Racism At Work

RAW Truth Session #5 - September 29, 2021

# Genevieve Siegel-Hawley

# Racism At Work in Education



## Genevieve Siegel-Hawley, Ph.D.

**Associate professor And Concentration Coordinator, Educational Leadership, Policy And Justice; School of Education Virginia Commonwealth University**

**Author,** "A Single Garment: Creating Intentionally Diverse Schools That Benefit All Children" and "When the Fences Come Down Dr. Siegel-Hawley is a research Affiliate with the UCLA Civil Rights Project and a Fellow with the National Educational Policy Center. She is a graduate and former teacher in Richmond Public Schools. **Research Interest:** Examining the relationship between school and residential segregation, regional school desegregation strategies and the role of school choice in either promoting or exacerbating segregation.

## PRESENTATION OVERVIEW

Dr. Siegel-Hawley discusses the effort to create intentionally diverse schools, using as examples four Richmond metropolitan areas schools, ranging from pre-school to high school and describes how these schools came about and the challenges they face. She describes the history of the resistance to school integration both nationally and locally and includes the segregation of schools imposed by segregation in housing. Her focus is on the harm to students and the community at large resulting from school segregation and conversely the benefits of racially integrated schools. Included in her talk are graphs, charts and statistics describing the resistance, the effort and the results of school integration.

## PRESENTATION SUMMARY

**Midge Falconer (MF):** describes Coming To The Table - RVA and the Racism At Work presentations. She continued: I take great pleasure in introducing our guest moderator Pam Smith. Pam is a long-time member of Coming To The Table – RVA and is historian and coordinator of the Richmond Hill's Micah initiative. Before joining Richmond Hill, Pam worked as a non-profit coordinator in Chicago. Earlier in her career she served as a press liaison for Reverend Jesse Jackson and Barack Obama. Pam is the co-editor of 'The Chicago Freedom Movement, Martin Lutheran King Jr. and The Civil Rights Movement and we are grateful to have her as the moderator.

**Pam Smith (PS):** This is an important time of year and education is the great equalizer. I am pleased to introduce to you Dr. Genevieve Siegel-Hawley. Dr. Siegel-Hawley is an associate professor in the School of Education at Virginia Commonwealth University. She examines the dimensions and scope of school segregation and re-segregation in metropolitan areas and policies for integrating schools and communities. She has published

numerous articles in scholarly journals. She is the author of "When the Census Comes Down: Twenty-First Century Lessons from Metropolitan School Desegregation," an analysis of housing and school desegregation in four metropolitan Southern areas. Siegel-Hawley got her doctorate in Urban School and Housing from UCLA, her master's in educational policy from Harvard. She is a native of Richmond and a proud graduate and former teacher in Richmond Public Schools. It is my pleasure to introduce Dr. Siegel-Hawley.

**Dr. Siegel-Hawley (GSH)**: Thank you for having me. This organization is doing such important work. I may raise more questions than answers; this is just the beginning of a conversation about this issue. My remarks tonight draw from a presentation that I've titled "Creating Intentionally Diverse Schools that Benefit All Kids: Lessons for Leadership, Policy and Practice."

## Flow of Presentation

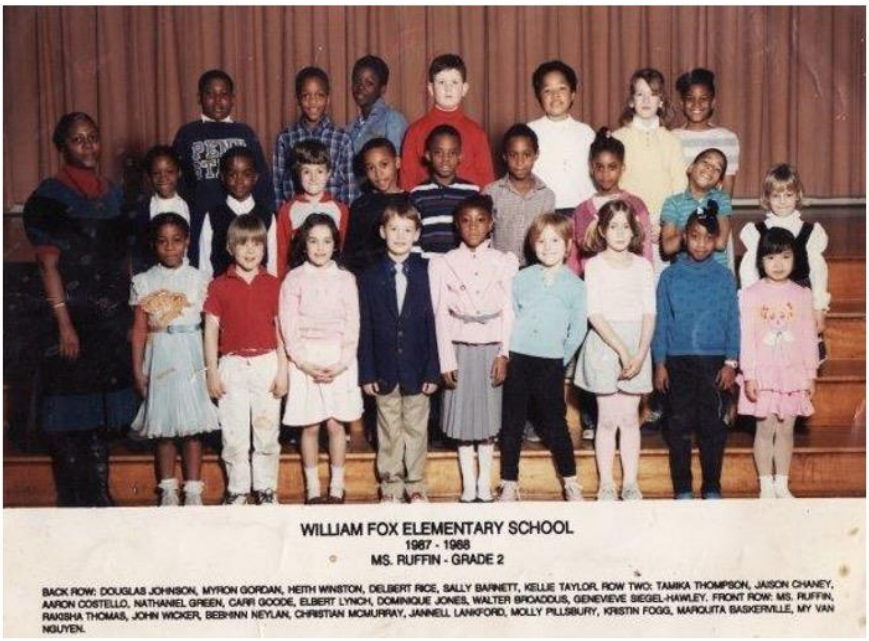
- Beginnings
- The Study
- Findings
- Implications for Leadership, Policy and Practice
- Closing
- Questions!

I'm going to be talking today about creating intentionally diverse schools. I have a book that came out just before the pandemic *A Single Garment*, on creating intentionally diverse schools, that is about Richmond metro schools and I'll tell you a little about how it came to be. I'll intentionally leave time to consider what we as citizens can do and what policy makers might think about when it comes to the implications of the work, and I definitely will welcome questions from you all.

## Beginnings

A Letter, Politics, Migrations, Definitions and What's At Stake

Context is so important when it comes to understanding the history of racism in this country and is a really important part of this work and I want to show you my context and this book.



WILLIAM FOX ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
1987 - 1988
MS. RUFFIN - GRADE 2

BACK ROW: DOUGLAS JOHNSON, MYRON GORDAN, HEITH WINSTON, DELBERT RICE, SALLY BARNETT, KELLIE TAYLOR. ROW TWO: TAMIKA THOMPSON, JAISON CHANEY, AARON COSTELLO, NATHANIEL GREEN, CARR GOODE, ELBERT LYNCH, DOMINIQUE JONES, WALTER BROADDUS, GENEVIEVE SIEGEL-HAWLEY. FRONT ROW: MS. RUFFIN, RAKISHA THOMAS, JOHN WICKER, BEBHNN NEYLAN, CHRISTIAN MCMURRAY, JANNELL LANKFORD, MOLLY PILLSBURY, KRISTIN FOGG, MARQUITA BASKERVILLE, MY VAN NGUYEN.

I do start here, and it is a pattern I have come to see in the people really committed to school integration. Many of them are the products of desegregated schools themselves. This is my second-grade classroom in Fox Elementary School in 1987. I was wearing a 'Little House on the Prairie" dress that my grandmother made for me. Fox at that point in time was almost the reverse in terms of the ethnic and racial mix of what it is today. Back then it was about 60% black and Hispanic; today that has flipped. We'll talk about why that might be.

"Eyes on Richmond:" How can Richmond build a just society through education, housing and transportation…(delivered late October of 2016)?

….So, Posey, that is the legacy of school segregation and inequality that you inherit.

…Posey, you just started your new preschool, Sprout, located in one of your favorite spots, the Children's Museum…Sprout offers sliding-scale tuition, with partial and full scholarships for two-thirds of the families…

…And we have a fledgling, very small-scale experiment of it here in the Richmond area, in the form of CodeRVA, a new regional school committed to innovation, workforce development, and equity.

So, I had my own context growing up in desegregated, but not necessarily integrated, schools in Richmond and then I had the opportunity just before the 2016 election to speak at St. Paul's. I had written a letter to my then 2-1/2 year-old daughter. She had just started preschool at an integrated, intentionally diverse preschool called 'Sprout' at the Children's Museum.  It was also the beginning of a new regional magnet school, the first magnet school devoted to full integration in the Richmond area, occurring at the same time.

## Former U.S. Education Secretary John King and the Bully Pulpit

- "Like math and reading, like science, social studies, and the arts, diversity is no longer a luxury. It's essential for helping our students get ready for the world they will encounter after high school..."
- "We have this emerging body of research around the importance of diversity for the success of organizations, and businesses…diversity is not just about trying to expand opportunities for low-income students, but really about our values as a country and to improve education outcomes for all students."

Also at the same time, Secretary of Education under Obama - John King at the federal level, used the bully pulpit for the first time after 40 or 50 years, to tout the importance of school diversity. After the 2016 election, I decided that most of these efforts were going to be at the state or local level, I needed to get a grasp on hope in the work. I hope this study doesn't sound too Pollyannaish since there is certainly much work to be done, but it is crafted in the spirit of hope.

## Metro Migrations (Wells et al., 2018)

- Changing racial and economic demographics of cities and suburbs, forming a "patchwork metropolis" (Florida, 2017)
- Temporarily diverse before resegregation occurs (Frankenberg & Orfield, 2012)
- Resegregation flows from combination of "tangible and intangible factors in school-housing nexus" (Wells et al., 2018)
- How to best stabilize schools and communities?

