MILES TO GO

A Report on School Segregation in Virginia, 1989-2010

Genevieve Siegel-Hawley

Virginia Commonwealth University

with

Jennifer Ayscue, John Kuscera and Gary Orfield

University of California, Los Angeles

March 13, 2013

The Civil Rights Project

Proyecto Derechos Civiles

Acknowledgements

Thank you to John Kucsera for the many hours spent on data analysis related to this report. Gary Orfield, Jenn Ayscue and John Kucsera also provided absolutely essential guidance and helpful editorial assistance. Last but not least, many thanks to Laurie Russman, coordinator of the Civil Rights Project/ Proyecto Derechos Civiles, for providing assistance throughout the process of writing the report.

This report is the first in a series of 12 reports from the Civil Rights Project analyzing school segregation in the Northeast and Mid-Atlantic states.

Foreword

Virginia's Challenges

Virginia is a state with a very complex history of race relations. Slavery came ashore at Jamestown. George Washington led by example in freeing his slaves but Thomas Jefferson, who wrote the immortal words of freedom in the Declaration of Independence, did not. The state instituted wide ranging segregation laws under *Plessy v. Ferguson* and helped lead the fight to preserve segregated schools after *Brown v. Board of Education*.

When I came to work at the University of Virginia in 1967, Virginia's governor was a determined segregationist. The University enrolled a student body that was less than 1 percent black. Then, in 1968, African-American lawyers from Richmond won one of the greatest Supreme Court victories for school desegregation in the *Green v. New Kent County* case. One of Virginia's great lawyers, Lewis Powell, went to the Supreme Court where he was one of the 5-4 majority that blocked desegregation across city-suburban lines in the 1974 *Milliken* decision, something that Richmond, where he had been a school board member, badly needed. A year earlier he had been part of the 5-4 majority that decided that there was no federal right to equal education in the *Rodriguez* case. Those decisions made either real and lasting desegregation or equalization of resources impossible in many of the nation's central cities. They also meant that in many urban places, white families with children seldom considered living there anymore.

After I moved to Charlottesville to become an Assistant Professor in the Woodrow Wilson Department of Government and Foreign Affairs, I traveled through Virginia and talked with school leaders across the state at the height of the desegregation struggles. It was a deep and profound transformation in many communities. I will never forget talking with one superintendent in an extremely resistant community in the South Side, who had lived there all his life, in a community with a Confederate statue at the center of town and very strong support for segregation. He showed me where the KKK had recently burned a cross. He took me into his back office and shut the door when I was asking him about the way the Office for Civil Rights was requiring desegregation. He said to me, "We never would have done it. But it's the Christian thing to do." He told me about the intense resistance to having any white child taught by a black teacher, but also about how some people were growing out of their racial assumptions and surprising themselves by recognizing the talent and dedication of those same teachers. I was also in the stadium in Waynesboro, VA, where I was living, the night that a black guarterback took over leadership of the Little Giants for the first time in the history of the community. Everyone held their breath--and then suddenly, with a couple of good passes, something was past and an element of a new reality set in. There were millions of these small changes. It was a long struggle and there was a mixture of resistance and courage, but many communities made large changes. Many educators showed courage and vision. But sadly, there were no feasible ways to deal with the issues in Richmond and some other communities

By 1991, the Supreme Court was dismantling desegregation plans across the country. People began to think that desegregation had failed and that there was a way to make schools equal in segregated and unequal communities, through testing and standards or through charter schools. These have been the dominant assumptions since the Reagan era and they have produced three decades of failure, often with increasing segregation and increasing inequalities. Although there are a handful of exceptions, the reality today, as in 1954, is that separate schools are inherently unequal because of the many inequalities that attach to race in American society. Separate schools also mean that children cannot be adequately prepared for an increasingly diverse society, which will soon have no racial majority among the young.

Knowing about the struggles of the past and all the hard work of many educators in making desegregation work, it has been deeply saddening for me to watch policymakers and courts let it erode over time, or simply abandon it through a court decision or inaction. People have just accepted both the false assumption that all racial problems have been solved or concluded that they cannot be solved and given up any serious effort to deal with them.

The truth is that though there are now great obstacles, there are many positive possibilities that are not being explored. Either we deal with racial inequality and foster stable integration where possible or just allow the continuing outward spread of segregation by race and poverty, which cripples the future of communities. In the civil rights era, it was a black and white issue in Virginia. Now it is a multiracial issue with dimensions of language and immigration added to the mix. In the past, it was about incorporation into a solid white majority. Now it is about educating our students for a profoundly multiracial future in which the future of communities and the economy depends upon preparing all groups of students for post-secondary education and for understanding and working together across racial and ethnic lines. Much is known how to do this, not using coercive methods. But it cannot be done well without leadership and serious planning--and it needs to be planning that reaches beyond schools to include fair housing and community relations. All problems cannot, of course, be resolved under current law but too often that leads to the clearly false assumption that none can.

Virginia is far from the worst state on these issues but it has fallen far short of its potential and it will pay heavily for that failure if it continues to slip into more serious segregation and inequality. Virginia can do better, but only if its educators and

community leaders decide to do better. Educational equity and positive relationships among young people from different racial and ethnic communities do not happen by accident; they require commitment, training, positive policies, and leadership. The rewards for the state and for those who commit themselves to this effort would be very large. I hope that people in Virginia and their leaders will think very seriously about the trends and patterns outlined so clearly in this thorough and worrisome report by Prof. Genevieve Siegel-Hawley, who went to public school in Richmond and taught in the city's schools before deciding to pursue her doctorate and become a leading young researcher in this field. This report is not based on speculation. It is based on official statistics clearly presented and accurately interpreted. It points to a clear and present threat to Virginia's future and offers steps that have been shown to work elsewhere—ones that would lead the increasingly diverse Old Dominion to richer future for all of its people.

Gary Orfield Co-director, Civil Rights Project

Executive Summary

Virginia has a long and complicated history with school desegregation efforts. It is a state that can lay claim both to advancing the goals of *Brown v. Board of Education* and to impeding them. Over the years, this history has helped shape contemporary patterns of school segregation across Virginia and in her major metropolitan areas. This report examines school segregation trends in the state between 1989 and 2010. Drawing on federal data from the National Center for Education Statistics, it explores patterns at the state, metropolitan and school district level.

More than fifty years after *Brown v. Board of Education*, significant and rising shares of the Virginia's black students enroll in segregated schools that are intensely isolated by race and poverty. Broadly, findings also indicate that enrollments in the state, its major metros and districts have become rapidly more diverse, particularly in the past decade. Rising levels of racial diversity bring many opportunities for integration, but a key challenge will be to ensure that metros and districts that become diverse remain diverse—and do not resegregate. Even as levels of segregation *between* school districts in some of Virginia's major metros decline, swift racial transition is occurring *within* districts.

Other major findings in the report include:

Virginia

- The share of white students in Virginia declined sharply between 1989 and 2010, driven by a three-fold increase in the share of Latino students. At roughly a quarter of the enrollment, black students continue to constitute the largest minority group in the state.
- Fully 16% of black students in the state enrolled in intensely segregated minority schools (where white students make up less than 10% of the enrollment) in 2010, rising from about 12% in 1989.
- In 1989, intensely segregated minority schools represented about 3% of all schools in Virginia, more than doubling to almost 6% by 2010.
- Roughly three-quarters of the students attending intensely segregated settings in the state were considered low-income, and low-income students constituted more than 85% of the enrollment in apartheid schools (where white students make up less than 1% of the enrollment).
- The share of Virginia's Latino students enrolling in intensely segregated schools doubled to 6% between 1999 and 2010.
- More than 60% of Virginia's Latino students attended a multiracial school (three or more racial groups make up at least 10% of the enrollment) in 2010, up from under 10% in 1989. Asian students experienced a similar increase. Meanwhile,

- fewer than 30% of black and white students enrolled in multiracial schools in 2010.
- White students remain disproportionately isolated with other whites. In 2010, the typical white student went to a school that was roughly two-thirds white, even though whites accounted for just over half of Virginia's enrollment.
- The typical Virginia black student went to a school where other black students made up twice the share (nearly 47%) of their overall enrollment in the state (about 24%).
- Students from different racial backgrounds experienced uneven exposure to poverty. The typical black student went to a school in which low-income students accounted for about 50% of the student body. For Latino students, that same figure was about 41%, but for whites it was approximately 32%.

Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News

- The white student population declined from 57% in 1989 to 44% in 2010. In the same year, black students constituted a very sizeable share of the enrollment at 40%. The Latino student population more than tripled, from 2% to 7%, while the share of Asian students remained constant at about 3%.
- The proportion of black students in suburban schools decreased between 1989 and 2010, an unusual development compared to trends nationally and in other major metros in the state.
- The percentage of black students in Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News enrolling in intensely segregated minority settings doubled between 1989 and 2010, rising from about 9% to 18%.
- The percentage of Latino students in intensely segregated minority schools also increased (though it remains low), from less than 1% in 2010 to almost 4% in 2010.
- In 1989, roughly 6% of all schools were intensely segregated, compared to nearly 11% in 2010.
- The share of multiracial schools rose from just over 3% to more than 22% in the past twenty years, a more than seven-fold increase.
- Almost 90% of students in apartheid school settings were low income in 2010, along with nearly 80% of students in intensely segregated minority school settings.
- By 2010, the typical black student in the Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News area attended a school where other black students represented a substantial majority of the enrollment, whites made up a rapidly declining proportion of it, and Latino students emerged as a small but significant presence.

- The proportion of predominantly nonwhite school districts in the Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News area more than doubled over the past two decades, while the share of diverse districts shrunk considerably.
- Out of 11 major school districts open in all three time periods, five were predominantly nonwhite by 2010, and three of those transitioned from diverse to predominantly nonwhite in the past two decades.
- The three districts experiencing the most significant changes in the Norfolk region were Hampton, Newport News and Suffolk. All three were characterized as resegregating nonwhite districts.

Richmond-Petersburg

- The share of white students in the Richmond-Petersburg metro declined by almost ten percentage points to 51% between 1989 and 2010, even as the share of the black enrollment remained steady at 37%.
- The percentage of Asian and Latino students enrolled in Richmond-Petersburg metro schools increased considerably over the past twenty years.
- Since 1989, white students made up 10% or less of the enrollment in Richmond-Petersburg's urban schools.
- The share of whites in metro area suburban schools fell from about 73% in 1989 to 50% in 2010.
- Much of the increase in suburban diversity can be attributed to rising shares of black students attending suburban schools—up to a little over a third of the enrollment by 2010.
- More than one in three black students in the Richmond area went to an intensely segregated minority school in 2010, roughly two times as many as Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News (and five times as many as Northern Virginia).
- Almost one in ten Richmond area black students attended apartheid settings where white students made up less than 1% of the enrollment.
- Nearly 14% of Latino students attended intensely segregated settings in 2010; more than triple the share attending such schools in 1989.
- Approximately 18% of all schools in the metro were intensely segregated in 2010.
- Just over 4% of Richmond-Petersburg area schools were apartheid settings.
- Fully 85% of students in apartheid schools were low-income in 2010, as were 75% of students in intensely segregated minority schools.
- The typical black student in the Richmond metro attended a school where low-income students accounted for nearly 52% of the enrollment. Meanwhile, white students went to a school where low-income students, on average, made up about 24% of the enrollment—almost a 30 percentage point white-black disparity in exposure to poverty.

- In earlier years, the vast majority of segregation—about 72%—occurred between districts in the Richmond-Petersburg metro (e.g., between Richmond City and Henrico and Chesterfield counties). More recently, however, segregation levels have been roughly the same within and between districts.
- Between 1999 and 2010, the overall share of diverse school districts in the Richmond-Petersburg metro grew substantially, from roughly 46% to 54%.
- Still, almost 40% of Richmond-Petersburg districts were stably segregated, reporting racially isolated white environments or racially isolated nonwhite environments.

Northern Virginia

- Northern Virginia's public school enrollment was the most racially diverse of any region in the state.
- Black and Latino students were more likely to enroll in Northern Virginia's urban schools than in suburban settings (though by increasingly smaller margins), while the reverse was true for Asian and white students.
- Since 1989, increasingly higher shares of black students in Northern Virginia enrolled in predominantly minority and intensely segregated schools, though at much lower percentages than in other metros in the state.
- Northern Virginia is the only region in the state reporting a pattern of more intense concentration of Latino students in segregated minority settings than black students.
- Almost three-quarters of Latinos enrolled in predominantly minority schools in 2010. In the same year, nearly 7% attended an intensely segregated setting.
- Overall shares of students of all races attending multiracial schools were much higher in Northern Virginia than in other regions of the state.
- Nearly 80% of black and Latino students in Northern Virginia attended multiracial schools, compared to about 70% of Asian and American Indian students and just over 50% of white students.
- Northern Virginia was the only major region in the state to report that none of its largest districts were predominantly white.
- The share of predominantly nonwhite school systems quadrupled in the last ten years, from about 11% to 44%.
- Stable and diverse school systems accounted for the largest percentage of major school districts in Northern Virginia between 1999 and 2010.
- On the other hand, though, one in three districts in the region were resegregating nonwhite systems, at a pace of change roughly twice that of the overall metro.

This report provides **multiple recommendations** for those who are seeking to address resegregation in Virginia's schools:

- Virginia needs to develop state-level policies that focus on reducing racial
 isolation and promoting diverse schools. Such policies should address how
 districts can create student assignment policies that foster diverse schools, discuss
 how to recruit a diverse teaching staff, provide a framework for developing and
 supporting intra and inter-district programs, and require that districts report to the
 state on diversity-related matters for both public and charter schools.
- Districts should develop policies that consider race among other factors in creating diverse schools.
- Magnet schools and transfer programs within and across district borders should also be used to promote more racially integrated schools.
- Fair housing agencies and state and local housing officials need to regularly audit discrimination in housing markets and ensure that potential home buyers are not being steered away from areas with diverse schools.
- Local fair housing organizations should monitor land use and zoning decisions and advocate for low-income housing to be set aside in new communities that are attached to strong schools.
- Housing officials need to strengthen and enforce site selection policies so that they support integrated schools.
- Schools should not be built or opened in racially isolated areas of districts and rezoning policies should not exacerbate racial isolation.
- Local educational organizations and neighborhood associations should vigorously promote diverse communities and schools as highly desirable places to live and learn.
- Efforts should be made to foster the development of suburban coalitions to influence state-level policy-making around issues of school diversity and equity.
- Interested citizens and elected officials should support judicial appointees who
 understand and seem willing to address the history of segregation and minority
 inequality and appear ready to listen with open minds to sensitive racial issues
 brought into their court rooms.

For Virginia to have a healthy multiracial future, it is absolutely urgent that its citizens understand both the values of diversity and the real risks of resegregation. There are a number of possible policy options bearing no relationship to the mandatory plans of the early 1970s. Many instead involve conscious efforts to use school choice and housing opportunity strategies in innovative and appropriate ways. Regardless of the method, the time to proactively harness the opportunities present in the rapidly shifting dynamics of Virginia's schools is now.

Table of Contents

Table of Tables	xi
Table of Figures	. xii
A Report on School Segregation in Virginia, 1989-2010	1
Desegregation in Virginia: Background and Context	
Metropolitan Developments in Virginia	
Segregation and Desegregation: What the Evidence Says	
Data and Methods	
State Trends	. 12
Enrollment	. 12
Segregation Patterns.	
Concentration	
Exposure	
Metropolitan Trends.	
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News	. 23
Enrollment	. 24
Segregation Patterns	. 25
Racial Transition in Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News Area School District	ts34
Richmond-Petersburg	
Enrollment.	. 38
Segregation Patterns	. 40
Racial Transition in Richmond-Petersburg Area School Districts	. 49
Northern Virginia	. 53
Enrollment	. 53
Segregation Patterns	. 55
Racial Transition in Northern Virginia School Districts	. 65
Conclusions	. 69
Recommendations	. 70
State Level	. 70
Local Level	
Educational Organizations and Universities	. 72
The Courts	
Federal Level	. 73
Closing Thoughts	
Appendix A: State, Metropolitan and District Tables	. 75
Appendix B: Data and Methodology	. 96

Table of Tables

Table 1: Total Public School Enrollment, Virginia, South and the Nation	
Table 2: Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Virginia	
Table 3: Low-Income Students in Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Virgi	nia
	14
Table 4: Public School Enrollment by Race in Urban and Suburban Schools, Norfolk-	-
Virginia Beach-Newport News	25
Table 5: Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newp	ort
News	26
Table 6: Students who are Low-Income in Multiracial and Minority Segregated School	ols.
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News	26
Table 7: Entropy Index Values, Overall and Within and Between School Districts,	
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News	33
Table 8: White Proportion and District Classification in Metropolitan Area and	55
1	35
Table 9: Public School Enrollment by Race in Urban and Suburban Schools, Richmon	
Petersburg	40
Table 10: Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Richmond-Petersburg	
Table 11: Students who are Low-Income in Multiracial and Minority Segregated	
Schools, Richmond Petersburg	41
Table 12: Entropy Index Values, Overall and Within and Between School Districts,	. 71
Richmond-Petersburg	48
Table 13: White Proportion and Classification in Metropolitan Area and Districts,	40
Richmond-Petersburg, 1989-2010	50
Table 14: Public School Enrollment by Race in Urban and Suburban Schools, Northe	
Virginia	55
Table 15: Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Northern Virginia	
Table 16: Students who are Low-Income in Multiracial and Minority Segregated	,. 55
Schools, Northern Virginia	56
g	30
Table 17: Entropy Index Values, Overall and Within and Between School Districts,	. 64
Northern Virginia	04
Table 18: White Proportion and Classification in Metropolitan Area and Districts,	
Northern Virginia, 1989-2010	66

Table of Figures

Figure 1: 1	Public School Enrollment by Race, Virginia	13
-	Black Students in Minority Segregated Schools, Virginia	
_	Latino Students in Minority Segregated Schools, Virginia	
-	Students in Multiracial Schools by Race, Virginia	
_	White Students in School Attended by Typical Student of Each Race, Virginia	
		18
Figure 6: 1	Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student, Virginia	19
-	Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Latino Student, Virginia.	
_	Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Student by Race, Virginia	
_	Exposure to Low-Income Students by Race, Virginia	
_	Public School Enrollment by Race, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News	
_	Black Students in Minority Segregated Schools, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-	
		27
	Latino Students in Minority Segregated Schools, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-	
_		28
	Students in Multiracial Schools by Race, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport	
_		29
	White Students in School Attended by Typical Student of Each Race, Norfolk	' -
	nia Beach-Newport News	
	Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student, Norfolk-	
	nia Beach-Newport News	31
_	Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Student by Race, Norfolk	
_		32
_	Exposure to Low-Income Students by Race, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newpor	rt
		33
	Racial Transition by District, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, 1989-	
2010		34
	Degree and Type of Racial Transition, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport	_
_		36
-	Moderate Racial Transition by District Type, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-	
•		37
_	,	39
_	Black Students in Segregated Minority Schools, Richmond-Petersburg	
	Latino Students in Segregated Minority Schools, Richmond Petersburg	
_	Students in Multiracial Schools by Race, Richmond-Petersburg	
_	White Students in School Attended by Typical Student of Each Race,	•
_	, ,,	45
	Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student, Richmond	
	sburg	
	Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Student by Race,	10
	nond-Petersburg	47
	Exposure to Low-Income Students by Race, Richmond-Petersburg	
	Racial Transition by District, Richmond-Petersburg, 1989-2010	
	Degree and Type of Racial Transition, Richmond-Petersburg, 1999 to 2010	
	-0	

Figure 31:	Moderate Racial Transition by District Type, Richmond-Petersburg, 1989-	
2010		52
Figure 32:	Public School Enrollment by Race, Northern Virginia	54
Figure 33:	Black Students in Segregated Minority Schools, Northern Virginia	57
Figure 34:	Latino Students in Segregated Minority Schools, Northern Virginia	58
Figure 35:	Students in Multiracial Schools by Race, Northern Virginia	59
Figure 36:	White Students in School Attended by Typical Student by Race, Northern	
Virgin	ia	60
Figure 37:	Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student, Northern	
Virgin	nia	61
Figure 38:	Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Latino Student, Northern	l
Virgin	ia	62
Figure 39:	Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Student by Race, Norther	rn
Virgin	nia	63
Figure 40:	Exposure to Low-Income Students by Race, Northern Virginia	64
Figure 41:	Racial Transition by District, Northern Virginia, 1989-2010	65
Figure 42:	Degree and Type of Racial Transition, Northern Virginia, 1999 to 2010	67
Figure 43:	Moderate Racial Transition by District Type, Northern Virginia, 1989-2010)
	- -	68

Miles to Go: A Report on School Segregation in Virginia, 1989-2010

Virginia has a long and complicated history with school desegregation efforts. It is a state that can lay claim both to advancing the goals of *Brown v. Board of Education* and to impeding them. Over the years, this history has helped shape contemporary patterns of school segregation across Virginia and in her major metropolitan areas. As Virginia schools grow more diverse, understanding the nature and scope of racial and economic isolation in the state today becomes ever more crucial.

This report examines school segregation trends in Virginia between 1989 and 2010. Drawing on federal data from the National Center for Education Statistics, it explores patterns at the state, metropolitan and school district level. The provide the following data and policy recommendations are provided in the hope that communities use them to push for positive change.

More than fifty years after *Brown v. Board of Education*, it is clear that significant and rising portions of the state's black students enroll in segregated schools that are very isolated by race and socioeconomic status. Nearly one out of every five black students in Virginia attends an intensely segregated school in which white students account for 10% or less of the enrollment. Low-income students make up about 75% of the student population in the state's intensely segregated minority schools, indicating that poverty concentration is heavily layered onto racial isolation. Since 1989, both black and Latino students experienced noteworthy increases in enrollment in minority segregated schools.

Findings also indicate that the state and its major metros and districts have become rapidly more diverse, particularly in the past decade. Rising levels of racial diversity bring many opportunities for integration, but a key challenge will be to ensure that metros and districts that become diverse remain diverse—and do not resegregate. Even as levels of segregation *between* school districts in some of Virginia's major metros decline, swift racial transition is occuring *within* districts.

The report is organized as follows. The first section provides a brief overview of the history of desegregation in Virginia, followed by a summary of social science evidence related to the harms of segregation and the benefits of well-designed diverse schools. It describes the data and methodology and then presents a state-level analysis of enrollment and segregation trends. Those same trends are explored for the three major metropolitan regions in the state: Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, Richmond-Petersburg and Northern Virginia. Within the metropolitan area analyses, the report briefly delves into the degree and type of racial transition within the largest school districts (further information about school districts is located in Appendix B). It closes

with a discussion of the findings, along with a number of policy recommendations. Please also note that this larger report is accompanied by separate fact sheets documenting segregation trends in each of Virginia's three major metro areas.

Desegregation in Virginia: Background and Context

In 1951, black high school students in Prince Edward County, Virginia led a ten day strike demanding facilities equal to those afforded to white students. The disparities between school buildings in Prince Edward were glaringly apparent. Robert R. Moton High, the segregated black high school, was overcrowded, built of wood instead of brick, warmed by stoves rather than steam or hot water heat, and lacked indoor bathrooms. Civil rights lawyers filed a suit on behalf of the students, eventually becoming one of the five cases consolidated into the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* litigation. It was the only one among the five cases instigated by student activists. Importantly, though, *Brown* went beyond the initial demand for equitable facilities, seeking instead to overturn the "separate but equal" doctrine itself.

Three years later, the U.S. Supreme Court issued a unanimous decision outlawing racial segregation in public schools. The Court wrote, "Segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race deprives children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities, even though the physical facilities and other 'tangible' factors may be equal." The *Brown* decision was followed by *Brown II* in 1955, which vaguely directed Southern states to begin dismantling Jim Crow segregation "with all deliberate speed."

In Virginia, state officials greeted the Supreme Court's verdict in *Brown* with fierce opposition and quickly helped mastermind a regional revolt against the ruling. Senator Harry Flood Byrd set off a strategy known as Massive Resistance, an organized campaign to delay and obstruct the implementation of school desegregation. Spurred onward by scathing editorials in the *Richmond Newsleader* that denounced *Brown* as federal overreach into states' rights, ⁴ the lower South willingly followed Virginia's lead.

Virginia Governor Thomas Stanley endorsed the strategy of Massive Resistance through the adoption of a multi-pronged plan to defeat school desegregation efforts. The 1956 Stanley Plan amended compulsory school attendance laws so that no child was required to attend an integrated setting, made funds available for tuition grants to white

¹The Leadership Conference. *Davis v. School Board of Prince Edward County*, Retrieved February 12, 2013 from: http://www.civilrights.org/education/brown/davis.html

² Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward County, 103 F. Supp. 337 (1952).

³ Brown v. Board of Education, 347 U.S. 483 (1954).

