declined, but the number of SSNPs has grown, especially parent-led groups. Between 1973 and 1994, the number of Americans attending public meetings regarding municipal or school affairs or serving as officers or committee members for local clubs and organizations both fell by 40% (Putnam, 2000). Even for those who were members, participation was not active and mostly meant paying dues and reading newsletters. However, between 1968 and 1997, the number of parent-led voluntary organizations expanded (Putnam, 2000). In fact, preliminary research by Gazley (2015) shows that over the past 40 years, nearly one-third of all charities that file under the educational category of the National Taxonomy of Exempt Entities were started to support

K-12 public schools. In fact, K-12 educational charities are growing at a much faster rate, to the tune of 30% faster, than are nonprofits overall. In 2007, there were more than 19,300 nonprofits, also known as education support organizations, which spent about \$4.3 billion in support of U.S. K-12 public schools (de Leon et al., 2010). These groups included booster clubs, parent-teacher groups, public education funds, scholarship funds, and high school alumni/ae associations, but the majority (73%) were PTAs and PTOs while 11% were public education funds and 7% were booster clubs.

Results, albeit preliminary and nongeneralizable, from a survey done in 2007 of principals and superintendents from schools in urban, suburban, and rural areas in cooperation with the National School Foundation Association about external supports for K-12 districts sheds some light on the structure of community-school partnerships and the funding of schools by private entities (Pawlowski, 2007). Support from private local entities, versus regional or national, was seen as being the most important. These included individual businesses, business coalitions, parent organizations, school-run foundations, regional/national foundations, local nonprofits, regional/national foundations, postsecondary institutions, alumni clubs, and booster clubs. Businesses and parent groups, such as PTAs and PTOs were cited as their most frequent partners and in general were rated to be first and second most important, respectively, with booster clubs coming in third. Furthermore, individual businesses (70.3%), parent organizations (63.2%), and booster clubs (42.6%) were the primary sources of monetary donations. At 77.8% for parent organizations, 52.5% for individual businesses, and 40.4% for booster clubs, such groups were also key sources of volunteers. Goods and services were also primarily contributed by those same three groups with individual businesses at 67.9%, parent organizations at 43%,

and booster clubs at 28.2%. At 32.7%, only parent organizations (versus booster clubs) were among the top three contributors of expertise.

Nelson and Gazley (2014) also found growth in parent-led SSNPs. Using panel data with national coverage, Nelson and Gazley (2014) worked with a primary data set of 16,383 and a final sample of 13,958 unique SSNPs. Of the groups in their original dataset, 70.2% were PTAs and PTOs, 15.1% were booster clubs, 12.9% were local school foundations, and fewer than 2% were other groups. Traditional public schools housed 93.8% of the groups and the groups were spread across the United States. Overall, Nelson and Gazley found that SSNPs increased by 230%, from 3,475 organizations in 1995 to 11,453 organizations in 2010. Certainly, as mentioned earlier, school fundraising had been on the rise even before the Great Recession of 2007 (Gazley, 2015). However, the rise became especially acute after the Recession. Nelson and Gazley (2014) found that most of the increase in nonprofit 990 filings¹ and revenues had taken place after 2001. De Leon et al. (2010) found that while many of the educational support organizations that they studied were established before 1980, their presence had multiplied quickly since 2000; roughly 21% of them were created between 2000 and 2005, which is nearly double the number formed between 1995 and 1999. However, many of those newer groups may have been public education foundations. Over half of the parent groups were formed before 1980 while 93% of public education foundations were established after. In their study of revenues of SSNPs in California between 1990 and 2011, Weston et al. (2015) found that such

¹ A 990 or 990-EZ is an IRS reporting form that federally tax-exempt organizations such as SSNPs with gross receipts of more than \$50,000 are obligated to file each year with the IRS. Through such a process, the IRS and the public can review how a nonprofit organization operates and access information about their mission, programs, and finances. Nonprofit organizations with gross receipts of less than \$50,000 must file 990-N or Form 990-N, otherwise known as an *Electronic Notice (e-Postcard) for Tax-Exempt Organizations not Required To File Form 990 or 990-EZ*.

organizations increased by almost one-third, though parent-teacher groups accounted for little of this was growth.

The expansion of SSNPs in revenues. Even if membership in traditional civic groups such as PTAs has declined, parent-led SSNPs groups have been the engines of the generation of revenues. After all, one need not be a member of an SSNP to make a contribution to it, attend a special event it hosts, or pay for a goods or service it renders. In their study of educational support organizations in 2007, de Leon et al. (2010) found that membership dues only represented 13.3% of revenues for booster clubs and only 5.6% of revenues for parent-teacher groups. Instead, private contributions, income from special events, and fees for good and services make up the bulk of the revenues raised by parent and teacher and booster club groups, representing about 86% of parent-teacher groups' revenues and 76% booster clubs' revenues. In 2007, private contributions comprised 24.3% of revenues for booster clubs and 35.2% for parent-teacher groups. Revenues from special events made up 29.3% of booster clubs' budgets and 34.9% of those of parent-teacher groups. Fees from goods and services generated 22.2% and 16.1% of revenues, respectively, for booster clubs and parent-teacher groups.

Looking at the groups from the standpoint of spending, de Leon et al. (2010) found that while public education foundations in 2007 had much greater expenditures and budgets than did parent groups and booster clubs, the spending of those groups was not insignificant. Ninety-two percent of parent and teacher groups and 72% of booster clubs' annual expenditures were under \$100,000. Slightly over one-fifth of booster clubs had expenditures of between \$100,000-\$249,999, 6% spent between \$250,000 and \$499,999, and 1.2% spent between \$500,000 and \$999,999. The bigger spenders were less present among parent and teacher groups with only a

little over 6% spending between \$100,000-\$249,999, and only 1.2% spending between \$250,000 and \$499,999.

Nelson and Gazley's (2014) findings were similar. Their database of SSNPs was limited in that only registered 501(c) (3) charities that raise more than \$25,000 were required to file 990s. (Starting in 2010, the filing threshold went up to \$50,000). They found there was at least a 100% increase in 990 filings with the IRS, with PTOs, school foundations, and booster club filings growing by more than 300%. SSNP revenues increased at a faster rate than other types of nonprofits, by 247.7%, from \$197 million in 1995 to \$880 million in 2010. Total revenues among PTOs, PTAs, school foundations, and boosters increased by at least 200%. PTOs and school foundations, in particular, increased, respectively, by 527% and 485%. From 1995 to 2010, the percentage of public school districts where at least one IRS-filing, SSNP operated increased from 12% to 29%. Those with a PTA or PTO increased from 9% to 90%, and the percentage of school districts with an IRS-filing booster club went from 3.3% to 10.1%. In 1995, per-pupil voluntary contributions were \$3.67, but by 2010, they were \$20.31 per pupil (in inflation-adjusted 2000 dollars).

In light of even greater documented increases in voluntary contributions to California Public Schools in the late 1990s and early 2000s, Brunner and Imazeki's (2005) research showed the same trend. In 1994, almost \$200 million was raised by local educational foundations, PTAs, and booster clubs to support California public schools (Brunner & Imazeki, 2005; Brunner & Sonstelie, 2003). K-12 foundations, PTAs, and booster clubs in California raised approximately \$1.3 billion in 2007, but had only \$70 million in 1989 (Su, 2012b). After examining the amount and distribution of voluntary contributions in 2001, Brunner and Imazeki (2005) found that voluntary contributions to California public schools, though relatively small, on average at \$39

per pupil, had greatly increased overall from about \$123 million in 1992 to \$238 million in 2001, or by about 62.5%. A nonprofit that raised at least \$25,000 in gross revenues supported 22% of the 6,695 California public elementary and middle schools that Brunner and Imazeki examined.

What expanded SSNPs fund. Initially used to fund supplementary items and initiatives, fundraising by SSNPs has increasingly been used to meet core school needs. This trend is especially prevalent in California and in gentrifying urban schools, and has increased since the Recession. While some districts have policies related to how parent donations can be spent, most do not, and those that do are mostly limited to the funds not being spent on staffing (Brown et al., 2017).

Zimmer et al. (2003) studied six school districts of varying types of racial and socioeconomic composition in Southern California plus one or two schools within each district to ascertain who made voluntary contributions, how they attracted private support, and how the contributions were used. They found that there was a wide range of private groups supporting these districts and schools. The districts received more contributions from larger organizations, such as local businesses and corporations, while individual contributors and smaller groups were more likely to contribute at the school level. In general, private monetary giving supported current operations, technology, and capital improvements. Districts most often used privately donated funds for curricular enrichment programs, instructional materials, professional development, and computers and technology, and tended to give wherever the need was greatest. Individual schools used private money most often for enrichment activities such as field trips and afterschool programs but such funds were also used for supplies and equipment and nonteacher staff salaries. Schools of all levels used private funds for enrichment and staff salaries such as

for science consultants, recess supervisors, school nurses, and reading specialists. However, the wealthier schools also hired part-time teacher aides.

In 2005, Wayne D’Orio, editor-in-chief at the time of *District Administrator*, wrote in his Editor’s Letter about the growth of fundraising in K-12 public schools. One new dynamic he described was, “Many of these groups are raising money to pay for items usually covered in school budgets,” such as teachers, teachers’ aides, facilities upgrades, and classroom supplies. Meno (1984) describes individual PTAs, PTOs, and various booster clubs in North Carolina, New Jersey, Oklahoma, and Wisconsin, providing anywhere from \$6,000 to \$200,000 annually to fund computers, copy machines, playground equipment, audio-visual technology, general supplies, band trips, and improvements to athletic facilities. Gazley (2015) claims that booster clubs have gone beyond just supporting extracurricular activities and sports teams to supporting core functions of schools, such as in science, music, and technology curricula. Golanda and Dagley (1994) studied two districts of differing affluence levels and found that due to budget cuts, principals in both districts were increasingly having to raise funds to provide basics. The more affluent school district used raised funds for field trips, computers, library books, and incentives for students. Most of the funds raised in the less affluent district had to be used for basic services and materials such as office supplies, postage, telephone lines, and carpet cleaning, items funded in the more affluent school district with tax revenues. In Pijanowski and Monk’s (1996) study, booster clubs were shown to implement fundraising initiatives and also connected with local businesses to attain discounts on equipment, uniforms, and supplies and to solicit financial contributions. They operated concession stands at school events, transported school athletes, and aided school sports coaching staff.

While it existed previously, the trend of increasing numbers of SSNPs paying for basics increased after 2007. Just before the recession, in 2007, the National Association of Elementary School Principals (NAESP) conducted a survey of more than 1,000 school principals called *The Value of Fundraising* (Krueger, 2007). The NAESP survey found that 76% of schools conducted between one and five fundraisers per year and that one in five schools asked families and the community for money up to 10 times each year. Results showed that 94% of schools represented in the survey at the time raised funds to pay for classroom equipment and supplies, as well as for “extras” such as playground equipment and field trips. In Nelson and Gazley’s (2014) study, SSNP 990 filings and revenues seem especially to accelerate in 2007 and 2008, post Recession. This is in line with an Urban Institute report documenting that in 2007, there were more than 19,300 nonprofits that spent about \$4.3 billion in support of U.S. K-12 public schools (de Leon et al., 2010). Lareau and Munoz’s (2012) study drew data from a 2008 qualitative case study of an elementary school in an upper-middle class suburb of a large northeastern city with a very active PTO. The school’s PTO holds about 30 fundraisers each year, raising over \$10,000 and maintains a surplus of about \$40,000 per year. PTO funds are used to pay for cultural assemblies and performances, field trip fees for low-income students, classroom supplies, and for larger gifts every few years. PTO members also volunteer a great deal, with in-school activities and clubs, teacher appreciation initiatives, room parenting, clerical assistance, and curricular enrichment.

After consulting board minutes from the 2011-2012 fiscal year from 25 California school districts, Weston et al. (2015) identified 2,427 unique donations that totaled \$12.4 million. Districts spent 27% of these funds on technology and equipment, 22.3% on general district purposes, 16.4% to fund additional staffing, 11.8% on general school purposes, 10.5% on extracurricular activities, and on 8.6% on enrichment. About one-third of donated dollars came

from local SSNPs with 24% from individuals, 23% from PTAs and PTOs, and 9% from booster clubs.

Posey-Maddox spent 2 years, from 2006 to 2008, studying a gentrifying urban school in a Northern California school district (2013) and then spent the 2011-2012 school year studying five gentrifying urban schools in Chicago (2016a). She found that mostly White, middle-class parents in the school were raising funds, volunteering, and applying for grants to fund essential academic programs that had suffered due to local and state funding to education. This was at the expense of other types of SSNP initiatives that could have fostered a healthier and more inclusive school community. The California school's PTO budget increased from \$15,000 in 2001 to \$129,000 in 2007. The PTO helped to fund a librarian, a Spanish teacher, a parent liaison, field trips, a mental health counselor, a fresh produce stand and nutrition program, and art, music, and enrichment programs. In the Chicago schools, via SSNPs called Friends of Groups (FOG), parents were able to offset education budget cuts with fundraising and volunteers to provide resources such as art, music, physical education, playground equipment, full-day kindergarten, and additional staffing. The impact of these FOGs was substantial. Four of the schools raised between \$65,000 and \$250,000. The FOG parents also used their influence to appeal to local civic and school district leaders to approve new programs and facilities upgrades. Freidus (2016) similarly studied how White middle-class parents interact with existing communities in gentrifying urban schools. She studied the discussions on a listserv that was created by a neighborhood parents association in a gentrifying Brooklyn, NY, neighborhood from April 2003 through August 2013. Posts on the listserv about fundraising made up 30% of all of the messages about the school. The parents volunteered, they raised funds, changed their PTA status to that of a PTO, and won grants to make improvements to the facilities.

Who benefits from SSNPs? More educated and affluent parents tend to be connected with SSNPs such as PTAs, PTOs, and booster clubs and these schools and districts are often already in better circumstances than those serving less affluent populations. Multiple studies show that schools and districts serving more affluent students tend to raise more money and spend the funds on different things. This trend manifests in particular ways in gentrifying schools.

More affluent, more SSNP funds. Crawford and Levitt's (1999) study of the National Education Longitudinal Study (NELS:88) found that, for all racial and ethnic groups, the more educated the parents, the greater the participation in parent-teacher groups. For example, 60% of two-parent families with college degrees held membership in parent-teacher groups while only 10% of such families with no high school degree did. Fifty percent of college-educated single mothers were members of such groups versus only 9.7% of single moms lacking a high school diploma.

Schools serving the least affluent students tend to have the least resources. For example, an Oakes and Saunders (2002) report found that many California public schools did not provide textbooks, instructional materials, equipment, and technology. The schools least able to supply those resources were often those with the least experienced, qualified, and satisfied teachers; the most decrepit facilities; and, that served the greatest shares of students from low-income families and the greatest share of non-White students. Furthermore, the teachers in those schools were more likely to spend their own money on supplies and their own time writing grants for funding such materials versus the whiter, more affluent schools where SSNP groups funded such items with fundraising and grants.

Golanda and Dagley's (1994) study examined two districts with different levels of affluence. One, Middleburg, spent \$5,123 per pupil and had a majority White and affluent population, a high postsecondary education attainment rate, rich course offerings including fine arts, an advanced placement program, athletics, and a community service program. The other district, MidCity, had one of the lowest property tax bases in the area, spending \$3,886 per pupil with a majority African-American and less affluent population, a high dropout rate, and struggles with attendance and discipline. The more affluent district of Middleburg raised \$177,421 at elementary school fundraising events which amounted to \$35.71 per child while in the less affluent district of MidCity, although the superintendent successfully pursued assistance from outside funders and contributors such as IBM, elementary school-level fundraising efforts only brought in \$79,225, amounting to only \$16.69 per student. In the more affluent district, fundraising revenues went towards extras such as field trips while most of MidCity's fundraising had to be used for basic services and supplies. Differences were also found within each of the two districts. While the researchers found that funds raised were roughly equal across Middleburg middle schools, the amount of funds raised in the elementary schools was related to the schools' socioeconomic status. The three more affluent elementary schools raised \$42.16 per student while the three less affluent schools raised only \$27.43 per student. Schools in MidCity also differed in amount they fund raised according to level of affluence: The more middle-class schools had more money from fundraising to spend.

Indeed, at the district level, in general, Zimmer et al.'s study (2003) of some Southern California school districts found that "the wealthier the district, the more programs, services, and materials the district purchased with private monetary contributions" (p. 512). Local businesses played a significant role in more affluent districts while corporations did so in less affluent

districts. Local education foundations were found across districts, but the ones in the higher income districts were especially active, providing arts and music programs while the ones in lower income communities funded items such as school uniforms. Poorer districts were more likely to benefit from donations from organizations, including corporate donors that concentrated on supporting less advantaged communities. Higher-income districts relied more on monetary donations while middle and lower income districts received more in-kind contributions. All schools had parents who contributed (in-kind and money) to their children's schools but it varied by degree. More affluent schools had much higher levels of individual parent support, in-kind, and monetary contributions while some less affluent schools raised funds from other private sources.

Brunner and Imazeki (2005) also found that the California public schools in their study did not benefit equally from increases of voluntary contributions. More affluent districts benefitted the most: high (family) income districts were the most likely to both receive revenues from nonprofits and to collect them in higher amounts. In 2001, only 2.4% of schools serving families with an average income of \$42,292 or less had an SSNP that raised \$25,000 or more. Meanwhile, 50.4% of schools that served families with an average of \$86,321 or more did have such an SSNP. For the lower income schools, funding averaged \$32 in revenues per pupil and for the higher income schools, it averaged \$135 per pupil. This was likely due to, as mentioned previously, declining per pupil spending rates hitting more affluent communities the hardest, but was also due to increased fundraising capacity. Furthermore, large contributions seem to be concentrated certain schools. The vast majority (90%) of students in their study were enrolled in schools where voluntary contributions per pupil were less than \$100; only 1.2% of students attended schools that received average voluntary contributions of \$500 or more. Furthermore,

smaller schools (with enrollments lower than 500) serving students from higher income families benefitted from an average contribution per pupil four times larger than in schools with over 800 students—\$308 versus \$73.

Using panel data from the years 1999 to 2009 on 13,058 unique school supporting nonprofits connected to a complete panel of data from unified school district data, Nelson and Gazley (2014) also found that SSNP and voluntary contributions associated with them were not equally distributed across school districts. In general, from 1999 to 2008, the probability that school districts would receive revenues from an SSNP increased as did per pupil voluntary contributions. One model showed that within districts, such contributions increased by 62.3% from 1999 to 2009. Larger districts with higher local property tax revenues per pupil, higher state revenues per pupil, more educated and affluent residents, lower unemployment, lower student poverty rates, and higher rates of non-US citizens had higher probabilities of receiving revenues from an SSNP. In addition, the probability that any SSNP would file a 990 in these districts was significantly higher. This could be especially glaring since 501(c)(3) nonprofits are only required to file 990s if their revenues exceed \$25,000 and the data set were limited only to those filing. The biggest effect of this was not across districts but within districts or across schools where voluntary contributions can have a big impact on certain students or programs that can benefit disproportionately from private funding.

Lareau and Munoz (2012) did a qualitative study of an elementary school PTO in an upper-middle class suburb of a large northeastern city. The PTO was so active that it had 45 different committees. This is not surprising given that about 70% of residents of the school district have Bachelor of Arts degrees and the median income is over twice the national median. The school only enrolls about 10% Free and Reduced Lunch Program (FRLP) eligible students

and 20% non-White students. The school district spends about \$20,000 per pupil per year, which is very high. Even so, the school's PTO holds about 30 fundraisers each year, raising over \$10,000 per year and maintaining a surplus of about \$40,000 per year, funding a mix of extras and basic supplies. PTO members also provided a lot of support to the school in the way of volunteers who lead in-school activities and clubs, offer clerical assistance, and provide curricular enrichment.

Robert Putnam's (2015) mixed methods examination of increasing income gaps and what that means for opportunities for upward mobility includes a chapter analyzing two high school communities in Orange County, CA. He finds that different capacities at the two schools for parent fundraising, which he calls "para-school funding" (p. 167), cause inequities. For example, one school is able to offer many more vibrant extracurricular options, due to associated booster club efforts. Parents in the more affluent school community see fundraising and voluntary contributions as being preferable to paying costly private school tuition. In the case of extracurricular activities, this causes deeper inequities down the road as students at the less affluent schools miss out on character, soft skill, noncognitive, and leadership development that students get in the school that serves students from wealthier families.

Although Weston et al. (2015) found that the amount of voluntary contributions from SSNPs only comprised about 1% of total K-12 funding in the schools they studied, it was not uniformly distributed. The most affluent districts raised almost 15 times more than the least affluent districts. School districts located on the California coast, that were larger if they were inland in the Central Valley, and serving more affluent student bodies raised more money than those districts serving less affluent student bodies. Districts located in wealthier areas with only 0% to 20% of students enrolled in the FRLP were more likely to have an SSNP that raised funds

to support the district. At the school level, SSNPs at schools serving lower numbers of students who qualified for the FRLP brought in the largest amount of revenues—those at the most affluent schools raised more than 50 times what those at the least affluent schools did. Furthermore, when Weston et al. (2015) did a deeper analysis, looking at SSNPs located in districts with schools that varied in the number of lower income students they served, finding these disparities between schools to be even greater.

Brown et al. (2017) found that in 2013-2014, the 50 wealthiest PTA/PTOs in the country raised and spent about \$43 million on their children's schools, or an average of \$867 per student. Each PTA/PTO raised around \$851,000 per year with the top 13 grossing ones each raising and spending over \$1 million. Only about one-tenth of 1% of all students in the country attend these schools, yet their PTA/PTOs are responsible for raising close to 10% of funds raised by all such groups in the country. Inspired by this study, Huron (2017) experimented with mapping data regarding public elementary school PTA/PTOs in Washington, DC examining their 501(c)3 tax-exempt status, the demographics of the schools, and housing costs/presence of subsidized housing in the city. The preliminary findings show that PTOs that raise the most money are in the most affluent parts of the city and serve the students from the most affluent families. Some of these schools were in long wealthier bastions of the city but others were in gentrifying areas.

Gentrification and SSNPs. When the demographics of a school changes, so can the type of engagement and amount of money their SSNPs generate. Posey-Maddox in Northern California (2013) and Chicago (2016a), and Freidus (2016) in Brooklyn, NY, both studied how White middle-class parents, intent on intensive fundraising to counteract budget cuts, interact with existing communities in gentrifying urban schools. Relying on White, middle-class parents

to start and sustain academic programming shaped dynamics among stakeholders in schools, causing imbalances for equity and access.

Posey-Maddox (2013) found that a “professionalized form of parent engagement” (p. 236) became more highly valued than other forms of parental engagement, such as helping with homework. Such fundraising required professional skills—such as grant writing, marketing, website design—and connections to elite social networks such that their efforts excluded working-class and lower income families (Posey-Maddox, 2016a). Posey-Maddox (2013) found that while many parents across different backgrounds were active in their children’s school, when the mostly White, middle-class mothers in the PTO were afforded the most value and visibility, fewer other parents participated in decision-making opportunities, rendering the already powerful even more powerful and the marginalized even more marginalized and less willing to participate in the organization. The more advantaged families in Freidus’ (2016) study also perceived themselves or were perceived as bringing value in the form of social, financial, and political capital. They deemed, in contrast what the school community members who were already there were doing, that their particular involvement would build a better sense of community and help the school be successful. The greater resources that the newer parents brought to the school Freidus studied also managed to marginalize vast number of lower income students who were already there.

Additionally, the FOGs in Posey-Maddox’s (2016a) Chicago study worked first more closely with school leaders and with FOGs at other similar schools than with parents of children who had been enrolled in the schools pregentrification, and some gentrifying parents even expressed frustration over existing parents’ failure to donate and volunteer for the school. They valued the diversity those families brought to the school but did not value their way of engaging

and did not seek their input. While some efforts went beyond individual school communities, even those were limited to connecting with other FOGs in similarly gentrifying school communities. These gatherings, as many local school FOG gatherings were, were often held in for-fee or private forums that did not facilitate deliberation, avoiding any potential dissention.

While many PTO parents had a sense of lending their time and efforts for the “collective” good (Posey-Maddox, 2013, p. 247), a combination of demographic changes, various allocation decisions, and the impact of parents’ social networks were such that not all of the school’s students received the same benefits. Whereas previously the (middle-class) parents who had been active were scattered throughout the grades, many of the gentrifying families were concentrated in the lower grades and applied their efforts and capital therein. Furthermore, what the PTO helped to fund was rare for schools in that district, meaning that this school offered opportunities by way of their PTO that others in the same district could not. Posey-Maddox (2016a) showed that the FOGs also provides academic programs that Chicago Public Schools did not (and that did not exist in schools with more students living in poverty). Hence, the gentrifying parents in the SSNPs may have created inequities between schools in the district. As in the 2013 study, some of the gentrifying parents in the Chicago study did try to ensure equitable distribution of resources within their child’s school, but this was rare; most of the resources raised by SSNPs were targeted to the lower grades where there were fewer students from lower income backgrounds (Posey -Maddox, 2016a).

Posey-Maddox (2016a), showed that the existence of FOGs signaled to other White, middle-class parents that there was parent investment in the school and that it was on a trajectory of improvement. It was assumed that parents would need to contribute to these groups as a matter of course to ensure their child’s school would be a good one. In Freidus’ (2016) study,

too, once a certain number of parents started sending their children to the neighborhood school the discourse on the listserv morphed into celebrating their accomplishments at the school versus debating whether they would send their children there. The increasing numbers of more affluent parents enrolling their children in these schools was offset with a loss of federal funding meant for schools with greater shares of students living in poverty, which, in turn, led to more fundraising (Freidus, 2016; Posey-Maddox, 2016).

Interestingly enough, many of the parents Posey-Maddox (2016a) interviewed did not approve of all of the fundraising even as they continued to engage in it. Several expressed disappointment in the state and local disinvestment that spurred their fundraising and expressed disapproval of using private funds to provide programs such as art and music and infrastructure such as playground equipment and technology. Some parents expressed concern that the FOGs had become an arms race to provide more and more and that the groups were causing inequities across schools in the district. Some parents felt that the time they volunteered on top of working took away from time with their own children. Even so, they saw the work and fundraising as a pressing necessity, as a superior and less costly option to private schooling, and despite some objections, the money was raised, and most parents did not work towards eliminating the source of the budget gaps—state and local disinvestment in public education.

Educational leaders and SSNPs. Another recurring theme in the research is the interaction of educational leaders with SSNPs and fundraising, in terms of how large of a part they play and how much control they retain in what is funded in the schools they run. Golanda and Dagley (1994), who studied two districts of differing affluence levels, found that because of budget cuts, principals in both districts were increasingly having to raise funds to provide basics. Sixty-seven percent of principals in Krueger's (2007) survey reported turning fundraising

decisions over to PTAs or PTOs. Even so, principal endorsement of fundraising initiatives were noted as being important because such endorsement generates greater participation and because principals often have more institutional knowledge than nonprofit and parent leaders. Eighty-six percent of principals had seen an increase in fundraising activities at their schools during the preceding 10 years and 56% of them reported being concerned about their increased number (Krueger, 2007). In their 1996 study, Pijanowski and Monk interviewed school officials and community members who were increasing resources for schools and they identified major sources of external revenues. Booster club leaders, in particular, were reported as being important. Many administrators reported, similar to what Cutler (2000) described, that by coordinating with booster clubs, they could help “coordinate parent involvement with specific institutional needs” (Pijanowski & Monk, 1996, p. 6). Pijanowski and Monk found that to develop alternative revenue sources, school leaders needed to engage in a lot of networking and communication with the surrounding community.

Pawlowski’s (2007) survey of principals and superintendents found that they partnered heavily with private entities such as individual businesses, business coalitions, parent organizations, school-run foundations, regional/national foundations, local nonprofits, regional/national foundations, postsecondary institutions, alumni clubs, and booster clubs to raise funds. In general, in the schools that Zimmer et al. (2003) studied, the principal took the lead in developing relationships with private business and community sponsors, but PTAs and local education foundations were also enlisted to attract private support, though this could vary based on the affluence of the parents. Principals reported that their schools received more private resources from in-school initiatives than from their umbrella district. The more affluent schools relied upon a greater number of parent-organized fundraisers while the principals at the less

affluent schools were relied upon more to make personal connections in the community and with businesses to attract private monetary and in-kind giving. Often private entities, such as larger groups and corporations, preferred to contribute to the less affluent schools.

Lareau and Munoz (2012) studied the structural conflicts between PTO parents and the principal. The researchers found that while such an active PTO brought resources to the school, it also brought conflict between the parents and the principal. The conflicts were structural in nature and were divided into three categories. First, PTO members depended on the principal, teachers, and staff when coordinating PTO programs. Second, there was disagreement over who had authority over PTO events and initiatives in terms of their occurrence, who should staff them, and how inclusive they were. Finally, the PTO and the principal had differing priorities including regarding the hiring main office staff.

VII. The Suburban Context, Concentrated Affluence, and Concentrated Whiteness

Suburban areas and school districts are diversifying (Frey, 2011; Fry, 2009). Students of color are getting greater access to suburban schools but not necessarily access to greater opportunities. The integration of most suburban areas is fleeting and segregation in suburban areas is becoming entrenched. At the same time, pockets of concentrated whiteness and affluence in suburban and exurban areas are accelerating (Chang, 2017; Frey, 2011) and this is reflected in schools. This pattern is also manifesting in the Richmond, VA area.

Diversification of the suburbs and segregation of the exurbs. Recently, there has been a tremendous growth of population, especially of people of color, in the suburbs in the United States, and in the number of students suburban school districts serve (Frankenberg & Orfield, 2012). Between 1993 and 2007, public school enrollment increased by 5.1% with two-thirds of that in suburban school districts (Fry, 2009). Enrollment of students of color in suburban schools

increased by 82% (Fry, 2009). Analyses of 1990, 2000, and 2010 decennial census data show that non-Whites make up 35% of suburban residents (which is about their share of the general U.S. population) and more than half of non-Whites residing in metropolitan areas live in the suburbs (Frey, 2011). This is especially true of Hispanics, though shares of Blacks and Asians also rose during this time, as almost half of suburban population growth in the 2000s was of Hispanics (Frey, 2011; Fry, 2009). At the same time, only 9% of suburban growth was from White people, and White migration from cities slowed (Frey, 2011; Fry, 2009). Likewise, school districts in the suburbs are also diversifying. During the 2006-2007 school year, suburban school districts served a student body that was 41% non-White when it had only been 28% non-White in 1993-1994 (Fry, 2009). Suburban schools in 2006-2007 educated about one-third of all U.S. Black students, 36% of Hispanic students, and a little over half of all Asian students.

Despite this overall diversification, most individual suburban schools remain homogenous and students racially isolated—there has only been a slight increase in racial and ethnic diversity at the school level in the suburbs since the mid-1990s (Fry, 2009). Frankenberg and Orfield (2012) refer to this as resegregation, and with it can come pockets of concentrated poverty. According to Fry (2009), during the 1993-1994 school year, most White students in the suburbs attended a school that was 83% White; in 2006-2007, that figure decreased only to 75%, even as White student enrollment in suburban school districts decreased by 13 points during that time period. During the 1993-1994 school year, most Black students in the suburbs attended schools that were 43% White; in 2006-2007, that figure decreased to only 34%. The typical Asian student in the suburbs attended a school that was 55% White in 1993-1994 but 48% White in 2006-2007. More than two-thirds of suburban students of color attended schools where they

were the majority. These schools served 68% of suburban Black students, 73% of suburban Hispanic students, 50% of suburban Asian students, and only 13% of suburban White students.

In contrast to growth in inner-ring suburbs, exurban growth is heavily White (Frey, 2011). Across those counties, Whites make up 73% of the population growth but only 8% of that growth in the country overall. Immigrants are moving directly to the suburbs whereas before the pattern was move to the cities first, gain wealth, and move out to the suburbs (Chang, 2017). As this happens, and as suburbs become more diverse, White people are shifting to racially isolated (White) exurban communities that are further out even if they say they value and want to live in diverse communities (Chang, 2017). White people are especially reluctant to live in neighborhoods with more Black people, regardless of their income or economic class. This is contributing to concentrations of poverty and Latinx and Black students and on the other hand of affluence and White students (Chang, 2017). At the same time, city schools remain majority students of color and the number of those students educated in town or rural school districts has stayed flat or decreased (Fry, 2009).

At the same time, the Great Recession caused the wealth of Americans to plummet and increased the wealth gap between White households and Black and Hispanic households. This wealth is increasingly being accumulated by a small share of the population. The median wealth of White households is 10 times that of Black households and eight times that of Hispanic households, lower and middle income White households have four times the wealth of Black households and three times that of Hispanic ones and much higher rates of home ownership (Kochhar & Cilluffo, 2017). Only about 25% of White families are classified as being lower income while about half of Black and Hispanic families are, and overall, White families are less likely to be in debt than Hispanic and Black families (Kochhar & Cilluffo, 2017). Overall, gaps

in wealth between higher income households and lower and middle income families are at record high levels, and upper income White households are wealthier than ever. Finally, more Blacks (65%) and Hispanics (55%) acknowledge that economic inequality is a huge problem in the United States than Whites (42%) do.

Meanwhile, since the mid-1970s, the middle class has been shrinking with the extremes expanding, leading to an increase in the concentration of poverty (Massey, 1996). In the 1970s and 1980s most of the concentration of poverty was based on racial segregation—which spatially concentrated poverty. However, an even larger increase in the concentration of affluence occurred since then as the affluent separated themselves geographically, politically, and administratively (Massey, 1996). Reardon and Bischoff (2011) researched how the increase in income inequality from 1970 to 2000 increased income segregation in three ways: spatial segregation of poverty and affluence, according to race, and on a geographic scale. They found a strong relationship between income inequality and income segregation, especially for Black families and especially in terms of larger spatial segregation of affluence. Segregation of poverty and of affluence were much higher in 2000 than they were in 1970. In 100 of the largest metropolitan areas they studied, segregation of affluence is generally greater than the segregation of poverty which is driven by larger scale segregation of the highest earners and most affluent. There is less segregation of the extreme poor.

Taylor and Frankenberg (2017) examined the relationship between school boundaries and spatially concentrated affluence in the Mobile, AL, metropolitan area, which is comprised of Mobile County and Baldwin County and their school districts and the break-away small school district, Saraland. The researchers found that elementary and middle school catchment areas with greater percentages of affluent households were clustered in groups (spatially) while those

with a smaller percentage of affluent households were clustered together. This pattern was not significant for high school areas. There were greater numbers of tracts and catchment areas of concentrated affluence than concentrated poverty, 15 versus 4. There were no catchments of concentrated poverty in the Baldwin School district, however. And, there were relatively low levels of segregation at the district level, meaning there was greater within school district segregation than between and there was greater levels of segregation of affluent households between the catchment areas within the districts than between the three districts.

Suburban districts and SSNPs. Suburban school districts already benefit most from SSNPs (Pawlowski, 2007). Urban districts were more likely to be supported by institutional actors such as postsecondary institutions, local and regional/national foundations, and nonprofits. Suburban districts were more likely to receive support from community-based partners such as local businesses, business coalitions, parent organizations, school-run foundations, externally run foundations, and alumni/ae clubs. Suburban schools were also more active in taking advantage of partnerships and external funding opportunities. Rural areas reported less than average levels of support from all types of partners except for booster clubs. In all categories, suburban schools reported the greatest rates of contributions.

On top of that, as the middle class shrinks and affluence becomes concentrated, the affluent tend to work to decentralize government and government services such as K-12 education and contribute, via public revenues or private payments, only to their public institutions (Massey, 1996). This keeps their costs low—a large underclass is formed without the affluent having to contribute to services that take care of their social welfare. In schools, this phenomenon is especially pronounced and consequential: the most affluent and best-prepared students are in the best-resourced schools while the inverse is true for those living in poverty

(Massey, 1996). The cycle is not only repeated, it is exacerbated—the disadvantaged become further disadvantaged and the advantaged become further advantaged. For example, Wuthnow (1989) found that his subjects enjoyed volunteering and the feeling of being helpful, but that civic engagement in the suburbs is based around “individual cases rather than broader social conditions” (p. 89). Furthermore, as established earlier, the wealthiest schools tend to have the wealthiest SSNPs. For example, Brown et al. (2017) found the schools with the wealthiest PTA/PTOs in the country serve greater shares of more affluent students—either as part of a wealthier district or as a wealthier school within a lower income district. Less than one-third of students in most of those schools qualified for the FRLP and over 70% of the schools served fewer than one student in 10 from low-income families.

Class-based experiences in the suburbs. Analyses done by Education Week showed that middle-class parents are more likely to volunteer and participate in parent groups in school which connects them to more educational resources and opportunities for their children (Sparks & Harwin, 2017). More affluent parents often have more flexible jobs where they can spend time volunteering. Hence, structural inequalities that impact families already are replicated and further deepened in school. *Home Advantage*, Lareau’s (2000) examination family-school relationships in two suburban majority White elementary schools, one working class (Colton) and one upper-middle-class (Prescott), illustrates this phenomenon.

The upper-middle-class school parents in Lareau’s (2000) study believed that education was a “shared responsibility” (p. 8) and they acted on those beliefs. They were very much involved in the education of their children at school, whether by volunteering, by intervening, or by extending school work at home with tutoring and extra homework. Attendance at parent groups’ events was much higher at Prescott than at Colton, and the fundraisers were used to fund

enrichment activities and school materials. The upper-middle-class parents had access to more resources, but the key was how they “activated” these resources to lead to “social profit” (p. 145-146). Social resources possessed by these parents “facilitated teachers requests for parents’ participation in their children’s schooling” (p. 145-146). This dynamic had an impact on use of teachers and administrators time. While teachers and principals at Prescott had more parent-generated resources, there was a downside: Teachers had to spend a great deal of time organizing and training parent volunteers and navigating parents’ concerns about their own children. Administrators also had to attend to these dynamics but on a larger scale, going back and forth between managing parent concerns, including criticisms about the quality of the work teachers and administrators did, and managing their staff and faculty.

On the other hand, parents at the working-class school in Lareau’s (2000) study kept the two places, home and school, separate. They reviewed papers that came home and read to their children, but did not intervene in their children’s schooling. Educators in both schools attributed disparities in involvement and behaviors as the parents’ valuing education differently. However, the interview data indicated that parents at Colton did value education and were upset when their children were not succeeding in school. Colton parents’ expressions regarding how they valued education was not reflective of their involvement. Many of the Colton parents reported having inferior educational skills and could not navigate the educational system or contribute to the school as they wanted to. Some teachers went so far as to judge the potential of the students according to their parents’ participation in school functions; that is, if the parents were more active, the teachers would see that student as having more potential even if the performance of the student of less active parents was comparable. The working-class parents lacked the same

resources and the same means of activating them. This meant the Prescott students were able to reap “educational profits” that the Colton students were not able to (p. 145-146).

Racialized experiences in the suburbs. Increasing diversification of the suburbs is a good sign, and Black students there are generally higher-performing than their urban counterparts with greater access to resources (Diamond, 2006; Lewis-McCoy, 2014; Posey-Maddox, 2017). However, segregated, inequitable, and disparate experiences for Black students remain in suburban schools even if they are less overt than in the past (Diamond, 2006; Lewis-McCoy, 2014; Posey-Maddox, 2016b; Posey-Maddox, 2017). Black students have less access to educational advantages and resources in and outside of school (Diamond, 2006; Lewis-McCoy, 2014). At the hands of a majority White teaching forces, Black students are subject to the questioning of their intellectual capabilities and the diminishment of their culture (Diamond, 2006; Posey-Maddox 2016b; Posey-Maddox, 2017). Outcomes are also impacted, regardless of class (Diamond, 2006; Lewis-McCoy, 2014). In one diverse and high-performing suburban high school, Black students were found to have lower GPAs, lower scores on standardized tests, were under-enrolled advanced courses, and had a 15% lower rate of college entrance (Diamond, 2006).

Black students have disparate educational experiences and so do their parents. Posey-Maddox (2016b) studied the experiences of two minority groups: gentrifying White people in Chicago and Black people moving to the suburbs in Wisconsin. The White families had options and choices the Black families were lacking. As the outsiders, the White parents in the city did not experience the marginalization, social and civic isolation, and paucity of spaces for them that the Black families moving to the suburbs did. In a qualitative study of Black fathers’ involvement in their children’s majority White suburban schools, the Black fathers were pleased

with the additional resources of the suburban schools, but contending with biases from educators was difficult (Posey-Maddox, 2017). White educators tended to assume that they would be absent from their children's education or were resistant to their engagement, especially when they intervened in cases of perceived racially disparate disciplinary practices.

