

DISTRICT TRENDS

In an earlier report released August 2002,¹⁰⁵ The Civil Rights Project examined the changing exposure of whites, black, and Latino students to students of other races at the district level. The study found that despite the growing diversity of the school-age population, the data show an overwhelming trend towards school district resegregation. In this section, we further examine the changing racial composition and enrollments of the largest school systems: central city, countywide metropolitan, and suburban.²

Central City Districts

In 2000, 26 central city districts had more than 60,000 students. The last two decades have seen a continuation of the decline of large central city districts in the North and the Midwest. In fact, most of these large urban districts are found in the South (nine) and West (eight). In each of the Northeastern central city districts, roughly one-sixth of the student enrollment is white, a factor that results in the high levels of segregation in the Northeast region seen in a previous section of this report (Black and Latino Segregation—State Trends).

One-tenth of all public school students are found in the largest central city districts, including over one-fifth of blacks and Latinos. By contrast, less than one in forty white students attend these central city schools. Latino students are now more numerous than students of any other race in the largest central city districts. In fact, over one in four Latino students are found in the largest urban districts (Table 19).

Minority exposure rates to white students fell consistently across almost all large districts, including in the largest city districts from 1986 to 2000. In most central city districts, the average black student is exposed to a lower percentage of white students in his or her school than the average Latino student. In more than half of these districts (fourteen), black exposure to white students is extremely low, less than 10% for the average black student. Of the ten largest school districts, only the typical black student in San Diego attends a school with more than 10% white students. There are a few Western districts that have relatively high black-white exposure rates, but these districts (e.g., Albuquerque, Salt Lake City, and Tucson) all have at least 40% white students and few black students. Despite the large Latino population in these urban districts, there are fewer in which the average Latino student attends intensely racially isolated schools. In

¹⁰⁵ Frankenberg, Erica and Chungmei Lee (2002). *Race in American Public Schools: Rapidly Resegregating School Districts*, Cambridge, MA: The Civil Rights Project.

² The school districts in this section of the report are all school systems with 2000 enrollment greater than 60,000, however, since Hawaii only has one school district it has not been included. Because of the different demographic and legal realities of school systems in accomplishing interracial exposure, we have divided the largest districts into: central city districts (school systems that only include large cities and which were limited from incorporating suburban areas into desegregation plans by the 1974 *Milliken* decision); countywide metropolitan districts (which include both the central city and suburban areas of a metropolitan area); and suburban districts (systems that include suburban areas of a metro area).

six districts, however, there are less than 10% white students in the schools of the average Latino students.

Table 19
Enrollment of the Largest Central City School Districts by Race/Ethnicity, 2000-01

City	Enrollment	% White	% Black	% Latino	% Asian	Exposure of Minorities to Whites	
						Black	Latino
New York	1,066,516	15.3	34.9	37.8	11.7	6.6	9.3
Los Angeles	721,346	9.9	12.8	70.8	6.3	8.0	6.1
Chicago	435,261	9.6	52.0	34.9	3.3	3.0	10.9
Miami-Dade	368,356	11.3	31.2	56.2	1.2	6.8	10.9
Houston	208,462	10.0	32.1	55.0	2.9	6.3	6.9
Philadelphia	201,190	16.7	65.1	13.1	4.9	8.7	15.3
Detroit	164,178	3.7	91.0	4.1	0.9	2.1	20.0
Dallas	161,548	7.8	35.9	54.5	1.4	5.1	6.7
San Diego	141,804	27.0	16.2	38.5	17.8	19.2	19.3
Memphis	115,995	12.3	84.8	1.7	1.2	7.4	20.8
Baltimore	99,859	10.8	87.5	0.7	0.6	5.9	30.8
Milwaukee	97,985	18.7	60.8	15.1	4.4	13.1	19.3
Albuquerque	85,276	40.0	3.8	49.6	1.9	39.3	27.5
Fort Worth	79,661	21.4	30.9	45.4	2.1	15.8	14.7
Fresno	79,007	20.2	11.6	49.2	18.1	18.7	15.7
Austin	77,816	33.7	15.7	47.8	2.5	19.3	22.0
New Orleans	77,610	3.9	92.7	1.2	2.1	2.4	10.3
Cleveland	73,894	19.3	71.3	8.4	0.7	9.7	34.8
Salt Lake City	71,328	77.0	1.3	14.2	6.3	71.3	70.4
Denver	70,847	22.0	20.3	53.1	3.3	19.4	14.6
Columbus	69,694	37.1	58.4	1.8	2.4	26.0	38.1
Washington D.C.	68,925	4.5	84.6	9.2	1.6	2.1	5.6
Boston	63,024	14.7	48.4	27.4	9.0	11.2	12.8
El Paso	62,325	15.2	4.8	78.5	1.2	20.9	12.5
Tucson	61,869	41.5	6.7	45.3	2.5	45.6	29.2
Santa Ana	60,517	3.6	1.0	91.4	3.9	9.7	2.7
U.S. Total	10.5	2.7	22.8	26.2	14.8		