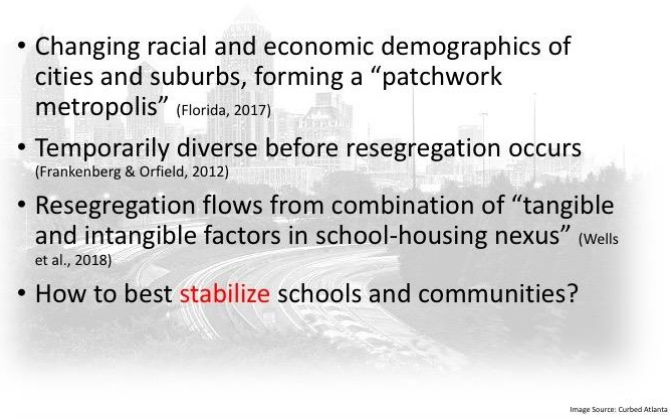
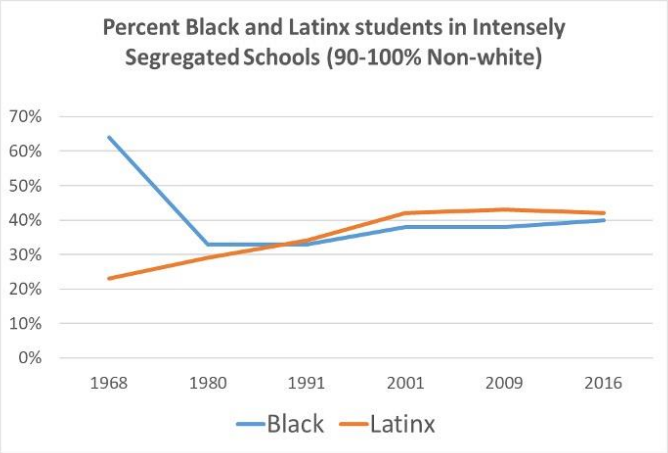


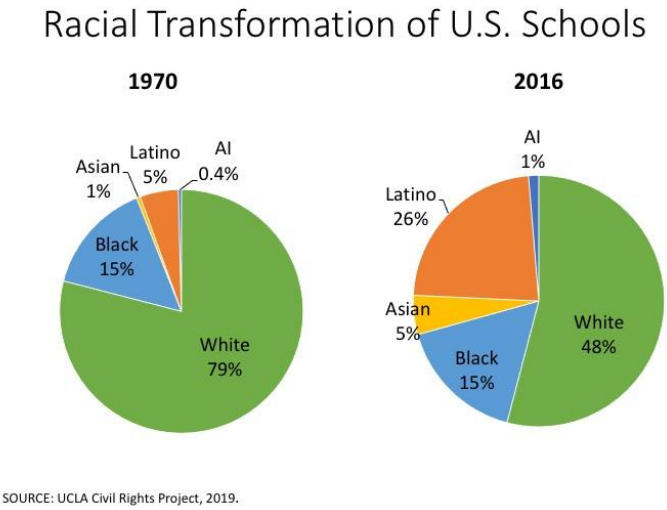
Image Source: Curbed Atlanta

I also had an eye toward shifting populations in our metropolitan Richmond demographic, where our cities are gentrifying and our suburban areas becoming more racially and economically diverse. There is opportunity there for more integration but here is also opportunity for great harm in resegregation. I started thinking about how we could stabilize schools and communities that are at least temporarily diverse and do it in a really intentional way.



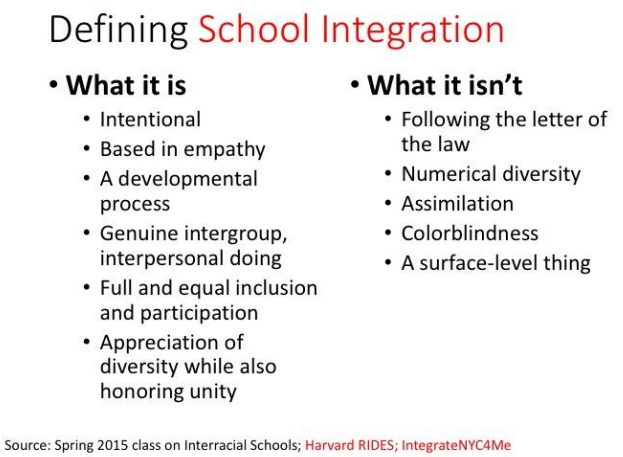

SOURCE: UCLA Civil Rights Project, 2012, 2019.

I also had in mind the broader context of school segregation in the United States. The chart shows the percentage of black and Latinx kids in intensely segregated schools in Richmond. And you can see for black students there was this steep decline between 1968 and 1991 during the period of the most concerted desegregation effort. That is a really important takeaway; that law and policy do matter - they can really shift the needle. But you will see that since 1991, school segregation has slowly been increasing for black students. For Latinx students, it has been increasing ever since we began collecting data, in part because Latinx students were not typically protected by court order. By 2016, about 40% of black and Latinx students were enrolled in intensely segregated schools in the United States.

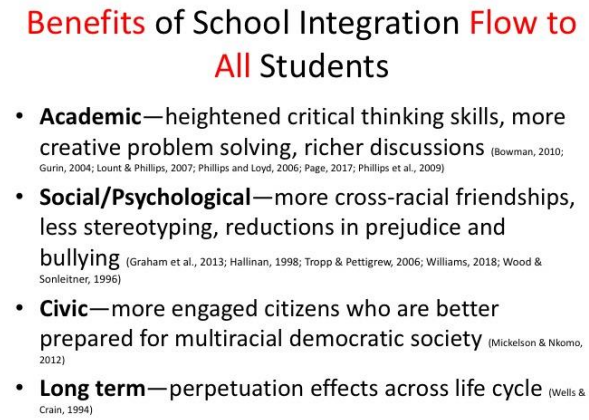



SOURCE: UCLA Civil Rights Project, 2019.

Alongside that segregation, our nation's school populations have grown rapidly more diverse. About 80% white in the 1970s, now a majority minority. The same has held for schools in the Richmond area.




I would like to say what I mean by school integration, given the contested history, people may have different ideas in minds. So, I have this beautiful class, it's been six years now that came up with this definition, based partly based on Martin Luther King's speech and based on activity of student activists in New York called "Integration, My Teacher and Me" and I'd encourage you to check out their five-arc integration wheel. The class and I decided school integration was intentional, it was rooted in empathy, that it occurred along a continuum, etc. (see the slide). It is not just following the letter of the law, etc. (as noted in the slide).




This slide shows that the benefits of school integration flow to all students; in academic, social/psychological, civic and long-term benefits by bringing different groups together, forcing them into higher thinking as they examine issues from multiple perspectives, and makes for more creative problem solving.

## Harms of school segregation flow to all

Charles Sumner, 1849, arguing in first legal action against school segregation

> "When public schools are segregated they become schools of prejudice and uncharitableness…white children taught in them are nursed in the sentiments of caste…their characters are debased…they are less fit for citizenship."
>
> (h/t Elise Boddie, The Struggle for Soul of Public Education)

Segregation is how white supremacy has been enforced. – Cara McClellan, LDF, 2020

Separate schools remain unequal schools along lines of funding, highly qualified teachers, challenging curricula and facilities. They struggle with relationship churn, exacerbated by punitive accountability systems and a shredded social safety net

(see, e.g., Carter & Welner, 2013; Johnson, 2019; Simon & Johnson, 2015).

There are also harms from school segregation whether they are white or non-white segregated schools as shown on this slide. The quotes are from different historical periods. Segregated schools are by design unequal in funding, qualified teachers and facilities.

## School Integration Promotes Equitable Educational Opportunities

- Diverse schools linked to stronger and more diverse faculties (Jackson, 2009; Frankenberg, 2009; Frankenberg & Siegel-Hawley, 2008; conversely, lower-skilled teachers are linked to segregated schools, e.g., Lankford, Loeb, Wyckoff, 2002)
- Diverse schools promote access to high quality, engaging curricula and instruction as well as more integrated social networks (Anderson, 2011; GAO, 2016; Kahlenberg, 2001; Lewis & Cantor, 2013)
- Diverse schools associated with higher academic achievement for historically disadvantaged groups; no harm to historically advantaged groups (see Mickelson, 2016 for summary; IES, 2016)
- Diverse schools can encourage more equitable funding (Ryan, 2010)
- Black graduates of desegregated schools report increased educational and occupational attainment, higher earnings, better health outcomes and reduced likelihood of incarceration—benefits that extended into the next generation (see, e.g., Braddock, 2009; Johnson, 2019)

This slide lists the advantages of integrated schools with stronger and more diverse faculties, engaging curricula, more integrated social networks, higher academic achievement, more equitable funding, increased educational and occupational attainment and reduced likelihood of incarceration than peers who did not benefit from court ordered desegregation.

Recent research, based on 350 million reading and math test scores for third to eighth grade students between 2008-2016, from every public school in the nation, shows that differential exposure to school poverty by race strongly predicts the size and extent of the racial achievement gap (Reardon et al., 2019; Reardon, 2017).

We have new research that shows that contemporary school segregation is related to different exposure to school poverty so that black and Latinx student attend schools with much higher rates of concentrated poverty than white students.

## Attitudes toward School Integration

(PDK, 2017; Gallup, 2019)

53% say federal government should take steps to reduce racial segregation in schools; 43% of whites compared to 78% of blacks and 76% of Hispanics

70% of parents of all races prefer a racially diverse school, all else equal

Drops to 25% when asked if they would prefer a racially diverse school if it meant a longer commute

Between 51 and 55% say diverse schools produce better learning environments

Exposed to desegregation, political support grows.