⁴ Lassiter, M. (2006). *The Silent Majority: Suburban Politics in the Sunbelt South*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton Press.

students wanting to attend private "segregation academies" and authorized the closure of any state school or system that sought to implement federal desegregation orders, among other initiatives.⁵

In what was perhaps the most pronounced display of defiance to *Brown*, four school systems in Virginia did close down their schools rather than integrate. Prince Edward County, site of the original student protest, was one of those systems. Black students in Prince Edward County were locked out of public education for five full years while white students used state and local tuition grants to attend segregated private schools. The intervention of the federal courts eventually forced schools to reopen in Prince Edward, Front Royal, Norfolk and Charlottesville, but a more insidious version of Massive Resistance played out through a policy known as "freedom of choice."

Freedom of choice plans ostensibly gave black students the option to transfer to all white schools in the aftermath of *Brown*. In Virginia, those transfers came under the purview of one of the state's more enduring forms of resistance, the Pupil Placement Board. Signed into law in 1956, the Pupil Placement Act gave a governor-appointed board of three people oversight authority over all transfer applications in the state. During the course of its three-year existence, the Pupil Placement Board reviewed 450,000 pupil placement applications and never allowed the assignment of a black child to a white school. Though the state board was dismantled by the courts in 1959, local school districts continued to implement freedom of choice policies that produced very little in the way of meaningful desegregation. The Southern foot-dragging on the implementation of school desegregation continued largely unchecked until another Virginia court case came before the U.S. Supreme Court.

In 1968, the Court issued its most momentous decision since the *Brown* ruling. *Green v. County School Board of New Kent County* struck down freedom of choice plans in New Kent County, Virginia, ruling that "rather than further the dismantling of the dual system, the plan has operated to simply burden children and their parents with a responsibility [that should be] placed squarely on the School Board." Most critically, *Green* clarified the legal standards surrounding school desegregation by outlining the specific characteristics of a unitary school system. The *Green* factors insisted that desegregation plans address students, faculty and staff, facilities, transportation and extracurricular activities. The pace of desegregation accelerated dramatically.

⁵ Ihid.

⁶ Pratt, R.A. (1991). *The Color of Their Skin: Education and Race in Richmond, Virginia, 1954-89*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.

⁷ Orfield, G. (1969). *The Reconstruction of Southern Education*. New York: Wiley Press.

⁸ Green v. County School Board of New Kent County, 391 U.S. 430 (1968)

⁹ Ibid.

Metropolitan Developments in Virginia

School districts across the South understood what a desegregated school system looked like after the 1968 *Green* decision, but the tools they could use to achieve desegregation remained less than clear. One of the most critical means—transportation—was sanctioned by the Supreme Court in 1971. Recognizing the link between housing and school segregation, the *Swann* decision authorized the use of busing across a merged city-suburban school system in Charlotte-Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. In 1972, a case out of Norfolk, Virginia established another precedent actually requiring localities to provide transportation under desegregation plans.

Unlike the consolidated Charlotte-Mecklenburg district, though, city and suburban school districts in the Richmond metro area remained separate. Post-WWII suburban development, housing discrimination, urban renewal policies and the construction of federal highways helped create racialized housing patterns—predominantly white suburbs surrounding a largely black central city—that defined the Richmond area. As Richmond School Board Chairwoman Virginia Crockford reflected, in a handwritten note:

In light of increasing numbers of black students in the city, and the counties with practically all white systems, there seems to be no alternative other than consolidation if one is to adhere to the mandate of the Supreme Court, that segregated school systems are inherently unequal (Crockford Papers, circa 1970).

At this point, the courts had issued legal standards for school desegregation and given districts the tools to desegregate. In another Virginia lawsuit, they would now be asked to decide whether or not school desegregation could and should occur across city-suburban boundary lines.

In 1972, based on a significant body of evidence documenting the interdependent relationship between Richmond City and her two surrounding suburbs, a federal district court judge ruled that school desegregation must take place across the three consolidated school systems. ¹⁴ Judge Merhige's decision in *Bradley* was quickly appealed and overturned by the Fourth Circuit. In 1973, a deeply divided U.S. Supreme Court split 4-4 on the question of metropolitan school desegregation, with one justice abstaining. (The ninth Justice, Lewis Powell, did not participate because he had been head of the

¹⁰ Orfield, 1969.

¹¹ Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education, 402 U.S. 1 (1970).

¹² Brewer v. School Board of City of Norfolk

¹³ Lassiter, 2007.

¹⁴ Bradley v. Richmond School Board, 416 U.S. 696 (1974).

Richmond School Board.) The tied vote left in place the Fourth Circuit's decision to overturn the consolidation of Richmond, Henrico and Chesterfield school systems. It was the first Supreme Court action in many years to backtrack on *Brown* and foreshadowed the beginning of judicial retrenchment on school desegregation. The absence of a merger would shape the contours of segregation and educational opportunity in Virginia's capitol region for many years to come.

Thirteen years later, Norfolk became the first school system in the nation to achieve unitary status—an ambiguous standard signaling that a school district had dismantled its segregated, dual systems of schools. The court's reasoning in the *Riddick* case was based on testimony declaring desegregation efforts unworkable due to projections of serious white flight from the Norfolk school system. The testimony was proven faulty by trends in subsequent years. Indeed, a counter analysis by researchers at Old Dominion University concluded that the exit of white students from Norfolk schools was not apparent prior to the end of the desegregation litigation, and, after the case concluded, pointed to a dramatic increase in segregation. This report documents the ongoing persistence of racial isolation in Norfolk school district.

In the late 1990s, a decision concerning the Arlington school district in Northern Virginia helped cap off a decade in which the courts consistently relaxed or overturned hard-won desegregation standards from the earlier era. ¹⁷ In *Tuttle v. Arlington School Board*, the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals ruled against the use of race-conscious admissions policies to Arlington's specialty schools. ¹⁸

Over the years, each of these historical milestones were linked to progress and regress on patterns of racial segregation across Virginia. Despite the waning commitment of the courts, as well as a general fading of public awareness acknowledging the importance of desegregation, social science evidence continues to document persistent harms associated with racially isolated schools, along with myriad benefits related to desegregated ones. The following section provides an overview of research on segregation and desegregation.

5

¹⁵ Eaton, S. & Meldrum, C. (1996). Broken Promises: Resegregation in Norfolk, Virginia. In Orfield, G. & Eaton, S. *Dismantling Desegregation* (pp. 115-141). New York, NY: The New Press.

¹⁷ Orfield, G. & Eaton, S. *Dismantling Desegregation* (pp. 115-141). New York, NY: The New Press. ¹⁸ *Tuttle v. Arlington County School Bd.*, 195 F.3D 698 (4TH Cir. 1999).

Segregation and Desegregation: What the Evidence Says¹⁹

The consensus of nearly 60 years of social science research on the harms of school segregation is clear: separate remains extremely unequal. Racially and socioeconomically isolated schools are strongly related to an array of factors that limit educational opportunities and outcomes. These factors include less experienced and less qualified teachers, high levels of teacher turnover, less successful peer groups and inadequate facilities and learning materials.

Teachers are the most powerful influence on academic achievement in schools.²⁰ One recent longitudinal study showed that having a strong teacher in elementary grades had a long-lasting, positive impact on students' lives—to include reduced teenage pregnancy rates, higher levels of college-going, and higher job earnings.²¹ Unfortunately, despite the clear benefits of strong teaching, we also know that highly qualified²² and experienced²³ teachers are spread very unevenly across schools, and are much less likely to remain in segregated or resegregating settings.²⁴ Teachers' salaries and advanced training are also lower in schools of concentrated poverty.²⁵

1,

¹⁹ This section is adapted from Orfield, G., Kuscera, J., & Siegel-Hawley, G. (2012). *E pluribus* ... *separation? Deepening double segregation for more students*. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Civil Rights Project. Available at: http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/mlk-national/e-pluribus...separation-deepening-double-segregation-for-more-students
²⁰ Rivkin, S. G., Hanushek, E. A., & Kain, J. F. (2005). Teachers, schools, and academic achievement,

Econometrica, 73(2), 417-58.

Chetty, R., Friedman, J. N., & Rockoff, J. E. (2011). The long-term impacts of teachers: Teacher value-added and student outcomes in adulthood (NBER Working Paper # 17699). Retrieved from: http://obs.rc.fas.har vard.edu/chetty/value added.pdf

²² Clotfelter, C., Ladd, H., & Vigdor, J. (2005). Who teaches whom? Race and the distribution of novice teachers, *Economics of Education Review*, 24(4), 377-392; Rivkin, Hanushek, & Kain, 2005.

²³ See, for example, Lankford, H., Loeb, S., & Wyckoff, J. (2002). Teacher sorting and the plight of urban schools: A descriptive analysis. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 24(1): 37-62; Watson, S. (2001), *Recruiting and retaining teachers: Keys to improving the Philadelphia public schools*. Philadelphia: Consortium for Policy Research in Education. In addition, one research study found that in California schools, the share of unqualified teachers is 6.75 times higher in high-minority schools (more than 90% minority) than in low-minority schools (less than 30% minority). See Darling-Hammond, L. (2001). Apartheid in American education: How opportunity is rationed to children of color in the United States, In T. Johnson, J. E. Boyden, and W. J. Pittz (Eds.), *Racial profiling and punishment in U.S. public schools* (pp. 39-44). Oakland, CA: Applied Research Center.

²⁴ Clotfelter, C., Ladd, H., & Vigdor, J. (2010). Teacher mobility, school segregation, and pay-based policies to level the playing field. *Education, Finance, and Policy, 6*(3), 399-438; Jackson, K. (2009). Student demographics, teacher sorting, and teacher quality: Evidence from the end of school desegregation, *Journal of Labor Economics. 27*(2), 213-256.

²⁵ Miller, R. (2010). Comparable, schmomparable. Evidence of inequity in the allocation of funds for teacher salary within California's public school districts. Washington, DC: Center for American Progress; Roza, M., Hill, P. T., Sclafani, S., & Speakman, S. (2004). How within-district spending inequities help some schools to fail. Washington DC: Brookings Institution; U.S. Department of Education. (2011). Comparability of state and local expenditures among schools within districts: A report from the study of school-level expenditures. Washington, DC: Author.

Findings showing that the motivation and engagement of classmates are strongly linked to educational outcomes for poor students date back to the famous 1966 Coleman Report. The central conclusion of that report (as well as numerous follow-up analyses) was that the concentration of poverty in a school influenced student achievement more than the poverty status of an individual student. ²⁶ This is largely related to whether or not high academic achievement, homework completion, regular attendance, and collegegoing are normalized by peers. ²⁷ Attitudinal differences toward schooling among lowand middle-to-high income students stem from a variety of internal and external factors, including watered-down learning materials that seem disconnected from students' lives.

Schools serving low-income and segregated neighborhoods have been shown to provide less challenging curricula than schools in more affluent communities that largely serve populations of white and Asian students. ²⁸ The impact of the standards and accountability era has been felt more acutely in minority-segregated schools where rote skills and memorization have, in many instances, subsumed creative, engaging teaching. ²⁹ By contrast, students in middle-class schools normally have little trouble with high-stakes exams, so the schools and teachers are free to broaden the curriculum. Segregated school settings are also significantly less likely than more affluent settings to offer AP- or honors-level courses that help garner early college credits and boost student GPAs. ³⁰

Taken together, all of these things tend to produce lower educational achievement and attainment—which in turn limits lifetime opportunities—for students who attend high poverty, high minority school settings.³¹ Student discipline is harsher and the rate of

-

²⁶ Borman, G., & Dowling, M. (2010). Schools and inequality: A multilevel analysis of Coleman's equality of educational opportunity data. *Teachers College Record*, 112(5), 1201-1246.

²⁷ Kahlenberg, R. (2001). *All together now: Creating middle class schools through public school choice.* Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

²⁸ Rumberger, R. W., & Palardy, G. J. (2005). Does segregation still matter? The impact of student composition on academic achievement in high school. *Teachers College Record, 107*(9), 1999-2045; Hoxby, C. M. (2000). *Peer effects in the classroom: Learning from gender and race variation* (NBER Working Paper No. 7867). Cambridge: National Bureau of Economic Research; Schofield, J. W. (2006). Ability grouping, composition effects, and the achievement gap. In J. W. Schofield (Ed.), *Migration background, minority-group membership and academic achievement research evidence from social, educational, and development psychology* (pp. 67-95). Berlin: Social Science Research Center.
²⁹ Knaus, C. (2007). Still segregated, still unequal: Analyzing the impact of No Child Left Behind on African-American students. In The National Urban League (Ed.), *The state of Black America: Portrait of*

the Black male (pp. 105-121). Silver Spring, MD: Beckham Publications Group.

30 Orfield, G., & Eaton, S. E. (1996). Dismantling desegregation: The quiet reversal of Brown v. Board of Education. New York: The New Press: Orfield, G., & Lee, G. (2005). Why segregation meeters: Powerties.

Education. New York: The New Press; Orfield, G., & Lee, C. (2005). Why segregation matters: Poverty and educational inequality. Cambridge, MA: Civil Rights Project.

Mickelson, R. A. (2006). Segregation and the SAT, *Ohio State Law Journal*, 67, 157-200; Mickelson, R. A. (2001). First- and second-generation segregation in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg schools. *American Educational Research Journal*, 38(2), 215-252; Borman, K. A. (2004). Accountability in a postdesegregation era: The continuing significance of racial segregation in Florida's schools. *American Educational Research Journal*, 41(3), 605-631; Swanson, C. B. (2004). *Who graduates? Who doesn't? A*

expulsion is much higher in minority-segregated schools than in wealthier, whiter ones.³² Dropout rates are significantly higher in segregated and impoverished schools (nearly all of the 2,000 "dropout factories" are doubly segregated by race and poverty),³³ and if students do graduate, research indicates that they are less likely to be successful in college, even after controlling for test scores.³⁴ Segregation, in short, has strong and lasting impacts on students' success in school and later life.³⁵

On the other hand, there is also a mounting body of evidence indicating that well-structured desegregated schools are linked to profound benefits for all children. In terms of social outcomes, racially integrated educational contexts provide students of all races with the opportunity to learn and work with children from a range of backgrounds. These settings foster critical thinking skills that are increasingly important in our multiracial society—skills that help students understand a variety of different perspectives. Relatedly, integrated schools are linked to reduction in students' willingness to accept stereotypes. Students attending integrated schools also report a heightened ability to communicate and make friends across racial lines.

statistical portrait of public high school graduation, Class of 2001. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute; Benson, J., & Borman, G. (2010) Family, neighborhood, and school settings across seasons: When do socioeconomic context and racial composition matter for the reading achievement growth of young children? Teachers College Record, 112(5), 1338-1390; Borman, G., & Dowling, M. (2010). Schools and inequality: A multilevel analysis of Coleman's equality of educational opportunity data. Teachers College Record, 112(5), 1201-1246; Crosnoe, R. (2005). The diverse experiences of Hispanic students in the American educational system. Sociological Forum, 20, 561-588.

Exposure to draconian, "zero tolerance" discipline measures is linked to dropping out of school and subsequent entanglement with the criminal justice system, a very different trajectory than attending college and developing a career. Advancement Project & The Civil Rights Project (2000). *Opportunities suspended: The devastating consequences of zero tolerance and school discipline policies*. Cambridge, MA: Civil Rights Project. Retrieved from http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/school-discipline/opportunities-suspended-the-devastating-consequences-of-zero-tolerance-and-school-discipline-policies/.

33 Balfanz, R. & Legters, N. E. (2004). Legeting the degree of the desired the desired the desired the degree of th

³³ Balfanz, R., & Legters, N. E. (2004). Locating the dropout crisis: Which high schools produce the nation's dropouts? In G. Orfield (Ed.), *Dropouts in America: Confronting the graduation rate crisis* (pp. 57–84.). Cambridge: Harvard Education Press, 2004; Swanson, C. (2004). Sketching a portrait of public high school graduation: Who graduates? Who doesn't? In G. Orfield, (Ed.), *Dropouts in America: Confronting the graduation rate crisis* (pp. 13–40). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

³⁴ Camburn, E. (1990). College completion among students from high schools located in large metropolitan areas. *American Journal of Education*, *98*(4), 551-569.

³⁵ Wells, A. S., & Crain, R. L. (1994). Perpetuation theory and the long-term effects of school desegregation. *Review of Educational Research*, *64*, 531-555; Braddock, J. H., & McPartland, J. (1989). Social-psychological processes that perpetuate racial segregation: The relationship between school and employment segregation. *Journal of Black Studies*, *19*(3), 267-289.

³⁶ Schofield, J. (1995). Review of research on school desegregation's impact on elementary and secondary school students. In J. A. Banks and C. A. M. Banks (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural education* (pp. 597–616). New York: Macmillan Publishing.

³⁷ Mickelson, R., & Bottia, M. (2010). Integrated education and mathematics outcomes: A synthesis of social science research. *North Carolina Law Review, 88*, 993; Pettigrew, T., & Tropp, L. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90*(5), 751-783; Ready, D., & Silander, M. (2011). School racial and ethnic composition and young children's cognitive

Studies have shown that desegregated settings are associated with heightened academic achievement for minority students, ³⁹ with no corresponding detrimental impact for white students. ⁴⁰ These trends later translate into loftier educational and career expectations, ⁴¹ and high levels of civic and communal responsibility. ⁴² Black students who attended desegregated schools are substantially more likely to graduate from high school and college, in part because they are more connected to challenging curriculum and social networks that support such goals. ⁴³ Earnings and physical well-being are also positively impacted: a recent study by a Berkeley economist found that black students who attended desegregated schools for at least five years earned 25% more than their counterparts in segregated settings. By middle age, the same group was also in far better health. ⁴⁴ Perhaps most important of all, evidence indicates that school desegregation can have perpetuating effects across generations. Students of all races who attended integrated schools are more likely to seek out integrated colleges, workplaces and

development: Isolating family, neighborhood and school influences. In E. Frankenberg & E. DeBray (Eds.), *Integrating schools in a changing society: New policies and legal options for a multiracial generation* (pp. 91-113). Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press.

³⁸ Killen, M., Crystal, D., & Ruck, M (2007). The social developmental benefits of intergroup contact among children and adolescents. In E. Frankenberg & G. Orfield (Eds.), *Lessons in integration: Realizing the promise of racial diversity in American schools* (pp. 31-56). Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.

³⁹ Braddock, J. (2009). Looking back: The effects of court-ordered desegregation. In C. Smrekar & E. Goldring (Eds.), *From the courtroom to the classroom: The shifting landscape of school desegregation* (pp. 3-18). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press; Crain, R., & Mahard, R. (1983). The effect of research methodology on desegregation-achievement studies: A meta-analysis. *American Journal of Sociology*, 88(5), 839-854; Schofield, J. (1995). Review of research on school desegregation's impact on elementary and secondary school students. In J. A. Banks and C. A. M. Banks (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural education* (pp. 597–616). New York: Macmillan Publishing.

⁴⁰ Hoschild, J., & Scrovronick, N. (2004). *The American dream and the public schools*. New York: Oxford University Press.

⁴¹ Crain, R. L. (1970). School integration and occupational achievement of Negroes. *American Journal of Sociology*, 75, 593-606; Dawkins, M. P. (1983). Black students' occupational expectations: A national study of the impact of school desegregation. *Urban Education*, 18, 98-113; Kurlaender, M., & Yun, J. (2005). Fifty years after *Brown*: New evidence of the impact of school racial composition on student outcomes. *International Journal of Educational Policy, Research, and Practice*, 6(1), 51-78.

⁴² Braddock, J. (2009). Looking back: The effects of court-ordered desegregation. In C. Smrekar & E. Goldring (Eds.), *From the courtroom to the classroom: The shifting landscape of school desegregation* (pp. 3-18). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

⁴³ Guryan, J. (2004). Desegregation and Black dropout rates. *The American Economic Review 94*(4): 919-943; Kaufman, J. E., & Rosenbaum, J. (1992). The education and employment of low-income black youth in white suburbs. *Education Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, *14*, 229–240.

⁴⁴ Johnson, R. C., & Schoeni, R. (2011). The influence of early-life events on human capital, health status, and labor market outcomes over the life course. *The B.E. Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy Advances*, 11(3), 1-55.

neighborhoods later in life, which may in turn provide integrated educational opportunities for their own children.⁴⁵

In the aftermath of *Brown*, we learned a great deal about how to structure diverse schools to make them work for students of all races. In 1954, a prominent Harvard social psychologist, Gordon Allport, suggested that four key elements are necessary for positive contact across different groups. Allport theorized that all group members needed to be given equal status, that guidelines needed to be established for working cooperatively, that group members needed to work toward common goals, and that strong leadership visibly supportive of intergroup relationship building was necessary. Over the past 60-odd years, Allport's conditions have held up in hundreds of studies of diverse institutions across the world. In schools those crucial elements can play out in multiple ways, including efforts to detrack students and integrate them at the classroom level, ensuring cooperative, heterogonous grouping in classrooms, and highly visible, positive modeling from teachers and school leaders around issues of diversity.

Data and Methods

This study explores demographic, segregation, and district stability patterns at the state, metropolitan area and district level by analyzing education data from the National Center for Education Statistics. Data consisted of 1989-1990, 1999-2000, and 2010-2011 Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey and Local Education Agency data files. The segregation analyses utilized three different dimensions of school segregation over time: average exposure or contact with racial group members and low-income students, evenness or even distribution of racial group members, and the concentration of segregated schools.

School segregation patterns by the proportion of each racial group enrolled in predominantly minority segregated schools (50-100% of the student body are students of color), intensely segregated schools (90-100% of the student body are students of color), and apartheid schools (99-100% of the schools are students of color) were also explored. To provide estimates of diverse environments, the proportion of each racial group in

⁴⁵ Mickelson, R. (2011). Exploring the school-housing nexus: A synthesis of social science evidence. In P. Tegeler (Ed.). *Finding common ground: Coordinating housing and education policy to promote integration* (pp. 5-8). Washington, DC: Poverty and Race Research Action Council; Wells, A.S., & Crain, R. L. (1994). Perpetuation theory and the long-term effects of school desegregation. *Review of Educational Research*, 6, 531-555.

⁴⁶ Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley.

⁴⁷ Pettigrew, T., & Tropp, L. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(5), 751-783.

⁴⁸ Hawley, W. D. (2007). Designing schools that use student diversity to enhance learning of all students. In E. Frankenberg & G. Orfield (Eds.), *Lessons in integration: Realizing the promise of racial diversity in American schools* (pp. 31-56). Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.

multiracial schools (schools with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student body) was also calculated.

Exposure or isolation rates were calculated by exploring the percent of a certain group of students (e.g., Latino students) in school with a particular student (e.g., white student) in a larger geographical area, and finding the average of all these results. This measure might conclude, for example, that the typical white student in a particular district attends a school with 35% Latino students. That average is a rough measure of the potential contact between these groups of students.

The evenness with which racial group members are spread across schools in a larger area was assessed using the dissimilarity index and the multi-group entropy (or diversity) index. These measures compare the actual pattern of student distribution to what it would be if proportions were distributed evenly by race. For example, if the metropolitan area enrollled .35 (or 35%) black and .65 (or 65%) white students and each school had this same proportion, the indices would reflect perfect evenness. At the other end, maximum possible segregation or uneven distribution would be present if each school in the metropolitan area was either all white or all Latino. With the dissimilarity index, a value above .60 indicates high segregation (above .80 is extreme), while a value below .30 indicates low segregation. For the multi-group entropy index, a value above .25 indicates high segregation (above .40 is extreme), while a value below .10 indicates low segregation.

To explore district stability patterns, school divisions were categorized as predominantly white (those with 80% or more white students), diverse (those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students), or predominantly nonwhite (with 60% or more nonwhite students) types. ⁴⁹ The degree to which the district white enrollment changed in comparison to the overall metropolitan area was explored, resulting in three different degrees of change: rapidly changing, moderately changing, and stable. Following, the type and direction of the change in school districts was assessed, which provided insight into whether districts are resegregating, integrating, or remaining segregated or stably diverse. See data appendix for more details.

⁴⁹ Similar typography has been used with residential data. See Orfield, M., & Luce, T. (2012). *America's racially diverse suburbs: Opportunities and challenges*. Minneapolis, MN: Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity.

11

.

State Trends

Enrollment

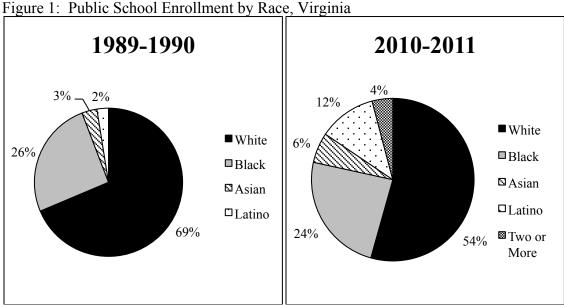
Over the past two decades, the number of students enrolled in Virginia schools steadily increased, rising from just over 1 million in 1989 to approximately 1.25 million in 2010 (Table 1). The growth in Virginia reflects similar regional and national increases in the public school enrollment.