Enrollment in central city districts has fallen an average of 10% since 1967, with especially large declines in many former Border region cities (for example, Detroit had a decline of 44%) (Table 20). Some districts have seen enormous increases in enrollment during this same thirty-three year period, however, and in fact, some districts in the South and West have nearly doubled in size. Santa Ana, California's student body, for example, increased 113% from 1967-2000.

However, this pattern of overall decline in enrollment in the last one-third century obscures two opposite trends. Enrollment in the large central city districts fell almost 20% from 1967-1986. Since 1986, however, this trend has reversed itself, particularly in Southern and Western city districts. In fact, from 1986-2000, there has been growth of over 12% on average in all districts in Table 20. Enrollment in districts such as Miami-Dade and Santa Ana have increased over 50% since 1986; however, Washington, D.C. and Baltimore districts have both continued to have substantial declines.

Table 20—Enrollment of Largest Central City Districts from 1967-2000

City	1967	1974	1976	1986	2000	1967- 2000 change	% Change (1967-2000)	1986- 2000 change	% Change (1986-2000)
New York	1,101,804	1,095,388	1,076,325	946,659	1,066,516	-35,288	-3.2	119,857	12.7
Los Angeles	652,608	602,755	601,703	587,362	721,346	68,738	10.5	133,984	22.8
Chicago	574,801	530,191	520,742	427,570	435,261	-139,540	-24.3	7,691	1.8
Miami-Dade	220,011	246,342	240,023	243,690	368,356	148,345	67.4	124,666	51.2
Houston	256,459	211,369	209,843	194,573	208,462	-47,997	-18.7	13,889	7.1
Philadelphia	279,907	266,500	260,857	187,139	201,190	-78,717	-28.1	14,051	7.5
Detroit	293,000	256,300	238,209	159,669	164,178	-128,822	-44.0	4,509	2.8
Dallas	157,110	149,510	138,926	132,780	161,548	4,438	2.8	28,768	21.7
San Diego	118,934	121,278	1,199,988	108,254	141,804	22,870	19.2	33,550	31.0
Memphis	123,465	115,857	121,155	113,151	115,995	-7,470	-6.1	2,844	2.5
Baltimore	191,997	173,192	159,781	118,081	99,859	-92,138	-48.0	-18,222	-15.4
Milwaukee	128,170	118,474	108,798	90,234	97,985	-30,185	-23.6	7,751	8.6
Albuquerque	77,387	84,043	81,137	78,323	85,276	7,889	10.2	6,953	8.9
Fort Worth	84,005	75,834	71,234	66,925	79,661	-4,344	-5.2	12,736	19.0
Fresno	63,669	55,246	54,118	59,112	79,007	15,338	24.1	19,895	33.7
Austin	39,644	NA	NA	60,899	77,816	38,172	96.3	16,917	27.8
New Orleans	108,861	93,927	92,202	84,415	77,610	-31,251	-28.7	-6,805	-8.1
Cleveland	152,038	132,029	119,520	75,836	73,894	-78,144	-51.4	-1,942	-2.6
Salt Lake City	37,325	NA	NA	72,442	71,328	34,003	91.1	-1,114	-1.5
Denver	94,995	79,670	74,783	60,290	70,847	-24,148	-25.4	10,557	17.5
Columbus	107,413	97,816	96,993	65,570	69,694	-37,719	-35.1	4,124	6.3
Washington DC	148,911	130,926	125,058	84,630	68,925	-79,986	-53.7	-15,705	-18.6
San Antonio	78,644	68,509	65,475	60,820	63,739	-14,905	-19.0	2,919	4.8
Boston	91,608	85,826	73,782	60,166	63,024	-28,584	-31.2	2,858	4.8
El Paso	59,476	63,332	64,531	61,615	62,325	2,849	4.8	710	1.2
Tucson	52,091	63,160	59,627	55,544	61,869	9,778	18.8	6,325	11.4
Santa Ana	28,398	26,938	28,309	37,348	60,517	321,19	113.1	23,169	62.0
Total	5,215,689	4,848,965	5,789,335	4,194,929	4,848,032	-491,913	-9.4	528,847	12.6
Avg.	208,628	210,825	251,710	167,797	179,557	-19,677	-9.4	21,154	12.6