- 89% of Louisville-Jefferson County families wanted to continue pursuing school diversity plan in 2011 (Orfield & Frankenberg, 2011)

We have all this evidence and again, in the context of the study, looking at the public opinion data, when we started polling on this, there was a long gap, where there wasn't a reform in education effort at all. But just over half, between 2017 and 2019, said the government should take steps to reduce school segregation, but there are real racial cleavages here, just over 40% of whites say that but 78% of black and 76% of Hispanics say we should. Another way of looking at that is 70% of all those polled say there should be a racially diverse school. But that drops to 25% when it measures racial diversity against time on the bus. Just 51 to 55 % say diverse schools produce better learning environments. Researchers have a lot to do when it comes to communicating about their research. When communities are exposed to desegregation, support grows. Almost 90% of Louisville-Jefferson County families wanted to continue school integration plans in 2011 even though almost 90% were opposed when it began court ordered desegregation.

# The Study

## Research Questions

- What kinds of policies and practices facilitate external integration in the context of historical and systemic segregation?
- What are the opportunities and challenges for leadership and practice around internal school integration?

Context is really important for me. I was trying to understand the policies and practices that facilitate external integration; that means getting kids from different racial, economic and ethnic backgrounds in the same schools in the context of historical and systemic segregation. And the second question. What are the opportunities and challenges for leadership and practice around intentional school integration inside the school building, bringing the kids together on equal footing?

## Site Selection

**YWCA's Sprout Preschool**

Public-private partnership

1/3 fully subsidized, 1/3 partially, 1/3 not

First come, first served with dual wait lists

Emphasis on Reggio approach

**Ecoff Elementary School**

Multiracial suburban school in Chesterfield County

44% white, 37% black, 10% Latinx, 5% Asian, 46% ED

Enrollment dictated by attendance zone

Emphases on wraparound supports and Social Emotional Learning

**Binford Middle School**

Diversifying urban middle school in Richmond City

71% black, 23% white, 3% Latinx, 3% 2 or more, 53% ED

Lottery and neighborhood-based admissions

Emphasis on arts integration

**CodeRVA High School**

13 participating regional school divisions

51% white, 40% black, 10% Latinx, 2% Asian, 31% ED

Weighted lottery admissions

Emphases on computer science, equity, and workforce development

These are four amazing schools. I miss being in them all the time, although I now have a second kid at Sprout. They run the gamut from pre-school in Richmond for kids from all around the Richmond area to an elementary school in Chesterfield County, to Binford Middle School, (the middle school I went to in Richmond in the heart of the Fan) and CodeRVA, the regional high school. They have different stories with a common thread around trying to intentionally create a diverse student body. They did so in different ways. I'll come back to this.

## Data

- Interviews and focus groups (*n*=71)
- School observations (*n*=17)
- Documents
  - Newspaper articles
  - Legal cases
  - School board minutes and related documents
  - School informational materials
  - Publicly available data from VDOE/NCES/CRDC

This is a qualitative study. I talked to over 70 people, went there over 17 times and that doesn't include informal observations along the way and there were a lot of related documents. I want to say who I was in the research; I believe in integration; it is difficult and continuous work. I had personal connections to some of the schools; I was a parent in the pre-school and was on the Advisory Board for CodeRVA. I had access and built-in trust, which is important in qualitative research, from those dual roles but you could also raise concerns about my ability to be objective. To address that I tried to be objective about when I was being a parent and when I was being a researcher. I had some amazing students working with me who weren't familiar with Richmond at all reading through the transcripts and the findings. And I also showed the findings to different people at the schools and said," Does this ring true with your experience?"

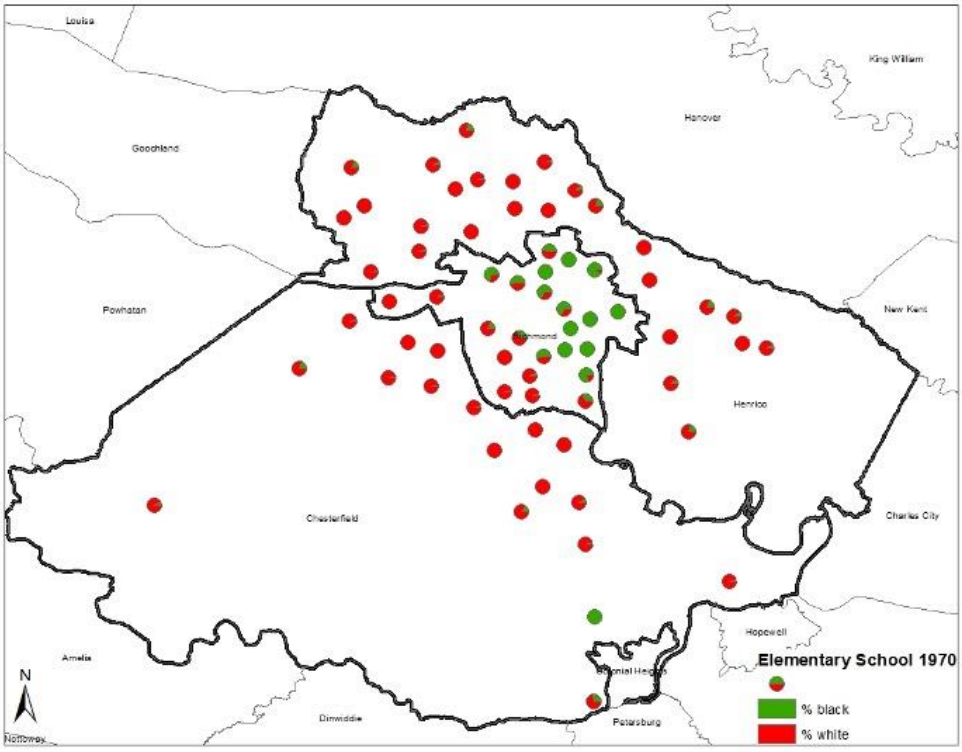
## FINDINGS

This is my diagram of the key findings. There is the origin story and the external integration work that overlaps with the internal integration work in some ways and underneath it all the dynamics of contemporary school segregation/integration.

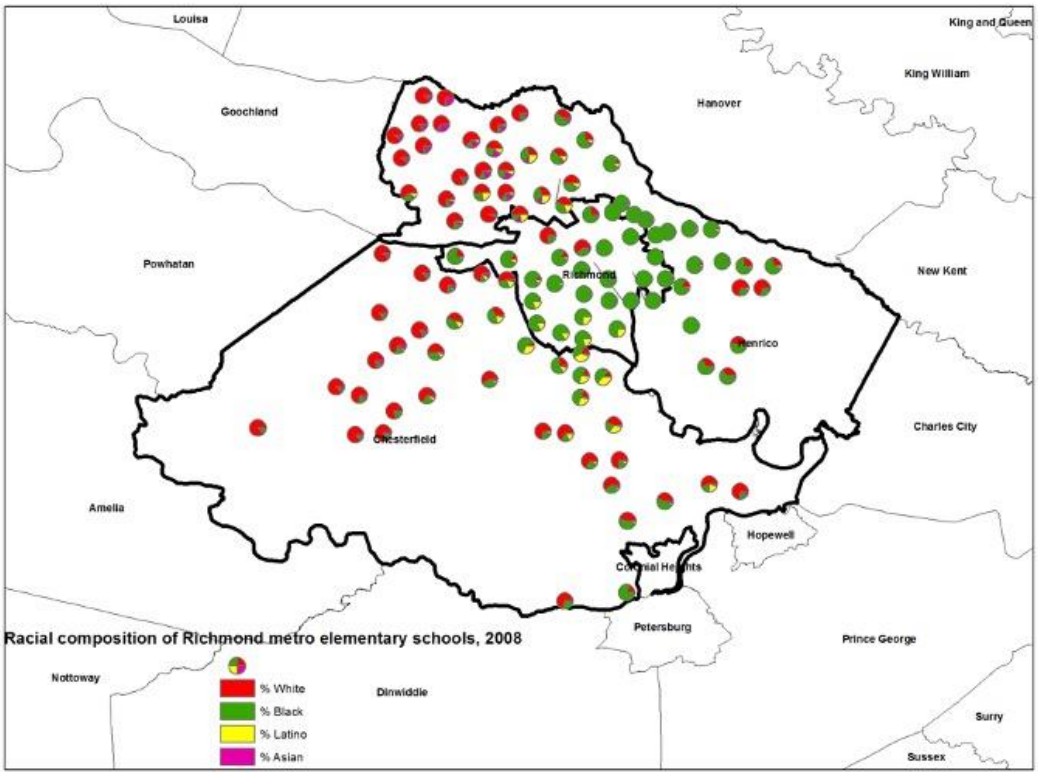
## Declining influence of court-ordered school desegregation, plus judicial limits of existing school desegregation

(Orfield & Eaton, 1996; Reardon et al., 2012; Ryan, 2010)

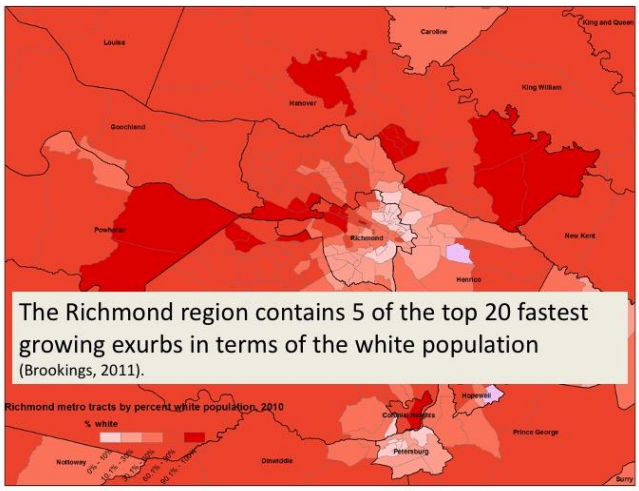
This is really important to understand. We have causal evidence suggesting that the end of court-ordered school desegregation is linked to the resegregation of school districts. In addition to the history I've shown, many of you are familiar with judicial school desegregation that for many jurisdictions that was limited to the central city.




