A Civil Rights Agenda for the Next Quarter Century

Understanding Suburban School Segregation:
Toward a Renewed Civil Rights Agenda

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About the Series

A Civil Rights Agenda for the Next Quarter Century

The Civil Rights Project was founded in 1996 at Harvard University, during a period of increasingly conservative courts and political movements that were limiting, and sometimes reversing, major civil rights reforms. In 2007 the Project moved to UCLA. Its goal was – and still is – to bring together researchers, lawyers, civil rights advocates and governmental and educational leaders to create a new generation of civil rights research and communicate what is learned to those who could use it to address the problems of inequality and discrimination. Created a generation after the civil rights revolution of the 1960s, CRP's vision was to produce new understandings of challenges and research-based evidence on solutions. The Project has always maintained a strong, central focus on equal education and racial change.

We are celebrating our first quarter century by taking a serious look forward – not at the history of the issues, not at the debates over older policies, not at celebrating prior victories but at the needs of the next quarter century. Since the work of civil rights advocates and leaders of color in recent decades has often been about defending threatened, existing rights, we need innovative thinking to address the challenges facing our rapidly changing society. Political leaders often see policy in short two- and four-year election cycles but we decided to look at the upcoming generation. Because researchers are uniquely qualified to think systematically, this series is an attempt to harness the skills of several disciplines, to think deeply about how our society has changed since the civil rights revolution and what the implications are for the future of racial justice.

This effort includes two very large sets of newly commissioned work. This paper is the seventh in the series on the potential for social change and equity policies in the nation. The second set of studies focuses on California, a vast state whose astonishing diversity foretells the future of the U.S. and whose profound inequality warns that there is much work to be done. All these studies

will initially be issued as working papers. They will be brought together in statewide conferences and in the U.S. Capitol and, eventually, as two major books, which we hope will help light the way in the coming decades. At each of the major events, scholars will exchange ideas and address questions from each other, from leaders and from the public.

The Civil Rights Project, like the country, is in a period of transition, identifying leadership for its next chapter. We are fortunate to have collaborated with a remarkable network of important scholars across the U.S., who contributed to our work in the last quarter century and continue to do so in this new work. We are also inspired by the nation's many young people who understand that our future depends on overcoming division. They are committed to constructing new paths to racial justice. We hope these studies open avenues for this critical work, stimulate future scholars and lawyers, and inform policymaking in a society with the unlimited potential of diversity, if it can only figure out how to achieve genuine equality.

Gary Orfield

Patricia Gándara

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Foreword

Can we avoid creating another epic failure in our metropolitan communities and schools? The great migration of families to the suburbs took place after World War II with segregated housing markets and overt discrimination, even in programs designed to help veterans. The suburbs grew very rapidly and the new developments were white, as was the overwhelming majority of the population in most of the country. Mass-produced tract housing created new communities leading to a vast expansion of suburban schools during the baby boom. The U.S. was becoming a metropolitan nation dominated by the suburban rings. Left behind were the Black families that had been migrating into the cities since World War I, and the Latino families coming from Mexico, Puerto Rico and Cuba. It's not surprising that the policies and racial justice struggles were largely about the cities. Discrimination created vast swaths of new white communities and it created a suburban delusion, that addressing the problems of a society divided and polarized by race could be left behind.

After Brown in 1954, the Supreme Court said nothing about urban school desegregation until the 1970s, but it was too late in many central cities, where the spread of low-income, segregated neighborhoods left only a shrinking minority of whites and a declining minority of middle-class families in the city schools. The great question that came to the Supreme Court in 1974 in *Milliken v. Bradley* was about whether the suburbs should be included in the desegregation plans. Lower courts and many experts had concluded that city-suburban mixing was the only viable plan for lasting desegregation, but the Supreme Court ruled that the suburbs should not be included in desegregation efforts. It was a fateful decision, as Justice Thurgood Marshall noted in his dissent, and there would be no desegregation for millions of students of color in central cities. By making school district boundaries uncrossable for remedies, the *Milliken* decision had another impact not thought about then. As individual suburbs faced racial change, there was no basis in federal law to

require regional plans that would be of great assistance, particularly for individual, small suburbs trying to cope with broad changes in a housing market still rife with discrimination, racial steering, and the continuing effects of a step-by-step, neighborhood-by-neighborhood history of resegregation. In trying to protect white suburbia, the conservative Court majority may have denied suburbs a tool that would have protected them in the long run from the segregation process. We now have generations of experience with the consequences of resegregation for urban and suburban communities and their schools.