McGrath and Kuriloff (1999) conducted a participant-observation study of parent involvement in a suburban school district that served a student body that was 80% White, 12% Black, 6% Asian American, and about 2% Latinx. The student body was fairly affluent, though per capita incomes of Whites and Asian-American households were double those of Black families. The researchers found that most parent volunteer activities occurred during the school day which precluded many non-White parents from participating, White upper-middle-class mothers in particular were more involved, and those mothers were perceived as excluding other parents. White upper-middle-class mothers tended to view the schools as their principal place for community and social networking and expressed discomfort with other parents, especially if they questioned too many of the school policies and procedures. This caused other inequities. For example, these White upper-middle-class mothers intervened with school administrators and decision makers to lobby for more tracked courses and for their children to be placed in them, often at the exclusion of other children. In his qualitative study of a suburban school district that served a racially and socioeconomically diverse community, Lewis-McCoy (2014) similarly found that since White parents have more cultural capital and more access to resources, they are able to cull favor in the schools by participating as parent volunteers. In addition, the White parent volunteers served as gatekeepers to certain information, resources, and further opportunities to volunteer which Black families were not always included in. This dynamic is also true for school parents who do not speak English and cannot volunteer as easily or access

the information about parent group meetings and volunteering (Sparks & Harwin, 2017). Furthermore, as Rolling Acres School District was diversifying, Rolling Acres administrators expressed concern about “threat of exit” (Lewis-McCoy, 2014, p. 90) that is, the departure of White, affluent families. School staff valued the economic, social, cultural, and human capital that these families brought via the PTA, volunteering, financial, and in-kind contributions, and high test scores and they wanted to keep them happy and enrolled.

Enclave schools. Even while professing otherwise, White families do not value integration in practice as much as they do in theory. Henig, Hula, Orr, and Pedescleaux (1999) discuss the concept of “enclave schools” (p. 198) where in urban majority-Black school districts, parents do not engage in district-wide activism but instead pour their efforts into their own children’s (whiter) schools, deepening inequities. These efforts most notably include fund-raising for educational materials and enrichment that the school district does not supply and also volunteer efforts. This dynamic is relevant to more diversifying suburban school districts and to the growing whiter exurban ones. Orfield (2012) examined the community of Oak Park, IL, a western suburb of Chicago that worked to intentionally integrate starting in the mid-1960s and has been stably diverse since then. Unfortunately, what made the suburb popular has attracted newer White residents who do not prioritize integration. Housing costs increased and home ownership for Whites and Asians increased but decreased for Latinxs and Blacks. Veteran stakeholders report that the newer residents are more focused on their individual child than on the community. In their study of area a diversifying suburban school district in San Antonio, TX, Holme, Diem, and Welton (2014) found that as the areas closer to where they resided become more diverse, the elite and more affluent parents in that area exerted pressure to get their children districted for the schools in the whiter, more affluent areas. This creation of

wealthy enclave schools was somewhat mitigated by equal geographic representation on the local school board and hence more equitable distribution of resources.

Johnson's (2006) study focuses on education, finding that it is one of the mechanisms where Americans, both lower and higher income, most strongly believe in the meritocracy of the American Dream, that no matter their background, kids will be given equal educational opportunities that will enable them to succeed. Her subjects acknowledge that American society is inequitable and that wealth imbalances and access to wealth means some children have greater educational opportunities than others. However, they believe that schools offer the best chance and opportunity to level the playing field for the next generation and that their positions in society has been earned by merit and hard work (or not enough of it). Out of parental duty, parents did everything they could to ensure their own children got the best education possible: "Wealth was a very private power that was used in a very public domain to access advantageous education for children" (p. 123). In fact, parents may have used this obligation to justify living in White, affluent enclaves and to bolster their own social status and class status.

Overall, a good school meant one that was in a good neighborhood, which translated to more affluent and more White (Johnson, 2006; Johnson & Shapiro, 2003). But a good school also meant one with "updated facilities and equipment, stimulating atmospheres, and high quality educational programs . . . that were safe, had teachers who were dedicated, small class sizes, computers, healthy environments, and successful graduates that went on to excel academically and occupationally" (Johnson, 2006, p. 40). These things are often supplied by SSNPs. One of Johnson's subjects brought up parent engagement, stating that schools in more wealthy areas are "the most successful" (p. 43) because the parents have the money to support the schools and the schools can offer more opportunities. Furthermore, her subjects were better able to access those

superior opportunities and better schools because they had sufficient wealth to do so. Family wealth is key in determining which children ended up in which schools and then through those opportunities, those children are better positioned in the present and the future for more and better opportunities. It is a vicious cycle of inequality. Meanwhile, the parents of children in “bad” schools were held responsible for their child being in that position, for making “bad choices” and for not valuing education (Johnson, 2006, p. 91).

VIII. Richmond, VA

The trend of diversifying suburbs and growing and whitening exurban communities is especially true of metropolitan areas in the South (Frankenberg & Orfield, 2012), such as Richmond. Since the early 20th century, Richmond, VA, was a de jure segregated city. In the mid-20th century, racist housing policies such as mortgage discrimination, Federal Housing Authority policies, the construction of highways through Black city neighborhoods, urban renewal initiatives, and red-lining continued this segregated status quo for the entire Richmond metropolitan region—including in area public school systems—where the city was majority Black and the suburbs majority White and affluent (Siegel-Hawley, Koziol, Moeser, Holden, & Shields, 2017). It was not until 1968 when the Fair Housing Act was passed that some middle-class Black families could secure Federal Housing Authority loans to buy homes in the suburbs. This began the trend of the quad-county school systems becoming more diverse, even as the suburban school districts remained overwhelmingly White and affluent.

Chesterfield, Hanover, and Henrico counties are the three suburban counties that make up the quad-county area. By now, roughly 27% of new residents in Henrico County are Asian and in Chesterfield are Hispanics/Latinxs while both counties gained 8,000 Black residents, accounting for 43% of their new residents (Siegel-Hawley et al., 2017). As found in the Mobile,

AL, area (Taylor & Frankenberg, 2017), at the neighborhood level, especially in elementary catchment areas, elementary school enrollments mirror neighborhood composition, and the neighborhoods are often segregated (Siegel-Hawley, 2016). In the 100 metropolitan areas examined by Frey (2011), all lost White population. The Richmond metro area was found to have a 30% to 50% minority population (Black people were the largest non-White group). In the 20 exurban counties that grew the most in the 2000s, which includes ones in Richmond, VA, population growth was at three to five times the rate of the U.S. average between 2000 and 2010. Meanwhile in the City of Richmond, White population grew by about 2% and Black population fell by 2.5% (Siegel-Hawley et al., 2017). In the quad-county area White students only comprise 48.2% of the K-12 student population.

James Ryan (2010) explored the urban-suburban divide in the Richmond, VA metropolitan area. He addressed the legal history, especially of segregation and lack of integration, examining the contrasts of resources and opportunities between Douglas S. Freeman High School of Henrico County and Thomas Jefferson High School of the City of Richmond. He discusses the promise of more integrated schools and more equitable opportunities given the increasing diversification of the school population and suburbs. More recently, Siegel-Hawley (2016) chronicled the intersection of policy and legal rulings, segregation and desegregation phenomena, school district boundaries, demographic trends, and educational opportunities in the Richmond, VA area. She, too discusses shifting demographics that are disrupting the city-suburban Black-White dichotomy, as is the trend nationally. However, as is also the larger trend, the suburbs in the Richmond area, after a brief period of more integration, are resegregating. Inner-ring central Henrico neighborhoods are now majority Black, especially those closer to Richmond, while exurban communities further out are becoming whiter.

Black- and Latinx-segregated communities tend to have more residents living in poverty, who are less educated, with less access to health care and healthy food options, and who are more likely to be unemployed. Schools in those communities often have less experienced and qualified teachers, fewer advanced courses and other learning opportunities, larger class sizes, more outdated and crumbling facilities, fewer educational materials and supplies, and disparate academic outcomes. Specifically in the quad-county area, Siegel-Hawley et al. (2017) found that in every school, White and other race students were over-represented in advanced placement courses across school districts. Furthermore, schools in lower income communities had higher rates of student poverty and lower scores on third grade Reading and Math Standards of Learning (SOL) tests.

IX. Contributions and Significance of This Study

Nontraditional (nontax) sources of revenues for schools, including from PTAs, PTOs, and booster clubs became more prevalent in the late 20th century as state investment in K-12 public education decreased and expectations of schools expanded (Addonizio, 2000, 2001; Hansen, 2008; Meno, 1984; Monk & Roelke; 1994; Pijanowski & Monk, 1996). The Great Recession of 2007 led to continued disinvestment in K-12 public schools (Casselmann, 2014; Leachman et al., 2016; Leachman et al., 2017). This dynamic was mirrored in the Commonwealth of Virginia, although Virginia presents its own school finance context (Salmon & Alexander, 2014; Leachman et al., 2017).

What I term Big Philanthropy has long had a role in the funding of public education via public-private partnerships. Over the past few decades, the role of Big P in school funding has shifted as budget cuts were normalized and as these organizations have taken on a more political role (Hansen, 2008; Greene, 2015; Hess & Henig, 2015; Kowalski, 2010; Reckhow & Snyder, 2014; Semuels, 2017; Simpson, 2007; Snyder, 2015). Explorations of the confluence of

increased philanthropic activity and democratic control and of how Big P dollars replace government funding and philanthropists replace democratically elected representatives are important (Semuels, 2017). This project, however, is more concerned with the role of what I term “Little Philanthropy” or “Little P.” The history and current role of civic and nonprofit groups that include SSNPs is relevant to this study in that such groups have long been a part of American society, though their role has shifted over time from being more community minded, even as they excluded most Americans who were not white and male, to being more locally concerned (Boris & Steuerle, 2006; Clemens, 2006; Cutler, 2000; Crawford & Levitt, 1999; Douglas, 1987; Frumkin, 2005; Hall, 2006; Hansmann, 1987; Ladd, 1999; Putnam, 2000; Reese, 1978; Skocpol, 2003; Steinberg, 2006; Woyshner, 2003; Young, 2000). While much can apply to SSNPs, or directly apply in some cases, the body of literature on civic associations and nonprofits mostly focuses on salaried nonprofit organizations. Even then, not much research has been done exploring the role of nonprofit organizations versus government entities (Hansmann, 1987). The modern role of Little P, such as from all-volunteer, parent-led SSNPs, such as PTAs, PTOs, and booster clubs, are not featured in this body of literature and needs to be more thoroughly examined. This study can make a contribution towards filling this gap.

Even as membership in traditional civic groups such as PTAs has decreased, parent-led SSNPs have increased in number and in amount of revenues they raise, and the conditions of the Great Recession has helped to accelerate and normalize the funding role of these organizations (Brown, et al., 2017; Crawford & Levitt, 1999; de Leon et al., 2010; Gazley, 2015; Nelson & Gazley, 2014; Putnam, 2000; Weston et al., 2015). School-supporting nonprofit organizations have shifted from funding extras to funding core school needs and functions, deepening inequities between districts and schools (Addonizio, 2000, 2001; Brunner & Imazeki, 2005;

D’Orion, 2005; de Leon et al ; Freidus, 2016; Gazley, 2015; Golanda & Dagley, 1994; Krueger, 2007; Nelson & Gazley, 2014; Pawlowski, 2007; Pijanowski & Monk, 1996; Posey-Maddox, 2013, 2016a; Weston et al., 2015; Zimmer, et al., 2003). Due to its unique policy and finance context, many studies of this phenomenon in the state of California have been reviewed (Brunner & Imazeki, 2005; Brunner & Sonsteli, 2003; Zimmer et al., 2003; Weston et al., 2015). There are fewer studies of this phenomenon in other states. More studies, such as this one in Virginia, are needed on this phenomenon in other states.

Principals and educational leaders play a role in the rise and expansion of SSNPs, especially in fundraising efforts (Golanda & Dagley, 1994; Krueger, 2007; Lareau & Munoz, 2012; Pawlowski, 2007; Pijanowski & Monk, 1996; Zimmer et al., 2003). District administrators do not fully understand the role and impact of nongovernmental funding on schools (Hansen, 2008). Cutler (2000), Reese (1978), and Woysner (2003) present historical trends in tensions between parent leaders and educators but not current trends. Lareau and Munoz (2012) explored power dynamics between educational leaders and PTO parents in an affluent suburban school, but not the role of financing that local SSNPs play. The literature I reviewed was slimmest regarding the role of educational leaders in this phenomenon. This study will shed light on that role.

There are socioeconomic implications in the rise and expansion of all volunteer, parent-led SSNPs. The largest, most active, most influential, and most revenue-generating groups are concentrated in affluent school districts, schools, and even classrooms (Brown et al., 2017; Brunner & Imazeki, 2005; Crawford & Levitt, 1999; Freidus, 2016; Golanda & Dagley, 1994; Nelson & Gazley, 2014; Posey-Maddox, 2013, 2016a; Putnam, 2015; Weston et al., 2015; Zimmer et al., 2003). Many researchers study disadvantaged populations; not as many study

advantaged populations. Twenty years ago, when Massey (1996) observed the rise in inequality and in areas of concentrated poverty and affluence, he discussed the notion that it is not enough to study poverty; we must study affluence to understand how and why this stratified society functions. More recently, Taylor and Frankenberg (2017) noted the paucity of research on concentrated affluence. Likewise, there is no measure of concentrated affluence as there is of concentrated poverty, which is 40% of land tract in poverty, and the census does not document affluence as it does units of poverty (Taylor & Frankenberg, 2017). Since wealth is comprised of financial assets and intergenerational transfers, which does not manifest in income, and hence, is a better indicator of inequality than income, Johnson's (2006) studies wealth versus income inequality. Understanding how people through their own choices and actions perpetuate inequality helps to understand the rise, and maintenance of inequality, and how to dismantle it. While Johnson (2006) examined the role of family wealth, it is important to examine school community wealth, too. This dissertation studies the affluent, as well, but rather than look at it as a family matter, looks at it as a school-level matter.

Traditionally, studies of race relations and economic inequality focus on people and communities of color and those living in poverty, the recipients of inequity. Johnson (2006) makes the case, and the same case can be made here, that studies of affluence are related to studies involving race in that the wealth gap is racialized since people of African descent who were enslaved, and even after emancipation, were not permitted to own property, accumulate wealth or assets. This was and is exacerbated by racial discrimination. Hence, with the propensity to make White, affluent enclave schools, a critique of whiteness is needed here (Posey-Maddox, 2016b; Doane 2003). Whiteness is often left unexamined and the onus is put on the victims of racism to change to better succeed in a system of white domination (Doane, 2003).

Since “whites have historically controlled the major institutions of American society,” including educational ones it is important to examine why they do what they do and how they help cause inequities and impact the phenomenon of study here (Doane, 2003, p. 7). This aspect of the study, that is, as a study of whiteness, is grounded in “anti-racist” efforts and in a desire to “challenge white racism” and “white hegemony,” for “social change,” and for a “reshaping of the relationships that it attempts to study” (Doane, 2003, p. 6).

The experience of students of color in urban educational arenas continues to receive much academic focus, and the intersection of urban gentrifying schools and SSNPs in particular has been studied by some scholars (Freidus, 2016; Posey-Maddox 2013, 2016a). However, 50% of Black students are educated in suburbs, yet literature on that topic is lacking (Lewis-McCoy, 2014). Scholars have started to pay attention to demographic changes, including to concentrated affluence and income segregation, and to racialized educational inequities in the suburban landscape (Diamond, 2006; Frankenberg & Orfield, 2012; Frey, 2011; Fry, 2009; Johnson, 2006; Lewis-McCoy, 2014; McGrath & Kuriloff, 1999; Orfield, 2002; Posey-Maddox, 2016b, 2017; Reardon & Bischoff, 2011; Taylor & Frankenberg, 2017). Even so, suburban districts and, specifically the role of SSNPs thereon need more examination, more troubling (Diamond, 2006; Lewis-McCoy, 2014; Posey-Maddox, 2016b). Racism, White hegemony, and reproduction of societal inequalities exist in the suburbs, too. This study aims to examine how those manifest specifically in the phenomenon of all volunteer-, parent-led SSNPs.

Finally, trends of diversification and resegregation of suburbs in the Richmond, VA metropolitan area are representative of such trends nationally (Frey, 2011; Siegel-Hawley, 2016; Siegel-Hawley et al., 2017). In addition, students in the Richmond, VA quad-county area experience many educational opportunities and resource gaps (Siegel-Hawley et al., 2017).

Siegel-Hawley et al. (2017) examined the suburban and partly exurban counties of the Richmond, VA quad-county area, which includes Chesterfield, Hanover, and Henrico counties. Even as poverty is rising across the region, only one in four of the typical White, Asian, or more affluent students' schoolmates come from low income families while two in four of Black students do. In general, higher poverty schools are located in higher poverty neighborhoods. Similarly, the typical White student in the area attends a school that is 64% White while Black and Latinx students tend to attend schools that are majority Black and Latinx. The history of educational opportunities vis a vis the challenges posed by de jure and then tenacious de facto segregation in Richmond, VA area school districts has been richly and deeply chronicled (Pratt, 1992; Ryan, 2010; Siegel-Hawley, 2016; Siegel-Hawley et al., 2017). However, the role of SSNPs is a source of opportunity and resources not sufficiently addressed in this body of literature, and unlike test scores and census data, it is tucked away from public view. This study attempts to shine light on this hidden opportunity in the quad-county area of Richmond, with a focus on the suburban counties.

X. Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

The purpose of my study is to explore the footprint of parent-led SSNPs, such as PTAs, PTOs, and booster clubs in the metropolitan area of Richmond, Virginia, with a focus on the demographically shifting suburban districts in the quad-county area (Siegel-Hawley et al., 2017). It explores the intersection of economic status and race/ethnicity of students and the role of SSNPs. It investigates how and why parent-led SSNP organizations such as PTAs, PTOs, and booster clubs exist as they do in the area and educational and nonprofit leaders are interpreting and navigating the expanded role of SSNPs, especially in a postrecession context of normalized spending cuts.

My research questions are:

1. How does the overall economic status and racial/ethnic composition of student populations of schools in suburban districts in the Richmond, VA quad-county area intersect with the phenomenon of school-supporting nonprofit organizations (SSNPs) such as PTAs, PTOs, and booster clubs? Specifically, what is the significance of student economic disadvantage and race/ethnicity on the presence and type of SSNPs, on volunteer capacity and activities, and on financial capacity and impact?
 - a. What is the significance of student economic disadvantage on the presence and type of SSNPs?
 - b. What is the significance of student economic disadvantage on volunteer capacity and activities?
 - c. What is the significance of student economic disadvantage on financial capacity and impact?
 - d. What is the significance of student race/ethnicity on the presence and type of SSNPs?
 - e. What is the significance of student race/ethnicity on volunteer capacity and activities?
 - f. What is the significance of student race/ethnicity on the presence and type of SSNPs, on financial capacity and impact?
2. How and why do parent-led school-supporting nonprofit organizations, such as PTAs, PTOs, and booster clubs, exist and function as they do in the suburban districts in the Richmond, VA quad-county area in light of the socioeconomic and racial/ethnic disparities addressed in the first question? What role are school-supporting nonprofit stakeholders, especially educational and school-supporting nonprofit leaders, playing? How are they navigating and justifying their experiences?

Chapter 2

A Mixed-Methods Methodology

I. Introduction

In Chapter 1, I reviewed the literature on the topic and presented the significance and purpose of this study as well as the research questions. I discussed the essentials of school finance, the history of civic organizations and parent groups, previous studies conducted on the role of SSNPs in K-12 public schools in the United States, the context of diversifying suburban areas, and literature on the landscape of the Richmond, VA metropolitan area.

In this chapter, I will present the methodology I used to answer the research questions. This study is unique methodologically in that I am not looking at a trend from a quantitative bird's eye view, but am unpacking one metro area, both quantitatively and qualitatively. This mixed-method study examines a selection of suburban school districts within the same metropolitan area, focusing on the intersection of students' economic status and race/ethnicity with the upsurge of SSNPs, their volunteer capacity and activities, and financial capacity and impact. The study further investigates how SSNP stakeholders at the schools with the most and least numbers of affluent students and White and Asian students are making sense of their role in SSNPs. First, I will present my perspective as a researcher, including why this topic is important to me and the approach and lens I used. Then, I will describe the design of the study. Next, I will review the methodological choices I made, including site and sample selection, data sources, collection, and analysis. Finally, I will discuss the limitations of the study.

II. Researcher Perspective

No research endeavor can be truly objective. Starting with which data to analyze, those choices as well as the analytical process are subject to my own attitudes, beliefs, and values (Miles, Huberman, & Saldana, 2014). Being attentive to the ideals of reflexivity means being aware of what I knew and how I knew it, of my own perspective, and of the perspectives expressed in the various documents I analyzed (Creswell, 2014; Patton, 2015).

Why this topic. Merriam (2009) suggests looking to one's own life to find a topic of interest, to answer, "Why are things the way they are?" (p. 55). Maxwell (2013) says that all researchers have personal "motives, assumptions, and agendas" (p. 24) that influence their work. These are healthy influences to have and can provide "a major source of insights, hypotheses, and validity checks" (p. 45), but they must be disclosed and their impact accounted for or else they might bias and threaten the validity of my study.

My topic is, indeed, informed by my personal experience. I grew up in Washington, DC, the daughter of two civil rights lawyers, both of whom specialized in education and school funding, my father as part of the Office of Civil Rights at the United States Department of Health, Education, and Welfare and my mother with a private civil rights law firm and then with the Washington Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. My sister and I went to DC public schools, and always looming in the background was talk of school funding, how there was not enough of it or what there was of it was being mismanaged or both. My mother was also always engaged both in system-wide school advocacy (and remains so today) as well as engagement in my own schools, even serving as PTA president of my high school.

As an adult, I joined national efforts to resist neo-liberal, bi-partisan education reforms that swept cities like DC. Then, I came to appreciate the importance of local engagement and

activism. As Virginia's state government reduced aid to public education after the Recession, so did my local government. The Board of Supervisors temporarily reduced property tax rates during the real estate boom and then failed to correct them when the bubble burst and the Recession took hold. At the same time, Tea Party candidates and Tea Party ideology took over. The Board implemented and normalized austerity measures such as cuts to public services like public schools. PTAs and other private groups moved in to fill in gaps, funding furniture, technology, facilities upgrades, extracurricular activities, school supplies, and classroom materials. The schools that served wealthier areas had these compensatory resources my children's schools did not. I studied the school system's budget and found that some schools' operating budgets were the same or less than the budgets of their SSNPs. I started to wonder if the SSNPs where I lived were straying from their original missions and what this shift meant for schools that served more versus less affluent student bodies.

Before critiquing any institution, it is important understand what is happening and why, and then try to contribute to fixing what is wrong. I believe in earning my right to complain. Thus, I spent 4 years serving on the local unit PTA executive boards of the two elementary schools that my children attended, including 2 years as PTA president. I also have taken leadership roles in local groups that advocate for adequately resourcing and funding our local public schools and for serving all students equitably.

In fall 2014, during the first semester of my doctoral program in Educational Leadership, a school finance course gave me the framework I needed to articulate more concrete questions about what was occurring where I lived. I completed a paper on the topic entitled, "Private Money in Public Schools." I was hooked. I learned that school finance was not only budget calculations, funding mechanisms, and formulas; it is political. I wanted to formally study this

phenomenon, using tools of social scientific research to dig more deeply, and to marry those tools with my experience as a parent and community activist.

In addition, how I came to choose a study of suburban schools is worth exploring. My father grew up in a working class area of Brooklyn and my mother lived in the city of Chicago, but then spent her secondary school years in the suburbs. After they met in graduate school, my parents decided to make a life together in Washington, DC, where I grew up in the 1970s and 80s, and attended public schools where I was the minority, although my schools had on average more White students than did the district as a whole, and several of my high school classes had more White students than many of the other classes in the school. The majority of my teachers and administrators were Black. The suburbs were a place that my parents made clear we did not live, would not live, and did not aspire to live. My mother felt she had escaped the suburbs once already and my father felt DC was not urban enough as it was compared to New York City. Private schools and suburban schools were not schools that were ever in the realm of possibility for my sister and me. Those people were not the families of my classmates. Rather, those people were those who moved to the suburbs or who sent their kids to private schools.

It might seem natural for me to want to study gentrification and urban education reform given my upbringing. However much to our surprise, my husband, who also grew up in DC and went to DC public schools, and I have ended up living in a small town in a suburban/exurban area for a number of years. I feel compelled to unpack this suburban landscape that was this foreign entity to me as a child, both to problematize it and to examine its complexity. This has been a fascinating, tedious, frustrating, depressing, humbling, and eye-opening journey. I hope I do its complexity justice in this manuscript.

Pragmatic approach. Like Miles et al. (2014), I see myself as a “pragmatic realist” (p. 7). I agree that knowledge and facts are not indisputable and can come with their own socially-constructed, subjective baggage. However, social phenomena exist in reality and in our “institutions, structures, practices, and conventions” (p. 7); patterns and constructs can be identified therein. This study asks pragmatic questions and aims to gain insight into a specific phenomenon that manifests itself in K-12 public schools and into how that phenomenon is experienced by stakeholders (Patton, 2015).

It is common in mixed-methods studies for the researcher to come with a pragmatic approach (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Pragmatism also lends itself well to research that does not employ any one method or philosophical approach or reality (Creswell, 2014). Furthermore, both Patton (2015) and Maxwell (2013) helped me to realize that it is okay to use a “bricolage” approach where the researcher “spontaneously adapts to the situation,” “creatively employing the available tools and materials to come up with unique solutions to a problem” (Maxwell, p. 42) and to challenge the idea that there is one philosophical approach or paradigm in which one’s practice fits neatly. Finally, pragmatism emphasizes the importance of context including the social, economic, and political (Creswell, 2014).

Critical lens. Critical theory uses inquiry to uncover and gain insights into power imbalances, including economic and social inequities (Patton, 2015). I used a critical lens to query . . . the larger systems of society, the culture and institutions that shape the practice” of SSNPs and their stakeholders and the “structural and historical conditions framing the practice” to “critique the way things are in the hopes of bringing about a more just society (Merriam, 2009, p. 35)

I show how race/ethnicity and class intersect with the role of parent-led SSNPs in a suburban context, and also examine how SSNP stakeholders fit into and make sense of the larger context they exist in.

More specifically, with this critical lens came an urgency to specifically understand those who have power, the White and the wealthy. Race, including whiteness, is a social construct; however, even as a social construct, race impacts our institutions and systems of public education—they are racialized (Doane, 2003). Our institutions cannot be separated from racial hierarchies, nor can whiteness be studied separately from racialized social systems and institutions. Lewis (2003) studies educational systems in particular and argues that White people are racial actors therein who, though they may not realize it, belong to a racial group and have racialized identities. Much like the parents Lewis studied, while the groups of parents in this study do not appear to have

explicitly racial goals, their racial composition is not an accident but a result of Whites' status as members of a passive social collectivity whose lives are at least in part shaped by the racialized social system in which they live and operate. (p. 163)

Lewis further argues that studies of whiteness are necessary in the work of racial justice and that studies about race are always studies of access to power and material resources. Channeling Bourdieu's notion of symbolic capital, Lewis talks about "white symbolic capital" (p. 171) which is a resource that is used to obtain otherwise unavailable resources. This study is about material and educational resources, if there is more access to those resources by some groups than others, and how and why. Furthermore, just as whiteness works in certain ways in urban spaces, so does it in the suburban spaces that are the focus of this study.

Just as studying whiteness is necessary to understand racism, studies of affluence are necessary to understand how income and wealth inequality affect educational resources. In her qualitative study, Johnson (2006) studies the intersection of wealth inequality with her subjects' belief in the American Dream. Her book aims to "expand our understanding of how we—in our day-to-day lives—are impacted by the inheritance of, and participate in the maintenance of, the structures, processes, and mechanisms that uphold intergenerational inequalities" (p. 12). Johnson studied affluent, mostly White families to gain understanding of how they navigate their racialized privilege, belief in meritocracy, and passing along advantages to their own children.

The mixed methods of the current study allow for different views on suburban SSNPs. The quantitative dimension of this study is needed to show the trends in how students' economic status and race/ethnicity intersect with the role of SSNPs in a suburban context, and the qualitative dimension sheds light on how concentrated affluence and whiteness works and why and how it is continued (Doane, 2003; Johnson, 2006; Lewis, 2003). It is important to understand how SSNP stakeholders, through their own choices and actions, perpetuate inequality. This helps us to understand the rise and maintenance of inequality, how it operates on an everyday basis, and ways to dismantle it. More studies of whiteness and affluence are needed to better understand and work for policies that will dismantle racial and economic inequality (Doane, 2003; Johnson, 2006; Posey-Maddox, 2016b).

III. Research Design

Methodological choice. The methodological approach for this study was not chosen in advance but was, rather, arrived at, after going through three iterations. In its first conception, the study was designed as a case study of a single school district. When I failed to get permission to access a Richmond area school district, I went back and designed a general

qualitative study of the suburban quad-county area of Richmond, VA, which was to include publicly available data, including that from the Virginia Department of Education, social media, websites, documents, and artifacts from school-supporting nonprofit organizations from the schools in the three districts. Also, it was to include interview participants, comprising “key knowledgeable” or “key informants” who should hold a lot of knowledge and insights regarding the phenomenon of study (Patton, 2015, p. 284), such as former and retired school leaders, athletic directors, district administrators, as well as current and former school board members and SSNP leaders who serve or once served in the quad-county area.

Once I had collected most of the data for my first question, my adviser and I realized that those data would be best examined using quantitative methods and this became a mixed-methods study. Of course, as I formally wrote up the study and looked back through my dissertation research journal, it was obvious that I was doing a mixed methods study all along, that I was combing through qualitative data and quantifying and counting. I had so much data from so many other sources that the interviews were deemed excessive and of limited use in any case if not with educational leaders currently employed with the districts in the sample. While employing key elements of mixed-methods design, I found it helpful to retain many of the elements of the case study and qualitative methods that I had previously proposed. Ultimately, the original case study methodology was very influential and it guided me in some vital ways.

Mixed-methods methodology. As stated earlier, I began collecting data with the intention of doing a qualitative study, but once I realized I had quantified data from the qualitative data, I had a quantitative dimension of the study. Creswell and Plano Clark (2011) call this an “emergent mixed methods design” (p. 54) which happens when an additional approach is added after the study begins. I decided combining the strengths of both quantitative

and qualitative approaches would give me a deeper understanding of the phenomenon in question (Bryman, 2006; Creswell, 2014). Hence, this study fits most with an “explanatory sequential mixed methods study” (Creswell, 2014, p. 54; Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011) where the researcher uses the qualitative data to help explain the quantitative data (Bryman, 2006).

This study includes some of the essential characteristics of mixed methods research in that it is a collection and analysis of qualitative and quantitative data and links the two so that one builds on the other, the use of these procedures is for a single study, and the study is framed within a theoretical lens (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2011). Since a pure case study was no longer an option, a mixed methodology was a good choice. Only one type of data analysis would have been insufficient; each type strengthened the study by offsetting the weaknesses of the other.

The quantitative analyses provided concrete evidence of whether students, economic status and racial/ethnic composition of schools relates to the presence, and volunteer and financial capacities of SSNPs in the schools, and the significance of those factors. In collecting the data for the dependent variables, I was the principal instrument of the study. I collected data to quantify the role of SSNPs and the interaction of race/ethnicity and class within them.

This study makes several of Patton’s (2015) identified contributions of qualitative inquiry including gaining understanding of SSNP members’ perspectives and of how they are making sense of their experiences with SSNPs; finding out more about how SSNPs and public schools interact and function; uncovering the intended and unintended consequences of activities of SSNPs; and making comparisons that “deepen our understanding” (p. 13). The qualitative piece allowed for investigating the words, ideas, and voices of the stakeholders of these groups expressed in the sources of data, to show why and how the phenomenon was occurring. Qualitative data provide “well-grounded, rich descriptions and explanations of human processes”

(Miles et al., 2014, p. 4). This includes how people make meaning of and interpret their experience of the world around them (Merriam, 2009) including the meaning they “ascribe to a social or human problem” (Creswell, 2014, p. 4). I hoped to uncover how stakeholders are making sense of the role of parent-led SSNPs in K-12 public schools and of their own role within them, how they are navigating their expanded role focused on fundraising and volunteering, making up for “government failure” (Nelson & Gazley, 2014, p. 544). I also further captured the perceptions and meaning-making of “local participants,” using words as the main unit of analysis, and deriving patterns through an analytical process (Merriam, 2009; Miles et al., 2014, p. 9). The study was “heuristic” in that it expanded what I already know and have experienced of the phenomenon, hopefully bringing new insights (Merriam, 2009, p. 44).

Case study influences. This study was initially meant to be a case study, and using elements of a case study framework helped me to keep the study focused. Case studies combine strategies from different methodologies but maintain their own hallmarks. Case studies are for researchers who are interested in “insight, discovery, and interpretation, rather than hypothesis testing” (Merriam, 2009, p. 42). Furthermore, the case study is not a specific methodological approach but a choice of “what is to be studied” (Stake, 2005, p. 443). It is an essential type of scientific inquiry that informs good professional practice, and, outside of psychology, case studies are often about communities and organizations, rather than individuals (Bromley, 1986). Case studies give the researcher the chance and task of conceptualizing the case according to the researcher’s field of study and particular inquiry (Patton, 2015). Finally it is, “a type of design in qualitative research that may be an object of study, as well as a product of the inquiry” (Creswell, 2013, p. 97). That product is the role of SSNPs in schools in suburban school districts in the quad-county area, the significance of racial/ethnic and socioeconomic factors, and how

SSNP stakeholders in the most and least affluent schools and those with the most and least White and Asian students are experiencing and explaining their role. Particular elements of the case study were relevant to this project, including getting an in-depth overview of a social phenomenon in real-life context and bounding the study.

Getting an in-depth overview of a social phenomenon. A case study lens, in particular, was appropriate because it allowed for a holistic, comprehensive in-depth examination, revelation, and understanding of the institutional structures and processes underlying the social phenomenon of SSNPs in K-12 public schools (Bromley, 1986; Creswell, 2013; Merriam, 2009; Yin, 2014). In education, in particular, the case study can “investigate and illuminate” elements of “a complex system” such as a school or school district “in terms of all the structures and functions that contribute to its operation and performance” (Bromley, 1986, p. 22). I am trying to seek how and why a phenomenon (i.e., the role of SSNPs’ funding and providing basic school functions) works the way it does for people of privilege within a system. Hence, the research questions in this study obligate an in-depth description of the social phenomenon.

In his “12 core strategies of qualitative inquiry” (pp 46-47), Patton (2015) describes conducting qualitative studies in a real-world setting and from a “holistic perspective,” that is, as part of a comprehensive view of, “interdependencies and system dynamics” (p. 47). Stake (2005) sees the case study as being appropriate for unpacking specific issues or problems, saying that issues are “complex, situated, problematic relationships” that direct attention to “ordinary experience and also to the disciplines of knowledge” (p. 448). This study took an interdisciplinary approach, examining facets of the institution of K-12 public schooling and some of the organizations embedded therein, but also looking at the implications for sociology, school finance, civics, and ethics.

Real-life context. Many methodologists point out that case studies are of real-life or-world settings (Creswell, 2013; Patton, 2015; Yin, 2014). Yin (2014) expresses the need for a case study to be “a real-life phenomenon that has some concrete manifestation” (p. 34). Yin (2014) also describes the case study as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon in depth and within its real-world context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context may not be clearly evident” (p. 16). Context is important in that a case, and the individuals in it, is of and not separate from it (Bromley, 1986; Patton, 2015; Stake, 2005). Moreover, examination of the context can help to explain the dynamics of the interactions within. In this case, the economic, social, ethical, and political contexts cannot be totally separated from the phenomenon, that is, the practices cannot be separated from the institutions, organizations, circumstances, and policies they exist under. School-supported nonprofits are a real-life phenomenon with tangible consequences.

A bounded system. Miles et al. (2014) describes the case study as “a phenomenon of some sort occurring in a bounded context” (p. 28). Merriam (2009) calls it “an in-depth description and analysis of a bounded system” (p. 40). Creswell (2013) defines the case study as:

a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a . . . bounded system (a case) or multiple bounded systems (cases) over time, through detailed, in-depth data collection involving multiple sources of information . . . and reports a case description and case themes. (p. 97)

Yin (2014) and Patton (2015) also emphasize the importance of identifying a specific case that can be bounded. The case is a functioning body, a system with certain features and patterns that can be recognized (Stake, 2005). I set boundaries in this study. The districts and

the schools examined therein, the documents and artifacts, and time frame were determined in advance; my conceptual frame guided which structures, constructs, and processes I documented and observed.

IV. Site Selection and Sample

The RVA quad-county area. This study used purposive sampling. In general, qualitative studies use purposive and strategic sampling rather than random sampling (Creswell, 2014; Maxwell, 2013; Miles et al., 2014). Cases are chosen because they are “illuminative” and offer useful manifestations of the phenomenon of interest” (Patton, 2015, p. 46). In addition, the sample was one of convenience—I am based in the Richmond area and am very familiar with its school districts.

I chose some suburban districts in the Richmond Metropolitan area as my site. The Richmond, VA Metropolitan Statistical Area used by the U.S. Census Bureau includes the cities of Richmond, Petersburg, Hopewell, and Colonial Heights and the counties of Amelia, Caroline, Charles City, Chesterfield, Dinwiddie, Goochland, Hanover, Henrico, King William, New Kent, Powhatan, Prince George, and Sussex. Like many other metropolitan areas in the country, the City of Richmond is gentrifying and the suburbs are undergoing demographic changes (Siegel-Hawley et al., 2017). Furthermore, the suburban counties, in particular Chesterfield and Henrico, are experiencing changing demographics and have grown increasingly diverse while at the same time, segregation by income and race is becoming more common. Hence, the Richmond metropolitan area is a good representation of suburban, demographically diverse and shifting regions. Because the Richmond Metropolitan Statistical Area is so large and exploring it beyond the capabilities of this dissertation study, I focused on the suburban districts in the core Richmond metropolitan area, also known as the quad-county area of Richmond (see Figure 1),



Figure 1. Richmond metropolitan statistical area. Adapted from Greater Richmond Partnership, <https://www.grpva.com/data-reports/area-maps/>

which includes the City of Richmond, Chesterfield, Hanover, and Henrico counties (Siegel Hawley et al., 2017). My initial sample included all traditional elementary, middle, and sample was later winnowed to include the schools with the lowest and highest percentages of economically disadvantaged students, and then those with the highest and lowest Asian and White student populations.

Chesterfield county. Chesterfield County is a large suburban and exurban county located south of the City of Richmond that has increased in population and diversity. Chesterfield County covers 446.4 square miles and as of January 1, 2017, the county had about 340,000 residents (Chesterfield County Demographic Report, 2017). In 2015, the age 14 and under group comprised the largest age group in the county with those 65 and older being the fastest growing group. Since 2000, the Hispanic/Latinx population has grown by 234%, and 11% of the population age 5 and older has a home language other than English. The two or more

racess population grew by 152%, the other by 70%, the Asian by 83%, the Black population by 61%, and the White population only by 13%. Thirty-seven percent of those age 25 and older have a bachelor's degree or higher. As of 2015, household median income was \$72,514, a decrease of 13% since 2000. Meanwhile, there are 24,285 individuals living in poverty, representing an increase of 110% since 2000.

As of fall 2017, total public school enrollment in Chesterfield was 60,976 students, making it the largest school district in this sample (Virginia Department of Education, n.d.). The total number of disadvantaged students enrolled was 19,666 or 32%. Chesterfield County Public Schools enroll 30,554 (50%) White students, 15,682 (26%) Black students, 9,536 (16%) Hispanic students, 2,854 (4.7%) students of two or more races, 2,065 (3.4%) Asian students, 117 (0.2%) American Indian/Alaska Native students, and 107 (0.2%) Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander students. The school district has 38 elementary schools, 12 middle schools, and 11 high schools.

