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Creating More Integrated Schools in a Segregated System: A Window of Opportunity

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The city of Richmond is changing. Over the past decade, an influx of young, white professionals and families has fueled population growth.[1] And increases in the residential population of white families have very slowly translated into increases in the enrollment of white students in Richmond Public Schools (RPS).[2] These shifts come on the heels of decades of intentional division of and disinvestment in majority black urban communities,[3] offering renewed opportunities for neighborhood and school integration, along with a stronger tax base and increases in school funding. But changing demographics[4] also bring challenges. Both the opportunities and challenges have been on full display during the school rezoning process in RPS.

This research brief offers important context and content to inform policy decisions that leverage our city's growing diversity for increased equity and inclusion. In the sections that follow, we share the robust body of research on the benefits of diverse schools, the current state of integration and relevant historical background influencing the need for action, comparable contemporary experiences, common voluntary integration methods--including best and promising practices and lessons learned--and policy and implementation recommendations informed by this information.

What's at Stake? The Multifaceted Benefits of Diverse Schools

For decades, high-stakes accountability has defined the goals of public education. The narrow focus on test scores, which reflect opportunities both in and outside of school, has distracted us from much broader purposes of schooling.[5] Schools help create future citizens and workers—and doing so successfully benefits society at large. They are also charged with cultivating the talents of individual children. When we focus too much on the latter, at the expense of the former, we run the risk of viewing our public schools solely as institutions designed to promote our private gain. A healthy balance is important, and this is where the multifaceted advantages associated with diverse schools come in. When we recognize that schools must do more than churn out high-scoring students, we are able to see more clearly the critical importance of the various academic, social and civic benefits of integration. These benefits include greater learning and achievement but are not limited to them.

Research data on the benefits of integration--and the harms of segregation--are robust and multidisciplinary. Taken together, studies conducted over the past few decades show that **school integration is one of the most powerful policy tools available** when it comes to expanding educational opportunity and promoting a healthy, democratic society.

Specifically, diverse schools and classrooms:

- **boost learning and foster workforce skills for all students.** By exposing students to different perspectives, they nurture critical thinking, creativity, collaboration and communication.[6] Diverse schools and classrooms also promote impacts associated with peers, including positive outlooks on going to school and class, completion of assignments and college enrollment. Diverse peer groups are further linked to high teacher expec-

tations, strong instruction and robust family involvement.[7] It should come as no surprise, then, that diverse schools and classrooms are associated with enhanced student achievement and educational attainment for historically marginalized groups, with no harm to historically advantaged groups.[8] Peer effects are strongest when they begin early.

- **help reduce prejudice.** They offer opportunities for contact between different groups, opening up the possibility for friendships across lines of difference. Those friendships are key to countering stereotypes and alleviating an "us against them" mentality.[9] Countless studies have shown that "familiarity breeds liking" and conversely that separation gives rise to anxiety and fear.[10] Because prejudice forms when children are very young,[11] contact in diverse preschools and elementary schools is imperative.

- are associated with **stronger mental health for students**. During a period of intense anxiety around school safety and mass shootings, it's important to understand that multiracial schools help students cultivate more complex social identities, which is related to feeling safer, less victimized and less lonely.[12]

- **open up access** to segregated social networks. These networks sustain inequality by cordoning off information about postsecondary education, employment, housing and schools.[13] There's truth to the old saying, "it's not what you know, it's who you know." Integrating social networks is one way of expanding social circles and sharing an understanding of systems of power. It also counters the blinders that come with simply interacting those who are like you—giving rise to more empathy about circumstances in communities beyond your own.[14]

- are **good for democracy**. In a rapidly diversifying and increasingly unequal society, integrated schools nurture social cohesion.[15] They help students understand—and practice—what it means to be a citizen in racially and economically diverse communities by offering opportunities for perspective-taking, cooperating and problem-solving across differences. Diverse schools and classrooms also expand opportunity to historically excluded groups, allowing for more equal participation in the political process.[16]

- promote **educational equity**. They help improve access to an array of critical educational resources. These include a strong, diverse teaching force,[17] high-level, engaging[18] curricula and more funding in general.[19] The influx of resources that came with desegregation is one reason that black graduates of desegregated schools in the early 1970s reported better educational, occupational and health outcomes as adults than their peers who remained in segregated schools. Those beneficial outcomes also had an intergenerational effect, extending to children and grandchildren.[20]

Reason for Urgency #1: City Diversity Up, School Diversity Down

In Richmond, school segregation is worse than residential segregation, and the gap between the two has been widening. Socioeconomic stratification also remains a daunting challenge. However, these troubling trends also mean that school system policies can make an impact and help reduce divisions.

- Black-white elementary school and housing segregation are not tightly linked in the city of Richmond. That is, **Richmond's elementary schools do not necessarily reflect housing patterns** (Figure 1).[21] This likely flows from a combination of past school desegregation efforts and current school choice policies like open enrollment.

- **Elementary school segregation between black and white students rose significantly between 1990 and 2017, reaching an extraordinarily high level.** In 2016, roughly 70% of black and white students would have needed to change schools to achieve a racial distribution that reflects the citywide enrollment (see Figure 1).