Table 1: Total Public School Enrollment, Virginia, South and the Nation

	Total Enrollment
Virginia	
1989-1990	1,028,256
1999-2000	1,133,997
2010-2011	1,247,696
South	
1989-1990	12,210,352
1999-2000	14,092,913
2010-2011	15,892,720
Nation	
1989-1990	39,937,135
1999-2000	46,737,341
2010-2011	48,782,384

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

The share of white students in Virginia declined sharply between 1989 and 2010, driven by a three-fold increase in the share of Latino students (Figure 1). White students made up nearly 70% of the student population in Virginia in 1989, falling to 54% in 2010. At roughly a quarter of the enrollment, black students continued to constitute the largest minority group in the state. However, the overall share of black students decreased slightly in the past two decades, while the proportion of Latino and Asian students increased. Many students in the state of Virginia are now going to school in areas that are decidedly multiracial, a dramatic shift from the black-white paradigm that characterized schooling for past generations.



Note: American Indian students represent less than 1% of total enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Segregation Patterns

Concentration

Since 1989, the number and percentage of multiracial and predominantly minority schools increased substantially in Virginia (Table 2). The share of multiracial schools, or settings in which three racial groups represent at least 10% of the enrollment, more than quadrupled to 26.3%. Predominantly minority schools constituted 37% of all schools in Virginia in 2010, up 10 percentage points since 1999. The rapid growth in these two different types of racially diverse settings occurred alongside the overall growth in the share of nonwhite Virginia students.

A much smaller but increasing share of Virginia schools were intensely segregated settings, or schools in which white students account for less than 10% of the enrollment. Intensely segregated schools represented about 3% of all schools in Virginia in 1989, doubling to approximately 6% by 2010. The percentage of apartheid schools in the state—settings in which whites constitute less than 1% of students—has hovered at roughly 1% for the past two decades (well below similar statistics at the national level).

Table 2: Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Virginia

	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50- 100% Minority Schools	% of 90- 100% Minority Schools	% of 99- 100% Minority Schools
1989-1990	1695	6.4%	22.7%	3.3%	1.0%
1999-2000	1780	11.0%	27.5%	5.3%	0.6%
2010-2011	1906	26.3%	37.2%	5.8%	1.2%

Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment. *Source:* U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

A very strong overlap between poverty concentration and racial isolation was evident in Virginia schools (Table 3). Roughly three-quarters of the students attending intensely segregated settings in the state were considered low-income, and low-income students constituted more than 85% of the enrollment in apartheid school settings. As noted above, double segregation by race and socioeconomic status is linked to layered educational inequalities that isolate students from opportunity.

Low-income students declined very slightly as a percentage of the enrollment in predominantly minority schools, constituting about half of the students in these settings in 2010. Still, the proportion of low-income students in predominately minority schools was considerably higher than the overall proportion of low-income students in the state.

In Virginia, the share of low-income students attending multiracial schools was proportional to the overall share of low-income students in the state. Poor students made up just over 30% of the enrollment in multiracial schools in 1999, increasing to 37% in 2010.

Table 3: Low-Income Students in Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Virginia

	Overall Share Low- Income Students	% Low- Income in Multiracial Schools	% Low- Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low- Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low- Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Virginia					
1999-2000	29.8%	31.1%	53.5%	74.3%	88.6%
2010-2011	36.7%	37.1%	50.5%	76.3%	86.1%

Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

Free and reduced price lunch data were not available in Virginia in 1989.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Significant and rising shares of Virginia's black students attended minority segregated school settings (Figure 2). Fully 16% of black students in the state enrolled in intensely segregated minority schools in 2010, rising from 11.6% in 1989. Of those students, nearly 4% attended an apartheid school setting in 2010. Still, black students attending predominantly minority settings represented the most dramatic increase. Just over half of all black students in the state attended such settings in 1989, rising to 70% in 2010.

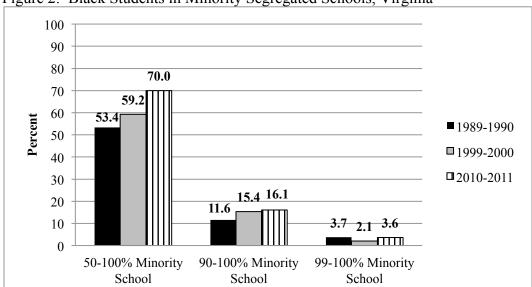


Figure 2: Black Students in Minority Segregated Schools, Virginia

Note: Minority segregated school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

At the state level, Latino students were increasingly likely to attend a minority segregated school setting, though they do so at significantly lower levels than black students (Figure 3). Roughly 64% of Latino students enrolled in a predominantly minority school in 2010, compared to about 41% in 1989. The share of Virginia's Latino students enrolling in intensely segregated schools doubled to 6% between 1999 and 2010. No Latino students enrolled in apartheid school settings in the state of Virginia.

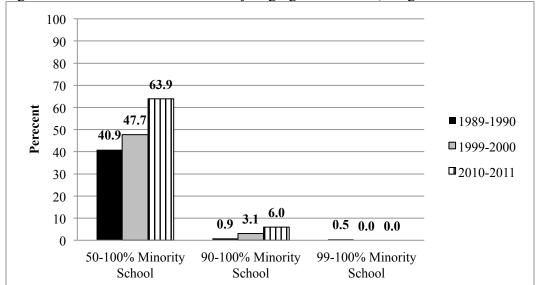


Figure 3: Latino Students in Minority Segregated Schools, Virginia

Note: Minority segregated school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Since 1989, rising shares of students of all races attended multiracial schools in Virginia (Figure 4). Latino and Asian students, however, were far more likely to enroll in such settings than white or black students. More than 60% of Virginia's Latino students attended a multiracial school in 2010, up from under 10% in 1989. Asian students experienced a similar increase. Meanwhile, fewer than 30% of black and white students enrolled in multiracial schools in the most recent year for which data are available.

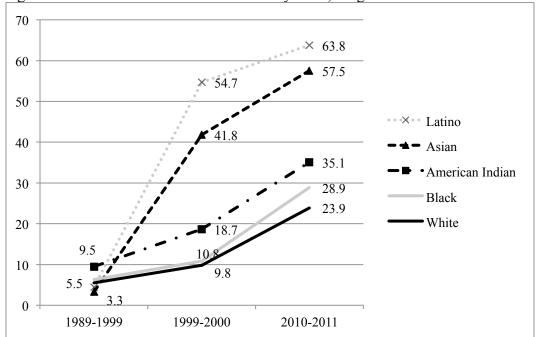


Figure 4: Students in Multiracial Schools by Race, Virginia

Note: Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student population.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Exposure

Even though the overall share of white students in Virginia declined significantly over the past two decades, different racial groups consistently experienced starkly uneven exposure to whites (Figure 5). Understanding the extent to which other groups interact with white students remains important for both historical and contemporary reasons. In the past, desegregation orders were primarily concerned with ensuring that white and black students attended the same schools, circumstances driven by the need to eliminate de jure segregation and the vast inequalities with which it was associated. Today, white families still report much higher levels, on average, of wealth and informal resources than families of color. 50

White students were disproportionately exposed to other white students, while black and Latino students experienced much lower levels of exposure to whites. In 1989, for example, white students constituted 68.5% of Virginia's enrollment and the typical white student enrolled in a school that was 77.4% white. In the same year, the typical black student in the state went to a school that was 46.5% white.

⁵⁰ Shapiro, T., Mesched, T. & Osoro, S. (2013). The Roots of the Widening Racial Wealth Gap: Explaining the Black-White Economic Divide. Institute on Assets and Social Policy at Brandeis University. Available at: http://iasp.brandeis.edu/pdfs/Author/shapiro-thomas-m/racialwealthgapbrief.pdf

Twenty years later, Virginia's white enrollment had declined to just under 55%, while the typical white student enrolled in a school that was 66% white. At the same time, the typical black student attended a school in which whites made up just 35.5% of students, a 20 percentage point discrepancy. Latino students experienced a similar pattern.

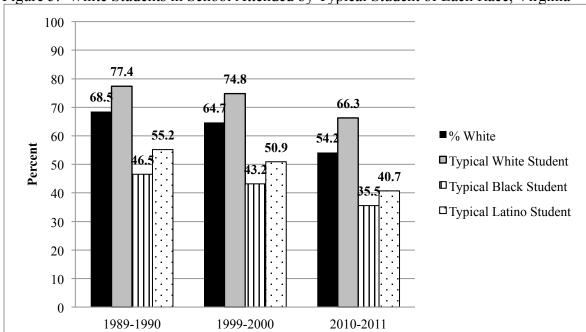


Figure 5: White Students in School Attended by Typical Student of Each Race, Virginia

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

The typical black student in Virginia consistently enrolled in a school with a disproportionately high share of other black students, a disproportionately low share of whites, and a small but increasing share of Latino students (Figure 6). In 1989, the racial makeup of the school attended by the typical black student was 49.1% black, 46.5% white and 2.1% Latino. By 2010, when black students constituted about 24% of the state population, the typical black student in Virginia enrolled in a school that was 46.7% black, 35.5% white and 9.9% Latino. As rising shares of black and Latino students attend the same schools, better understanding the challenges and opportunities posed by educating two historically disadvantaged groups of students together becomes critical.

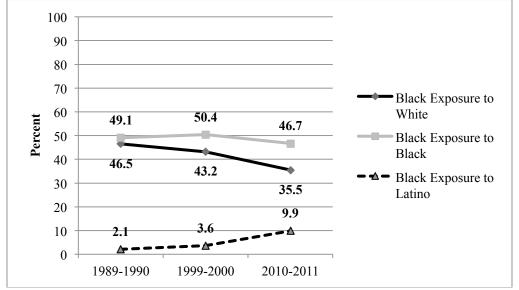


Figure 6: Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student, Virginia

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

In Virginia, the typical Latino student attended a school with a steadily declining share of white students, a rising share of other Latino students, and a relatively stable share of black students (Figure 7). Between 1989 and 2010, the share of white students enrolled in the school of the typical Latino student decreased from about 55% to roughly 41%. In the most current year, then, whites constituted 40.7% of the students in the school of a typical Latino/a, other Latinos made up roughly 25% and blacks about 21%.

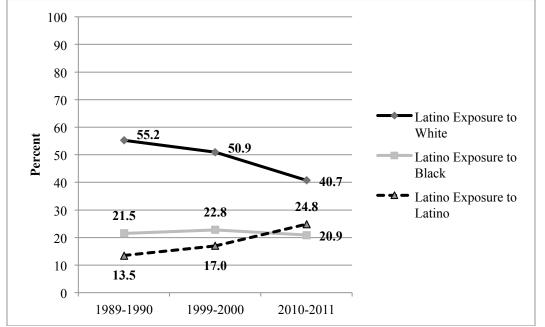


Figure 7: Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Latino Student, Virginia

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

In 2010, the typical student of each race enrolled in a school with disproportionately high percentages of same-race students (Figure 8). The average white student, for example, went to a school that was two-thirds white, even though whites accounted for just over half of Virginia's enrollment. A similar pattern prevailed for black students. The typical black student went to a school where other black students made up twice the share (nearly 47%) of their overall enrollment in the state (about 24%). Latino and Asian students attended the most racially diverse schools in 2010, a pattern supported by the high shares of students in these two groups enrolled in multiracial schools.

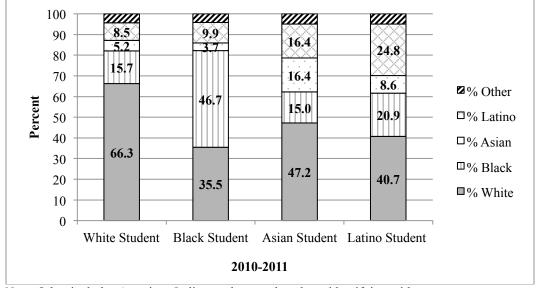


Figure 8: Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Student by Race, Virginia

Note: Other includes American Indian students and students identifying with two or more races. *Source*: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Low-income students made up roughly 37% of the state enrollment in 2010, but the typical black student went to a school in which low-income students accounted for about 50% of the student body (Figure 9). For Latino students, that same figure was about 41%, but for whites it was approximately 32%. The disproportional exposure to poverty is a central reason for why racially separate schools remain unequal.

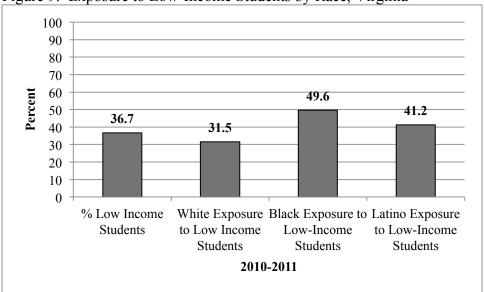


Figure 9: Exposure to Low-Income Students by Race, Virginia

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Metropolitan Trends

Virginia's three major regions of Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, Richmond-Petersburg and the Virginia suburbs of DC (hereafter referred to as Northern Virginia) educate roughly 72% of all students in the state. Each contains two or more urban centers along with numerous suburbs.⁵¹

In other parts of the South, school desegregation was conducted across city-suburban boundary lines. While the "one county, one school district" principle in Virginia helps mitigate the formation of multiple school systems within a single county (as is the case in many parts of the Northeast and Midwest), the presence of independent cities continues to structure patterns of school segregation. In 2010, roughly half of metropolitan segregation in the three regions could be attributed to segregation between school districts, while the other half could be ascribed to segregation within them. In other words, sharp disparities in the racial distribution of students in urban and suburban school divisions are also apparent within single divisions.

As enrollments around the country grow more diverse, the racial makeup of school systems in metropolitan areas often shifts rapidly. A district that appears integrated or diverse at one point in time can transition to a resegregating one in a matter of years. A recent study of neighborhoods, based on census data from the 50 largest metropolitan areas, found that diverse areas with nonwhite population shares over 23 percent in 1980 were more likely to become predominantly nonwhite over the ensuing 25 years than to remain integrated. School districts reflect similar signs of instability. Nearly one-fifth of suburban school districts in the 25 largest metro areas are experiencing rapid racial change. Sa

The process of transition is fueled by a number of factors, including pervasive housing discrimination (to include steering families of color into specific neighborhoods), the preferences of families and individuals and school zoning practices that intensify racial isolation. Importantly, schools that are transitioning to minority segregated learning environments are much more likely than other types of school settings to be associated with negative factors like high levels of teacher turnover.⁵⁴

⁵¹ We used the Census Reference Bureau's 1999 Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) as the unit of metropolitan analysis for all years. A MSA must contain at least one urbanized area of 50,000 or more inhabitants. See Appendix B for further details.

⁵² Orfield and Luce, 2012.

⁵³ Frankenberg, E. (2012). Understanding suburban school district transformation: A typology of suburban districts. In Frankenberg, E. & Orfield, G. (Eds.) *The resegregation of suburban schools: A hidden crisis in education* (pp. 27-44). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press. ⁵⁴ Jackson. 2009.

Stably diverse schools and districts, on the other hand, are linked to a number of positive indicators. Compared to students and staff at schools in racial transition, teachers, administrators and students experience issues of diversity differently in stable environments. In a 2005 survey of over 1,000 educators, teachers working in stable, diverse schools were more likely to think that their faculty peers could work effectively with students from all races and ethnicities. They were also significantly more likely to say that students did not self-segregate. And though white and nonwhite teachers perceived levels of tension somewhat differently, survey respondents reported that tension between racial groups was lowest in schools with stable enrollments, and much higher in rapidly changing schools. It stands to reason, then, that school and housing policies should help foster stable diversity—and prevent resegregation—whenever possible.

The following section explores the enrollment, segregation, and poverty concentration patterns of public school students in Virginia's three largest metropolitan areas. The degree and type of racial transition occurring in the largest school districts of each metro is also presented.

Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News⁵⁷

The Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News metropolitan area consists of numerous coastal communities bordering the Atlantic Ocean, the Chesapeake Bay and the James and York rivers. For this reason, it is also often referred to as the Tidewater region. Many urban centers and sprawling suburbs connect an area heavily dependent upon its ports, shipyards and naval and military bases. Jamestown, the first U.S. settlement, is located in the Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News area, as is the city of Williamsburg.

Like events that unfolded elsewhere in Virginia, the region's school desegregation trajectory has been uneven. Early litigation in Norfolk helped solidify the use of

⁵⁵ Siegel-Hawley, G. & Frankenberg, E. (2012). Spaces of Inclusion: Teachers' Perceptions of School Communities with Differing Student Racial & Socioeconomic Contexts. Los Angeles, CA: UCLA Civil Rights Project.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*.

The 1999 MSA boundaries included Gloucester, Isle of Wight, James City, Mathews, York County, Chesapeake City, Hampton City, Newport News City, Poquoson City, Portsmouth City, Suffolk City, Virginia Beach City and Williamsburg City. School districts included Virginia Beach City Public Schools, Chesapeake City Public Schools, Norfolk City Public Schools, Newport News City Public Schools, Hampton City Public Schools, Portsmouth City Public Schools, Suffolk City Public Schools, York County Public Schools, Williamsburg-James City Public Schools, Gloucester County Public Schools, Isle of Wight County Public Schools, Poqouson City Public Schools, Mathews County Public Schools and Surry County Public Schools.

transportation to help break the link between residential and school segregation, but the district was also the first to be declared unitary by the courts. The continued strong presence of a desegregated military has likely helped promote school diversity in some areas of the metro.

Enrollment

In 2010, minority students comprised two-thirds of the enrollment in the Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News area, a dramatic change from 1989 when white students accounted for a clear majority (Figure 10). The white student population declined from 57% in 1989 to 44% in 2010. Black students constituted a very sizeable share of the enrollment at 40%, much higher than the overall percentage of black students in the state (24%). The Latino student population more than tripled, from 2% to 7%, over the past two decades, while the share of Asian students remained constant at about 3%. Students identifying as two or more races, a new category in 2010, represented fully 6% of the enrollment. These figures are indicative of an increasingly multiracial metropolitan area.

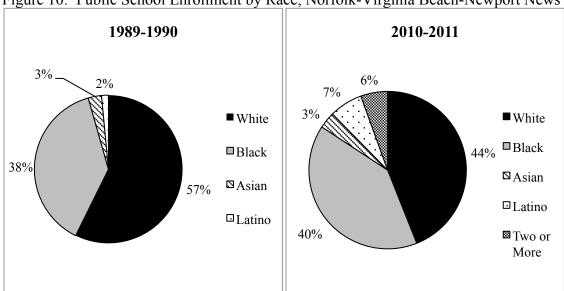


Figure 10: Public School Enrollment by Race, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News

Note: American Indian students less than 1% of enrollment. Total CBSA enrollment in 1989 was 248,140. In 2010, total enrollment was 265,108.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

The white student enrollment in the Tidewater Region's urban schools declined far more significantly than the white population in suburban schools (Table 4)—an ironic development given the rationale for ending court oversight of school desegregation in Norfolk City. Meanwhile, higher percentages of black and Latino students enrolled in urban schools compared to suburban schools.

White enrollment in suburban schools declined by about 4 percentage points between 1989 and 1999, and then by ten percentage points between 1999 and 2010. Rising shares of Latino and Asian students in suburban schools, rather than increasing percentages of black students, helped account for the decline. The proportion of black students in suburban schools actually decreased between 1989 and 2010, an unusual development in light of trends nationally and in other major metros in the state.

Table 4: Public School Enrollment by Race in Urban and Suburban Schools, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News

	Urban S	Urban Schools					Suburban Schools			
	White	Black	Asian	Latino	Other	White	Black	Asian	Latino	Other
Norfolk-										
Virginia										
Beach-										
Newport News										
1989-1990	55.0%	39.4%	3.6%	1.8%	0.2%	66.2%	31.0%	1.7%	0.8%	0.2%
1999-2000	48.1%	45.3%	3.4%	2.9%	0.3%	62.6%	32.9%	2.4%	1.7%	0.4%
2010-2011	36.8%	46.0%	3.9%	7.6%	0.4%	52.4%	30.7%	3.5%	6.3%	0.3%

Note: Urban schools refer to those inside an urbanized area and a principal city. Suburban schools refer to those inside an urbanized area but outside a principal city. Other includes American Indian students and students who identify with two or more races. Data comprises schools open 1989-2010, 1989-1999-2010, 1999-2010, and only 2010. We apply 2010 boundary codes to all years.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Segregation Patterns

Concentration. The share of multiracial school schools, or settings in which three or more racial groups constitute at least 10% of the enrollment, rose from just over 3% to about 23% in the past twenty years, a more than seven-fold increase (Table 5). Predominantly minority school settings also increased as a share of all schools in the Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News metro, from about 40% in 1989 to 60% in 2010.

Importantly, the number and percentage of intensely segregated schools in the Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News area climbed significantly. In 1989, roughly 6% of all schools were intensely segregated, compared to nearly 11% in 2010. At the most extreme end of the spectrum, the share of apartheid school settings rose from about 2% in 1989 to 3% in 2010.

2.3%

1.2%

3.0%

1989-1990

1999-2000

2010-2011

News					
	Total Schools	Multiracial Schools	50-100% Minority Schools	90-100% Minority Schools	99-100% Minority Schools
Norfolk-Virginia					
Beach-Newport News					

3.2%

3.2%

22.7%

310

340

362

Table 5: Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News

Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

41.0%

47.9%

58.6%

5.8%

8.2%

10.5%

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

In Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, the share of low-income students attending multiracial schools more than doubled over the past decade (and is now roughly proportional to the overall share of low-income students in the metro), while the overlap between extreme racial isolation and poverty concentration remained consistently high (Table 6). Almost 90% of students in apartheid school settings were low income in 2010, along with nearly 80% of students in intensely segregated minority school settings. The intersection of near total racial isolation and extreme concentrations of poverty creates significant barriers to equal educational opportunities and outcomes.

Table 6: Students who are Low-Income in Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News

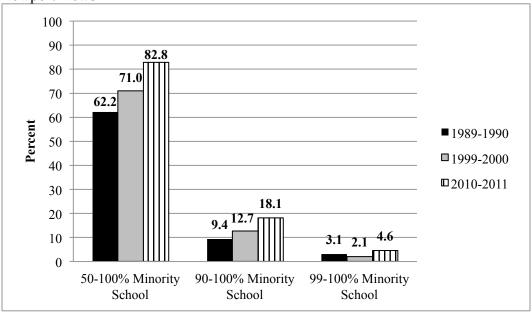
	Overall Share Low- Income Students	% Low- Income in Multiracial Schools	% Low- Income in 50- 100% Minority Schools	% Low- Income in 90- 100% Minority Schools	% Low- Income in 99- 100% Minority Schools
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport					
News		•	•		
1999-2000	36.8%	19.3%	55.2%	83.7%	83.6%
2010-2011	40.2%	42.0%	52.2%	78.3%	87.2%

Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment. *Source:* U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

The percentage of black students in Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News enrolling in intensely segregated settings almost doubled between 1989 and 2010, rising from 9.4% to 18.1% (Figure 11). This is a more significant increase than similar figures at the state level and is indicative of deepening patterns of intense racial isolation in the Norfolk area. It may also reflect the removal of court oversight in some of the region's

urban school districts. An overwhelming majority of black students in the metro area attended predominantly minority schools (82.8%) in 2010. In the same year, a small but growing share of black students enrolled in apartheid school settings.

Figure 11: Black Students in Minority Segregated Schools, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News



Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Compared to black students, far smaller shares of Latino students were enrolled in intensely segregated and apartheid schools in Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News (Figure 12). Latino students in the metro were increasingly likely to enroll in predominantly minority school settings, however. More than 60% attended a predominantly minority school in 2010, compared to just over 30% in 1989. The percentage of Latino students in intensely segregated minority schools also increased (though it remains low), from less than 1% in 2010 to almost 4% in 2010. Similar trends for Latino students were reported at the state level.

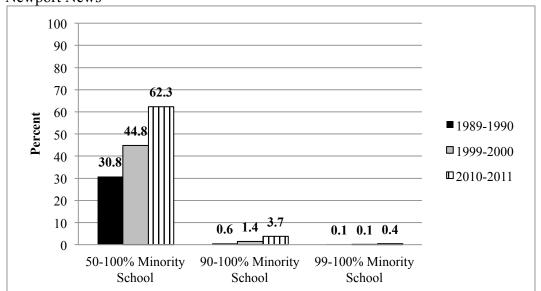


Figure 12: Latino Students in Minority Segregated Schools, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News

Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. *Source*: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

The percentages of students of all races attending multiracial schools remained low or dipped slightly between 1989 and 1999, only to rise quickly in the following decade (Figure 13). Asian students were consistently the most likely to attend these settings in all years. By 2010, however, Latinos accounted for the highest percentage of students enrolling in multiracial schools (40%), followed by Asian students and American Indian students. Smaller but rising shares of white and black students in the Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News area enrolled in multiracial schools.

