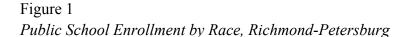
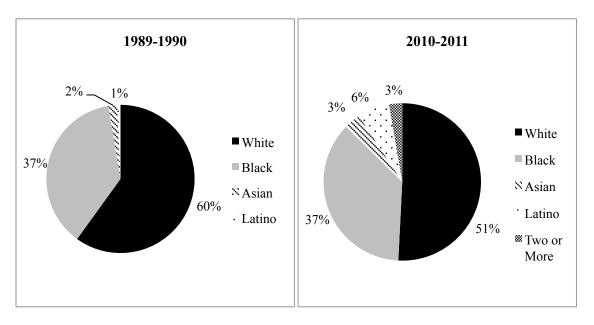
# **Richmond-Petersburg**

## Enrollment

- Enrollment in the Richmond-Petersburg metro has become substantially more diverse since 1989.
- The share of white students in the metro declined by almost ten percentage points to 51%, even as the share of the black enrollment remained steady at 37%.
- Similar to trends at the state level, the percentage of Asian and Latino students enrolled in Richmond-Petersburg metro schools increased significantly over the past twenty years.





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

- Since 1989, white students made up 10% or less of the enrollment in Richmond-Petersburg's urban schools, and a rapidly declining portion of the enrollment in suburban 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 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 the suburban enrollment over the past two decades. 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.

		Urban Schools					Su	burban Sc	hools	ls			
	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%			

#### Table 1

Public School Enrollment by Race in Urban and Suburban Schools, Richmond-Petersburg

*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.

## Concentration

- Of the three major metropolitan regions in Virginia, Richmond-Petersburg had, by far, highest proportion of intensely segregated and apartheid school settings.
- Nearly 18% of all schools in the metro were intensely segregated in 2010.
- 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.
- In terms of diverse schools, the Richmond-Petersburg area reported a substantial increase in multiracial settings (from 1.4% in 1989 to 14.2% in 2010), though not nearly as significant as similar increases in the Norfolk-Virginia Beach-Newport News or Northern Virginia areas.
- The share of predominately minority schools also rose over the same time period, from about 35% to 43%.

	Total Schools	% of Multi- Racial 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%

Multi-Racial and Minority Segregated Schools, Richmond-Petersburg

*Note*: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multi-racial 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.

- 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 rising share of students in predominately minority school settings, roughly 60% in 2010, which was 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 predominately minority schools, and far less likely to do so than schools with high levels of racial isolation.

#### Table 3

Table 2

	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%

Students who are Low-Income in Multi-Racial and Minority Schools, Richmond Petersburg

*Note:* Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multi-racial 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 predominately minority, intensely segregated and apartheid school settings in the Richmond-Petersburg metro.

- 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).
- More than one in three black students in the Richmond area went to an intensely segregated minority school in 2010.
- Nearly one in ten black students attended apartheid settings where white students made up less than 1% of the enrollment.
- 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 about 48% 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 predominately minority school between 1989 and 2010.

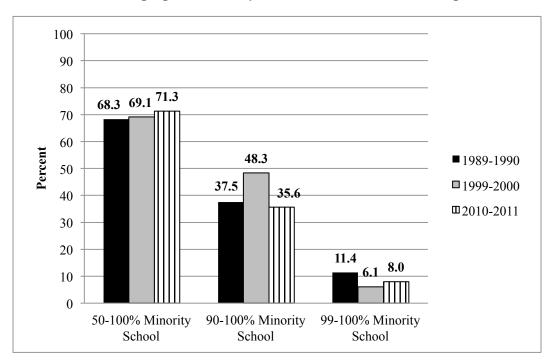
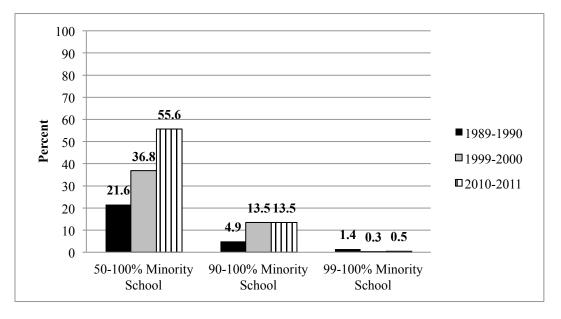


Figure 2 Black Students in Segregated Minority Schools, Richmond-Petersburg

- Nearly 14% of Latino attended intensely segregated settings in 2010; more than triple the share attending such schools in 1989.
- A rapidly rising share of Latino students also enrolled in predominately minority settings, more than doubling from about 22% in 1989 to roughly 56% in 2010.