Black and Latino suburbanization began to grow rapidly in the 1970s, and so did a vast surge of Latino and Asian immigration to the U.S., which increasingly came directly to suburbs. Both surges have been happening ever since. Though people continue to talk about race as a city problem, most Latino and Black families in our overwhelmingly metropolitan society are seeking their future in the suburban ring. Once housing discrimination became illegal in 1968, the cities' Black and Latino communities spread over the suburban boundaries in many places. This report and other research show that the suburbs of our largest metro areas are going through vast racial changes, usually with no plans and no assistance. It is obvious that in our society where race still has such power, the central cities that became non-white have suffered for generations from unequal investment and resources. Families of color, though gaining from homeownership, have gained much less than the families who have moved into white and Asian neighborhoods. The schools have been unequal for a very long time. The worst present-day outcome would be the extension of the same process in the suburbs. This report shows that the suburbs of our largest metros, which educate 30% of all U.S. students, now have a majority of Latino and Black students. They are not as segregated as those in the city schools and there is still a great deal of diversity, but segregation is severe. If all of the schools and small districts in many metros were pictured on maps showing racial composition over time, you would see a spreading pattern of segregation.

We are a metropolitan society dominated by vast suburban rings with twice as many students as the central cities, but our civil rights and urban policies have not kept up with the suburban transformation. Neither have civil rights groups**.** The fair housing law of 1968 ended the ability of communities and those in the housing, real estate and banking industries to openly discriminate, allowing frustrated buyers and renters of color to suburbanize. But covert discrimination in the real estate, home finance and related industries persists. At the time the law was adopted no one envisaged a nonwhite majority in the suburban rings. The changes are a clear reflection of the shrinking share of whites in our society given the very low white birth and immigration rates. Projections show these overall trends are very likely to continue.

There are clear signs that rather than learn from the destructive spread of segregation across our central cities and their schools in the twentieth century, we may be repeating the failure in large swaths of suburbia. It is time for critical analysis of the trends and possibilities. This paper provides essential information for that analysis.

As segregation spread, suburban schools experienced substantial racial change especially in affordable, inner ring suburbs adjoining city nonwhite areas. What were the lessons drawn from the city experience with race? The basic responses were not about planning for better outcomes in a multiracial society but doing nothing and ignoring the issue, in spite of obvious changes in the community and school populations and in the racial composition of homebuyers. Officials often said nothing or engaged in wishful thinking. In this policy vacuum, many whites left for less diverse areas and schools, sometimes private or charter schools, contributing to resegregation. In most regions there was very little, if any, regional planning or policy development to support stable integration of residences and schools. School districts rarely had strategies[1] and, even in the face of

[1] This is shown in the book, *The Resegregation of Suburban Schools,* edited by Frankenberg and Orfield (Harvard Education Press, 2012).

dramatic change, continued to ignore public discussion of the issue. Segregation is not something that can be ignored. Realtors and others often steered white homebuyers to less diverse areas based on school test scores.