Hanover county. Hanover County is a large suburban and rural exurban county of 468.5 square miles, located north of the City of Richmond, surrounding the northern border of Henrico County. It has a smaller and Whiter population than the other two counties in this study. As of July 1, 2016, Hanover County had 104,392 residents (U.S. Census Bureau, 2017). At 17,989, the largest age group is residents 65 and older, and the next largest ages 50 to 59 is 16,652 (Hanover County Economic Development, n.d.). According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2017), Hanover County is 87% White, 9.3% Black, 2.9% Hispanic, 1.6% Asian, and 1.8% two or more races. Hanover County is very affluent and educated with a median household income of \$81,170 and 37% of residents having at least a bachelor's degree. Only 5.8% of Hanoverians live in poverty.

As of fall 2017, total public school enrollment in Hanover was 18,000 students, making it the smallest school district in the sample (Virginia Department of Education, n.d.). The total number of disadvantaged students enrolled was 3,731 or 21%. Hanover County Public Schools serves 14,302 (79%) White students, 1,666 (9.3%) Black students, 871 (4.8%) Hispanic students, 749 (4.2%) students of two or more races, 356 (2%) Asian students, 51 (0.3%) American Indian/Alaska Native students, and 5 (0.03%) Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander students. The school district has 15 elementary schools, four middle schools, and four high schools.

Henrico county. Henrico County is directly north of the City of Richmond. According to the U.S. Census Bureau (2017), as of July 1, 2016, Henrico County had 326,501 residents. According to the 2012-2016 American Community Survey (Henrico County, 2018), its largest groups of citizens are between the ages of 25 and 54. Its population is 58% White, 30% Black, 8.5% Asian, 5.3% Hispanic, 2.3% two or more races, 0.3% American Indian/Alaska Native, and 0.1% Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander. The median income is \$63,699 with 41% of residents having earned a bachelor's degree or higher and 9.2% of residents living in poverty.

As of fall 2017, total public school enrollment in Henrico was 51,625 students, making it the mid-sized school district in this sample (Virginia Department of Education, n.d.). The total number of disadvantaged students enrolled was 18,484 or 36%. Henrico County enrolls 20,011 (39%) White students, 18,539 (36%) Black students, 5,616 (11%) Asian students, 4,980 (9.6%) Hispanic students, 2,323 (5.4%) students of two or more races, 107 (0.2%) American Indian/Alaska Native students, and 49 (0.9%) Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander students. The school district has 45 elementary schools, 12 middle schools, and nine high schools.

All three districts. Because this study examines the role of SSNPs at the school level, a comparison of differences between the three districts is not part of this study. Rather, the idea is

to examine the interactions of schools’ racial/ethnic and socioeconomic characteristics with the role and functioning of those schools’ SSNPs in the context of diversifying suburban districts and whitening exurban areas. Hence, the three districts combined as a unit enroll 130,601 students (see Table 1). That student population has 32% or 41,881 economically disadvantaged students. Combined, all three districts serve 64,867 (50%) White students, 35,887 (28%) Black students, 15,387 (12%) Hispanic students, 8,037 (6.2%) Asian students, 5,926 (4.5%) students of two or more races, 275 (0.2%) American Indian/Alaska Native students, and 161 (0.1%) Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander students (see Table 1).

Table 1

Three School Districts’ Combined Demographics

Demographic category	Number	%
Total number of students	130,601	
Percentage economically disadvantaged		32
Percentage White students		50
Percentage Black students		28
Percentage Hispanic students		12
Percentage Asian students		6.2
Percentage students of two or more races		4.5
Percentage White and Asian combined		56.2
Percentage Black and Hispanic combined		40

In those three districts combined, there are 98 elementary schools, 28 middle schools, and 24 high schools, for a total of 150 schools in the initial sample examined. In terms of SSNPs, there were 42 in Hanover, 91 in Henrico, and 82 in Chesterfield that I knew of and examined, for a total of 220 SSNPs examined in the initial sample. Two individual elementary schools in Henrico, Mehfoud and Varina, are K-2 and 3-5 schools, respectively, are located within one mile of one another and have a joint PTA. Otherwise, an SSNP was counted for a school if there was some evidence of its being active starting in the 2016-2017 year.

The SSNPs were divided into categories (see Table 2). Parent-teacher organizations were the most common of the SSNPs because with one exception (one middle school in Chesterfield has a band booster club, as well), if they had an SSNP, the elementary schools had a parent-teacher organization. Hence, there were 145 parent-teacher organizations with 130 PTA or Parent Teacher Student Association (PTSA) groups and 15 PTO or Parent Teacher Student Organizations (PTSOs). At the elementary level, all of the groups are either PTAs or PTOs, while at the secondary level, they may be also be PTSAs or PTSOs as they may include students. As for other groups, across all three districts, athletic booster clubs were the most common—there were 17 plus four single-sport booster clubs. There were 19 band booster clubs, and two orchestra booster clubs, and two combined band and orchestra booster clubs. There were 15 choral or vocal music booster clubs and six theater or drama booster clubs. Robotics booster clubs only existed in three schools with Reserve Officers' Training Corp (ROTC) booster clubs in three. One school hosted a FOG.

Narrowing the sample. Once I had collected all of the data, in the interest of bounding the study and finding out about the most segregated schools, or those with the greatest concentrations of economically advantaged versus disadvantaged and of White/Asian versus Black/Hispanic students, I limited the sample and only examined those schools, with one exception. The rationale behind including White and Asian students, versus only White students, is that in the Richmond, VA quad-county region, Asian students are shown to live in more affluent neighborhoods and to go to school with much higher numbers of students from higher income families with higher test scores (Siegel-Hawley, et al., 2017). In short, “predominately [sic] white and Asian schools tend to be located in high or very high opportunity communities” (Siegel-Hawley, et al., 2017, p. 29).

Table 2

Total Sample

Units	Number
School districts	3
Schools	150
Elementary schools	98
Middle schools	28
High schools	24
SSNPs	220
Total parent-teacher groups	145
PTAs/PTSAs	130
PTOs/PTSOs	15
Athletic booster clubs	17
Single-sport booster clubs	4
Band booster clubs	19
Band/orchestra combined clubs	2
Choral booster clubs	15
Orchestra booster clubs	2
Robotics booster clubs	3
ROTC booster clubs	2
Theater/drama booster clubs	6
FOG organization	1

Using SPSS, the entire set of schools was divided into quartiles, according first to percentage of economically disadvantaged students and then to percentage of White/Asian students (see Table 3). The schools with the least number of economically disadvantaged students (0% to 15%) fell in the first quartile (Q1), while schools with the greatest number of economically disadvantaged students (53% to 100%) fell in the fourth quartile (Q4). The schools with the greatest shares of White and Asian students (82% to 100%) fell in the fourth quartile (Q4), and schools with the least numbers of White and Asian students (0% to 32%) fell

Table 3

Independent Variable Quartiles

Quartile	Economically disadvantaged	White and Asian	Black and Hispanic
	%	%	%
1	0-15	0-32	0-15
2	16-33	33-60	16-34
3	34-52	61-81	35-62
4	53-100	82-100	63-100

in the first quartile (Q1). One exception was when examining the interaction of economic disadvantage on the role of SSNPs in the high schools only, due to insufficiently small sample size, the schools in the initial sample were divided into medians instead of quartiles. There were 37 schools, including 26 elementary or middle schools and seven high schools, that served the least numbers of economically disadvantaged students or the most affluent students and 33 schools, including 35 elementary or middle schools and two high schools, which served the greatest numbers of economically disadvantaged students. Thirty-four schools total, including 30 elementary or middle schools and four high schools, were predominantly White/Asian. Thirty-four elementary or middle schools and four high schools were predominantly Black/Hispanic.

V. Data Sources and Collection

Sources of data. Mixed-methods studies often include many sources of data (Creswell, 2014). I collected data that would address my research questions in a comprehensive way. This meant getting an overall picture of the schools and the role of SSNPs in the suburban quad-county area of the Richmond, VA metropolitan area. Since I did not have inside access to any individual school or school district via permission from such an entity, I drew from publicly available sources, such as databases, documents, websites, and public social media accounts. As

I went along, I kept in mind the emergent nature of mixed-methods studies and the need to modify my research questions, sources of data, and data collection methods (Creswell, 2014). I collected as much data as I needed to reach saturation, answer my research questions, and meet the purpose of my study (Creswell, 2014; Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2015).

Studies involving nonprofit organizations could include examination of mission or vision documents, strategic plans, annual reports, budget documents, board minutes, and public relations documents (Patton, 2015, p. 378). Documents can include a variety of “written, visual, digital, and physical materials” that are relevant to a study (Merriam, 2009, p. 139). As several researchers have pointed out (Addonizio, 2000, 2001; Hansen, 2008; Nelson & Gazley, 2014; Zimmer et al., 2003) gaining access to documents of SSNPs can be difficult, especially since they are not public institutions and do not operate under the same reporting requirements. Hence, I examined records such as SSNP meeting minutes and agendas, SSNP and school district budget documents, SSNP guidelines and by-laws, especially where they focused on fund-raising. I viewed documents, such as flyers and other notifications or communications that are posted publicly concerning SSNP activities. Ultimately, sources of data included: school district websites, individual school websites, SSNP websites and Facebook pages, 990 filings, and Virginia Department of Education Membership Reports. Documents and artifacts included SSNP meeting minutes, archived SSNP websites pages, SSNP newsletters, SSNP financial documents, archived SSNP Facebook pages, SSNP videos, IRS 990 filings, and school budget documents (see Table 4 and Table 5).

Data collection. First I conducted an inventory for each school district. I wanted to get a broader idea of the types of SSNPs, and of what sources of data and documents were available. I

Table 4

Data Sources

Data source	Binding
Archived SSNP website pages	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Mission/purpose -Announcements, letters, narratives -Lists of board members, committees, and committee chairs -Job/committee descriptions -Financial information -Fundraising information -Goal is to review one year of postings.
SSNP meeting minutes	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -All/any from 2017-2180 school year -All/any/some from 2016-2017 school year -Goal is to get a full year of meeting minutes
SSNP newsletters	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -All/any from 2017-2018 school year -All/any/some from 2016-2017 school year -Goal is to get a full year of newsletters
SSNP financial documents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Budgets from 2017-2018 school year, or -Budgets from 2016-2017 school year, or -Most recent treasurer reports
Archived SSNP Facebook pages and posts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Facebook posts -Facebook pictures -Facebook "about" descriptions -Flyers posted on Facebook -Documents posted on Facebook -Goal is to review one year of postings
Audio/visual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Videos about the SSNPs
GuideStar ^a	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -IRS 990 filings
School district budget documents	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -FY 2017-2018 or FY 2018-2019 per school operating budget.

^aGuideStar U.S.A., Inc. is a service that collects filing and data on nonprofit companies and organizations in the U.S. Forms and data are publicly accessible to a certain extent. Other services and access are on a fee basis. No fees were necessary for the purposes of this project.

Table 5

Approximate Numbers of Data Sources, Documents, and Artifacts, Initial Sample

Item	Quantity
School websites	150
SSNP websites	158
Facebook pages	132
Budgets, bylaws, flyers/letters/other communications, forms (membership and order), Google forms/surveys, meeting minutes sets, newsletters, Power Point presentations, sign-up genius pages.	846
990/990N filings	142
GuideStar profiles	204

went to the school district websites first to learn more about them, see what was available on their sites, and collect a list of school names. In each inventory, I included links to the school district and school websites, links to SSNP websites and social media accounts, and notes. Some evidence of SSNPs I found right away, but others were difficult to locate. Some SSNPs were not even listed or mentioned on school websites and I only found them later after varying my Google search terms or stumbling upon them when searching the 990 filings.

Once I had completed my inventory, as a first step in the analytical process, I set up a plan and a repository for organizing and storing data, notes, and memos (Creswell, 2014; Patton, 2015). This included a journal for writing memos and three Excel databases for each school district: one for the elementary schools, one for the middle schools, and one for the high schools. After completing the inventory, I came up with a preliminary group of variables (though I did

not know they were variables for quantitative analysis at the time). I created the Excel® databases with the school names listed in alphabetical order and variable names across the top. For each set of schools, I created a second sheet with each school SSNPs' fundraisers, events, programs/enrichment, and core supplies/functions.

Beginning with Hanover, because it is the smallest district with the fewest number of schools, and with a few variables of interest in mind, I commenced collecting the data. With each school, I started by looking at the school websites which led me to the SSNP websites which led me to the Facebook pages and to documents and artifacts. I circled back to the beginning of the list, with the Hanover schools, three times. In this process, I better defined the sources of data as well as the data categories (or variables) and decides which to add, subtract, or condense. I established a list of official data sources and the time frame I would be examining (see Table 4) which helped me to better encapsulate, or bound the study (Creswell, 2013; Merriam, 2009; Miles et al., 2014). I had to see the variable or themes enough times, or hit saturation, before I started quantifying it. I decided not to read the documents too deeply in the beginning but to read them closely enough to conduct counts. However, I did pause to write memos when I picked up on recurring themes and patterns. I also had to check back at the data sources to make sure I had all potential documents and artifacts downloaded and that I had them labeled and organized in a consistent and organized manner across the sample.

Variables. I started with recording basic nominal data, that is, the names of the schools, the school district the school was in, and the level of the school (elementary, middle, or high school). Then I documented the number of active SSNPs per school. I determined active to mean it had activity, such on a page on the school website, a separate website, or a Facebook page from as recently as the 2016-2017 school year. Absent that, if GuideStar had a filing from

an SSNP from as recently as the 2016-17 school year, the SSNP was also considered active, even if I had no information beyond that. The elementary and middle schools, with one exception, all only had one SSNP, a PTA or PTO. However, the high schools had several, so with them I counted the number per and documented the types and then I collected data on each SSNP. (Later, when I was preparing for analysis, I consolidated those into one variable, so that, for example, I had the number of SSNP Facebook pages per school.)

Next, I documented volunteer capacity and activity. I collected data regarding the online presence of the SSNP. This included if the school had a page on the school website or total number per high school, if the SSNP had a separate website or the total number of separate SSNP websites per high school, on the level of SSNP website detail or collective level per high school, and whether the SSNP had a Facebook page. The websites, especially for the booster clubs could have been a page on a separate department website, such as music, and still count as a separate website. The Facebook pages, however had to be operated by the SSNP, and not by the schools, to be counted. I recorded the number of SSNP board members per school, the number of board vacancies, the number of SSNP committees and committee chairs per school, and the number of committee vacancies. The number of SSNP events and enrichment activities per school was noted. For elementary and middle schools, I recorded whether the SSNP provided a yearbook, and clerical, instructional, bathroom or cafeteria, and SOL (Standards of Learning) testing volunteers. For high school SSNPs, I documented whether the SSNP provided general in-school assistance and volunteers that were essential to the functioning of the department the organization supported.

Third, I collected data on the financial capacity and impact of SSNPs in each school. I documented the number of SSNP fundraisers and the number of core school/department/

classroom materials or functions that were funded by the SSNP per school. I recorded whether SSNPs had an annual fund or direct donation campaign. I documented SSNPs' digital payment collection capacity and whether they provided college scholarships. I documented each SSNP's net budget income, the school district operating budget for each individual school, whether the school had currently filed a 990 or a 990N, and the total revenues for the most recent year it had filed a 990—since 2015, 2016, or 2017. I also recorded whether SSNPs provided funding or volunteers towards facilities improvements and school beautification.

I also downloaded data from the Fall Membership Reports accessible on the Virginia Department of Education's website. Specifically, I documented the numbers of economically disadvantaged students per school and the numbers of students in each racial/ethnic group at each school. I converted these numbers to percentages.

For a full list of variable and their parameters, see Table 6.

VI. Data Analysis

Quantitative analysis. Once I had collected and organized the data in Excel®, I created an Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS)® dataset. Because I had collected the data by organization, for the high schools, I had to consolidate that data so that the unit of study was the school. In addition, I narrowed the sample of schools to only those with the greatest concentrations of affluence and poverty and of White/Asian students and Black/Hispanic students and excluded the rest (see Section IV, Site Selection and Sample and Table 3).

The questions asked fell under three broader categories: SSNP presence and typology, SSNP volunteer capacity and activity, and SSNP financial capacity and impact. Question Set 1 addressed SSNPs' presence and typology. For Question Set 2, about SSNP volunteer capacity and activity, I examined SSNP board and committees, SSNP organization and communication,

Table 6

Variables and Parameters

Variable	Type	Parameters
Existence of SSNP(s)	Dichotomous	-Current (active in 2017-2018 school year or 2016-2017 school year.
Number of SSNPs	Numeric	High schools only.
Type of SSNP	Dichotomous	-One variable per type: parent-teacher group, athletic boosters, instrumental boosters, vocal music boosters, drama/boosters, robotics boosters, ROTC boosters.
Page on school website	Dichotomous	
Existence of a website	Dichotomous	-From 2017-2018 school year and/or 2016-2017 school year. -For boosters, could be a section or page that is part of a department website.
Level of detail of the page or website	Scale: Very detailed; somewhat detailed few details, no details	Applies to school page or separate website.
Existence of Facebook pages		-Current (2017-2018) school year or (2016-2017 school year).
Number of board positions	Numeric	-Parents/volunteers only; does not include administrators, teachers, staff, or students.
Board positions occupy rate	Numeric	
Number of committees/ chair positions	Numeric	

Table 6 - continued

Variable	Type	Parameters
Committees/chair positions occupancy rate	Numeric	-Committee must be completely vacant to count as vacancy.
Number of fundraisers	Numeric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Field day is usually an event, but in some cases is a fundraiser. -Rewards programs are one item. -Rewards programs include shopping/retail vendors that give a small percentage of each purchase to the designated SSNP (e.g., Kroger, Coke bottle caps, Amazon Smiles). -Box tops are listed as a separate item. -To be included, book fairs have to be coordinated/staffed by the SSNP. -Annual fund/direct donation campaigns are listed as a separate category. -Because all elementary and middle schools' SSNPs are PTOs or PTAs, membership dues only are counted as a fundraiser only if the SSNP is a PTO. -Membership dues are included as fundraisers for high schools, except in the case of PTAs. -Spirit nights are nights out at local/area restaurants where a portion of each order (anywhere from 10% to 50%) is donated to the SSNP. They count as one category though an SSNP can have multiple spirit nights per year or just one (no distinction is made). -Spirit wear can be a few items or it can be dozens. Items can go beyond clothing (i.e., bumper stickers, cups, etc.). -School store is quantified separately only if listed as a separate fundraiser.
Number of events (not fundraisers)	Numeric	Pastries with parents/moms/dads/grand-parents is one category.

Table 6 - continued

Variable	Type	Parameters
		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Movie night is one category, even when there are multiple such events. -Science fairs qualify as enrichment if the SSNP offers a series of help sessions, lessons, etc., but as an event if just a one-night event.
Number of enrichment programs	Numeric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -This does not include core academic programs. -Science fairs qualify as enrichment if SSNP offers a series of help sessions, lessons, etc.
Number of core materials supported	Numeric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Includes classroom materials, curricula, or programs (for any subject including physical education, art, music, math, science, social studies, literacy); educational technology; clinic supplies; and security equipment.
SSNP provides year book	Dichotomous	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Can also be considered a fundraiser. -Elementary and middle school SSNPs only.
SSNP provides clerical volunteers	Dichotomous	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -SSNP volunteers or are recruited via the SSNP. -Elementary and middle school SSNPs only. -Can serve in office, classroom, or library.
SSNP provides instructional volunteers	Dichotomous	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -SSNP volunteers or are recruited via the SSNP. -Elementary and middle school SSNPs only.
SSNP provides cafeteria/bathroom volunteers	Dichotomous	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -SSNP volunteers are recruited via the SSNP. -Elementary and middle school SSNPs only.
SSNP provides SOL testing volunteers	Dichotomous	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -SSNP volunteers are recruited via the SSNP.

Table 6 - continued

Variable	Type	Parameters
SSNP provides in-school volunteers	Dichotomous	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Elementary and middle school SSNPs only. -SSNP volunteers are recruited via the SSNP. -Includes clerical or instructional assistance. -High school only (usually PTA, PTSA, PTO, or PTSO only).
SSNP provides department volunteers	Dichotomous	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Volunteers that assist with core functions of the department the SSNP supports. -High school only (usually booster groups only).
SSNP provides facilities/beautification	Dichotomous	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Landscaping/grounds, upkeep, playground improvement, interior decorating, painting, bulletin boards, etc.
Existence of annual funds/ direct donation campaigns	Dichotomous	
Digital payment collection capacity	Dichotomous	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Donate buttons, PayPal account. -Has to be of the individual SSNP, not part of any national or state PTA portal.
College scholarships	Dichotomous	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Individual SSNP scholarships, not from the County Council of PTAs.
SSNP budget total income	Numeric	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Net budget income (dollar amount) is the total income for current year, either actual from 2016-2017 or projected from 2017-2018. -Includes carryover from previous year. Does not include expenses for SSNP fundraisers or administrative costs, or PTA membership dues (which go back

Table 6 - continued

Variable	Type	Parameters
		to the national, state, county organizations and cover administrative costs).
School district operating budget	Numeric	-Per school (dollar amount) for the 2016-2017 school year or 2017-2018 school year.
Current SSNP IRS filing	Dichotomous	-990 or 990N.
Most recent 990 filing	Dichotomous	-If SSNP filed a 990 in 2015, 2016, or 2017 -Must have \$50,000 plus in revenues to file.
Total revenues	Numeric	-According to 990 filing.

and SSNP school-based volunteer services. The third question set included questions about SSNPs' financial capacity and impact. (see Table 7 for research questions, variables, and statistical tests used to answer each question). The questions are listed in full in Chapter 3.

Qualitative analysis. The qualitative analysis happened in several steps. The primary analytical process I used was coding, which is not just the process of labeling but of chunking the data together, finding that which is most relevant, reflecting upon the meaning in the data behind the codes (Miles et al., 2014), and finding connections and patterns across the data (Maxwell, 2013). Throughout the process, I engaged in the process of “data condensation” (Miles et al., 2014, p. 12), which meant selecting, sorting, consolidating, and interpreting the data from the documents and analyzing them so that they could be focused on answering my research questions and used towards drawing conclusions (Merriam, 2009). I also tried to heed Creswell’s (2014) three possible types of codes: ones that are expected given prior research; ones that are unexpected or surprising; and, ones that are unusual and conceptually novel.

Table 7

Research Questions and Variables

Research question	Variables	Analyses
What is the significance of student economic disadvantage on the presence and type of SSNPs?	Independent variable: -Economic disadvantage quartile Dependent variables: -Existence of SSNP(s) -Number of SSNPs -Type of SSNPs	-Chi-square -T-test -Descriptives
What is the significance of student economic disadvantage on volunteer capacity and activities?	Independent variable: -Economic disadvantage quartile Dependent variables: -Number of board/committee/chair positions -Board/committee/chair positions occupancy rate -Page on school website -Existence of a website -Level of detail of the page/website -Existence of Facebook pages -SSNP provides yearbook -SSNP provides clerical volunteers -SSNP provides instructional volunteers -SSNP provides cafeteria volunteers -SSNP provides SOL testing volunteers -SSNP provides in-school volunteers -SSNP provides department volunteers -Number of events/enrichment programs	-T-test -Chi-square
What is the significance of student economic disadvantage on financial capacity and impact?	Independent variable: -Economic disadvantage quartile Dependent variables: -Number of fundraisers -Annual fund/direct donation campaign -Digital payment collection capability -990 filed in past 3 years	-T-test -Chi-square

Table 7 - continued

Research question	Variables	Analyses
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -SSNPs' budget total income versus school district operating budget (per school). -Number of core school/department/classroom materials -College scholarships -Current SSNP IRS filing -Facilities/beautification services/funding 	
What is the significance of student race/ethnicity on the presence and type of SSNPs?	<p>Independent variable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -White/Asian quartile <p>Dependent variables:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Existence of SSNP(s) -Number of SSNPs -Type of SSNPs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Chi-square -<i>T</i>-test -Descriptives
What is the significance of student race/ethnicity on volunteer capacity and activities?	<p>Independent variable:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -White/Asian quartile <p>Dependent variables:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> -Number of board/committee/chair positions -Board/committee/chair positions occupancy rate -Page on school website -Existence of a website -Level of detail of the page/website -Existence of Facebook pages -SSNP provides yearbook -SSNP provides clerical volunteers -SSNP provides instructional volunteers -SSNP provides cafeteria volunteers -SSNP provides SOL testing volunteers -SSNP provides in-school volunteers -SSNP provides department volunteers -Number of events/enrichment programs 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -<i>T</i>-test -Chi-square

Table 7 - continued

Research question	Variables	Analyses
What is the significance of student race/ethnicity on presence and type of SSNPs, on financial capacity and impact?	Independent variable: -White/Asian quartile Dependent variables: -Number of fundraisers -Annual fund/direct donation campaign -Digital payment collection capability -990 filed in past 3 years -SSNPs' budget total income versus school district operating budget (per school). -Number of core school/department/classroom materials -College scholarships -Current SSNP IRS filing -Facilities/beautification services/funding	- <i>T</i> -test -Chi-square

First, I engaged in an ongoing, continuous process, analyzing the data as I was collecting that, so that I could fill in gaps, redirect, and engage in continuous interpretation (Maxwell, 2013; Merriam, 2009; Miles et al., 2014; Patton, 2015). Then, as suggested by Creswell (2014), I read over the data, including reading through documents before coding or engaging fully in data analysis. As themes emerged, I wrote memos about them. Hence, before I began coding, I used an inductive process to find patterns, categories, and themes across the data and made a list of those themes. Merriam (2009) calls this initial process “open coding” (p. 178) while Maxwell (2013) refers to it as a process of categorizing using organizational or topical categories.

Second, as I was coding I used a deductive process to include any additional evidence under those themes (Creswell, 2014, p. 186). I added new themes and consolidated some of the previous themes, creating substantive or theoretical categories, which make sense of the data using the content of what was said or observed and are used to draw conclusions (Maxwell, 2013). Saldana (2003) distinguishes between First Cycle and Second Cycle coding and provides

dozens of types for the First Cycle. Several fit with my study. Descriptive coding uses words and short phrases to summarize the basic topic of a message and is useful in a number of types of qualitative studies (Miles et al., 2014). Holistic coding is somewhat similar; it uses one word to summarize large chunks of data, and is often used to do very initial coding. In Vivo® coding uses phrasing and words from the participants' own language as labels. These are helpful for detecting patterns in the setting (Miles et al., 2014). Process coding is another common coding approach that uses gerunds and can highlight participants' actions and consequences thereof. Values coding uses words to describe participants' "values, attitudes, and beliefs" (Miles et al., 2014, p. 75). It was important to make sure the codes were bounded, that they had some cohesion and were relevant to the study and research questions (Miles et al., 2014). I coded any content that was meaningful.

After that round of coding, I moved towards constructing larger categories out of the initial process (Merriam, 2009) or Second Cycle coding (Miles et al., 2014). The categorization process was guided by the purpose of the research, the research questions, the body of research, and knowledge on the topic, and by the words used in the documents themselves (Merriam, 2009). Furthermore, the categories were "exhaustive," "mutually exclusive," "sensitizing," and "conceptually congruent" (Merriam, 2009, pp. 185-186). I gathered all of the quotes under each code and I read through them, code by code. First, I chose the codes that were most relevant to my research questions and to explaining the quantitative findings. Then, I chose the quotations under those codes that were most representative and physically highlighted those. Many of the quotations had been coded with more than one theme. However, in some cases, I found that a quotation was more representative of a different code, and so I recoded those.

Ensuring validity and reliability. A high quality study ensures validity and reliability of the conclusions drawn from the findings. In a qualitative study, validity depends upon how much the conclusions reflect reality and upon the researcher's efforts to lay out threats to validity and what strategies he/she will use to minimize those threats (Maxwell, 2013). It also means engaging in a process to ensure the findings are accurate (Creswell, 2014). Perhaps the most important strategy of these is triangulation (Yin, 2014). Other strategies I used included checking for saturation, examining the data for both supporting and discrepant data, keeping an audit trail, varying the cases, providing rich descriptions, and maintaining a reflective mindset.

Viewing and collecting data from hundreds of documents and dozens of schools allowed for comparison-making and greater opportunities for transferability (Maxwell, 2013; Merriam, 2009). In addition, engaging in data collection (Maxwell, 2013) to the point of saturation, that is, so that I began "to see or hear the same things over and over again" was another way ensure validity (Merriam, 2009, p. 219). All sources of data in this study "converged in a triangulating fashion" (Yin, 2014, p. 17). Triangulation allows for findings from different sources of evidence to confirm or disconfirm one another (Maxwell, 2013; Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2015; Roulston, 2010). In the coding process, it also means that themes were established using several sources (Creswell, 2014). This helps to strengthen validity as the different sources serve as different measures of the same phenomenon (Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2015; Yin, 2014). It was also important to examine the data for supporting and discrepant evidence (Maxwell, 2013).

Another way of maintaining reliability was to keep an audit trail (Merriam, 2009). I kept a research journal during the data collection process and wrote informal memos (Maxwell, 2013). This also helped me to remain reflective about my own biases and assumptions (Merriam, 2009; Patton, 2015). The process of establishing validity continues as I present the

study. I am disclosing findings that may be counter to the common themes or negative or discrepant information (Creswell, 2014). Providing detailed descriptions allows readers to make comparisons to similar situations they are in and allow for the possibility of transferability (Creswell, 2014; Merriam, 2009).

VI. Limitations

Unavailable data. It is challenging to track voluntary contributions to public education and examine the financial operations of private fundraising and school-supporting groups. In their 2003 pilot study, Zimmer et al. found that outside of the tracking of local education foundations in compliance with state and federal reporting rules, there was then no national data pertaining to private resources in public schools. Hansen (2008) found that researchers who had tried to get a good grasp on the impact of private money in public schools had up to that point been unsuccessful, especially since administrators at the district level often do not often fully understand the role or impact of nongovernmental funding.

Schools do not generally report SSNP donations, nor are SSNP funds regulated; instead, one must look at financial reporting (such as to the IRS) and data from the organizations themselves (Brown et al., 2017; Nelson & Gazley, 2014). Even then, many nonprofits do not file with the IRS (Boris & Steuerle, 2006). The Governmental Accounting Standards Board suggested in their 1994 standards that as affiliated organizations (i.e., “organizations that are not themselves government entities but exist for the purpose of raising resources for such entities”) (Addonizio, 2000, p. 258), SSNPs should be subject to the same reporting requirements that are mandated for government institutions. Even so, despite their importance, public data on SSNPs is lacking. To the extent the finances of these groups are reported, they can be inconsistently or only partially so (Addonizio, 2001).

Different states and districts also have different financial reporting and allocation rules. For example, the state of New Mexico logs voluntary contributions from parents as local revenue, which is accounted for when deciding how much to money to allot from the state, while Illinois leaves it up to individual school districts (Malone, 2010). The New York City Department of Education, which serves the largest (in population) school system in the country, does not document or track how much these groups raise, though they do prohibit PTAs from funding teachers of core subjects (Spencer, 2012).

In addition, revenues from SSNPs are hard to track because local school districts are not obligated to report them in financial reports, and, when they are reported, contributions are not listed as a separate type of revenue (Addonizio, 2000; Brown et al., 2017; Brunner & Imazeki, 2005; Zimmer et al., 2003). More recent research on the topic also notes difficulties in documenting revenues from such groups as corresponding data can be limited to the contents of 990 filings which were only required before 2010 if nonprofits exceeded \$25,000 in revenues and after 2010 if they exceed \$50,000 (Brunner & Imazeki, 2005; Hansen, 2008; Nelson & Gazley, 2014; Zimmer et al., 2003). Even if PTA budgets and other nonprofit financial documents are meant to be available to the public, it can be hard to obtain them as they are not always published or posted as documents as are school budgets. Furthermore, local PTAs, PTOs, and booster club operate differently and with varying levels of accessibility.

Hence, I could not ascertain the full picture of the intersection of students' economic status and race/ethnicity and the role of SSNPs in the Richmond, VA quad-county area because it is possible that some SSNPs I did not know about, and some I did not have complete access to. Furthermore, even for the SSNPs I did know about, I only could collect as much data as was available publicly. In some cases, SSNPs had an online presence but had restrictions on what

was viewable. Some required membership or registration before viewing documents and materials, which I decided not to apply for. In other cases, especially with the SSNPs at schools serving the greatest numbers of economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic students, there were no documents available because the capacity of the groups is limited—many simply do not produce documentation such as meeting minutes and newsletters.

Precision. The counting or quantification process had its limitations. Judgment and accuracy of defining the variables and collecting the data under them was a struggle, putting me up against the limits on how precise I could be. For example, one SSNP could have five fundraisers and raise \$100,000, while another could have 15 fundraisers and raise only \$5,000, so that number can be deceptive. If an SSNP has an event that is a fall festival and a silent auction, but they are only making money on the auction, I had to decide whether to count it as an enrichment event or a fundraiser or both. Sometimes the line between the school and the SSNP was gray. For example, an SSNP might promote a school fundraiser, but then it turned out the check was going directly to the school. It was hard to differentiate between enrichment activities, events, and core needs. Is a science fair enrichment or an event? It is core or enrichment? I did not know what some events, programs, or fundraisers were. Eventually, I had to give up on being totally precise and recognize that using my prior knowledge and triangulation, I could confirm some uncertainties and otherwise make the best decisions I could.

Researcher bias. I have tremendous familiarity with and knowledge of the context of this study. Having the perspective I do was very helpful in that “longevity in the field” contributes to the quality of a study (Roulston, 2010, p. 87), but also came with its own threats to the validity of the study. I came to the study with my own preconceived notions. One direct relationship in particular I should disclose is that my children attend Hanover County Public

Schools and I served on the PTA board at two Hanover elementary schools for 4 years.

Additionally, I am a dues-paying PTA member at a Hanover middle and high school, and a dues-paying athletic booster club member at a Hanover high school, though, as previous research would predict, my only role is paying dues.

Small sample sizes. I did not always run the statistical tests on schools together at the same time. For some of the quantitative analyses, the variables were similar conceptually but either they measured slightly different things or they used different measurements (dichotomous versus numerical). Also, the high schools typically had more than one SSNP per school and the elementary and middle schools generally had one per school. In some cases, I ran elementary and middle schools together and then the high schools together. For the questions concerning the high schools, as there were only two high schools in Economic Disadvantage (ED) Quartile 4 (Q4) meaning with the highest percentages of economically disadvantaged students, results from *t*-tests would not have been valid. Hence, just for the high school questions, I decided to combine the ED quartiles (1 and 2 and 3 and 4) into halves and created a new variable called economic disadvantaged median. Similarly, for the questions using the White and Asian quartiles for high schools, there were only four schools per group. I still ran the tests and will report the results, but given the small group sizes, it is not possible to generalize the findings beyond the three districts in my sample.

Phrasing around class and race. When writing the research questions, the questions for quantitative analysis, and then writing up those results, I experienced a tension between being concise, being precise, and being careful. I was a writer before I was a scholar, which means in some ways my writing became more constricted. As a writer, I could both be careful and creative. In academic writing, I have to be careful and technical. I rewrote the questions for the

quantitative analyses about five times and the qualitative results two times, just trying to figure out how to refer to the different types of schools I examined in this study. If I used ED Q1 and ED Q4 (meaning schools with the least and most numbers of economically disadvantaged students), and WA Q1 and WA Q4 (meaning schools with the most and least numbers of White/Asian students) as descriptors, it would be too hard on the reader. As my adviser said, those are not real words. However, if I referred to those types of schools with too much wordiness and too much explanation, I would also lose the reader. I tried to find somewhere in between that meant using language accurately, carefully, and in recognition of all students' humanity. In addition, I prefer to use the term Latinx rather than Hispanic. However, when referring to others' work and reporting their data, I used their terminology.

Chapter 3

The Intersection of Economic Disadvantage and Race and School-Supporting Nonprofit Organizations: Quantitative Findings

I. Introduction

This study examines the intersection of level of economic disadvantage and racial/ethnic makeup of schools' and the role of parent-led SSNP organizations, such as PTAs, PTOs, and booster clubs, in the suburban school districts of the quad-county area of Richmond, VA. Specifically, it examines differences in SSNP roles between schools with the greatest (53% to 100%) and least (0% to 15%) numbers of economically disadvantaged students and those with the greatest (82% to 100%) and least (0% to 32%) numbers of White and Asian students. The quantitative questions are divided into three types: presence and typology of SSNPs, volunteer capacity and activities, and financial capacity and impact.

II. Presence and Typology

The first question set is regarding the SSNPs' presence and typology. Since, with one exception (one middle school in Chesterfield County had a PTA and a band booster group), the elementary and middle schools only had one SSNP—a PTA, PTSA, PTO, or PTSO group—elementary/middle schools and high schools were analyzed separately. No statistical tests for typology were possible to run due to insufficient cell size. Instead, analyses using descriptive statistics were done.

Differences between schools in presence of SSNPs according to economic status.

First, the differences between the least and most economically disadvantaged schools in the presence of SSNPs therein was examined. The question was: Are there differences in the presence of an SSNP between elementary/middle schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations? A chi-square test was performed to examine the difference in the presence of an SSNP between the least economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools and the most economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools. The difference in the presence of an SSNP between the least and most economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools is statistically significant, $\chi^2(2, N = 61) = 4.957, p = .026$, Cramer's $V = .285$. However, this chi-square violates the assumption of a minimum cell size of 3.93 needed. Even so, 96.7% of low economically disadvantaged schools had an SSNP whereas only 77.4% of the high economically schools had an SSNP.

High schools typically had multiple SSNPs, so the question was: Are there differences in the number of SSNPs between high schools with less economically disadvantaged student populations and those with more economically disadvantaged student populations? A t -test showed that there is a statistically significant difference in the number of SSNPs per school between the least economically disadvantaged schools ($M = 4.56, SD = 1.209$) and the most economically disadvantaged schools ($M = 2.50, SD = 1.414$), $F(1,22 \text{ d.f.}) = 13.889, p = .001, \eta^2 = .387$. Eta squared indicates that economic disadvantaged status accounts for 39% of the variance between the two groups of high schools in the average number of SSNPs per school.

Hence, schools serving more affluent populations were more likely to have an SSNP at the elementary/middle school level and were more likely to have more SSNPs at the high school

level than schools serving less affluent populations. However, while there were statistically significant differences between the schools with the most economically disadvantaged students and those with the least, the test of elementary/middle school SSNPs violated assumptions (see Table 8).

Table 8

Differences Between Schools in Presence of SSNPs According to Students' Economic Status

	Mean/% for the least ED schools	Mean/% for the most ED schools	<i>p</i>	Eta squared/ Cramer's V	Significant difference
ES/MS presence	96.7	77.4	.026	.285	Yes*
HS presence	4.56	2.50	.001	.387	Yes

*Violates assumptions.

Differences between schools in presence of SSNPs according to race/ethnicity. Next, the intersection of race/ethnicity and the presence of SSNPs in schools was examined. The question was: Are there differences in the presence of an SSNP between elementary/middle schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations? A chi-square test showed that the difference between the number of predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools that have SSNPs and the number of predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools that have SSNPs is statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 64) = 6.935, p = .008$, Cramer's $V = .329$. However, this chi-square violates the assumption of a minimum cell size of 3.28 needed. Even so, 100% of schools with the highest numbers of White/Asian students had an SSNP whereas only 79.4% of the schools with the lowest numbers of White/Asian students had an SSNP.

Next, the high schools were analyzed. The question was: Are there differences in the number of SSNPs per school between high schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations? A *t*-test showed that there is a statistically significant difference in the number of SSNPs per school between the predominantly Black/Hispanic schools ($M = 1.75$, $SD = .500$) and the predominantly White/Asian schools ($M = 5.75$, $SD = .957$), $F(1,6 \text{ d.f.}) = 54.857$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2 = .901$. Eta squared indicates that race/ethnicity accounts for 90% of the variance between the two groups of high schools in the average number of SSNPs per school.

Hence, although some assumptions of the statistical tests were violated, the overall results show that schools serving the most shares of White/Asian students were more likely to have an SSNP than those serving the most shares of Black/Hispanic students (see Table 9). This is true at both the elementary/middle school and high school levels.

Table 9

Differences Between Schools in Presence of SSNPs According to Students' Race/Ethnicity

	Mean/% for the highest B/H schools	Mean/% for the highest W/A schools	<i>p</i>	Eta squared/ Cramer's V	Significant difference
ES/MS presence	79.4	100	.026	.008	Yes*
HS presence	1.75	5.75	.001	.901	Yes

*Violates assumptions.