Figure 3



Latino Students in Segregated Minority Schools, Richmond Petersburg

- Latino and Asian students in the Richmond-Petersburg area were most likely to enroll in multiracial schools (settings in which three or more racial groups make up at least 10% of the enrollment), reflective of patterns in the state and other metros.
- 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.

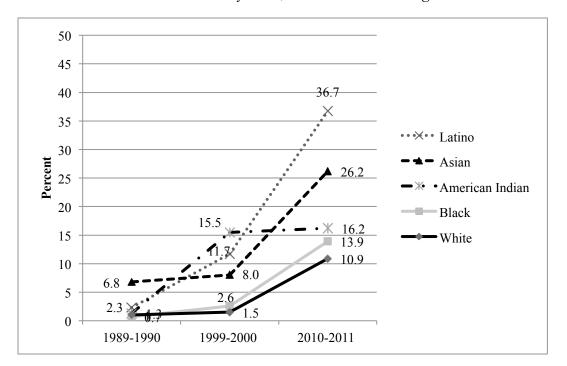


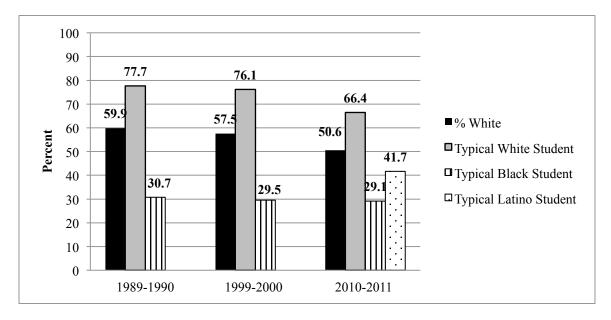
Figure 4 Students in Multi-Racial Schools by Race, Richmond-Petersburg

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

## **Exposure**

- White students went to schools with disproportionately high shares of other white ٠ 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 ٠ 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.
- These discrepancies in exposure to whites were much starker in the Richmond area than in the Norfolk region.

#### Figure 5



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

- Over the past two decades, the typical black student in the Richmond-Petersburg metro attended a school where other black students have steadily made up roughly twice their share of the overall metro enrollment.
- 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.

#### Figure 6

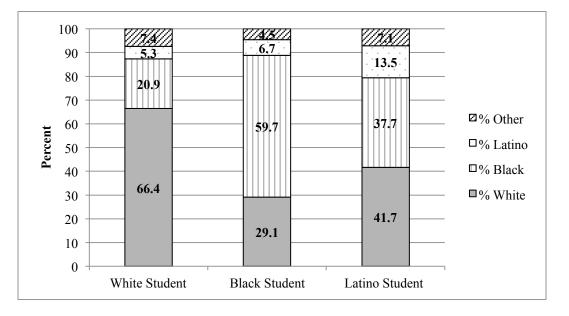
100 90 80 67.4 67.6 70 59.7 Black Exposure to 60 White Percent 50 Black Exposure to Black 40 ■ ■ Black Exposure to 30 Latino 30.7 29.5 29.1 20 6.7 10 Δ 0 1989-1990 1999-2000 2010-2011

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.

- 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.
- 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 7

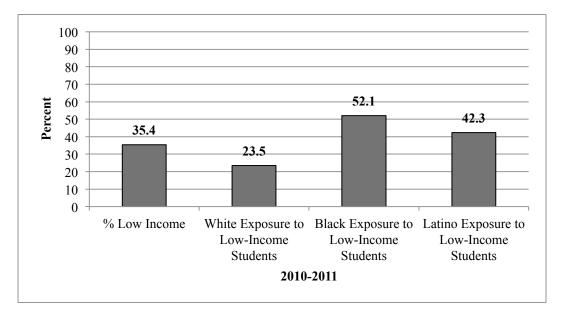


Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Student by Race, Richmond-Petersburg

*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.
- In 2010, low income students made up about 35% of the metro 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 disparity in black-white exposure to poverty.
- Latino students experienced proportional levels of exposure to low income students in the Richmond-Petersburg metro.