This is a map of Richmond elementary schools in 1970 on the eve of major court cases. Each pie is an elementary school, white students are in red, black students in green. You see a pattern here of black segregation in the city and almost total white segregation in the suburbs. The question for the court was should the Richmond, Chesterfield and Henrico school systems consolidate into one single school system. It was very close, a 4-4 tie on the Supreme Court, so that didn't happen; it would have been a very different reality. Today we still live with the reality of that failed consolidation.




In 2008, you can still see that same pattern of non-white segregation in the city and white segregation in the suburbs, although you can see that Chesterfield and Henrico are also reporting segregated non-white schools.




The Richmond region contains 5 of the top 20 fastest growing exurbs in terms of the white population (Brookings, 2011).

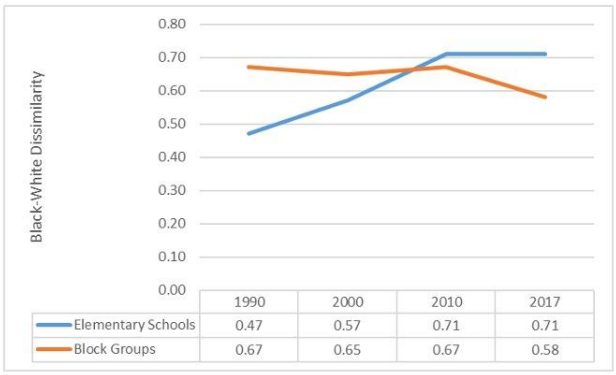
There is some evidence that the geographic scale of segregation is even growing larger. As Henrico and Chesterfield become more diverse, there are reports that the exurbs are gaining in white population.

## Growth of school choice without civil rights protections

(Evans & Renzulli, 2005; Saporito & Sohoni, 2003; Orfield & Frankenberg, 2013)

Another contributing factor to systemic school segregation today is the growth of school choice without civil rights protection.

Black-White School and Housing Segregation, Richmond City, 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 Common Core of Data, 1992, 1999, 2010, 2016; U.S. Census, 1990, 2000, 2010; ACS 2017 5 year estimates.

You can see here schools in Richmond over a thirty-year period. Elementary schools are the blue line, neighborhoods are the yellow line. There is black-white segregation in the city and you can see that the elementary schools are becoming rapidly more segregated. School segregation is now higher than residential segregation between black and white residents; this parallels findings from other cities too. Although we don't report data on this, school choice is certainly a driver. In other areas, charter schools are driving this segregation.

## Unequal Information and Segregated Social Networks in Richmond City

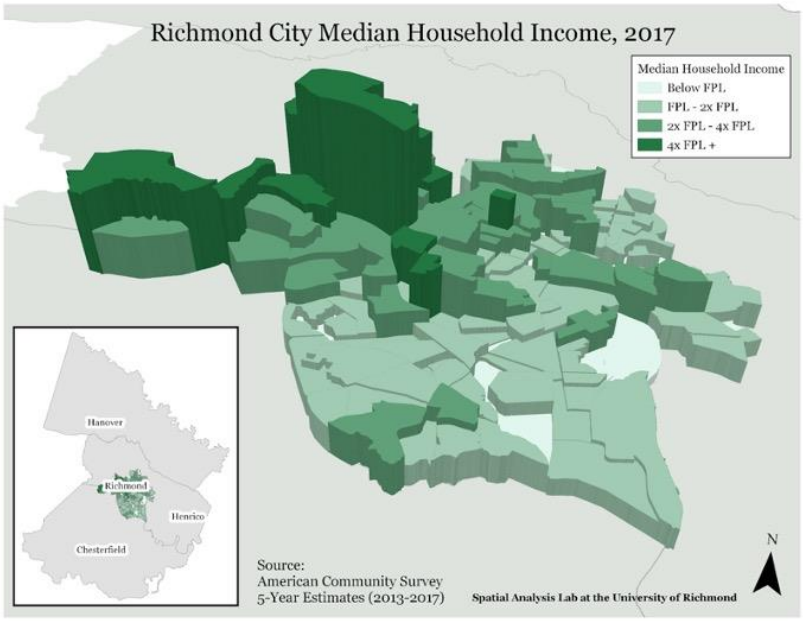
- I've been going to all the middle school nights for years... I needed any opportunity I could to untangle it and there would be little insights that people would drop either in the questions or in the administrative responses that helped me navigate the system.
- [She] didn't hear about the opportunities I heard about. You knew when and how and where and went to see [middle school options]. This was a conversation for me in preschool, that information was passed down from the jump. [But my neighbor] heard about Binford from me.

Here is one illustration of how that works and how school choice is so unequal. It goes back to the social networks we've been talking about. This quote is from a white mom with an advanced degree, and the difficulty in untangling information and navigating the system. The other is from another white mom about lack of information being passed down.

# Persistent residential segregation by race and income

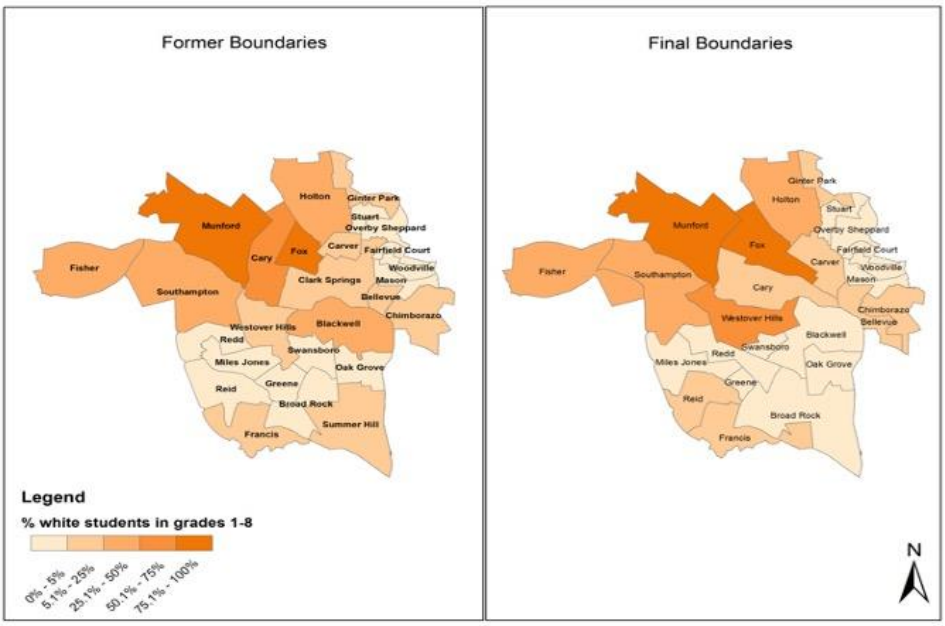
(Reardon & Owens, 2014; Owens, 2016)

There is ongoing racial segregation going on in our neighborhoods. Patterns of residential segregation will be reflected in the schools.




You can see in the map that we have such disparate incomes, the dark green the highest levels of low incomes and the lighter green the lower levels of household income on the average. You can see if you draw circles around the neighborhoods that you are going to wind up with highly stratified schools by income and in Richmond this overlaps strongly with race.

Percent White Students in Grades 1-8 Residing in Former and Final Elementary School Boundaries, Richmond City, 2006-2010

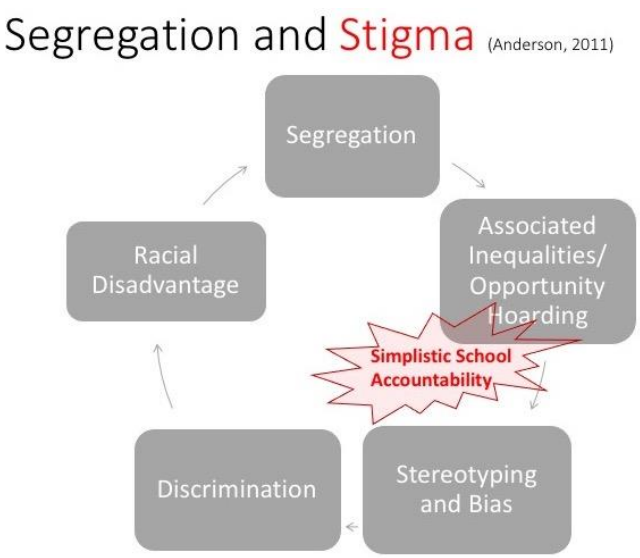



This is from the 2013 rezoning and shows the power of these lines which are highly contested because we increasingly think of education as something we can buy the right to if you have enough money to purchase it in a particular neighborhood.