Source: Orfield and Monfort, *Status of School Desegregation*, and 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data.

The enrollment in most central cities has become much more nonwhite since 1967. Sixteen of the twenty-six districts in Table 21 had white majorities in 1967; at that time only Washington, D.C. had less than 10% white students. In most large urban districts in 2000, the white enrollment is less than 25% of the total, and only Salt Lake City has a white majority. In fact, the five largest districts have only 10-15% white students. The central city districts that have larger white proportions of the student population (e.g., Albuquerque, Austin, Tucson, etc.) are cities located predominantly in the Western states and in Texas. The black proportion of the total enrollment in the large urban districts has grown modestly since 1967. Of the largest five city districts (Table 21), all but one has more than one third. Ten districts have black majorities. There is also a growing proportion of Latino and Asian students in these school districts.

Table 21
Change in Percent of Black and White Enrollment in Largest Central City Districts, 1967-2000

City	WHITE							BLACK						
	1967	1976	1980	1986	2000	Change 1967-2000	Change 1980-2000	1967	1976	1980	1986	2000	Change 1967-2000	Change 1980-2000
New York	48	30	26	22	15	-33	-11	30	38	38	38	35	5	-3
Los Angeles	55	37	24	18	10	-45	-14	22	24	23	18	13	-9	-10
Chicago	41	25	19	14	10	-31	-9	52	60	60	57	52	0	-8
Miami-Dade	64	41	32	24	11	-53	-21	24	28	30	33	31	7	1
Houston	54	34	25	17	10	-44	-15	33	43	45	43	32	-1	-13
Philadelphia	40	32	29	25	17	-23	-12	58	62	63	63	65	7	2
Detroit	41	19	12	9	4	-37	-8	58	79	86	89	91	33	5
Dallas	63	38	30	21	8	-55	-22	30	47	49	49	36	6	-13
San Diego	76	66	56	44	27	-49	-29	11	15	15	18	16	5	1
Memphis	48	29	24	24	12	-36	-12	52	71	75	76	85	33	10
Baltimore	36	24	21	19	11	-25	-10	64	75	77	79	88	24	11
Milwaukee	73	56	45	36	19	-54	-26	24	37	46	53	61	37	15
Albuquerque	61	52	53	55	40	-21	-13	2	3	3	3	4	2	1
Fort Worth	69	51	44	37	21	-48	-23	25	35	37	36	31	6	-6
Fresno	70	62	54	42	20	-50	-34	9	11	12	11	12	3	0
Austin	81	NA	53	47	34	-47	-19	19	NA	19	20	16	-3	-3
New Orleans	34	16	12	8	4	-30	-8	66	80	84	87	93	27	9
Cleveland	43	38	28	25	19	-24	-9	56	58	67	69	71	15	4
Salt Lake City	92	85	NA	93	77	-15	NA	1	2	NA	0	1	0	NA
Denver	66	48	41	37	22	-44	-19	14	21	23	22	22	8	-1
Columbus	73	67	59	52	37	-36	-22	26	32	39	45	58	32	19
Washington DC	8	4	4	4	5	-3	1	92	95	94	91	85	-7	-9
San Antonio	28	15	NA	8	37	9	NA	15	16		13	7	-8	NA
Boston	73	44	35	26	15	-58	-20	26	43	46	47	48	22	2
El Paso	43	33	28	23	15	-28	-13	3	3	4	5	5	2	1
Tucson	68	65	62	57	42	-26	-20	5	5	5	6	7	2	2
Santa Ana	65	36	NA	12	4	-61	NA	7	9	NA	3	1	-6	NA