SSNP typology. The most common SSNPs at the high school level were parent-teacher groups, athletic booster groups, instrumental music booster clubs, and choral music groups. Of the 24 high schools in the initial sample, 95.8% had a parent-teacher organization such as a PTO, PTA, PTSA, or PTSO. Almost 71% of the 24 high schools had an athletic booster club. Two of

the seven schools without a general athletic booster club had single-sport booster clubs, including ones for football, lacrosse, and soccer. Twenty of the high schools (83.3%) were found to have an instrumental music (band, orchestra, or band and orchestra combined) boosters group. At 75%, band booster clubs were the most common type of instrumental music boosters group. A little over 8% of high schools in the sample had an orchestra booster club and the same number (8.3%) had a combined band and orchestra boosters group. Choral and music boosters groups were also popular with 62.5% of high schools in the sample having them. Theater or drama and robotics booster clubs were present but much less common, and ROTC and FOGs were even less prevalent. Twenty-five percent of high schools in the sample had a theater/drama booster club and 12.5% had a robotics boosters group. Only one high school, or 4.2% of the sample, had an ROTC boosters group and only one had a FOG (see Table 10).

Table 10

Types and Percentages of High School SSNPs

Type of high school SSNP	%
Parent-teacher group (PTO, PTA, PTSA, PTSO)	95.8
Athletic booster club	71
Single-sport booster club	8.3
Instrumental booster club	83.3
-Band booster club	75
-Orchestra booster club	8.3
-Band and orchestra boosters combined	8.3
Choral/vocal music booster club	62.5
Drama/theater booster club	25
Robotics booster club	12.5
Friends of group (FOG)	4.2
ROTC booster club	4.2

Analyses were run to determine if there were differences in the types of SSNPs that a high school had between high schools with the least and most economically disadvantaged student populations, as well as to determine if there were such differences between high schools with the lowest and highest White/Asian student populations. Chi-square analyses were run for: parent groups, athletic boosters, football boosters, instrumental music boosters, choral/vocal music boosters, theater/drama boosters, ROTC boosters, and robotics boosters. Unfortunately, each test violated assumptions (there were under five per cell).

However, an analysis using simple descriptive statistics of which schools had which groups, depending on their affluence, was done. Of the 24 high schools, those serving the most affluent students quartiles all had some sort of parent organization (PTA, PTSA, PTO, or PTSO) while one among the less affluent schools did not. With general athletic booster groups, the high schools serving the most affluent students each had one and the majority (78%) of the next most affluent high schools did. Only half of the less affluent high schools had a general athletic booster club while none of the least affluent high schools had one. Again, all of the most affluent high schools had some sort of instrumental boosters group (band, orchestra, or band and orchestra combined) and all but one of the next most affluent high schools had one. However, the same was true of the less affluent high schools, but neither of the least affluent high schools had an instrumental music booster club. All but two of the most and next most affluent high schools had choral/vocal music booster groups while of the less and least affluent high schools, only one had one. The theater/drama booster clubs were more evenly distributed. None of the least affluent schools had one while two of the most, three of the next most ED Q2, and one of the less affluent high schools had one. Of the three robotics boosters groups, two belong to the

most affluent school, but one of the less affluent school has the third one. Overall, these results show that the more affluent schools tend to have more booster clubs (see Table 11).

Table 11

Percentages of High Schools With Certain Types of SSNPs According to Students' Economic Status

Type of high school SSNP	Economic disadvantage quartile	%
Parent-teacher group (PTA, PTSA, PTO, PTSO)	Q1	100
	Q2	100
	Q3	83.3
	Q4	100
Athletic booster club	Q1	100
	Q2	77.8
	Q3	50
	Q4	0
Instrumental booster club (band, orchestra, band and orchestra combined)	Q1	100
	Q2	88.9
	Q3	83.3
	Q4	0
Choral/vocal music booster club	Q1	85.7
	Q2	88.9
	Q3	16.7
	Q4	0
Drama/theater booster club	Q1	28.6
	Q2	33.3
	Q3	16.7
	Q4	0
Robotics booster club	Q1	28.6
	Q2	0
	Q3	16.7
	Q4	0

Similar analyses were done depending on schools' percentages of White/Asian students. Again, of the 24 high schools, those in the quartiles with greater numbers of White/Asian students all had some sort of parent organization (PTA, PTSA, PTO, or PTSO) while one of the schools with majority Black/Hispanic students did not have one. The high schools with the most and next most numbers of White/Asian students all had athletic booster clubs, while half of the high schools with less White/Asian students did and none of the predominantly Black/Hispanic high schools did, although one of them had a single-sport football boosters group. All of the most White/Asian high schools had instrumental booster groups, all but one of the more and less White/Asian high schools had one, and only half, of the predominantly Black/Hispanic high schools had one. The choral/music booster clubs were not distributed equally across the schools. None of the predominantly Black/Hispanic high schools had a choral/vocal music boosters group, only half of the high schools with the next most Black/Hispanic students had one, yet all of the most White/Asian high schools and all but one of the next most White/Asian high schools had one. The drama/theater boosters groups were somewhat more evenly distributed. None of the predominantly Black/Hispanic high schools had one, but on the other extreme, only one of the predominantly White/Asian high schools had one. Half, of the next most White/Asian high schools had a drama/theater booster club, and only one of the less White/Asian high schools had one. Two of the three robotics boosters groups belong to the high schools serving the most White/Asian students, but there is also one at one of the less White/Asian high schools. These results show that the schools with more White/Asian students tend to have more booster clubs than those with more Black/Hispanic students (see Table 12).

Table 12

Percentage of High Schools With Certain Types of SSNPs According to Students' Race/Ethnicity

Type of high school SSNP	Race/ethnicity	
	quartile	%
Parent-teacher group (PTA, PTSA, PTO, PTSO)	Q1	75
	Q2	100
	Q3	100
	Q4	100
Athletic booster club	Q1	0
	Q2	62.5
	Q3	100
	Q4	100
Instrumental booster club (band, orchestra, band and orchestra combined)	Q1	50
	Q2	87.5
	Q3	87.5
	Q4	100
Choral/vocal music booster club	Q1	0
	Q2	50
	Q3	87.5
	Q4	100
Drama/theater booster club	Q1	0
	Q2	12.5
	Q3	50
	Q4	25
Robotics booster club	Q1	0
	Q2	12.5
	Q3	0
	Q4	50

III. Volunteer Capacity and Activity

The second question set addressed volunteer capacity, activity, and services of SSNPs according to level of economic disadvantage and race/ethnic composition of the student body of the school. SSNP boards and committees were examined, as were SSNP organizing and communications mechanisms and school-based volunteer services.

SSNP boards and committees. Every SSNP has a board and some have committees. Sometimes, the committee heads are part of the board and sometimes they are not. The board is usually comprised of a president, vice-president(s) (usually for membership and fundraising), a secretary, and a treasurer. Boards also often include a principal, a teacher, the director of the program the SSNP supports, and one or more students in the middle and high schools.

Sometimes boards include positions that are connected to other organizations, such as a liaison to the county school board. There are committees for all kinds of SSNP functions including but not limited to communications, fundraising initiatives, the yearbook, family dances, fall festivals, recycling, and coordinator of cafeteria volunteers.

Differences between schools in SSNP boards and committees according to economic status and race/ethnicity. The first thing examined here was the difference in number of board and committee positions between the least and most economically disadvantaged schools (of all levels) and then the difference between schools with the most White/Asian students and those schools with the fewest. The first question was: Are there differences in the number of SSNP parent/volunteer board positions and committees per school between schools (of all levels) with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations? A *t*-test showed that there is a statistically significant difference in the number of SSNP parent/volunteer board positions and committees per school

between the least economically disadvantaged schools ($M = 28.58$, $SD = 15.091$) and the most economically disadvantaged schools ($M = 7.54$, $SD = 6.413$), $F(1,58 \text{ d.f.}) = 41.471$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2 = .417$. Eta squared indicates that economic disadvantaged status accounts for 42% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of SSNP parent/volunteer board positions and committees per school.

The next question was: Are there differences in the number of SSNP parent/volunteer board positions and committees per school between schools (of all levels) with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations? A t -test showed that there is a statistically significant difference in the number of SSNP parent/volunteer board positions and committees per school between the predominantly Black/Hispanic schools ($M = 7.44$, $SD = 6.053$) and the predominantly White/Asian schools ($M = 24.45$, $SD = 12.094$), $F(1,58 \text{ d.f.}) = 44.243$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2 = .433$. Eta squared indicates that race/ethnicity accounts for 43% of the variance between the two groups of schools in the average number of SSNP parent/volunteer board positions and committees per school.

Third, I examined the occupancy rate of SSNP parent/volunteer board positions and committees between schools (of all levels) between the least economically disadvantaged schools and the most economically disadvantaged schools and then at those with more White/Asian students and those schools with fewer. The first question was: Are there differences in the occupancy rate of SSNP parent/volunteer board positions and committees between schools (of all levels) with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations? A t -test showed that there is a statistically significant difference in the occupancy rate of SSNP parent/volunteer board positions and committees between least economically disadvantaged schools ($M = 92.43$,

$SD = 17.818$) and the most economically disadvantaged schools ($M = 71.45$, $SD = 39.174$), $F(1,53 \text{ d.f.}) = 7.431$, $p = .009$, $\eta^2 = .123$. Eta squared indicates that economic disadvantaged status accounts for 12% of the variance between the two groups in the average occupancy rate of SSNP parent/ volunteer board positions and committees.

The last question of this set was: Are there differences in the occupancy rate of SSNP parent/volunteer board positions and committees between schools (of all levels) with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations? A t -test showed that there is a statistically significant difference in the occupancy rate of SSNP parent/volunteer board positions and committees between the predominantly Black/Hispanic schools ($M = 66.25$, $SD = 37.226$) and the predominantly White/Asian schools ($M = 95.34$, $SD = 9.293$), $F(1,50 \text{ d.f.}) = 17.957$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2 = .264$. Eta squared indicates that race/ethnicity accounts for 26% of the variance between the two groups of schools in the average number of SSNP parent/volunteer board positions and committees per school.

Across the board, level of economic disadvantage and race/ethnicity of the student population made a difference (see Table 13 and Table 14). SSNPs in schools with more affluent student bodies were more likely to have more board and committee positions, or committees, and those positions were more likely to be occupied. Additionally, SSNPs serving schools with the greatest numbers of White and Asian students were more likely to have more board and committee positions, or committees, and those positions were more likely to be occupied.

SSNP organizing and communication. The next concept examined was the organizing and communication capacity of the SSNPs and the intersection between that and economic disadvantage and race/ethnicity. The elementary/middle schools and high schools were analyzed separately because the high schools generally have more than one SSNP per school and so the

Table 13

Differences Between Schools in SSNP Volunteer Capacity and Services According to Students' Economic Status

Variable	Mean/% for the least ED schools	Mean/% for the most ED schools	<i>p</i>	Eta squared/ Cramer's V	Significant difference
Number of board/ committee/chair positions	28.58	7.54	.000	.417	Yes
Board/committee/ chair positions occupancy rate	92.43	71.45	.009	.123	Yes
ES/MS page on school website	36.7	32.3	.717	.046	No
HS number of pages on school website	.63	.13	.111	.111	No
ES/MS separate website	83.3	48.4	.004	.368	Yes
HS SSNP number of separate websites	2.62	2.13	.367	.037	No
ES/MS level of detail of the page or website	2.23	1.00	.000	.320	Yes
HS collective level of detail of the page or website	5.81	3.37	.069	.143	No
ES/MS Facebook pages	83.3	74.2	.384	.112	No

Table 13 - continued

Variable	Mean/% for the least ED schools	Mean/% for the most ED schools	<i>p</i>	Eta squared/ Cramer's V	Significant difference
HS number of Facebook pages	2.50	1.13	.019	.224	Yes
ES/MS yearbook	66.7	25.8	.001	.410	Yes
ES/MS clerical volunteers	77	19.4	.000	.574	Yes
ES/MS instructional volunteers	76.7	19.4	.000	.457	Yes
ES/MS cafeteria/ bathroom volunteers	40	6.5	.002	.399	Yes
ES/MS SOL testing volunteers	6.7	0	.144	.187	No
ES/MS number of enrichment events/ programs	10.97	4.16	.000	.288	Yes
HS in-school volunteers	40	37.5	.907	.024	No
HS department volunteers	1.94	.88	.022	.216	Yes
HS number of enrichment events/ programs	6.00	7.14	.559	.017	No

Table 14

*Differences Between Schools in SSNP Volunteer Capacity and Services
According to Students' Race/Ethnicity*

Variable	Mean/% for highest B/H schools	Mean/% for highest W/A schools	<i>p</i>	Eta squared/ Cramer's V	Significant difference
Number of board/ committee/chair positions	7.44	24.45	.000	.433	Yes
Board/committee/ chair positions occupancy rate	66.25	95.34	.000	.264	Yes
ES/MS page on school website	44.1	46.7	.838	.026	No
HS number of pages on school website	.25	1.25	.190	.267	No
ES/MS separate website	41.2	80	.002	.394	Yes
HS SSNP number of separate websites	1.50	2.25	.253	.210	No
ES/MS level of detail of the page or website	.94	2.13	.000	.354	Yes
HS collective level of detail of the page or website	2.25	6.00	.112	.366	No
ES/MS Facebook pages	64.7	80	.174	.170	No

Table 14 - continued

Variable	Mean/% for highest B/H schools	Mean/% for highest W/A schools	<i>p</i>	Eta squared/ Cramer's V	Significant difference
HS number of Facebook pages	1.00	1.75	.278	.191	No
ES/MS yearbook	11.8	60	.000	.507	Yes
ES/MS clerical volunteers	8.8	70	.000	.631	Yes
ES/MS instructional volunteers	5.9	43.3	.000	.441	Yes
ES/MS cafeteria/ bathroom volunteers	5.9	40	.001	.412	Yes
ES/MS SOL testing volunteers	2.9	10	.244	.146	No
ES/MS number of enrichment events/ programs	3.03	11.07	.000	.393	Yes
HS in-school volunteers	33.3	45.5	.522	.124	No
HS department volunteers	.50	1.75	.171	.287	No
HS number of enrichment events/ programs	4.75	3.75	.147	.016	No

types of variables used were different. Organizing and communication represent the means that the SSNP has to organize its members and the greater community it serves. The communication

aspect also represents the reach and influence the SSNP has. The variables under organizing and communication include whether the SSNP maintains a page on the school website for elementary/middle schools and the number of SSNP pages on the school website for high schools, whether the SSNP maintains a separate website at the elementary/middle school level and the number of separately SSNP-maintained websites at the high school level, the level of detail provided on either/both the page on the school websites or/and the separate websites, and whether the SSNP maintains a Facebook page at the elementary/middle school level or the number of Facebook pages at the high school level. Some SSNPs have other social media accounts, such as twitter and Instagram; however, Facebook was more consistently used.

Differences between schools in SSNP organizing and communication according to economic status. First, the elementary/middle schools were analyzed. The first question was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in whether the SSNP maintains a page on the school website? A chi-square test showed the difference in whether the SSNP maintains a page on the school website between the least and the most economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools is not statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 61) = .131, p = .717, \text{Cramer's } V = .046$. Nearly 37% (36.7%) of the SSNPs at the least and 32.3% of the SSNPs at the most economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools maintain a page on the school website.

The second question asked was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in whether the SSNP maintains a separate website? A chi-square test showed that the difference in whether the SSNP maintains a separate

website between the least and the most economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools is statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 61) = 8.248, p = .004$, Cramer's $V = .368$. Economic disadvantaged status accounts for 37% of the variance. A little over 83% (83.3%) of the SSNPs at the most affluent elementary/middle schools but only 48.4% of SSNPs at the least affluent elementary/middle schools maintain a separate website.

The third question asked here was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in the level of detail provided on either/both the page on the school website and the separate website? A t -test showed that there is a statistically significant difference in level of detail provided on either/both the page on the school website and the separate website between the least economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools ($M = 2.23, SD = .935$) and the most economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools ($M = 1.00, SD = .894$), $F(1,59 \text{ d.f.}) = 27.716, p = .000, \eta^2 = .320$. Eta squared indicates that economic disadvantaged status accounts for 32% of the variance between the two groups in the average level of detail provided on the websites.

The fourth question asked was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in whether the SSNP maintains a Facebook page? A chi-square showed that the difference in whether the SSNP maintains a Facebook page between the least and the most economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools is not statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 61) = .759, p = .384$, Cramer's $V = .112$. In 83.3% of the most advantaged elementary/middle schools, the SSNP maintains a Facebook page, and in the least advantaged elementary/middle schools, the SSNP does so in 74.2% of schools.

Next, similar questions were asked about the high schools. However, since the high schools tend to have more than one SSNP per school, the measure was the “number of . . .” The first question was: Are there differences between high schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in the number of SSNP pages maintained on the school website? A *t*-test showed that there is not a statistically significant difference in the number of SSNP pages maintained on each high school’s website between the least economically disadvantaged high schools ($M = .63$, $SD = .806$) and the most economically disadvantaged high schools ($M = .13$, $SD = .354$), $F(1,22 \text{ d.f.}) = 2.761$, $p = .111$, $\eta^2 = .111$. Eta squared indicates that economic disadvantaged status accounts for 11% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of SSNP pages maintained on each high school’s website.

The next question was: Are there differences between high schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in the number of separately maintained SSNP websites? A *t*-test showed that there is not a statistically significant difference in the number of separately-maintained SSNP websites between the least economically disadvantaged high schools ($M = 2.62$, $SD = 1.204$) and the most economically disadvantaged high schools ($M = 2.13$, $SD = 1.356$), $F(1,22 \text{ d.f.}) = .847$, $p = .367$, $\eta^2 = .037$. Eta squared indicates that economic disadvantaged status accounts for 4% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of separately maintained SSNP websites per high school.

The third question was: Are there differences between high schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in the collective level of detail provided on either/both the

pages on the school website and the separate websites? A *t*-test shows that there is not a statistically significant difference in the collective level of detail provided on either/both the page on the school website and the separate website between the least economically disadvantaged high schools ($M = 5.81, SD = 3.146$) and the most economically disadvantaged high schools ($M = 3.37, SD = 2.446$), $F(1,22 \text{ d.f.}) = 3.663, p = .069, \eta^2 = .143$. Eta squared indicates that economic disadvantaged status accounts for 14% of the variance between the two groups in the average level of detail provided collectively by SSNPs per each high school on either/both the pages on the school website and the separate websites.

The last question asked was: Are there differences between high schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in the number of SSNP-maintained Facebook pages? A *t*-test showed that there is a statistically significant difference in the number of SSNP-maintained Facebook pages between the least economically disadvantaged high schools ($M = 2.50, SD = 1.317$) and the most economically disadvantaged high schools ($M = 1.13, SD = 1.126$), $F(1,22 \text{ d.f.}) = 6.361, p = .019, \eta^2 = .224$. Eta squared indicates that economic disadvantaged status accounts for 22% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of SSNP-maintained Facebook pages per high school.

The results regarding the intersection of students' economic status with SSNPs' organizing and communication capacity are mixed (see Table 13). A significant difference was not found in whether an elementary/middle school SSNP maintains a page on the school website or in the number of SSNP pages maintained on each high school's website between the least and most economically disadvantaged schools. However, there is a significant difference in whether the SSNP maintains a separate website between the most and least economically advantaged

elementary/middle schools but not between those groups of high schools. In addition, there is a statistically significant difference in level of detail provided on either/both the page on the school website or/and the separate website between the least and most economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools. However, there is not a statistically significant difference in the collective level of detail provided on either/both the page on the school website or/and the separate website between those two groups of high schools. The differences in whether the SSNP maintains a Facebook page between the least and most economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools is not statistically significant, but there is a statistically significant difference in the number of SSNP-maintained Facebook pages per school between the least and most economically disadvantaged high schools.

Differences between schools in SSNP organizing and communication according to race/ethnicity. The same questions were asked about schools serving the greatest shares of White/Asian student populations versus those serving the greatest shares of Black/Hispanic students. First, the elementary/middle schools were examined. The first question was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in whether the SSNP maintains a page on the school website? A chi-square test showed that the difference in whether the SSNP maintains a page on the school website between predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools and predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools is not statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 64) = .042, p = .838, \text{Cramer's } V = .026$. Nearly 47% (46.7%) of predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools' SSNPs maintain a page on the school website and 44.1% of predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools' SSNPs do.

The second question was: Are differences between elementary/middle schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in whether the SSNP maintains a separate website? A chi-square test showed that the difference in whether the SSNP maintains a separate website between predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools and predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools is statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 64) = 9.959, p = .002$, Cramer's $V = .394$. Race/ethnicity accounts for 39% of the difference. Eighty percent of predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools' SSNPs maintain a separate website while only 41.2% of predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools' SSNPs do.

The next question was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in the level of detail provided on either/both the page on the school website and/or the separate website? A t -test shows that there is a statistically significant difference in the level of detail provided on either/both the page on the school website and the separate website between the predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools ($M = .94, SD = .694$) and the predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools ($M = 2.13, SD = .937$), $F(1,62 \text{ d.f.}) = 33.7964, p = .000, \eta^2 = .354$. Eta squared indicates that race/ethnicity accounts for 35% of the variance between the two groups in the average level of detail provided on the school website and the separate website.

The last question was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in whether the SSNP maintains a Facebook page? A chi-square test showed that the difference in whether the SSNP maintains a Facebook page between the predominantly

White/Asian elementary/middle schools and predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools is not statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 64) = 1.844, p = .174, \text{Cramer's } V = .170$.

Eighty percent of predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools' SSNPs maintain a Facebook page while 64.7% of predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools' SSNPs do.

A similar set of questions was asked regarding SSNP organizing and communication at the high school level. First asked was: Are there differences between high schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in the number of SSNP pages maintained on the school website? A *t*-test showed that there is not a statistically significant difference in the number of SSNP pages maintained on each high school's website between the predominantly Black/Hispanic high schools ($M = .25, SD = .500$) and the predominantly White/Asian high schools ($M = 1.25, SD = 1.258, F(1,6 \text{ d.f.}) = 2.182, p = .190, \eta^2 = .267$). Eta squared indicates that race/ethnicity accounts for 27% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of SSNP pages maintained on each school's website.

Next asked was: Are there differences between high schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in the number of separately maintained SSNP websites? A *t*-test showed that there is not a statistically significant difference in the number of separately maintained SSNP websites per high school between the predominantly Black/Hispanic high schools ($M = 1.50, SD = 1.00$) and the predominantly White/Asian high schools ($M = 2.25, SD = 1.708, F(1,6 \text{ d.f.}) = 1.596, p = .253, \eta^2 = .210$). Eta square indicates that race/ethnicity accounts for 21% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of separately maintained SSNP websites per school.

Third asked was: Are there differences between high schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in the collective level of detail provided on either/both the pages on the high school website and the separate websites? A *t*-test showed that there is not a statistically significant difference in the collective level of detail provided on either/both the page on the school website and the separate website between the predominantly Black/Hispanic high schools ($M = 2.25$, $SD = .957$) and the predominantly White/Asian high schools ($M = 6.00$, $SD = 3.916$), $F(1,6 \text{ d.f.}) = 3.462$, $p = .112$, $\eta^2 = .366$. Eta squared indicates that race/ethnicity accounts for 37% of the variance between the two groups in the average level of collective detail provided on either/both the pages on the school website and the separate websites.

Finally: Are there differences between high schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in the number of SSNP-maintained Facebook pages? A *t*-test showed that there is not a statistically significant difference in the number of SSNP-maintained Facebook pages between the predominantly Black/Hispanic high schools ($M = 1.00$, $SD = .816$) and the predominantly White/Asian high schools ($M = 1.75$, $SD = .957$), $F(1,6 \text{ d.f.}) = 1.421$, $p = .278$, $\eta^2 = .191$. Eta squared indicates that race/ethnicity accounts for 19% of the variance between the two groups in the average level of collective detail provided on either/both the pages on the school website and the separate websites.

The results regarding the intersection of students' race/ethnicity and a SSNPs' organizing and communication capacity are also mixed (see Table 14). Just as with level of economic disadvantage, there is not a statistically significant difference in whether the SSNP maintains a separate website between predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools and

predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools, nor is there a statistically significant difference at the high school level in the number of SSNP pages maintained on each high school's website between the two types of schools. However, the difference in whether the SSNP maintains a separate website between predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools and predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools is statistically significant; however, this is not the case at the high school level. At the elementary/middle school level, the schools with the greatest shares of White/Asian students have statistically significant greater levels of detail provided on either/both the SSNP page on the school website and the separate website, but this is not true for the collective level of detail of such pages and sites at the high schools. Finally, the difference in both whether a school's SSNP maintains a Facebook page at the elementary/middle school level and the number of Facebook pages maintained by the SSNPs in the high schools is not statistically significant. It appears that race/ethnicity plays a significant role in SSNPs' organizing and communication capabilities at the elementary/middle school level but not at the high school level. However, three of the cases at the high school level are worth discussing. While the differences are not statistically significant between the two groups of schools in the number of SSNP pages maintained on the school website, the number of separately maintained SSNP websites, and the collective level of detail provided on either/both the page on the school website and any separate SSNP website, the high eta squared is notable, and demonstrates that the variable accounts for a higher share of the variance than would be expected. This may be due to small sample size; there are only four high schools in each group.

SSNP school-based volunteer services. This set of questions examined SSNP-provided school-based volunteer services. Because the elementary/middle schools only had one SSNP each and those were PTAs and PTOs, these services were different from those provided at the

high school level. For elementary/middle schools, I looked at differences between the most affluent schools and the least affluent schools and the schools with the most White/Asian students and those with the least in the providing of yearbooks; clerical, instructional, bathroom/cafeteria, and SOL (Standards of Learning) testing volunteers; and, at the difference between schools in the number of SSNP enrichment activities and programs at each school. For the high schools, I examined whether the SSNPs provide in-school volunteers, the number of volunteers provided by the SSNP related to the functioning of the program that the SSNP supports, and the difference between schools in the number of SSNP enrichment activities and programs at each school. The SSNPs at the high school level did not provide yearbooks, nor did they provide volunteers separately for cafeteria assistance or bathroom monitoring or aiding with SOL testing. Instead some SSNPs at the high school level provided generic volunteers for the guidance office and the front office, or, in the case of booster clubs, they provided volunteers for the department the boosters supported (e.g., getting band instruments repaired or managing costume distribution for choral groups). Hence, the results will be presented by school level rather than by independent variable.

Differences between elementary/middle schools in SSNP volunteer services according to economic status. The first question was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in whether the SSNP provides a yearbook? A chi-square test showed that the difference in whether the SSNP provides a yearbook between the least and the most economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools is statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 61) = 10.250, p = .001, \text{Cramer's } V = .410$. Economic disadvantaged status accounts for 41% of the variance. Almost 67% (66.7%) of the most affluent

elementary/middle school SSNPs but only 25.8% of the least affluent elementary/middle schools SSNPs provide a yearbook.

The second question was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in whether the SSNP provides clerical volunteers. A chi-square test showed that the difference in whether the SSNP provides clerical volunteers between the least and the most economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools is statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 61) = 20.080, p = .000$, Cramer's $V = .574$. Economic disadvantaged status accounts for 57% of the variance. Almost 77% (76.7%) of the most affluent elementary/middle school SSNPs provide clerical volunteers but only 19.4% of the least elementary/middle school SSNPs do.

The next question was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in whether the SSNP provides instructional volunteers. A chi-square test showed that the difference in whether the SSNP provides instructional volunteers between the least and the most economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools is statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 61) = 12.743, p = .000$, Cramer's $V = .457$. Economic disadvantaged status accounts for 46% of the variance. Almost 77% (76.7%) of the most economically advantaged elementary/middle school SSNPs provide instructional volunteers but only 19.4% of least economically advantaged elementary/middle school SSNPs do.

The fourth question was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in whether the SSNP provides bathroom/cafeteria volunteers?

A chi-square test showed that the difference in whether the SSNP provides bathroom/cafeteria volunteers between the least and the most economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools is statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 61) = 9.704, p = .002$, Cramer's $V = .399$.

Economic disadvantaged status accounts for 40% of the variance. Forty percent of the least economically disadvantaged elementary/middle school SSNPs provides bathroom/cafeteria volunteers but only 6.5% of the most economically disadvantaged elementary/middle school SSNPs do.

The fifth question was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in whether the SSNP provides SOL testing volunteers? A chi-square test showed that the difference in whether the SSNP provides SOL testing volunteers between the least and the most economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools is not statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 61) = 2.137, p = .144$, Cramer's $V = .187$. Just 6.7% of the most economically advantaged elementary/middle school SSNPs provide SOL testing volunteers and none of the most economically disadvantaged elementary/middle school SSNPs do.

The last question examined was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in the number of SSNP enrichment events, activities, and programs at each school? A t -test shows that there is a statistically significant difference in the number of SSNP enrichment events, activities, programs at each school between the least economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools ($M = 10.97, SD = 6.212$) and the most economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools ($M = 4.16, SD = 4.583$), $F(1,59 \text{ d.f.}) = 23.817, p = .000, \eta^2 = .288$. Eta squared indicates that economic

disadvantaged status accounts for 29% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of SSNP enrichment events, activities, and programs at each school.

The results here are clear (see Table 13). In five of six cases, the level of economic disadvantage makes a statistically significant difference. The elementary/middle schools with the most affluent student bodies are more likely to have SSNP volunteers who provide a yearbook; clerical, instructional, and bathroom/cafeteria volunteers; and greater numbers of enrichment activities and programs. There is no difference, however, between the types of schools in whether or not SSNPs provide SOL testing volunteers.

Differences between elementary/middle schools in SSNP volunteer services according to race/ethnicity. The next set of questions were the same but involved the independent variable of race/ethnicity. The first question was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in whether the SSNP provides a yearbook? A chi-square test showed that the difference in whether the SSNP provides a yearbook between predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools and predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools is statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 64) = 16.438, p = .000$, Cramer's $V = .507$. Race/ethnicity accounts for 51% of the variance. Predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools' SSNPs provide a yearbook in only 11.8% of schools, but predominantly White/Asian schools' SSNPs did in 60% of schools.

The next question was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in whether the SSNP provides clerical volunteers? A chi-square test showed that the difference in whether the SSNP provides clerical volunteers between predominantly White/Asian

elementary/middle schools and predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools is statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 64) = 25.449, p = .000$, Cramer's $V = .631$. Race/ethnicity accounts for 63% of the variance. SSNPs provide clerical volunteers in 70% of predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools but in only 8.8% of predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools.

The third question was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in whether the SSNP provides instructional volunteers? A chi-square test showed that the difference in whether the SSNP provides instructional volunteers between predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools and predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools is statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 64) = 25.457, p = .000$, Cramer's $V = .441$. Race/ethnicity accounts for 44% of the variance. SSNPs provide instructional assistance in 43.3% of predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools and in only 5.9% of predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools.

The next question was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in whether the SSNP provides bathroom/cafeteria volunteers? A chi-square test showed that the difference in whether the SSNP provides bathroom/cafeteria monitoring between predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools and predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools is statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 64) = 10.855, p = .001$, Cramer's $V = .412$. Race/ethnicity accounts for 41% of the variance. SSNPs provide bathroom/cafeteria volunteers in 40% of predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools and in only 5.9% of predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools.

The fifth question was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in whether the SSNP provides SOL testing volunteers? A chi-square test showed that the difference in whether the SSNP provides SOL testing volunteers between predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools and predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools is not statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 64) = 1.355, p = .244, \text{Cramer's } V = .146$. SSNPs provide SOL testing volunteers in only 10% of predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools and in 2.9% of predominantly Black/Hispanic such schools.

The final question of this set was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in the number of SSNP enrichment events, activities, and programs at each school? A *t*-test showed that there is a statistically significant difference in the number of SSNP enrichment activities and programs at each school between the predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools ($M = 3.03, SD = 3.904$) and the predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools ($M = 11.07, SD = 6.113$), $F(1,62 \text{ d.f.}) = 40.225, p = .000, \eta^2 = .393$. Eta squared indicates that race/ethnicity accounts for 39% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of SSNP enrichment events, programs, and activities at each school.

Again, the results show strong differences between volunteer services provided by SSNPs at majority White/Asian schools and those provided at majority Black/Hispanic schools (see Table 14). The elementary/middle schools with the highest numbers of White/Asian students are more likely—there is a statistically significant difference—to have SSNP volunteers who provide a yearbook, clerical assistance, instructional assistance, bathroom/cafeteria monitoring,

and greater numbers of enrichment events, activities, and programs. Racial/ethnic composition of the school, however, again, does not make a statistically significant difference in whether or not the SSNPs provide SOL testing volunteers.

Differences between high schools in SSNP volunteer services according to economic status. For the high schools, three dependent variables were examined. Those were whether the SSNPs provided in-school volunteers, the number of volunteers provided by the SSNP related to the functioning of the program that the SSNP supports, and the number of SSNP enrichment activities and programs at each school.

The first question was: Are there differences between high schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in whether the SSNPs provide in-school volunteers? A chi-square test showed that the difference in whether the SSNP provides in-school volunteers between the least and the most economically disadvantaged high schools is not statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 61) = .014, p = .907, \text{Cramer's } V = .024$. SSNPs provide in-school volunteers in 40% of the least economically disadvantaged high schools and in 37.5% of the most economically disadvantaged high schools

The second question was: Are there differences between high schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in the number of volunteers provided by the SSNP related to the functioning of the program that the SSNP supports? A *t*-test showed that there is a statistically significant difference in the number of volunteers provided by the SSNP related to the functioning of the program that the SSNP supports between the least economically disadvantaged high schools ($M = 1.94, SD = 1.063$) and the most economically disadvantaged

high schools ($M = .88$, $SD = .835$), $F(1,22 \text{ d.f.}) = 6.073$, $p = .022$, $\eta^2 = .216$. Eta squared indicates that economic disadvantaged status accounts for 22% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of volunteers provided by the SSNP related to the functioning of the program that the SSNP supports.

The third question was: Are there differences between high schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in the total number of SSNP enrichment events, activities, and programs at each school? A t -test showed that there is not a statistically significant difference in the total number of SSNP enrichment events, activities, and programs at each school between the least economically disadvantaged high schools ($M = 6.00$, $SD = 4.243$) and the most economically disadvantaged high schools ($M = 7.14$, $SD = 4.259$), $F(1,21 \text{ d.f.}) = .353$, $p = .559$, $\eta^2 = .017$. Eta squared indicates that economic disadvantaged status accounts for 2% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of total SSNP enrichment events, activities, and programs at each high school.

In two of the three cases, there is not a statistically significant difference between high schools serving greater numbers of economically disadvantaged students and those serving lesser numbers of economically disadvantaged students (see Table 12). There is not a statistically significant difference between the two types of high schools in whether the SSNPs provide in-school volunteers or in the total number of SSNP-provided enrichment activities and programs at each school. However, there are statistically significant differences between the two types of high schools in the number of volunteers provided by the SSNP related to the functioning of the program that the SSNP supports.

Differences between high schools in SSNP volunteer services according to race/ethnicity. The next three questions are concerning the intersection of racial/ethnic composition of high school populations and SSNP-provided volunteer services. The first of those question was: Are there differences between high schools with the lower White/Asian student populations and those with the higher White/Asian student populations and whether the SSNP provides in-school volunteers? A chi-square test showed that the difference in whether the SSNP provides in-school volunteers between predominantly White/Asian high schools and predominantly Black/Hispanic high schools is not statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 64) = .354$, $p = .552$, Cramer's $V = .124$. There is little difference: 45.5% of the SSNPs in the high schools with greater numbers of White/Asian students provide in-school volunteers and 33.3% of the high schools with greater numbers of Black/Hispanic students do.

The next questions was: Are there differences between high schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations and the number of volunteers provided by the SSNP related to the functioning of the program that the SSNP supports? A t -test showed that there is not a statistically significant difference in the number of volunteers provided by the SSNP related to the functioning of the program that the SSNP supports between predominantly Black/Hispanic high schools ($M = .50$, $SD = .577$) and predominantly White/Asian high schools ($M = 1.75$, $SD = 1.500$), $F(1,6 \text{ d.f.}) = 2.419$, $p = .171$, $\eta^2 = .287$. Eta squared indicates that race/ethnicity accounts for 29% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of volunteers provided by the SSNP related to the functioning of the program that the SSNP supports.

The last question was: Are there differences between high schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in

the total number of SSNP enrichment events, activities, and programs at each school? A *t*-test showed that there is not a statistically significant difference in the number of SSNP enrichment events, activities, and programs at each school between the predominantly Black/Hispanic high schools ($M = 4.75$, $SD = 4.272$) and the predominantly White/Asian high schools ($M = 3.75$, $SD = 4.787$), $F(1,6 \text{ d.f.}) = .097$, $p = .147$, $\eta^2 = .016$. Eta squared indicates that race/ethnicity accounts for 2% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of SSNP enrichment events, activities, and programs at each school.

The results are different in these cases (see Table 14). There are not meaningful differences, in terms of statistical significance, between racial/ethnic composition of a high school and the number of high school SSNPs providing in-school assistance, the number of volunteers provided by SSNPs related to the functioning of the program that the SSNP supports, or the total number of SSNP-provided enrichment activities and programs at each school. However, in the case of volunteers provided by SSNPs related to the functioning of the program it supports, while the difference between the groups is not statistically significant, the high eta squared is notable, and demonstrates that the variable accounts for a higher share of the variance than would be expected. As in the previous cases, this may be due to small sample size; there are only four high schools in each group.

IV. Financial Capacity and Impact

The third set of questions examined the intersection of economic disadvantage and race/ethnicity and two other dimensions of SSNPs: financial capacity and impact.

Financial capacity is what the SSNP is capable of given its financial position while the financial impact is the SSNP is doing, that is, the financial impact it is having.

Financial capacity. The variables used to measure financial capacity were the number of SSNP fundraisers at each school, whether the SSNP maintains an annual fund or direct donation campaign at the elementary/middle school level or the number of SSNPs per high school with annual funds, whether the elementary/middle school SSNP has digital payment collection capability such as a PayPal or other online payment system or the number of SSNPs per high school with digital payment collection capability, and whether the school's SSNP has filed a 990 during the past 3 years (2015, 2016, or 2017) or the number that have at the high school level. This is an indicator of capacity because nonprofit organizations must file 990s if they have \$50,000 or more in gross receipts. Because there are typically multiple SSNPs at the high schools, these variables were measured differently and hence were analyzed separately. The last variable concerning financial capacity examined was the difference between the/any SSNPs' total income for 2016-17 or 2017-18 versus the school's 2017-18 operating budget (as expressed in percentage).

Differences between elementary/middle schools in financial capacity of SSNPs according to economic status. The first question asked was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in the number of SSNP fundraisers at each school per year? A *t*-test showed that there is a statistically significant difference in the number of SSNP fundraisers at each school between the least economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools ($M = 9.83, SD = 4.284$) and the most economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools ($M = 5.35, SD = 4.923$), $F(1,59 \text{ d.f.}) = 14.327, p = .000, \eta^2 = .195$. Eta squared indicates that economic disadvantaged status accounts for 20% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of SSNP fundraisers at each school per year.

The second question asked was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in whether the SSNP maintains an annual fund/direct donation campaign? A chi-square test showed that the differences in whether the SSNP maintains an annual fund between the least and the most economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools is statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 61) = 19.035, p = .000$, Cramer's $V = .559$. Economic disadvantaged status accounts for 56% of the variance. A little over 63% (63.3%) of the most economically advantaged elementary/middle schools SSNPs maintain annual funds/direct donation campaigns while only 9.7% of the least economically advantaged elementary/middle schools maintain one.

The next question was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in whether the SSNP has digital payment collection capability? A chi-square test showed that the differences in whether the SSNP has digital payment collection capability between the least and the most economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools is statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 61) = 19.035, p = .000$, Cramer's $V = .559$. Economic disadvantaged status accounts for 56% of the variance. SSNPs at 63.3% of the most affluent elementary/middle schools have digital payment collection capability but only 9.7% of SSNPs at the least affluent elementary/middle schools do.