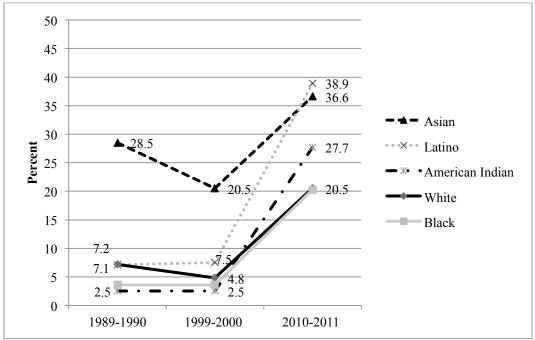


Figure 13: Students in Multiracial Schools by Race, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News

Note: Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student population.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Exposure. Exposure to white students differed substantially by race in the Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News area (Figure 14). White students experienced disproportionately high levels of exposure to other white students across the three time periods. In 1989, for example, white students made up about 57% of the metro enrollment, but the typical white student attended a school where other whites accounted for about 66% of his or her peers. By 2010, that discrepancy increased, even as whites made up a much smaller share of the overall population. White students constituted about 44% of the enrollment in 2010, but the typical white student went to a school that was about 56% white. At the same time, the typical black student in Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News went to a school with a disproportionately low percentage of white students (30%). Latino students made up a large enough share of the enrollment by 2010 to analyze their average exposure to white students, which was roughly proportional to the overall percentage of whites in the metro.

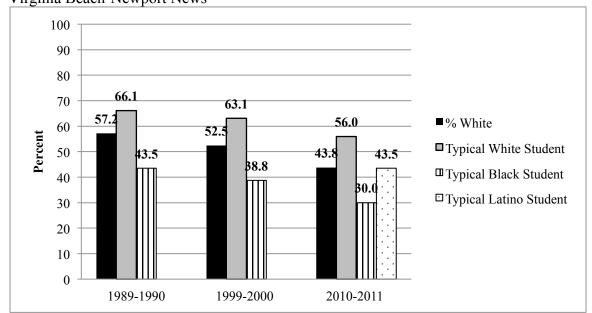


Figure 14: White Students in School Attended by Typical Student of Each Race, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

By 2010, the typical black student in the Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News area attended a school where other black students represented a substantial majority of the enrollment, whites made up a rapidly declining proportion of it, and Latino students had emerged as a small but significant presence (Figure 15). The decrease in the share of white students enrolled in the school of the typical black student characterized most significant change since 1989. Even though the overall percentage of white students in the Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News metro declined between 1989 and 2010 (from 57% to 44%), the typical black student consistently experienced disproportionately low levels of exposure to whites (about 44% to 30%). These figures may reflect the waning emphasis on desegregation in the late 80s and early 90s, as well as increasingly substantial differences between white and black enrollment in urban and suburban schools.

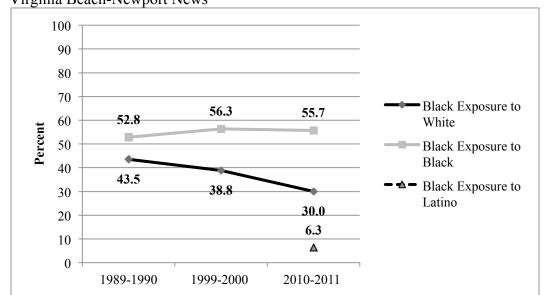


Figure 15: Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News

Note: Exposure levels not calculated for Latino students prior to 2010 because they made up less than 5% of the enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

In 2010, the typical white and black student in the Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News metro attended a school with much higher shares of same-race peers, while the typical Latino student attended a school setting that best reflected the overall racial makeup of the district (Figure 16). On average, white students in the metro went to schools with much higher shares of other whites and much lower shares of black students than the district-wide percentages of the two groups. The typical black student, by contrast, went to a setting in which whites accounted for disproportionately small percentage of the enrollment, and blacks accounted for a much higher share.

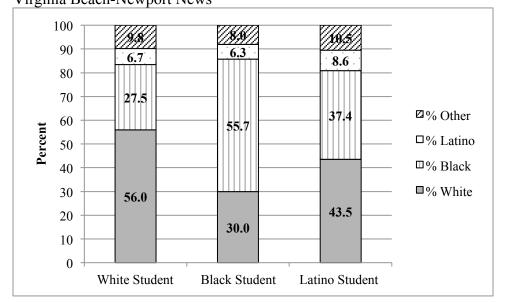


Figure 16: Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Student by Race, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News

Note: Other includes American Indian students and students identifying with two or more races. Average racial composition of the school attended by the typical Asian students not included because they made up less than 5% of the population in all three years.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Exposure to low-income students also differed widely by racial group in the Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News metro (Figure 17). Low-income students accounted for roughly 40% of the enrollment in 2010, but the typical white student went to a school that was about 31% low income. In the other direction, the typical black student in the metro attended a school where low-income students made up a majority (51.5%). Similar patterns were reported at the state level. Latino students experienced the most proportional level of exposure, on average, to low-income students (40%), similar to their average level of exposure to other racial groups.

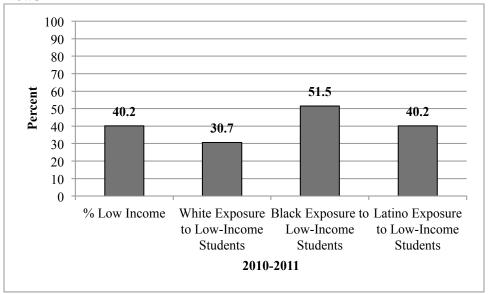


Figure 17: Exposure to Low-Income Students by Race, Norfolk-Virginia Beach Newport News

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Evenness. Schools in the Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News metro consistently were 17% less diverse than the overall region, a moderately high level of segregation (Table 7). This measure shows that patterns of segregation in the region can be almost evenly attributed to segregation occurring within and between districts, with slightly more occurring between different school districts in 2010. As we will see in the following section, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News reported a much lower and more stable level of unevenness compared to Richmond-Petersburg.

Table 7: Entropy Index Values, Overall and Within and Between School Districts, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News

	Н	H Within Districts	H Between Districts
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News			
1989-1990	0.17	0.08	0.09
1999-2000	0.17	0.09	0.09
2010-2011	0.17	0.08	0.09

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Racial Transition in Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News Area School Districts

The proportion of predominantly nonwhite school districts in the Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News area more than doubled over the past two decades, while the share of diverse districts shrunk considerably (Figure 18). In 1989, predominantly nonwhite districts (less than 20% white) accounted for about 18% of school systems in the Norfolk area, a figure that rose to almost 50% by 2010. The corresponding decline in the percentage of racially diverse districts (20-60% nonwhite) in the metro is indicative of significant racial transition.

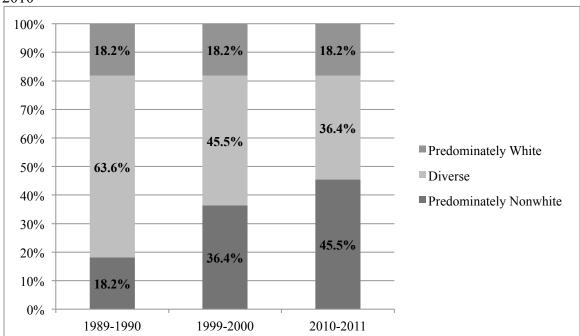


Figure 18: Racial Transition by District, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, 1989-2010

Note: Diverse districts are those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. Predominantly non-white districts are those with 60% or more nonwhite students. Predominantly white districts are those with 80% or more white students. N=11 districts for 1989, 1999 and 2010.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Even though enrollment in the entire Norfolk region remained consistently diverse since 1989, noteworthy changes occurred at the district level (Table 8). Out of 11 major school districts in the region opened in all three time periods, five were predominantly nonwhite by 2010, and three of those transitioned from diverse to predominantly nonwhite in the past two decades. Hampton and Newport News made the shift between 1989 and 1999, while Suffolk's transformation occurred between 1999 and 2010. Other districts like Chesapeake, Virginia Beach, Williamsburg and York remained diverse over the two decade period.

Table 8: White Proportion and District Classification in Metropolitan Area and Districts, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, 1989-2010

	Wl	nite Propor	tion	Classification			
	1989	1999	2010	1989	1999	2010	
Norfolk-Virginia Beach- Newport News	57.2%	52.5%	43.8%	D	D	D	
CHESAPEAKE CITY	65.1%	62.0%	51.5%	D	D	D	
GLOUCESTER	86.5%	85.9%	82.5%	PW	PW	PW	
HAMPTON CITY	47.5%	39.0%	27.9%	D	PNW	PNW	
NEWPORT NEWS CITY	47.4%	38.9%	29.0%	D	PNW	PNW	
NORFOLK CITY	34.8%	29.6%	22.4%	PNW	PNW	PNW	
POQUOSON CITY	96.9%	96.3%	93.9%	PW	PW	PW	
PORTSMOUTH CITY	32.8%	30.6%	22.5%	PNW	PNW	PNW	
SUFFOLK CITY	40.8%	40.0%	35.2%	D	D	PNW	
VIRGINIA BEACH CITY	72.5%	64.5%	52.9%	D	D	D	
WILLIAMSBURG- JAMES CITY	71.1%	72.5%	66.2%	D	D	D	
YORK	77.5%	76.1%	65.7%	D	D	D	

Note: D=Diverse area or districts with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. PNW=Predominantly non-white area or districts with 60% or more nonwhite students. PW=Predominantly white area or districts with 80% or more white students. N=11 districts for 1989, 1999 and 2010. Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

The Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News region reported an equal share of stable, diverse districts and stable, segregated nonwhite districts (Figure 19). Over one-third of the region's major districts fell into each of these categories between 1999 and 2010. The remaining districts were either stable, segregated white districts or moderately changing school systems that were resegregating in a nonwhite direction. In short, racial transition in metro area districts appeared to be moving in the direction of resegregating minority school systems, while others remained either stably diverse or stably segregated.

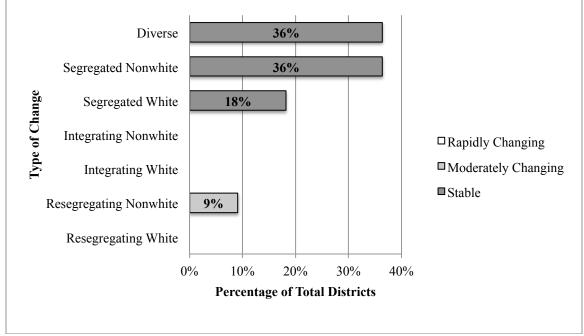


Figure 19: Degree and Type of Racial Transition, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, 1999 to 2010

Note: N=11 districts. For the degree of change categories: Rapidly changing districts are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Moderately changing districts are those with white student % change 2 times but less than 3 times greater than metro white % change, or those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change but classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the later period. Stable districts are those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change. For the type of change: Resegregating districts are those classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as the other predominantly type in the later period. Integrating districts are those classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in the earlier time period and diverse in the later period. Segregated districts are those classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in both time periods. Diverse districts are those classified as diverse in both periods. Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

The three districts experiencing the most significant changes in the Norfolk region were Hampton, Newport News and Suffolk (Figure 20). All three reported much lower shares of white students than the overall metro, and each also experienced rapidly falling shares of white students over the twenty year period. These districts were characterized as resegregating because each reported a diverse enrollment in one time period (between 20-60% nonwhite) and changed to predominantly nonwhite (less than 20% white) in the subsequent period.

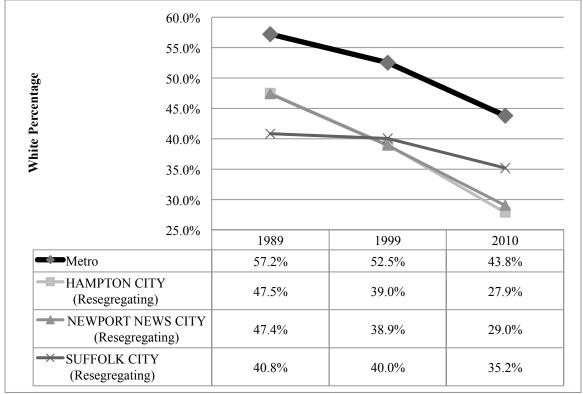


Figure 20: Moderate Racial Transition by District Type, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, 1989-2010

Note: Rapidly changing districts (dashed line) are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Moderately changing (solid line) districts are those with white student % change 2 times but less than 3 times greater than metro white % change, or those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change but classified as predominately white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the later period. Resegregating districts are those classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the prior year and classified as the other predominantly type in the latter year. Integrating are districts classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in the prior year and diverse in the latter year. Segregating districts are those classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in both periods but experienced a white % change greater than 2 times the metro white % change.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Richmond-Petersburg⁵⁸

To the west of the Tidewater region lays the Richmond-Petersburg metro area. Early settlers navigated the James River into central Virginia, stopping at the fall line and building a city around it. Richmond is the state capitol and the former capitol of the Confederacy. Prior to the Civil War, the city was the second largest slave trading locality (New Orleans was first) in the nation.

In the early 1970s, as Massive Resistance gave way to real enforcement of the *Brown* ruling, a federal district court judge named Robert Merhige ordered the consolidation of the Richmond, Chesterfield and Henrico school districts. Action taken by the higher courts led to the eventual decision to strike down the merger, and desegregation proceeded in the city of Richmond absent suburban involvement. Richmond schools were released from court oversight in 1986, three years prior to the first year of data discussed below.

Enrollment

Enrollment in the Richmond-Petersburg metro has become substantially more diverse since 1989 (Figure 21). The share of white students in the metro declined by almost ten percentage points, even as the share of the black enrollment remained steady. Similar to trends at the state level, the percentage of Asian and Latino students enrolled in the Richmond-Petersburg metro increased considerably over the past twenty years.

-

⁵⁸ 1999 MSA definition included Charles City County, Chesterfield County, Dinwiddie County, Goochland County, Hanover County, Henrico County, New Kent County, Powhatan County, Prince George County, Colonial Heights city, Hopewell City, Petersburg City, Richmond City. School districts included Chesterfield County Public Schools, Henrico County Public Schools, Richmond City Public schools, Hanover County Public Schools, Prince George County Public Schools, Louisa County Public Schools, Dinwiddie County Public Schools, Petersburg City Public Schools, Powhatan County Public Schools, Caroline County Public Schools, Hopewell City Public Schools, Colonial Heights City Public Schools, New Kent County Public Schools, Goochland County Public Schools, King William County Public Schools, Amelia County Public Schools, Cumberland County Public Schools and Sussex County Public Schools.

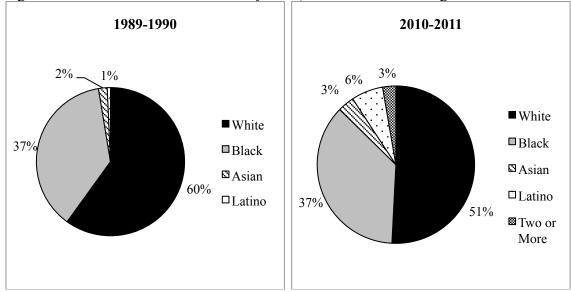


Figure 21: Public School Enrollment by Race, Richmond-Petersburg

Note: American Indian students less than 1% of enrollment. Total CBSA enrollment in 1989 was 149,040. In 2010, total enrollment was 200,510.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Since 1989, white students made up roughly 10% or less of the enrollment in Richmond-Petersburg's urban schools, and a rapidly declining portion of the enrollment in suburban schools (Table 9). The share of whites in metro area suburban schools fell from about 73% in 1989 to 50% in 2010. Much of the increase in suburban diversity can be attributed to the rising share of black students attending suburban schools—up to a little over a third of the enrollment by 2010. Asian and Latino students also made up an increasingly significant share of suburban students over the past two decades. Unlike trends in the Norfolk area, Latino students accounted for slightly higher shares of students enrolled in the Richmond area's suburban schools than its urban ones. Asian students, meanwhile, accounted for less than 1% of students in Richmond-Petersburg's urban schools, but nearly 5% of students in its suburban schools. The suburbanization of the metro's minority students mirrors a similar trend nationwide.

Urban schools in the Richmond-Petersburg area remain extremely isolated. Black students accounted for nearly 90% of the urban enrollment in 1989 and 1999, and 83% of it in 2010. That decline was due to the rapidly rising share of the Latino enrollment, rather than an increase in white or Asian students. The share of whites attending urban schools did inch up very modestly between 1999 and 2010, a trend that bears watching over the next several years as it may signal growing investment in city schools by white families.

Table 9: Public School Enrollment by Race in Urban and Suburban Schools, Ric	chmond-
Petersburg	

	Urban Schools					Suburban Schools				
	White	Black	Asian	Latino	Other	White	Black	Asian	Latino	Other
Richmond- Petersburg										
1989-1990	10.6%	88.2%	0.7%	0.5%	0.0%	72.8%	23.7%	2.6%	0.8%	0.1%
1999-2000	8.6%	89.4%	0.6%	1.3%	0.0%	67.3%	28.0%	2.6%	1.8%	0.3%
2010-2011	9.1%	83.0%	0.8%	6.9%	0.1%	50.2%	33.8%	4.7%	8.0%	0.4%

Note: Urban schools refer to those inside an urbanized area and a principal city. Suburban schools refer to those inside an urbanized area but outside a principal city. Other includes American Indian students and students who identify with two or more races. Data comprises schools open 1989-2010, 1989-1999-2010, 1999-2010, and only 2010. We apply 2010 boundary codes to all years.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Segregation Patterns

Concentration. Of the three major metropolitan regions in Virginia, Richmond-Petersburg had, by far, the highest proportion of intensely segregated and apartheid school settings (Table 10). Nearly 18% of all schools in the metro were intensely segregated in 2010. Further, just over 4% of Richmond-Petersburg area schools reported that white students accounted for less than 1% of the enrollment, educational settings that we refer to as apartheid schools. These figures represented an uptick in the number and percentage of apartheid settings since 1999, and a decrease in intensely segregated settings.

In terms of diverse schools, the Richmond-Petersburg area reported a substantial increase in multiracial settings (from 1.4% in 1989 to 14.3% in 2010), though not nearly as significant as similar increases in the Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News or Northern Virginia areas. The share of predominantly minority schools also rose over the same time period, from about 35% to 43%.

Table 10: Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Richmond-Petersburg

	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50- 100% Minority Schools	% of 90- 100% Minority Schools	% of 99- 100% Minority Schools
Richmond-Petersburg					
1989-1990	214	1.4%	35.0%	15.9%	4.2%
1999-2000	240	2.9%	40.0%	24.2%	2.9%
2010-2011	293	14.3%	43.0%	17.7%	4.1%

Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

In the Richmond-Petersburg metro, low-income students made up an overwhelming majority of the enrollment in racially segregated minority schools (Table 11). Fully 85% of students in apartheid schools were low-income in 2010 (a slight decline from ten years earlier), as were 75% of students in intensely segregated minority schools.

Poor students accounted for a slowly rising share of students in predominantly minority school settings, increasing from about 57% in 1999 to roughly 59% in 2010. These figures were almost double the overall share of low-income students in the metro.

By contrast, multiracial schools in the metro enrolled a lower and decreasing percentage of low-income students. Multiracial schools—settings in which three or more racial groups make up at least 10% of the enrollment—in the Richmond-Petersburg area became considerably less likely to report concentrations of poverty than predominantly minority schools, and far less likely to do so than schools with high levels of racial isolation.

Table 11: Students who are Low-Income in Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Richmond Petersburg

	Overall Share Low- Income Students	% Low- Income in Multiracial Schools	% Low- Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low- Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low- Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Richmond-Petersburg					
1999-2000	26.4%	50.4%	56.8%	70.0%	91.7%
2010-2011	35.4%	41.6%	59.3%	75.0%	85.1%

Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment. *Source:* U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Very high percentages of black students enrolled in predominantly minority, intensely segregated and apartheid school settings in the Richmond-Petersburg metro (Figure 22). In 2010, roughly two times as many black students attended 90-100% and 99-100% minority schools in Richmond-Petersburg as black students in Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News (and five times as many as in Northern Virginia). Indeed, more than one in three black students in the Richmond area went to an intensely segregated minority school in the most recent year for which data were available. Nearly one in ten attended apartheid settings where white students made up less than 1% of the enrollment. Still, while the share of black students enrolling in apartheid schools rose between 1999 and 2010, the share enrolling in intensely segregated schools declined considerably, from

just under 50% to approximately 36%. The decrease may be related to the rapid suburbanization of black students in the Richmond-Petersburg area. Finally, the overwhelming majority (roughly 70%) of black students in the metro area consistently attended a predominantly minority school between 1989 and 2010.

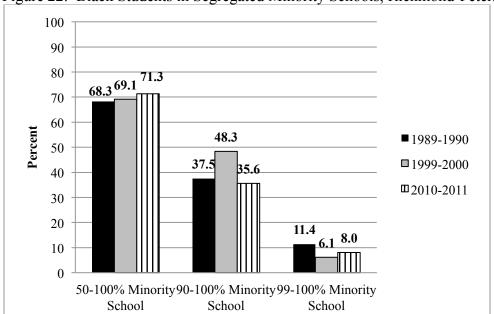


Figure 22: Black Students in Segregated Minority Schools, Richmond-Petersburg

Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Much lower proportions of Latino students attended intensely segregated or apartheid schools in the Richmond-Petersburg metro (Figure 23). Less than 1% of Latino students went to settings in the latter category. Still, nearly 14% of Latino attended intensely segregated settings in 2010; almost triple the share attending such schools in 1989. A rapidly rising share of Latino students also enrolled in predominantly minority settings, more than doubling from about 22% in 1989 to roughly 56% in 2010.

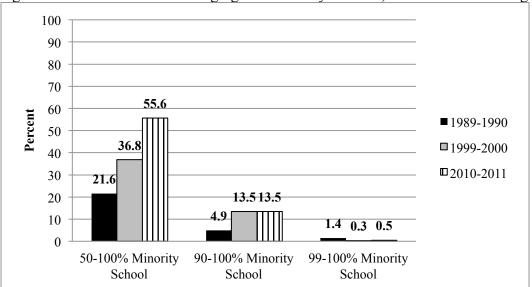


Figure 23: Latino Students in Segregated Minority Schools, Richmond Petersburg

Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Latino and Asian students in the Richmond-Petersburg area represented the highest shares of students enrolled in multiracial schools, reflective of patterns in the state and other metros (Figure 24). Nearly 40% of Latino students in the Richmond-Petersburg area attended multiracial schools, and almost 30% of Asian students did the same. Much smaller shares of black and white students in the metro enrolled in multiracial schools, even though they became increasingly likely to do so between 1999 and 2010.

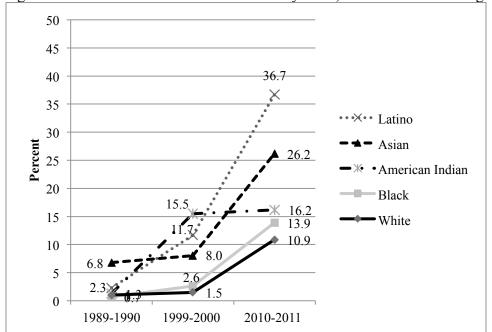


Figure 24: Students in Multiracial Schools by Race, Richmond-Petersburg

Note: Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Exposure. Consistently disparate average levels of exposure to white students were evident across different racial groups in the Richmond-Petersburg area (Figure 25). White students went to schools with disproportionately high shares of other white students over the three time periods, even as the overall share of white students in the metro declined. Black students, on the other hand, went to schools with much lower proportions of white students. In 2010, for instance, white students constituted about 51% of the metro's enrollment, but the typical black student went to a school where whites made up less than 30% of the enrollment. A similar, if less extreme, pattern emerged in 2010 for Latino students (data were not available for earlier years due to the small size of the Latino population). These discrepancies in exposure to whites were much starker in the Richmond area than in the Norfolk region.

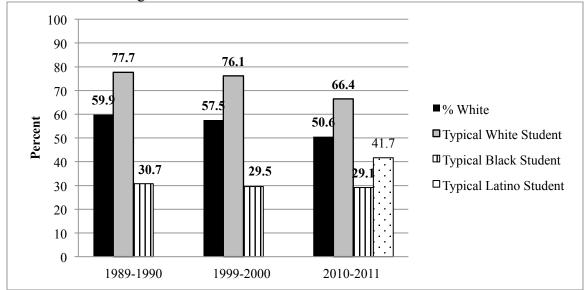


Figure 25: White Students in School Attended by Typical Student of Each Race, Richmond-Petersburg

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Over the past two decades, the typical black student in the Richmond-Petersburg metro attended a school where other black students steadily made up roughly twice their share of the overall metro enrollment (Figure 26). At the same time, the share of same-race peers in the school of the typical black student has fallen since 1999, largely replaced by an influx of Latino students. White students consistently accounted for about 30% of the enrollment in the school of the typical metro black student, a much lower proportion than the overall percentage of white students in the metro (over 50%).