## Housing Segregation and the Socio-Structural Sorting Process (Krysan & Crowder, 2017)

- Housing segregation a result of preferences, economic limitations and discrimination but also perceptions
- Perceptions shaped by social experiences and networks, which are in turn highly segregated
- Schools a key (understudied) aspect of perception

There is new research about the roles that perceptions and social networks play in helping segregation resulting from continuing discrimination in housing markets. These perceptions are real. At the University of Chicago people were asked questions about which neighborhoods people wanted to live in. In people of all races, there were these massive blind spots. There were places in the metropolitan area they wouldn't move at all because of what they heard in the media or because of their own lived experience. Reputations of schools are a key, but an understudied aspect of how people perceive neighborhoods.




This is from a book called "The Imperative of Immigration." When you think about segregation as a cycle, whether it is "de jure" or "de facto", in it are inequalities that are driven by opportunity, hoarding by the privileged group, and the privileged group refusing to acknowledge their hoarding and the privileges they have created that maintain the segregation. They instead adopt cultural explanations and stereotype the group with lower power and dehumanize them as not being as deserving. That leads to discrimination and the vicious cycle moves on. It has worsened the school systems by adopting these overly simplistic measures of school accountability. We don't have it in Virginia, but many states have A to F grades, driven by test scores which are a measure not just of what kids learn in schools, but also a measure of the opportunities they have outside schools. When you grade schools by these scores, you are also reinforcing segregation by encouraging support of the school getting the higher scores and not unpacking what these scores actually mean.

Slide: Snapshot of preschool segregation.



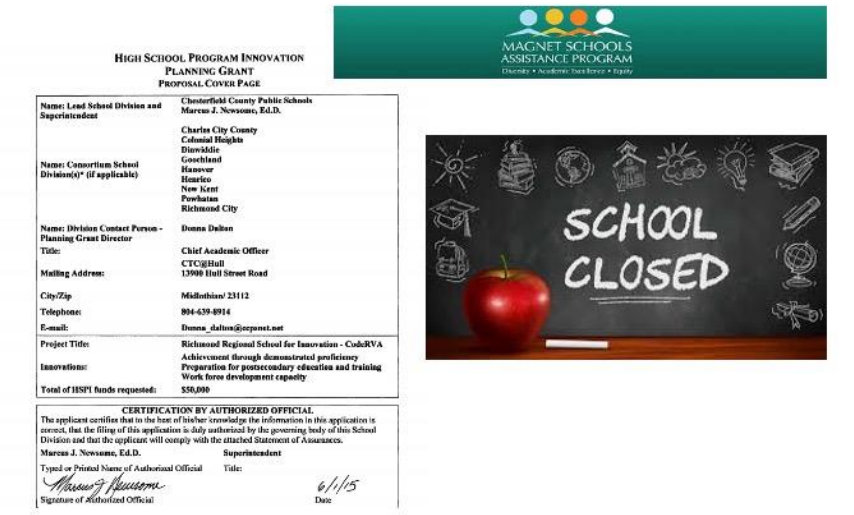

That remains a part of the context of school segregation today. Despite what we know about when racial prejudice forms, our pre-schools are highly segregated. And they are segregated by public and private. We don't have really good data because the sectors are so bifurcated.

## Dynamics of Contemporary School **Integration**

- BRIDGING THE MIXED ECONOMY OF THE PRESCHOOL SECTORS AND FOCUSING ON DIVERSITY
- HARNESSING DEMOGRAPHIC SHIFTS
- COORDINATING HOUSING AND SCHOOL POLICY
- EQUITABLE SCHOOL CHOICE, VOLUNTARY INTEGRATION
- COMBATING STIGMA
- ATTENDING TO THE SHAPE OF ATTENDANCE BOUNDARIES AND OVERCOMING DISTRICT BOUNDARIES

Take all of that and ask what it would take to create school integration in the context of systemic segregation. These are the ingredients that these schools were trying to put in place. For the Spout pre-school they were bridging the mixed economy of the sectors with placing Head Start kids along with privately funded kids; a third fully subsidized, a third partially subsidized and a third not subsidized. It has to involve coordinating housing and school policy. It makes school choice more equitable by providing transportation. It combats stigma, in part through specialized programming and involves paying attention to the shape of attendance boundaries.

## Financial Incentives



HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAM INNOVATION
PLANNING GRANT
PROPOSAL COVER PAGE

| | |
|---|---|
| Name: Lead School Division and Superintendent | Chesterfield County Public Schools<br>Marcus J. Newsome, Ed.D. |
| Name: Consortium School Division(s)* (if applicable) | Charles City County<br>Colonial Heights<br>Dinwiddie<br>Goochland<br>Hanover<br>Henrico<br>New Kent<br>Powhatan<br>Richmond City |
| Name: Division Contact Person - Planning Grant Director | Donna Dalton |
| Title: | Chief Academic Officer |
| Mailing Address: | CTC@Hull<br>13900 Hull Street Road |
| City/Zip | Midlothian/ 23112 |
| Telephone: | 804-639-8914 |
| E-mail: | Donna_dalton@ecpsnet.net |
| Project Title: | Richmond Regional School for Innovation - CodeRVA |
| Innovations: | Achievement through demonstrated proficiency<br>Preparation for postsecondary education and training<br>Work force development capacity |
| Total of HSPI funds requested: | $50,000 |

CERTIFICATION BY AUTHORIZED OFFICIAL

The applicant certifies that to the best of his/her knowledge the information in this application is correct, that the filing of this application is duly authorized by the governing body of this School Division and that the applicant will comply with the attached Statement of Assurances.

| | |
|---|---|
| Marcus J. Newsome, Ed.D. | Superintendent |
| Typed or Printed Name of Authorized Official | Title: |
| Signature of Authorized Official | 6/1/15<br>Date |




More history. Financial incentives were a theme across the four schools. Particularly CodeRVA wouldn't have gotten off the ground without a tiny state seed grant for innovative high schools but it was enough to get local superintendents to come together. Later they applied for federal magnet school funding. The magnet school funding is the only remaining federal school desegregation tool. It requires participating districts to have a school desegregation team. Along the way, people said this should be a school for all kids so it will include kids who are interested in coding but maybe haven't had the opportunity.

Both Spout and Binford were threatened with closure if they didn't improve enrollment, so that was incentive from the other direction; they needed to do something different in specialized programs to attract families.

# TAPPING INTO FAMILIES' DESIRE FOR WELL-ROUNDED EDUCATION

All of the schools tapped into that 70% percent of families in that study I showed you that said they valued a racially diverse education and a well-rounded education.

## Sprout, Reggio and the Children's Museum



Spout adopted this Reggio program, which is a child centered progressive educational model. It has two locations with their new location at the Children's Museum. They cited the selection of their new location at the Children's Museum as it draws racially and economically diverse families from across the city.

## Ecoff and Social Emotional Learning (SEL)

*I:* What's at the core of the school?

*Principal Cole:* People would speak to the social emotional learning, that's what's on the surface right?...at the core of *that*…is the idea that we're working toward a harmonious society, a just system, where people can, you know, celebrate their sense of identity…they can be that person at our school.

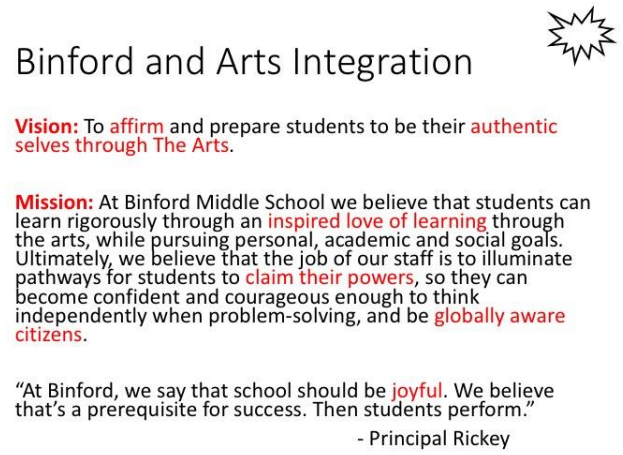
*I:* How would you describe SEL to an interested family?

*Principal Cole:* …we're focused on relationships here at Ecoff, I give examples…

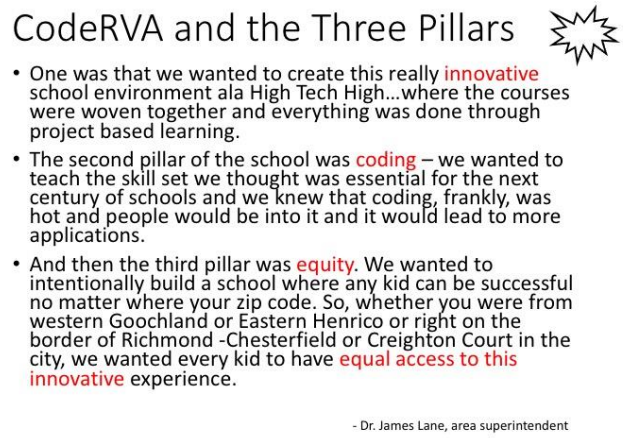



The suburban elementary school Ecoff had a real emphasis on social and emotional learning. Alongside this is a community hub, a resource center and racially diverse attendance. I was talking with the principal and asked, "How do you explain the core, the ethos to the families?" He said that at the surface is the social and emotional learning, but at the core, we're working toward a harmonious society of justice and where people can celebrate

their identity and a person can be their authentic person at that school. We focus on relationship skills. The school's programming really allows for that intentional integration within that school's nurturing of that work. Their hallways were named after character traits.