Source: Orfield and Monfort, *Status of School Desegregation*, and 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data.

Countywide Metropolitan Districts

Most countywide metropolitan districts are found in the South. In 2000, sixteen countywide districts had enrollments greater than 60,000. Notably, almost half of these largest districts are in Florida.

The racial composition of the countywide metropolitan districts is more balanced than the central city districts (Table 22). Even though the largest metropolitan districts (those with more than 60,000 students) in aggregate contain only half the total enrollment of the largest central city districts discussed in the previous section, almost twice as many white students attend these schools. In contrast to the city districts in which more than half had less than 10% white enrollment, each of these countywide districts has at least 40% white students. With a few exceptions, there are substantial minority populations in these districts, as well. All districts also have more than 10% black students and six districts also have more than 10% Latino students.

Given the racial composition of countywide districts, it is not surprising that the white/non-white exposure indices for the countywide metropolitan districts are substantially higher than the central city districts. Both black and Latino students in every district in Table 22 attend schools that have, on average, at least 20% white students. The typical black student in six districts and the typical Latino student in eight districts attend majority white schools. Similar to the central city districts, the average Latino student in a metropolitan district attends a more integrated school than the average black student. The high exposure indices indicate that, on average, students in countywide metropolitan districts are attending rather integrated schools. However, as discussed above, the exposure of black students to whites has dropped in each of the selected metropolitan districts in the last 14 years. Further, the exposure of minority students to whites in some districts is much lower than their white enrollment, indicating racial stratification in these districts. An example of this is Mobile County, Alabama where black exposure to whites is only 22% despite a district-wide enrollment of over 47% white students.

Similar to the central city districts, there is a decline in both black exposure to whites and Latino exposure to whites in every large countywide metropolitan district since 1986. On average, there is a larger drop in Latino exposure than for blacks. This may be due to the fact that most of these countywide districts in the South were under court desegregation orders to integrate black students but not Latino students. In fact, several districts, in which court desegregation orders have been dismissed in the last decade, show particularly large drops in black white exposure. These districts include Broward County, Florida; Clark County, Nevada; Mobile County, Alabama; Hillsborough County, Florida; and Duval County, Florida.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁶ See Unitary Chart in Appendix A

Table 22
Enrollment of the Countywide Metropolitan Districts by Race/Ethnicity, 2000-01

