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The Tinsley Voluntary Transfer Program: How a Decade of Courtroom Debate Resulted in a Compromise to Desegregate Mid-Peninsula Schools

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ABSTRACT

Academic outcomes are a centerpiece of desegregation literature, as desegregation is often viewed as a means to rectify systemic racial inequality in the education system. However, because a vast majority of desegregation programs in the United States happen within district, and not between districts, where there are the most racial divisions, existing research may not portray the full extent of what racial integration. Investigations into inter-district desegregation may offer greater insights into the effects of racial integration and better school resources on individual minority students.

This paper zooms into the Tinsley Voluntary Transfer, an interdistrict desegregation program allowing students in the minority Ravenswood City School District to transfer into neighboring Mid-Peninsula schools. In an effort to contextualize the existing literature on minority academic outcomes of desegregation to interdistrict transfer in specific, the research question posed is as follows: Is there a statistically significant difference in the academic performance of Tinsley transfer students and students who stayed within the Ravenswood district?

To assess the relationship between these two groups, quantitative statistical analysis was performed on data sets of the standardized test scores from 3rd-8th grade of both Tinsley transfer students in the Menlo Park City School District and Ravenswood students who did not transfer out of the district. The result was that there is a statistically significant difference between groups, though excluding for 7th and 8th grade Math. The paper hypothesizes that this may be partially accounted for by the beginning of tracking in math courses at the Menlo Park district.

Introduction

History of East Palo Alto

East Palo Alto (EPA) is a suburb below San Francisco, California, and part of the Mid-Peninsula region in the San Francisco Bay Area. In the fall of 1954, William A. Bailey and his family became the first Black people to move into the Palo Alto Gardens tract in EPA. Their neighboring white homeowners responded to their arrival with protest, and when Bailey refused to accept their financial incentive to leave, one-fifth of his white neighbors immediately sold their houses and moved away (Cutler, 2015). More Black people from the South joined Bailey in settling in the San Francisco Bay Area after moving to California to work in war industries during World War II. EPA was attractive to Black migrants because it enforced few racially restrictive housing covenants, contrary to surrounding peninsula communities. In addition, real estate agents used fears that incoming Black families would shatter housing prices to panic white families into selling their homes far below market

value and then sold the houses to Black families at a profit as part of a practice termed "blockbusting" (San Mateo County Committee, 1994). By 1960, Black people constituted 82% of EPA's population, while they made up only a small fraction of the population in neighboring cities (Rothstein, 2017). Elementary and middle school districts in the Mid-Peninsula are equally segregated as neighborhoods as they were small and represented individual towns, whereas high school districts were more diverse overall as they taught to numerous jurisdictions ("Study of School District," 1978).

Figure 1. Map of East Palo Alto. EPA is in Silicon Valley, a hub of tech wealth led by companies like Facebook and Google. The city itself has not reaped many of the benefits of this economic prosperity, though.

Mid-peninsula Schools

Elementary and middle school districts in the Mid-Peninsula are equally segregated as neighborhoods as they were small and represented individual towns, whereas high school districts were more diverse overall as they taught to numerous jurisdictions (San Mateo County Committee, 1978). The Ravenswood City School District serves EPA as well as the east side of the neighboring Menlo Park City and teaches grades K-8th. Its enrollment in the 2020-2021 school year was 3,123 students ("Ravenswood City Elementary," n.d.). What is notable about the district is that despite its location in the heart of Silicon Valley, it remains relatively impoverished compared to the wealth in the surrounding Bay Area. Census data from 2020 reports that the median household income of families within the district's attendance area was about $82,697, which is approximately two-thirds of what an average San Mateo County household earns. 41.6% percent of the population immigrated to the United States and just 73.3% of adults had a high school diploma (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020b). In comparison, the median household income of the elementary Menlo Park City School District is $196,856, and 98.6% of adults hold a high school diploma (U.S. Census Bureau, 2020a).