#### Figure 8



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.
- 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.

	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

 Table 4

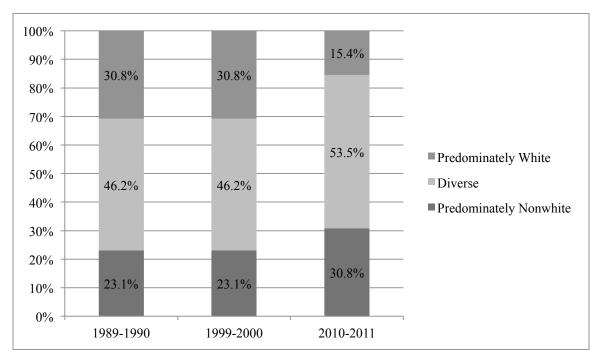
 Entropy Index Values, Overall and Within and Between School Districts, Richmond-Petersburg

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

## **Racial Transition in 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%.
- The proportion of predominately white districts shrunk by half, while the share of predominately nonwhite districts grew. By contrast, no changes were reported between 1989 and 1999.





*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--including Chesterfield, Colonial Heights--that were predominately white in 1989 now report diverse enrollments.
- Another district, Hopewell City, has made the transition from a diverse enrollment to a predominately 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 6

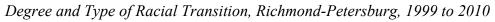
*White Proportion and Classification in Metropolitan Area and Districts, Richmond-Petersburg, 1989-2010* 

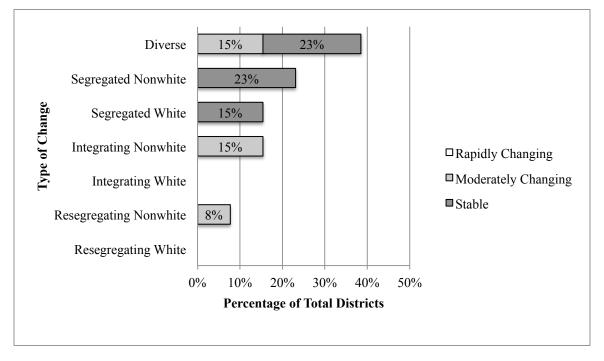
	Wł	nite Propor	tion	Classification			
	1989	1999	2010	1989	1999	2010	
Richmond-Petersburg,							
VA Metropolitan	59.9%	57.5%	50.6%	D	D	D	
CHARLES CITY							
COUNTY	11.7%	24.0%	30.8%	PNW	PNW	PNW	
CHESTERFIELD	80.2%	73.3%	56.3%	PW	D	D	
COLONIAL							
HEIGHTS CITY	94.2%	89.1%	72.7%	PW	PW	D	
DINWIDDIE	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.

- Districts classified as diverse made up the largest proportion of school systems in the Richmond-Petersburg region.
- Nearly a quarter of these school districts were stably diverse, an important category given the variety of positive educational indicators 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 10





*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 predominately 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 predominately white, nonwhite or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as the other predominately white, nonwhite or 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. *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 since 1989, two moving in an integrating direction and one heading towards resegregation.

- 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 predominately nonwhite. Once a district begins the process of resegregation, it can be very difficult to reverse the trend.

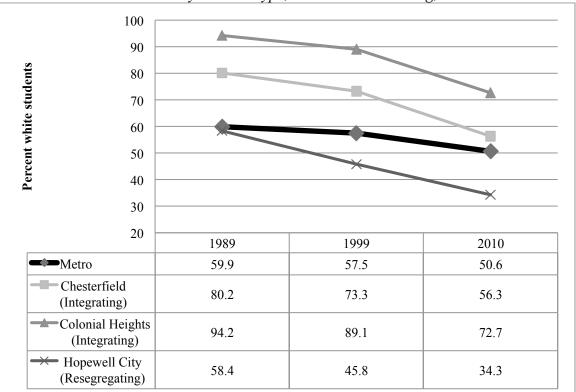


Figure 11 Moderate Racial Transition by District Type, Richmond-Petersburg, 1989-2010

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 predominately white, nonwhite or diverse in the prior year and classified as the other predominately type in the latter year. Integrating are districts are those classified as predominately white or nonwhite in the prior year and diverse in the latter year. Segregating districts are those classified as predominately white or nonwhite in both periods but experienced a white % change greater than 2 times the metro white % change.