- Meanwhile, **black-white residential segregation has fallen** swiftly over the last seven years. At .58, it is now considered a moderate level of segregation.[22] Declines in residential segregation may relate to the urban settlement of young, white professionals[23] without children and/or Richmond's choice-based open enrollment policy. Research indicates that robust school choice in central city systems can accelerate gentrification.[24]

- Richmond city school and housing segregation patterns mirror national ones. A study of the 100 most populous cities in

Figure 1. Elementary School and Residential Segregation in the city of Richmond, 1990-2017

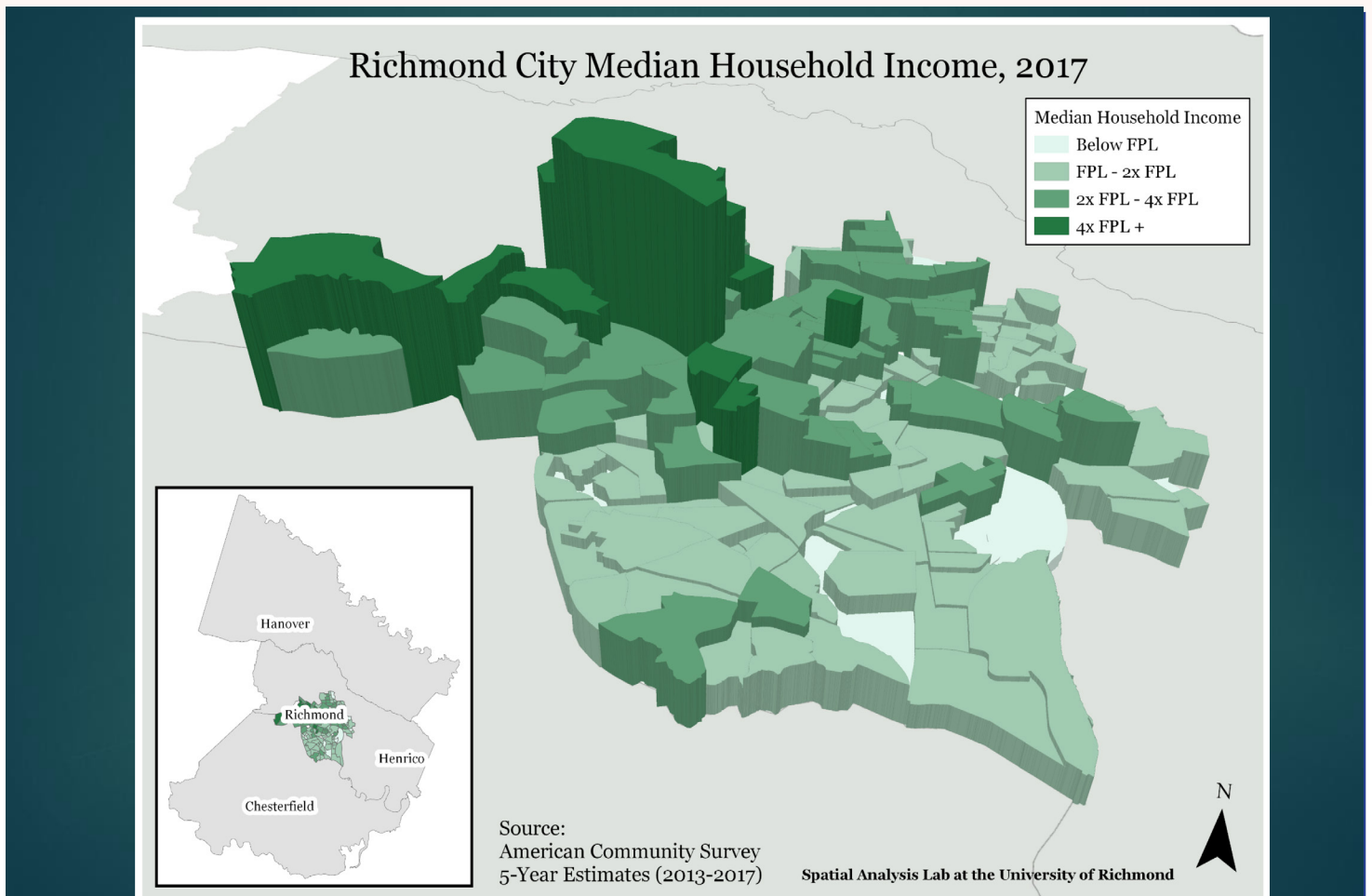|	1990	2000	2010	2017
Elementary Schools	0.47	0.57	0.71	0.71
Block Groups	0.67	0.65	0.67	0.58
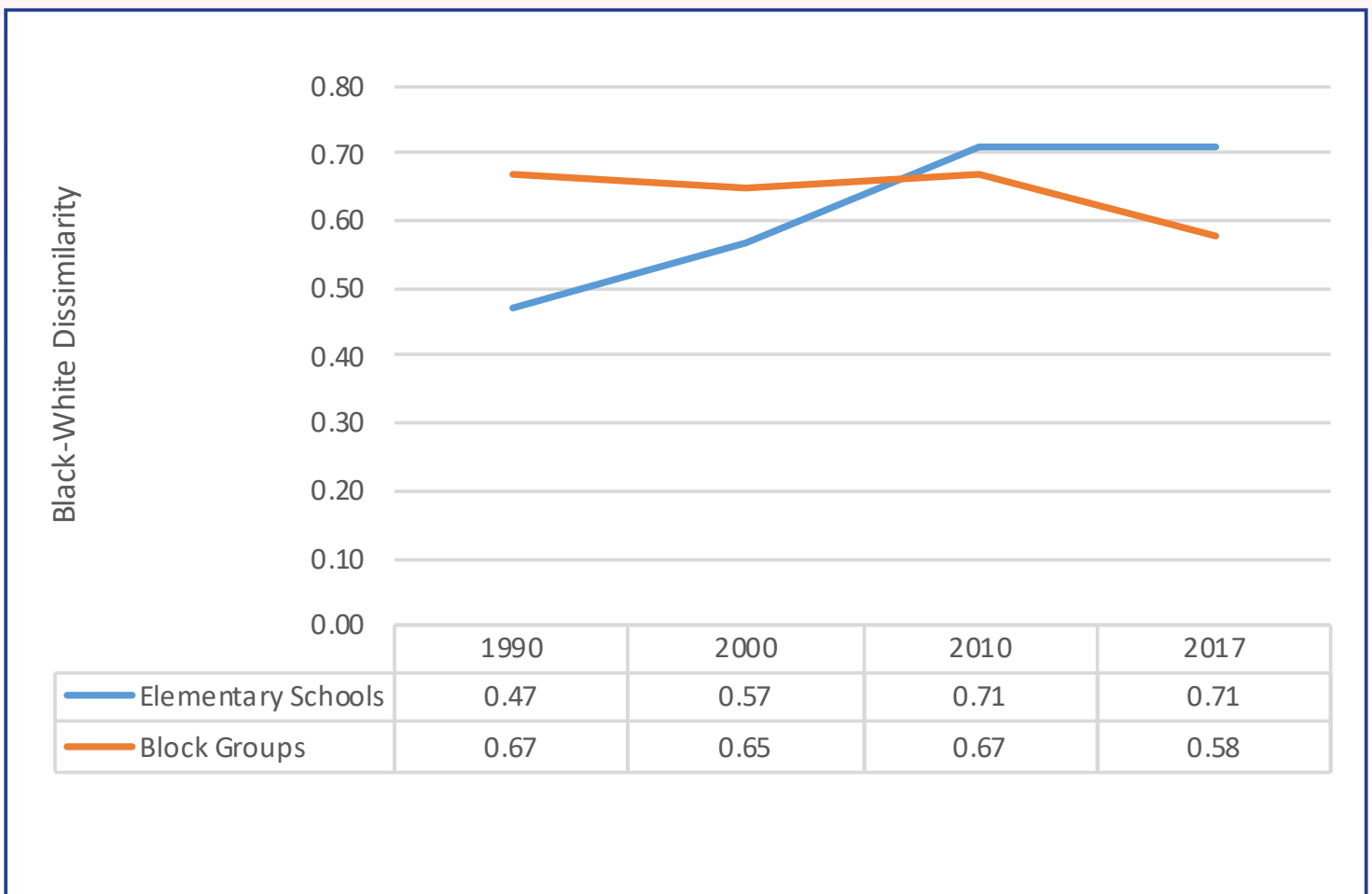
Source: NCES Comma Core of Data, 1992, 1999, 2010, 2016; U.S. Census, 1990, 2000, 2010; ACS 2017 5 year estimates. Note: 2017 residential segregation should be interpreted with caution because the margin of error for ACS 2017 5-year estimate block groups in Richmond City was significant at plus/minus 42%.