In regions with large scale racial and economic change, many suburbs are far too small to deal with large forces of housing resegregation and racial steering by housing sales and rental operators. Places with strong county governments and county school districts have a better chance of winning against these forces, but school districts need support from housing and development officials, real estate and rental agents, and fair housing groups working against steering and resegregation. They need to foster a positive vision of a community welcoming all. In a policy vacuum, continuing resegregation, first of elementary schools (reflecting most recent incoming groups), and then of residential population, harms all groups and the community's future. Racial resegregation is strongly related to economic resegregation. This, sadly, is the default in many communities without offsetting policy. Because most families move several times in their life, communities and schools, over time, are defined by who is moving in and moving out. Maintaining a diverse inflow is essential if a community is to avoid resegregation by race and class. Except in cases where the price level fosters equilibrium, and where there is no adjacent expanding area of nonwhite segregation, long term diversity requires plans and leadership to offset the stereotypes and self-fulfilling prophecies of resegregation and decline. Communities that show leadership and skill in confronting these issues become desirable destinations with strong demand in all parts of the housing market. They have the kind of culturally diverse and challenging schools many families of all races desire for their children—schools that actually prepare them not only for personal success but for living and working successfully in an extremely diverse and changing society.

This study points to experiments that work, to modest initiatives in Congress and by the Education Department to support voluntary integration efforts, to new housing regulations that

strengthen fair housing enforcement tools and, of course, to powerful research showing benefits of school integration. There are provisions in state constitutions and laws that permit more positive work on these issues. More privileged families need to know there is no evidence of educational harm for children in integrated settings, and about the advantages for children growing up with the ability to fluently cross racial and linguistic barriers in a multiracial society. Suburban families wanting their children to flourish in elite colleges need to prepare them for the diversity of those college communities.

The statistics that the authors present at the beginning of this study should command attention, especially from those who think that resegregation can be ignored. With four major racial and ethnic groups and in continual change, the children in the suburbs of our large metros are living in a world where most suburban students are not white, and where everyone will benefit from skills in understanding and operating effectively in a society where everyone will be a minority in many settings. There really is no place to go beyond the suburbs for most families, in spite of some recent moves to small cities and towns. Since segregation is profoundly linked to inequality and fosters stereotypes, we need to figure out better outcomes. This study offers a well-informed discussion of steps to better outcomes for schools and the communities they help shape and sustain.

The conservative capture of the Supreme Court, and the lack of any coherent Congressional majority working on urban issues and civil rights, have just let segregation spread into vast sectors of suburbia without any idea about how to make it work or make it equitable. In most areas we not only lack institutions of regional or metro government to deal with the problems of segregation on a metropolitan level, but we even lack basic information to explain to our citizens the consequences of what is happening or what would be the possible alternatives. Without policy and with few places to flee too, people often search for a highly individualized way to give advantages to their own families.

Such processes weaken the public schools, the communities, and the preparation of the students for the society they will live and work in.

The suburban challenge did not happen by accident. It is the direct result of shifts in the courts and social policy that had its beginnings in the conservative politics of the Nixon, Reagan and Bush presidencies from 1968 to 1992. Before Nixon, the Warren Court required fundamental and prompt desegregation in the 17 officially segregated states. We had the largest housing program in U.S. history; fair housing had just become law, opening up important possibilities, and there were a number of tools for potentially shaping more equitable urban development. After Nixon's four appointments, the Court was fundamentally changed and has become increasingly conservative now for more than a half century. Urban and housing policy were decimated in this period, regionalism was largely abandoned, and the suburbs were "protected" from civil rights changes by both the Court and the executive branch. We basically left the future of our suburban metro areas to the private market and individual suburban communities.

Four Supreme Court decisions' dismantling of programs left a policy vacuum. In the 1974 *Milliken* decision the Court decided to block inter-district desegregation by a single vote. Similarly in the 1973 *Rodriguez* decision, a divided Court rejected the idea that there was a Constitutional right to equal funding for the public schools. These decisions reinstated the discredited "separate but equal" formula of *Plessy v. Ferguson* while undermining the "equal" part. Further transformed by President Reagan, the Court decided to end court-ordered desegregation plans in the 1991 *Dowell* decision, and later created serious obstacles to widely used voluntary desegregation strategies in the 2007 *Parents Involved* case. In this period housing and urban policy tools were largely abandoned in federal legislation and funding, as was the major desegregation program giving assistance to school districts to help them deal with diversity successfully, which died in the Reagan Administration. The plans for "model cities" coordination of federal programs and for developing intentionally integrated