Though desegregation busing has lost prominence in past decades, the push toward school desegregation that spanned from the 1960s to 1980s remains in effect today. Presently, "907 school districts and charter

schools or networks, including [...] 722 districts and charters that are subject to a legal desegregation order or voluntary agreement" (Potter & Burris, 2020). Yet, much of this impact has been constrained to the South, especially after the *Milliken v. Bradley* Supreme Court case asserted that only de jure segregation could warrant interdistrict transfer remedies (Sedler, 1986). As was true in much of the North and West, institutional racism in California was not categorically coded into laws like in the South, as part of de jure segregation, but rather existed "fortuitously" through regulations and practices that resulted in de facto discrimination (Boddie, 2020). Nonetheless, due to stipulations uniquely embedded into the California Constitution and enforced in the *Crawford v. Los Angeles Board of Education* decision, state authorities in California are constitutionally obligated to desegregate, regardless of whether they explicitly caused racial imbalances.

The Tinsley Lawsuit

In 1976, more than 30 Mid-Peninsula community members, consisting of both white and non-white parents and children, were listed as plaintiffs in a lawsuit against the State of California and local districts. They alleged that segregation between Ravenswood School district and that of surrounding districts (Palo Alto, Menlo Park, La Entrada, Redwood City, Woodside, San Carlos, Belmont, Portola Valley) created unequal educational opportunities for their children. The lead plaintiff, Margaret Tinsley, was an EPA parent whose two daughters attended M-A. Plaintiff's implicit goal was to desegregate East Palo Alto and its surrounding districts through a district merger that would result in more racially diverse schools. The original petition, stated that "minority and non-minority children are being deprived of equal opportunities for education and are being denied equal protection and due process of law." Petitioners cited disparities among the demographics and academic outcomes of respondent districts ("Petition," 1976).

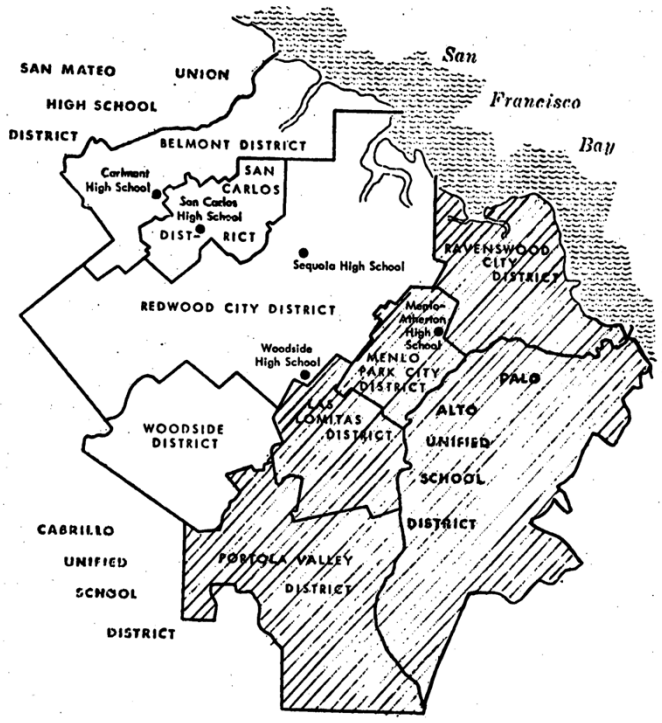

Figure 2. Eight district plaintiffs sued in the Tinsley case. Nearly all Tinsley students come from the depicted Ravenswood City School District and are transferred to the other seven white districts shown, all of which are affluent and predominantly white.

The Tinsley Settlement

In March 1986, more than 10 years after the *Margaret v. State of California* lawsuit was initially filed, the plaintiffs agreed to a settlement with the goal of 1) reducing minority racial isolation by increasing the population of minorities in EPA's surrounding, majority-white districts; 2) improving the educational achievement of Ravenswood schools; and 3) enhancing inter-district cooperation. The main implementation of these goals was through a voluntary interdistrict transfer program named after Tinsley. The transfer program allowed a maximum of 206 students in Kindergarten to second grade to transfer from the Ravenswood City School District to neighboring districts each year (*Tinsley v. State of California*, 1986).