Binford has adopted this arts integration approach. They have a vision that sounds not unlike Ecoff. This is a Richmond middle school. Even within that strict accountability system, where many schools were stripped of arts programming with a focus on standardized testing, the principal always talks about it being a joyful place.




CodeRVA uses these three Pillars, and the work was headed by James Blaine. Through these three pillars they were able to draw together a diverse coalition in support of this work. One was innovation including on-line learning, coding. They also had a lot of supporters including CarMax. And equity, assuring that kids had equitable access.





Image source: Pinterest

Leaders were often products of desegregated schools themselves AND/OR

Had prior professional experience with school desegregation AND/OR

Intentionally selected desegregated schools for their own children AND/OR

Learned how to speak eloquently about the benefits of equity and diversity in their schools

Leaders at all schools were the products of school desegregation, had professional experience, or had kids who were in desegregated schools.

# CAPITALIZING ON RELATIONSHIPS AND NETWORKS

The key players got together and were able to talk about a shared vision and regular regional meetings.



Image source: The Upwards Leader

Regular regional meetings (Sprout, CodeRVA)

National and local conferences and site visits (Sprout, CodeRVA)

Strong connections with community and civic organizations (Binford and Ecoff)

Conferencing and site visits, especially for Sprout and CodeRVA, creating something new. There were key conferences in District Two with models that they could look to. Binford and Ecoff demonstrated rich connections with their communities.

## Diversity Goals

External

- Ranged from clear numerical goals to stated intentions
- Mix of race, SES (and gender) goals
  - Sprout and 1/3, 1/3, 1/3 SES diversity
  - Binford's leaders say "We want a school that looks like the city" and "We have 22 out of 26 elementary school zones here"
  - CodeRVA's MSAP desegregation plan stipulates that it will enroll a student body within +/-5% of participating regional divisions overall racial/ethnic breakdowns
- Goals are flexible and take different forms, but important for accountability

That is for external integration; but what are the ingredients that allowed these schools to achieve internal integration? Some had very creative numerical goals like Sprout and some said, "I want my schools to look like the city." CodeRVA had numerical goals of within 5% of the regional divisions overall racial/ethnic breakdowns in the participating divisions. Goals are flexible and take different forms, but they are really important to see if they are maintaining their focus on racial diversity.

## Interest-Based Admissions

External

- "…that [MSAP] grant [helped with…the intentional diversity focus…we really had to fight tooth and nail through the whole planning process to keep people out of the "how is this about the cream of crop coders?" – Dr. James Lane, CodeRVA
- " The…guts it took me to say to people with means, [that can] send [their kids] to summer camps, encourage reading and investigation and provide the resources to do so, [your kids] will be successful no matter what. This school is not specifically for those children but will include those children. – Michael Bolling, CodeRVA
- "There was a lot of [board] conversation, so this is gonna be [a competitive] application process, and I said absolutely not. What we're proposing is straight up lottery, open-enrollment based on seat available, first come first served." – Dr. Dana Bedden, Binford

They all had admissions policies that allowed the children to choose the schools rather than the schools choosing the students. They cut through the politics of competitive based admissions. A clear example is the Maggie Walker School (and other competition-based schools). When I went to Binford I didn't realize that there was a screening tool. Even though there were kids who had been coding their entire life, (at Code RVA) they were still going to use a lottery system and the same at Binford.

## Family Choices and Multidimensional School Information (Dougherty et al., 2013)

- School programming offered an affirmative way to talk about each school's purpose in formal and informal conversations
  - Ecoff's SEL and community schools emphasis
  - Living room conversations about Binford and arts integration
- Outreach, outreach, outreach
- New, more nuanced state accountability system will help

External

Multidimensional information, not just the test scores, and unique programming at each of these schools (giving examples from Reggio, CodeRVA) worked to combat segregation at these schools and allowed an affirmative way to talk about the schools and the schools' purpose. At Binford they could talk about arts integration. There were a lot of discussions, especially on the Northside and what it would mean when you walked into the school. Tons of outreach and in the background, more nuanced accountability.

## Transportation

External

- Essential for disrupting school-housing relationship
- Politics often difficult yet transportation can increase access to high quality schools of choice, particularly for black and Latinx students (Cordes and Schwartz, 2018; Parcel & Taylor, 2015; PDK, 2017)
- Diversity *plus* well-rounded education
- Binford and CodeRVA hubs

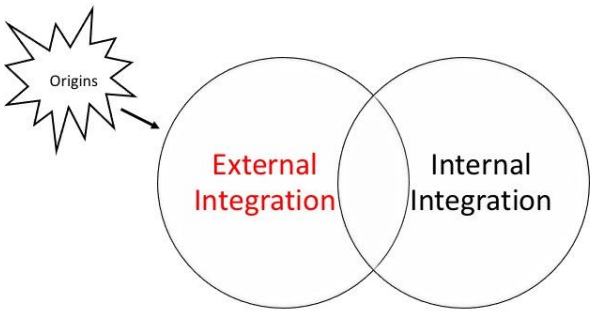
Binford offered hub-based transportation as did CodeRVA and were able to share busses with Maggie Walker. A big expenditure, but the schools have been able to work it out.

## Racially Diverse Leaders and Faculties

External

- Student-teacher desegregation deeply entangled (see, e.g, Coleman Report, 1966, *Green v. New Kent*, 1968)
- Ecoff and Binford working intentionally to build more diverse faculties (from different directions)
- Sprout and CodeRVA knew it was important to start with diverse faculties and did so
- Explicit leadership value; explicit aspect of interviews
- Made easier in part because of each school's emphasis on diversity/equity (Carver-Thomas, 2018)

We know that faculty and student diversity were intertwined, so these school worked to intentionally create more diverse faculties. It was a value of the leaders. “What are you going to do to contribute to that?” We had some research that showed it was easier to attract diverse faculty to schools that made diversity an explicit goal.




Dynamics of Contemporary School Segregation/Integration

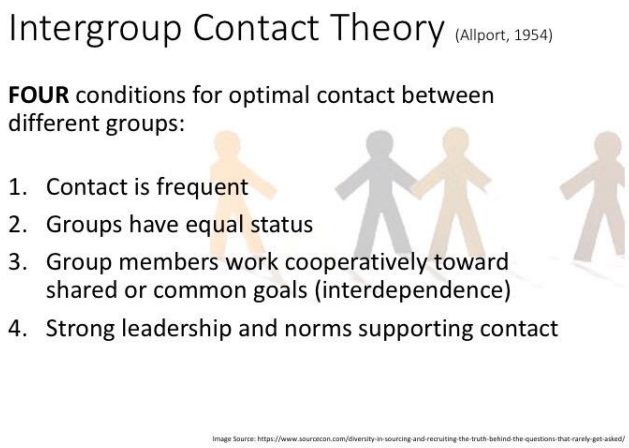



Image Source: https://www.sourcecon.com/diversity-in-sourcing-and-recruiting-the-truth-behind-the-questions-that-rarely-get-asked/

These are four very important issues you should get them tattooed somewhere because it is a theory that has been tested hundreds of times and internationally. These issues hold the hallmark of a good theory because it holds in different contexts.

- Frequent contact
- Groups have equal status
- Cooperation and common goals vs. competition
- Strong leadership; maybe most important

## Leadership for Internal School Integration

Internal

- Emphasis on inclusive vision/mission
- Professional development related to bias and affirming cultures of students
- Openness to feedback and a willingness to consistently evaluate progress/regress
- Comfort and creativity navigating inevitable conflicts
  - Empathy Advisory Committee at Binford

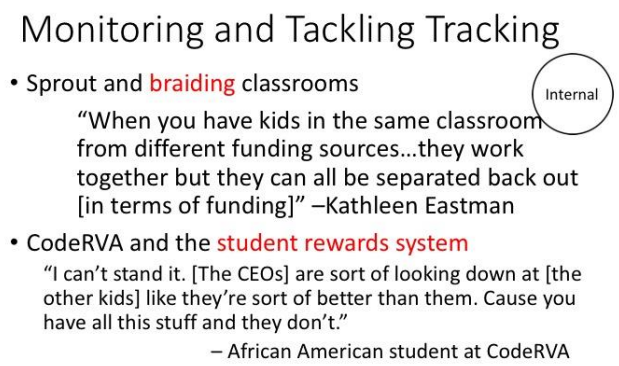
I saw this. I saw leadership at all four schools; they were focused on the mission and vision of capturing the work of intentional integration. A lot of work on how to affirm the culture of all students, openness to feedback, willingness to evaluate progress and regress, and a comfort and creativity in navigating inevitable conflicts that come up. An example is the Empathy Advisory Committee at Binford, a group of academics, parents, teachers, community leaders that came together around some disciplinary issues.