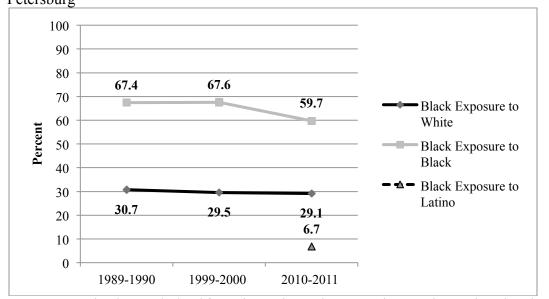


Figure 26: Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student, Richmond-Petersburg

Note: Exposure levels not calculated for Latino students prior to 2010 because they made up less than 5% of the enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

The typical white student in the Richmond-Petersburg metro attended a school with more than twice the share of white students than the typical black student in the metro (Figure 27). In the other direction, the average black student enrolled in a Richmond-Petersburg school with nearly three times the share of black peers than the average white student. These exposure differences were the most significant of any of the major Virginia metros and signal higher levels of racial isolation. Latino students experienced a school racial composition most comparable to the overall metro composition, as was the case in the Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News area.

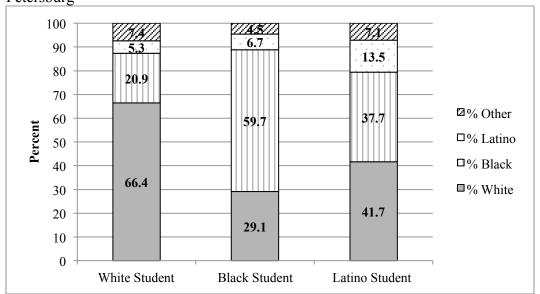


Figure 27: Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Student by Race, Richmond-Petersburg

Note: Other includes American Indian students and students identifying with two or more races. *Source*: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Black students experienced considerably higher levels of exposure to poor students, on average, than white or Latino students in the Richmond-Petersburg area (Figure 28). In 2010, low-income students made up about 35% of the enrollment, and the typical black student attended a school where low-income students accounted for nearly 52% of the enrollment. White students went to a school where low-income students, on average, made up about 24% of the enrollment—almost a 30 percentage point white-black disparity in exposure to poverty. Latino students experienced proportional levels of exposure to low-income students in the Richmond-Petersburg metro.

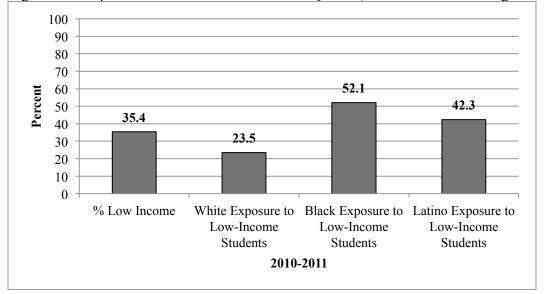


Figure 28: Exposure to Low-Income Students by Race, Richmond-Petersburg

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Evenness. The Richmond-Petersburg metro reported very high levels of unevenness in 1989, with values falling significantly since then (Table 12). Two decades ago, schools were 36% less diverse than the overall metro; today, they are about 26% less diverse. In earlier years, the vast majority of segregation—about 72%—occurred between districts in the Richmond-Petersburg metro (e.g., between Richmond City and Henrico and Chesterfield counties). More recently, however, segregation levels have been roughly the same both within and between districts. This is a dramatic change, reflective of the growing diversity of metro area districts that were previously more homogenous, accompanied by developing patterns of isolation within them.

Table 12: Entropy Index Values, Overall and Within and Between School Districts, Richmond-Petersburg

	Н	H Within Districts	H Between Districts
Richmond-			
Petersburg			
1989-1990	0.36	0.10	0.26
1999-2000	0.35	0.13	0.23
2010-2011	0.26	0.13	0.14

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Racial Transition in Richmond-Petersburg Area School Districts

Between 1999 and 2010, the overall share of diverse school districts in the Richmond-Petersburg metro grew substantially, from roughly 46% to 54% (Figure 29). The proportion of predominantly white districts shrunk by about half, while the share of predominantly nonwhite districts grew considereably. By contrast, no changes were reported between 1989 and 1999.

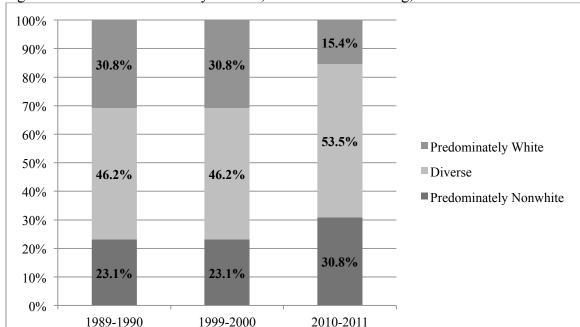


Figure 29: Racial Transition by District, Richmond-Petersburg, 1989-2010

Note: Diverse districts are those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. Predominantly non-white districts are those with 60% or more nonwhite students. Predominantly white districts are those with 80% or more white students. N=13 districts for 1989, 1999 and 2010.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Two school districts—Chesterfield and Colonial Heights—that were predominantly white in 1989 now report diverse enrollments (Table 13). Another district, Hopewell City, has made the transition from a diverse enrollment to a predominantly nonwhite one in the last ten years. Still others have maintained racially diverse enrollments since 1989.

In contrast to the overall diversity of the metro's schoolchildren, a number of Richmond-Petersburg school districts continue to report racially isolated enrollments. In 2010, white students constituted just under 2% of the enrollment in Petersburg City schools and fewer than 10% of the enrollment in Richmond City. At the same time, white students accounted for roughly 85% of the enrollment in the two outlying exurban districts of Hanover and Powhatan.

Table 13: White Proportion and Classification in Metropolitan Area and Districts, Richmond-Petersburg, 1989-2010

	Wł	ite Propor	tion	Classification			
	1989	1999	2010	1989	1999	2010	
Richmond-Petersburg, VA Metropolitan	59.9%	57.5%	50.6%	D	D	D	
CHARLES CITY COUNTY	11.7%	24.0%	30.8%	PNW	PNW	PNW	
CHESTERFIELD	80.2%	73.3%	56.3%	PW	D	D	
COLONIAL HEIGHTS CITY	94.2%	89.1%	72.7%	PW	PW	D	
DINWIDDIE	58.6%	59.6%	54.1%	D	D	D	
GOOCHLAND	62.5%	65.6%	71.5%	D	D	D	
HANOVER	88.0%	88.7%	84.0%	PW	PW	PW	
HENRICO	67.5%	62.2%	45.8%	D	D	D	
HOPEWELL CITY	58.4%	45.8%	34.3%	D	D	PNW	
NEW KENT	76.8%	80.2%	78.0%	D	PW	D	
PETERSBURG CITY	5.3%	2.8%	1.8%	PNW	PNW	PNW	
POWHATAN	84.2%	86.3%	85.6%	PW	PW	PW	
PRINCE GEORGE	61.1%	58.2%	51.4%	D	D	D	
RICHMOND CITY	9.8%	8.0%	8.7%	PNW	PNW	PNW	

Note: D=Diverse area or districts with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. PNW=Predominantly non-white area or districts with 60% or more nonwhite students. PW=Predominantly white area or districts with 80% or more white students. N=13 districts for 1989, 1999 and 2010. Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Districts classified as diverse made up the largest proportion of school systems in the Richmond-Petersburg region (Figure 30). Nearly a quarter of these school districts were stably diverse, an important category given the variety of positive educational indicators (see earlier discussion at the beginning of the metropolitan trends section) linked to it. Another 15% are diverse but changing at a moderate pace.

Still, almost 40% of Richmond-Petersburg districts were stably segregated, reporting racially isolated white environments or racially isolated nonwhite environments.

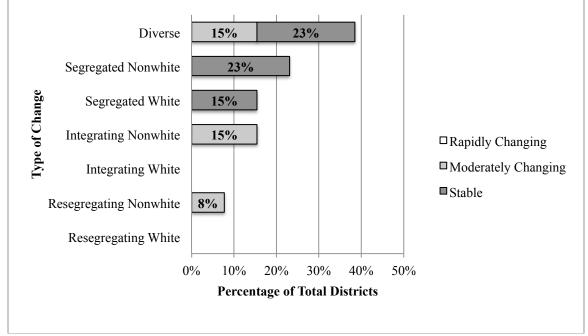


Figure 30: Degree and Type of Racial Transition, Richmond-Petersburg, 1999 to 2010

Note: N=13 districts. For the degree of change categories: Rapidly changing districts are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Moderately changing districts are those with white student % change 2 times but less than 3 times greater than metro white % change, or those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change but classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the later period. Stable districts are those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change. For the type of change: Resegregating districts are those classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as the other predominantly type in the later period. Integrating districts are those classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in the earlier time period and diverse in the later period. Segregated districts are those classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in both time periods. Diverse districts are those classified as diverse in both periods. Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Three districts in the Richmond-Petersburg area have experienced moderate racial transition (twice the pace of change in the metro area) since 1989, two moving in an integrating direction and one heading towards resegregation (Figure 31). In terms of integrating districts, the white population in Chesterfield County schools, just outside of the City of Richmond, declined from 80% in 1989 to about 56% in 2010. Likewise, the white enrollment in Colonial Heights schools decreased from roughly 94% to about 73% over the same time period. Schools in Hopewell City, on the other hand, have quickly transitioned from being racially diverse to predominantly nonwhite. Once a district begins the process of resegregation, it can be very difficult to reverse the trend.

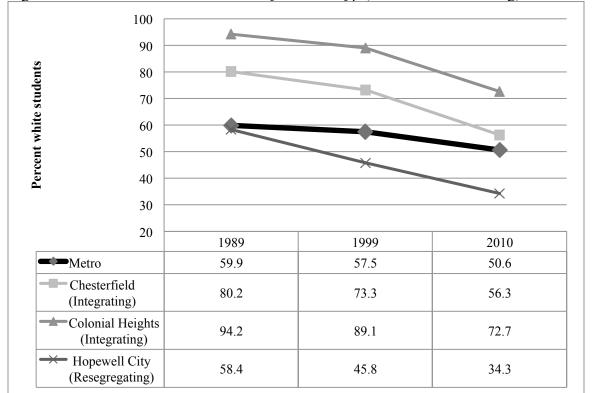


Figure 31: Moderate Racial Transition by District Type, Richmond-Petersburg, 1989-2010

Note: Rapidly changing districts (dashed line) are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Moderately changing (solid line) districts are those with white student % change 2 times but less than 3 times greater than metro white % change, or those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change but classified as predominately white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the later period. Resegregating districts are those classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the prior year and classified as the other predominantly type in the latter year. Integrating are districts classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in the prior year and diverse in the latter year. Segregating districts are those classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in both periods but experienced a white % change greater than 2 times the metro white % change.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Northern Virginia⁵⁹

The populous Virginia suburbs of Washington, D.C. make up a part of the state known as Northern Virginia. In 2010, more than a third of Virginia's students lived in the area. Northern Virginia includes the close-in independent cities of Alexandria and Fairfax, along with the further-flung counties of Manassas, Loudon, Prince William and Stafford, among others. Northern Virginia's economy is largely driven by the federal government and associated agencies and contractors.

In some respects, when it came to the early implementation of *Brown*, Northern Virginia led the rest of the state. For instance, a high school in the Arlington school district was one of the first to comply with the ruling. (Disney also documented the successful 1970s-era desegregation of an Alexandria high school in the hit movie *Remember the Titans*.) In the late 1990s, though, a federal court ruled against the use of racial diversity goals in Arlington specialty schools, a decision that was part of a broader judicial retrenchment on race-based civil rights protections. ⁶⁰ But in general, the wealthy and largely suburban nature of the region, along with the multinational diversity that comes with its proximity to the nation's capital, has generally lent itself to fewer segregated schools.

Enrollment

Northern Virginia's public school enrollment was the most racially diverse of any region in the state (Figure 32). White students accounted for less than half of the enrollment, and Latinos, Asians and blacks all constituted substantial and increasing proportions of it. The proportion of Latino students in Northern Virginia increased almost three-fold since 1989, from 8% to 21%. Latino students currently represent the largest racial minority in the region. At the same time, the Asian enrollment rose from 9% to 12%. Importantly, the overall share of the Asian and Latino enrollment was much higher in Northern Virginia than in the Norfolk or Richmond regions. At 14%, black students also made up a significant proportion of students in Northern Virginia, though that percentage rose far less dramatically between 1989 and 2010 than comparable figures for Asian and Latino students.

⁵⁹ 1999 MSA definition included Clarke County, Culpeper County, Fairfax County, Fauquier County, King George County, Loudoun County, Prince William County, Spotsylvania County, Stafford County, Warren County, Alexandria City, Fairfax City, Falls Church City, Fredericksburg City, Manassas City and Manassas Park City. School districts included Fairfax County Public Schools, Prince William County Public Schools, Loudoun County Public Schools, Stafford County Public Schools, Spotsylvania County Public Schools, Arlington County Public Schools, Alexandria City Public Schools, Fauquier County Public Schools, Manassas City Public Schools, Warren County Public Schools.

⁶⁰ Tuttle v. Arlington County School Bd., 195 F.3D 698 (4TH Cir. 1999).

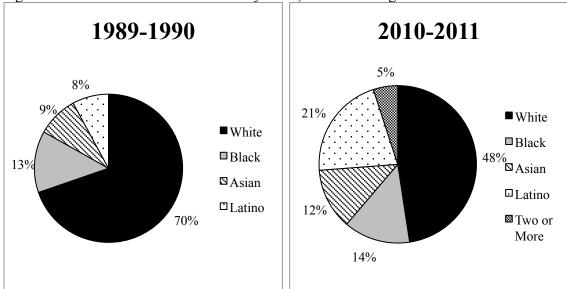


Figure 32: Public School Enrollment by Race, Northern Virginia

Note: American Indian students less than 1% of enrollment. Total CBSA enrollment in 1989 was 238,482. In 2010, total enrollment was 434,087.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Compared to the Norfolk and Richmond regions, the overall share of white students in Northern Virginia's urban schools declined less dramatically—even as the same trend in Northern Virginia's suburban schools was more intense (Table 14). In 1989, whites made up about 45% of students in urban schools, compared to roughly 39% in 2010. The same decline was much steeper in the region's suburban schools, falling from about 72% in 1989 to 65% in 1999 and then to 43% in 2010. Asian and Latino students accounted for much of the growth in the diversity of the region's suburban schools. Unlike trends in Richmond-Petersburg, the share of black students in Northern Virginia's suburban schools actually declined slightly between 1999 and 2010.

Black and Latino students were more likely to enroll in Northern Virginia's urban schools than in suburban settings (though by increasingly smaller margins), while the reverse was true for Asian and white students.

Table 14:	Public School	Enrollment by	Race in	Urban ar	nd Suburban	Schools, No	orthern
Virginia							

	Urban Schools				Suburban Schools					
	White	Black	Asian	Latino	Other	White	Black	Asian	Latino	Other
Northern Virginia										
1989-1990	45.1%	26.5%	8.8%	19.5%	0.1%	72.1%	11.5%	9.7%	6.4%	0.3%
1999-2000	40.4%	24.4%	9.4%	25.6%	0.2%	64.8%	14.4%	10.5%	10.0%	0.4%
2010-2011	38.6%	18.6%	9.8%	28.0%	0.2%	43.0%	13.6%	14.2%	23.7%	0.3%

Note: Urban schools refer to those inside an urbanized area and a principal city. Suburban schools refer to those inside an urbanized area but outside a principal city. Other includes American Indian students and students who identify with two or more races. Data comprises schools open 1989-2010, 1989-1999-2010, 1999-2010, and only 2010. We apply 2010 boundary codes to all years.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Segregation Patterns

Concentration. The concentration of minority students in intensely segregated minority and apartheid school settings was much less severe in Northern Virginia than in other parts of the state, even as white students accounted for an increasingly smaller share of the region's enrollment (Table 15). Apartheid school settings were not present in any of the three time periods. Instead, schools in Northern Virginia were much more likely to be multiracial—reporting that three or more racial groups constituted at least 10% of the enrollment—or predominantly minority. These patterns reveal a more diverse and less segregated region than Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News or Richmond-Petersburg.

Table 15: Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Northern Virginia

	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50- 100% Minority Schools	% of 90- 100% Minority Schools	% of 99- 100% Minority Schools
Northern Virginia					
1989-1990	336	28.3%	18.5%	0.3%	
1999-2000	435	39.3%	23.2%	1.1%	
2010-2011	513	60.4%	48.3%	3.7%	

Note: Blank cells represent no schools. Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

As in other regions, Northern Virginia's multiracial schools were much less likely to report concentrations of poverty than predominantly minority or intensely segregated schools (Table 16). Roughly one-third of students in multiracial schools were low-income, compared to about two-fifths and three-quarters of students in 50-100% or 90-

100% minority schools, respectively. It would appear, then, that these settings differ in important ways from minority segregated schools.

Table 16: Students who are Low-Income in Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, Northern Virginia

	Overall Share Low-Income Students	% Low- Income in Multiracial Schools	% Low- Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low- Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low- Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Northern Virginia					
1999-2000	19.5%	31.0%	43.9%	66.6%	
2010-2011	27.4%	32.9%	41.1%	75.5%	

Note: Blank cells represent no schools. Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Since 1989, black students in Northern Virginia were increasingly likely to enroll in predominantly minority and intensely segregated minority schools (Figure 33). In conjunction with the region's swiftly declining proportion of white students, the share of black students attending 50-100% minority settings almost doubled—from about 35% to 65%--over the past two decades. During the same time period, the percentage of black students enrolled in Northern Virginia's intensely segregated schools shot up from 0% to almost 5%. Still, these numbers were far less severe than similar figures in other metropolitan regions in Virginia.

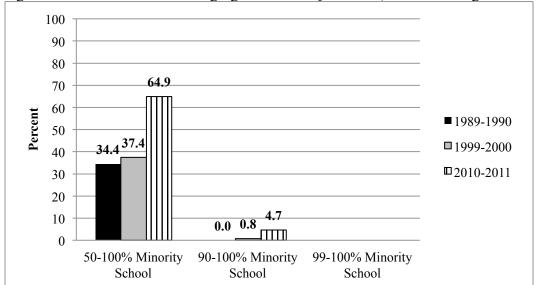


Figure 33: Black Students in Segregated Minority Schools, Northern Virginia

Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

As Latino students became the region's largest minority group, they began to enroll in segregated school settings at higher levels than black students (Figure 34). Northern Virginia is the only region in the state reporting a pattern of more intense concentration of Latino students in segregated minority settings than black students. Almost three-quarters of Latinos enrolled in predominantly minority schools in 2010. In the same year, nearly 7% attended an intensely segregated setting. Given the negative educational indicators linked to isolated schools, the rapid increase in the proportion of Latino students attending segregated minority schools in Northern Virginia is concerning and should be closely monitored.

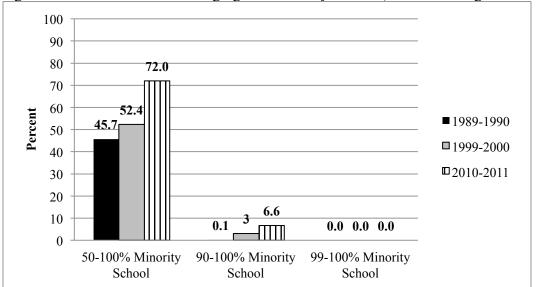


Figure 34: Latino Students in Segregated Minority Schools, Northern Virginia

Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Overall shares of students of all races attending multiracial schools were much higher in Northern Virginia than in other regions of the state (Figure 35). Nearly 80% of black and Latino students in Northern Virginia attended multiracial schools, compared to about 70% of Asian and American Indian students and just over 50% of white students. In 2010, black students enrolled in multiracial schools at the same level as Latino students, a significant shift since 1999. All groups have experienced increases over the past two decades.

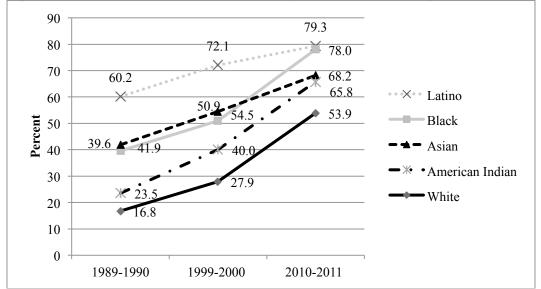


Figure 35: Students in Multiracial Schools by Race, Northern Virginia

Note: Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Exposure. White students in Northern Virginia enroll in schools with disproportionately high shares of other whites, though to a lesser extent than other parts of the state (Figure 36). In 2010, when whites accounted for roughly 47% of the enrollment, the average white student went to a school in which their white peers constituted about 56% of the enrollment. Black and Latino students experienced much lower levels of average exposure to whites. In fact, Latino students in Northern Virginia went to schools with the lowest average shares of white students, a departure from other areas of the state where black students did so.

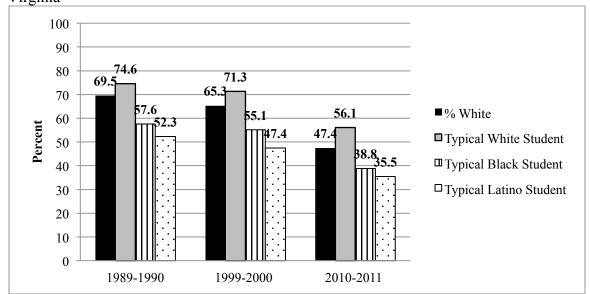


Figure 36: White Students in School Attended by Typical Student by Race, Northern Virginia

Over the past two decades, the typical black student in Northern Virginia has attended a school with rapidly falling shares of white students, moderately declining percentages of other black students, and swiftly increasing shares of Latino students (Figure 37). In 1989, the average black student enrolled in a school setting that was roughly 58% white, 24% black and 11% Latino. By 2010, the same figures had shifted to approximately 39%, 21% and 25%, respectively.

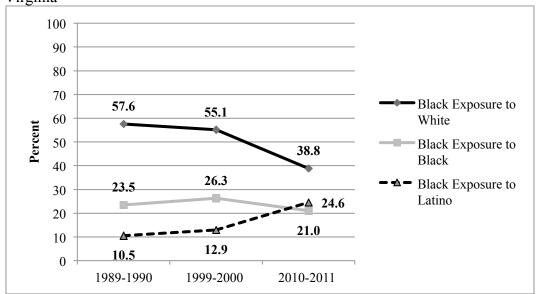


Figure 37: Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student, Northern Virginia

In Northern Virginia, the typical Latino student has become increasingly isolated with other Latino students (Figure 38). His or her average exposure to white and black students, meanwhile, has fallen considerably since 1989. The average Latino student in 2010 attended a school that was about 36% white, 32% Latino and 16% black. Compared to state-level trends, Latino students in Northern Virginia enrolled in schools with higher proportions, on average, of black and other Latino students. Similar patterns for the other two major metros in Virginia were unavailable due to the small size of the Latino population in the earlier years.

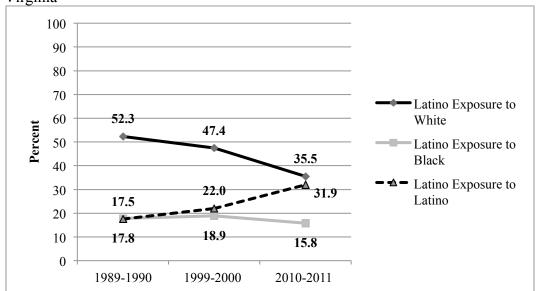


Figure 38: Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Latino Student, Northern Virginia

Though the typical student of every race attended a diverse school in Northern Virginia, whites enrolled in schools with a much higher share of white students than other racial groups (Figure 39). In general, students of all races enrolled in schools with disproportionately higher shares of same race peers. The typical white student in the region was exposed to a much lower share of Latino students than the regional proportion (11% compared to 21%), a departure from trends in other parts of the state. Asian students, on average, experienced the most proportional levels of exposure to other racial groups.

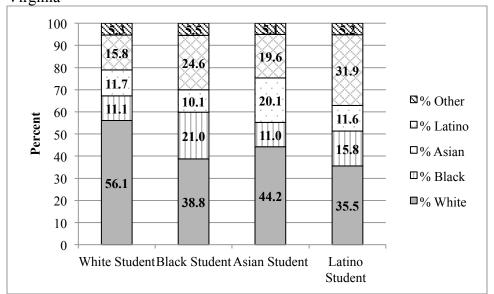


Figure 39: Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Student by Race, Northern Virginia

Note: Other includes American Indian students and students identifying with two or more races. *Source*: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

At about 27%, low-income students made up a smaller proportion of the enrollment in Northern Virginia than in the state or in other major regions (Figure 40). However, the prevailing pattern of differential exposure to poor students by race was replicated in the metro. The typical white and Asian student in Northern Virginia enrolled in a school with much lower shares of low-income students than the typical black or Latino student. Latino students experienced the highest levels of exposure to poor students—almost 40% of students in the school of the typical Latino were low income—in the region.