suburban "new towns," like Columbia, Maryland, were shut down. Successful use of community development and housing funds to foster regional, subsidized housing plans were killed by President Nixon. There have been no major new urban policies adopted by Congress in the last half century. Suburban resegregation was the result of such decisions. Suburban integration will require different decisions, courage to face the facts and their consequences and leadership toward a more viable future. This paper lays out important facts needed for that more viable future.

-Gary Orfield

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Executive Summary

For at least the last fifty years, incentivized by government policy, the suburbs and their schools have rapidly expanded. In the largest U.S. metropolitan areas, suburban school districts enroll 14.4 million students, far more than the 6 million students enrolled in the same metros' urban districts. In fact, students enrolled in the suburban school districts surrounding the 25 largest metropolitan areas represent roughly 30% of the nation's entire public school enrollment.

Suburban growth has occurred alongside the creation of a segregated, metropolitan society through policy, law and practice. Discriminatory loan practices, federal highway construction, site selection for subsidized housing and exclusionary zoning are examples of how racial discrimination permeated to origins suburban society. State and federal governments are dominated politically by those representing suburban constituents too often eager to maintain an exclusionary status quo. Social policy routinely has ignored the metropolitan and, increasingly, suburban nature of segregation. Yet the fragmented nature of U.S. metros makes it impossible for suburban communities to "go it alone" in solving racial and economic isolation. Most suburbs can do nothing as forces large and small impact population flows. Opportunities exist in those changing flows—including stronger relationships across racial and economic lines and with them an emerging, multiracial urban and suburban coalition around addressing inequality. But those possibilities often are undermined by the current paradigm of racial politics, regional fragmentation and misguided law and policy.

As shifting populations change suburban school enrollment, education policy trends formerly confined to urban districts have spread to suburban ones. Many suburban school districts have experienced growth in the charter school sector, as well as a rash of school closures. Suburban schools and districts reflect broader societal problems, paradigms, and possibilities. Yet, if our society is to advance equitable opportunity for all, children learning together in suburban schools

must be part of the solution. In order to think clearly about what a renewed civil rights agenda entails given our complex and multiracial geography of inequality, we must understand the extent to which suburban school districts are segregated—and why. We also need to think deeply about policy responses to advance integration with equitable status for all children.

In this paper, we draw on federal enrollment data from the nation's largest 25 metros from 2011-2020 to descriptively analyze suburban school enrollment and segregation at the school district-level, seeking to understand different district contexts and their relationship to student segregation. The emphasis on districts helps us better understand potential levels for policy levers to remedy segregation.

Key findings include:

- 30% of the entire public school enrollment in US is in the largest 25 suburban areas. This percentage also includes a loss of 850,000 white students, which is more than offset by increase of nearly 1 million new Latinx suburban students.
- Substantial suburban racial transition continues in public schools the suburbs of major U.S. metros. White students remain the largest group of suburban students but have declined considerably, from 48% to 40% of the enrollment. Latinx students are the next largest suburban group, making up about a third of the enrollment, while the Black enrollment share declined to about 15%. Asian students are approximately 8% and multiracial students represent 4.5%.
- Though all regions experienced a decline in the number and percentage of White suburban students, the suburban areas in the Midwest and Northeast reported the highest percentages of White students. On average, suburban schools saw a decline in White enrollment of 7.5 percentage points.