The final question of this group was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in whether the school's SSNP has filed a 990 during the past 3 years (2015, 2016, or 2017)? A chi-square test showed that the difference in

whether the school's SSNP has filed a 990 during the past three years between the least and most economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools is statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 61) = 23.864, p = .000$, Cramer's $V = .698$. Economic disadvantaged status accounts for 70% of the variance. Almost 76% (75.9%) of SSNPs at the elementary/middle schools serving the greatest numbers of economically advantaged students have filed a 990 in the past 3 years and only 5% of SSNPs at elementary/middle schools serving the greatest numbers of economically disadvantaged students have made such a filing.

The results here are clear (see Table 15). The elementary/middle schools serving the most affluent student populations have SSNPs with statistically significant differences in financial capacity from the schools serving the least affluent student populations. Those schools have more SSNP fundraisers, are more likely to have an SSNP-maintained annual fund and digital payment collection capability, and are more likely to have recently raised \$50,000 or more in gross receipts in the past three years.

Differences between high schools in financial capacity of SSNPs according to economic status. The questions were similar but, again, since high schools have more than one SSNP, I was looking at total numbers per school. The first question was: Are there differences between high schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in the total number of SSNP fundraisers at each school? A t -test showed that there is a statistically significant difference in the total number of SSNP fundraisers at each school between the least economically disadvantaged high schools ($M = 23.25, SD = 8.079$) and the most economically disadvantaged

Table 15

Differences Between Schools in SSNP Financial Capacity and Impact According to Students' Economic Status

Variable	Mean/% for the least ED schools	Mean/% for the most ED schools	<i>p</i>	Eta squared/ Cramer's V	Significant difference
ES/MS number of fundraisers	9.83	5.35	.000	.195	Yes
ES/MS annual fund/ direct donation campaign	63.3	9.7	.000	.559	Yes
ES/MS digital pay- ment collection capability.	63.3	9.7	.000	.559	Yes
ES/MS 990 filed in past 3 years	75.9	5	.000	.698	Yes
HS number of fundraisers	23.25	13.00	.018	.239	Yes
HS number of annual funds/direct donation campaigns	1.19	1.13	.902	.001	No
HS digital payment collection capability per school	1.69	.88	.100	.118	No
HS number of 990s filed in past 3 years	1.75	.13	.000	.588	Yes
SSNPs budget total income versus school district.	130.13	44.60	.130	.086	No

Table 15 - continued

Variable	Mean/% for the least ED schools	Mean/% for the most ED schools	<i>p</i>	Eta squared/ Cramer's V	Significant difference
ES/MS number of core school/depart- ment/classroom materials	9.30	1.32	.000	.423	Yes
ES/MS college scholarships	6.5	33.3	.008	.338	Yes
ES/MS current 990 filing	7.1	63.3	.000	.584	Yes
HS number of core school/department/ classroom materials	15.63	7.86	.102	.122	No
HS number of SSNPs providing college scholarships	2.20	.88	.001	.408	Yes
HS number of current SSNPs filing 990s	1.63	.14	.000	.554	Yes
Facilities/ beautification services/funding	89.2	12.1	.000	.771	Yes

high schools ($M = 13.00$, $SD = 10.440$), $F(1,21 \text{ d.f.}) = 6.579$, $p = .018$, $\eta^2 = .239$. Eta squared indicates that economic disadvantaged status accounts for 24% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of total number of SSNP fundraisers at each high school.

The second questions was: Are there differences between high schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically

disadvantaged student populations in the total number of SSNPs maintaining annual funds/direct donation campaigns? A *t*-test showed that there is not a statistically significant difference in the total number of SSNPs maintaining annual funds/direct donation campaigns between the least economically disadvantaged high schools ($M = 1.19, SD = 1.047$) and the most economically disadvantaged high schools ($M = 1.13, SD = 1.356$), $F(1,22 \text{ d.f.}) = .016, p = .902, \eta^2 = .001$. Eta squared indicates that economic disadvantaged status accounts for 0.1% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of total SSNPs maintaining annual funds/direct donation campaigns per high school.

The next question was: Are there differences between high schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in the total number of SSNPs with digital payment collection capability? A *t*-test showed that there is not a statistically significant difference in the total number of SSNPs with digital payment collection capability between the least economically disadvantaged high schools ($M = 1.69, SD = 1.195$) and the most economically disadvantaged high schools ($M = .88, SD = .835$), $F(1,22 \text{ d.f.}) = 2.944, p = .100, \eta^2 = .118$. Eta squared indicates that economic disadvantaged status accounts for 12% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of total SSNPs with digital payment collection capability.

The last question of this group was: Are there differences between high schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in the total number of SSNPs that filed a 990 during the past 3 years (2015, 2016, or 2017)? A *t*-test showed that there is a statistically significant difference in the total number of SSNPs at each school that filed a 990 during the past 3 years between the least economically disadvantaged high schools ($M = 1.75, SD = .775$) and the most economically

disadvantaged high schools ($M = .13$, $SD = .354$), $F(1,22 \text{ d.f.}) = 31.376$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2 = .588$. Eta squared indicates that economic disadvantaged status accounts for 59% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of SSNPs at each school that filed a 990 during the past 3 years.

The high school results are more mixed (see Table 15). In two of four cases, SSNPs in the most affluent schools have greater financial capacity at a statistically significant level. The most economically advantaged schools have more fundraisers and are more likely to have more SSNPs that have filed a 990 form in the past 3 years. However, there are not statistically significant differences in the number of SSNP annual funds/direct donation campaigns or in SSNPs' digital payment collection capacity between the least and most economically disadvantaged high schools.

Differences between elementary/middle schools in financial capacity of SSNPs according to race/ethnicity. The questions in this set were identical except the independent variable was percentage of White/Asian students. The first question was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in the number of SSNP fundraisers at each school? A t -test showed that there is a statistically significant difference in the number of SSNP fundraisers at each school between the predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools ($M = 3.76$, $SD = 4.000$) and the predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools ($M = 9.63$, $SD = 4.238$), $F(1,62 \text{ d.f.}) = 32.440$, $p = .000$, $\eta^2 = .343$. Eta squared indicates that race/ethnicity accounts for 34% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of SSNP fundraisers at each school.

The second question was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in whether the SSNP maintains an annual fund/direct donation campaign? A chi-square test showed that the difference in whether the SSNP maintains an annual fund between predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools and predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools is statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 64) = 12.198, p = .000$, Cramer's $V = .437$. Race/ethnicity accounts for 44% of the variance. SSNPs maintain an annual fund/direct donation campaign at 60% of predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools and only 17.6% of predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools.

The third question was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in whether the SSNP has digital payment collection capability? A chi-square test showed that the difference in whether the SSNP has digital payment collection capability between predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools and predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools is statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 64) = 12.198, p = .000$, Cramer's $V = .437$. Race/ethnicity accounts for 44% of the variance. SSNPs have digital payment collection capacity at 60% of predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools and only 17.6% of predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools.

The final question was: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in whether the school's SSNP has filed a 990 during the past 3 years (2015, 2016, or 2017)? A chi-square test showed that the difference in whether the school's SSNP has filed a 990 during the past 3 years between predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools and

predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools is statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 64) = 19.706, p = .000$, Cramer's $V = .634$. Race/ethnicity accounts for 63% of the variance. SSNPs at 70% of predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools and only 5.3% of predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools have filed 990s in the past 3 years.

As with the previous results regarding SSNPs' financial capacity at the elementary/middle school level, these results show plainly that schools serving the student populations with the greatest percentages of White/Asian students also have SSNPs with statistically significant differences in financial capacity (see Table 16). Elementary/middle schools with the most White/Asian students have more SSNP fundraisers, are more likely to have an SSNP-maintained annual fund and digital payment collection capability, and are more likely to have recently raised \$50,000 or more in gross receipts in the past 3 years.

Differences between high schools in financial capacity of SSNPs according to race/ethnicity. The first question here was: Are there differences between high schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in the total number of SSNP fundraisers at each school? A t -test showed that there is not a statistically significant difference in the number of SSNP fundraisers at each school between the predominantly Black/Hispanic high schools ($M = 9.67, SD = 9.018$) and the predominantly White/Asian high schools ($M = 23.00, SD = 10.893$), $F(1,5 \text{ d.f.}) = 2.938, p = .147, \eta^2 = .370$. Eta squared indicates that race/ethnicity accounts for 37% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of SSNP fundraisers at each school.

The next question was: Are there differences between high schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in the total number of SSNPs maintaining annual funds/direct donation campaigns? A t -test

Table 16

Differences Between Schools in SSNP Financial Capacity and Impact According to Students' Race/Ethnicity

Variable	Mean/% for highest B/H schools	Mean/% for highest W/A schools	<i>p</i>	Eta squared/ Cramer's V	Significant difference
ES/MS number of fundraisers	3.76	9.63	.000	.343	Yes
ES/MS annual fund/ direct donation campaign	17.6	60	.000	.437	Yes
ES/MS digital pay- ment collection capability.	17.6	60	.000	.437	Yes
ES/MS 990 filed in past 3 years	5.3	70	.000	.634	Yes
HS number of fundraisers	9.67	23.00	.147	.370	No
HS number of annual funds/direct donation campaigns	.25	.75	.550	.063	No
HS digital payment collection capability per school	.50	1.50	.315	.167	No
HS number of 990s filed in past 3 years	.00	2.25	.000	.931	Yes
SSNPs' budget total income verses school district operating budget (per school).	36.67	138.75	.164	.099	No

Table 16 - continued

Variable	Mean/% for highest B/H schools	Mean/% for highest W/A schools	<i>p</i>	Eta squared/ Cramer's V	Significant difference
ES/MS number of core school/depart- ment/classroom materials	.97	8.27	.000	.403	Yes
ES/MS college scholarships	2.9	30	.003	.372	Yes
ES/MS current 990 IRS filing	6.5	60	.000	.570	Yes
HS number of core school/department/ classroom materials	3.00	14.25	.005	.754	Yes
HS number of SSNPs providing college scholarships	.75	2.75	.010	.696	Yes
HS number of current SSNPs filing 990s	.00	2.00	.003	.800	Yes
Facilities/ beautification services/funding	17.5	84.4	.000	.666	Yes

showed that there is not a statistically significant difference in the total number of SSNPs maintaining annual funds/direct donation campaigns per school between the predominantly Black/Hispanic high schools ($M = .25$, $SD = .500$) and the predominantly White/Asian high schools ($M = .75$, $SD = 1.500$), $F(1,6 \text{ d.f.}) = .400$, $p = .550$, $\eta^2 = .063$. Eta squared indicates that

race/ethnicity accounts for 6% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of SSNPs maintaining annual funds/direct donation campaigns per school.

The third question was: Are there differences between high schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in the total number of SSNPs with digital payment collection capability? A *t*-test showed that there is not a statistically significant difference in the total number of SSNPs with digital payment collection capability per school between the predominantly Black/Hispanic high schools ($M = .50, SD = .577$) and the predominantly White/Asian high schools ($M = 1.50, SD = 1.732$), $F(1,6 \text{ d.f.}) = 1.200, p = .315, \eta^2 = .167$. Eta squared indicates that race/ethnicity accounts for 17% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of SSNPs with digital payment collection capability per school.

The last questions was: Are there differences between high schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in the total number of SSNPs that filed a 990 during the past three years (2015, 2016, or 2017)? A *t*-test showed that there is a statistically significant difference in the total number of SSNPs that filed a 990 during the past 3 years per school between the predominantly Black/Hispanic high schools ($M = .00, SD = .000$) and the predominantly White/Asian high schools ($M = 2.25, SD = .500$), $F(1,6 \text{ d.f.}) = 81.000, p = .000, \eta^2 = .931$. Eta squared indicates that race/ethnicity accounts for 93% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of SSNPs that filed a 990 during the past 3 years per school.

In these cases, it is much less clear that the racial/ethnic composition of the high schools is related to the financial capacity of the SSNPs (see Table 16). There is a statistically significant difference in the total number of SSNPs that recently filed a 990, and hence had gross receipts of

\$50,000 or more between the predominantly Black/Hispanic high schools and the predominantly White/Asian high schools, and this is a key indicator of financial capacity. However, in the other three cases, that of the number of fundraisers, the SSNPs per school with annual funds/direct donation campaigns and digital payment collection capacity, there are not meaningful differences. That being said, in the case of the total number of SSNP fundraisers at each high school, while the difference between the groups is not statistically significant, the high eta squared is notable, showing that the variable accounts for a higher share of the variance than would be expected. That there are only four high schools in each group, indicative of a small sample size, may contribute to this result.

Differences between schools in budgetary capacity of SSNPs according to economic disadvantage and race/ethnicity. These questions examined the intersection of level of student economic disadvantage and racial/ethnic composition of the student body and financial capacity in terms of the difference between the/any SSNP's total income for 2016-17 or 2017-18 versus the school's 2017-18 operating budget (as expressed in percentage). There were many missing data for this variable because financial documents were not always available. In addition, each school district's way of allocating operational budgets differs—different school districts pay for different items out of the central office budget versus out of the school's budget. Hence, what these crude differences could tell us is limited. For the elementary/middle schools, it might be a more precise comparison since there was just one SSNP (and hence one potential budget per school). For the high schools, I calculated as many SSNPs' total income as their budgets were available, summing them and then comparing the amount.

The first question was: Are there differences between schools (of all levels) with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically

disadvantaged student populations in the difference between the/any SSNP's total income for 2016-17 or 2017-18 vs. the school's 2017-18 operating budget (as expressed in percentage)? A *t*-test showed that there is not a statistically significant difference in the difference between the/any SSNP's total income for 2016-17 or 2017-18 versus the school's 2017-18 operating budget (as expressed in percentage) between the least economically disadvantaged high schools ($M = 130.13$, $SD = 120.422$) and the most economically disadvantaged high schools ($M = 44.60$, $SD = 13.795$), $F(1,26 \text{ d.f.}) = 2.443$, $p = .130$, $\eta^2 = .086$. Eta squared indicates that economic disadvantaged status accounts for 9% of the variance between the two groups in the average difference between the/any SSNP's total income for 2016-17 or 2017-18 versus the school's 2017-18 operating budget (as expressed in percentage).

The second question examined the same concept but looked at the role of race/ethnicity: Are there differences between schools (of all levels) with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in the difference between any SSNPs' total income for 2016-17 or 2017-18 vs. the school's 2017-18 operating budget (as expressed in percentage)? A *t*-test showed that there is not a statistically significant difference in the difference between the/any SSNP's total income for 2016-17 or 2017-18 versus the school's 2017-18 operating budget (as expressed in percentage) between the predominantly Black/Hispanic schools ($M = 36.67$, $SD = 7.371$) and the predominantly White/Asian schools ($M = 138.78$, $SD = 119.683$), $F(1,19 \text{ d.f.}) = 2.091$, $p = .164$, $\eta^2 = .099$. Eta squared indicates that race/ethnicity accounts for 10% of the variance between the two groups in the average difference between the/any SSNP's total income for 2016-17 or 2017-18 versus the school's 2017-18 operating budget (as expressed in percentage).

No statistically significant differences were found here (see Tables 15 and 16). That is not surprising given the limitations of the data.

Financial impact. The final set of questions looked at the intersection of level of economic disadvantage and race/ethnicity and the financial impact of SSNPs. At the elementary/middle school level, the variables under this topic include the number of school or classroom materials, functions, or expenses the SSNP funds; whether the SSNP provides college scholarships; and, whether the SSNP currently has a 990 filing status or not. At the high school level, the variables are slightly different and included the total number of school or classroom materials, functions, or expenses the SSNPs fund; the total SSNP-provided college scholarships; and, how many SSNPs currently have a 990 filing status. The impact of level of economic disadvantage and race/ethnicity on if the SSNP provides beautification, landscaping, and/or facilities enhancements to schools of all levels was also explored.

Differences between elementary/middle schools in financial impact of SSNPs according to economic status. The first question is: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in the number of school or classroom materials, functions, or expenses the SSNP funds? A *t*-test showed that there is a statistically significant difference in the number of school or classroom materials, functions, or expenses the SSNP funds at each school between the least economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools ($M = 9.30, SD = 6.154$) and the most economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools ($M = 1.32, SD = 2.749$), $F(1,59 \text{ d.f.}) = 43.201, p = .000, \eta^2 = .423$. Eta squared indicates that economically disadvantaged status accounts for 42% of the variance

between the two groups in the average number of school or classroom materials, functions, or expenses the SSNP funds at each school.

The next question is: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in whether the SSNP provides college scholarships? A chi-square test showed that the differences in whether the SSNP provides college scholarships between the least and the most economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools is statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 61) = 6.972, p = .008$, Cramer's $V = .338$. Economic disadvantaged status accounts for 34% of the variance. A little more than 33% (33.3%) of SSNPs at the most affluent elementary/middle schools award college scholarships to former students, whereas only 6.5% of SSNPs do at the least affluent elementary/middle schools.

The third question is: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in whether the SSNP currently has a 990 filing status or not? A chi-square test showed that the difference in whether the SSNP currently has a 990 filing status or not between the least and the most economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools is statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 61) = 19.798, p = .000$, Cramer's $V = .584$. Economic disadvantaged status accounts for 58% of the variance. About 63% (63.3%) of SSNPs at elementary/middle schools that serve the most economically advantaged students currently have a 990 filing status, but only 7.1% of schools that serve the least economically advantaged students do.

In all three cases, there is a statistically significant difference between the least economically disadvantaged elementary/middle schools and the most economically

disadvantaged elementary/middle schools (see Table 15). The SSNPs at the most affluent schools provide more school or classroom materials, functions, or expenses the SSNP funds; provide more college scholarships; and, are more likely currently has a 990 filing status.

Differences between high schools in financial impact of SSNPs according to economic status. These questions were examining the same type of variable, but looking at total numbers per school. The first question was: Are there differences between high schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in the total number of school, classroom, or department materials, functions, or expenses the SSNPs fund? A *t*-test showed that there is not a statistically significant difference in the number of school or classroom materials, functions, or expenses the SSNP funds at each school between the least economically disadvantaged high schools ($M = 15.63$, $SD = 9.777$) and the most economically disadvantaged high schools ($M = 7.86$, $SD = 10.621$), $F(1,21 \text{ d.f.}) = 2.924$, $p = .102$, $\eta^2 = .122$. Eta squared indicates that economic disadvantaged status accounts for 12% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of school or classroom materials, functions, or expenses the SSNP funds at each school.

The second question was: Are there differences between high schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in the number of SSNPs providing college scholarships? A *t*-test showed that there is a statistically significant difference in the number of SSNPs providing college scholarships per school between the least economically disadvantaged high schools ($M = 2.20$, $SD = .862$) and the most economically disadvantaged high schools ($M = .88$, $SD = .641$), $F(1,21 \text{ d.f.}) = 14.490$, $p = .001$, $\eta^2 = .408$. Eta squared indicates that economic disadvantaged

status accounts for 41% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of number of SSNPs providing college scholarships at each high school.

The third question was: Are there differences between high schools with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student populations in the number of SSNPs currently with a 990 filing status? A *t*-test showed that there is a statistically significant difference in the number of SSNPs currently with a 990 filing status per school between the least economically disadvantaged high schools ($M = 1.63, SD = .719$) and the most economically disadvantaged high schools ($M = .14, SD = .378$), $F(1,21 \text{ d.f.}) = 26.099, p = .000, \eta^2 = .554$. Eta squared indicates that economic disadvantaged status accounts for 55% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of number of SSNPs currently with a 990 filing status at each high school.

At the high school level, there were statistically significant differences in two of the three cases (see Table 15). There was not a meaningful difference in the total number of school or classroom materials, functions, or expenses that the SSNPs fund between the low and high economically disadvantaged high schools. However, there are meaningful differences between the two groups of high schools in the total number of SSNP-provided college scholarships and in how many SSNPs currently have a 990 filing status and hence have gross receipts of at least \$50,000 or more.

Differences between elementary/middle schools in financial impact of SSNPs according to race/ethnicity. This set of questions examined the same concepts the previous one did, only with race/ethnicity as the independent variable. The first question asked: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with lower White/Asian student populations and those with higher White/Asian student populations in the number of school or classroom

materials, functions, or expenses the SSNP funds? A *t*-test showed that there is a statistically significant difference in the number of school or classroom materials, functions, or expenses the SSNP funds at each school between the predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools ($M = .97, SD = 2.052$) and the predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools ($M = 8.27, SD = 6.209$), $F(1,62 \text{ d.f.}) = 41.852, p = .000, \eta^2 = .403$. Eta squared indicates that race/ethnicity accounts for 40% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of school or classroom materials, functions, or expenses the SSNP funds at each school.

The next question asked: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with lower White/Asian student populations and those with higher White/Asian student populations in whether the SSNP provides college scholarships? A chi-square test showed that the difference in whether the school's SSNP provides college scholarships between predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools and predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools is statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 64) = 8.851, p = .003$, Cramer's $V = .372$. Race/ethnicity accounts for 37% of the variance. SSNPs at 30% of the elementary/middle schools serving the most White/Asian students award college scholarships, but only 2.9% of the SSNPs and the elementary/middle schools serving the most Black/Hispanic students do.

The final question of this set asked: Are there differences between elementary/middle schools with lower White/Asian student populations and those with higher White/Asian student populations in whether the SSNP currently has a 990 filing status or not? A chi-square test showed that the difference in whether the school's SSNP currently has a 990 filing status or not between predominantly White/Asian elementary/middle schools and predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools is statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 64) = 19.838, p = .000$, Cramer's $V = .570$. Race/ethnicity accounts for 57% of the variance. Sixty percent of

the SSNPs at the elementary/middle schools serving the most White/Asian students currently have 990 filing status, but only 6.5% of the SSNPs at the elementary/middle schools serving the most Black/Hispanic students do.

Again, in all three cases, there is a statistically significant difference between the two groups of schools (see Table 16). The SSNPs at the schools with the highest White/Asian student populations versus those with the lowest White/Asian student populations provide more school or classroom materials, functions, or expenses the SSNP funds; provide more college scholarships; and, are more likely currently has a 990 filing status.

Differences high schools in financial impact of SSNPs according to race/ethnicity.

The first question was: Are there differences between high schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in the total number of school, classroom, or department materials, functions, or expenses the SSNPs fund? A *t*-test showed that there is a statistically significant difference in the number of school or classroom materials, functions, or expenses the SSNP funds at each school between the predominantly Black/Hispanic high schools ($M = 3.00$, $SD = 3.559$) and the predominantly White/Asian high schools ($M = 14.25$, $SD = 3.862$), $F(1,6 \text{ d.f.}) = 18.353$, $p = .005$, $\eta^2 = .754$. Eta squared indicates that race/ethnicity accounts for 75% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of school or classroom materials, functions, or expenses the SSNP funds at each high school.

The next question was: Are there differences between high schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in the number of SSNPs providing college scholarships? A *t*-test showed that there is a statistically significant difference in the number of SSNPs providing college scholarships at each school

between the predominantly Black/Hispanic high schools ($M = .75$, $SD = .500$) and the predominantly White/Asian high schools ($M = 2.75$, $SD = .957$), $F(1,6 \text{ d.f.}) = 13.714$, $p = .010$, $\eta^2 = .696$. Eta squared indicates that race/ethnicity accounts for 70% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of SSNPs providing college scholarships at each school.

The third question was: Are there differences between high schools with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations and the number of SSNPs currently with a 990 filing status? A t -test showed that there is a statistically significant difference in the number of SSNPs currently with a 990 filing status at each school between the predominantly Black/Hispanic high schools ($M = .00$, $SD = .000$) and the predominantly White/Asian high schools ($M = 2.00$, $SD = .816$), $F(1,6 \text{ d.f.}) = 24.000$, $p = .003$, $\eta^2 = .800$. Eta squared indicates that race/ethnicity accounts for 80% of the variance between the two groups in the average number of SSNPs currently with a 990 filing status.

At the high school level, the results were stronger in the cases of the high schools with the greatest numbers of White/Asian students versus in the cases of those that serve the least numbers of White/Asian students (see Table 16). There were meaningful differences in the total number of school or classroom materials, functions, or expenses that the SSNPs fund; in the total number of SSNP-provided college scholarships; and, in how many SSNPs currently have a 990 filing status and hence have gross receipts of \$50,000 or more.

Differences between schools in SSNPs' providing of facilities/beautification funds/services according to economic status and race/ethnicity. For this question, I simply looked at if any of the SSNPs provided facilities/ beautification funds and/or services. The first question was: Are there differences between schools (of all levels) with the least economically disadvantaged student populations and those with the most economically disadvantaged student

populations in whether the SSNPs provide facilities/ beautification funds and/or services? A chi-square test showed that the difference in whether the SSNP provides facilities/ beautification funds and/or services between the least and the most economically disadvantaged schools (of all levels) is statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 70) = 41.576, p = .000$, Cramer's $V = .771$. Economic disadvantaged status accounts for 77% of the variance. A little more than 89% (89.2%) of SSNPs serving the most affluent schools provide landscaping/beautification services/funding, but only 12.1% of the least affluent schools' SSNPs did.

Next, I asked: Are there differences between schools (of all levels) with the lowest White/Asian student populations and those with the highest White/Asian student populations in whether the SSNPs provide facilities/ beautification funds and/or services? A chi-square test showed that the difference in whether the SSNP provides provide facilities/ beautification funds and/or services between predominantly Black/Hispanic schools and predominantly White/Asian schools is statistically significant, $X^2(2, N = 72) = 31.901, p = .000$, Cramer's $V = .666$. Race/ethnicity accounts for 67% of the variance. Landscaping/beautification services/funding is provided by 84.4% of SSNPs at the schools enrolling the largest numbers of White/Asian students, but only by 17.5% of the SSNPs at predominantly Black/Hispanic schools.

The results here, too, are clear (see Table 15 and Table 16). There are statistically significant differences between the schools serving the greatest numbers of White/Asian students and the least numbers of economically disadvantaged students in if the SSNP provides beautification, landscaping, and/or facilities enhancements to schools. The more affluent schools and those with greater concentrations of White/Asian students are more likely to receive landscaping and beautification.

V. Summary

Across the board, SSNP organizations such as PTAs, PTOs, and booster clubs are more present, are more numerous, have more volunteer capacity, offer more volunteer services, have greater financial capacity and impact in suburban Richmond, VA quad-county area schools that serve the most shares of affluent students and White/Asian students. The differences seem to be the greater between groups of elementary/middle schools than they are between groups of high schools, and they seem to be more profound for predominantly White/Asian schools versus predominantly Black/Hispanic schools than they are for the most affluent versus the least affluent schools.

For presence, though assumptions were violated, the differences are statistically significant at the elementary/middle school level and are about the same per each independent variable (see Tables 8 and 9). For high schools, there is a statistically significant difference in the number of SSNPs per school between both sets of groups, though the difference is more profound between majority White/Asian and Black/Hispanic schools, with race/ethnicity accounting for 90% of the difference (see Tables 8 and 9). While virtually all schools have some sort of parent-teacher group, at the high school level, the percentages with various booster clubs typically descend as the school's numbers of economically disadvantaged and Black and Hispanic students rise (see Tables 11 and 12). The two high schools with the greatest concentrations of economically disadvantaged students have a parent-teacher group but no other booster or SSNP group (see Table 11). Likewise, three-quarters of the predominantly Black/Asian high schools have a parent-teacher group and half have an instrumental boosters group, but no others (see Table 12).

In terms of volunteer capacity and activities, again, overall, the more affluent and White/Asian the schools are, the more SSNP volunteer capacity and services there are (see Tables 13 and 14). The predominantly affluent and White/Asian schools have higher numbers of SSNP board and committee positions, and committees, and the SSNP boards and committees at those schools are less likely to have vacancies. There is no meaningful difference among any of the groups at any school level in whether the SSNPs have a page on the school website. However, the SSNPs at the most economically advantaged elementary/middle schools and with the most shares of White/Asian students are more likely to maintain their own websites, and both their pages on the school website and their own websites have more information and details. There are no meaningful differences between any of the groups in terms of SSNPs' presence on Facebook, except that the SSNPs at the wealthiest high schools are more likely to maintain a Facebook account. The SSNPs at the most affluent and White/Asian elementary/middle schools are more likely to provide volunteers that take care of a yearbook, clerical duties, instructional assistance, help with cafeteria and bathroom monitoring, and who provide enrichment events, programs, and activities. There are not meaningful differences between any of the groups for SSNPs' providing SOL testing volunteers. At the high school level, the only meaningful difference between the most and least advantaged schools and the most and least White/Asian schools in volunteer services is in the number of department- or program-based SSNP volunteers; only the most advantaged schools provide more such volunteers.

Financial capacity and impact are also overall overwhelmingly stronger for SSNPs in schools that serve the most affluent and the schools with the most White/Asian students (see Tables 15 and 16). The SSNPs in the most economically advantaged elementary/middle schools and with the highest shares of White/Asian students have greater financial capacity; they have

more fundraisers and more likely to have an annual fund or direct donation campaign, to have digital payment collection capability, and to have filed a 990 form in the past 3 years. The high schools serving the wealthiest students also have more SSNP fundraisers and have more SSNPs that have filed 990s in the past 3 years. However, the only meaningful difference for SSNP financial capacity between predominantly White/Asian high schools and predominantly Black/Hispanic schools is that White/Asian schools have more SSNPs that have filed a 990 in the past 3 years, though this is a key variable. In terms of financial impact, all of the majority affluent and White/Asian schools are more likely to provide landscaping or school beautification funding/services. SSNPs at the most affluent and at the majority White/Asian elementary/middle schools fund more core school materials and function, they are more likely to provide college scholarships to their own students, and to currently have a 990 filing. The wealthiest high school SSNPs have not been found to provide significantly more core school, department, or classroom materials but they do provide more college scholarships and are more likely to have currently filed a 990 form. There are meaningful differences between the predominantly White/Asian and the predominantly Black/Hispanic high schools on all three counts.

Chapter 4

Understanding Racialized and Socioeconomic Disparities Associated With School-Supporting Nonprofit Organizations: Qualitative Results

I. Introduction

This study examines the interaction of economic disadvantage and racial/ethnic make-up of schools and the role of parent-led SSNPs, such as PTAs, PTOs, and booster clubs in the suburban school districts of the quad-county area of Richmond, VA. Specifically, it examines differences between the SSNP role in schools where economically advantaged and economically disadvantaged students are the most concentrated and where White/Asian students and Black and Hispanic students are the most concentrated.

The quantitative results show that there is more likely to be an SSNP at an elementary or middle school that serves primarily affluent and White and Asian students, and there are more types of SSNPs at comparably populated high schools. The SSNPs at the most economically advantaged elementary/middle schools and that serve the greatest numbers of White/Asian students have greater volunteer capacity and services, and greater financial capacity and impact at statistically significant levels. The socioeconomic and racial disparities are also true at the high school level, although less so.

The qualitative aspect of this study further examines the role of SSNP stakeholders in schools serving students segregated by class and race. How and why is it that SSNPs exist and function with the racial and socioeconomic disparities that they do, as the quantitative results portray, in the suburban school districts of the Richmond, VA quad-county area? How are

SSNP stakeholders making sense of, navigating, and justifying their role? After a thorough review of publicly available data from the most affluent and least affluent schools with the most and least numbers of White/Asian students (see Table 3), including from PTA, PTO, and booster club websites, Facebook accounts, documents, and artifacts (see Tables 4 and 5), four principal themes emerged. SSNPs believe that their work benefits stakeholders—their children, their school communities, and themselves. SSNPs see public education as a cause and their actions as virtuous. SSNP stakeholders perceive that parent volunteering and fundraising is a necessity. Finally, SSNP and educational leaders engage in power sharing. There are differences in how SSNP stakeholders express these themes between groups of schools, especially in the last three themes listed. In quoting from data sources, all original names of school districts, schools, and individuals have been left intact.

II. Participation in SSNP Organizations Benefits Stakeholders

Across groups, SSNPs market participation and membership as beneficial for stakeholders. The benefits are for “your child,” for “your school,” and for SSNP members. The reasons given are that SSNP participation improves academic performance and social-emotional well-being, and gives parents a voice in their children’s education. Additional quotes from this theme can be seen in Table 17.

Benefits your child. SSNPs—parent-teacher groups, in particular—repeatedly say that involvement in the PTA, whether it is by joining, volunteering, or participating in fundraisers, benefits your child, social-emotionally and academically, and that this support is vital. Most SSNPs in this dataset emphasized the benefits to one’s own children, but this emphasis was stronger at the economically advantaged and White/Asian schools.

Table 17

Additional Quotes: Participation in SSNP Organizations Benefits Stakeholders

Subtheme	Type of school	Source	Quote
Benefits your child	W/A Q4	School	"The SAES PT is a nonprofit, nonpartisan, all-volunteer organization. With your support we continue to make SAES academically challenging for your children."
	ES	page website	
Benefits the school	ED Q4 ES	SSNP website	". . .the PTA is about providing extra opportunities to enhance your child's education as well as provide a community feel between the parents, students, and teachers of Trevvett. We try our best to use the funds we raise to benefit every child at our school, and not just specific classes. At times, we may run an event to raise money for a specific cause or item, and you would know about that in advance.
Benefits the school	ED Q1 W/A Q4 ES	SSNP news-letter	"November begins the time of year when we show our 'thanks' for those who are appreciated at PGES. A GREAT Gator thank you to every parent who has assisted in the school, teacher, class, PTA, participated in the fundraiser, sent in donation items, or attended a school spirit night for dinner. Everything you do benefits ALL students at PGES, so thank you! Our students certainly gain from your volunteer work and dedication to improving our school."
Benefits the school	ED Q1 W/A Q4 ES	PTA meeting minutes	(Direct donation campaign). "Any dollar amount is greatly appreciated and benefits ALL students and teachers."
Gives you voice	ED Q1 ES	"About" section of Facebook page	"Together we are a powerful voice for children. With your help, we can continue to work toward the PTA's goal of a quality education and nurturing environment for every child."

In predominantly economically advantaged and White/Asian schools. The PTA membership form of one of the elementary schools serving the most White/Asian students states plainly, “Your child benefits when you get involved with the PTA.” The mission statement of the PTA of one of the most affluent elementary schools and with the greatest numbers of White/Asian students states, “Research has shown that student success is directly linked to parental involvement both at school and at home. When parents are active in their children's school, grades rise, self esteem [sic] grows and schools improve.” The PTSA “President’s Message” at one the most affluent high schools said, “The number one reason to join the Parent Teacher Student Association is to benefit your student. In doing so, you also help your school.”

Benefits are also mentioned as being reaped from volunteering and fundraising. In a pitch to recruit volunteers on their website, a PTA at another of the wealthiest elementary schools with the most White/Asian students asserts, “As a volunteer, you build important connections with our students and teachers. You can show them how much you care about them and their school. Most importantly, educational research demonstrates that greater parental involvement leads to academic success.” In trying to solicit memberships and annual fund donations, this other such elementary school PTA tells parents that their funds are needed to enhance the educational experience of their children: “Your contributions help us offer resources and programs that enhance your child's education and experience at SGES.” In a similar solicitation for direct donation campaign contributions, yet another elementary school PTA from the same groups lists benefits of donating to the individual donors (and to their children’s school exclusively): “Additional ways this fundraiser benefits you and your child(ren): 100% of all money stays at Rivers Edge, Nothing to sell, Tax deductible.” The benefits logic extends to

seeking out business partnerships with school families. The PTA of this elementary school with similar demographics exclaims on the sponsorship section of their website:

In order to achieve all of our goals, the PTA is looking to join with Families and their Businesses! Are you a business owner who would like to invest in our school? Do you work for a business who might partner with us? Would your family like to make a personal donation to our Grant-a-Wish program? Such an investment will provide immeasurable benefits to your children now and in their future.

In predominantly economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic schools. A somewhat similar type of messaging also comes from the school SSNPs that serve the highest numbers of economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic students. However, those messages seem to be more focused on getting families involved generally. One such elementary school PTA states on the home page of its website:

Family participation in education was twice as predictive of students' academic success as family socioeconomic status. . . . The more intensely parents are involved, the more beneficial the achievement effects. The more parents participate in schooling, in a sustained way, at every level--in advocacy, decision-making and oversight roles, as fundraisers and boosters, as volunteers and para-professionals, and as home teachers—the better for student achievement!

Another such elementary school PTO includes in their reasons to join the organization on their website that (emphasis theirs) that, “RESEARCH SHOWS [sic] IN THEIR CHILD’S EDUCATION IS THE #1 INFLUENCER FOR THEM DOING BETTER IN SCHOOL.” The PTA of a majority economically disadvantaged middle school also employs similar, more general language in trying to attract members: “See Measurable Results. More than 85 research

studies conducted over the past 30 years prove that kids do better when parents are involved. Grades are higher. Test scores improve. Attendance increases.”

Benefits your school. Some messaging is more about how participation in SSNPs benefits the school or children, generally. These are especially common from SSNPs in schools that enroll the greatest number of economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic students.

In predominantly economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic schools. The PTSA President of this majority Black/Hispanic high school SSNP stated in her letter to the community:

Varina’s PTSA is focused on being a strong voice in the educational process that directly supports our children and school. An effective and successful PTSA requires support and involvement of the parents of our students. It is vital. We encourage each of you to show your support and commitment by joining.

The PTA of this majority economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic elementary school also conveys the importance of working together to reach a common goal:

We hope that every parent with children at Johnson Elementary School will join the PTA. Each child benefits from the programs and services of the PTA. It is through your membership, volunteer hours, and overall participation in your student’s education that we achieve success together.

On their website, this other such elementary school PTO touts the benefits of volunteering as a benefit to school community,

Our Longdale Tigers deserve the greatest gift we can offer them: our time. By being present in our children's school, you become a familiar, reliable face capable of

promoting involvement in the school community. Students feel a growing sense of pride when they see their families getting involved at school!

In their opening-of-school-year letter asking for members, the PTSA of one of the middle schools enrolling the greatest numbers of economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic students laid out the benefits to the community:

We all know that our children learn more when parents/families, school staff, students, and the community work together. BMS PTSA strives to bring these groups together to share thoughts/ideas and implement programs/activities that benefit our students at Brookland. BMS PSTA, like you, is embarking on a new year full of promise and high expectations for success. That is why we invite you to become a member today!

In predominantly economically advantaged and White/Asian schools. Although not as common, this concept is also included in the materials of the school SSNPs that serve the most economically advantaged students and the most White/Asian students. For example, on the page of their website entitled, “What We Do,” this elementary school PTA lists, “Welcome and encourage family involvement at CTES through engaging and exciting events and programs in an effort to build a strong, supportive CTES school community.”

However, rather than a general call to help the community, SSNP stakeholders from those schools tend to speak more about helping the community as a result of contributing and spending money. The PTA of an elementary school in the group that enroll the greatest numbers of White/Asian student said in a membership pitch in one of their newsletters that, “Please know that joining the PTA does not require a time commitment. It involves paying a \$6.00 annual due to a local community-based, non-profit organization that spends every penny to improve the lives

of our children.” In one of their newsletters, the PTA of another such school thanked contributors for their donations to an auction fundraiser:

Help spread the word to your friends, family and the community that donating to our auction helps our school which benefits us all. Vacation homes, unique experiences, artwork, merchandise, tickets, signed sports memorabilia—any donations are welcome through March 1!

The predominantly affluent and White/Asian high school’s band booster organization presents evidence that if parents stay involved, their children are more likely to continue in the band program: “Statistics indicate that more students stay with the program throughout their high school career if their parents are involved.”

Benefits PTOs vs. PTAs. Some SSNP messaging focuses specifically on the school to the exclusion of other entities. This is especially common with PTO and PTSO groups, and especially in the more affluent and White/Asian schools’ SSNPs. For example, in the fall right after becoming a PTSO from a PTSA, this majority White/Asian high school PTSO, explained in a Facebook post that, “The mission and leadership are unchanged from the predecessor organization; the only difference will be that, without the obligation to pay membership fees to county, state and national organizations, 100% of your donations will now be invested in Lee-Davis.” In explaining their purpose, a PTSA that recently transitioned to a PTSO at one of the most affluent high schools praised the same notion:

Godwin's Parent Teacher Student Organization's (PTSO) purpose is to support the education and welfare of students at GHS by fostering relationships between parents, teachers, students, and administration. We are a nonprofit, IRS 501(c)3 organization.