The program as stated is two-way, but only two students from any of the original seven participating non-minority districts have transferred into Ravenswood since the program's commencement (Jones, 2011). For students transferring into white districts, each of the seven white participating districts receives a proportional number (based on student population) of transferring Ravenswood students who are then considered to be part of their new district as long as they stay enrolled. School districts provide transportation to and from their schools, but besides this, students are left on their own to navigate what (though only a few miles away from their home) can be a vastly different community and culture. It is important to note that only minority students in EPA are allowed to participate in the transfer program and that it is a voluntary lottery, meaning that parents need to seek out and apply for the program (*Tinsley v. State of California*, 1986). More than 30 years after the program was first created, the Tinsley program continues to operate, allowing 166 students (the Redwood district was released from Tinsley because it exceeded a 60% minority student body) an opportunity to leave the Ravenswood School district. The demographics of Ravenswood, however, have hardly changed as it is still an overwhelming minority (mostly Latino) district (Jones 2011). Today, the Tinsley program is the last remaining inter-district transfer program in California (Wells et al., 2009).

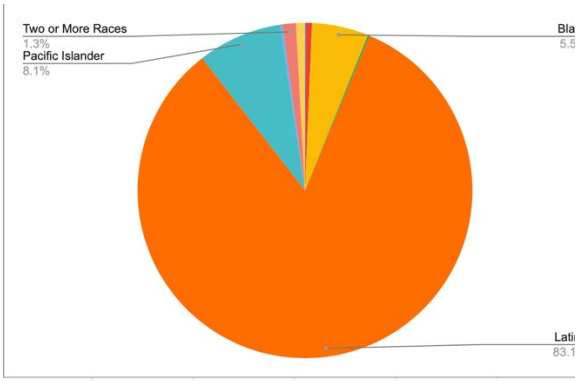

Figure 3. Student Demographics of Ravenswood District from 2014-2018

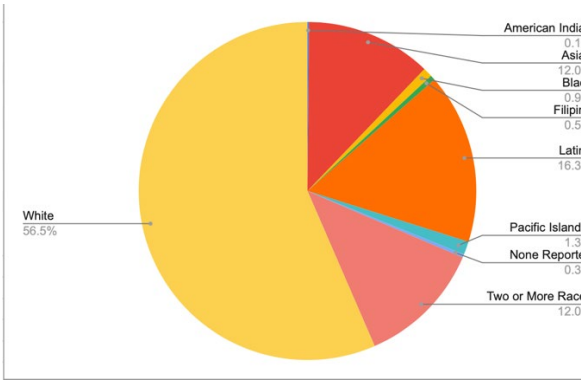

Figure 4. Student Demographics of Menlo Park City School District from 2014-2018

Literature Review

In the 2018-19 school year, most students nationwide attended segregated or "racially concentrated" schools, where most students are of the same race. Minority students bear the brunt of this racial imbalance: in America, the average white school district receives $2,226 per student more than nonwhite districts, a statistic relevant to Ravenswood's continued underfunding (Wood, 2016). The underfunding of segregated minority districts negatively affects students' academic outcomes, due to the role of school funding on students' education. In one Texas study analyzing the effect of increased district funding, researchers found that a $1,000 increase in expenditures annually yields a 0.1 s.d. increase in reading scores and a near 0.08 increase in math. Students also drop out less and graduate high school marginally more than before (Kreisman & Steinberg, 2019).

Previous studies analyzing the effects of school programs and policies and the composition of student enrollment on individual student achievement are commonly motivated by the desire to improve schooling for underprivileged children. A landmark study of school impact was the 1966 Coleman report, which concluded that African Americans did better on testing when they attended predominantly white schools. However, it also found that school resources carried no effect on student outcomes, and instead ascribed differences in academics to school social composition, family background, and individual characteristics (Coleman, 1966). Other research also indicates that the school one attends itself is not the most influential cause of achievement. Using data from a longitudinal twin study in England and Wales, researchers at the University of York concluded that a child's family and genes are the most powerful factors of academic success. Together, socioeconomic status (SES) and genome-wide polygenic scores (GPS) accounted for 27% of the variance in academic outcomes for children aged 7 through 16 years old (Summ et al., 2019).