- Conversely, the suburban enrollment of Latinx students rose considerably over the last decade. Latinx enrollment in the suburbs is the largest in the West (45%). But in every region, Latinx increases were substantial in suburban areas, with a lower percentage increase in the West than other regions. Five of the top 25 metros report that Latinx students make up majorities of the suburban enrollment.
- Meanwhile, Black student suburban enrollment held relatively steady across most of the 25 largest metros and was largest in Atlanta. Regionally, the suburbs of large Border and southern metros reported an increase in Black students.
- Suburban charter segregation is intensifying. Roughly 27% of suburban charters in 2019 were 90-100% Black and Latinx; nearly two in three were newly opened in the past decade.
- Close to half (43.5%) of new schools opened in the suburbs of the top 25 metros were charter schools. These new charter schools served disproportionately high shares of students of color—reporting enrollments, on average, that were 44% Latinx and 26% white.
- Traditional public schools that opened and closed in the suburbs of the top 25 metros had a lower share of White students than schools open in both years studied, suggesting that students of color experienced more flux than White students.
- At the district level, student enrollment in 90-100% Black/Latinx districts doubled, a sea change from a decade ago when more students were enrolled in 90-100% White districts than in 90-100% Black/Latinx ones. The percentage of Latinx suburban students in these districts was the highest of any racial/ethnic group (22.1%) and the percentage of both Black and Latinx students enrolled in these districts rose substantially over the past decade.

- White student segregation declined even as Black and Latinx student segregation rose sharply. In 2019-20, 7.4% of suburban districts were 90-100% White, a decline from 17.7% in 2010-11. The share of 90-100% Black and Latinx suburban districts rose to 10% of districts in the suburbs of our largest metros.
    - This segregation was less substantial in metros with fewer suburban districts.
- The typical Black and Latinx student in the suburbs enrolled in a district that was just over 25% White. White student exposure to other White students remains very high at 57%. Asian students, historically the most integrated with White students, experienced rising isolation with same race peers over the past decade. In fact, Asian isolation with other Asian students increased more sharply than isolation for any other racial/ethnic group.
- Racial segregation by race overlaps with resegregation by class in suburbia. The typical White or Asian student goes to a suburban school where just over 30% of students qualify for subsidized lunches. That figure doubles to 60% for the typical Black or Latinx student.

Broadly speaking, we find evidence of continued racial transition in America's suburban school districts, accompanied by declining segregation for White suburban students. Meanwhile, segregation for suburban Black and Latinx students rose sharply. The past decade also witnessed a proliferation of segregated suburban charter schools and school closures and openings that disproportionately impacted Black and Latinx students. As the families of Black and Latinx students have moved into the suburbs, they are increasingly enrolling in school communities that resemble the older pattern of racially and economically isolated urban cores (segments of which, at least in places with an active housing market, are now gentrifying). Our findings underscore the increasingly suburban and stratified nature of our society's schools.

We need an ambitious policy agenda to combat suburban school segregation. Such an agenda would replace market-driven complacency that has yielded profitable suburban and exurban development without attention to the expanding geographic scale of segregation. A lack of regional oversight and development fuels and exacerbates the issue. Households continue to move, developers continue to develop, and racial attitudes continue to shift meaning current patterns are not inevitable or set in stone.

An overarching recommendation, supported by our analysis and review of the literature on suburbia, is to move beyond simplistic urban/suburban/exurban dichotomies and to instead think in highly regional ways. The geographic footprint of metropolitan segregation is growing larger as the patchwork of higher and lower opportunity communities spread within and across suburbia. A lack of consensus around what constitutes suburbia flows from those rapid population shifts and the still widespread "Leave it to Beaver" suburban mythology.

We offer a detailed set of policy recommendations that highlight the importance of recognizing nuance, confronting history together, tackling segregation and stigma and working within suburban school districts and across districts and sectors to combat segregation. These solutions build from difficult-to-measure but important community education and organizing efforts to create political support up to concrete policy proposals for tackling suburban segregation within and across districts and sectors.

Understanding Suburban School Segregation: Toward a Renewed Civil Rights Agenda

Erica Frankenberg & Genevieve Siegel-Hawley

Introduction

For at least the last fifty years, incentivized by government policy, the suburbs and their schools have rapidly expanded. In the largest U.S. metropolitan areas, suburban school districts enroll 14.4 million students, far more than the 6 million students enrolled in the same metros' urban districts. In fact, students enrolled in the suburban school districts surrounding the 25 largest metropolitan areas represent roughly 30% of the nation's entire public school enrollment.