The PTSO is not affiliated with any state or national organization so that every dollar donated will be used at GHS.

Benefits the volunteer. Some SSNPs promote the notion that volunteering will benefit the volunteer. For example, the tax deductible benefit is consistently included on annual fund pitches, membership drives, and promotion of other fundraisers. One of the most economically advantaged and White/Asian schools tagged one of their pitches with, “. . . The value of your donation will be tax deductible to the full extent allowed by the law.”

For example, this predominantly White/Asian elementary school SSNP said enthusiastically in one of their newsletters, “We have a lot of volunteer opportunities this year! Please join us!!! Volunteering is fulfillment for the soul and a lot of fun.” On the volunteer section of their website, the PTO of a predominantly economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic elementary school extols the benefits of volunteering:

Furthermore, volunteering has been shown to have mental and physical health benefits for you, the volunteer! A 2013 study by Carnegie Mellon University shows a possible link between volunteering and health benefits such as lower blood pressure, longer life span, and lower stress levels.

In their mission statement, the PTSA of this predominantly affluent and White/Asian high school emphasizes the benefits to students and parents of involvement in the group:

Our PTSA provides youth members the opportunity to make a difference by developing leadership skills, learning about the legislative process, increasing their self-esteem, and contributing to the school. In turn, adult members gain a new perspective for program development, as well as acquire a better understanding of the youth today.

The PTSO of this high school of mostly economic advantaged student tries to attract student

members by selling the advantages to employment and college applications:

We encourage all students to join and list membership on college and job applications.

Listing PTSO support [dues] and involvement [attendance at PTSO events—guest speaker assemblies, Color Run, post Prom] shows colleges and employers that you take an active part in your school community.

Gives you a voice. Across SSNP materials, membership pitches and drives include as a reason to join that doing so gives members a voice in their child’s education.

In predominantly economically advantaged and White/Asian schools. This majority White/Asian elementary school PTA website states, “Becoming a PTA member. . . .and most importantly, gives you a voice in your child’s education and school.” The PTA of an elementary school that is among those serving the greatest numbers of economically advantaged and White/Asian students posits in their mission statement, “. . . together, we become a powerful voice and a strong advocate for the education and well-being of every child at Pearson's Corner Elementary.” In trying to increase engagement, the PTA at a similarly populated elementary school announced in their newsletter:

As we continue to explore ways to boost meeting attendance, this meeting will be ‘Bring a Friend’ day! Think of someone that might not usually come to a meeting and bring 'em along! Don't forget, PTA is your voice parents!!”

In predominantly economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic schools. SSNPs in predominantly economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic schools express the same sentiment. In their membership pitch, one such elementary school PTA declares, “PTA can be a way for you to more effectively share ideas or concerns and suggest changes.” On their membership form, another such elementary school PTA is more direct: “Benefits of a PTA

Membership: Vote at PTA meetings, directly impacting your child’s educational experience.” In the “About” section of their website, the PTA of this elementary school among those with the most economically disadvantaged students says, “With over 475 students, we need your help to make our programs and events possible. With more members, our voice is more powerful and we can organize, promote and run better programs and events for our children.”

III. Public Schools as Community Service, Charity, and a Cause

The qualitative data indicate that SSNP stakeholders across groups view education as a cause and as a charity. Participating in SSNPs is a way to give back and make a difference. Fundraising for this cause is a virtuous activity. In addition, many of the SSNPs participate in community service initiatives either as organizations or via SSNP-sponsored student community service clubs—these are especially prevalent in the most affluent elementary schools with the greatest shares of White/Asian students. Projects include canned food drives, coat drives, visits to senior citizens homes, and collecting items for foster care kits. However, projects in their schools are also billed as community service projects. Furthermore, some of the wealthiest and most White/Asian schools’ SSNPs conduct such projects at the schools with the greatest numbers of economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic students. In turn, the SSNPs at the most privileged schools seem to see themselves as just happening to have active PTAs without an awareness of structural causes. Additional quotes evident of these themes are available in Table 18.

Public education as a cause. Some messaging, across groups, shows investment in the SSNP as something to do because educating children is a cause. The PTA at one of the least affluent and elementary schools serving the most Black/Hispanic students describes why people should volunteer: “By volunteering with the Chamberlayne PTA, you can put your skills and hobbies to use for a great cause—your child and all children in our community.” In its list of

Table 18

Additional Quotes: Public Schools as Community Service, Charity, and a Cause

Subtheme	Type of school	Source	Quote
Make a difference and give back	ED Q1 W/A Q4 ES	SNNP website	"If you are interested in helping make a difference in your child's school, please consider donating your time."
Make a difference and give back	ED Q1 W/A Q4 ES	SSNP newsletter	"We are looking for parents or grandparents who would like to volunteer as Instructional Gator Aides. These volunteers work one-on-one or in small groups with students to increase reading skills, math skills, and/or writing skills. This is a great way to volunteer if you enjoy working with students to help them succeed. You are making an impact on the student, the teacher, and the entire class."
Fundraising as virtuous	W/A Q4 ES	SSNP newsletter	"May 9th is Panera Spirit Night, not only do you get out of cooking dinner for the night, it is a great way to support the school."
Fundraising as virtuous	ED Q1 W/A Q4 ES	SSNP website	"You can find Box Tops on thousands of products and will probably be surprised by how many you find in your pantry and refrigerator. Collecting Box Tops is a fun and easy way for you and your child to work together to earn money for PCES."
Fundraising as virtuous	ED Q1 HMS	SSNP website	"We are offering the opportunity to support your local middle school while gaining brand recognition. Parents and staff will know you supported Holman and ultimately their children. Don't miss out on this great opportunity to be involved in your community."
Fundraising as virtuous	ED Q1 W/A Q4 ES	SSNP meeting minutes	"She indicated that the committee is currently looking for additional volunteers. She that they are talking to local Girl and Boy

Table 18 - continued

Subtheme	Type of school	Source	Quote
			Scouts and troop leaders, sending home a flyer with students, and posting the event on social media."
Fundraising as virtuous	ED Q1 W/A Q4 ES	SSNP meeting minutes	"How can we cut spending? Utilize volunteers such as local sports teams and organizations as a way to encourage kids to give back to the community."
Public schools as community service projects of the wealthy and White	ED Q1 W/A Q4 ES	SSNP newsletter	"We will accept donations throughout the entire month of October. Thank you for helping to care for the students and families at Fair Oaks! We appreciate your generosity."
Fortunate to have an active PTA	ED Q1 W/A Q4 ES	SSNP website	"Tuckahoe faculty and staff members are extremely proud and appreciative of the outstanding support received from the PTA."
Fortunate to have an active PTA	ED Q1 W/A Q4 ES	SSNP website	"We are very lucky to have tremendous support from our families for our fundraising efforts, which are also described in detail on the website."

reasons on its website for why parents should join, the PTA this middle school with similar demographics says, "Most important, because we need YOU! Can help raise money for a great cause! You can suggest ideas." In their plea describing why to join and volunteer, the PTSA at one of the most economically advantaged high schools states, "By volunteering with your PTSA, you put your skills and hobbies to use for a noble cause—your child and all children in the community."

Many schools' SSNPs in this sample participate in rewards programs and spirit nights as fundraisers, where the retailer or restaurant gives a certain percentage of revenues to the SSNP.

Some SSNPs in the sample call participating in these initiatives “shopping for a cause.” For example, the PTA at this elementary school that serves the highest numbers of advantaged and White/Asian students said in one of their newsletters, “Shopping for a Cause: Support our PTA while shopping Nov. 30-Dec. 2 at Five Below, and help our school earn cash.” Another such elementary school PTA also encourages members to shop for a cause (see Figure 2).

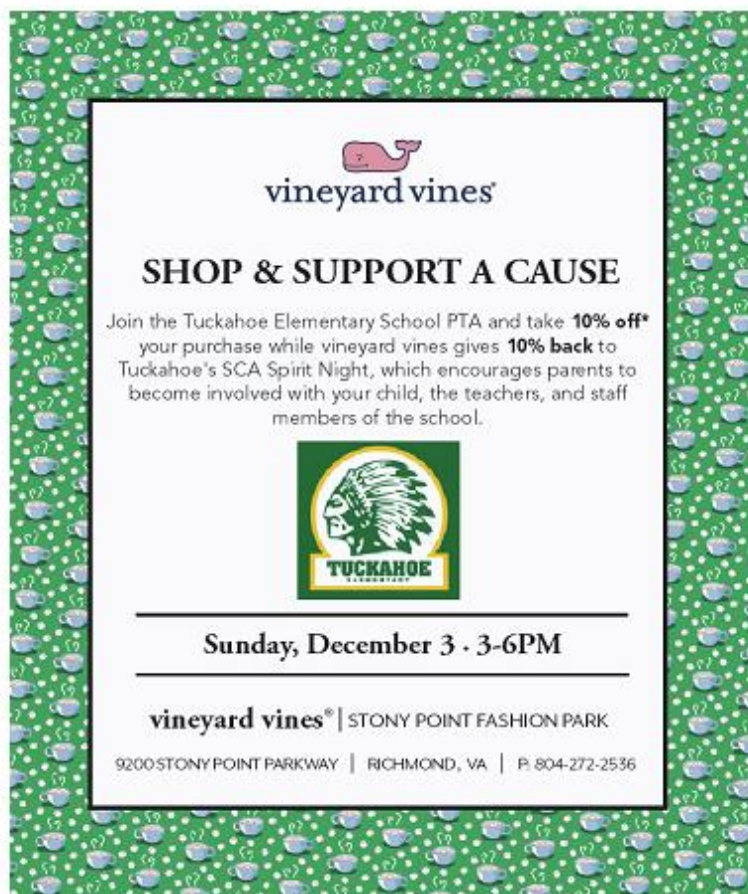


Figure 2. Shopping for a cause

The company Amazon has a widely used rewards program called Amazon Smiles where the SSNPs are referred to as charities. For example, this predominantly Black/Hispanic elementary school PTA states in their dictionary, “Visit smile.amazon.com, select Varina-Mehfoud Elementary PTA as your charity and start shopping.”

Make a difference and give back. Joining an SSNP and participating in SSNP fundraisers and events is ubiquitously presented as an opportunity to make a difference and give back. SSNPs at schools that enroll predominantly economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic students seem to emphasize this in recruiting members and volunteers, while SSNPs at schools with the most economically advantaged and White/Asian students seem to emphasize this in the case of fundraisers and projects to enhance the school.

In predominantly economically advantaged and White/Asian schools. On the membership form of a majority White/Asian elementary school PTA, it plainly states, “Make a difference by joining the CHES PTA today for \$6.” The PTA of another of the most advantaged and White/Asian elementary school’s PTA’s tagline is “Together We Can . . . Make a Difference.”

However, the plea to make a difference in majority affluent and White/Asian schools is often made in relation to specific volunteer and funding initiatives. For example, a blurb in the PTA newsletter of this elementary school that serves predominantly White/Asian students thanked community members for attending a spirit night fundraiser:

Thank you to all who came out to support our spirit night. Also thank you to all who bought pizza from Marco's pizza. Spirit nights help the PTA a lot and help us to provide more supplies and events for the school. You really are making a difference!! Thank you for continuing to support us!

A newsletter post of an elementary school PTA that that is among those that enroll the most economically advantaged and White/Asian students thanked Fall Festival fundraiser volunteers, “Thank you to all who made the 2016 Fall Festival a huge success. We raised over \$14,000 for the PTA to give back to Pearson's Corner.” The PTA newsletter of another such

elementary school, referred to as “The Farm,” alludes to contributing to the annual fund as, giving back:

Support the Farm on Giving Tuesday! Nov. 28 is Giving Tuesday, a national day dedicated to giving back. Please consider giving back to NFE this year with a donation to the Fox Fund. All gifts are tax-deductible and support many programs and activities for our students.

In drumming up volunteers for an SSNP-hosted day of landscaping and grounds beautification, this other such elementary school PTA announces in their newsletter:

October Beautification Blitz–Volunteers Needed! Just a couple hours of your time can help landscape and beautify our school for the new year! This is a fantastic way to give back to the school and create a wonderful environment for our children to learn and grow.

The athletic booster club at this predominantly affluent and White/Asian high school awards a college scholarship each year in honor of a past club leader who made a difference:

Art Washburn was a proud Deep Run parent and community leader who lived his life serving others. He dedicated his time and talents towards various nonprofit organizations whose causes he was passionate--one being the Athletic Boosters of Deep Run High School. He never stopped working to make the world a better place and encouraged others to give of themselves. This award will be given to the student athlete who best displays Art’s qualities and commitment to making a difference.

In predominantly economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic schools. This message coming from primarily economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic schools is more general and is applied mostly to joining. The membership section of the PTA website of this elementary school that is among schools that serve the most economically disadvantaged

students states, “Membership to the Lakeside PTA is only \$7 and can help make a difference! We would love to see every family join.” This predominantly Black/Hispanic middle school pronounces on the membership section of their website:

YOUR MEMBERSHIP MAKES A DIFFERENCE! We welcome all members of the community to join our PTSA. Teachers, staff, students, parents, grandparents, and neighbors are all encouraged to support our school. Volunteers are also a critical part in making a difference in our school.

Fundraising as virtuous. Fundraising is billed by many of the SSNPs at the most affluent and predominantly White/Asian schools as a virtuous, character-and community-building activity. On many SSNP websites, fundraisers, annual campaigns, spirit nights, and rewards programs are often listed under “How You Can Help” headings or heralded as ways to “support our school.” For example, one predominantly White/Asian elementary school PTA raves in their newsletter, THANK YOU for supporting our fundraisers so we can support our school.” In their newsletter, the PTA at one of the aforementioned elementary schools serving mostly economically advantaged and White/Asian students frequently urges participation in retail rewards programs and restaurant spirit nights, “SUPPORT THE FARM EVERY TIME YOU SHOP OR EAT!”

Collecting Box Tops is identified as an especially worthy activity. For example, in their newsletter, the PTA at one of the schools serving the most White/Asian students announced, November 1st is our first BIG submission date for Box Tops so send all of your tops that expire by 11/1/2017 so we can send them in and get money to help Cold Harbor! Always remember how bright you shine for helping CHES!

Participation in spirit night fundraisers organized by SSNPs at the most privileged schools is also seen as virtuous and community-building. The PTA of one such elementary school lists spirit nights on their website under “Ways You Can Help” bidding, “Attend PTA Spirit Nights and other events. These raise school funds and foster community relationships.” Another such elementary school’s PTA announced in its newsletter that the class with the most participation in the evening fundraiser would win an award for school spirit:

Mark your calendar: Spirit Day and Chick-fil-a Family Night will be held Thursday, Oct. 5th! Wear your BWE grade level t-shirts or other spirit wear to school that day. The class with most participants will win the Bettie Bluebird Spirit Award!

In one of their newsletters, the PTA of this middle school with similar demographics was more direct about the purpose of spirit nights:

Six times during the 2016-2017 school year, Oak Knoll will host Spirit Nights at a few of our local business partners. We will receive a portion of sales during a given time period on each date. These are a great way to earn money for our school as well as a way to support local businesses.

In its newsletter, a predominantly advantaged and White/Asian elementary school’s PTA pitched participation in a “Square 1 Art” fundraiser—where students create a drawing during instructional time, usually art class, and then the company sells parents items adorned with that artwork—as a self-esteem booster: “Together, we can help support the school, build your child’s self-esteem and create lasting keepsakes from your child’s artistic achievements.”

While spirit nights with local businesses were common in many schools in both groups, one type of fundraiser was only found in the predominantly affluent and White/Asian schools. A “fun run” or “boosterathon,” is conducted by many parent-teacher groups at the elementary

school level in coordination with private companies that specialize in these kinds of initiatives. The packaged fundraiser starts with a kick-off pep rally, continues with a week of scripted daily lessons about character building, and then ends with each grade level running laps—either outside or inside—in a festival-like atmosphere. This is all during instructional time and the company gets half of the proceeds. The SSNPs brand these as character-building and physical fitness events. For example, this blurb from one of the aforementioned majority White/Asian elementary school’s PTA newsletter stated:

This year, we will be having ONE fall fundraiser . . . doing the Boosterthon Fun Run as a joint PTA and School Fundraiser. The Boosterthon Fun Run experience combines a fun fitness event, an interactive character program, and a highly profitable school fundraiser. It’s all wrapped up in an unforgettable experience that is fun for students!

An Apex fun run is promoted similarly in the PTA newsletter at this economically advantaged elementary school:

Our PTA is bringing a new type of fundraiser to GAES in the fall: Apex Fun Run. Apex Fun Run is a two-week character development and leadership program that also raises funds for schools. The mission of Apex Fun Run is to build leaders and promote fitness, and the leadership theme is all about saying YES to our dreams! If we believe in ourselves, we can achieve anything.

Fundraising efforts by SSNPs in the wider communities and businesses where their corresponding schools are similarly pitched. This predominantly advantaged and White/Asian elementary school PTA included in their e-newsletter, “Gayton students made this video about raising money for their playground. Consider sharing it with your neighbors to encourage everyone to support their community's elementary school!” The PTA of one middle school

among those serving the most numbers of economically advantaged students gushed on Facebook about corporate sponsors, “These companies have shown their commitment to helping the students in our community and we are grateful for their generosity” (see Figure 3). The fundraising materials of this band and orchestra boosters group at one of the high schools serving the most advantaged students includes this plea to the community: “Partner with us to inspire excellence in another generation of performers! Our award winning Band, Orchestra, and Guard students need your encouragement and rely on the financial support of family, friends, and the community to continue reaching their goals.”



Figure 3. These companies have shown their commitment

Public schools as community service projects of the wealthy and white. The SSNPs at the schools serving the most economically advantaged and White/Asian students seem to view their schools and the schools serving predominantly economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic students as community service projects.

Community service projects. Enhancement efforts within schools are assigned as projects to the SSNP-sponsored community service groups of many schools. During one of their meetings, the PTA of one of the primarily wealthy and White/Asian school's PTA discussed this:

Gracie shared that the committee is currently working with the Community Service club to beautify the sidewalk connecting the main entrance to the gym. She indicated that they will be clearing the ground for the Community Service Club's inspirational rock garden.

Many of the SSNPs at the schools with the most affluent and White/Asian students offer opportunities to middle and high school students to earn community service hours by volunteering with SSNPs and at SSNP fundraising events. This can include volunteering at fall festivals and spring flings stuffing envelopes, or volunteering at enrichment events. Hence, raising money for schools with overwhelmingly affluent and White/Asian student bodies is seen as a form of community service. One majority White/Asian school PTA announced needing volunteers for their annual fall festival announced, "Needed: Volunteers! Set-up from 2:30 - 5:30; 3 shifts 5:45 - 6:30; 6:30 - 7:15; 7:15-8:00 and clean-up. Interested volunteers including Hanover Middle and High School Students." In a meeting, another majority economically advantaged and White/Asian school PTA discussed a successful call for volunteers: "Lastly, Kristina shared that a volunteer request was distributed via the MTK. To date, approximately 40 parents have signed up and over 50 high and middle school students have offered to volunteer." Another such elementary school PTA reported at a meeting that, "Over a dozen volunteers came to Shady Grove to help fill 800 students back to school folders. We are thankful to have had so many middle school and high school students helping us." Some of the middle and high volunteers are recruited to help at general school events. For example, yet a majority

economically advantaged and White/Asian school PTA discussed in a meeting recruiting students to serve as volunteers to translate for Spanish speakers at Back to School Night:

A few immediate volunteer needs include . . . Spanish speaking volunteers who can help out with translation for the ESL student population; someone suggested contacting

Robious Middle to see if 8th graders could possibly help for community service hours.

Another such school PTA offered in a Facebook post to award volunteer hours to teenagers in exchange for doing school maintenance (painting) work (see Figure 4).



Figure 4. SSNP volunteers paint

Disadvantaged schools as charity projects. SSNPs at many of the predominantly affluent and White/Asian schools in the sample choose predominantly economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic school communities to be recipients of their community service and charity efforts. These efforts are conducted either directly by the SSNPs or via SSNP-sponsored student community service clubs. Projects includes supply drives, food drives,

volunteer efforts, and staff appreciation events. On their website, one school PTA describes such a program as:

Community Outreach is a PTA sponsored program that allows our students and parents the opportunity to be involved in community service projects for local children. Together we can provide items that under-served students in our community need to be successful and empowered learners.

When a recipient school was heavily damaged by a fire, the community service clubs under the other schools' SSNPs kicked into gear. At a PTA meeting, one elementary school principal praised her school community in reporting that,

Our friends at Baker Elementary have had a challenging week, as their school was ravaged by fire last weekend. Nuckols Farm's Community Service Club is currently coordinating efforts to assist, as Baker's student and teacher/classroom supplies were destroyed. I am very proud of our Nuckols Farm family.

Further meeting minutes show that this PTA's student community service club also held snack and book drives for another school in the district and the club spent a club meeting session making bookmarks to accompany used book donations. The snack drive was featured in one of the newsletters: "Our community service club has collected boxes and boxes of individually-packaged snacks for our Johnson ES friends. Our Johnson buddies will be ecstatic to see just how many boxes are soon to be delivered." They also collected "Pennies for Playgrounds," giving Johnson \$208.94 towards updating its playground. Another of the more affluent schools' PTAs collected school supplies for a less advantaged school in the district, broadcast in a Facebook post:

The Winterpock Elementary School Outreach Program is pleased to announce that we will support Chalkey Elementary School, an underserved school in Chesterfield County. .

Items needed: crayons, markers, pencils, glue, scissors, index cards, folders, colored pencils, highlighters, composition books, backpacks, pencil boxes, spiral notebooks, and loose leaf paper. Thank you in advance for your generosity!

At a PTA meeting of another school that is among the most advantaged schools with the most White/Asian students, it was decided that another school in the district would be the recipient of profits from the PTA-run school store: “Laburnum Elementary will receive the proceeds from the school store. SCA may be helping out with sales in the store.”

These SSNPs also hold clothing and food drives for the families at the schools serving the greatest numbers of economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic students. At one of the privileged elementary school’s PTA meetings in discussions about a November PTA event, the Turkey Trot, it was announced that, “. . . hats, gloves, mittens and scarves will be collected again this year and donated to NFE’s ‘sister’ school, Johnson Elementary.” A separate coat drive for Johnson was held and the PTA’s student community service club also provided a shelving system for the coats. At another such elementary school, there was discussion during a PTA meeting about various charity initiatives for their sister school:

They would like to go to VA Beach aquarium- we will sponsor the bus for the trip in December. We will collect food for Fair Oaks right after Thanksgiving break- 30 boxes of food for families to help over winter break. Will also look into helping with Fair Oaks with book drive.

Some projects were for the benefit of the staff of the predominantly economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic schools. A previously mentioned PTA provided a luncheon

for Johnson staff and solicited food donations in the PTA newsletter for it. Another elementary school PTA posted on Facebook about a similar effort plus others at an elementary school in the same district (see Figure 5).



Figure 5. Outreach committee provides lunch

In the PTA newsletter of an aforementioned school, there was this announcement about volunteering at the school:

Volunteering at Fair Oaks Elementary This Fall! We are SO EXCITED that TES has the opportunity to partner with our 'sister school' Fair Oaks Elementary [located in the East End of Henrico County, near the airport] this fall! This year, for the first time, we are sending a group of volunteers to help with reading to the children and to help the teachers with copying, etc. . . . Thank you so much for considering giving of your time and serving this wonderful school!

Sometimes the SSNPs at the majority affluent and White/Asian schools allocate leftovers to the majority economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic schools. For example, one of the afore-mentioned elementary school's PTAs indicated in one of their newsletters that unclaimed student lost and found items would be donated to their sister school. At another elementary school (SPES) PTA meeting, it was noted that leftover books from their "One school, One book" program would be donated to a another school: "One School, One Book 18 books have been collected and will be donated to Varina Elementary. . . There was a classroom set of Earthquake Surprise collected and it will be donated to Varina Elementary."

At the PTA meeting minutes of one of the wealthiest schools with the most White/Asian students, shows internal discussions of how to help schools with fewer resources and perceived less involved parents:

. . . something to think about in terms of our leadership role in the community. . . there are several unfunded mandates given to schools by the school board and they are usually easier for our school to fulfill since we have so many resources and parents are so involved but how could we help other schools that have less resources than us?

Fortunate to have an active PTA. The SSNPs at the schools enrolling the greatest numbers of economically advantaged and White/Asian students, mention how fortunate they are to have an active PTA. Often, this seems to mean parents with time to volunteer and funds to donate. On the "About" section of the PTA website at one of the most affluent elementary schools, it states, "We are fortunate to enjoy a very active PTA at our school, and I encourage you to keep this momentum going!" The same school's PTA lauded their very profitable auction in a newsletter:

. . . a huge round of applause for Erin Pittman and all of the hands who made this year's Silent Auction the most successful ever, with a total net profit of almost \$25,000! We are incredibly fortunate to have such an active and productive PTA; there is a ton of 'magic behind the curtain' that is fueled by our dedicated volunteers who amaze and inspire me.

The principal at one of the elementary schools with the most advantaged and the most White/Asian students gushed in the PTA newsletter:

Pearson's Corner is very fortunate to have a number of volunteers who contribute a wealth of hours to our school! We welcome, encourage, and support your involvement.

We rely heavily on our volunteers to implement many of our programs and projects.

During a PTA meeting of another such elementary school, the president reported, "This is an incredible PTA, we are very well-funded, Ben had a list of 150 volunteers from last year that he could call on so tremendous parental support."

Some of the SSNPs at schools serving predominantly economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic populations express a similar sentiment, but it is conveyed in a more broad way rather than in reference to fundraising and volunteering in particular. For example, this elementary school PTA president, states on the PTA website, "We are also fortunate to have a PTA who works hard to support the school, students, and all of our community to become empowered and to realize our full potential!"

IV. Required: SSNP Fundraising and Volunteering

SSNPs depict their role as to support their children's educational experience, support their community, provide a voice in their children's education, as a cause, as a way to give back, and as a type community service. At the same time, however, there is consistent messaging voicing the need to do the work they do—to raise the money and provide the volunteers—

conveying that the schools and the departments that the SSNPs support could not function without them. This is especially true of the SSNPs at the most affluent and White/Asian schools. While some of the items the SSNPs talk about needing funding and volunteer staffing for might be considered extras, such as directories and the PTA Reflections program (a contest that emphasizes the arts), many other items constitute core school materials and functions.

In a newsletter, the president of one such elementary school makes it plain:

What do you think is important for your student to have access to? I, for one, would not have enjoyed school as much if it weren't for the scholastic enrichment opportunities such [as our new STEAM Club] that were provided at my elementary school. If there are any programs, not just this one that our community wants Robious to establish, two things are required: the volunteers with a vision to coordinate such efforts, and successful fundraising.

In the chorus handbook of one of the most affluent and White/Asian high schools, the choral booster club affirms that the program cannot operate without the group:

We would also like to invite you to join the Atlee Choir Boosters. We are just a group of parents who are invested in our children's lives and are committed to building a great chorus program. While we are committed and enthusiastic, we cannot do it alone! The chorus program requires a commitment of time, money, brains and brawn! Activities include rehearsal and concert support, costumes, prop and set/design/building as well as transportation, equipment upkeep and more. Booster funds have been used to purchase new risers, new pianos, mirrors and all sorts of other things to improve our choir's experience. More quotes that demonstrate this theme are available in Table 19.

Table 19

Additional Quotes: Required SSNP Fundraising and Volunteers

Subtheme	Type of school	Source	Quote
Need fundraising at predominantly economically advantaged and White/Asian schools.	ED Q1 WA Q4 ES	SSNP meeting minutes	"The purpose for joining the PTA and donating to the Stinger Fund is to provide resources for the school, like teacher funds, grant-a-wish requests, like iPads, and agendas for 2nd-5th graders. It also helps us provide materials for county-wide initiatives, like the Fountas and Pinnell reading program."
Need fundraising at predominantly economically advantaged and White/Asian schools	ED Q1 W/A Q4 ES	News- letter	"Program for Academic Curriculum Enhancement is a PTA program that allows our teachers to access 'extras' for their classrooms to give our students better and more in-depth experiences to go with their curriculum. PACE is fully funded from your donations, mostly coming from our Giving Tree campaign in the fall of each year. Here are some experiences that, thanks to your donations, our students have benefited from: Theatre IV performances for all students to attend, classroom magazine subscriptions, classroom sets of books/novels that coincide with grade-level and/or school-wide curriculum, web-based subscriptions that allow our teachers to use technology in the classroom to enhance our students' learning experiences. Some examples are Razkids.com, Languagenut.com, and Brainpopjr.com. Many in-house field trips that give our students hands-on experiences to better understand and appreciate the lessons of the curriculum. Examples are Colonial Holiday, The Jamestown Foundation, and Mad Science. PACE is a very important program. Having funds available gives our teachers the ability to think outside of the box and come up with ideas to truly enhance

Table 19 - continued

Subtheme	Type of school	Source	Quote
Need fundraising at predominantly economically advantaged and White/Asian schools	ED Q1 W/A Q4 MS	SSNP Direct donation campaign materials	our students' classroom experiences. The PTA thanks you for your generous contributions!."
Need fundraising at predominantly economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic schools	ED Q4 W/A Q1 MS	SSNP website	"Welcome to the 2016-2017 school year! I am very excited about the events the BMS PTSA has planned for your child and family! The PTSA hosts fundraisers all year long to fund many programs and events for our students and teachers to enjoy here at school."
Need volunteers at predominantly economically advantaged and White/Asian schools	ED Q1 W/A Q4 ES	SSNP news-letter	"We are so thankful for our volunteers. None of our success at Gayton can happen without everyone doing their part. . .no matter how small or how big."
Need volunteers at predominantly economically advantaged and White/Asian schools	ED Q1 W/A Q4 MS	SSNP volunteer recruitment materials	"There are many areas in which to volunteer throughout the year. Below is a short description of some of the areas that volunteers are needed: Teacher Helpers, Assist with special requests/projects from teachers, Art Helpers, Help set up art shows, Assemble bulletin boards for teachers with instruction from our Bulletin Board Committee, PTA Reflections, Arts & Science Festival Host, Drama Department Helpers, Assist Ms. Boyd in various areas with the school play, Fundraisers, Collect and tally sales, Hand out prizes to the students,

Table 19 - continued

Subtheme	Type of school	Source	Quote
			Hospitality, Set-up or clean-up for PTA General Membership Meetings, Assist with special events for the staff, Library Helpers, Reading to classes, Shelving books, Taking inventory, Reading Olympics Coaches, Book Fair Helpers for fall or spring sale, Office Helper [This is a morning position from 8:15-10:30 where you would greet/assist visitors and answer the phone lines], Silent Auction, Contribute items, Solicit items or services from local businesses, Help to organize and run the auction, Chaperones, Accompany students and teachers on field trips, Student Dances and Special Programs, Chaperone school dances, Help set-up or clean-up for dances or special programs, Provide snacks, 8th Grade Committee for End of Year Celebration, Planning all aspects of the 8th grade dance."

Fundraising at predominantly economically advantaged and White/Asian schools.

The quantitative results show that the school SSNPs serving more affluent student populations and serving greater numbers of White/Asian students are doing significantly more fundraising and funding more core school materials and functions. The sentiment that schools and departments could not function without the funding that the SSNPs provide was prevalent throughout. The high school SSNPs, in particular, confirm that the school districts and county governments do not provided the funding needed to maintain the programs they support.

At elementary/middle schools. In the “About” section of the PTA website of an elementary school that is among the most affluent is a description of what they supply for enrichment, though the items described are core items:

Support your kids' learning. Through fundraising, the PTA is able to invest in equipment and technology that enrich our students' learning experience. Past examples include Promethean boards for classrooms, playground equipment, ukuleles for the music program, and subscriptions to educational computer programs such as Learning A to Z, BrainPop, and Spelling City.

In the “About” section of their website, another such elementary school PTA shows the necessity of their role for instructional purposes: “Year after year, the PTA has made its largest contributions in curriculum enhancements, which include tools and materials needed to support and innovate how things work and are taught at school.”

Funds to pay for core materials and programs are raised especially by SSNP annual funds. The PTA at one of the most advantaged and White/Asian elementary schools pleads in their annual fund campaign pitch that:

The PTA’s efforts are primarily funded through the Trailblazer Club, a direct donation fundraising campaign that allows families to make a once-a-year donation to the PTA without further requests for funds throughout the year. This will again be the major fundraising effort for the PTA this school year. With these proceeds it will allow us to fund many of our programs and purchases for the year including: science labs, schoolwide arts and media programs, as well as the annual PTA Reflections contest, agendas, purple communication folders, student directories, classroom equipment—such as Ibeam projectors—and other schoolwide technology additions and improvements, faculty/staff support, school grounds upgrades and more!! Without the PTA these programs and supplies would not exist!

Another such elementary school PTA explains its direct donations goal and why the funding is crucial to meet core literacy goals of the school district:

Our goal is to raise \$26,000 in direct donations this year. This will allow us to continue the quality and quantity of programs your children enjoy each year at Rivers Edge Elementary. . . .The first \$16,000 raised will help to pay for the cost of the programs and items listed below. What we are able to raise of the remaining \$10,000 will help with the implementation of the new Henrico County Public Schools literacy program here at Rivers Edge. It will put books into the hands of our children and provide planning help and classroom materials for our teachers.

The need for funds is also inherent in the promotion of larger SSNP fundraiser events and rewards programs. For example, in a PTA newsletter of one of the most advantaged and White/Asian elementary schools, Fall Festival volunteers and contributors were thanked:

Thanks to you and our hardworking team of Fall Festival volunteers we made close to \$15,000 for PCES and our students. This money is being used for classroom improvements, educational classroom technology [including DreamBox, Discovery Education, and AR software], our All Panthers Read program, Roots and Shoots and capital improvements of the school to name a few. Without the success of the Fall Festival, these wouldn't be possible.

During a monthly meeting, some PTA leaders at a predominantly White/Asian elementary school discuss how to recruit participation in rewards programs: “Jenn will share the benefits of signing up for our retail reward programs. She will mention the things we have been able to purchase/receive from these programs [math mats, jump ropes, balls for the playground and an iPad].” Under the “Ways You Can Help” section of their website, another such elementary

school PTA asks, “Are you a Kroger shopper? Kroger offers reward programs that cost you, the shopper, nothing, but provide WHES with some much needed funds.”

Pleas for corporate donations and sponsorships also highlight the necessity of funding. The PTA at this very affluent elementary school with high numbers of White/Asian students mentions in its corporate giving materials that it is underfunded compared to other schools: “As a new school, in order to accomplish our goals and provide the same level of support and services that our students and teachers as other schools, we need additional financial support. The PTA funds many needs. . .”

A high profile campaign by the PTA at one of the elementary schools enrolling the greatest numbers of economically advantaged and White/Asian students to build a new playground that would be updated and designed to accommodate students with special needs is described in this news story (Smith, 2017):

Gayton Elementary’s PTA is working toward a \$150,000 goal. Since they started the process almost a year ago, they’ve received nearly half of that through online donations and corporate sponsorships. ‘As soon as we raise the money, I want to incrementally make improvements out here on this playground,’ Land said. She said the idea for new equipment came directly from the kids who wanted upgrades to the aging playground, something the school system simply can’t budget for.

At high schools. High school SSNPs at the most affluent and White/Asian schools are not shy about emphasizing their exigency. The PTSA at one of the most affluent and White/Asian high school puts forth a similar notion about providing the same level of support in its community donations materials:

In order to accomplish our goals and provide the same level of support and services that our students and teachers as other schools, we need additional financial support. The PTSA funds many needs such as: Academic and school enrichment, student and family enrichment, teacher hospitality coordination, school beautification and playground enhancements, internet safety and strategies for parents to help manage the risks for our children, program to Promote No Texting while Driving.

The PTSO of a high school that is in the group of the wealthiest schools states in their annual fund materials that cuts have forced them to fundraise:

Chesterfield County Public Schools Budget Cuts affect our children, our teachers and administration. With the support of our Cosby parents, administration and staff, the PTSO have been able to minimize the impact of the budget cuts in previous years. We, the PTSO at Cosby, seek to address the loss of programs in hard hit areas by undertaking a fundraising effort to return much sought after funding to our school.

Athletic booster club leaders also make clear how much their groups fund raise and fund. The president of the athletic booster club at one of the most affluent high schools, stated in his welcome letter on the boosters' website that the club purchases basics:

We purchase educational and safety-related items that would not be possible solely from the school's budget. A few recent acquisitions include portable microphones, picnic tables for an outdoor courtyard to provide a safe place for students to have lunch, directional signage for events, a large counter for the office entryway for added security, classroom furniture, and the distinctive signage outside of our main entrance.

On the website of another athletic booster club at another such high school are claims that athletics get no funding from the school district, so the club must fund everything:

The Cosby Athletic Boosters is a group of parents of athletes that volunteer their time and raise money to meet the needs of the athletes that are not met by Chesterfield County (Chesterfield County does not give any money to support athletics). Together with Cosby HS Activities Director, we have been able to achieve some pretty incredible goals for the athletes here at Cosby!

Another athletic booster club at one of the wealthiest high schools with the most White/Asian students states in its membership application, “Your Memberships dues will help to cover all the necessary expenses of running the athletic program at Atlee that are not covered by Hanover County.”

The situation is the same with instrumental and vocal music booster groups. The band boosters of this wealthy high school states in its purpose statement that:

The purpose of the Cosby Titan Band Boosters organization is to promote enthusiastic interest in the Cosby High School Band program. We provide moral support to the band program and financial support to cover items and expenses that the school or county does not provide.

At a meeting of another similarly affluent high school band and orchestra booster club, it was noted that fundraising pays for instructional staffing, “Band camp has gone very well.

Fundraising helps us bring in adult staff to help with our program.” The choral music booster club at one of the previously mentioned majority affluent and White/Asian high schools states plainly on the donation page of the department’s website that without the booster club and the donations it takes in, the high school would not be able to have the program:

Support music education! Donate to our 501(c)(3) organization to support quality vocal music education at Deep Run High School. The cost of our Blue Ribbon music program

far exceeds government support for it. Your generous assistance allows us to buy our music, tune our piano, and much more!

Some of the high school SSNPs at the predominantly wealthy and White/Asian schools express *raison d'être* that go beyond existence of the program. This high school athletic booster club declares on the home page of their website that athletes need the support in order to stay competitive:

The Wildcat Club [aka Wildcat Athletic Booster Club] supports the wide array of athletic programs offered at Deep Run High School, located in Glen Allen, Virginia. Learn more about the Wildcat Club. Supporting our young athletes and the coaches who work with our teams is our primary focus. We ask for your participation to ensure today our student athletes continue to have the best equipment and facilities needed to stay competitive.

The booster club's portion in the chorus handbook of another high school that serves majority economically advantaged students refers to stakeholders' expectations:

Each year parents are asked to assist us financially by becoming a Midlothian Chorus Patron. Chesterfield County provides only a fraction of the funds necessary to maintain the quality program that is expected by parents and students. Your contribution as a Patron supplies the necessary music, programs, and supplies that would be impossible if we relied solely on the funds provided by Chesterfield County. A complete list of PATRONS will be recognized on the back of each of our concert programs.

In their sponsorship application, the robotics boosters at one of the wealthiest and most White/Asian high schools does not even mention the school or district, as if they are entity apart:

Our budget varies from year to year, largely based on which regional competitions we attend and whether or not we qualify to attend the World Championships . . . Like most

organizations, we cut our programs when our funding falls short. We rely on corporate sponsorships, grants, fundraisers, and private donations to fund as much of the expenses as possible. Team parents pay the balance and additional costs like personal expenses.

Fundraising at predominantly economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic schools. The SSNPs at the schools serving mostly economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic students express the same sentiment but in a less urgent, more general way.

In elementary/middle schools. On the give back page of their website, the PTO at this predominantly economic disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic elementary school gives donating funds as a second option to volunteering:

We understand that sometimes giving time isn't always an option, no matter how much you'd like to. If that's the case, feel free to make a secure monetary donation through PayPal using the 'Donate Now' button below. All proceeds directly fund our school and community events as well as provide necessary school supplies and materials for our students.