the U.S. between 1990 and 2015 found that the vast majority of cities reported **increased neighborhood integration alongside increased school segregation**.[25]

- Richmond's trends, according to this study, indicate a **22% decline in neighborhood segregation and a 42% increase in school segregation**.[26]

- **Income separation is also acute in Richmond** (Figure 2). The western section of the city, which houses the sierras of high income neighborhoods, reports household incomes at four times the federal poverty level. The eastern portion of the city reports many neighborhoods with median household incomes below the federal poverty level (estimated at $25,750/year for a family of four in 2019).

Figure 2. Median Household Income in Richmond City, 2017

Richmond City Median Household Income, 2017

Median Household Income
- Below FPL
- FPL - 2x FPL
- 2x FPL - 4x FPL
- 4x FPL +

Hanover

Richmond

Henrico

Chesterfield

Source:
American Community Survey
5-Year Estimates (2013-2017)   Spatial Analysis Lab at the University of Richmond

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Reason for Urgency #2: The Racial and Socioeconomic Concentration of Students

Extreme school segregation flows in part from the **concentration of white students at just a handful of RPS elementary schools** (see Figure 3). Reducing racial segregation between white students and students of other racial/ethnic backgrounds thus requires stakeholders to address the overrepresentation of white students in those schools.

- In 2018, three schools —Holton, Fox and Munford—enrolled 895 of 1,252, or **about 70%**, of all white elementary students in the system.

- The average RPS elementary school enrolled 52 white students, a number that is highly influenced by Holton, Fox and Munford but that illustrates the significant clustering of white students all the same. Munford enrolled 365 white students in 2018, Fox enrolled 285 and Holton enrolled 245.