District	Enrollment	% White	% Black	% Latino	% Asian	Exposure of Minorities to Whites	
						Black	Latino
Broward Co., FL	251,129	41.2	36.4	19.4	2.7	23.7	43.9
Clark Co, NV	231,654	49.9	13.9	28.8	6.6	40.2	37.0
Hillsborough Co., FL (Tampa)	164,270	51.8	24.1	21.6	2.2	39.5	45.3
Palm Beach, FL	153,825	49.6	30.1	17.7	2.1	31.1	43.1
Orange Co., FL	150,681	44.1	29.3	22.8	3.5	28.8	42.3
Duval County, FL	125,744	50.2	43.3	3.7	2.7	36.0	55.7
Pinellas County, FL	113,017	72.7	19.1	4.9	3.0	64.9	69.9
Charlotte, NC	103,336	46.6	43.0	5.5	4.4	37.7	33.9
Wake Co., NC	98,950	62.9	28.3	4.6	3.9	57.0	58.0
Jefferson Co., KY	92,026	62.0	35.1	1.5	1.3	58.0	55.2
Brevard Co., FL	70,596	79.2	14.3	4.5	1.6	67.9	76.4
Nashville, TN	67,294	47.6	44.5	4.3	3.3	41.1	46.2
Mobile County, AL	64,703	47.2	50.1	0.6	1.7	22.1	53.3
Guilford Co., NC	63,417	49.6	42.5	3.4	3.9	34.5	38.7
Volusia County, FL	61,340	73.9	15.7	9.1	1.1	60.5	66.3
Seminole Co., FL	60,869	70.1	14.1	12.6	2.9	61.2	68.2
U.S. Total	4.7	3.8	7.4	4.5	4.2		

Enrollment in most of the countywide metropolitan districts has increased substantially since 1967. Every Florida district with 2000 enrollment greater than 60,000, for example, showed at least fifty percent increase in the last 33 years, with some districts more than doubling in size during that time period. (Table 23). Wake County, North Carolina experienced the largest growth, tripling in size since 1967. The five largest districts in 2000 have grown sharply since 1986, particularly the biggest two districts which have both approximately doubled in size in fourteen years. Only three districts showed a decline since 1967, with Louisville showing the largest decline.

It is worth noting the diverging enrollment trends between comparably sized central city and countywide districts. Since 1967, the largest city districts have averaged a greater than ten percent decline in enrollment (e.g., Los Angeles, New York, etc). By contrast, only three countywide districts show declines during this same period (e.g., Jefferson, Nashville, and Mobile). Additionally, many show large enrollment increases that even the most rapidly growing city districts do not match.

Table 23
Enrollment of Largest Countywide Metropolitan Districts, 1967-2000

District	1967	1974	1976	1986	2000 Enrollment	Change (1967- 2000)	% Change
Broward Co., FL	93,777	137,639	136,576	131,726	251,129	157,352	167.8
Clark Co, NV	62,967	NA	NA	95,023	231,654	168,687	267.9
Hillsborough Co., FL (Tampa)	94,641	114,855	114,911	115,373	164,270	69,629	73.6
Palm Beach, FL	59,080	70,766	70,900	84,680	153,825	94,745	160.4
Orange Co., FL	72,800	NA	NA	84,125	150,681	77,881	107.0
Duval County, FL	122,109	112,152	109,536	102,966	125,744	3,635	3.0
Pinellas County, FL	74,706	NA	NA	88,934	113,017	38,311	51.3
Charlotte, NC	78,176	77,596	79,731	72,876	103,336	25,160	32.2
Wake Co., NC	24,582	NA	NA	58,137	98,950	74,368	302.5
Jefferson Co., KY	137,392	NA	NA	93,128	92,026	-45,366	-33.0
Brevard Co., FL	NA	NA	NA	48,154	70,596	NA	NA
Nashville, TN	93,063	81,367	77,649	62,230	67,294	-25,769	-27.7
Mobile County, AL	77,480	64,373	65,419	68,482	64,703	-12,777	-16.5
Guilford Co., NC	NA	NA	NA	23,927	63,417	NA	NA
Volusia County, FL	NA	NA	NA	NA	61,340	NA	NA
Seminole Co., FL	NA	NA	NA	41,626	60,869	NA	NA

Source: Orfield and Monfort, *Status of School Desegregation, and 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data.*

Racial composition in the largest countywide metropolitan districts has become decidedly less white since 1967. Every major countywide district saw more than 10% decline in white percentage from 1967 to 2000-01, with some districts experiencing substantial loss of white students (e.g., Orange County). Four districts in Table 24 had a decline of one-third in white enrollment. During this same period, black enrollment has grown in every district.