Suburban growth has occurred alongside the creation of a segregated, metropolitan society through policy, law and practice. Discriminatory loan practices, federal highway construction, site selection for subsidized housing and exclusionary zoning reveal the racist origins of suburban society (Lacy, 2016; Rothstein, 2017; Troustine, 2018). State and federal governments are dominated politically by those representing suburban constituents too often eager to maintain an exclusionary status quo. No corresponding institutions of regional governance have been developed, and social policy routinely has ignored the metropolitan and, increasingly, suburban nature of segregation (M. Orfield & Luce, 2010). Yet the fragmented nature of U.S. metros makes it impossible for suburban communities to "go it alone" in solving racial and economic isolation. Most suburbs can do nothing as forces large and small impact population flows. Opportunities exist in those changing flows—including stronger relationships across racial and economic lines and with them an emerging, multiracial urban and suburban coalition around addressing inequality. But those possibilities often are undermined by the current paradigm of racial grievance politics, regional fragmentation and misguided law and policy (M. Orfield & Luce, 2013; Tripodi, Kreiss, & Marwick, 2021).

Despite an ongoing tendency to associate suburbia with a Whitewashed "Leave it to Beaver" historical image, racial and economic change define suburban school districts. In the 21st century, segregation and stratification have emerged as a central pattern (Frankenberg & Orfield, 2012; Yun & Reardon, 2002). Driven by rapid change in suburban districts closest to urban districts, the city-suburban divide in the largest metropolitan areas is now less distinct. "Suburban" districts educate more than half of Asian, Black and Latinx students in large metros, as well as many immigrant students (Diamond & Posey-Maddox, 2020). More than one in three low-income families lives in the suburbs (Lewis-McCoy, Warikoo, Matthews, & Foley, 2023).

As shifting populations change suburban school enrollment, education policy trends formerly confined to urban districts have spread to suburban ones. Many suburban school districts have experienced growth in the charter school sector, as well as a rash of school closures (Urban Institute, 2017). Market-based solutions to educational inequality have wreaked havoc on urban school systems (Ewing, 2019; Lipman, 2011). Similar harms are spreading into suburbia.

Too often growing suburban diversity goes hand in hand with suburban racial/ethnic and economic segregation (Reardon & Yun, 2002). Given how the boundaries surrounding highly localized communities shape enrollment in public school districts and a substantial share of their funding, suburban racial and economic segregation matters for a number of interrelated reasons. The median home value in majority Black neighborhoods is roughly half the value in neighborhoods with no Black residents (Perry, Rothwell, & Harshbarger, 2018). Lower property values mean a diminished tax base. Low tax capacity in local communities, even with a commitment to higher tax rates, has significant implications for education funding (EdBuild, 2019). This, in turn, significantly impacts educational opportunities (Johnson, 2019). Though urban school systems have been struggling with a similar constellation of inequities for decades, suburban communities facing these challenges often lack the cultural and employment draws of central cities, not to mention crucial

transportation infrastructure. Without similar amenities, revitalization becomes more difficult (M. Orfield & Luce, 2010).

Suburban schools and districts reflect broader societal problems, paradigms and possibilities. Yet, if our society is to advance equitable opportunity for all, children learning together in suburban schools must be part of the solution. In order to think clearly about what a renewed civil rights agenda entails given our complex and multiracial geography of inequality, we must understand the extent to which suburban school districts are segregated—and why. We also need to think deeply about policy responses to advance integration with equitable status for all children.