- Holton, Fox and Munford report similarly high concentrations of students *not* considered Economically Disadvantaged (ED) in 2018 (see Figure 4).[27]

- Nearly 450 students at Munford were non-ED (out of 507 total students, or **87% of the enrollment**), 388 students at Holton

Figure 3: Number of white students by regular public elementary school, Richmond Public Schools, 2018 (n=1,252)
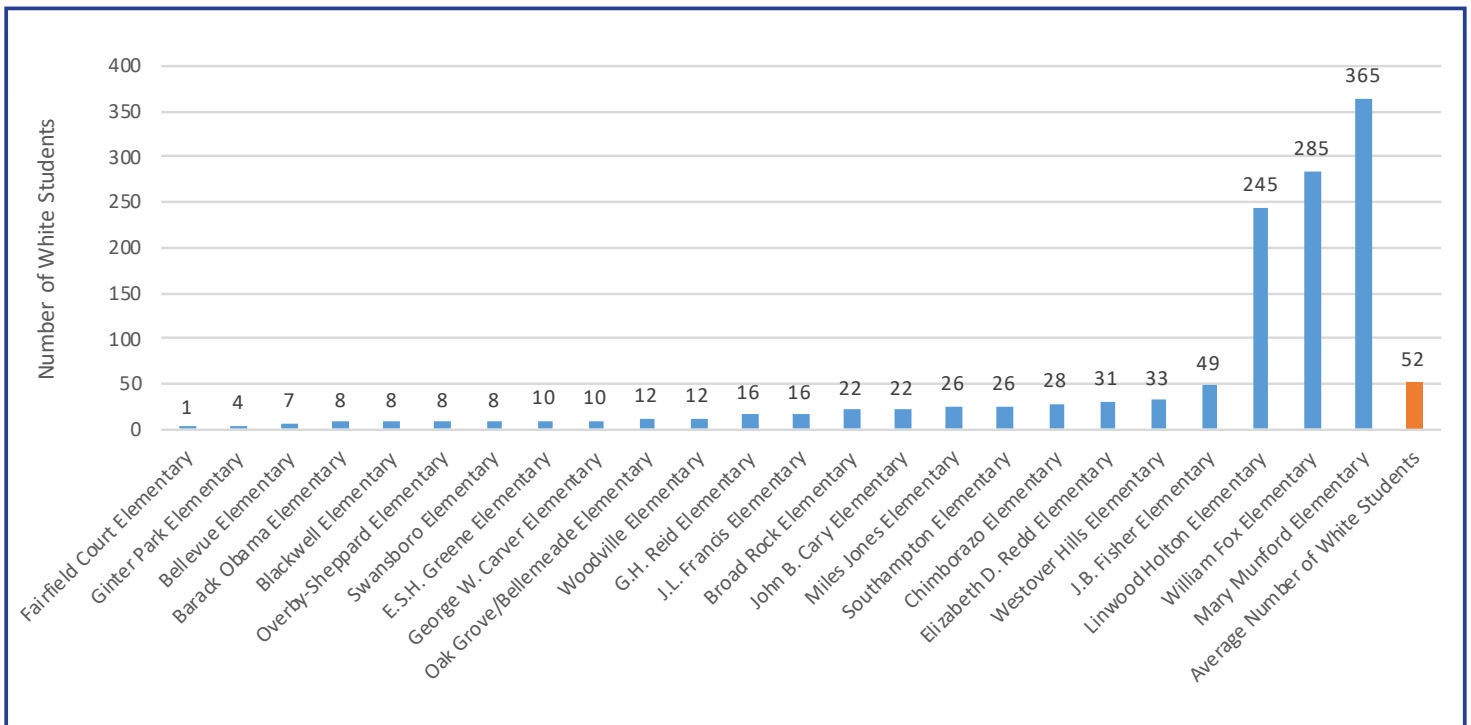
Source: VDOE, 2018. Note: George Mason excluded due to data irregularities.

were non-ED (of 597 students, or **65% of the enrollment**) and 351 at Fox (of 477, or **74% of the enrollment**).

- A number of southside schools reported relatively high shares of non-ED students in 2018; these schools also serve relatively high shares of Latinx students. Latinx students are less likely to access programs like TANF and Medicaid for a number of reasons, including barriers to entry.[28]

Reason for Urgency #3: The Construction of Three New Schools

The need for timeliness in the rezoning process has been prompted by a "good" problem: the construction of three much needed new schools targeted to open in 2020-2021. The three new schools coming online, added to the construction of four new schools in 2012-2015, represent a high water mark of school construction for RPS since the 60s.

- Between the 1970s and the 2000s, just 7 new school facilities were built.[29]

- RPS is on track to construct and open 7 new facilities in this decade alone (2010 - 2020).[30]