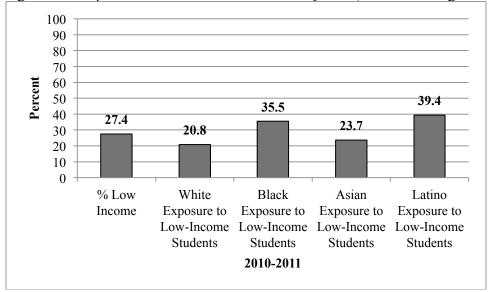


Figure 40: Exposure to Low-Income Students by Race, Northern Virginia

Evenness. Similar to the Tidewater region, Northern Virginia reported moderate and steady levels of unevenness (one of many segregation measures) over the years (Table 17). In 2010, schools in Northern Virginia were about 15% less diverse than the region as a whole, as was the case in 1999. A slight increase occurred between 1989 and 1999. More segregation occurred in the same school districts than between different districts in Northern Virginia. For example, in 2010, 60% of segregation in the region could be attributed to within-district segregation. This pattern has important implications for policy, as it is arguably easier to promote diverse schools within districts than it is to do so across districts.

Table 17: Entropy Index Values, Overall and Within and Between School Districts, Northern Virginia

	Н	H Within Districts	H Between Districts
Northern Virginia			
1989-1990	0.14	0.08	0.06
1999-2000	0.15	0.08	0.07
2010-2011	0.15	0.09	0.05

Racial Transition in Northern Virginia School Districts

The racial composition of Northern Virginia's major school systems shifted dramatically since 1989 (Figure 41). The most significant changes occurred between 1999 and 2010, when the share of diverse school districts dropped from nearly 80% to about 56%. A rising proportion of predominantly nonwhite districts helped account for the shift, in addition to the elimination of all predominantly white school systems in the area. In fact, Northern Virginia was the only major region in the state to report that none of its largest districts were predominantly white. At the other end of the spectrum, the share of predominantly nonwhite school systems quadrupled in the last ten years, from about about 11% to 44%. Taking proactive steps to stabilize diverse districts is an important consideration in the region.

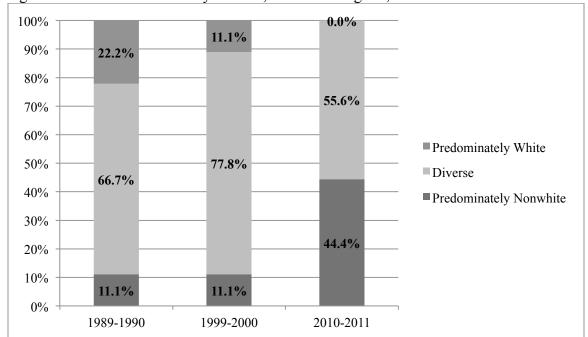


Figure 41: Racial Transition by District, Northern Virginia, 1989-2010

Note: Diverse districts are those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. Predominantly non-white districts are those with 60% or more nonwhite students. Predominantly white districts are those with 80% or more white students. N=9 districts for 1989, 1999 and 2010

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Manassas, Manassas Park and Prince William school districts transitioned from diverse to predominantly nonwhite between 1989 and 2010 (Table 18). Only one major district in Northern Virginia, Alexandria City, remained predominantly nonwhite between 1989 and 2010. The Stafford school system shifted from enrolling a predominantly white population (more than 80% white) to a diverse one between 1999 to 2010. The remaining districts reported diverse enrollments across all three time periods.

Table 18: White Proportion and Classification in Metropolitan Area and Districts, Northern Virginia, 1989-2010

	White Proportion			Classification		
	1989	1999	2010	1989	1999	2010
Northern Virginia	69.5%	65.3%	47.4%	D	D	D
ALEXANDRIA CITY	30.1%	23.1%	25.0%	PNW	PNW	PNW
ARLINGTON	45.4%	42.0%	44.4%	D	D	D
FAIRFAX	69.4%	62.6%	44.3%	D	D	D
FALLS CHURCH CITY	79.8%	79.8%	70.7%	D	D	D
LOUDOUN	84.9%	79.4%	57.9%	PW	D	D
MANASSAS CITY	77.6%	64.1%	28.2%	D	D	PNW
MANASSAS PARK CITY	79.3%	66.0%	31.2%	D	D	PNW
PRINCE WILLIAM	74.0%	62.4%	35.8%	D	D	PNW
STAFFORD	89.0%	80.2%	59.5%	PW	PW	D

Note: D=Diverse area or districts with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. PNW=Predominantly non-white area or districts with 60% or more nonwhite students. PW=Predominantly white area or districts with 80% or more white students. N=9 districts for 1989, 1999 and 2010. Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Stable and diverse school systems accounted for the largest percentage of major school districts in Northern Virginia between 1999 and 2010. This is an encouraging development because of the variety of benefits linked to stably diverse schools and districts (discussed previously in the beginning of the metropolitan trends section). On the other hand, though, one in three districts in the region were resegregating nonwhite systems, at a pace of change roughly twice that of the overall metro. Northern Virginia also reported one integrating nonwhite district, Stafford County, meaning that a system that was previously more than 80% white was becoming more racially diverse.

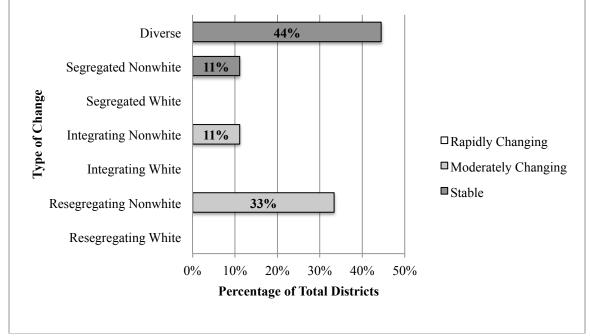


Figure 42: Degree and Type of Racial Transition, Northern Virginia, 1999 to 2010

Note: N=13 districts. For the degree of change categories: Rapidly changing districts are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Moderately changing districts are those with white student % change 2 times but less than 3 times greater than metro white % change, or those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change but classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the later period. Stable districts are those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change. For the type of change: Resegregating districts are those classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as the other predominantly type in the later period. Integrating districts are those classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in the earlier time period and diverse in the later period. Segregated districts are those classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in both time periods. Diverse districts are those classified as diverse in both periods. Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

For many districts, the pace of racial transition in Northern Virginia was very swift (Figure 43). The three resegregating school systems, Manassas, Manassas Park and Prince William, each reported that the enrollment of white students in the district declined by roughly half between 1999 and 2010. Over the twenty year period, districts that were more than three-quarters white shifted to systems that were roughly one-third white. Only one school district, Stafford, moved in an integrating direction.

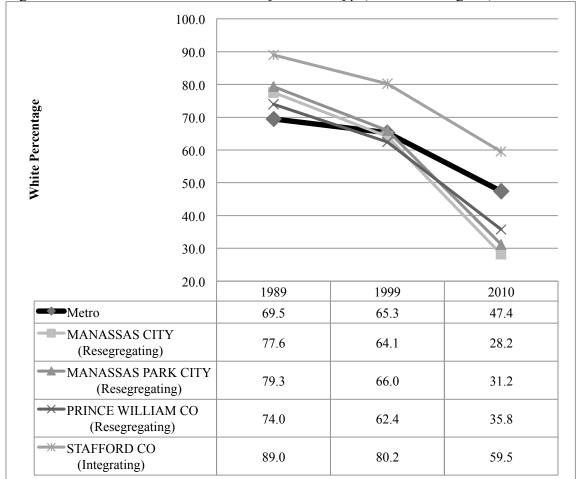


Figure 43: Moderate Racial Transition by District Type, Northern Virginia, 1989-2010

Note: Rapidly changing districts (dashed line) are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Moderately changing (solid line) districts are those with white student % change 2 times but less than 3 times greater than metro white % change, or those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change but classified as predominately white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the later period. Resegregating districts are those classified as predominantly white, nonwhite or diverse in the prior year and classified as the other predominantly type in the latter year. Integrating are districts classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in the prior year and diverse in the latter year. Segregating districts are those classified as predominantly white or nonwhite in both periods but experienced a white % change greater than 2 times the metro white % change.

Conclusions

Several major findings emerged from this analysis of state, metro and district trends in Virginia. The first relates to the rapid diversification of the school enrollment at all geographic levels. In the past two decades, schools across Virginia have shifted from serving student bodies that were overwhelmingly black and/or white to settings that increasingly serve multiracial student populations. The very swift growth in the Latino population the state and its major regions helped fuel dramatic shifts in enrollments.

Second, since 1989, rising levels of multiracial diversity and the significant movement of minority students into Virginia's suburbs have combined to create many diverse school districts. In all three of Virginia's major metros, almost as much--or more-contemporary segregation can be attributed to patterns within school districts, rather than between them. In several cases, this represents a shift from past conditions, and heralds a number of possibilities for intra-district desegregation strategies, possibly easier to accomplish than that cross district lines. But developing patterns of racial isolation within districts likely indicates that minority suburbanization is being concentrated in certain areas, and also that school zoning decisions may be isolating nonwhite students in diversifying districts.

As districts in the state's major metros become more racially diverse, a key challenge will be to promote *stable* diversity. District-level data from Tidewater, Central and Northern Virginia indicated a very high level of racial transition over the past two decades. Once districts undergo the transformation from diverse to predominantly nonwhite, it is very difficult to reverse. Instead, school systems should advertise diversity as an important benefit in a changing society and work hard to ensure that leaders and teachers are harnessing the benefits of diversity, rather than replicating external racial hierarchies inside of schools.

Even though enrollments have become more diverse in many parts of Virginia, high proportions of black—and, increasingly, Latino—students remain isolated in schools that are segregated by both race and poverty. Fully 16% of Virginia's black students enrolled in intensely segregated schools in 2010, up from about 12% in 1999. Comparable state-level figures for Latino students were 6% in 2010 and 3% in 1999. Overlapping concentrations of poverty in schools of intense racial isolation are primarily responsible for creating conditions of educational inequality. In Virginia, roughly 75% of students attending intensely segregated schools were low-income and 85% of students in apartheid schools were low income (these figures were even higher within some of the metros).

The following, final section of the report provides a number of policy recommendations that flow from these findings.

Recommendations⁶¹

State Level

Many steps can be taken at the state level to create and maintain integrated schools. Ohio recently developed a policy that could provide direction for Virginia. It applies to both regular public and charter schools and provides guidance concerning the development of student assignment plans that foster diverse schools and reduce concentrated poverty. Ohio's policy encourages inter-district transfer programs and regional magnet schools, promotes the recruitment of a diverse group of teachers and also requires districts to report to the Ohio State Superintendent of Public Instruction on diversity-related matters. Massachusetts's Racial Imbalance Act, which required districts to improve the racial balance of schools and funded magnet schools, along with inter-district transfers, is another example of state policy that could steer Virginia and other states.

Given the growing levels of within-district segregation in Virginia's metros, fair housing agencies and state and local officials need to regularly audit discrimination in housing markets, particularly in and around areas with diverse school districts. The same groups should bring significant prosecutions for violations. Housing officials need to strengthen and enforce site selection policies for projects receiving federal direct funding or tax credit subsidies so that they support integrated schools rather than foster segregation.

Though charter schools remain limited in Virginia, state and local officials should work to promote diversity in charter school enrollments, in part by encouraging extensive outreach to diverse communities, inter-district enrollment, and the provision of free transportation. Officials should also consider pursuing litigation against charter schools that are receiving public funds but are intentionally segregated, serving only one racial or ethnic group, or refusing service to English language learners. They should investigate charter schools that are virtually all white in diverse areas or schools that provide no free lunch program, making it impossible to serve students who need these subsidies in order to eat and therefore excluding a large share of students.

Local Level

At the local level, raising awareness is an essential step in preventing further resegregation and encouraging integrated schooling. Civil rights organizations and community organizations in nonwhite communities should study the existing trends and

⁶¹ This section is adapted from Orfield, G., Kuscera, J., & Siegel-Hawley, G. (2012). *E pluribus ... separation? Deepening double segregation for more students*. Los Angeles, CA: The Civil Rights Project.

observe and participate in political and community processes and action related to boundary changes, school siting decisions, and other key policies that make schools more segregated or more integrated. Local communities and fair housing organizations must monitor their real estate market to ensure that potential home buyers are not being steered away from areas with diverse schools. Community institutions and churches need to facilitate conversations about the values of diverse education and help raise community awareness about its benefits. Local journalists should cover the relationships between segregation and unequal educational outcomes and realities, in addition to providing coverage of high quality, diverse schools.

Many steps can be taken in terms of advocacy. Local fair housing organizations should monitor land use and zoning decisions and advocate for low-income housing to be set aside in new communities that are attached to strong schools, as has been done in Montgomery County, Maryland, which has one of the oldest and largest inclusionary zoning policies in the nation. The policy requires developers to designate a certain proportion of new homes to be rented or sold at below-market prices with stipulations that allow the public housing authority to purchase one-third of these homes for use as public housing. Families, the majority of whom are nonwhite, are randomly assigned to public housing in middle-income areas. On assessments of reading and mathematics, students in public housing who attend the district's most economically advantaged schools far outperform similar students in public housing who attend the district's least advantaged schools. It is clear that this form of economic desegregation is beneficial, and similar efforts are needed to promote racial diversity in school districts through housing policies across the state.

Local educational organizations and neighborhood associations in Virginia should vigorously promote diverse communities and schools as highly desirable places to live and learn. Communities need to provide consistent and vocal support for promoting school diversity and recognize the power of local school boards to either advocate for integration or work against it. Efforts should be made to foster the development of suburban coalitions to influence state-level policy-making around issues of school diversity and equity.

School district policy-makers have control over student assignment policies and thus can directly influence the levels of diversity within each school. Districts should develop policies that consider race among other factors in creating diverse schools. Magnet schools and transfer programs across district borders can also be used to promote more racially integrated schools.

⁶² Schwartz, H. (2010). Housing policy is school policy: Economically integrative housing promotes academic success in Montgomery County, Maryland. New York, NY: The Century Foundation.

The enforcement of laws guiding school segregation is essential. Many communities have failed to comply with long-standing desegregation plans and have not been released by the federal courts. Such noncompliance and/or more contemporary violations are grounds for a new or revised desegregation order. Many suburban districts never had a desegregation order because they were virtually all white during the civil rights era. However, many of them are now diverse and may be engaged in classic abuses of racial gerrymandering of attendance boundaries, school site selection that intensifies segregation and choice plans, or operating choice plans with methods and policies that undermine integration and foster segregation. Where such violations exist, local organizations and parents should ask the school board to address and correct them. If there is no positive response they should register complaints with the U.S. Department of Justice or the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Education.

Educational Organizations and Universities

Professional associations, teachers' organizations, and colleges of education need to make educators and communities fully aware of the nature and costs of existing segregation. Foundations should fund research dedicated to exploring the continued harms of segregation and the benefits of integration. Researchers and advocates need to analyze and publicize the racial patterns and practices of regular public and charter schools. Nonprofits and foundations funding charter schools should not incentivize the development of racially and economically isolated programs but instead they should support civil rights and academic institutions working on these issues.

Institutions of higher education can also influence the development of more diverse K-12 schools by informing students and families that their institutions are diverse and that students who have not been in diverse K-12 educational settings might be unprepared for the experiences they will encounter in college. Admission staffs of colleges and universities should also consider the skills and experiences that students from diverse high schools will bring to their campuses when reviewing college applications and making admissions decisions.

Private and public civil rights organizations should also contribute to enforcing laws. They need to create a serious strategy to enforce the rights of Latino students in districts where they have never been recognized and serious inequalities exist.

The Courts

The most important public policy changes affecting desegregation have been made not by elected officials or educators but by the courts. The U.S. Supreme Court has changed basic elements of desegregation policy by 180 degrees, particularly in the 2007 *Parents Involved* decision, which sharply limited voluntary action with desegregation

policies related to the use of choice and magnet school plans. The Court is now divided 5-4 in its support of these limits and many of the Courts of Appeals are deeply divided, as are courts at the state and local level. Since we give our courts such sweeping power to define and eliminate rights, judicial appointments are absolutely critical. Interested citizens and elected officials should support judicial appointees who understand and seem willing to address the history of segregation and minority inequality and appear ready to listen with open minds to sensitive racial issues that are brought into their court rooms.

Courts that continue to supervise existing court orders and consent decrees should monitor them for full compliance before dissolving the plan or order. In a number of cases, courts have rushed to judgment to simplify their dockets without any meaningful analysis of the degree of compliance.

Federal Level

At the federal level, our country needs leadership that expresses the value of diverse learning environments and encourages local action to achieve school desegregation. The federal government should establish a joint planning process between the Department of Education, the Department of Justice, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development to review programs and regulations that will result in successful, lasting community and school integration. Federal equity centers should provide effective desegregation planning, which was their original goal when they were created under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Federal choice policies should include civil rights standards. Without such requirements, choice policies, particularly those guiding charter schools, often foster increased racial segregation. Federal policy should also recognize and support the need for school districts to diversify their teaching staff. The federal government should provide assistance to districts in preparing their own paraprofessionals, who tend to represent a more diverse group, to become teachers.

Building on the Obama administration's grant program for Technical Assistance for Student Assignment Plans, a renewed program of voluntary assistance for integration should be enacted. This program should add a focus on diversifying suburbs and gentrifying urban neighborhoods and provide funding for preparing effective student assignment plans, reviewing magnet plans, implementing summer catch-up programs for students transferring from weaker to stronger schools, supporting partnerships with universities, and reaching out to diverse groups of parents.

As an important funding source for educational research, the federal government should support a research agenda that focuses on trends of racial change and resegregation, causes and effects of resegregation, the value of alternative approaches to achieving integration and closing gaps in student achievement, and creating housing and school conditions that support stable neighborhood integration.

The Justice Department and the Office for Civil Rights need to take enforcement actions in some substantial school districts to revive a credible sanction in federal policy for actions that foster segregation or ignore responsibilities under desegregation plans.

Closing Thoughts

In the 1950s, Virginia led the South backwards by promulgating its strategy of Massive Resistance. But subsequent developments in the state led to solid progress in advancing the goals of *Brown*. More recently, schools in Virginia have not slipped towards resegregation as quickly as other parts of the region and country.

Trends over the past two decades showcase a new level and kind of diversity in Virginia. Its rising Latino student population is increasingly facing the same kind of segregation by race and poverty that its black students continue to confront. For the state to have a healthy multiracial future, it is absolutely urgent that Virginians understand both the value of diversity and the real risks of resegregation. Otherwise, deepening inequalities related to the middle class abandonment of communities now integrated by race and class will almost surely be the result. There are a number of possible policy options bearing no relationship to the mandatory plans of the early 1970s. Many instead involve conscious efforts to use school choice and housing opportunity strategies in innovative and appropriate ways. Regardless of the method, the time to proactively harness the opportunities present in the rapidly shifting dynamics of Virginia's schools is now.

Appendix A: State, Metropolitan and District Tables

State

Figure 15: Exposure Rates to White Students in Public Schools

	% White	White Exposure to White	Black Exposure to White	Asian Exposure to White	Latino Exposure to White
Virginia					
1989-1990	68.5%	77.4%	46.5%	65.0%	55.2%
1999-2000	64.7%	74.8%	43.2%	60.6%	50.9%
2010-2011	54.2%	66.3%	35.5%	47.2%	40.7%
South					
1989-1990	59.9%	75.2%	39.0%	60.5%	29.1%
1999-2000	54.6%	72.5%	34.2%	54.4%	27.9%
2010-2011	45.2%	65.0%	28.8%	43.9%	25.0%
Nation					
1989-1990	68.4%	83.2%	35.4%	49.4%	32.5%
1999-2000	61.2%	80.2%	31.4%	44.8%	26.7%
2010-2011	52.1%	73.1%	27.8%	39.6%	25.1%

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

 Table 2A: Exposure Rates to Black Students in Public Schools

·		White Exposure	Black Exposure	Asian Exposure	Latino Exposure
	% Black	to Black	to Black	to Black	to Black
Virginia					
1989-1990	25.5%	17.3%	49.1%	16.8%	21.5%
1999-2000	26.9%	18.0%	50.4%	17.6%	22.8%
2010-2011	24.0%	15.7%	46.7%	15.0%	20.9%
South					
1989-1990	27.2%	17.7%	55.4%	21.0%	10.4%
1999-2000	27.5%	17.2%	56.4%	22.3%	13.3%
2010-2011	24.5%	15.6%	52.0%	19.4%	14.2%
Nation					
1989-1990	16.5%	8.6%	54.6%	11.0%	11.5%
1999-2000	16.8%	8.6%	54.5%	11.7%	10.9%
2010-2011	15.7%	8.4%	49.4%	10.8%	10.9%

Table 3A: Exposure Rates to Asian Students in Public Schools

•	% Asian	White Exposure to Asian	Black Exposure to Asian	Asian Exposure to Asian	Latino Exposure to Asian
Virginia					
1989-1990	3.3%	3.1%	2.2%	10.6%	9.5%
1999-2000	3.8%	3.6%	2.5%	11.4%	9.0%
2010-2011	6.0%	5.2%	3.7%	16.4%	8.6%
South					
1989-1990	1.4%	1.4%	1.1%	7.3%	1.4%
1999-2000	2.0%	2.0%	1.6%	7.9%	1.9%
2010-2011	3.0%	2.9%	2.3%	11.5%	2.6%
Nation					
1989-1990	3.3%	2.4%	2.2%	23.8%	4.6%
1999-2000	4.1%	3.0%	2.9%	24.4%	4.6%
2010-2011	5.0%	3.8%	3.5%	24.2%	4.6%

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

 Table 4A: Exposure Rates to Latino Students in Public Schools

		White	Black	Asian	Latino
	%	Exposure	Exposure	Exposure	Exposure
	Latino	to Latino	to Latino	to Latino	to Latino
Virginia					
1989-1990	2.5%	2.0%	2.1%	7.3%	13.5%
1999-2000	4.3%	3.4%	3.6%	10.1%	17.0%
2010-2011	11.4%	8.5%	9.9%	16.4%	24.8%
South					
1989-1990	11.2%	5.4%	4.3%	10.9%	58.9%
1999-2000	15.6%	8.0%	7.5%	15.1%	56.6%
2010-2011	24.6%	13.6%	14.3%	21.7%	56.1%
Nation					
1989-1990	10.8%	5.2%	7.5%	15.2%	50.8%
1999-2000	16.6%	7.2%	10.8%	18.4%	57.1%
2010-2011	23.6%	11.4%	16.5%	21.7%	56.9%

Table 5A: Black and Latino Exposure Rates to White and Asian Students in Public Schools

	White and Asian Share of School Enrollment	Black and Latino Exposure to White and Asian Students	Difference
Virginia			
1989-1990	71.8%	50.1%	-21.7%
1999-2000	68.5%	47.6%	-20.9%
2010-2011	60.2%	42.5%	-17.7%
South			
1989-1990	61.3%	37.3%	-24.0%
1999-2000	56.6%	33.6%	-23.0%
2010-2011	48.2%	29.4%	-18.8%
Nation			
1989-1990	71.7%	37.7%	-34.0%
1999-2000	65.4%	32.8%	-32.6%
2010-2011	57.1%	30.3%	-26.8%

Table 6A: Student Exposure Rates to Low-Income Students in Public Schools

	Low-Income Students Share of School Enrollment	White Exposure to Low- Income Students	Black Exposure to Low- Income Students	Asian Exposure to Low- Income Students	Latino Exposure to Low- Income Students
Virginia					
1999-2000	29.8%	23.8%	44.3%	22.0%	33.5%
2010-2011	36.7%	31.5%	49.6%	25.8%	41.2%
South					
1999-2000	41.4%	31.4%	54.2%	31.1%	55.1%
2010-2011	53.0%	45.2%	65.9%	38.9%	56.6%
Nation					
1999-2000	36.9%	26.3%	55.1%	35.7%	57.9%
2010-2011	48.3%	37.7%	64.5%	39.9%	62.2%

Table 7A: Entropy Index Values, Overall and Within and Between School Districts, Virginia

		Н	Н
	Н	Within	Between
Virginia			
1989-1990	.27	.07	.21
1999-2000	.27	.07	.20
2010-2011	.25	.08	.17
South			
1989-1990	.42	.09	.32
1999-2000	.40	.09	.31
2010-2011	.36	.09	.27
Nation			
1989-1990	.44	.07	.38
1999-2000	.46	.08	.39
2010-2011	.41	.07	.34

Note: H=Multi-Group Entropy Index or Theil's H. HW= the degree of un/evenness (H) that is within (W) districts. HB= the degree of un/evenness (H) that is between (B) districts.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table 8A: Dissimilarity Index, Virginia

		Dissimilarity Index						
	White Black	White Asian	White Latino	Black Asian	Black Latino	Asian Latino		
Virginia								
1989-1990	.53	.53	.59	.67	.67	.38		
1999-2000	.53	.53	.55	.65	.62	.38		
2010-2011	.54	.54	.49	.64	.53	.42		
South								
1989-1990	.55	.57	.76	.69	.82	.75		
1999-2000	.57	.55	.70	.65	.75	.68		
2010-2011	.58	.55	.63	.62	.65	.61		
Nation								
1989-1990	.67	.63	.74	.74	.75	.65		
1999-2000	.69	.63	.73	.73	.73	.66		
2010-2011	.67	.61	.68	.70	.66	.63		

Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News

Table 9A: Enrollment in Urban, Suburban and Other Schools, Norfolk-Virginia Beach, Newport News

	Total Enrollment	Urban Schools	Suburban Schools	Other Schools
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News				
1989-1990	233,902	168,706	40,429	24,767
1999-2000	261,746	178,002	48,008	35,736
2010-2011	265,108	171,395	48,819	44,894

Notes: Other schools include town and rural schools. Data comprises schools open 1989-2010, 1989-1999-2010, 1999-2010, and only 2010. We apply 2010 boundary codes to all years.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Table 10A: Dissimilarity Index, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News

	Dissimilarity Index					
	White Black	White Asian	White Latino	Black Asian	Black Latino	Asian Latino
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News						
1989-1990	0.42					
1999-2000	0.43					
2010-2011	0.48		0.30		0.37	

Note: Blank cell represent less than one-twentieth of a racial enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Table 11A: Racial Transition by District, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, 1989-1999

	1999 Classification					
1989 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total		
Predominantly Nonwhite	2(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	2(100%)		
Diverse	2(29%)	5(71%)	(0%)	7(100%)		
Predominantly white	(0%)	(0%)	2(100%)	2(100%)		
Total	4(36%)	5(45%)	2(18%)	11(100%)		

Table 12A: Racial Transition by District, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, 1999-2010

	2010 Classification					
1999 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total		
Predominantly Nonwhite	4(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	4(100%)		
Diverse	1(20%)	4(80%)	(0%)	5(100%)		
Predominantly white	(0%)	(0%)	2(100%)	2(100%)		
Total	5(45%)	4(36%)	2(18%)	11(100%)		

Table 13A: Racial Transition by District, Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News, 1989-2010

	2010 Classification					
1989 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total		
Predominantly Nonwhite	2(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	2(100%)		
Diverse	3(43%)	4(57%)	(0%)	7(100%)		
Predominantly white	(0%)	(0%)	2(100%)	2(100%)		
Total	5(45%)	4(36%)	2(18%)	11(100%)		

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Richmond-Petersburg

Table 14A: Enrollment in Urban, Suburban and Other Schools, Richmond-Petersburg

	Total Enrollment	Urban Schools	Suburban Schools	Other Schools
Richmond- Petersburg				
1989-1990	143,559	23,809	92,657	27,093
1999-2000	160,217	23,076	101,490	35,651
2010-2011	200,510	22,046	113,290	65,174

Notes: Other schools include town and rural schools. Data comprises schools open 1989-2010, 1989-1999-2010, 1999-2010, and only 2010. We apply 2010 boundary codes to all years.