We define segregation to mean law and policy that has the effect of furthering racial isolation and attendant inequality, as well as law and policy that intentionally does the same (Thompson Dorsey, 2013). When we refer to integration, we draw on a comprehensive definition, outlined in *Green v. New Kent County* (1968) and updated by student activists in New York City, that requires equitable power- and resource-sharing across racial lines on key indicators of educational quality (IntegrateNYC, 2020). Resegregation represents backsliding from desegregation gains or the racial integration that occurred as the suburbs diversified.

With many more students attending public schools in suburban districts, the future of whether students' civil rights will be protected depends, in large part, on whether large swaths of suburbia replicate the segregation and constricted resources that for too long have defined urban school systems (Noguera, 2003). Racial and economic segregation harms all students and the society they inhabit. Segregated Black and Latinx students and low-income students confront a narrowed set of highly impactful educational resources like funding, high quality teachers, engaging curricula, well-maintained facilities and networks connected to robust postsecondary and employment opportunities (see, e.g., Linn & Welner, 2007). Segregated White and affluent students cultivate inaccurate beliefs about other groups and later justify resource-hoarding on the basis of those

stereotypes (Anderson, 2010; Wilson, 2016). That behavior maintains racial hierarchy and undermines a healthy, multiracial society (Mickelson & Nkomo, 2012).

In this paper, we review key studies about the dynamics fueling racial and economic change in suburban schools and communities. We then draw on federal enrollment data from the nation's largest 25 metros from 2011-2020 to descriptively analyze suburban school enrollment and segregation at the school district-level, seeking to understand different district contexts and their relationship to student segregation. The emphasis on districts helps us better understand potential levels for policy levers to remedy segregation.

Broadly speaking, we find evidence of continued racial transition in America's suburban school districts, accompanied by declining segregation for White suburban students. Meanwhile, segregation for suburban Black and Latinx students rose sharply. The past decade also witnessed a proliferation of segregated suburban charter schools and school closures and openings that disproportionately impacted Black and Latinx students. As the families of Black and Latinx students have moved into the suburbs, they are increasingly enrolling in school communities that resemble the older pattern of racially and economically isolated urban cores (segments of which, at least in places with an active housing market, are now gentrifying). Our findings underscore the increasingly suburban and stratified nature of our society's schools.

Based on our literature review and findings, we argue that fast-paced demographic change and segregation in public schools and districts are occurring in a policy vacuum. Too little planning and leadership occur around an affirmative, regional and cross-sector vision for more equitable metropolitan education. Without that vision, and accompanying action, enormous swaths of schools in large metropolitan areas will be segregated. In response, we offer a set of evidence-based policies and practices to address growing demographic diversity and segregation within and across suburban school systems. Looking at cross-metro comparisons, we also suggest policies that might further

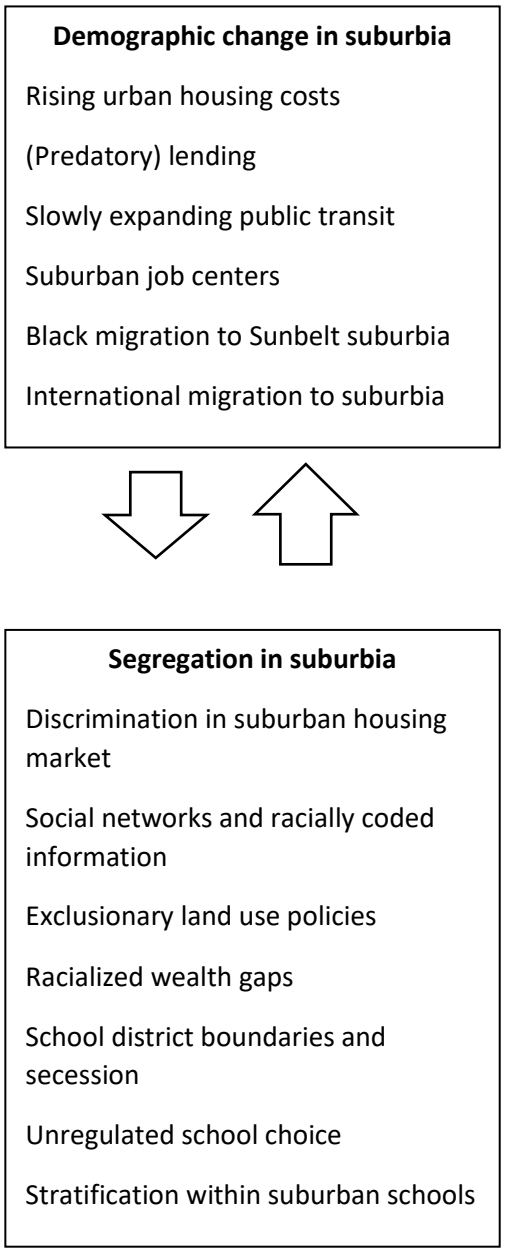
integration, as well as political efforts that have supported adoption or sustainment of policies to combat increasing segregation. Policy recommendations are targeted at educational actors at various levels (school, district, regional, state) and non-educational policymakers.