Figure 4. Number of non-Economically Disadvantaged students by regular public elementary school, Richmond Public Schools, 2018 (n=3,746)
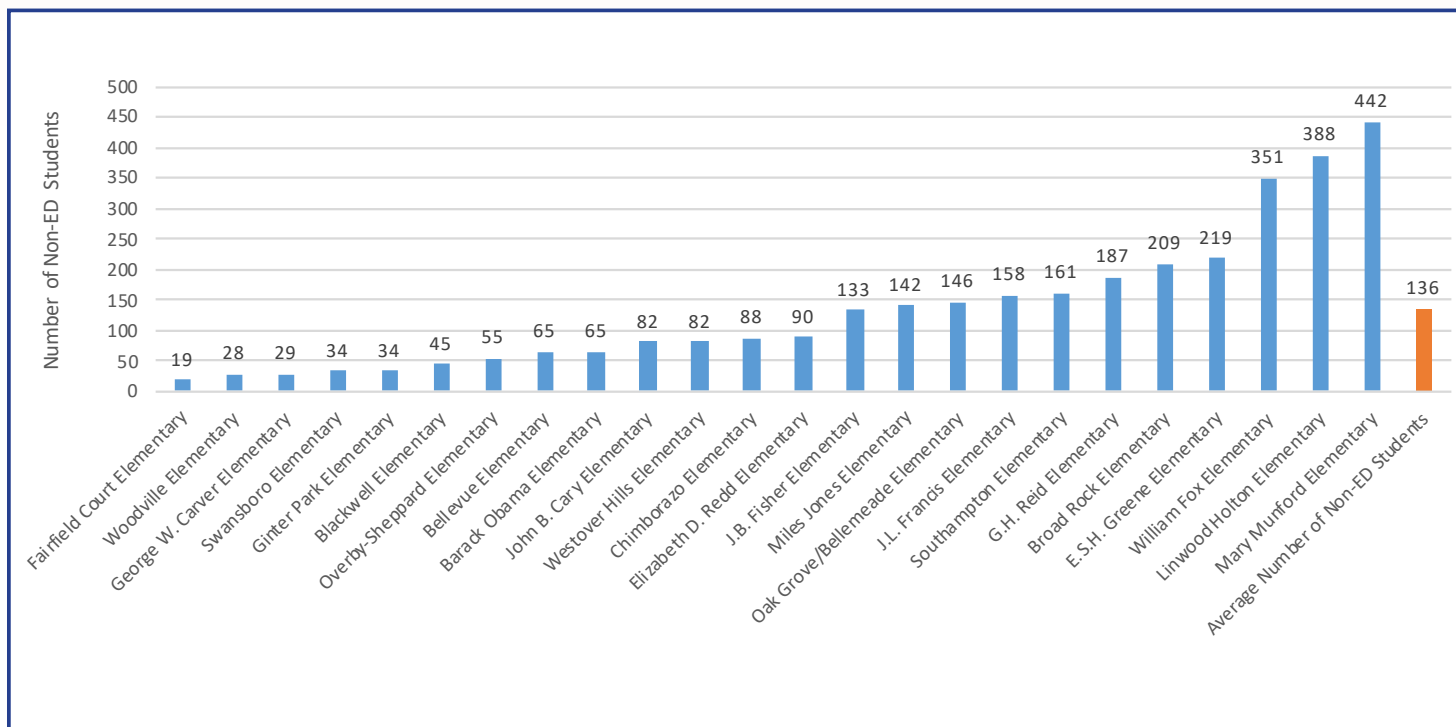
Source: VDOE, 2018. Notes: The state department of education defines economic disadvantage as a student who is eligible for free/reduced meals, receives TANF or is eligible for Medicaid. George Mason excluded due to data irregularities.

Housing and School Segregation in Richmond: The Past is Present

Today's residential and school segregation in Richmond is both the artifact and perpetuation of intentional actions at all levels of government.[31] The short version of a longer story is that a toxic combination of restrictive covenants, ghettoization, urban renewal, discriminatory buying, selling and lending practices, federal highway construction, along with suburban planning and subsidization centered on exclusion,[32] has contributed to stark, ongoing neighborhood isolation by race and class. Indeed, the Richmond region serves as a veritable case study of systemic housing discrimination in the US. Discriminatory policies continue to limit wealth-building and access to key resources like high opportunity schools in many of Richmond's black communities. Our contemporary discussion of redrawing neighborhood school attendance boundaries must acknowledge how deliberate discrimination in the housing sector has shaped the relationship between school and residential patterns.

- Since at least 1911, when the city of Richmond adopted the nation's first residential segregation ordinance, racial segregation has been intentionally enacted to divide resources available to different neighborhoods and differentiate the opportunities individuals encounter.

- The city continues to bear the scars of discrimination both visibly and invisibly. For instance, though today the Downtown Expressway is seen as a "natural" barrier that separates school communities, it purposely carved through thriving, working class black neighborhoods at the time of its construction, displacing longtime residents and tearing at the social fabric of communities.[33]

- Further, some 70 years after the Federal government institutionalized redlining, historically black, redlined neighborhoods currently account for the largest number of foreclosures, evictions, code enforcement violations, and tax-delinquent properties.[34] They are also home to the City's most racially segregated schools with the highest percentages of students living in poverty.

In the school sector, Richmond's experiences have been defined by a long history of resistance and partial and short-lived desegregation efforts. Many of the tactics used to maintain segregated schools in Richmond involved attendance boundaries.

- In 1961, eleven black families brought a class-action suit against the Richmond School Board. The suit, known as *Bradley v. Richmond,* was an effort to rid the city of the varied mechanisms and techniques that preserved segregated public schools in a landscape of increasingly segregated neighborhoods.

- Successive efforts by plaintiffs focused on how white leadership continued to thwart integration by maintaining dual attendance zones for black and white children.[35] The elimination of "dual attendance zones," which assigned black students to black schools even if they lived closer to white schools, would be a primary goal of the two district judges who oversaw the various iterations of the *Bradley* case.[36] Through their decisions, the justices also wanted to undo feeder systems which ensured that white elementary schools would populate white middle schools and eventually white high schools.[37]

- In 1973, Judge Robert Merhige, the second district court judge to oversee the Bradley case, recognized the residential trends and policies that had isolated Richmond's central city residents from increasingly white and affluent suburban ones. He took a page out of the 1971 *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg* decision and ordered a city–suburban merger, along

with transportation, for the purpose of school desegregation.[38] His groundbreaking ruling was overturned on appeal to the 4th Circuit Court and eventually a tied decision by the Supreme Court meant the appellate court's ruling stood.