## Organizing Schools and Instruction for Diversity

Internal

- Highly structured, equal status contact and cooperative interdependence
  - Houses at Binford
- Pedagogy that takes an asset-based view of students; honest approach to history (Ladson Billings 1995; 2009 Banks et al., 2019)
  - Ecoff: "Settlers were able to control their own government, many of its programs help people get treated with kindness" & "When Africans arrived their families were split apart, daughters were selled [sic] to other men. Women took care of the white people's babies while the men did work... Africans were treated worse than animals. America relied on its own slaves."

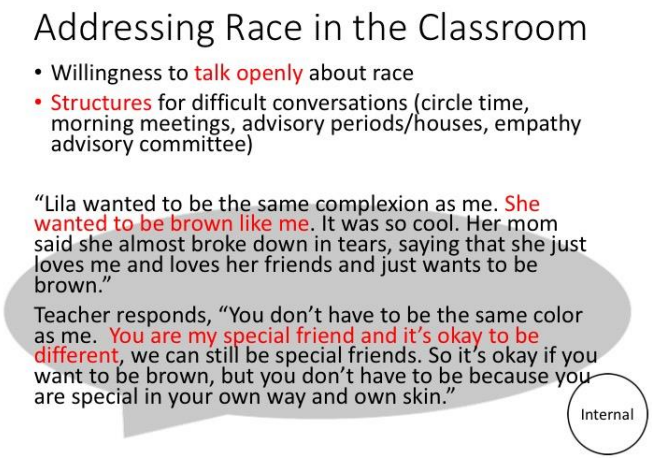
The way they organized the schools is really interesting. Binford had the Harry Potter Houses that were grade level teams that allowed students and teachers that equitable contact and cooperation. They had an asset-based view of kids and an honest approach to history. There was a quote on the wall of Ecoff about settlers and Africans and right next to it there was a quote from one of the students about families being split apart. So a willingness to acknowledge the dark and light in our history.




There was a willingness to do something about the rigid tracking that you see when you walk into a school and you can see whether it is honors or lower level based on the racial make-up of the classroom. Sprout had 'braided' classrooms even though they had different funding sources. They were working to bring them all into the same classroom together. In CodeRVA, they had the 'CEO's' (achieving students) of unequal contact and competition and the feedback as quoted and they thought about addressing those concerns.



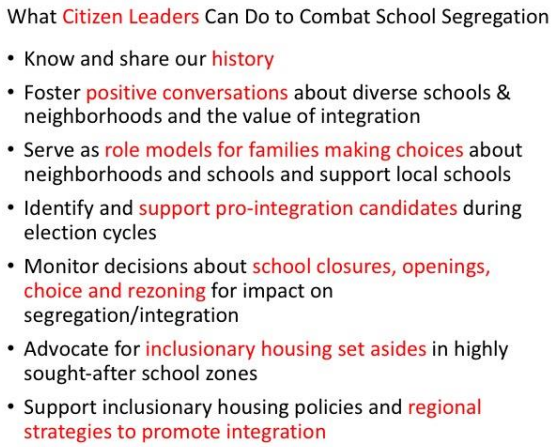

Ecoff, Binford and CodeRVA were all committed to monitoring racial disparities in disciplining. Using that social-emotive learning from Ecoff, there were regular meeting in classrooms to talk about how they could prevent altercations before that happened. At Binford teachers were allowed to wrap their arms around kids; they were working together as a team; they knew the kids really well with the same set of core teachers. And there was progress as shown on the slide.




The teachers weren't scared to talk about race in the classroom and the leaders weren't either. Each of these schools had different structures for these conversations. At Sprout it was 'circle time,' community conversations at morning meetings at the elementary school, advisory periods at Binford and CodeRVA. There were plenty of issues around race and there was a place to go and a structured time to talk about it with the group. The slide gives examples.

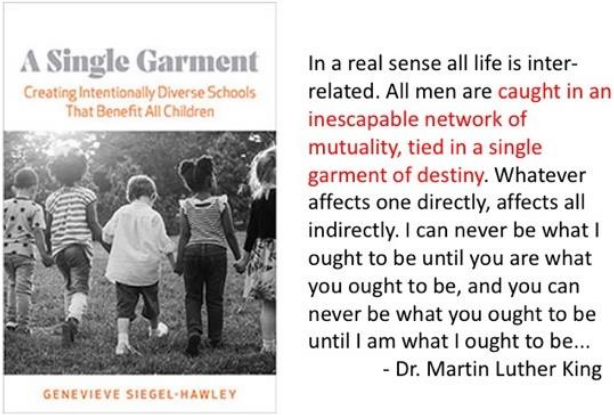
With the history of the Brown case and the dolls where black kids rejected the black dolls for the white ones, and you can see that Sprout had turned that paradigm on its head in a very powerful way by inter-racial exposure at a young age.



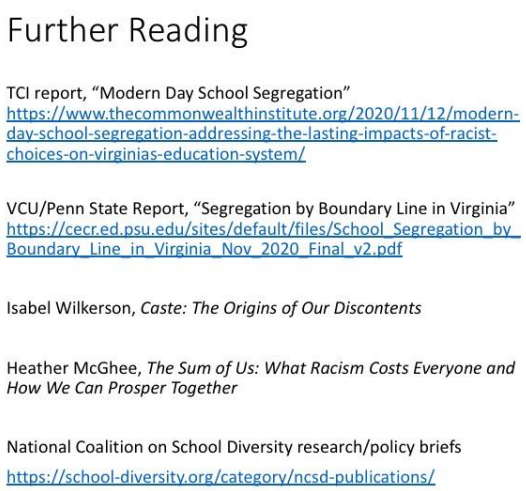


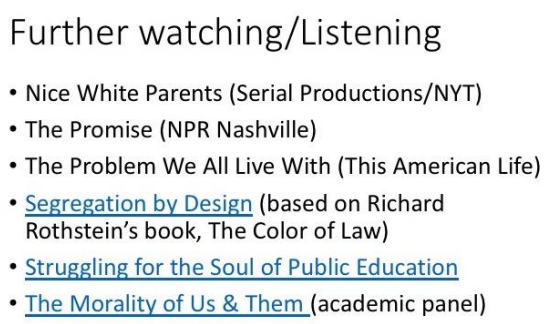

We have to pay attention to how segregation and integration works, understanding stigma, understanding social networks, understanding segregation in housing, and an understanding on a metropolitan scale. If we are going to use choice, and given the court decisions that's where we are right now, there has to be choice with civil rights protection, choice with transportation, choice with outreach, choice with diversity goals. And we have to think about it systematically rather than just four schools. Each of these schools showed that a focus on intentional integration plus programming was really powerful in terms of drawing racially and economically diverse students. We saw the role that grant funding played in getting programs off the ground. Leadership matters at every level and making sure that teacher training includes understanding the history and the ability to navigate difficult conversations. And knowing that this is a continuous process.

We need to understand our history and work toward a shared understanding of it. The slide lists other services and efforts such as fostering positive conversations, serving as role models, supporting pro-integration candidates, monitoring schools, advocating for inclusionary housing set asides and setting up regional strategies to promote integration.




That's the book. It was pre-pandemic, but I think we are all reminded of the truth of Dr. King's quotation about a single thread. We are all bound up together in an inescapable network of mutuality tied to a single garment of history.




# DISCUSSION

**Pam Smith (PS**): Thank you so much. That was extremely informative. Question: Last night one of the candidates for governor said we need to teach our children real history. He did not define what that means. The educational system is in denial of American history. How can we move forward in terms of equity and healing? How does this relate to Critical Race Theory?

**Dr. Siegel-Hawley (GSH):** At its core Critical Race Theory acknowledges the persistence of race and racial discrimination in our society. One of my favorite books is "The Color of Law" by Richard Rothstein. There is a sentence in it that really stands out to me. It is a book of short anecdotes, carefully researched, from all over the country, that show over and over, that there is really no such thing as de facto segregation. As Leon Panetta said, any time you lift the rock of de facto segregation, something de jure comes out from underneath it. Rothstein's book shows how housing segregation was promulgated by the federal government. He reviewed our major history textbooks (this was in 2016). Almost all of them, if they mentioned the federal government's role in segregating communities, it was a paragraph, or less. And many of them didn't mention it at all. If our students don't understand how segregation was built into our system, it is hard for them to tackle it. The backlash is just the latest backlash against a multi-racial coalition trying to come together in the struggle for racial equity.

**PS**: What advice would you give to K-12 educators who are trying to 'teach truth' in this environment with 28 states passing laws limiting what can be taught. It is such a tough environment for teachers.

**GSH**: The primary goal is intimidation. It is worth noting that we don't yet have such a law limiting teachers. There is much work to be done in the curriculum to make it more inclusive of all groups in the history of our country. But there are standards, and teachers have to teach to those standards. Good teaching, rich learning

has to include the history of all the people. How else are we going to prepare citizens to have informed debates in a democracy where there are no racial majorities?

**Hayat Bain (HB)**: We have shared your power points and reading lists with registrants, thank you.

**GSH**: I included Podcasts. For those interested in the backlash around Critical Race Theory, it is a difficult listen, but it is called 'Southlake' by NBC and it is the story of belonging and backlash in the American suburbs.

**PS**: In one of your slides where you talked about features of integration, and highly qualified teacher, when you think back about the South and segregation, we often heard reports of high qualified African American teachers, how much they cared about young people, and in the aftermath of Brown v. Board, those teachers were let go, because white parents didn't want their children to be taught by black teachers. What could we have carried over from that system and what we need today? And this also goes to the question of African American male teachers.