Table 15A: Dissimilarity Index, Richmond-Petersbur

		Dissimilarity Index						
	White Black	White Asian	White Latino	Black Asian	Black Latino	Asian Latino		
Richmond-Petersburg								
1989-1990	0.62							
1999-2000	0.61							
2010-2011	0.57	<u> </u>	0.45		0.43			

Note: Blank cells represents less than one-twentieth of a racial enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Table 16A: Racial Transition by District, Richmond-Petersburg, 1989-1999

	1999 Classification				
1989 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total	
Predominantly Nonwhite	3(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	3(100%)	
Diverse	(0%)	5(83%)	1(17%)	6(100%)	
Predominantly white	3(75%)	1(25%)	(0%)	4(100%)	
Total	6(46%)	6(46%)	1(8%)	13(100%)	

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table 17A: Racial Transition by District, Richmond-Petersburg, 1999-2010

	2010 Classification					
1999 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total		
Predominantly Nonwhite	3(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	3(100%)		
Diverse	1(17%)	5(83%)	(0%)	6(100%)		
Predominantly white	(0%)	2(50%)	2(50%)	4(100%)		
Total	4(31%)	7(54%)	2(15%)	13(100%)		

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table 18A: Racial Transition by District, Richmond-Petersburg, 1989-2010

	2010 Classification				
1989 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total	
Predominantly Nonwhite	3(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	3(100%)	
Diverse	1(17%)	5(83%)	(0%)	6(100%)	
Predominantly white	(0%)	2(50%)	2(50%)	4(100%)	
Total	4(31%)	7(54%)	2(15%)	13(100%)	

Northern Virginia

Table 19A: Enrollment in Urban, Suburban and Other Schools, Northern Virginia

	Total Enrollment	Urban Schools	Suburban Schools	Other Schools
Northern Virginia				
1989-1990	233,371	32,892	182,971	17,508
1999-2000	322,528	36,306	235,331	50,891
2010-2011	434,087	42,569	292,972	98,546

Notes: Other schools include town and rural schools. Data comprises schools open 1989-2010, 1989-1999-2010, 1999-2010, and only 2010. We apply 2010 boundary codes to all years.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Table 20A: Dissimilarity Index, Northern Virginia

		Dissimilarity Index							
	White Black	White Asian	White Latino	Black Asian	Black Latino	Asian Latino			
Northern Virginia									
1989-1990	0.41	0.34	0.47	0.47	0.36	0.33			
1999-2000	0.39	0.40	0.49	0.52	0.38	0.36			
2010-2011	0.42	0.37	0.45	0.49	0.30	0.42			

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Table 21A: Racial Transition by District, Washington-Baltimore - Intrastate VA, 1989-1999

	1999 Classification					
1989 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total		
Predominantly Nonwhite	1(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	1(100%)		
Diverse	(0%)	6(100%)	(0%)	6(100%)		
Predominantly white	1(50%)	1(50%)	(0%)	2(100%)		
Total	2(22%)	7(78%)	0(0%)	9(100%)		

Table 22A: Racial Transition by District, Washington-Baltimore - Intrastate VA, 1999-2010

	2010 Classification					
1999 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total		
Predominantly Nonwhite	1(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	1(100%)		
Diverse	3(43%)	4(57%)	(0%)	7(100%)		
Predominantly white	(0%)	1(100%)	(0%)	1(100%)		
Total	4(44%)	5(56%)	0(0%)	9(100%)		

Table 23A: Racial Transition by District, Washington-Baltimore - Intrastate VA, 1989-2010

	2010 Classification						
1989 Classification	Predominantly Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominantly White	Total			
Predominantly Nonwhite	1(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	1(100%)			
Diverse	3(50%)	3(50%)	(0%)	6(100%)			
Predominantly white	(0%)	2(100%)	(0%)	2(100%)			
Total	4(44%)	5(56%)	0(0%)	9(100%)			

Largest School Districts in Virginia's Major Metro Areas

Table 24A: Public School Enrollment, 2010-2011

1 abie 24A. 1		Total	2010 2011		Percent	age		
	Urbanicity	Enrollment	White	Black	Asian	Latino	AI	Mixed
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-								
Newport News								
VA BEACH CITY PBLC								
SCHS	urban	71,185	52.9	24.8	6.0	8.9	0.4	7.1
CHESAPEAKE CITY								
PBLC SCHS	suburban	39,748	51.5	33.0	2.8	5.8	0.4	6.6
NORFOLK CITY PBLC		22 505		60.6			0.5	
SCHS	urban	33,787	22.4	62.6	2.3	6.1	0.5	6.0
NEWPORT NEWS CITY	.1	20 400	20.0	55.7	2.0	10.0	0.5	1.0
PBLC SCHS HAMPTON CITY PBLC	urban	30,488	29.0	55.7	3.0	10.0	0.5	1.9
SCHS	urban	21,558	27.9	60.7	2.4	5.0	0.4	3.7
PORTSMOUTH CITY	urvari	21,336	21.9	00.7	2.4	3.0	0.4	3.1
PBLC SCHS	urban	14,674	22.5	68.3	0.9	3.5	0.3	4.4
SUFFOLK CITY PBLC	uroun	14,074	22.3	00.5	0.7	J.J	0.5	7.7
SCHS		14,507	35.2	55.3	1.4	3.9	0.2	4.1
YORK CO PBLC SCHS	suburban	12,504	65.7	12.1	5.7	7.0	0.3	9.2
WILLIAMSBURG-	Suburban	12,304	03.7	12.1	3.1	7.0	0.3	7.2
JAMES CITY PBLC								
SCHS		10,630	66.2	18.8	2.5	7.3	0.3	4.9
GLOUCESTER CO		10,050	00.2	10.0		1.2		
PBLC SCHS		6,015	82.5	8.2	0.7	3.5	0.4	4.7
Richmond-Petersbug			\$			•		
CHESTERFIELD CO								
PBLC SCHS	suburban	58,867	56.3	26.5	3.6	9.7	0.4	3.5
HENRICO CO PBLC								
SCHS	suburban	49,347	45.8	37.4	7.5	6.3	0.3	2.7
RICHMOND CITY								
PBLC SCHS	urban	23,108	8.7	83.7	0.7	6.6	0.1	0.2
HANOVER CO PBLC								
SCHS	suburban	18,628	84.0	9.7	1.9	2.4	0.4	1.6
PRINCE GEORGE CO								
PBLC SCHS		6,357	51.4	33.6	1.9	8.2	0.5	4.4
LOUISA CO PBLC		4.721	70.0	10.0	0.2	2.4	0.4	4.0
SCHS		4,731	72.2	19.8	0.3	2.4	0.4	4.8
DINWIDDIE CO PBLC SCHS		4,570	54.1	35.6	0.4	4.7	0.6	4.6
PETERSBURG CITY		4,570	34.1	33.0	0.4	4./	0.0	4.0
PBLC SCHS	suburban	4,557	1.8	93.5	0.8	3.6	0.0	0.2
POWHATAN CO PBLC	Subuiban	F,331	1.0	,,,,	0.0		0.0	0.2
SCHS		4,476	85.6	8.4	0.6	2.6	0.5	2.3
CAROLINE CO PBLC		, . , ~						
SCHS		4,257	55.3	32.7	0.6	4.9	0.6	5.9
			. 4					

MILES TO GO

Northern Virginia								
FAIRFAX CO PBLC								
SCHS	suburban	173,355	44.3	10.	19.4	21.1	0.2	4.5
PRINCE WILLIAM CO								
PBLC SCHS	suburban	79,358	35.8	20.3	7.7	28.6	0.4	7.2
LOUDOUN CO PBLC								
SCHS	suburban	63,127	57.9	7.2	14.7	15.2	0.6	4.6
STAFFORD CO PBLC								
SCHS		27,223	59.5	18.2	2.9	12.6	0.4	6.4
SPOTSYLVANIA CO								
PBLC SCHS		23,585	64.7	19.3	3.1	9.8	0.3	2.9
ARLINGTON CO PBLC								
SCHS	urban	21,485	44.4	11.5	9.7	29.6	0.2	4.6
ALEXANDRIA CITY								
PBLC SCHS	urban	11,999	25.0	34.2	5.4	30.7	0.3	4.3
FAUQUIER CO PBLC								
SCHS		11,286	75.7	9.7	1.7	9.8	0.4	2.7
MANASSAS CITY								
PBLC SCHS	suburban	6,986	28.2	14.7	4.4	47.8	0.4	4.4
WARREN CO PBLC								
SCHS	<u> </u>	5,340	82.8	5.5	1.5	4.9	0.4	4.8

Note: AI=American Indian. Blank urbanicity represents rural, missing, or other.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD)

Table 25A: Number and Percentage of Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, 2010-2011

	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50- 100% Minority Schools	% of 90- 100% Minority Schools	% of 99- 100% Minority Schools
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport					
News					
VA BEACH CITY PBLC SCHS	81	42.0%	42.0%	2.5%	
CHESAPEAKE CITY PBLC SCHS	45	8.9%	48.9%	2.2%	
NORFOLK CITY PBLC SCHS	51	25.5%	92.2%	31.4%	15.7%
NEWPORT NEWS CITY PBLC					
SCHS	43	51.2%	93.0%	18.6%	2.3%
HAMPTON CITY PBLC SCHS	32	3.1%	87.5%	12.5%	
PORTSMOUTH CITY PBLC SCHS	22		86.4%	27.3%	9.1%
SUFFOLK CITY PBLC SCHS	21		81.0%	4.8%	
YORK CO PBLC SCHS	19	31.6%	5.3%		
WILLIAMSBURG-JAMES CITY					
PBLC SCHS	15	13.3%	6.7%		
GLOUCESTER CO PBLC SCHS	9				
Richmond-Petersburg					
CHESTERFIELD CO PBLC SCHS	61	31.1%	36.1%		
HENRICO CO PBLC SCHS	72	23.6%	45.8%	15.3%	1.4%
RICHMOND CITY PBLC SCHS	46		93.5%	71.7%	19.6%
HANOVER CO PBLC SCHS	23				
PRINCE GEORGE CO PBLC SCHS	8	25.0%	37.5%		
LOUISA CO PBLC SCHS	6				
DINWIDDIE CO PBLC SCHS	8		25.0%		
PETERSBURG CITY PBLC SCHS	8		100.0%	100.0%	25.0%
POWHATAN CO PBLC SCHS	6				
CAROLINE CO PBLC SCHS	6	16.7%			
Northern Virginia					
FAIRFAX CO PBLC SCHS	189	69.8%	60.8%	3.7%	
PRINCE WILLIAM CO PBLC					
SCHS	83	75.9%	72.3%	7.2%	
LOUDOUN CO PBLC SCHS	77	37.7%	24.7%		
STAFFORD CO PBLC SCHS	30	66.7%	20.0%		
SPOTSYLVANIA CO PBLC SCHS	29	44.8%			
ARLINGTON CO PBLC SCHS	30	63.3%	56.7%	6.7%	
ALEXANDRIA CITY PBLC SCHS	19	63.2%	73.7%	21.1%	
FAUQUIER CO PBLC SCHS	19	15.8%			
MANASSAS CITY PBLC SCHS	8	100.0%	100.0%		
WARREN CO PBLC SCHS	8	12.5%			
WARREN CO I DEC SCIIS	Ö	12.3/0			

Note: Blank cells represent no schools or other. Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment respectively.

Table 26A: Percentage of Students who are Low-Income in Multiracial and Minority Segregated Schools, 2010-2011

Segregatea Schools, 2010-2011	% Low- Income in Multiracial Schools	% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport				
News				
VA BEACH CITY PBLC SCHS	33.7%	39.8%	74.4%	
CHESAPEAKE CITY PBLC SCHS	47.7%	50.2%	91.7%	
NORFOLK CITY PBLC SCHS	60.8%	64.8%	81.7%	89.9%
NEWPORT NEWS CITY PBLC				
SCHS	52.0%	53.9%	79.4%	82.6%
HAMPTON CITY PBLC SCHS	40.5%	51.4%	68.1%	
PORTSMOUTH CITY PBLC SCHS		60.9%	73.3%	80.0%
SUFFOLK CITY PBLC SCHS		41.8%	75.3%	
YORK CO PBLC SCHS	28.4%	37.3%		
WILLIAMSBURG-JAMES CITY				
PBLC SCHS	47.0%	57.7%		
GLOUCESTER CO PBLC SCHS				
Richmond-Petersburg				
CHESTERFIELD CO PBLC SCHS	40.6%	41.3%		
HENRICO CO PBLC SCHS	40.6%	56.9%	70.4%	72.6%
RICHMOND CITY PBLC SCHS		71.7%	77.0%	86.7%
HANOVER CO PBLC SCHS				
PRINCE GEORGE CO PBLC SCHS	49.0%	45.6%		
LOUISA CO PBLC SCHS				
DINWIDDIE CO PBLC SCHS	·	68.1%		
PETERSBURG CITY PBLC SCHS		73.2%	73.2%	84.3%
POWHATAN CO PBLC SCHS				
CAROLINE CO PBLC SCHS	54.0%			
Northern Virginia				
FAIRFAX CO PBLC SCHS	29.9%	36.4%	78.8%	
PRINCE WILLIAM CO PBLC				
SCHS	36.9%	46.6%	72.2%	
LOUDOUN CO PBLC SCHS	24.8%	32.4%		
STAFFORD CO PBLC SCHS	23.2%	35.2%		
SPOTSYLVANIA CO PBLC SCHS	33.2%			
ARLINGTON CO PBLC SCHS	43.0%	45.9%	78.4%	
ALEXANDRIA CITY PBLC SCHS	48.6%	55.6%	75.0%	
FAUQUIER CO PBLC SCHS	31.1%			
MANASSAS CITY PBLC SCHS	48.8%	48.8%		
WARREN CO PBLC SCHS	63.9%			

Note: Blank cells represent no schools. Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment respectively.

 Table 27A: Percentage of Racial Group in Minority Segregated Schools, 2010-2011

	50-100% Sch		90-10 Minority		99-100% Sch	
	% of	% of	% of	% of	% of	% of
	Latino	Blacks	Latinos	Blacks	Latinos	Blacks
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News						
VA BEACH CITY PBLC SCHS	50.8%	66.0%	1.2%	4.0%		
CHESAPEAKE CITY PBLC SCHS	49.9%	70.1%	0.3%	3.6%		
NORFOLK CITY PBLC SCHS	93.0%	98.1%	11.1%	39.2%	2.2%	16.1%
NEWPORT NEWS CITY PBLC	93.070	90.170	11.170	39.270	2.270	10.170
SCHS	94.4%	96.5%	6.1%	24.5%	0.2%	2.5%
HAMPTON CITY PBLC SCHS	87.6%	91.9%	6.3%	10.4%		
PORTSMOUTH CITY PBLC						
SCHS	85.9%	95.9%	15.2%	37.8%	4.7%	10.4%
SUFFOLK CITY PBLC SCHS	93.8%	94.1%	1.8%	5.7%		
YORK CO PBLC SCHS	6.9%	9.2%				
WILLIAMSBURG-JAMES CITY						
PBLC SCHS	8.1%	7.3%				
GLOUCESTER CO PBLC SCHS						
Richmond-Petersburg						
CHESTERFIELD CO PBLC						
SCHS	57.5%	51.6%				
HENRICO CO PBLC SCHS	52.5%	83.5%	8.4%	30.0%	0.4%	2.6%
RICHMOND CITY PBLC SCHS	97.5%	98.9%	87.5%	83.5%	2.8%	22.9%
HANOVER CO PBLC SCHS						
PRINCE GEORGE CO PBLC						
SCHS	37.4%	31.5%				
LOUISA CO PBLC SCHS						
DINWIDDIE CO PBLC SCHS	40.9%	26.3%				
PETERSBURG CITY PBLC	100.00/	100.0	100.00/	100.00/	7.00/	21.50/
SCHS	100.0%	%	100.0%	100.0%	7.9%	21.5%
POWHATAN CO PBLC SCHS						
CAROLINE CO PBLC SCHS						
Northern Virginia	70.10/	77.70/	(50/	2.50/		
FAIRFAX CO PBLC SCHS	78.1%	77.7%	6.5%	3.5%		
PRINCE WILLIAM CO PBLC	82.5%	84.2%	9.5%	7.8%		
SCHS LOUDOUN CO PBLC SCHS	40.5%	25.5%	9.370	7.070		
STAFFORD CO PBLC SCHS	29.8%	····				
SPOTSYLVANIA CO PBLC	29.070	24.3%				
SCHS						
ARLINGTON CO PBLC SCHS	81.3%	81.0%	10.3%	6.4%		
ALEXANDRIA CITY PBLC	01.5/0	01.070	10.2/0	0.770		
SCHS	90.6%	89.8%	22.5%	18.1%		
FAUQUIER CO PBLC SCHS	/	/		/		
\(\) -		100.0				
MANASSAS CITY PBLC SCHS	100.0%	%				
WARREN CO PBLC SCHS						

Note: Blank cells represent no schools. Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

 Table 28A: Percentage of Racial Group in Multiracial Schools, 2010-2011

	White %	Black %	Asian %	Latino %	AI %
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport					
News					
VA BEACH CITY PBLC SCHS	36.1%	48.3%	52.4%	53.4%	47.1%
CHESAPEAKE CITY PBLC SCHS	4.3%	7.2%	3.7%	10.5%	4.0%
NORFOLK CITY PBLC SCHS	28.5%	13.9%	25.0%	36.2%	32.0%
NEWPORT NEWS CITY PBLC					
SCHS	51.3%	48.4%	62.2%	69.5%	54.6%
HAMPTON CITY PBLC SCHS	3.2%	0.7%	15.1%	9.3%	2.3%
PORTSMOUTH CITY PBLC SCHS					
SUFFOLK CITY PBLC SCHS					
YORK CO PBLC SCHS	23.8%	44.9%	27.3%	34.4%	39.5%
WILLIAMSBURG-JAMES CITY					
PBLC SCHS	6.6%	11.3%	6.8%	16.2%	3.0%
GLOUCESTER CO PBLC SCHS					
Richmond-Petersburg					
CHESTERFIELD CO PBLC SCHS	14.3%	40.1%	19.8%	56.2%	30.3%
HENRICO CO PBLC SCHS	22.4%	16.1%	35.3%	43.3%	21.9%
RICHMOND CITY PBLC SCHS					
HANOVER CO PBLC SCHS					
PRINCE GEORGE CO PBLC SCHS	16.6%	21.5%	24.6%	29.2%	9.4%
LOUISA CO PBLC SCHS					
DINWIDDIE CO PBLC SCHS					
PETERSBURG CITY PBLC SCHS					
POWHATAN CO PBLC SCHS					
CAROLINE CO PBLC SCHS	11.8%	12.2%	11.1%	9.6%	20.0%
Northern Virginia					
FAIRFAX CO PBLC SCHS	65.8%	89.7%	72.8%	84.9%	81.1%
PRINCE WILLIAM CO PBLC					
SCHS	72.0%	86.2%	82.6%	81.6%	81.6%
LOUDOUN CO PBLC SCHS	35.7%	53.7%	43.4%	63.6%	48.6%
STAFFORD CO PBLC SCHS	58.2%	64.6%	63.6%	75.0%	61.1%
SPOTSYLVANIA CO PBLC SCHS	38.3%	46.5%	52.7%	59.3%	37.8%
ARLINGTON CO PBLC SCHS	40.8%	84.9%	71.8%	76.2%	57.8%
ALEXANDRIA CITY PBLC SCHS	73.7%	75.9%	77.0%	72.7%	70.0%
FAUQUIER CO PBLC SCHS	13.1%	20.9%	16.2%	17.8%	10.0%
MANASSAS CITY PBLC SCHS	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
WARREN CO PBLC SCHS	6.6%	14.9%	4.9%	16.3%	0.0%

Note: Blank cells represent no schools. AI = American Indian. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student population respectively.

Table 29A: Exposure Rates to White Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011

Table 29A: Exposure Raies to wh		White	Black	Asian	Latino
		Exposure to	Exposure to	Exposure	Exposure
	% White	White	White	to White	to White
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport					
News					
VA BEACH CITY PBLC SCHS	52.9%	58.9%	42.7%	49.3%	49.9%
CHESAPEAKE CITY PBLC SCHS	51.5%	60.2%	38.3%		49.4%
NORFOLK CITY PBLC SCHS	22.4%	33.4%	17.4%		27.4%
NEWPORT NEWS CITY PBLC					
SCHS	29.0%	36.7%	24.5%		30.1%
HAMPTON CITY PBLC SCHS	27.9%	35.4%	24.1%		
PORTSMOUTH CITY PBLC SCHS	22.5%	35.1%	17.9%		
SUFFOLK CITY PBLC SCHS	35.2%	38.7%	32.8%		
YORK CO PBLC SCHS	65.7%	66.7%	62.0%	65.7%	64.2%
WILLIAMSBURG-JAMES CITY					
PBLC SCHS	66.2%	66.9%	64.3%		64.7%
GLOUCESTER CO PBLC SCHS	82.5%	82.6%	82.3%		
Richmond-Petersburg					
CHESTERFIELD CO PBLC SCHS	56.3%	64.0%	44.6%		42.3%
HENRICO CO PBLC SCHS	45.8%	61.4%	24.5%	57.3%	44.4%
RICHMOND CITY PBLC SCHS	8.7%	34.5%	6.0%		6.9%
HANOVER CO PBLC SCHS	84.0%	84.4%	81.7%		
PRINCE GEORGE CO PBLC SCHS	51.4%	52.2%	50.6%		50.4%
LOUISA CO PBLC SCHS	72.2%	72.5%	71.6%		
DINWIDDIE CO PBLC SCHS	54.1%	56.1%	51.6%		
PETERSBURG CITY PBLC SCHS	1.8%				
POWHATAN CO PBLC SCHS	85.6%	85.7%	84.6%		§
CAROLINE CO PBLC SCHS	55.3%	55.5%	54.8%		
Northern Virginia					
FAIRFAX CO PBLC SCHS	44.3%	51.1%	36.1%	43.1%	34.5%
PRINCE WILLIAM CO PBLC					§
SCHS	35.8%	46.0%	28.3%	37.3%	27.5%
LOUDOUN CO PBLC SCHS	57.9%	62.3%	54.7%	51.5%	48.8%
STAFFORD CO PBLC SCHS	59.5%	61.3%	56.5%		56.0%
SPOTSYLVANIA CO PBLC SCHS	64.7%	65.9%	62.6%		61.8%
ARLINGTON CO PBLC SCHS	44.4%	56.3%	31.0%	41.2%	32.1%
ALEXANDRIA CITY PBLC SCHS	25.0%	35.0%	21.5%	20.5%	21.9%
FAUQUIER CO PBLC SCHS	75.7%	76.1%	74.5%		73.9%
MANASSAS CITY PBLC SCHS	28.2%	29.7%	29.0%		27.2%
					<u></u>
WARREN CO PBLC SCHS	82.8%	83.1%	81.7%		

Note: Blank cells represent only one school or less than one-twentieth of a racial enrollment.