Schools are nonetheless a significant contributing factor in academic success. Student achievement has repeatedly been attributed in part to teacher quality (Rockoff 2004; Koedel & Betts 2007). Research has shown that schools teaching a greater density of low-income children have less qualified teachers on average (Clotfelter et al., 2007), which exacerbates existing educational deficits. As minority children are more likely to go to these high-poverty schools, their isolation would adversely affect them. Another aspect covered in school desegregation literature is what is deemed "peer effects": the influence of the actions and traits of one's classmates and other proximate students on student outcomes. The achievement levels and socialization of students "rub off" on students of the same schools. In one 2003 paper, researchers for the National Bureau of Economic Research used data from the Texas Assessment of Academic Skills (TAAS), which evaluated student mastery of grade-specific subject matter, to assess the role of peer effects on educational outcomes. Addressing the potential for confounding variables, they controlled for student and school grade fixed effects as well as family and school characteristics. Moreover, they consulted past individual academic achievement to measure the quality of each cohort in order to address the reciprocal nature of peer interactions. They discovered that having higher achieving schoolmates appeared to positively benefit students' academic growth throughout the test score distribution (Hanushek et al., 2003). Although research offers a generally positive outlook on desegregation programs, social psychologist Steele (1997) writes that one impediment to attaining benefits of desegregation is social factors. According to him, for people who strongly identify with a racial group, racial stereotyping may hamper their skills in a desegregated environment. Steele concluded that the distraction or threat associated with Black people and Black students' psychological association with their racial group can cause their performance to be less than optimal. While Hanushek focuses on the positive influences of peers on a student's quantitative academic performance, Steele places emphasis on negative quantitative peer factors. Steele also describes the effects of stereotyping as potentially damaging to students' quantitative educational outcomes.

High-quality research has provided evidence for the relationship between school reform initiatives and student achievement. Berend and Penaloza's (2010) study of math test scores from 1972 to 2004 found that the growth of racial isolation in U.S. schools correlated with an increase in the minority-nonminority test score gap, despite an improvement in minority family characteristics, such as annual income, parent education level, and parent occupational status. In the Reardon et al. (2016) study of the relationship between school segregation

and racial achievement gaps, researchers arrive at a similar conclusion regarding the positive effects of desegregation. They analyzed data of over 100 million test scores for students in 3rd to 8th grade from over 300 metropolitan areas from 2009 to 2012 and concluded that school segregation is a more accurate predictor of the achievement gap than residential segregation. Despite a broad consensus about the positive academic effects of desegregation, studies of individual desegregation programs have produced some ambiguous results. Cullen, Jacob, and Levitt (2005) used data from Chicago Public Schools, which supported an open enrollment plan, to understand the implications of school choice. They revealed that the only differences in students' educational performance resulted from the entrance into career academies (schools that connect students with colleges and the labor market). For other students, they found that transferring schools had an impact, or even harmful impact, on attendance, test scores, and graduation rates. Unrelated to academics, they did find that transfer students were less likely to be arrested, and that transfers' self-reported discipline was better.

Gap in Research

Although there has been research on the wide-scale effects of desegregation initiatives, as well as narrowed research that has provided rigorous evidence supporting that school context has negligible influence on student achievement, these studies are all limited by the fact that students in most desegregation programs can only attend schools within one district. Tinsley is the last interdistrict desegregation program existing in California, and there are only seven others left nationwide. This has implications for the current body of school desegregation research because district boundaries, rather than school segregation within districts, are responsible for 84% of total public school racial and ethnic segregation (Rothstein, 2017). Although within-district transfers may be more feasible, doing so may not create a sufficiently dramatic shift in the school context to significantly affect student outcomes.

One study available on the effect of the Tinsley program on transfer students' academic achievement was in a dissertation by Dr. Bayinaah R. Jones. Jones (2011) performed a quantitative analysis of standardized test scores of Black and Latino high schools students in the Palo Alto Unified School District (PAUSD), where the majority of Tinsley students attend, and Menlo-Atherton High School, which teaches all of EPA, where there is a large non-Tinsley Black and Latino population. She ultimately found that both schools in PAUSD outscored M-A in terms of African American and Latino achievement and student achievement, overall. However, the study was limited by the assumption that all Black and Latino students in PAUSD were transfer students. Given that more than 8% of Palo Alto residents were Black or Latino in the 2010 Census ("City of Palo Alto," n.d.), there can be more research done to gauge the academic impacts of the Tinsley program on its participants. Research on the interdistrict Tinsley program will help guide future decisions on what methods to pursue in regard to school desegregation while adding nuance to the discussion about academic outcomes of school desegregation, such as when they may be more or less pronounced, as opposed to a more black-and-white understanding of desegregation. My study will attempt to connect and specify the discussion of the academics of school desegregation to interdistrict transfer programs by asking the following: Is there a statistically significant difference in the academic performance of Tinsley transfer students and students who stayed within the Ravenswood district?