**GSH**: It is an often overlooked and really important narrative about Brown v. Board. There are a couple of beautiful books by Vanessa Walker, one "The Lost Education of Horace Tate", shines a light on African American school leaders and teachers as being instrumental in making Brown happen; they would connect lawyers to potential plaintiffs, or they would be feeding data to the lawyers, that we have a community that is in crisis. Walker talks about that there was so much emancipatory teaching going on in segregated black schools and these were the schools that created the NAACP lawyers who fought the system. There were rich social networks and tightly networked communities and the black leaders didn't want to give up any of that, they were fighting for access to the resources that were disproportionally housed in white schools. The implementation of Brown was given to district court judges deeply embedded in their local communities who were asked to initiate an entirely new social structure over a period of months. It became clear that Brown was going to be implemented on white terms. That involved the mass firing of 50,000 black teachers. That's when we saw the rise of these intensive credentialing schemes on teachers. So, we need to confront that history. There was a study of the resegregation of the Charlotte-Mecklenburg schools. An economist tracked what happened to the teachers as the schools re-segregated and found that the more experienced black teachers tended to leave the schools that were re-segregating, in part because of these very restrictive accountability systems that put incredible pressure on the teachers in these re-segregated and under-resourced schools.

**PS**: Any comment about recruiting black male teachers specifically?

**GSH**: There is a new study out. I would argue that we never really implemented integration, but with the advent of de-segregation, you start seeing racialized identification of black students into special education and a rise in more exclusionary discipline for black students. That goes to my point that the work doesn't stop when you get a more diverse student body and the work that needs to be done to break down inequality in the schools. In terms of black teachers, this is a multi-faceted issue that requires multi-faceted solutions; teacher pay, teacher status, to the fact that too many black students are attending these systematically under-funded schools, the pipeline is much smaller than it should be, all the way to mass incarceration of black students. There is a new report from the federal government about how we might begin thinking about this. It involves some version of 'grow your own' program to identify students early on, cultivating them all the way to college. What if we had in a dream for RPS, in regard to specialized schools in the city of Richmond, a secondary school, a high school focused on preparing students to be teachers and educators.

**Beth McKenzie:** I was special ed teacher for a while and was hired in Goochland as a regular teacher, dually endorsed. When it was realized I was good with them, they gave me all the special ed kids and I taught history

to disadvantaged kids, and the special education and ESL kids they gave to me. You have a pace and schedule you have to follow so the kids can take the test at the same time as the advanced kids. Even if I had a smaller group of special ed kids, they take more time to teach because they have different disabilities, the have behaviors, or they need more one on one, you can't really do as much for them - the fun stuff- you can't take them outside, or do theater stuff, so my kids couldn't get good teaching because we had to go really quick to prepare for the SOLs so they could pass that test. Those kids usually score lower and bring down the score for the whole school, so the whole thing is discriminatory given that pace and schedule for kids who need more time.

**Midge Falconer**: One question which Pam may be able to answer is 'in what way would you like to see faith communities get involved to making positive changes for school systems?"

**PS**: Micah is a program of faith communities working with Richmond Public Schools. We invite you to join us. Micah is ecumenical so all faiths can be active in their faith tradition. We try to address the gaps we see in the system. If you are interested, please feel free to contact me afterward. https://micahrva.org.

**PS**: To Barbara Brown, how is all of this landing with you tonight?

**Barbara Brown (BB)**: I was a principal of two schools in Goochland during my career. With special ed students, we would do collaborative teaching where we would take our children into the regular classroom for instruction. The next day, the Special Ed teacher would break it down for students. That was quite a few years ago; I don't know what they are doing now. I hope my next comment isn't taken the wrong way, but I'm a graduate of Randolph High School and when I graduated, we only had one high school for African-Americans. It was the best high school in the country. I would not trade anything for the education I received at that high school. With the exception of the schools where I was the leader, where I was a leader in diversity, I would say that integration is one of the most harmful things that has happened to African American children. They lost the teachers that were concerned about them. I heard John King describe African American kindergarten children being suspended. In the schools I led, I don't recall ever suspending one elementary child. That's not the way you work with children. That's why you have counselors, that's why you have parents, to work with the children. On the book on leadership, in the first chapter, you can tell whether a child is going to be successful by whether he or she can read in the third grade. There are so many children who became incarcerated. In the African American schools, we had teachers who made up the difference when we didn't have to resources to provide what we needed. I think it is very unfortunate that as an African-American parent, I had to stand behind the guidance counselors to make sure that he or she provided what my children needed. Integration of schools benefitted some children but for other children it did not work so well and that's why we're bursting at the seams when it comes to prison. There is a play at the Virginia Repertory Theater that starts next week called "Pipeline" that talks about education and racism.

**PS**: I was interested in the statistic where 70% of white parents are in favor of integration but it drops to 25% if the child has to travel. You also mentioned in your talk about transportation initiatives. Do see those initiatives as addressing that?

**GSH**: It is "both" and "and" for me at this point. We won't get fully integrated schools or society tomorrow and we have highly segregated schools where the kids aren't getting what they need. In the meantime, we have to continue making opportunity equal. In terms of support for transportation, there has been a through line in terms of resistance to school integration. Nixon built a coalition of disaffected white northerners who did not want school desegregation to come north and white southerners who wanted to maintain the white hierarchy. It was around neighborhood schools and busing. Very quickly, within a decade or so of the Supreme Court

saying separate is not equal, they separated the rights of whites to choose their neighborhood schools superseded equal protection under the law for black students. In comes up today when you talk about school innovation efforts, somebody will say, 'well, we're not going back to busing are we?" It is very important to understand that history and how whites co-opted what was a movement for equal protection under the law and made it into a movement about their own individual rights. With these four schools, as imperfect as they remain, it was busing to a destination, to a program that was along the lines of racial diversity and I think that helped with some of the politics. It is such a false argument. There are parents in western Henrico County who will put their kids on a bus to ride into Maggie Walker. The crux of the Brown case was that she was having to ride the bus further to get to the segregated white school.

**PS**: You mentioned hope. Where are you finding hope?

**GSH**: In the schools that are working so hard. It is a struggle within the building, but the leadership and the kids, do a lot of good.

**MF**: Within a decade, there will be no dominant race. What effect will that have on some of these constructs about one race being more dominant?

**GSH:** I think it is by 2040. The younger population shows us where we are heading. There is some suggestion that when you approach parity for all sides, you get the best outcomes. But you also have South Africa, where white minorities retain outside power. Unless we get our kids learning together, working together, sharing, cooperating, it is hard for me to imagine a successful multi-racial democracy. And that goes especially for the white kids who too often are nursed in the system of caste.

**PS**: Can you say that last part again. It is really important.

**GSH**: It is from Charles Sumner, a Republican who fought for school integration early on, before and after the Civil War. The idea that segregation harms white kids, it nurses them in a system of caste.

**PS**: And even before then you were saying if we don't get this right …"

**GSH**: That we could move toward a society where a white minority continues to try to dominate.

**Ron Alpern (RA)**: This has been a fascinating conversation and I was curious about how Genevieve was going to try to unpack what could be twenty seminars about systemic racism in education. The specific question involves, a thumbnail overview of the order that Judge Merge that attempted to consolidate all of the three area school districts. And the trajectory that case took. Some of it is touched on in Dennis Rutledge's book which I will post shortly.

**GSH**: That decision came when I was in college and he was such an inspiration to me and remains so today. That map I showed you, that undergirded their request for a metropolitan school district, it was a tie vote, one justice recused himself; he was the chair of the Richmond School Board. I had done some research looking at communities that took a different path, in particular Louisville-Jefferson County in Kentucky. Around the same time, they did consolidate their city and suburban school districts and they continued that consolidation. Their trajectory was really different than ours. Their rates of housing segregation have come down twice as fast because everybody knows they can make a decision across the metropolitan housing market and attend schools that are racially integrated. Their levels of school segregation remain low.

**RA**: Are there other people who don't know about the case who might want more detail? Her point about the legacy is the take-home message.

**GSH**: The boundary lines drive a lot of school segregation. The boundary lines between districts drive about 60% of school segregation today.

**RA**: What I found interesting was that Judge Merhige was no radical. Neither was Judge Roth who handled the Michigan case. The parallels between the two are fascinating. You have two middle of the road judges who are trying to make sense out of what the Supreme Court means by 'with all deliberate speed,' which Nixon and the Burger court was trying to roll back some of the momentum. And here come these rulings that say the only way segregation can work is if you break down these artificial boundaries. That the courts could reverse that begins a retreat that civil right is still dealing with today.

**GSH**: In my lifetime we have not had a Supreme Court supportive of school desegregation.

**PS**: Thank you for your work and your continuing work. Coming To The Table -RVA is the largest chapter in the country and doing important work in the capital of the former Confederacy. Beth McKenzie [a participant on Zoom] commented that Sumner told the future; today the white supremacists are fearful of losing their status and now they are coddled and cannot let their white child go guilty. It reminds me that when the monuments were coming down and the court case was against the Lee monument. One of the attorneys, an African-American woman, was told, "The Lee monument isn't coming down," and she said, "Well, it's just a matter of time." And this is the work we are all doing to make a more democratic society.