A majority Black/Hispanic elementary school PTA defines fundraising broadly in their PTA dictionary as, "Fundraising: Assemble volunteers, plan and implement activities/events and offer resources to help fund their schools, families and community." The PTA at a predominantly economically disadvantaged elementary school (MCES) talks about the need to join to provide funding "much needed supplies" but also fun activities: "Please consider joining the PTA. Your \$6.00 membership goes towards providing much needed supplies and other items needed for MCES. The PTA also provides funds for field trips, much needed supplies, author visits, and other FUN events." This predominantly Black/Hispanic middle school PTA's annual fund (rare in these types of schools) pitch, specifically mentions a gap in funding:

The school relies on money from the PTSA to cover the gap between what our state and district provide and the kind of educational and community programs we know will build a truly well-rounded child. By writing a check, you are ensuring that all children at Wilder Middle continue to benefit from the great programs and activities we provide each year.

In the high schools. For the high schools serving more economically disadvantaged and Black and Hispanic students, the needs seem more basic and the parent-led SSNPs less active. In its pitch for sponsors, this majority Black/Hispanic high school football booster club states:

Due to educational budget cuts and the outrageous cost of security, we need assistance to have the essentials to play football. If you are interested in becoming a Springer Sponsor by donating money, equipment or other services, please contact us. There are many ways in which you can help the Springer Football Program. Your cash donation will help to purchase equipment that the team requires. If you are unable to make a monetary donation, the team has other needs that maybe you could accommodate.

According to a news story (Monfort, 2017) about the track team at the same high school, the coaches are raising funds just for running shoes:

There's a lot of talent on the Highland Springs High School track team. Some of the athletes are even bringing home national medals and college scholarships. But the team now needs the community's help, especially for items like shoes and equipment. 'Most of them did not even think they were going to be in college,' said Head Coach Lamont Folsom. 'But with track and field, I told them [to] come out and it can change your life literally.'

In a call for support at another predominantly Black/Hispanic high school without any type of athletic booster club, the coaches write:

In order to build a FIRST CLASS Athletic Program, the Varina High School Athletic Program needs your support. Similar to our past successful fundraising campaigns, we are attempting to find corporate sponsors to help defray some of the costs for our athletes. Allowing some of our economically less fortunate young players to attend camps, recondition or purchase training equipment, and uniforms is our primary goal. All of the money will go back to the player's equipment or items that will keep our program competitive with other high school programs.

One predominantly Black/Hispanic high school does have an active band booster club; its band program is one of the top ones in the state. The booster club explains on its website why it needs fundraising,

Of course, we raise funds for the band program. We are often asked, 'Why do the HSHS Band Boosters do so much fundraising?' There are many expenses, which we gladly cover, that help makes our program far superior than other programs. Band Camp clinicians, instrument repairs, trips, student meals, and a host of other small but extremely significant details are handled by the band budget to keep our program one of the best in the state of Virginia.

Volunteering at predominantly economically advantaged and White/Asian schools.

SSNPs at the most economically advantaged and White/Asian schools make clear that volunteers are also essential to the functioning of the schools and departments they support.

In the elementary/middle schools. Many general references to this were found in the data. In the “Volunteer Opportunities” of the PTA website of one such school, the PTA states that the school would not be successful without its volunteers:

A huge part of what makes Gayton so awesome are the volunteers! At Gayton, our volunteers are called GATOR AIDES. With a variety of volunteer opportunities, there's something for everyone. Creating a strong and large volunteer base is vital to the success of Gayton and the PTA.

An outgoing PTA president at another such elementary school exclaimed in a letter published on the SSNP's website, “A big thanks to all of our volunteers. Without you, we would not be able to have the many programs and activities that we do.” This economically advantaged middle school PTA says in the “About” section, “Through the volunteering efforts of this PTA, the TCMS staff is able to successfully execute school events and classroom and extracurricular activities throughout the year.”

Many core operational school functions would not get done without these SSNPs' volunteers. A statement in the newsletter of one of the most affluent and White/Asian elementary school's PTA refers to the volunteer efforts needed to successfully start the school year: “Our school could not run smoothly without the hard work of numerous volunteers. Thank you so much to all the parents, grandparents, and family members who have been working hard over the summer to prepare for the school year.” At a PTA meeting of one of the elementary schools serving the greatest numbers of affluent and White/Asian students, one SSNP leader lamented a lack of volunteers needed to make copies:

Debbie encouraged individuals to consider getting involved and pointed out that we have some vacancies on the Board, including VP for Volunteers, Yearbook Chair, and Copy

Room Coordinator. Please know that if these positions are not filled there will be no yearbook for students and getting teaching materials to our students will be slow.

One other such elementary school PTA not only supplied funds for a STEM lab but also supplied parent volunteers to staff it including a volunteer coordinator to manage them. There are several references to this in meeting minutes. For example, “Bob shared that seven Explore Lab sessions remain over the next few weeks, with 4 sessions dedicated to our 2nd-grade classes. He continues to search for volunteers to help staff the Lab.”

Many special days at the schools cannot happen without SSNP volunteers. A shot-out in the PTA newsletter to field day volunteers of one of the most economically advantaged elementary schools reads,

I just wanted to thank everyone who helped with field day this year. I really appreciate all the parents and teachers who came to help set up field day at 6:30 in the morning and who came to run the stations throughout the day. This day could not be successful without out all the parent involvement.

SSNPs at the most affluent and White/Asian also provide volunteers for maintenance tasks such as for outdoor classrooms and grounds. One of the wealthier and most White/Asian elementary school PTAs announced in their newsletter:

One of the best features at PCES is our outdoor space! We are fortunate to have so many gardens on the school grounds to enjoy and use as outdoor classrooms. In an effort to keep our gardens maintained and alive, we are extending opportunities to families at PCES to help out in the garden when it works with the family schedule. Similar to our summer garden maintenance opportunities, we are looking for TWO families a month to help us with weeding, watering and light pruning.

Although the volunteer needs are presented as opportunities, the outdoor spaces are used for instruction and help is needed to “keep our gardens alive.” At the meeting of another such elementary school PTA, it was reported that:

The October 1st Fall Clean Up day was very productive! . . . Approximately 55 volunteers, four times the amount she expected participated. The group picked up trash throughout the entire grounds; weeded, pinched, and removed unnecessary and overgrown plants in the courtyard and along the sidewalk leading from the gym to playground; trimmed tree branches in the kindergarten playground area; planted a magnolia tree by the front entrance and two holly trees at the second front entrance; transplanted boxwoods from back to the front of school to enhance symmetry and uniformity at front entrance and parking lot median; and laid 45 bags of mulch.

Another maintenance task that volunteers at such schools often take care of is recycling. In the meeting minutes of one of the previously mentioned elementary schools, it was noted that, “Allegra reminded the Board that she is still searching for a co-chair of the Recycling Committee to help students empty the green recycling bins every Tuesday, as students are not allowed to leave the building and go outside.”

In the high schools. An economically advantaged high school PTSO President’s welcome letter refers to its providing volunteers to staff the front office: “We support our faculty, administration and staff by volunteering in the front office and guidance department. Please consider volunteering.” This predominantly White/Asian high school choral booster group says on their website:

The Choral Boosters is a non-profit organization whose primary purpose is to support the choral students, the choral program and the choral director. The Boosters help support

the program by assisting the choral director with numerous program elements, including fundraising, organizing concerts, coordinating trips, and completing numerous other tasks that are necessary for the success of the choral program. Volunteers are used to help with many things that include chaperoning trips, outfit sizing, fundraising coordination, etc.

The athletic boosters' by-laws at one of the most affluent high schools describe the Volunteer Committee as being integral to the Athletic program: "Volunteer Committee—shall work with the Activities Director as well as coaches and personnel in the Athletic program to provide volunteers as needed to help conduct the Athletic Program." When listing committees in their website, this other such high school band boosters group claims that:

Parents are needed to accompany students on all band activities. Our band cannot go anywhere or do anything without the support of our parent chaperones. This includes summer Car Washes, Band Camp, all Football Games, the Christmas Parade, Competitions and any other trips. Duties include 'everything that is needed' from carrying water jugs and medical bags to watching over students in the stands and as they march from area to area. Chaperones coordinate and serve meals before games and on trips and generally ensure the safety of our students.

Volunteering at predominantly economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic schools. In contrast, the SSNPs in schools serving predominantly economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic student bodies tend to make more general and moderate pitches for volunteers.

In the elementary schools. On the volunteering page on their website, this such elementary school says:

Well, we are asking for you to be involved! Your time and knowledge is needed and wanted by our staff and students. The diversity of our community and the experiences you can share with our students is valuable to us.

The PTA at another elementary school that is among those serving the highest numbers of economically disadvantaged students says on its website about volunteering:

We're talking about our teachers and staff the very teachers and staff who nurture your child everyday throughout the school year. We need your helping hands and smiling faces on our campuses to help lighten the load for our staff giving them more time in the classroom.

Under membership info on the website, this predominantly Black/Hispanic middle school PTA expresses a general call and more modest expectations:

Volunteers are also a critical part in making a difference in our school. To help with volunteering, please click the Contact Us tab and fill in your information. BECOMING A MEMBER DOES NOT REQUIRE A LOT OF TIME! Support for our kids comes in all different methods. From helping a teacher for an hour once a month to passing out water bottles on field day at the end of the school year. Being a member of the PTSA is the foundation of support that we need from our community. Time is voluntary but needed always to help our kids grow. Volunteer time is valuable. Be recognized by being a member of the PTSA!

The PTA newsletter at this majority ED middle school mentioned how hard it is to get volunteers for even just PTA events:

We are continuing to look for volunteers to make all of events [sic] possible this year. Please let us know if you have time to volunteer. Also, community and family

involvement has cause [sic] a few of our events to not be possible. We are planning a packed calendar for the spring and hope that the involvement will increase. Please spread the word about events and continue to show your support. Don't forget to join the PTSA!

In the high schools. On the other hand, this predominantly Black/Hispanic high school band booster club lists very specific tasks on its website that volunteers are needed for:

There are many administrative details to running such a large program. Imagine, for example, the logistics of transporting more than 120 Marching Band members [uniforms, equipment and their instruments] several miles some weekends for a band competition and Friday away games! Funds must be raised and kept track of, permission slips and health forms obtained and filed, chaperones recruited, luggage checked and stowed, as well as many other necessary details. Such massive undertakings require parents and supporters to help everything run smoothly. We also assist with every performance, arranging for food prior to travel, providing refreshments, water, moving equipment, and even fixing last-minute uniform emergencies.

V. Power Sharing Between SSNP and Educational Leaders

Educational leaders serve on the boards of SSNPs. Some of the organizations, in fact, are called parent-teacher organizations. Hence, educational leaders are also stakeholders in SSNPs. However, especially at the predominantly affluent and White/Asian schools, educational leaders seem to be in more of a power-sharing role with SSNP leaders. A few additional quotes from this theme are listed in Table 20.

Role of SSNP leaders. The significant financial capacity that many SSNPs have at predominantly affluent and White/Asian schools can translate to their serving as de facto

Table 20

Additional Quotes: Power Sharing Between SSNP and Educational Leaders

Subtheme	Type of school	Source	Quote
Role of SSNP leaders	W/A Q4 ES	SSNP meeting minutes	"It is thought it would be best to use the money the PTA has raised towards a larger item that would improve our school. With that in mind a survey was sent out to each teacher to see where they thought the money would be best used." In a later meeting, the two main ideas that came out of these surveys were presented. "Plans for spending revenue--We were presented with two ideas for possible ways to best use the revenue we have collected this year. The first presentation was given by Hillary Billingsley regarding completing the instructional book room. The second presentation was made by Cammie Gemmill regarding bringing STEM (Science, Technology, Engineering and Math) to our school."
Role of educational leaders	ED Q1 W/A Q4 ES	SSNP news-letter	"As the Thanksgiving season begins, I also want to take a moment to let you know how thankful we, as the staff of Bettie Weaver Elementary, are for the amazing educational community we have here. Our students arrive to school every day ready to learn because of your commitment to educational excellence. We are very appreciative of your time, your input, and your ongoing support. From volunteering for the Book Fair and Happy Feet to giving up a Sunday afternoon to spruce up the courtyards, your participation and partnership make a difference."

Fundraising at predominantly economically advantaged and White/Asian schools.

The quantitative results show that the school SSNPs serving more affluent student populations and serving greater numbers of White/Asian students are doing significantly more fundraising

and funding more core school materials and functions. The sentiment that schools and departments could not function without the funding that the SSNPs provide was prevalent between the school budget and teacher requests for projects and resources. In their newsletter, this predominantly White/Asian elementary school PTA describes their deep involvement in day-to-day operations of the school:

As a PTA we work to put technology in the classrooms [Smartboards, iPads], books in the hands of our students (reading resources), equipment for resources such as music, art and PE along with taking care of endless other behind-the-scenes needs for our teachers, staff and principals!

In the “What We Do” page of their website, this majority economically advantaged and White/Asian elementary school PTA describes their vital role in school leadership, “We work closely with the faculty to strategically plan the committees, programs, and events to offer our students and their families, as well as provide financial support to the faculty, their classrooms, and student needs.” In a PTA newsletter of one of the most affluent and White/Asian elementary schools, the PTA made clear that the school would not be successful without the work of its leaders, “Ashley is our school’s PTA President; she gives countless hours to us [more than to her part-time job] to ensure that our students and teachers have what they need to be successful.”

Specific functions. This role is central in specific events and initiatives. For example, one majority economically advantaged and White/Asian elementary school PTA held a joint leadership team meeting (see Figure 6). During the meeting of such an elementary school PTA, it was announced that as a result of a successful direct donation campaign: “The PTA is giving a check to administration to purchase four Promethean Boards . . . Principal Weatherford is getting the county to measure the teachers’ rooms in order to install the boards.” The standing rules of



Figure 6. Joint leadership meeting

an elementary school that serves majority economically advantaged students PTA, describe a formal process for staff applications (to the SSNP) for funding, which includes specific line item approval for budget requests:

All funds requested from the school for curriculum/academic needs should be made in writing by the Principal/Teachers on an Administration/Staff Funds Request Form.

Administration/Staff should try and make all budget requests in August of the respective year when possible. All budget requests made during the year and after the budget has been approved must be given to the PTA Executive Board at least 2 weeks prior to a General Membership meeting for review.

PTSO meeting minutes of another such high school indicate that funds were allocated to the principal for professional development and other essential equipment, “Allocated \$8,215.69 towards Mills Godwin HS for Continuing Education for the Principal Administration, Sound Equipment and Printer.”

Role of educational leaders. Educational leaders have a challenging role. They are the professional leaders of their school communities and as such have been deemed to have the expertise and experience needed to run their schools. Yet, as the quantitative results show, parent-led, all-volunteer SSNPs at predominantly affluent and White/Asian schools provide essential funding and volunteers staffing for essential educational materials and staffing. Hence, principals in these types of schools seem dependent upon parent-led SSNPs to help provide for core aspects of a comprehensive public education.

Elementary/middle school educational leaders. Principals at the most affluent schools with the most White/Asian student enthusiastically cultivate parent participation, especially of those in SSNPs. In the principal's message, this leader of such an elementary school plugs joining, fundraising, and volunteering with the PTA, implying that the school does not get sufficient funds from the county to fulfill basic instructional and facilities' needs:

We are proud of our accomplishments, yet we still have work to do. How can we reach every child together as a school community? Below are a few ways you can help. Join the Parent Teacher Association [PTA]. Let's strive for 100% family membership! Please go to PTA Website. Give a PTA Cub Club direct donation. All funds go directly to instructional resources [technology, leveled books, etc.]. This year we also would like to purchase additional playground equipment as the county has removed our climbing dome for safety reasons. Attend PTA Spirit Nights and other events. These raise school funds and foster community relationships. See PTA Website and read the monthly PTA Cub Chronicle for information. Here is October's issue. Volunteer.

In the PTA newsletter, this principal at one of the most affluent and White/Asian elementary schools enthused about the PTA's Fall Festival, seeming to confuse fundraising with community service:

I can't say THANK YOU loudly or frequently enough to all who attended and helped for the P.T.A.'s annual Fall Festival! Thank you for your gift of time, efforts, resources, donations, late nights, early mornings, long SATURDAYS and time taken from your own family for the benefit of our school. Your outstanding fundraising efforts will provide continuous support to our instructional initiatives! However, as many of you noticed, the Fall Festival attendees come from far and wide. We have grandparents who attended

PCES, returning with their grandchildren. Many college and high school alumni come back every year for the Fall Festival. Many of our vendors are former PCES parents and supporters! Even families from surrounding schools come to our fall festival for some good ole' fashioned fun. I truly realize how much work you put into this effort. I thank you on behalf of the community as well. Many like to think that people move to our school because we are successful academically. While that may be true, the real reason we attract so many families goes back to the "heart" of our school. Thank you for keeping the heart beating strong! I am so blessed to serve this community.

In the newsletter of a predominantly affluent and White/Asian elementary school, this principal sought out volunteers for the library:

We especially need help in our library. Over the last few years we have tripled our circulation. That's a lot of shelving for Miss Brown! Please contact her directly at rpbrown@henrico.k12.va.us to let her know when you can help out.

In two different meetings of this elementary school PTA, the principal noted needs for SSNPs to fund or volunteer to take care of maintenance matters:

Mrs. Merriam also shared that the NFE PTA-provided landscaping crew was able to come in for a few hours last week (at no additional cost) and spend some time cleaning up the front of the school, for which Mrs. Merriam was very grateful.

At a later meeting, it was noted that "Mrs. Merriam would also like to sand down the two wooden tables in the teacher's lounge and would welcome any volunteers who could be of help."

At a meeting of another of the wealthiest and most White/Asian elementary schools' PTA, the principal acknowledged that she was able to accomplish things she would not have been able to at other schools:

Mrs. Fitzpatrick asked for a few minutes to thank the PTA for giving her opportunities that she knows she wouldn't have had at many other schools. She asked to please keep in touch and offered her insight for the future.

The principal's message at another such elementary school lists in the PTA newsletter some of the many of the activities that could not take place without the PTA:

Our students have been taking part in amazing on and off campus field trips and they are connecting to classrooms around the world through Google Hangouts and the Global Read Aloud. We had a wonderful time with our annual Grandparents' and Special Friends' Gala and our students really shined in the recent Variety Show. We couldn't take on these fabulous initiatives without your support. Your donations of gifts and time are priceless and we truly appreciate all you do.

Another such elementary school principal expresses gratitude at a PTA meeting for the things PTA volunteers do which include what should be staff tasks:

Principal Jones says thank you to the PTA for providing snacks and lunch during the teacher work week and also thanks volunteers for helping with the school supply kits, sorting paperwork, math tubs, and helping with the arrival and dismissal of students.

Academic events like science fairs are now also the purview of SSNPs. The principal of this elementary school announced in the PTA newsletter: "I am especially excited about our annual Science Fair, which will take place on the evenings of February 22 and 23." Yet, the science fair at that school, and many of the other most affluent and White/Asian schools in the sample is organized and run by the parents of the SSNP.

School-level educational leaders at schools with the most affluent and White/Asian students not only solicit donations and volunteers on behalf of SSNPs, they, and the teachers under their supervision, often provide services for meeting fundraising goals that go far beyond their job descriptions. This elementary school PTA newsletter describes such prizes for meeting fundraising goals:

As classroom goals are reached students will be given the chance to watch their teacher get pied in the face, sprayed with silly string or duct taped to the wall! If our school goal is reach, Mrs. Voorhees has agreed to join in! We greatly appreciate your involvement and enthusiasm in our fundraiser.

According to membership materials on the website of another elementary school PTA, meeting PTA membership drive goals would mean sending the principal to the roof for a day, “Our goal is 1 PTA membership per student. If we achieve 100% membership, Mr. D. spends the day on the roof!!!!” Another elementary school PTA newsletter mentioned items that were auctioned off including two sleepovers in the school with the principal chaperoning:

The biennial event, which was held at Salisbury Country Club on March 25th, included over 200 items for sale, over 200 guests and raised a net total of \$25,800 for the RES PTA. We raffled off twelve priceless teacher experiences, added a second last minute school slumber party with Mrs. Childress [each sold for more than \$1000!] and danced the night away.

High school educational leaders. At the high school level, principals also serve on the boards of the parent-teacher groups, but other educational leaders—program directors or department chairs—are often part of the booster clubs. They, too, have the professional expertise in their field needed to run their programs and departments, yet are reliant on these groups for funding and volunteers for their programs to function.

Membership information found on the website of this predominantly affluent high school band booster organization summarized the nature of these relationships:

The Band Boosters provide support for the band program of Midlothian High School through our generosity with time, talents and fundraising activities. Every member has a

dedication to the excellence for which our band stands. In order to ensure the progress and success of the program, the members join in fellowship with the band director, staff, students and their families, as volunteers committed to quality music education.

Similarly, listed in the goals in the bylaws of an athletic booster club in a majority White/Asian school is the goal:

Develop a strong Board relationship with the LD Athletic Director to provide organizationally focused goals that supplement and support the goals of the AD with assets, volunteer support, and additional programs and projects that enhance our students' experience as athletes at LDHS.

An examination of booster club by-laws provided evidence that educational leaders such as choir, band, and athletic directors often serve on the boards of these organizations and have voting power. This arrangement, noted in the by-laws of one of the most economically advantaged and White/Asian high schools chorus booster club is typical:

The chairman [sic] of the Board is the President of the club. Remaining voting Board members are the C Officers [as outlined in Article IV] and the Choral Director of Atlee High School. Each of these individuals one vote. Voting may be in person, via electronic mail, or other form of prevailing and accepted written communication.

However, in some cases, school staff leaders are not given voting rights in the club. For example, the bylaws of this affluent high school (GAHS) athletic booster club reads:

The Board of Directors shall consist of:

- A. Officers of the Organization as listed in Article 3.
- B. Chairpersons of Standing Committees as listed in Article 9.
- C. The Activities Director at Glen Allen High School (non-voting member).

D. The Principal of Glen Allen High School [non-voting member].

During the athletic booster club meeting of a majority White/Asian high school, the athletic director requested a major infusion of funds to cover costs:

Tripp requested an additional \$12,000 for the shortfall in the school budget. Baseball needs \$213 shifted. Dave stated that we had the money in the budget and we would just start the new school year with less funds. Michael Morris motioned, Shannon Tingle second; unanimously approved.

Even so, according to the bylaws of the same athletic booster club, educational leadership does have a say over activities of the club, “The Club shall not participate in any activity that would not be approved by either the LDHS Principal, the Superintendent of Schools for Hanover County or the Hanover County School Board, should such approval be required.” Again, this is typical. At one of the choral booster club meetings of one of the most affluent high schools, administrators nixed a spring trip due to concerns about its lack of inclusiveness:

Discussion was had about there being no spring trip in 2019 due to 30% of students not going due to expenses. Administration wants to do something that everyone can benefit from. This will be termed the ‘to be determined’ special event.

Central office educational leaders. Central office administrators also share decision-making power with SSNP leaders from schools that enroll the largest numbers of economically advantaged and White/Asian students. The meeting minutes of such an elementary school PTA references the negotiations that can occur between local unit SSNP leaders and central office administrators:

Discussing ideas on how to spend money we have left. What do we have? What can we do? We still have money because we only spent \$390. Dawn- Safety Audit on Cafeteria

door. Needs to be locked at all times. Ideas: Card Reader? What is the Cost of card reader? The county has offered to help cover some of the cost. They will pay for half. If we pay for half. Roughly \$1350.

In defining “Promethean Board” in its “PTA glossary,” another such elementary school PTA shows how they are regularly confers with school district leaders: “. . . Promethean Board—an interactive white board found in many classrooms at Shady Grove. The county and the PTA continue to work together toward the goal of having one in each classroom.” This description of an elementary school PTA’s renovation of the teachers’ lounge, usually a central office responsibility, chronicled in a set of meeting minutes, shows the tasks that SSNPs are taking on:

We emptied the cabinets and cleaned everything out on Thursday. A new sink, faucet and granite countertops were installed Friday morning. The painters arrive Monday and hope to be finished by Tuesday. They are painting the walls, the cabinets and the bathroom. We relocated the refrigerator and Kathy Gregory is on the hunt for a piece of furniture to hold the 3 microwaves which took up all the counter space. She is also making a new curtain.

Role of SSNP and educational leaders at predominantly economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic schools. Mentions of negotiations with school and central office administrators is much less common in the SSNP materials of schools that enroll the highest numbers of economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic students, as is evidence of principal cultivation of parent volunteers. As noted in a previous section, leadership and the work of the booster clubs in many such high schools are taken on directly by the coaches and staff.

This explanation on the FAQ page on the website of a majority economically disadvantaged elementary school implies that their roles are separate:

Does the PTA run every fundraiser and Spirit Night Trevvett has? No. While the PTA runs many events and fundraisers throughout the year, the school itself runs its own fundraiser in the fall. Those funds help Principal Broudy with PAW Achievement. The PTA events raise funds to support the school in other ways.

In one of the PTA newsletters, the principal at another predominantly economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic elementary school (EHES) wrote more expansively about parents in general, not just the PTA:

Thank you Holladay Parents for all you have done to help your child and your child's teacher this year! It is so wonderful to have so many of our families attend our PTA and Title 1 events during the year, volunteer on field trips, and volunteer at school. Your support is so important! The children see their parents at school events, and the connection with home is powerful – they know that we are all in it together for their success!

VI. Summary

The quantitative results show that most schools, across groups, have a parent-teacher group. Hence, it is not surprising that differences between the groups in the first theme were not as notable. SSNPs promote the messages that their work benefits members' children, members' schools, and even the members themselves, and that participation in such groups is also promoted as allowing participants the chance to make a difference and have a voice. These themes are largely elements of the PTA groups' *raison d'être* in the first place. The evidence shows that the organizations in all of these groups have that as a baseline. However, the messaging from the SSNPs at majority economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic schools seem to be more focused on getting families involved generally and on benefits to school

community while that from the SSNPs at the predominantly economically advantaged and White/Asian schools is more focused on benefits to the children of SSNP members and also on helping the community by making monetary contributions.

This leads to the where the findings show evidence of the shift of SSNPs to their current role, that is, expanded in number and in the amount of funds they are raising, and of greater differences between groups—between the most economically advantaged and most economically disadvantaged schools and between predominantly White/Asian and predominantly Black/Hispanic schools. SSNPs, across groups, seem to see public schooling as a cause, but the most affluent schools with the most White/Asian students see that virtuous cause as associated with their raising and investment of funds and recruitment and supplying of volunteer staffing. Furthermore, the SSNPs at these schools see this funding and volunteering as vital to existence of the schools and programs they support, to the proper education of their children. There seems to be an attempt to make up the differences in resources between the groups with community service projects aimed at the least advantaged schools. Finally, parent-led SSNPs are entrenched in the most affluent schools with the highest numbers of White/Asian students, and are making funding and administrative decisions and the situation is such that educational leaders are beholden to these groups and to the resources they provide. At the predominantly economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic schools, there is no evidence in the data that this is the case, where educational leaders appear to mount their own campaigns to obtain resources.

Chapter 5

Discussion of the Findings and Conclusions: Implications for Civic Groups and Nonprofits, Equity and Opportunity, Educational Leaders, School Finance, and Public Education

I. Introduction

This study set out to answer two questions. First, how does the overall economic status and racial/ethnic composition of student populations of schools in suburban districts in the Richmond, VA quad-county area intersect with the phenomenon of SSNPs such as PTAs, PTOs, and booster clubs? Specifically, under this first question, I examined the significance of student economic disadvantage and race/ethnicity and the presence and type of SSNPs, volunteer capacity and activities, and financial capacity and impact. Second: How and why do these organizations exist and function as they do in the suburban districts in the Richmond, VA quad-county area? Specifically, I examined how stakeholders, especially educational and SSNP leaders, navigate and justify their role in light of the socioeconomic and racial/ethnic disparities addressed in the first question.

In this chapter, I will discuss the findings via several dimensions which were examined in the review of literature in Chapter 1. First, I will discuss the implications for these parent-led organizations as nonprofits and civic groups. Second, I will consider implications for equity and educational opportunities. Third, I will discuss implications for educational leaders. Next, I will discuss possible solutions which emphasize implications for school finance. Then, I will discuss

implications for public education as a service for the common good and offer concluding thoughts. Finally, I will make suggestions for further research.

II. Parent-led SSNP Organizations as Civic Groups

The findings of this study show that what is happening with SSNPs in the suburban quad-county Richmond, VA as civic and nonprofit organizations fits in with the history and some current trends of SSNPs as shown in the previous literature. The results also raise questions about the purpose and regulations of SSNPs as civic, nonprofit organizations.

Reflects history and current trends. Given the findings that almost every school in the suburban quad-county Richmond, VA area has a parent-teacher group (see Tables 8, 9, and 10), the finding under the first theme, *benefits stakeholders* of the qualitative analysis are unsurprising. Most of the references in the first theme regarding benefits to stakeholders came from parent-teacher organizations. Given the PTA's history of being an established, large umbrella K-12 education advocacy group (Crawford & Levitt, 1999; Cutler, 2000; Reese, 1978; Woysner, 2003), it makes sense that the vestiges of language of a mission of giving parents a voice in their children's education and making a difference are still present. Even the SSNPs with the least capacity still access and make use of that language on their school's website or on a Facebook page—there are no meaningful differences between any of the groups in whether SSNPs have pages on the school website and in whether they maintain Facebook pages (see Tables 13 and 14); SSNPs that are parent-teacher groups are still part of the school infrastructure and it is easy enough to create a Facebook page.

The second trend, common in the literature and reflected in the current study, is a combination of current trends and history of SSNPs. The language that indicates participation in SSNPs will benefit your child, school, and the volunteer quickly shifts to an emphasis on

fundraising and volunteering, particularly in the most affluent and White/Asian schools. Those SSNPs at the most affluent and White/Asian schools were the most likely to have separate websites and with more detail (see Tables 13 and 14) and the collected materials from SSNP websites, Facebook pages, newsletters, and meeting minutes illustrate that these organizations were taken up with fundraising, advertising, and selling. Moreover, in most cases, especially at the elementary/middle school level, SSNPs at the most affluent and White/Asian schools were more likely to provide volunteers who do what would be staff tasks. In that way, the results of this study indicate something that had not changed: the power of parent-led SSNPs is mostly limited to those with the time or income to make the time, that is, to the wealthy and the White.

Another trend in the literature reflected in the findings of this study is a shift from SSNPs role as civic organizations to individual Little P philanthropic organizations, such as PTOs and booster groups that focus on individual schools and communities, to the benefit of people's own children (Crawford and Levitt, 1999; Ladd, 1999; Skocpol, 2003; Wuthnow, 1998). And, even the PTA groups in this study seem to now be primarily financial and fundraising organizations. The quantitative results show the volunteer and financial power of the SSNPs at the predominantly affluent and White/Asian schools and the qualitative results show the justification of this power, and the emphasis on benefitting your children and your schools. This emphasis on private benefit is especially prevalent in the quotes regarding PTOs versus PTAs which are more prevalent coming from SSNPs at the wealthiest and most White/Asian schools.

Even though historically civic groups were often explicitly exclusive by race and gender, at one point civic associations such as SSNPs brought people of different classes, political parties, and occupations together (Skocpol, 2003). With continued racial segregation and intensification of affluent enclaves forming in suburban areas, such class diversity and inclusion

is now rare among SSNPs. Even in more diverse schools, parents from different backgrounds are likely to have different approaches and opinions about what such groups should do (Freidus, 2016; Posey-Maddox, 2013, 2016b). As Skocpol (2003) discussed, being part of civic and voluntary associations meant learning about advocating for larger public goods together, at a state or national or district level. Now with the rise of school-level PTOs and booster clubs, any [such](#) activities are funneled only to the most local level. “The people most likely to take local community and ‘social capitalism’ to heart—to benefit from them and feel satisfied—are, I fear, the same folks already flourishing, in increasingly privatized ways, in America’s ever more lightly governed version of just plain old capitalism” (Skocpol, 2003, p. 258). Revitalized “local civic vitality” (p. 259) does not induce policy advances that benefit the greater public, or advance equitable and democratic governance.

Profiting from nonprofits. The focus on fundraising works: These SSNPs are bringing in a lot of money. There were meaningful differences, at all levels, between the most and least affluent schools and between the schools serving the most and the least numbers of White/Asian students in whether the schools’ SSNPs had filed a 990 form with the IRS in the past 3 years and in whether they currently had a 990 filing (see Tables 15 and 16). At a minimum, each of the SSNPs filing 990s had \$50,000 in gross receipts.

These results suggest that SSNPs, even if they follow regulations, are not adhering to the spirit of the restrictions on nonprofit organizations. A defining feature of nonprofit organizations is that their members cannot benefit from any distribution of earnings (Frumkin, 2005; Hansmann, 1987). The bylaws of the organizations in the sample state as much. For example, this majority White/Asian high school athletic booster club’s bylaws state that, “The Club shall not engage in any activity that results in the financial gain or direct personal benefit of any of its

membership.” However, their children get immense benefits. That the members of these groups will not benefit directly gives them the veneer of neutrality, however the funds they raise are funneled to a limited group of students to be used in particular ways.

There is also the matter of the tax deduction benefit touted by many of the SSNPs in the sample. Not only do SSNP stakeholders restrict the benefit of their donations of time and money to their own children’s schools via SSNPs, enacting their private beliefs and values (Frumkin, 2005), via tax deductions, tax money is kept out of public coffers and instead benefit private interests of the families.

III. Implications for Equality, Equity, and Opportunity

The results of the study have implications for equality and equity and mirror broader demographic trends and trends of SSNPs found in the literature. The quantitative results show that schools in the suburban quad-county Richmond, VA area that serve the most affluent populations with the most White/Asian students are more likely to have an SSNP at the elementary/middle school level and at the high school level are more likely to have more SSNPs overall (see Tables 8 and 9), as well as have those that are more active (see Tables 13 and 14) and more financially robust (see Tables 15 and 16). The qualitative findings show that the SSNP and educational leaders at those schools consistently express that the elementary/middle schools and specialized programs within the high schools could not function without the funds and volunteers of the parent-led SSNPs. The results show that parent-led SSNPs, such as PTAs, PTOs, and booster clubs, provide a mechanism for the most White and affluent communities to pass along their wealth to their own schools where their own children attend, and thus keep that wealth within their communities, for their children’s benefit, providing educational resources and opportunities that are not available at the predominantly economically disadvantaged and

Black/Hispanic schools. Furthermore, they rationalize such Little P philanthropy by pointing to education as a cause and what they provide as a necessity.

Wealth begets wealth. The literature showed that the most affluent schools have the most affluent SSNPs and are raising the most revenues (Brown et al., 2017; Brunner & Imazeki, 2005; Golanda & Dagley, 1994; Nelson & Gazley, 2014; Weston et al., 2015; Zimmer et al., 2003). The findings of this study bear this out. The findings also show that this starts on a granular, or variable, level and then snowballs out. Ultimately, funding and volunteer hours/services stay within each school community and wealth begets more wealth. Johnson (2006) stated, “Wealth was a very private power that was used in a very public domain to access advantageous education for children” (p. 123). In her reports about her research, Johnson describes that passage of wealth as it happens within families. In this case, the private wealth is passed through the school, a public space, via the SSNPs that the whiter and wealthier parents are members of and contributors to, to their children only. Furthermore, the SSNPs build wealth within school communities that can pass from one set of families to the next.

Wealth begets wealth, small scale. The findings show that the SSNPs at schools enrolling the greatest numbers of economically advantaged and White/Asian students have the greatest volunteer and financial capacity and impact. However, in the first place, wealth is needed to make wealth. The more affluent the community, the more money can be raised. This plays out in fundraisers and with volunteer services.

Online presence is part of volunteer capacity and also helps to determine how many people and members the SSNP can reach. The quantitative results show that the SSNPs at the most advantaged elementary/middle schools with the most White/Asian students are significantly more likely to maintain their own websites, and that those have significantly more detail than

those at predominantly economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic elementary/middle schools. The SSNPs at the predominantly affluent high schools are also more likely to maintain more Facebook pages and in the cases where there were not significant differences, eta squared indicates that the independent variables account for a relatively high share of the variance. These differences matter because they signify not only superior capacity of volunteers but superior capacity to raise money and influence—by raising the profile of the SSNP and the school, reaching more people, advertising events, and attracting sponsors.

Fundraisers such as spirit nights, retail rewards programs, fun runs, and fall festivals also require wealth and to generate money. With the festivals and runs, sponsors must be secured so that profits go to the school and not just to cover expenses. Securing sponsors requires having connections and knowing how to pitch potential sponsors including demonstrating an influence via an online presence. Also, when sponsors know that a school or an SSNP serves families with a certain amount of disposable income, they will be more likely to want to sponsor events at that school. Another angle of sponsorship is that if events and initiatives such as fall festivals and teacher appreciation lunches can get sponsored, this saves money for more opportunities and materials for the school and students. No evidence was found of events such as boosterathons and apex fun runs being held at any of the predominantly economically disadvantaged and White/Asian schools. An elementary school principal told me in a casual conversation that the companies require a minimum participation rate so that they make a minimum amount of money.

To make money from spirit night fundraisers also requires wealth in the first place. Besides having the means to publicize such events, a school community must have the restaurants and retail establishments in their communities in the first place; many lower income communities do not. Even if they do have them, there are less likely to be more expensive ones

that generate more revenues. Parents and families must have the transportation, time, and the disposable income needed to participate in the spirit nights. Events like this stress already struggling families and puts the onus on them to fund their own schools versus the schools being funded as part of a collective public good (Massey, 1996).

Wealth begetting wealth is not just about monetary wealth but about capital. The White and wealthy take the education and professional skills they have acquired and then apply them to these voluntary roles in their children's schools, for free. These professional skills include marketing, fundraising, facilities renovations, and landscaping. High and middle school volunteers are recruited to volunteer at SSNP fundraisers and events, to do maintenance work at the most affluent elementary schools with the most White/Asian students, and are awarded community service hours. SSNP-sponsored elementary school community service clubs at the same schools do various projects that enhance the school. Volunteer hours and community service projects from the already privileged are kept within the most privileged schools.

Another source of wealth and opportunity are the college scholarships. At all levels, the most economically advantaged schools enrolling predominantly White/Asian students award scholarships to current and former students. The requirements for these scholarships are based on perceived merit, membership in the SSNP, and, in the cases of the booster clubs, the level of dedication to the program the booster club supports. The funds for the scholarships are raised by the SSNPs and the money remains within those families that are already privileged.

Taylor and Frankenberg (2017) found greater concentration of wealth within districts than between, especially between elementary and middle school catchment areas, and less between high school catchment areas. The findings of this study, that is, that the results were not as definitive for the high schools, and that the high schools do not have the same disparities,

match with the findings of Taylor and Frankenberg's study. There were fewer differences found among the high schools than among the elementary/middle schools—even though booster clubs are only at the high school level, the extremes are more prominent at the elementary/middle level. This may have been due to unavailable data. Even so, inequitable experiences, deepened by lack of access to the resources and opportunities provided by SSNPs at the most affluent and White/Asian schools, have already been experienced by the least advantaged students by the time those students get to high school. Schools with the largest percentages of economically advantaged and White/Asian students were more likely to have filed 990 forms in the past three years and to currently have a 990 filing (see Tables 15 and 16). That tells us that, as a base, each of the SSNPs at these schools had at least \$50,000 in gross receipts.

Wealth begets wealth, large scale. Shifts with SSNPs within schools in the suburban quad-county Richmond, VA area accompany larger social trends of growing wealth inequality and formations of areas of concentrated affluence. As discussed in the review of literature, there is growing wealth inequality between White households and Black and Hispanic households, and especially between higher-income households and lower- and middle-income families (Kochhar & Cilluffo, 2017). On a national level, the suburbs and suburban school districts are diversifying and resegregating (Fry, 2009; Frankenberg & Orfield, 2012). These trends are also happening in the Richmond, VA metropolitan area (Siegel-Hawley, 2016).

This wealth inequality is being passed on within school communities. SSNP-generated resources and opportunities are in addition to other types that White/Asian and more affluent students have greater access to, but unlike test scores and census data, it is hidden from public view. Given the justifications found in the qualitative analyses that the fundraising and volunteer staffing were necessities, this status quo is unlikely to change. In her study of wealth inequality,

Johnson (2006) found that while families recognized that wealth imbalances and access to wealth meant some children had greater educational opportunities than others, they also felt that their positions in society had been earned by merit and hard work, or not enough of it. Now that the suburbs are changing and diversifying (Frey, 2011; Fry, 2009), this study's results may point to the possibility that parents in overwhelmingly affluent and White/Asian schools are trying to guard their own wealth and keep it within their communities and schools. These enclaves that are being created within diversifying suburban areas, either where the affluent and white already are established, or where they are moving when they go out to the exurbs—because they do not want their children going to school with poorer Black and Latinx children (Chang, 2017; Frey, 2011)—seem to be like inverse of gentrification.