Table 24
Change in Percent of Black and White Enrollment in Largest Countywide
Metropolitan Districts, 1967-2000

District	White							Black					
	1967	1976	1980	1986	2000	Change 1967-2000	Change 1980-2000	1967	1976	1980	1986	2000	Change
Broward Co., FL	74	75	72	65	41	-33	-31	26	22	24	28	36	10
Clark Co, NV	84	NA	77	73	50	-34	-27	12	NA	12	15	14	2
Hillsborough Co., FL (Tampa)	80	76	75	69	52	-28	-23	20	20	20	21	24	4
Palm Beach, FL	71	64	63	62	50	-21	-13	28	30	29	27	30	2
Orange Co., FL	83	NA	72	67	44	-39	-28	17	NA	23	25	29	12
-Duvall13	72	65	63	60	50	-22	NA	28	33	36	36	43	15
Pinellas County, FL	84	83	82	80	73	-11	-9	16	16	17	18	19	3
Charlotte, NC	71	64	60	58	47	-24	-13	28	29	27	21	43	15
Wake Co., NC	NA	NA	NA	71	63	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	27	28	NA
Jefferson Co., KY	96	75	72	69	62	-34	-10	4	25	27	30	35	31
Brevard Co., FL	NA	87	84	83	79	NA	-5	NA	12	14	14	14	NA
Nashville, TN	76	69	65	63	48	-28	-17	24	30	34	34	45	21
Mobile County, AL	59	56	56	55	47	-12	-9	41	44	43	44	50	9
Guilford Co., NC	NA	NA	NA	81	50	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	17	53	NA
Volusia County, FL	NA	79	78	NA	74	NA	-4	NA	21	20	NA	16	NA
Seminole Co., FL	NA	NA	NA	82	70	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	13	14	NA

Suburban districts

According to the 2000 Census data, racial and ethnic diversity in suburban areas has increased substantially since 1990.¹⁰⁷ A decade ago, minorities made up less than 20% of suburban populations; today they comprise 27 percent. In fact, much of suburban population gains during the last decade were due to minority population growth in these areas. The highest percentage of the black suburban population is mainly in white-black metro areas in the South, including some metro areas that have black proportions over one-quarter of the total population. There is less city-suburban segregation for blacks in most Southern metros than in Northern metros.¹⁰⁸

One of the results of the growing suburban population is that there are five districts in Table 25 that have enrollments that are over 100,000. In 2000, of the racial composition of these large districts varied. In general, they are whiter than either metropolitan or central city districts. There are two suburban districts in the West, for example, with an enrollment that is at least three-quarters white (i.e., Jefferson County and Jordan County). There are also, however, two suburban districts that are more than three-fourths black (i.e., Prince George's County and Dekalb County).

Minority students in suburban districts are exposed to more white students than their counterparts in either countywide metropolitan districts or central city districts, likely due to their large proportion of white students in the district. Blacks, on average, have a higher percentage of white students present in their schools than Latino students. In over half of the largest suburban districts, black and Latino students attend schools that, on average, have a white majority. By contrast, only a third of the countywide metro districts and one central city district have such high minority exposure to whites. Yet, similar to urban and metropolitan districts discussed above, black and Latino exposure to whites has fallen in every suburban district since 1986. In fact, the districts with the most rapid resegregation for black and Latino students were large suburban districts including Gwinnett and Cobb Counties (Table 25).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ Frey, William. (2001) *Melting Pot Suburbs: A Census 2000 Study of Suburban Diversity*. Washington D.C.: The Brookings Institute.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid

¹⁰⁹ Frankenberg & Lee (2002). Supra note 22.