Method

The tool I used to compare academic performance is the Smarter Balanced Summative Assessments, a standardized test in both English Language Arts (ELA) and Math that is given annually to students in grades three to 12 across California public schools. I chose to use standardized test scores as a measure of academic success because the SBAC tests are designed towards the Common Core State Standards, which are the basis for public school curriculum in Humanities and Math classes (*Smarter Balanced*, n.d.). Therefore, the tests align well with

what students learn throughout the school year. Also, when evaluating different measures of academic success, SBAC scores are the most standard and universal tool versus other options like Grade Point Average (GPA), and therefore provide a reliable basis to compare students from different school jurisdictions. Though not a perfect metric, using standardized test scores will also help situate this research into the existing literature, because most studies of the academic effects of desegregation also base their conclusion on testing. The SBAC is scored on a scale from one to four based on mastery of Common Core Standards in both ELA and Math, with four as the highest attainable score. The test utilizes computer adaptive testing, where the test adapts to the user's performance (i.e., if the user gets a lot of questions right, the difficulty of questions will increase, and vice versa). Students are considered to have passed the test if they achieve a score of three or higher. Scores are assigned based on a range set for each individual grade level (*Smarter Balanced*, n.d.). If the Tinsley Program affects its participants academic performance, students transferring to neighboring districts should see an increase in their test scores compared to their Ravenswood peers. In order to acquire data, I utilized both the California Department of Education's repository of school data (Ed-Data.org) and data given to me by school districts in response to Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) requests. For this project, I chose to sample Tinsley students from the Menlo Park City School District (MPCSD), the second-largest receiving district and one of the most highly preferred due to its proximity to EPA and its highly ranked schools. MPCSD includes three elementary schools—Encinal, Laurel, and Oak Knoll—and one middle school—Hillview ("Enrollment," n.d.). The school district's PTA raises on average $3.5 million a year ("Frequently asked," n.d.). Due to its property tax base including some of the wealthiest zip codes in the United States, MPCSD is also able to boost some of the lowest student-teacher ratios in public education (Menlo Park City School District, 2020). The wide contrast between conditions in MPCSD and Ravenswood made MPCSD a good fit to sample from as they are more likely to display the impacts of desegregation, if there are any. Moreover, the district's size would provide me with a good wealth of data to analyze. I filed a FOIA request to MPCSD, and eventually received state testing data from the 2014-2015 school year to the 2018-2019 school year for Tinsley students in the district. The number of Tinsley Students in each grade fluctuates annually, mainly due to students leaving the district.

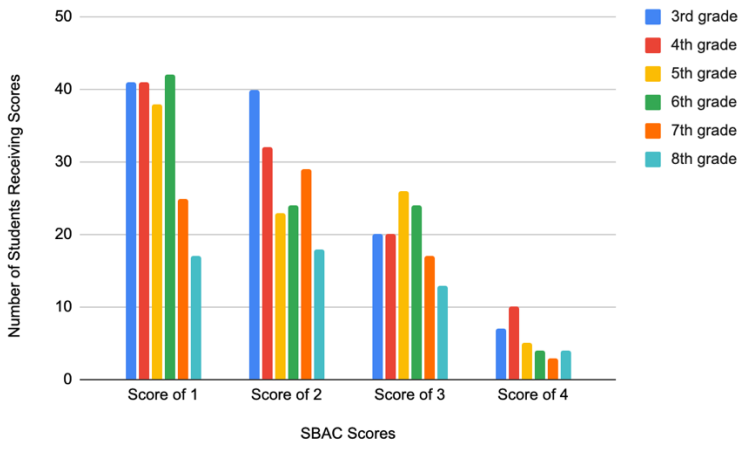

Figure 5. MPCSD Tinsley students' performance on ELA SBAC from 2014/2015 to 2018/2019 school year