Table 30A: Exposure Rates to Black Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011

Table 50A. Exposure Rules to Blu		White Exposure to	Black Exposure to	Asian Exposure	Latino Exposure
	% Black	Black	Black	to Black	to Black
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News					
VA BEACH CITY PBLC SCHS	24.8%	20.1%	34.0%	25.7%	26.4%
CHESAPEAKE CITY PBLC SCHS	33.0%	24.5%	46.1%		34.2%
NORFOLK CITY PBLC SCHS	62.6%	48.5%	69.5%		54.0%
NEWPORT NEWS CITY PBLC					
SCHS	55.7%	47.1%	61.4%		52.2%
HAMPTON CITY PBLC SCHS	60.7%	52.6%	65.3%		
PORTSMOUTH CITY PBLC SCHS	68.3%	54.4%	73.4%		
SUFFOLK CITY PBLC SCHS	55.3%	51.6%	58.0%		
YORK CO PBLC SCHS	12.1%	11.4%	15.2%	11.2%	13.2%
WILLIAMSBURG-JAMES CITY					
PBLC SCHS	18.8%	18.2%	20.6%		19.2%
GLOUCESTER CO PBLC SCHS	8.2%	8.2%	8.6%		
Richmond-Petersburg					
CHESTERFIELD CO PBLC SCHS	26.5%	21.0%	36.3%		33.5%
HENRICO CO PBLC SCHS	37.4%	20.1%	63.0%	19.3%	33.4%
RICHMOND CITY PBLC SCHS	83.7%	57.9%	87.5%		72.3%
HANOVER CO PBLC SCHS	9.7%	9.4%	11.7%		
PRINCE GEORGE CO PBLC SCHS	33.6%	33.1%	34.3%		33.9%
LOUISA CO PBLC SCHS	19.8%	19.7%	20.6%		
DINWIDDIE CO PBLC SCHS	35.6%	34.0%	37.8%		
PETERSBURG CITY PBLC SCHS	93.5%		93.6%		
POWHATAN CO PBLC SCHS	8.4%	8.3%	9.5%		
CAROLINE CO PBLC SCHS	32.7%	32.4%	33.8%		
Northern Virginia					
FAIRFAX CO PBLC SCHS	10.4%	8.5%	16.3%	9.3%	12.6%
PRINCE WILLIAM CO PBLC					
SCHS	20.3%	16.1%	26.3%	19.8%	21.4%
LOUDOUN CO PBLC SCHS	7.2%	6.8%	8.0%	7.5%	7.9%
STAFFORD CO PBLC SCHS	18.2%	17.3%	20.4%		19.1%
SPOTSYLVANIA CO PBLC SCHS	19.3%	18.6%	21.0%		20.1%
ARLINGTON CO PBLC SCHS	11.5%	8.0%	17.5%	12.6%	14.1%
ALEXANDRIA CITY PBLC SCHS	34.2%	29.3%	38.4%	36.9%	33.0%
FAUQUIER CO PBLC SCHS	9.7%	9.6%	10.9%		9.6%
MANASSAS CITY PBLC SCHS	14.7%	15.1%	15.1%		14.5%
WARREN CO PBLC SCHS	5.5%	5.5%	6.3%		

Note: Blank cells represent only one school or less than one-twentieth of a racial enrollment.

Table 31A: Exposure Rates to Asian Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011

·		White	Black	Asian	Latino
		Exposure to	-		Exposure
	% Asian	Asian	Asian	to Asian	to Asian
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport					
News			- - :	= 00/	:
VA BEACH CITY PBLC SCHS	6.0%	5.6%	6.2%	7.9%	6.2%
CHESAPEAKE CITY PBLC SCHS	2.8%				
NORFOLK CITY PBLC SCHS	2.3%				
NEWPORT NEWS CITY PBLC	2.00/				
SCHS	3.0%				
HAMPTON CITY PBLC SCHS	2.4%				
PORTSMOUTH CITY PBLC SCHS	0.9%				
SUFFOLK CITY PBLC SCHS	1.4%				
YORK CO PBLC SCHS	5.7%	5.7%	5.2%	6.5%	5.5%
WILLIAMSBURG-JAMES CITY					
PBLC SCHS	2.5%				
GLOUCESTER CO PBLC SCHS	0.7%				Į
Richmond-Petersburg					
CHESTERFIELD CO PBLC SCHS	3.6%				<u> </u>
HENRICO CO PBLC SCHS	7.5%	9.4%	3.9%	13.7%	7.8%
RICHMOND CITY PBLC SCHS	0.7%				
HANOVER CO PBLC SCHS	1.9%				
PRINCE GEORGE CO PBLC SCHS	1.9%				
LOUISA CO PBLC SCHS	0.3%				
DINWIDDIE CO PBLC SCHS	0.4%				
PETERSBURG CITY PBLC SCHS	0.8%				
POWHATAN CO PBLC SCHS	0.6%				\$
CAROLINE CO PBLC SCHS	0.6%				
Northern Virginia					
FAIRFAX CO PBLC SCHS	19.4%	18.9%	17.3%	23.8%	17.6%
PRINCE WILLIAM CO PBLC					€
SCHS	7.7%	8.0%	7.5%	8.8%	7.0%
LOUDOUN CO PBLC SCHS	14.7%	13.1%	15.4%	21.5%	13.9%
STAFFORD CO PBLC SCHS	2.9%				
SPOTSYLVANIA CO PBLC SCHS	3.1%				
ARLINGTON CO PBLC SCHS	9.7%	9.0%	10.7%	11.2%	10.0%
ALEXANDRIA CITY PBLC SCHS	5.4%	4.4%	5.9%	6.7%	5.5%
FAUQUIER CO PBLC SCHS	1.7%				<u>4</u>
MANASSAS CITY PBLC SCHS	4.4%				<u> </u>
WARREN CO PBLC SCHS	1.5%				<u> </u>

WARREN CO PBLC SCHS 1.5% Note: Blank cells represent only one school or less than one-twentieth of a racial enrollment.

Table 32A: Exposure Rates to Latino Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011

	White	Black	Latino	
	Exposure to	Exposure to	Exposure	Exposure
% Latino	Latino	Latino	to Latino	to Latino
			9.1%	9.7%
				6.4%
6.1%	7.5%	5.3%		8.1%
	10.3%	9.3%		11.8%
3.9%				
7.0%	6.8%	7.7%	6.8%	7.5%
7.3%	7.2%	7.5%		8.1%
3.5%				
9.7%	7.2%	12.2%		17.0%
6.3%	6.1%	5.7%	6.6%	10.9%
6.6%	5.2%	5.7%		19.7%
2.4%				
8.2%	8.0%	8.3%		8.8%
2.4%				
4.7%				
3.6%				
2.6%				2
4.9%				
21.1%	16.4%	25.6%	19.1%	31.1%
				\$
28.6%	22.1%	30.1%	26.3%	37.0%
15.2%	12.8%	16.7%	14.3%	24.3%
12.6%	11.9%	13.3%		15.0%
9.8%	9.3%	10.2%		11.7%
29.6%	21.4%	36.4%	30.3%	39.4%
30.7%	26.8%	29.6%	31.0%	35.2%
9.8%	9.6%	9.7%		11.6%
47.8%	46.1%	46.9%		49.0%
4.9%				
	8.9% 5.8% 6.1% 10.0% 5.0% 3.5% 3.9% 7.0% 7.3% 3.5% 9.7% 6.3% 6.6% 2.4% 8.2% 2.4% 4.7% 3.6% 2.6% 4.9% 21.1% 28.6% 15.2% 12.6% 9.8% 29.6% 30.7% 9.8% 47.8%	% Latino Exposure to Latino 8.9% 8.4% 5.8% 5.6% 6.1% 7.5% 10.0% 10.3% 5.0% 3.5% 3.9% 7.2% 7.3% 7.2% 6.3% 6.1% 6.6% 5.2% 2.4% 8.0% 4.7% 3.6% 2.6% 4.9% 15.2% 12.8% 12.6% 11.9% 9.8% 9.3% 29.6% 21.4% 30.7% 26.8% 9.8% 9.6% 47.8% 46.1%	% Latino Exposure to Latino Exposure to Latino 8.9% 8.4% 9.4% 5.8% 5.6% 6.0% 6.1% 7.5% 5.3% 10.0% 10.3% 9.3% 5.0% 3.5% 7.7% 3.9% 7.2% 7.5% 7.3% 7.2% 7.5% 3.5% 5.7% 5.7% 6.3% 6.1% 5.7% 6.6% 5.2% 5.7% 2.4% 8.0% 8.3% 4.7% 3.6% 8.3% 2.6% 4.9% 30.1% 15.2% 12.8% 16.7% 12.6% 11.9% 13.3% 9.8% 9.3% 10.2% 29.6% 21.4% 36.4% 30.7% 26.8% 29.6% 9.8% 9.3% 10.2% 47.8% 46.1% 46.9%	% Latino Exposure to Latino Exposure to Latino Exposure to Latino 8.9% 8.4% 9.4% 9.1% 5.8% 5.6% 6.0% 6.1% 6.1% 7.5% 5.3% 6.0% 10.0% 10.3% 9.3% 6.8% 5.0% 3.5% 7.7% 6.8% 7.3% 7.2% 7.5% 3.5% 9.7% 7.2% 12.2% 6.6% 6.3% 6.1% 5.7% 6.6% 6.6% 5.2% 5.7% 6.6% 8.2% 8.0% 8.3% 2.4% 4.7% 3.6% 2.6% 19.1% 2.6% 4.9% 16.7% 14.3% 15.2% 12.8% 16.7% 14.3% 12.6% 11.9% 13.3% 9.8% 9.3% 29.6% 21.4% 36.4% 30.3% 30.3% 30.7% 26.8% 29.6% 31.0% 30.3% 47.8% 46.1% 46.9%

Note: Blank cells represent only one school or less than one-twentieth of a racial enrollment.

 Table 33A:
 Black and Latino Exposure Rates to White and Asian Students in Public Schools

	White and Asian Share Black and Latino Exposure of School Enrollment to White and Asian Students		Difference	
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport	or sensor Enronment	to write and Asian Students	Difference	
News				
VA BEACH CITY PBLC SCHS	58.9%	50.8%	-8.1%	
CHESAPEAKE CITY PBLC SCHS	54.3%	42.5%	-11.8%	
NORFOLK CITY PBLC SCHS	24.8%	20.4%	-4.4%	
NEWPORT NEWS CITY PBLC	, ,			
SCHS	32.0%	28.1%	-3.9%	
HAMPTON CITY PBLC SCHS	30.3%	26.8%	-3.5%	
PORTSMOUTH CITY PBLC SCHS	23.4%	19.2%	-4.2%	
SUFFOLK CITY PBLC SCHS	36.6%	34.3%	-2.3%	
YORK CO PBLC SCHS	71.4%	68.1%	-3.2%	
WILLIAMSBURG-JAMES CITY				
PBLC SCHS	68.7%	66.9%	-1.8%	
GLOUCESTER CO PBLC SCHS	83.2%	82.9%	-0.3%	
Richmond-Petersburg				
CHESTERFIELD CO PBLC SCHS	60.0%	47.1%	-12.8%	
HENRICO CO PBLC SCHS	53.2%	31.9%	-21.4%	
RICHMOND CITY PBLC SCHS	9.5%	6.7%	-2.7%	
HANOVER CO PBLC SCHS	85.9%	83.3%	-2.6%	
PRINCE GEORGE CO PBLC SCHS	53.3%	52.5%	-0.8%	
LOUISA CO PBLC SCHS	72.5%	72.0%	-0.6%	
DINWIDDIE CO PBLC SCHS	54.5%	51.9%	-2.6%	
PETERSBURG CITY PBLC SCHS	2.6%			
POWHATAN CO PBLC SCHS	86.3%	85.5%	-0.8%	
CAROLINE CO PBLC SCHS	55.9%	55.6%	-0.3%	
Northern Virginia				
FAIRFAX CO PBLC SCHS	63.7%	52.5%	-11.2%	
PRINCE WILLIAM CO PBLC	6			
SCHS	43.4%	35.1%	-8.3%	
LOUDOUN CO PBLC SCHS	72.6%	65.1%	-7.5%	
STAFFORD CO PBLC SCHS	62.4%	59.3%	-3.1%	
SPOTSYLVANIA CO PBLC SCHS	67.8%	65.6%	-2.2%	
ARLINGTON CO PBLC SCHS	54.1%	42.0%	-12.1%	
ALEXANDRIA CITY PBLC SCHS	30.5%	27.3%	-3.1%	
FAUQUIER CO PBLC SCHS	77.4%	75.9%	-1.5%	
MANASSAS CITY PBLC SCHS	32.6%	32.0%	-0.7%	
WARREN CO PBLC SCHS	84.4%	83.0%	-1.3%	

Note: Blank cells represent only one school or less than one-twentieth of a racial enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD),

Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table 34A: Student Exposure Rates to Low-Income Students in Public Schools, 2010-2011

	Low-				
	Income	White	Black	Asian	Latino
	Students	Exposure	Exposure	-	Exposure
	Share of	to Low-	to Low-	to Low-	to Low-
	School	Income	Income	Income	Income
	Enrollment	Students	Students	Students	Students
Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport					
News	20.00/	2.5 00/	25.50/	20.604	22 00/
VA BEACH CITY PBLC SCHS	29.8%	25.8%	37.7%	28.6%	32.0%
CHESAPEAKE CITY PBLC SCHS	31.1%	22.9%	43.9%		33.2%
NORFOLK CITY PBLC SCHS	63.4%	53.8%	67.7%		60.8%
NEWPORT NEWS CITY PBLC	50.50/	44.007	5 5 00/		51 00/
SCHS	52.7%	44.9%	57.2%		51.9%
HAMPTON CITY PBLC SCHS	49.1%	44.2%	51.4%		
PORTSMOUTH CITY PBLC SCHS	58.2%	50.1%	61.1%		
SUFFOLK CITY PBLC SCHS	41.3%	38.3%	43.7%		
YORK CO PBLC SCHS	18.6%	17.8%	22.8%	16.4%	20.7%
WILLIAMSBURG-JAMES CITY					
PBLC SCHS	28.3%	27.2%	30.6%		30.6%
GLOUCESTER CO PBLC SCHS	32.7%	32.7%	32.4%		
Richmond-Petersburg					
CHESTERFIELD CO PBLC SCHS	20.2%	14.9%	26.5%		33.6%
HENRICO CO PBLC SCHS	36.5%	23.9%	53.2%	23.8%	42.1%
RICHMOND CITY PBLC SCHS	69.4%	42.4%	72.0%		74.3%
HANOVER CO PBLC SCHS	11.5%	11.0%	14.5%		
PRINCE GEORGE CO PBLC SCHS	36.8%	36.6%	36.5%		39.0%
LOUISA CO PBLC SCHS	44.3%	44.1%	43.7%		
DINWIDDIE CO PBLC SCHS	54.4%	53.3%	55.5%		
PETERSBURG CITY PBLC SCHS	73.2%		73.0%		
POWHATAN CO PBLC SCHS	17.8%	17.7%	19.0%		
CAROLINE CO PBLC SCHS	47.8%	47.7%	47.6%		
Northern Virginia	.,.0,0	.,.,,	.,.0,0		
FAIRFAX CO PBLC SCHS	25.1%	18.3%	33.8%	22.9%	37.6%
PRINCE WILLIAM CO PBLC	25.170	10.570	33.070	22.770	37.070
SCHS	35.4%	24.8%	41.2%	32.4%	46.1%
LOUDOUN CO PBLC SCHS	16.0%	13.2%	18.0%	15.0%	26.8%
STAFFORD CO PBLC SCHS	21.3%	20.2%	23.0%	13.070	23.8%
SPOTSYLVANIA CO PBLC SCHS	29.1%	29.0%	28.9%		30.1%
ARLINGTON CO PBLC SCHS	31.1%	21.2%	41.4%	34.1%	41.4%
ALEXANDRIA CITY PBLC SCHS	51.1%	43.5%	52.9%	53.5%	54.8%
FAUQUIER CO PBLC SCHS	22.2%	••••••••		JJ.J/0	24.9%
	÷	21.7%	23.6%		
MANASSAS CITY PBLC SCHS	48.8%	46.6%	47.9%		50.3%
WARREN CO PBLC SCHS	35.7%	35.3%	37.8%		<u> </u>

WARREN CO PBLC SCHS 35.7% 35.3% 37.8% Note: Blank cells represent only one school or less than one-twentieth of racial or low-income enrollment. Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Appendix B: Data and Methodology

Data

The data in this study consisted of 1989-1990, 1999-2000, and 2010-2011 Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey and Local Education Agency data files from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). Using this data, we explored demographic and segregation patterns at the national, regional, state, metropolitan, and district levels. We also explored district racial stability patterns for each *main* metropolitan area - those areas with greater than 100,000 students enrolled in 1989.

Geography

National estimates in this report reflect all 50 U.S. states, outlying territories, Department of Defense (overseas and domestic), and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Regional analysis include the following regions and states:

- Border: Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia
- **Northeast**: Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont
- **South**: Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.

Patterns for metropolitan areas are restricted to schools within each state, due to some metropolitan boundaries spanning across two or more states.

Data Analysis

We reported the share of minority students in schools with concentrations of students of color—those where more than half the students are from minority groups—along with the percent of minorities in intensely segregated schools, places where 90-100% of students are minority youth, and apartheid schools — schools where 99-100% of students are minority. To provide estimates of diverse environments, we calculated the proportion of each racial group in multiracial schools (schools with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student body).

We also explored segregation patterns by conducting two inversely related indices, exposure and isolation, both of which help describe the demographic and socioeconomic composition of schools that the average member of a racial/ethnic group attends. Exposure of one group to other groups is called the index of exposure, while exposure of a group to itself is called the index of isolation. Both indices range from 0 to 1, where higher values on the index of exposure but lower values for isolation indicate greater integration.

Finally, we explored the segregation dimension of evenness using the index of dissimilarity and the multi-group entropy (or diversity) index, both of which measure how evenly race/ethnic population groups are distributed among schools compared with their larger geographic area. The dissimilarity index is a dual-group evenness measure that indicates the degree students of two racial groups are evenly distributed among schools. Higher values (up to 1) indicate that the two groups are unevenly distributed across schools in a geographic area while lower values (closer to 0) reflect more of an even distribution or more integration. A rough heuristic for interpreting score value includes: above .60 indicating high segregation (above .80 is extreme), .30 to .60 indicating moderate segregation, and a value below .30 indicating low segregation.

The multi-group entropy index measures the degree to which students of multiple groups are evenly distributed among schools. More specifically, the index measures the difference between the weighted average diversity (or racial composition) in schools to the diversity in the larger geographical area. So, if H is .20, the average school is 20% less diverse than the metropolitan area as a whole. Similar to *D*, higher values (up to 1) indicate that multiple racial groups are unevenly distributed across schools across a geographic area while lower values (closer to 0) reflect more of an even distribution. However, *H* has often been viewed superior to *D*, as it is the only index that obeys the "principle of transfers," (the index declines when an individual of group X moves from unit A to unit B, where the proportion of persons of group X is higher in unit A than in unit B).⁶⁴ In addition, *H* can be statistically decomposed into between and within-unit components, allowing us, for example, to identify how much the total segregation depends on the segregation between or within districts. A rough heuristic for interpreting score value includes: above .25 indicating high segregation (above .40 is extreme), between .10 and .25 indicating moderate segregation, and a value below .10 indicating low segregation.

To explore district stability patterns for key metropolitan areas, we restricted our analysis to districts open across all three data periods (1989-1990, 1999-2000, and 2010-2011), districts with 100 or greater students in 1989, and districts in metropolitan areas that experienced a white enrollment change greater than 1%. With this data, we categorized districts, as well as their metropolitan area, into predominately white (those with 80% or more white students), diverse (those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students), and predominately nonwhite (with 60% or more nonwhite students) types.⁶⁵ We then identified the degree to which district

⁶³ Massey, D. S., & Denton, N. A. (1993). *American apartheid: Segregation and the making of the underclass*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

⁶⁴ Reardon, S. F., & Firebaugh, G. (2002). Measures of multigroup segregation. *Socio-logical Methodology*, 32, 33-67

⁶⁵ Similar typography has been used with residential data; See Orfield, M., & Luce, T. (2012). *America's racially diverse suburbs: Opportunities and challenges*. Minneapolis, MN: Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity.

white enrollment has changed in comparison to the overall metropolitan area. This analysis resulted in three different degrees of change: rapidly changing, moderately changing, and stable. We classified rapidly changing districts as those with a white percentage change three times greater than the metro white percentage change. For moderately changing districts, the white student percentage changed two times but less than three times greater than the metropolitan white percentage change. Also included in the category of moderate change were those districts that experienced a white percentage change less than two times the metropolitan white percentage change but were classified as predominately white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the later period. We identified stable districts as those that experienced a white percentage change less than two times the metropolitan white percentage change.

Next, we explored the type and direction of change in school districts, which resulted in the following categories: resegregating white or nonwhite, integrating white or nonwhite, segregated white or nonwhite, or diverse. Resegregating districts are those classified as predominately white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as the other predominately type in the later period. Integrating districts are those classified as predominately white or nonwhite in the earlier time period and diverse in the later period. Segregated districts are those classified as predominately white or nonwhite in both time periods. Diverse districts are those classified as diverse in both periods.

Data Limitations and Solutions

Due to advancements in geocoding technology, as well as changes from the Office of Management and Budget and Census Bureau, metropolitan areas and locale school boundaries have changed considerably since 1989. To explore metropolitan patterns over time, we used the historical metropolitan statistical area (MSA) definitions (1999) defined by the Office of Management and Budget as the metropolitan area base. We then matched and aggregated enrollment counts for these historical metropolitan area definitions with the current definitions of Core Based Statistical Areas (CBSA) (2010) using the 1999 MSA to 2003 CBSA crosswalk to make these areas geographically comparable over time. To control for locale school boundary changes over time, data for the analysis only comprised schools open 1989-2010, 1989-1999-2010, 1999-2010, and only 2010. We then applied 2010 boundary codes to all years.

Another issue relates to missing or incomplete data. Because compliance with NCES reporting is voluntary for state education agencies (though virtually all do comply), some

⁶⁶ Similar typography has been used in Frankenberg, E. (2012). Understanding suburban school district transformation. A typology of suburban districts. In Frankenberg, E. & Orfield, G. (Eds.) *The resegregation of suburban schools: A hidden crisis in education* (pp. 27-44). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

statewide gaps in the reporting of student racial composition occur. To address this limitation, particularly for our national and regional analyses, we obtained student membership, racial composition, and free reduced status from the nearest data file year these variables were available. Below we present the missing or incomplete data by year and state, and how we attempted to address each limitation.

Data Limitation	Data Solution	
1999-2000:	1998-1999:	
States missing FRL and racial enrollment:	Tennessee: racial enrollment only	
o Arizona	2000-2001:	
o Idaho	Arizona: racial enrollment only	
o Illinois	Idaho: FRL and racial enrollment	
o Tennessee	2001 2002	
o Washington	2001-2002: • Illinois: FRL and racial enrollment	
	 Illinois: FRL and racial enrollment Washington: FRL and racial enrollment 	
1989-1999:	1990-1991:	
 Many states missing FRL 	Montana: racial enrollment only	
enrollment for this year	Wyoming: racial enrollment only	
• States missing racial enrollment:	1001 1002	
GeorgiaMaine	1991-1992:	
o Missouri	Missouri: racial enrollment only	
o Montana	1992-1993:	
 South Dakota 	South Dakota: racial enrollment	
o Virginia	only	
o Wyoming	Virginia: racial enrollment only	
	1993-1994:	
	Georgia: racial enrollment only	
	Maine: racial enrollment only	
	Other:	
	Idaho is missing racial composition data from 1989 to 1999 and thus excluded from this year	

A final issue relates to the fact that all education agencies are now collecting and reporting multi-racial student enrollment counts for the 2010-2011 data collection. However, because the Department of Education did not require these states to collect further information

on the race/ethnicity of multi-racial students, as we suggested they do (http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/data-proposals-threaten-education-and-civil-rights-accountability), it is difficult to accurately compare racial proportion and segregation findings from 2010 to prior years due to this new categorical collection. We remain very concerned about the severe problems of comparison that will begin nationally in the 2010 data. The Civil Rights Project and dozens of civil rights groups, representing a wide variety of racial and ethnic communities, recommended against adopting the Bush-era changes in the debate over the federal regulation.