Table 25
Enrollment of the Largest Suburban Districts by Race/Ethnicity, 2000-01

District	Enrollment	% White	% Black	% Latino	% Asian	Exposure of Minorities to Whites	
						Black	Latino
Fairfax Co., VA	156,412	60.8	10.7	12.9	15.3	50.7	46.7
Montgomery Co., MD	134,180	49.0	21.2	16.2	13.3	39	36.6
Prince George's Co., MD	133,723	11.4	77.2	7.5	3.3	9.1	8.4
Gwinnett Co., GA	110,075	64.2	16.6	10.4	8.8	49.4	43.5
Baltimore Co., MD	106,898	61.7	32.4	1.7	3.8	32.9	61.4
DeKalb Co., GA	95,958	12.7	77.3	6.0	3.9	7.4	15.6
Cobb Co., GA	95,781	65.8	23.7	6.9	3.4	45.3	44.0
Long Beach, CA	93,685	17.8	19.7	45.4	16.8	15.0	13.6
Jefferson Co., CO	87,703	82.5	1.4	12.1	3.2	76.0	71.8
Polk County, FL	79,463	63.5	23.9	11.9	0.9	60.7	56.2
Virginia Beach, VA	76,586	63.3	27.3	3.7	5.4	54.5	60.6
Anne Arundel Co., MD	74,491	75.1	19.6	2.3	2.7	56.5	60.4
Mesa, AZ	73,587	67.8	3.4	23.0	2.0	60.3	52.2
Jordan Co., UT	73,158	92.4	0.5	4.8	1.9	88.3	81.3
Fulton Co., GA	68,583	48.5	39.3	6.7	5.4	17.7	42.2
Cypress-Fairbanks, TX	63,497	58.4	10.0	23.4	7.9	53.5	48.3
U.S. Total	2.9	2.6	4.6	1.7	4.5		

Suburban district growth is also more modest than that of countywide districts (Table 26). However, in contrast to the city districts' decline, most suburban districts have grown—and in some districts, substantially—in the last 33 years. Cobb County, Georgia experienced the largest growth with a 54% increase since 1967.¹¹⁰

Table 26
Enrollment of Largest Suburban Districts, 1967-2000

District	1967	1974	1976	1986	2000	Change 1967-2000	% Change	Change 1986-2000	Change 86-00 %
Fairfax Co., VA	107,990	NA	NA	131,945	156,412	48,422	44.8	24,467	18.5
Montgomery Co., MD	116,019	NA	NA	99,161	134,180	18,161	15.7	35,019	35.3
Prince George's Co., MD	136,463	NA	NA	102,987	133,723	-2,740	-2.0	30,736	29.8
Gwinnett Co., GA	NA	NA	NA	51,984	110,075	NA	NA	NA	NA
Baltimore Co., MD	118,349	NA	NA	76,569	106,898	-11,451	-9.7	30,329	39.6
DeKalb Co., GA	77,559	NA	NA	71,668	95,958	18,399	23.7	24,290	33.9
Cobb Co., GA	38,771	NA	NA	62,042	95,781	57,010	147.0	33,739	54.4
Long Beach, CA	73,029	60,489	58,518	65,010	93,685	20,656	28.3	28,675	44.1
Jefferson Co., CO	NA	NA	NA	75,745	87,703	NA	NA	NA	NA
Polk County, FL	51,202	NA	NA	59,427	79,463	28,261	55.2	20,036	33.7
Virginia Beach, VA	38,652	NA	NA	62,662	76,586	37,934	98.1	13,924	22.2
Anne Arundel Co., MD	62,001	NA	NA	63,808	74,491	12,490	20.1	10,683	16.7
Mesa, AZ	NA	NA	NA	55,963	73,587	NA	NA	NA	NA
Jordan Co., UT	20,120	NA	NA	61,075	73,158	53,038	263.6	12,083	19.8
Fulton Co., GA	NA	NA	NA	NA	68,583	NA	NA	NA	NA
Cypress-Fairbanks, TX	NA	NA	NA	33,076	63,497	NA	NA	NA	NA