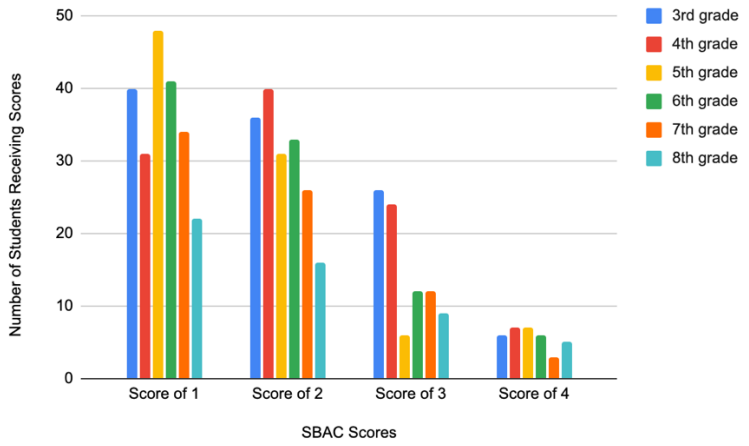

Figure 6. MPCSD Tinsley students' performance on Math SBAC from 2014/2015 to 2018/2019 school year

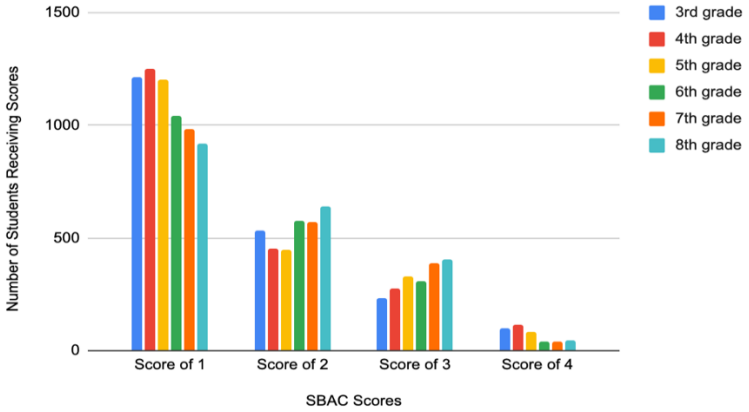

Figure 7. Ravenswood students' performance on ELA SBAC from 2014/2015 to 2018/2019 school year

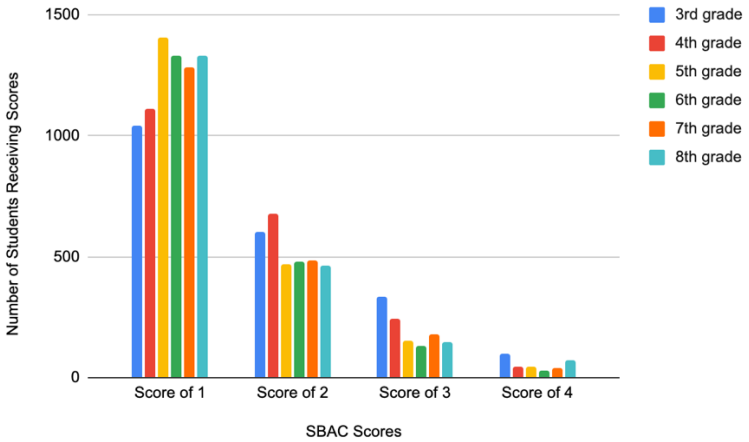

Figure 8. Ravenswood students' performance on Math SBAC from 2014/2015 to 2018/2019 school year

Table 1. Mean score on ELA SBAC for Ravenswood and Tinsley Students 2014/2015 to 2018/2019 school year

ELA	Ravenswood		Tinsley		Difference in Mean
Grade	***Mean Score***	***Variance***	***Mean Score***	***Variance***	
3	1.624	0.743	1.935	0.82	0.311
4	1.645	0.826	1.99	0.98	0.345
5	1.657	0.784	1.978	0.913	0.321
6	1.667	0.656	1.894	0.861	0.227
7	1.739	0.702	1.973	0.729	0.234
8	1.79	0.704	2.077	0.879	0.287
Average					0.2875

Table 2. Mean score on Math SBAC for Ravenswood and Tinsley Students 2014/2015 to 2018/2019 school year

Math	Ravenswood		Tinsley		Difference in Mean
Grade	***Mean Score***	***Variance***	***Mean Score***	***Variance***	
3	1.759	0.797	1.981	0.833	0.222
4	1.625	0.598	2.068	0.809	0.443
5	1.439	0.519	1.696	0.799	0.257
6	1.417	0.459	1.815	0.803	0.398
7	1.739	0.702	1.872	0.881	0.133
8	1.79	0.704	1.942	0.977	0.152
Average					0.268