- Limiting school desegregation to the city of Richmond accelerated existing white and middle class flight to the suburbs. In the wake of the consolidation failure, city-only desegregation strategies faced serious demographic and political hurdles—and were often time-limited.[39]

- By the late 1970s, a blend of neighborhood schools, open enrollment, theme-based programming and high school mergers[40] had emerged as drivers of Richmond's student assignment policy.[41] Desegregation mechanisms--like guaranteed transportation and diversity goals--that accompanied some of the strategies faded once RPS was released from court oversight in the mid-1980s.

- More than two decades later, the 2013 elementary school rezoning exacerbated already high levels of segregation.[42]

School Districts Leading the Way on Voluntary School Integration

Although many mandated school desegregation efforts have declined as legal oversight has receded, districts that understand the myriad benefits of integrated schools can--and do--use voluntary policies to achieve diversity, equity, and inclusion goals. In fact, **new voluntary district integration efforts are bubbling up across the country**, particularly over the past few years. These efforts leverage student assignment updates--a core function of school boards delineated in state law[43]--by incorporating diversity goals. Outlined below are several common strategies and what we know about their desegregating potential, with two

important notes to keep in mind when undertaking such efforts:

1. These strategies can and should be used be used **alone and/or in combination with one another to bring greater and more systemic change**. San Antonio offers a replicable example; their two-pronged approach is to integrate existing schools and attract new families to the system with specialty options coupled with seats set aside for low-income families.[44]

2. Though the Supreme Court's *Parents Involved* decision now prohibits districts from using the race of an individual student to make student assignment decisions, **officials can still consider an individual student's socioeconomic status (SES) or achievement and/or the racial and economic makeup of their schools and/or neighborhoods**. Current legal parameters also still allow officials to consider underlying neighborhood demographics when drawing and redrawing attendance boundaries.[45]

Rezoning and Student Transfer Policies

Redrawing attendance boundaries and student transfer policies for diversity are two of the most common voluntary integration strategies within districts.

- A 2016 report from The Century Foundation, for example, identified **100 districts employing policies to achieve socioeconomic school integration**; 40 of those districts reported shifting attendance boundaries as their primary strategy and 17 reported using student transfer policies.[46]

- A year later, Penn State's Center for Education and Civil Rights found **60 school systems engaging in voluntary school integration** by considering race and/or SES, 20 of which relied on adjustments to attendance zone boundaries and 18 of which relied on transfers.[47]

- Earlier research out of Stanford, from 2011, uncovered **40 districts utilizing SES integration strategies**; 28% using adjustments to attendance zones to further SES integration and 68% using some sort of transfer priority.[48]

- Looking across three different districts with varying student assignment policies, one study found that adjustments to attendance zones were linked to low levels of racial and SES segregation in Wake County, NC circa 2010.[49] Studies, though few in number, suggest the integrating impact of rezoning partly depends on how wide-scale it is.

- Other districts recently or currently undertaking rezoning efforts with policies or guidelines that include diversity and/or equity goals include Austin, Texas as well as Howard County and Montgomery County, Maryland. In Virginia efforts include school system rezoning in Albemarle County, Arlington County, Fairfax County, Henrico, County, Loudoun County, and the city school systems of Suffolk and Charlottesville.[50]

One type of rezoning is "pairing," which yields expanded zones that can encompass multiple neighborhoods to create a more diverse school zone. Pairing draws larger attendance zones around two formerly segregated buildings so all students in the larger zone attend school with the same peers and grade-level groups throughout their school experience. For example, some paired schools serve K-2 in one site and then students move together for other grades (such as 3-5).[51]

- Recent media accounts reflect a resurgence in the past few years of this long-used integration strategy. Between 2017-2019, pairings have been part of integration strategies in Charlotte[52] as well as in Chicago, Oakland, Sausalito, and Charleston.[53]

Student transfers with integration priorities fall under the heading of choice with civil rights protections. This method originated during an earlier era in what was called majority-to-minority (M-to-M) transfers, when districts granted students the opportunity to move out of a setting where they constituted the majority race into one where they were the minority.

- Unlike open enrollment, which advantages families with more information and resources to devote to transportation, student transfer policies with integration priorities include provisions to ensure equity of access.

- Student transfers for the purpose of integration differ from open enrollment policies that permit transfers for all students; research clearly shows that open enrollment is associated with increased segregation.[54]

- Student transfer policies that promote voluntary integration are not considered as comprehensive as other methods like rezoning because they do not necessarily impact all, or even many, students. For these and other reasons, contemporary research on student transfer policies that promote integration is mixed.[55]

District-wide Choice with Equity

Under the method of voluntary integration often called managed choice, every family in a district submits a set of school preferences and receives a school assignment according to a number of different priorities. These goals can include proximity, diversity and stability. The *systemic* nature of choice is important here; requiring every family to choose reduces the stratification that ensues when only the most informed and heavily resourced families choose.

- Contemporary estimates indicate that roughly 50 districts use managed choice, including Louisville-Jefferson County, KY, Cambridge, MA and Berkeley, CA.[56]

- Research indicates that managed choice is a far-reaching and effective method of desegregation since it impacts all students in a system.[57] Several districts in New York City, under pressure from local advocacy groups, are currently considering versions of controlled choice.[58]

Magnet Schools

District-wide choice with equity often includes magnet schools. Magnet schools offer a less systemic example of choice that can be used to further desegregation. These are schools of choice designed to attract a variety of families and students through innovative programming. The programming helps draw families across traditional attendance boundaries, breaking the link between school and housing segregation. If they are truly magnetic, outreach and social networks can inject new information into conversations about existing schools. Magnets are often—but not always—sited in racially segregated schools and/or neighborhoods of concentrated poverty[59] and strong new programming can help alleviate past stigma. Diversity goals, weighted lotteries, attractive programming, strong outreach and guaranteed transportation are all essential features of magnet schools that maintain a focus on desegregation.[60]

- Finding the resources to support magnet conversions is important, particularly in the first few years when outreach and rebranding must occur, along with any teacher training, building modifications or instructional materials related to the theme. One available funding stream is the federal government's longest running desegregation effort, the Magnet Schools Assistance Program (MSAP). Importantly, in order to qualify for financial assistance, districts or consortia of districts must agree to a set of goals for reducing racial isolation in schools.