This phenomenon in schools contributes to broader cycles of inequality and wealth. When it comes to schools, in general, the affluent can contribute, via public revenues or in this case, private payments and in-kind donations, only to their children's public institutions, enclave schools, while keeping their costs low and support a large underclass without having to contribute to services that take care of their social welfare (Massey, 1996). This “forces the poor to bear most of the cost of their own disadvantage” (Massey, 1996, p. 406). As Massey pointed out and this study confirms, the most affluent and best prepared students are in the best resourced schools while the converse is true for those living in poverty. The cycle is not only repeated, it is exacerbated. Segregated municipalities spend less on public services such as education and non-Whites are more likely to live in residentially segregated communities (Trounstine, 2016). The more segregation there is, the less access the lower income and people of color will have to publicly funded public goods (Trounstine, 2016).

Class-based and racialized opportunity gaps. Literature shows overwhelmingly that affluent schools have more SSNPs that raise more money (Brown et al., 2017; Brunner & Imazeki, 2005; Golanda & Dagley, 1994; Nelson & Gazley, 2014; Posey-Maddox, 2013, 2016a; Weston et al., 2015; Zimmer et al., 2003). This study confirmed that SSNPs in the suburban quad-county Richmond, VA area, in the most economically advantaged schools that serve the highest numbers of White/Asian students, are funding essentials and opportunities. As they are doing so, they are exacerbating class-based and racial/ethnic inequities. At all levels, except for at the most affluent high schools, these SSNPs fund or provide significantly more core school, department, and classroom materials and functions than SSNPs do at predominantly economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic schools, and they provide facilities/landscaping funding or services (see Tables 14 and 15).

Lareau (2000) found that upper-middle-class parents' access to more resources was important but key was how they activated these resources to lead to social profit. Social resources possessed by these parents "facilitated teachers requests for parents' participation in their children's schooling" (Lareau, 2000, p. 145-146). Working class parents lacked these resources, and the students at the more affluent school were able to reap educational profits that the students at the working class school were not able to (Lareau, 2000, p. 145-146). In addition, the social capital the more affluent parents generated with school teachers and administrators may have meant that their children receive greater regard and then opportunities, even if minor or subtle, from school employees. Parent participation in SSNPs as shown by this study has similar implications. Parents in the wealthier schools likely have been able to activate resources by providing greater opportunities for their own children via contributions of time, money, and labor via SSNPs.

The results of this study show that the disparities exacerbated by SSNPs are not just class-based but are racialized. Previous qualitative literature showed that there are racialized disparities of educational opportunities in a suburban context (Diamond, 2006; Lewis-McCoy, 2014; McGrath & Kuriloff, 1999; Posey-Maddox, 2016b; Posey-Maddox, 2017). These same disparities are evident in the suburban districts of the Richmond, Virginia, quad-county area, which mirrors the shifts evident in demographic trends, via disparately available parent-led SSNP resources. The quantitative data show that SSNPs at schools with the most affluent and the most White/Asian students have greater volunteer capacity and activity, and financial capacity and impact. The qualitative data reveal a narrow mission of fundraising and volunteering by SSNPs at the most wealthy and White/Asian schools. The justifications for fundraising and volunteer staffing is that it is needed if only to offer the minimum education that stakeholders expect. Fundraising is not expressed as a necessary evil but as a virtue.

Achievement gaps are caused by opportunity gaps (Welner & Carter, 2013). The U.S. educational system is already unfair and plagued by segregation and concentrated poverty (Welner & Carter, 2013). Opportunity gaps include learning opportunities and resources provided by SSNPs. SSNPs at the most economically advantaged, predominantly White/Asian schools exacerbate that by concentrating even greater resources in their children's schools. At the elementary/middle school level, though not at the high school level, this study found a greater number of enrichment events, activities, and programs that SSNPs offer at the most affluent and predominantly White/Asian and Black/Hispanic schools (see Tables 13 and 14). These include afterschool programs, author visits, chess and STEAM clubs, performing arts shows and special classes, robotics teams, running clubs, field trips, and book clubs. These are provided with funding and volunteer staffing. At the high school level, the booster clubs are

more likely to provide these opportunities—participation in tournaments and music festivals, use of the most advanced equipment, instruction by specialized coaches—that go above and beyond what students would receive in just a class. Funding provides these, but so do volunteers. Economically advantaged high schools' SSNPs are more likely to provide these types of volunteers, and while not significantly different between predominantly White/Asian and predominantly Black/Hispanic high schools race/ethnicity accounts for almost 30% of the variance between groups in providing program volunteers.

In some inner-ring suburbs, new special programs are being created to attract white and Asian families at the exclusion of the newly arrived Black and Latinx families (Frankenberg & Orfield, 2012). Perhaps this phenomenon is similar in the Richmond, VA quad-county suburbs, that is, that parent-led SSNPs aim to make their own individual fully resourced schools, just for their children.

IV. Implications for Educational Leaders

As parent-led SSNPs at the wealthiest schools with the most White/Asian students have become more financially robust and volunteers provide critical support for essential school services, the SSNP becomes a powerful actor in school operations. There are many connections between this topic in the literature and the findings of this study.

Zimmer et al. (2003) found that principals at more affluent schools were more reliant on parent-organized fundraisers while those at less affluent schools had to seek out connections in the greater community and with businesses for donations. This pattern is repeated in the findings of this study. The qualitative results of this study show that parent-led SSNPs at the schools with the most economically advantaged and White/Asian students are functioning almost like school boards for each individual school, and are making major decisions about funding, curriculum,

and programming that would be the provenance of the educational professionals. Educational leaders spend time cultivating parents who fund raise, contribute money, and who donate their time by providing essential labor. At predominantly economically disadvantaged and Black/Hispanic schools, the SSNPs are more focused on getting parents more generally involved in their children's schools and one reference alludes to separate fundraising initiatives.

While evidence of tensions was not found in this study, the literature shows a history of tensions between school leaders and parent-led SSNPs (Cutler, 2000; Lareau & Munoz, 2012; Putnam, 2000; Reese, 1978; Woysner, 2003). I found no evidence of such tensions, and would not expect to, given the public nature of the data sources. However, in some cases, the concerns of educational leaders in the past may have focused on parents having too much say over educational policies, legislation, and practices, and might have welcomed as a distraction current groups' focus on fundraising and staffing volunteers (Cutler, 2000; Reese, 1978; Woysner, 2003). Educational leaders may think such practices inequitable and may express concerns about the rise in fundraising (Krueger, 2007), but they may ultimately be more concerned about the success of their particular schools and students, regardless of relative inequality with other schools and districts (Koumpilova, 2010; Luttrell, n.d.; Malone, 2010). By coordinating with SSNPs, especially ones with specific focuses, such as booster clubs, they can direct parent resources to specific gaps (Pijanowski & Monk, 1996).

The findings of this study show that educational leaders are sanctioning SSNP leveraging of school space and employee time and status to raise funds. Lareau and Munoz (2012) studied the conflicts between PTO parents and the principal in a relatively affluent suburban school, finding that while such an active PTO brought resources to the school, it also brought conflict between the parents and the principal. Again, I found no evidence of such tensions, and the data,

particularly from booster clubs, show that, ultimately, educational leaders are supposed to have final say over SSNP events and activities. Even so, SSNPs doing the fundraising seem to feel entitled to sell the public space of the schools. For example, a common prize in SSNP-organized auctions are the best seats at the 5th grade promotional exercises. Premiere parking spots are sold by athletic boosters. Volunteers of the month earn special parking spaces in school parking lots. Booster club sponsors can buy space on a stadium wall or scorecard or in a program. Parents must pay for tickets to see athletic events and orchestra and choral performances. Students pay money to their school's SSNP to wear a hat on Hat Day in elementary school. Administrators and the teachers under their leadership work after hours at SSNP events including fundraisers, such as delivering pizzas to raise money for the resources they need to teach and their students need to learn. Educational leaders and teachers assent to go through indignities such as getting pied in the face, being dunked in a water tank, being duct taped to walls, and dressing up like a turkey, all to raise funds for core materials and supplies. Educational leaders are the stewards of public schools. They should consider that how much money a family has should not determine whether parents attend a public performance showcasing the work of their children, where they sit at their child's graduation, or whether their student gets to participate in a special day. Teachers and administrators should not have to spend their own time fundraising, winning contests, and humiliating themselves just to get the tools they need to do their jobs.

The phenomenon of increased SSNP financial power and volunteer staffing may also deepen inequities for employees—for educational leaders and teachers—in terms of how they are being evaluated. It is easier to be a teacher and administrator at whiter, more affluent schools because SSNPs provide more resources and tools that educators need to do their jobs and more staffing—to teach, supervise, and assist the students, whether in the classroom, with outdoor

education, gardening, STEM labs, or robotics. In the “Need Fund Raising Section” of the qualitative analysis, many of the SSNPs of the most affluent, predominantly White/Asian schools refer to funding materials for school district-mandated curricula. If teachers and administrators are being evaluated on how well they implement mandated programs or how well their classrooms schools are run, those with SSNPs to pay for required materials and to provide, for free, essential staffing will likely receive higher evaluations.

Central office administrators and other educational decision makers are also part of interactions with parent-led SSNPs. Qualitative findings shed light on negotiations that happen between the school-level and central office-level administrators as well as between SSNP parents and central office-level administrators. However, the involvement of educational decision makers extends higher up. Tax cuts and then cuts to educational budgets, enacted by state- and local-level legislators have worsened inequality. Even if the cuts are made equally, affluent parents in wealthier public school communities can weather them more easily with private money and volunteer staffing. School district leaders, school board members, boards of supervisors (or county council) members are complicit. Policymakers can cut taxes or not levy sufficient taxes which leads to insufficient funding for local school systems, licensing parents to step in and provide funding. The deserved or the hard workers get to keep their wealth and apply it to their own children and their own children’s schools. Those parents cover up for government failure or what the government is failing to do. Meanwhile, their kids have high test scores and have access to academic enrichment and extracurricular activities that are not provided by the schools but are provided in the schools. Even though they are not actually making these academic and extracurricular achievements happen, the schools look good, the school district leaders look good, and the public officials look good, so they do not make the case for sufficient

funding. School success becomes reliant on affluence and whiteness of the families. The community, albeit unintentionally, is in cahoots with the public officials and facilitating disinvestment in their public schools. Public school systems become quasi-private but in a shadow way. Meanwhile, private companies are profiting off of the underfunding of public schools. All of the retailers, restaurants, and fun run companies take in half to 80% of the profits from spirit nights, rewards programs, and fun runs.

V. Implications for School Finance and Solutions

There are many solutions to consider. There are some risks to prohibiting SSNP fundraisers and volunteer staffing. However, there are also policy levers worth exploring as is the notion of pooling resources. Ultimately, the best solution is paying more to fund public services.

Preserve the status quo. There are certainly some advantages to using these private dollars. Funding from private sources can be superior to public funding in some cases for educators because there are fewer strings attached, not to mention less bureaucracy and red tape. Educators may be able to use the funding more quickly, efficiently, and directly. Community members and parents often view fundraising activities as contributing to the building of a sense of community and as an opportunity to cultivate friendships (Mason, 2013). Furthermore, parents invest more in their children's schools, and they get more involved and become more aware of the struggles of the school (Mason, 2013). Finally, the programs that could not exist without a school supporting nonprofit's sponsorship keep some families and their contributions of time, money, and social capital in the public schools, when they might otherwise leave, if opportunities were more limited.

The range of philosophical approaches and values among American public school parents must also be considered. If we limit parent's ability to contribute to their children's schools, and hence their ability "to choose and to maximize personal preferences" (Guthrie & Wong, 2008, p. 63) it may disproportionately limit liberty. If we create a policy to limit fundraising and individual family contributions, that does little to solve the root of larger problems such as income inequality and might only make people feel resentful of the policies or of the government, or like their freedom to support their children's school is being curtailed. Furthermore, when states limit how much districts can spend (in California, for example), private fundraising and private fundraising groups can provide a mechanism for districts and communities to get around the limitations and can actually deepen and exacerbate inequalities (Hansen, 2008). Solutions are not easy.

Pool resources. Brown et al. (2017) and Goldstein (2017) both describe districts where there is pooling of PTA monies from parent groups. For mitigating inequities caused by parent-led SSNPs, Brown et al. suggest: promoting donations to districts rather than to schools, pooling parent donations and then equitably redistributing them, implementing better transparency and greater regulations of the use of parent donations, promoting pairing of low income and high schools, and reporting/considering parent donations when making school and district budgets (pp. 14-17). In the Santa Monica-Malibu school district that Goldstein reported on, if parents want to fund teacher positions or core science and art programs, they must donate first to a joint Santa Monica-Malibu Foundation which then reallocates the money equitably to all schools in the district. However, individual parent groups can still fund campus beautification, technology, and field trips just for their children's own schools.

All of these represent steps in the right direction but implementing them will not undo the structural inequalities that are at the root of the problem and perpetuates the notion that public schools are charities and that lower income schools are in particular charity cases that wealthier schools have dominion over and need to show the way for. For example, pooling resources can cause resentment—some Malibu parents in Goldstein’s (2017) article have been organizing to secede from the less affluent Santa Monica district.

In Washington, DC, SSNP organizations at wealthier schools have major surpluses at the end of the school year, so some of those parent leaders have been working with the Washington Lawyers’ Committee for Civil Rights and Urban Affairs and their Parent Engagement Program to form something called the School to School Initiative (Jazyuka, 2018). The School to School Initiative asks parent groups of DC schools with a lot of funding to contribute a small percentage of their annual budgets to the Washington Lawyers’ Committee Parent Engagement Program. Twelve schools were asked, and five have participated so far. The Parent Engagement Program provides grants for enrichment opportunities, to help generate more fundraising, and to increase parent engagement. However, parent groups need to have the capacity, resources, and capital to apply for these grants in the first place. Even then, the grants are only \$1,000, which pales in comparison to the amounts of money the others are raising. This type of program, again, does not get at the root of the problem, and providing seed money to raise money for items that should be funded by the public means further perpetuating the problem.

There seems to be some awareness of the disparities between schools on the part of the SSNPs at the wealthiest and most White/Asian schools in the sample of this study. They seem to deal with the inequities by treating the least affluent schools that serve mostly Black/Hispanic students as community service projects. They share what they have, but only a sliver. For

example, one of the most affluent and White/Asian elementary school's SSNP-sponsored community service clubs raised a little over \$200 to go towards a playground at their sister school. Meanwhile, an equally privileged elementary school raised \$150,000 for their own new playground. For their part, the most economically disadvantaged, predominantly Black/Hispanic schools that serve more students of color just seem to try to keep motivating people, but they do not have the capacity to produce what the more affluent and White/Asian schools do. Like the other cases, the intent behind the sister school concept is good and a step in the right direction, but it maintains structural inequity, and keeps the donor school parents in the driver's seat. In addition, the accolades voiced by the donor SSNPs, saying how generous and selfless they and their children are, raises questions about whether the items, funds, and time are being donated out of a sense of altruism and fairness or out of a desire to feel superior.

Policy levers. Despite the lack of easy solutions, policy levers could help address the inequities shown in the current study. These include taking a critical look at school funding in Virginia; holding parent-led SSNP funding to standards of equity, adequacy and fiscal neutrality; seeking a remedy via the courts; and reconsidering the mission and emphasis of local PTA units.

Virginia school funding. School funding is largely controlled by states and localities. According to the report "Is School Funding Fair" (Baker, Sciarra, & Farrie, 2018) by the Education Law Center, student poverty serves as "the most critical variable affecting funding levels and can serve as a proxy for other measures of disadvantage." More funding results in more resources, smaller class sizes, more competitive salaries for teachers, more opportunities and better outcomes for students (Baker, 2016; Baker et al., 2018; Leachman et al., 2017). According to Baker et al. (2018), for 2015, the Commonwealth of Virginia was projected to rank in the bottom 60% of states, coming in at 29 of the 49 states, in terms of funding level for K-12

public education. In terms of equitable distribution of funds, Virginia ranks in the bottom fifth of the United States, as having a regressive system, gaining a grade of “F.” In 2015, Virginia’s high poverty districts received an average of 11% less funding than did low poverty districts. Virginia earns a “C” and “D” on measures of fiscal effort for 2015, meaning based on its economic productivity or ability to collect revenues from state and private sources and residents’ income capacity, it could be spending a lot more on public education than it does. A report from the Commonwealth Institute found that Virginia provides 14% to 19% more funding per low income student, which the authors say is much lower than what many other states provide and below what is needed to put low income students on an equal playing field with their more affluent peers (Duncombe & Cassidy, 2016). Since the Recession, the rate of poverty has grown with nearly four out of 10 students in Virginia being classified as economically disadvantaged.

Virginia does not have a very fair or equitable school funding system. More funding for schools by SSNPs in schools serving more affluent populations means better resources, opportunities, and outcomes for those students; it skews funding, making it even more inequitable than it already is. Furthermore, lower income students in Virginia are much less likely to participate in extracurricular activities such as those supported by SSNPs, especially those at the high school level (Duncombe & Cassidy, 2016). Those activities have essentially become “pay to play,” meaning that to function, these extracurricular activities require a group of parents with the time and money to make them happen. Duncombe and Cassidy (2016) mention that this is particularly a problem in the cities of Virginia but as this dissertation study has shown, it is also a problem in the suburbs, in the schools with greater concentrations of lower income students and students of color.

Duncombe and Cassidy (2016) suggest that one solution is to add more money to districts for Virginia's At-Risk Add-On, which is the mechanism that provides more funding to districts per lower income student. This would at least help the schools serving more economically disadvantaged students to keep up with the more affluent schools. This was passed during the 2018 Virginia General Assembly legislative session.

Another policy solution is one that Oakes and Saunders (2002) suggests for the state of California. The Standards of Quality could be expanded and establish local and state policies in Virginia, setting requirements and funding for schools to provide the instructional materials, items, programs, and professional development that SSNPs have taken to providing. The federal or state government could conduct an audit of such items to hold districts and states accountable for providing them.

School funding mechanisms, such as the Local Composite Index in Virginia need reform. Virginia and other states should go beyond property taxing of private homes and tax high-value nonresidential properties, such as commercial, agricultural, or other nonresidential property that is high value relative to the number of households in the district (Stadler, Li, Spencer, & Hodges, 2017). Also, states should set policy guidelines for local property tax rates that are needed to fund a high-quality education system, and make sure that property and income tax rates are in line with citizens' ability to pay, not their political ideology. In Virginia that should be counted into localities' ability to pay in the Local Composite Index.

Standards of equity, adequacy, and fiscal neutrality. The school finance concepts of equity, adequacy, and fiscal neutrality were reviewed in Chapter 1. The variations in SSNPs' funding across schools in these three districts in the quad-county area of Richmond, VA, would seem to violate these standards of equity. As Golanda and Dagley (1994), Nelson and Gazley

(2014), and Zimmer et al. (2003) also found in their studies, the schools in this sample serving more affluent students and more White/Asian students raise more money, provide more volunteer services, fund more core materials and functions, and offer more opportunities. Hence, resources and funding are not equally available to all students at all schools in these three districts. Looking through an adequacy lens, if the private sources are funding essentials needed to fulfill adequacy baselines, then Chesterfield, Hanover, and Henrico counties could be seen as failing to meet standards of adequacy. They are not providing adequate funds to meet Virginia constitutional mandates dictated by the Standards of Quality, to the extent that they must rely upon SSNPs to meet those standards. It can be argued that private funding in public schools such as from SSNPs violates tenets of fiscal neutrality. As the prior research and the results of this study show, wealth begets wealth (Golanda & Dagley, 1994; Nelson & Gazley, 2014; Zimmer et al., 2003). When private revenues received from SSNPs, based on the wealth of the communities in which those schools are located, helps to determine the amount of resources available to schools, it seems that standards of fiscal neutrality are not being met.

Reliance on private funding to fund essentials in public schools could be changed based on violations of the funding standards of equity, adequacy, and fiscal neutrality, however, will be a tough mountain to climb. For one, adequacy and equity have been examined across districts but not as much within districts or regions or across schools. Second and most important, the lack of policies regarding this aspect of school funding, which operates essentially as an underground economy, means that there are no written policies that one could claim as having been violated. The standards are assumed to apply to public money, not private money. Nevertheless, notions of equity must be reconsidered in light of these findings—across schools and within districts—that funding disparities arise because of contributions from SSNPs, and,

notions of equity must be expanded. Even more so, the problem might not be policies but lack thereof. Hence, policies need to be established governing these groups and their contributions.

Legal remedies. The most recent version of the Virginia Constitution (adopted in 1971) references education specifically in three sections. Article I, Section 15 links the establishment of a free government with “diffusion of knowledge” and an “effective system of education throughout the Commonwealth” (Commonwealth of Virginia, 2005). Otherwise, constitutional language sets Virginia apart in education in that it does not just call for a system of public education but for a system of high quality (Article VIII, Section 1): “The General Assembly . . . to ensure that an educational program of high quality is established and continually maintained.” Furthermore, Article VIII, Section 2, stipulates that:

The General Assembly shall determine the manner in which funds are to be provided for the cost of maintaining an educational program meeting the prescribed standards of quality, and shall provide for the apportionment of the cost of such program between the Commonwealth and the local units of government comprising such school divisions.

Each unit of local government shall provide its portion of such cost by local taxes or from other available funds. (Commonwealth of Virginia, 2005)

Given past rulings, a legal remedy to these possible violations of school finance notions of adequacy, equity, and fiscal neutrality at the federal or state level is unlikely. For one, high-profile litigation with nationally applicable rulings, such as *Serrano v. Priest* in California and *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez*, have been concerned with government or state to district or school funding and not with SSNP or foundation to district or school funding.

As for Virginia school finance litigation, in 1968, *Burruss v. Wilkerson* was filed in the Federal Court of the Western District of Virginia (Salmon & Alexander, 2014). The plaintiffs

claimed that the funding of schools in Virginia violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution, that the state system of school finance failed to adequately address the educational disparities among Virginia localities, and that relying solely on property tax valuation to measure local fiscal capacity and set the required local tax effort was flawed. The federal court declined to rule the Virginia school finance system unconstitutional, saying that the state funding system was uniform and that localities' inability to raise funds was to blame. Although the filing of *Burruss v. Wilkerson* influenced the drafting of the education components 1971 Virginia Constitution, including the Standards of Quality system of school funding, it is unlikely the state would be held liable for violating the State Constitution as this ruling designated educational disparities as being the responsibility of localities. In *Scott v. Commonwealth* (1994), plaintiffs claimed that Virginia's K-12 funding system violated the Virginia Constitution by denying some children "an educational opportunity substantially equal to that of children who attend[ed] public school in wealthier divisions." 443 S.E.2d 138 (1994)." (Justia US Law, n.d., para. 1). The Virginia State Supreme Court ruled that while Virginia's Constitution enumerates education as a right, that the document does not require equality in funding or funding programs. Furthermore, this case was about equal opportunity, and not about adequate opportunity so the court did not address the adequacy of the Commonwealth's school funding process.

The argument could be made that the state and localities such as Chesterfield, Hanover, and Henrico counties are not adequately funding their schools given how much they rely on private funding from SSNPs. To test this, private organizations would have to identify and agree upon a list of essentials versus extras, and then agree to withhold funding from such items and programs, and then wait and see if schools met Virginia's Constitutional requirements with the

amount of public funding they had. It is unlikely that any school, school division, or parent community at the wealthier, whiter school communities would agree to this. As the results of this study show, SSNP stakeholders think that the schools and programs cannot function without them, that opportunities will not be offered without their infusions of funds and free labor.

Revisit the mission and emphasis of PTA groups. If policy and legal remedies face considerable hurdles, perhaps the PTA and other groups could refocus their missions and limit the extent to which they exacerbate inequality. Lewis and Forman (2002) did an ethnographic study of the relationships between parents and teachers and staff at two public elementary schools with high levels of parental involvement. Forestville was located in a Northern California suburban community that was 89% White and 98% middle or higher income, while the other school, Metro, was located in a low-income community in an eastern city and was 72% Black and Latinx with a poverty rate of 40%. The researchers found that while the school serving a whiter and more affluent student body had more parent involvement and more parent resources, the relationships between the two groups was somewhat adversarial and more transaction based. On the other hand, the parents and teachers engaged in more collaboration and power sharing at Metro and the parent participation was more meaningful. This was in part because the parents at Forestville saw the teachers and staff more as their employees and the teachers saw the parents as the vessels of fundraising and gatekeepers for funds for resources, while at Metro, the groups viewed one another with mutual respect and as partners.

This suggests that it may be time for PTAs in Central Virginia to remake themselves, keeping in mind their original mission while decreasing fundraising. The Virginia PTA could do a fundraising audit to ensure only a limited number of events were dedicated to raising funds. Mandating a reduction of fundraising would be challenging, but if the wealthiest SSNPs limited

their funding reach, it might make the needs more apparent and educational leaders might be compelled to request, and decision makers to provide, the funding that is needed to provide a quality public education. Under new leadership, the Virginia PTA is emphasizing advocacy more in its trainings, but only at the state level. Local county councils need to be encouraged to advocate at the local level, too, to their school boards, city councils, and boards of supervisors for greater funding and resources for all local schools, not just their own.

Pay sufficient taxes. Gazley (2015) expresses concerns that stakeholders and members of the public have become accustomed to philanthropic or charitable contributions replacing paying taxes as a means for funding public schools. I share her concerns. I see it all of the time in my community—the concession that “money is tight” or “there isn’t enough” and so we have raise private money to pay for the services of public education. If policies were made to ensure that those with the most paid their fair share of taxes and more money were available for services like public schools, then the need for fundraising and volunteering would disappear. Fully funded public schools could be seen as an obligation and a norm instead of parent fundraising. Perhaps with the “teacher spring” of protests and the backlash to austerity and “me, me, me” conservatism will come with it a revitalization and reconception of the public sector, a realization of the need for public democratic institutions like public schools that are democratically funded, of the concept of a public good, of community and a reinvestment in those goods. Taxes are the original crowd sourcing.

Digging deeper, we need to a regional approach, such as espoused by Troutt (2013) and Siegel-Hawley (2016). The current phenomenon represents the opposite of regionalism, that is, localism. One concrete approach could be a tax base sharing like in Omaha, Nebraska, where the state legislation created a Learning Community and its regional governing council, the

Learning Community Coordinating Council (Holme & Diem, 2015; Holme, Diem, & Mansfield, 2009). The council has a 21-member elected board which, among managing other initiatives, manages a tax-sharing plan that redistributed general revenues. The funding created through an arrangement such as this in the Richmond, VA metropolitan area could replace SSNP funding.

VI. Implications for the Purpose and Promise of Public Education and Conclusions

In his seminal work about nonprofit organizations and their role, Weisbrod (1975) discusses that nonprofit organizations make up for government failure by providing the services that those who demand the most would want. However, given the minimal SSNP advocacy efforts evident in this study, it seems that the high demanders would rather customize their children's education with their own funding, time, and services than demand it from their government representatives, as a public good. Douglas (1987) discusses the idea that in democratic governance, and I would argue by extension, government-provided services such as public education, the state is obligated (at least in theory) to treat all citizens equally. Resources must be distributed equitably or at least must be perceived to be distributed equitably and government can be held accountable for doing so. Voluntary organizations, however, such as SSNPs, have no such obligations and are not accountable to the public.

These findings, that is, that parent-led SSNPs at the most affluent schools with the most White/Asian students are shifting focus away from what will benefit society to what will benefit my community and my kid are not unique to schools and fit in with larger societal trends. The decline in advocating for public goods evident in the SSNPs is reflective of the shift from the post Gilded Age (New Deal and Great Society) notion of common good to the current focus on individualism. This also corresponds with the notion of racialized social welfare, that is, the idea that White people embrace notions of the public good, paying into public democratic institutions

and public services when it benefits them (Katznelson, 2005). Lawmakers, especially southern White ones, worked to keep the Jim Crow system intact, and Blacks, and eventually Latinx, had less access to the benefits of Social Security and retirement entitlements, labor rights, minimum wage guarantees, New Deal and Fair Deal, GI Bill, social welfare programs like unemployment benefits and public assistance, military training and education. Black and Latinx mobility was limited and they were largely kept out of the middle class that these policies opened up to White people (Kantor & Lowe, 2013; Katznelson, 2005). This is a major source of the wealth gap between Blacks and Whites (Katznelson, 2005) that we are seeing concentrated and exacerbated by the actions of SSNPs in this study. It is hard not to see the coincidence in that as society, schools, and other public services and goods, like Medicare and Medicaid, were desegregated and made more accessible to people of color, that the SSNPs in these predominantly affluent and White/Asian schools have become locally and individually focused.

Furthermore, the job of the social welfare system, of building a more equitable society with equal opportunity, was put on the back of the public school system. Rather than building on the New Deal and making it stronger and more expansive, President Johnson chose to funnel federal efforts into public education with education as the answer to problems caused by poverty, and racial and economic inequality (Kantor & Lowe, 2013). Programs like Title I grew out of these policy initiatives, which came to supplant rather than supplement desegregation programs. This vision included the idea that via education and job training, people would be better prepared to navigate and participate in the capitalist labor market (Kantor & Lowe, 2013). The state focused much less on funding other social welfare programs and services. In subsequent eras of education reform, there has been deep disappointment when public schools have not been able to solve problems of poverty (Kantor & Lowe, 2013). Tax cuts to stimulate economic and job

growth, and investment in education and job training programs are favored over job creation programs, guarantees of income security, direct transfer of funds or redistribution of wealth to those, especially Black people, living in poverty. Presidents Nixon and then Carter continued these policies and White working and middle class citizens, particularly in suburban areas, did not complain as they were increasingly against social welfare programs that they saw as benefitting people of color and urban areas. In addition, business leaders decided that government job programs were burdensome, contributing to declines in profits, and keeping the United States from being more competitive with other countries. Hence, they looked to market-based approaches to social policies, investing in think tanks, foundations, and associations. This can be seen in the business investment in SSNPs, with the infusion of sponsorships as a means of funding, privately, public education using SSNPs as the tool.

In turn, this market-based mentality plays into the idea that the public is no longer responsible for funding education sufficiently because the private sector can. Rather than fund all schools with tax money, stakeholders—both businesses and individuals—fund only their schools with their money that they save from tax cuts. SSNP stakeholders are saying, “We are fortunate to have an active PTA,” or “show you value education” when in fact these policies put them in a position of having the wealth and social capital to raise funds and funnel more money into their own children’s schools. In turn, the ideology that we as a society have to rely on external or private funding for public education out of necessity versus out of design is normalized. SSNP stakeholders get so caught up in the short-term needs that they fail to look at the bigger structural picture. Stakeholders begin with the fundraising efforts and volunteer staffing out of necessity as a stop-gap measure, but then it becomes just the way things are, for

the parents and for the students. The fundraising and the free labor are seen as a forgone conclusion and becomes part of the scenery of public schools.

Posey-Maddox (2013, 2016a) found that upper- and middle-class White parents were more likely to engage with parents who were like them versus with the parents who were already in the community, and they were selective in their support of public education, supporting, sustaining, and reforming their own children's schools rather than public education as a larger institution. The notion of using a public good for private gain or public school as private property applies to the findings of this study, too. I would say, however, that we all use public goods for private gain. The phenomenon I see here that is different is that people are turning a public good, or their child's public schools, into quasiprivate schools. They are using the public good, they are milking what they can from the public good, and then adding on to it what the state and localities, what the government has failed to provide. SSNPs allow the tax rates in affluent communities to stay low and then parents guide their individual contributions directly to their children's schools or even classrooms.

Labaree (1997) discusses the tensions in our society between "democratic politics [public rights] and capitalist markets [private rights], between majority control and individual liberty, and between political equality and social inequality" (p. 41). These tensions manifest in the institution of public education which promotes notions of "equality while also adapting to inequality" (p. 41). The three major goals of public education are "democratic equality, social efficiency, and social mobility" (p. 41). Democratic equality means future citizens must be prepared equally to participate in civic society ("a purely public good"), social efficiency means that education is a public good designed to prepare future employees ("a public good in service to the private sector"), and social mobility means that education is a product that should give

individual students the tools they need to gain a good social and economic position (“a private good for personal consumption”) (Labaree, 1997, p. 43). Over time, educators and policy makers have jostled with these goals, often advancing one over the other. By now, social mobility, that is, education as a private good, has come to be the dominant goal. Certainly, trends in demographics and housing and neighborhood choices have contributed, but the emphasis on benefitting your child and the necessity of funding and volunteering in one’s own already privileged school community, rather than advocacy for more resources for all, is evident in the findings of this study.

Pre-Revolutionary War, schools for White children in the United States started out as locally controlled and funded, and controlled by private industry, but gradually came to be run as systems and funded by the state (Bogotch, 2005; Neem, 2017). Educational leaders and the public school bureaucracy, in turn, came to be professionalized, and public schools came to be a place to pool time and resources for the common good (Bogotch, 2007; Neem, 2017). Educational theorists and some public officials realized that if schools were not shared by all (white) children, then the rich would not invest in them and education would not be seen as a shared responsibility (Neem, 2017).

The findings of this study, the phenomenon of SSNPs like PTAs, PTOs, and booster clubs, suggests that we are circling back to deprofessionalized local control, where education is no longer seen as a common good but as a private commodity, to be controlled not by the greater public but by the people who live in the neighborhood and whose children go to that specific school. The demographic trends of diversifying suburbs and then concentrations of affluence and whiteness in some areas and in the exurbs, such as is the case in the suburban districts in the Richmond quad-county area, are manifested in the schools and practices of SSNPs, which are, in

turn, exacerbating this trend and contributing to racially and socioeconomically disparate opportunities. A turn to regionalism, policies that compel the wealthy to pay a fairer share of taxes, and then increased and adequate funding for public schools will help to right the disparities created by the phenomenon studied here.

VII. Suggestions for Future Research

The database created by this study is immense. There are many more studies that the data collected could be analyzed for and there are ways this study could be redesigned or revised conceptually.

Middle school differences. Since the elementary and middle schools each (with one exception) had only one SSNP each, a parent-teacher group, in this study, they were compared. However, my observations were that there were fewer really active parent-led SSNPs at the middle school level, and most of them seem to do much less, including raising less money. They seemed to have more parent events, fewer fundraisers, less grossing annual funds, and fewer items they funded. A new study, which might change the outcomes, would analyze the differences between three levels: between elementary and middle schools, middle and high schools, and high and elementary schools. Another idea would be to examine how the phenomenon changes from elementary school to middle school, to follow the same feeder pattern, and see what changes. Do the parents back off because their kids are older? Do they burn out after the intense elementary school SSNP experience?

Gender dynamics. This study focused on racialized and socioeconomic implications. However, there are gender dynamics at play here, as well. The majority of SSNP board members and committee chairs in this study seemed to be women. Heterosexual women in heterosexual partnerships still do most of the housework and childrearing tasks in heterosexual

partnerships (Tejada, 2017). The concept of childrearing has expanded, especially for upper-middle-class women, and includes attending school events, volunteering in schools, coordinating home life with school activities, and overseeing their children's progress at school (Lareau, 2000). The women in this study appear to be giving all of this free, skilled labor but also are helping to uphold this inequitable system in the interest of obtaining for their children the best education possible with access to the greatest opportunities, resources, and tools.

Another phenomenon I noticed was gender-defined SSNP events and activities such as daddy-daughter dances and mother-son dances, including noting the use of daddy versus mother. I also noticed the mention of room moms versus room parents and for band and choir, uniform moms. It would be informative to do a study of parent-led SSNPs that focused on the role of gender and gender norms, especially given the literature regarding women's and parents' groups that show, historically, the tensions between the home and school, between mostly female parent groups leaders and mostly male administrators (Cutler, 2000; Putnam, 2000; Reese, 1978; Woynshner, 2003)

Families of English language learners. Structural inequalities that impact non-English speaking families already are replicated and further deepened in school. For example, parents who do not speak English cannot access information about parent group meetings and volunteering as easily (Sparks & Harwin, 2017). English-speaking parents often have more flexible jobs where they can spend time volunteering. A formal study of the role of SSNPs and between and within school differences between groups of students who do and do not come from non-English-speaking households could be conducted.

Crowdfunding. One way schools and schools programs get funded these days is via crowdfunding. Teachers are increasingly using crowd sourcing websites like DonorsChoose.org,

AdoptAClassroom.org, and ClassWish.org to raise money for supplies, furniture, curricular materials, technology, books, recess equipment, professional development, personal items for students, and supplies for special projects (Asif, 2013; Lasevoli, 2017a). As of 2013, teachers raised over \$200 million via DonorsChoose.org alone with 54% of all public schools having at least one project on its site (Asif, 2013). Total contributions to all websites have doubled every 2 to 3 years and some teachers have raised tens of thousands of dollars (Asif, 2013; Dejka, 2016). As of 2016, 280,000 teachers had raised \$400 million on DonorsChoose.org to fund almost 700,000 education projects. When Baltimore City schools had to close due to lack of heat, there was a crowdfunding effort on the part of community members to raise money for coats and winter outdoor gear and also space heaters (Associated Press, 2018).

Many celebrities have taken on the cause of education in a crowdfunding context. In 2016, 60 individuals, including business leaders, celebrities, philanthropists, and athletes spent nearly \$14 million to fund roughly 12,000 projects. Actor Ashton Kutcher took care of funding for 131 projects in his native Iowa and in May 2015, comedian Stephen Colbert funded all of the classroom projects in his home state of South Carolina (Dejka, 2016). We do not see this as much with other sectors and it plays into the notion that public education is a charity and not a right or an essential service.

It would be illuminating to do a study on the role of crowdfunding in K-12 public schools—on how much it is funding, how much these companies are profiting, on the interfacing crowdfunding policies of the schools and school districts, or on the experiences of the teachers and educational leaders with such initiatives. In fact, as the qualitative data gathered on boosterathons and apex fun runs show, there is an entire industry developing that is profiting from the underfunding of schools. It would be worth it to look at the greater financial impact

these companies are having, how much money they are making, how much instructional time they are consuming, how much advertising the schools and SSNPs do for them.

Principals as fundraisers. In analyzing the data, I found that there were school fundraisers and school-based fundraisers. In some cases I had trouble distinguishing. Principals in the less affluent schools have to spend a lot more time fundraising out in the community (Zimmer et al., 2003), or as one educational leader put it in a pilot study I did, “They have to cultivate that funding stream.” A study that focused only on educational leaders and raising funds is merited.

Role of teachers. One phenomenon that emerged as I read over and analyzed the data that was beyond the scope of this study is the role of teachers. There are a lot of teacher appreciation events where teachers are fed or given gift cards for personal use. However, some of the appreciation events involve the awarding of supplies and tools that teachers need to do their jobs. According to a survey published this past year by the U.S. Department of Education, 94% of public teachers indicate that they pay for school supplies out of pocket, spending an average of almost \$480 each with 7% reporting they spend at least \$1,000 (Chokshi, 2018). Teacher salaries are notoriously low. Yet, I found little evidence of SSNP parents showing appreciation for teachers via advocating for higher salaries or for the funding of the resources that they need to do their jobs. In fact, sometimes, the teachers have to compete or work overtime for the supplies that the SSNPs provide. This can happen through membership drives (i.e., the teacher of the class with the most memberships wins supplies, and with fundraising); (i.e., the teacher of the class that raised the most funds collectively wins supplies). A separate study could focus on this phenomenon, the intersection of teachers and parent-led SSNPs.

Intersection of parent funding, SSNPs, and charter schools. Some of the studies in the literature included charter schools and some did not. While Virginia has very few charter schools and very strict charter school regulations, this is not the case in other states, such as Florida, Ohio, California, and Arizona. For example, at Basis charter schools in Arizona, parents are asked to contribute at least \$1,500 per child to go towards teacher compensation, even though Basis teachers are already paid below the average teacher salary in Arizona (Harris, 2018). Parents are told that this contribution is much less than they would pay for private school tuition. Studying the intersection of SSNPs and charter schools would be relevant and timely.

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