P-values

It can be seen from this data that there is a difference in ELA and Math scores between Ravenswood and Tinsley students. This difference starts off higher and decreases as students advance to higher grades. It is also noticeable that the difference between the performance of Tinsley students and Ravenswood students is lower in Math than it is in ELA. In order to check if these results are statistically significant, meaning that the differences in means were not simply by chance, I performed a p-test using the Python library, Scipy. The p-test is a test for the null hypothesis, whether the mean μ1 of the first population sampled (in this case, students in the Tinsley program) is equal to the mean of a different tested population μ0 (Ravenswood students). It ensures that two

independent samples, e.g. length of flower stem, were not extracted from the same population (e.g. the same flower species or separate species with similar stem characteristics), but from two different populations. A p-value larger than the threshold of 5%, for this experiment, indicates that my observation is likely to have occurred by chance, and I would not reject a null hypothesis of equal population means. Otherwise, I would reject the null hypothesis of equal population means and conclude that there is a statistically significant difference between the Tinsley and Ravenswood populations. The code I used to calculate p-values is displayed below.

```
#lists from district a, MPCSD, and district b, Ravenswood

a = []
b = []

#fillloop populates one list with each individual score students from
either district received on either the ELA or Math SBAC exams

def fillloop(score, count, nlist):
    for x in range(count):
        nlist.append(score)

#example of function for 3rd grade Tinsley ELA scores (a), and 3rd
grade Ravenswood ELA scores (b)

fillloop(4,7,a)
fillloop(3,20,a)
fillloop(2,40,a)
fillloop(1,41,a)

fillloop(4,98,b)
fillloop(3,235,b)
fillloop(2,534,b)
fillloop(1,1214,b)

#calculates p-value based on two lists of floats using open source library Scipy

from itertools import combinations
from scipy.stats import ttest_ind
_, p = ttest_ind(a, b)
print (p)
```

Figure 9. Scipy Python code

My Python algorithm works as follows:

1. Create two separate lists from Sample A (Tinsley) and Sample B (Ravenswood)
2. Populate each list with each individual score of students of a certain grade from either population received on either the ELA or Math SBAC exam
3. Calculate the p-value based on two lists of floats using the open source library Scipy

To use this code, I followed these steps:

1. Using the Tinsley Math SBAC data, I entered each possible score a student could receive, the number of students who received that score, and the corresponding list title (in this case, a) into individual "fillLoop" functions
2. I repeated steps 1-2 but with the Ravenswood sample data
3. I ran the code and recorded the given p-value
4. I repeated steps 1-3 for each remaining grade
5. I repeated steps 1-4 using the ELA SBAC data

Results

Table 3. P-Values for each grade level for Math and ELA SBAC scores

Grade	Math P-Value	ELA P-Value
3	0.0131	.0003
4	0.0001	0.0004
5	0.0008	0.0006
6	0.0001	0.0089
7	0.1354	0.0204
8	0.169	0.0156

These results indicate that every result except for grades 7 and 8 of Math is statistically significant.

Discussion

Implications

The results of this project show that there is a tangible difference in the academic achievement of kids in the Tinsley program compared to their peers in the Ravenswood School District. In order to understand the implications of this research in the context of interdistrict school desegregation, it is important to account for potentially confounding variables unrelated to the effects of school desegregation. The two non-school-related factors of academic achievement underscored in the literature based on school desegregation are socioeconomic status (SES) and genome-wide polygenic scores (GPS). I was unable to account for students' genetics given resources, privacy, and time constraints. There may be other, smaller factors responsible for the results of this research, which make it impossible to draw a definitive causal link between the school effects of desegregation and educational outcomes.

Nonetheless, when one considers MPCSD's superior educational resources stemming from its robust funding base, as well as its higher student academic performance overall compared to Ravenswood, this correlation between participation in Tinsley and higher test scores suggests that the Tinsley program boosts the academic achievement of its participants, versus if they were to stay within the Ravenswood district. This finding is well aligned with the conclusions reached in the Reardon study, which related school desegregation to a reduction in the racial achievement gap. Although, it provides a contrast with more ambiguous reports on within-district desegregation efforts such as the one by Cullen, Jacob, and Levitt (2006, 2005) on Chicago

Public Schools. This research on Tinsley can thus be used to support the effectiveness of interdistrict desegregation over within-district desegregation.