- The importance of diversity goals—and the systems of desegregation behind them—can be gleaned from what happened when they were abandoned. Numerous studies indicate that magnets swiftly resegregated when diversity was no longer a focus.[61]

- Magnet schools governed by diversity goals report lower levels of segregation than magnets not governed by such goals.[62]

- In a recent survey of 60 school districts using some type of voluntary integration strategies, magnets attempting to diversify by applying lottery priorities or weights to underrepresented groups represented the most common (26 districts) method.[63]

Recommendations

Given the robust evidence base supporting school integration, along with the history of housing and educational segregation in Richmond, leaders deciding among rezoning and other integrative policy choices should:

1. Have a goal of enrolling as many students as possible in more diverse schools.

2. Consider using multiple voluntary integration strategies if/when the combination can increase the likelihood of achieving that goal.

3. Reduce, wherever possible, high concentrations of poverty as well as stark concentrations of white, affluent students.

Policies that impact who attends which schools are just the first step toward achieving high quality, diverse, equitable, and inclusive learning environments. Successful implementation depends on effective execution and strategies to ensure equity and inclusion of all groups.

Stakeholders tasked with implementing new voluntary integration policies should:

1. Build upon the growing knowledge base of school districts relying on similar strategies by accessing expertise and guidance materials, including essential "to dos;" and lessons learned.

2. Leverage partnerships with nonprofit, higher education, and philanthropic organizations to support voluntary integration, including efforts to:

   a. deepen the culturally responsive practices of teachers and school leaders,

   b. nurture parent and student relationships across historical divides, and

   c. support the need for information and support for historically marginalized populations

   d. provide external resources to support internal efforts.

3. Form a Diverse, Equitable and Inclusive Schools committee to strategically position the district for short-term success and more long-term, holistic voluntary integration efforts.

4. Ensure accountability with regular and required public reporting on diversity, equity and inclusion.

5. Regularly convene with housing policymakers to develop a coordinated strategy for sustained integration.

authors & acknowledgements

endnotes

[1] See, e.g., Genevieve Siegel-Hawley, Brian Kozol, John Moeser, Taylor Holden and Thomas J. Shields. *Confronting School and Housing Segregation in the Richmond Region: Can We Learn and Live Together?* (Richmond: University of Richmond, Virginia Commonwealth University, Housing Opportunities Made Equal, September, 2017), 6-7. Indeed, the pattern of overwhelmingly black central cities surrounded by overwhelmingly white suburbs has now morphed into a "patchwork metropolis," with pockets of racially segregated neighborhoods of concentrated poverty found across metropolitan areas. See Richard Florida, *The New Urban Crisis: How Our Cities are Increasing Inequality, Deepening Segregation, and Failing the Middle Class- and What We Can Do About It* (New York: Basic Books, 2017). Though those pockets have traditionally been the most resistant to change, new analyses suggest that white homebuyers are increasingly purchasing in them. See Emily Badger, Quoctrung Bui, and Robert Gebeloff, "The Neighborhood Is Mostly Black. The Homebuyers Are Mostly White.", *The New York Times*, April 27, 2019, https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2019/04/27/upshot/diversity-housing-maps-raleigh-gentrification. html?smid=nytcore-ios-share.

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[3] Richard Rothstein, *The Color of Law: The Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America* (New York: Liveright Publishing, 2017).

[4] We focus here on demographic change as it relates to white residents and families, since the diversity-related rezoning has been focused on city schools north of the river with the highest concentrations of white and affluent students. Rapid growth in the city's Latinx population has also occurred, however, creating many segregated black and Latinx schools south of the river.

[5] For a good summary, see Richard Rothstein, Rebecca Jacobsen and Tamara Wilder, *Grading Education: Getting Accountability Right* (New York: Teachers College Press/EPI, 2008).

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[8] Rucker Johnson *Children of the Dream: Why School Integration Works* (New York: Basic Books, 2019).

[9] Thomas Pettigrew and Linda Tropp, "A Meta-Analytic Test of Intergroup Contact Theory," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 90, no. 5 (2006): 751–83.

[10] *Ibid.*

[11] Erica Frankenberg, *Segregation at an Early Age* (State College: Penn State Center for Educational and Civil Rights, 2016), https://cecr.ed.psu.edu/sites/default/files/Segregation_At_An_Early_Age_Frankenberg_2016.pdf.

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[13] Richard D. Kahlenberg et al., "What Do School Tests Measure?," *Room For Debate: A New York Times Blog*, August 3, 2009, https://roomfordebate.blogs.nytimes.com/2009/08/03/what-do-school-tests-measure/#richard; Maria Krysan and Kyle Crowder, *The Cycle of Segregation: Social Processes and Residential Stratification* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2017); Annette Lareau and Kimberly A. Goyette, eds., *Choosing Homes, Choosing Schools* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2014).