Source: Orfield and Monfort, *Status of School Desegregation*, and 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data

¹¹⁰ It is interesting to note the enrollment increase since 1986 in almost all districts, suburban as well as city and countywide. Of the fifty-one districts for which we have 1986 data, only seven districts have a smaller enrollment in 2000 than in 1986.

In 1967, the largest suburban districts were almost entirely white. Not surprisingly, as the 2000 Census shows growing suburban diversity, there have been large drops in the white percentage in the large suburban districts (Table 27). Some of these districts now have a white minority (e.g., Prince George's County), and many have seen large declines in white population in the past two decades (e.g., Dekalb County).

Table 27
Change in Percent of Black and White Enrollment in Largest Suburban Districts, 1967-2000

Suburban	WHITE							BLACK						
	1967	1976	1980	1986	2000	Change 1967-2000	Change 1980-2000	1967	1976	1980	1986	2000	Change 1967-2000	Change 1980-2000
Fairfax Co., VA	97	NA	86	78	61	-36	-25	3	NA	7	9	11	8	4
Montgomery Co., MD	96	NA	78	69	49	-47	-29	4	NA	12	15	21	17	9
Prince George's Co., MD	87	NA	46	32	11	-76	-35	13	NA	50	61	77	64	27
Gwinnett Co., GA	NA	NA	NA	95	64	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	3	16.6	NA	NA
Baltimore Co., MD	97	NA	86	83	62	-35	-24	3	NA	12	13	32	29	20
DeKalb Co., GA	95	NA	66	49	13	-82	-53	5	NA	32	47	77	72	45
Cobb Co., GA	96	NA	96	92	66	-30	-30	4	NA	3	6	24	20	21
Long Beach, CA	86	68	53	38	18	-68	-35	7	15	19	18	20	13	1
Jefferson Co., CO	NA	NA	NA	91	62	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	1	1.4	NA	0
Polk County, FL	77	NA	77	75	63	-14	-14	23	NA	21	22	23	0	2
Virginia Beach, VA	89	NA	85	80	63	-26	-22	11	NA	11	14	27	16	16
Anne Arundel Co., MD	86	NA	84	83	75	-11	-9	14	NA	14	14	20	6	6
Mesa, AZ	NA	NA	NA	86	68	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	2	3.4	NA	NA
Jordan Co., UT	100	NA	NA	95	92	-8	NA	0	NA	NA	0	51	NA	NA
Fulton Co., GA	NA	NA	NA	NA	49	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	39.3	NA	NA
Cypress-Fairbanks, TX	NA	NA	NA	78	59	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	7	10.0	NA	NA

Source: Orfield and Monfort, *Status of School Desegregation*, and 2000-01 NCES Common Core of Data.

Among the different districts, we find that:

- 1) There are vast differences in racial composition in 2000 between the different types of school systems: central city, countywide metropolitan, and suburban.
- 2) Enrollment has been increasing almost everywhere since the mid-1980s, but nowhere is growth more rapid than in countywide districts.
- 3) Prior to 1986, city districts had declining enrollment; most have modest increases since 1986. Much of the white/black enrollment changes have occurred since 1980—after desegregation plans would have been implemented; thus it is unlikely that the imposition of mandatory desegregation plans created the white flight in these large districts.
- 4) Finally, these data emphasize the success of countywide districts both in terms of substantial interracial exposure but also because of the increasing and racially diverse enrollments in these districts.