The findings discovered contribute to the argument for increased attempts at interdistrict desegregation. According to Wells (2009), "This shrinking enrollment [in interdistrict transfer programs] reflects not a lack of interest or demand on the part of urban students but rather waning political and legal support for interdistrict school desegregation." Research such as this may revitalize efforts to institute interdistrict transfer, as well as encourage underprivileged families to apply to such programs as a way to offer their children better chances at academic success.

One oddity in the results of this research was the difference in Math SBAC scores of Tinsley students compared to their Ravenswood peers drops significantly in 7th grade. The difference goes from averaging around 0.35 points to only 0.133 points (something that is so small it is no longer statistically significant). One noticeable correlation that could be responsible for this drop is the beginning of tracking in math classes. While the Ravenswood School district only has one "track" for math: students take Math 7 in 7th grade and math 8 in 8th grade, setting up students to take Algebra I in High School, the Menlo Park City School District has 3 different math paths. Students who choose to take a bridge course in 6th grade can take Algebra I in 7th grade and Geometry in 8th grade. Alternatively, students can take Math 7B/8 in 7th grade which allows them to take Algebra I in 8th grade. The last track allows students to take grade-level math in both 7th and 8th grade and is like the track offered at Ravenswood. Students are placed onto a track based on a test taken in 5th grade ("Academics," n.d.). While tracking technically starts in 6th grade, the real differentiation in classes/what is taught actually begins in 7th grade. It is also noteworthy that according to data MPCSD provided in response to the FOIA request, nearly all the students in the Tinsley program are placed on the grade-level curriculum. On the other hand, ELA classes at MPCSD are not tracked at all (all students take the same class from 6th to 8th grade). One study found that tracking contributes to racial stratification and worsened student performance in low-track classes. These divisions also create a sense among teachers and other students that minorities are in "low ability" classes (Burris, 2014). This phenomenon could be a factor in the difference in SBAC scores for math and ELA between Tinsley and Ravenswood students is pretty much symmetrical up until 7th grade, it diverges drastically when tracking in math starts. Although this causal link may not necessarily be true, the relationship can be used to suggest and advocate against the negative influences of tracking on minority students.

Limitations

Due to the limitations of my data collection, it would be impossible to prove causation between participation in the Tinsley program and higher achievement. The Tinsley program is a voluntary opt-in program (meaning that parents must fill out a lottery application for the chance to participate). This means that parents who are actively seeking out the program most likely show a greater role in their children's education, leading their children to perform better academically. Therefore, there could be other factors partially or even fully responsible for the disparate achievement of Tinsley and Ravenswood students. Ideally, the study would compare SBAC scores for Tinsley transfers and children who applied to Tinsley but were not chosen from the lottery (control group). I could not access the information of students who won and lost the Tinsley lottery, so Ravenswood SBAC scores were the next best set of data.

Since I only looked at one of the transfer districts where Tinsley Students attend, it is possible that other districts have different results/outcomes. After I sent a FOIA request to the Palo Alto Unified School District (PAUSD), the largest receiving district of Tinsley transfers, requesting the same data I asked of MPCSD, I was notified that compiling, extracting, and programming these records would require 31 hours of labor and cost an estimated $2,646.78. Because of the cost and the months, I had already spent waiting on the quote for the PAUSD data, I decided to narrow my focus to MPCSD alone. Although all the seven non-Ravens-

wood districts presently participating in the Tinsley program share very similar demographics, as they are predominantly white, affluent, and high achieving, the scope of my research still did not necessarily represent the Tinsley program in its entirety.

In future studies, it would be worth investigating qualitative outcomes of transferring through the Tinsley program. This is especially true as there is no perfect metric for academic success, and some students may be naturally better test-takers than others. The experiences of being a minority attending a predominantly white institution create room for a variety of social dynamics and may be affected by negative stereotyping of minority groups, a concern expressed by Steele (1997). These qualitative factors would also provide insights into the quantitative consequences of interdistrict desegregation, and why transfer students score how they do. It would also be worth exploring the same procedure of data analysis from this research on other interdistrict transfer programs, to see if the same findings are consistent nationwide.

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