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[20] See Rucker Johnson, *Children of the Dream*.

[21] The trend is noteworthy because the smaller size of elementary attendance zones makes them more likely to reflect neighborhood segregation than middle or high school zones.

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27   ED is a state-designated category that includes students/families who are eligible for free/reduced meals, receive TANF or are eligible for Medicaid.

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32   *Ibid*. Massey and Denton, *American Apartheid.* Kenneth Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985).

33   John Moeser, *Unpacking the Census: The New Realities of Race, Economics, and Jurisdiction* (2014). https://us.iofc.org/unpacking-the-census.

34   Digital Scholarship Lab at University of Richmond, "Mapping Inequality: Redlining in New Deal America," https://dsl.richmond.edu/panorama/redlining/#loc=5/39.1/-94.58; "Mapping Inequality: Timeline of Housing Events," *Virginia Memory*, http://www.virginiamemory.com/online-exhibitions/exhibits/show/mapping-inequality/mapping-inequality-timeline.

35   Gary C. Leedes and James O'Fallon, School Desegregation in Richmond: A Case History," *University of Richmond Law Review*, 10 no. 1 (1975).

36   Robert Pratt, *The Color of their Skin: Education and Race in Richmond, Virginia, 1954-89* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1992), 31.

[37] It is instructive to examine this phase of successive *Bradley* decisions to realize that the city has been in this position before and has actually considered some similar desegregation policies currently being advocated. Here are some historical examples:

· In one of the conclusions of the *Bradley II* decision, the district court referred to the findings of Jeffers v. Whitley, which recommended that "attendance areas be abolished" for the sake of desegregation and that "feeder" patterns be broken up.

· In 1970-71, there were three plans that were offered as part of court trying to move the defendants (the City) to end dual attendance zones, "the components of which are not identifiable as either 'white' or 'Negro' schools," but desegregate and have a unitary system. These plans, known creatively as Plan I, Plan II, and Plan III, focused on zoning, transportation, and other desegregation techniques. In fact, one of the policy suggestions in Plan III was the use of pairing of schools. The court found that Plan III would "eliminate the racial identifiability of each school." See Leedes and O'Fallon, "School Desegregation in Richmond."

[38] James Ryan, *Five Miles Away, a World Apart: Once City, Two Schools, and the Story of Educational Opportunity in Modern America* (Oxford; New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2010).

[39] Pratt, *The Color of their Skin*.

[40] Plan G, which no one took credit for and which was harshly criticized, was hatched in 1978 and adopted and implemented by the School Board in 1979 (Pratt, 1992). Plan G merged the city's high schools, reducing the number from seven to three. These merged high schools were known as complexes and involved the pairing of Thomas Jefferson, Wythe and Huguenot as one complex. When the division was released from court oversight in 1986, Plan G was shut down and the complexes of high schools were broken up. Six of the schools were returned to full-functioning high schools with only Maggie Walker, a noted and historically Black high school, not reopened.

[41] Daniel Duke, *The School that Refused to Die: Continuity and Change at Thomas Jefferson High School,* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995); Joshua Cole, "Richmond Public Schools: Post-Court Mandated School Desegregation (1986-2006)," PhD diss., https://scholarscompass.vcu.edu/etd/1975/.

[42] Genevieve Siegel-Hawley, Kimberly Bridges, Thomas Shields, "Solidifying Segregation or Promoting Diversity?: School Closure and Rezoning in an Urban District," *Educational Administration Quarterly* 53, no. 1 (July, 2016): 107-141, https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/0013161X16659346.

[43] § 22.1-79. "Powers and duties." *Code of Virginia* https://law.lis.virginia.gov/vacode/title22.1/chapter7/section22.1-79/.

[44] Mohammed Choudhury, "It's still possible to take action on school segregation. Here's how we're doing it in San Antonio." *Chalkbeat*, August 1, 2019, https://www.chalkbeat.org/posts/us/2019/08/01/take-action-on-school-segregation-san-antonio/?fbclid=IwAR1z3UMWeFd1iEN-aBZJDafINj3JdkJSmrEVIJwQAntVszwy4BrXcZjHGM8g.

[45] *Parents Involved* in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1, 551 U.S. 701 (2007).

46   Kimberly Quick, "How to Achieve Socioeconomic Integration in Schools," *The Century Foundation*, April 15, 2016, https://tcf.org/content/facts/achieve-socioeconomic-integration-schools/.

47   Erica Frankenberg, Jeremy Anderson, and Kendra Taylor, "Voluntary Integration in U.S. School Districts, 2000-2015," *Center for Education and Civil Rights*, May 2017, https://cecr.ed.psu.edu/sites/default/files/Voluntary_Integration_Research_Brief_0.pdf

48   Sean Reardon and Kristine Rhodes, "The Effects of Socioeconomic School Integration Plans on Racial School Desegregation," in *Legal and Policy Options for Racially Integrated Education in the South and the Nation*, eds. E. Frankenberg, E. Debrey-Pelot, and G. Orfield (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

49   Kendra Taylor, New Directions for Integration Policy: Exploring Racial and Income Segregation at Multiple Geographic Scales in Large U.S. School Districts, 1990-2010, PhD. Diss, Pennsylvania State University (2018), https://etda.libraries.psu.edu/files/final_submissions/17633.

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52   Emma Way, "Together. Separate. Together Again," Charlotte Magazine (September 15, 2019), http://www.charlottemagazine.com/Charlotte-Magazine/October-2019/Together-Separate-Together-Again/

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