Literature Review:
Key Drivers of Suburban Demographic Change and Segregation

Twenty-first century research on suburban schools has provided some insight into the dynamic contours of enrollment and segregation in suburbia, although it is still largely an under-studied area (Lacy, 2016). A review of research found a pervasive focus on urban schools, with five leading education journals publishing just 24 articles on suburban schools between 2000 and 2018, compared to 164 on urban schools (Diamond & Posey-Maddox, 2020). We explore the limited but relevant research on suburban demographic change and segregation in the sections that follow.

Drivers of demographic change and segregation in suburban school districts influence and reinforce each other. Key drivers of suburban demographic change include rising urban housing costs, predatory lending, slowly expanding public transit, the growth of suburban job centers, Black migration to Sunbelt suburbia and international migration to suburbia (Diagram 1). Central drivers of segregation in suburbia include ongoing discrimination in the suburban housing market, the exchange of racially coded information in social networks, exclusionary land use policies, racialized wealth gaps, school district boundaries and secessions, unregulated school choice and stratification within suburban schools.

Diagram 1. Key drivers of suburban demographic change and segregation.



Rising urban housing costs, predatory lending and suburban poverty

Suburban poverty has exploded over the past several decades. The number of suburban residents living in high poverty communities has nearly tripled since 1990 and poverty in the suburbs is rising faster than in cities (Allard & Allard, 2017). A 2020 analysis of data from the census and a major real estate company indicates that fast-rising costs of housing in urban areas are pushing some

less affluent families and families of color into suburban communities (Dowell, 2021). Other studies on displacement from gentrification confirm the trend, particularly in cities like New York and San Francisco (Florida & Adler, 2017).

Prior to the Great Recession, predatory lending practices (e.g., subprime mortgages with fast-ballooning interest rates) allowed lower income families of color to purchase homes in suburban communities (Squires, 2004). These were often the same families locked out of the wealth-building associated with 20th century home ownership by accumulated discrimination, But the risky nature of the 21st century subprime loans put buyers in especially precarious circumstances when the Great Recession hit, contributing to fast-rising suburban poverty.

Concentrated suburban poverty, defined as neighborhoods where 40% or more of residents were below the poverty line, doubled after the Great Recession (Kneebone & Holmes, 2016). Suburban poverty is both concentrated and racialized: poor Black residents were 3.5 times more likely than poor White residents to live in suburban neighborhoods of highly concentrated poverty (Kneebone & Holmes, 2016).

Changing labor market, public transit and suburban poverty

Though exacerbated by the Great Recession, the trend toward the suburbanization of poverty predated it (Berube & Kneebone, 2006). It is driven in part by a general increase in the suburban population as well as a fast-changing labor market. Low skill jobs that pay decent wages are fading from the suburban landscape, mirroring earlier trends in urban cores (Allard & Allard, 2017). The presence of strong public transit also contributes to suburban poverty, with increased poverty in suburban communities where transit is available (Glaeser, Kahn & Rapapport, 2008; Wang & Woo, 2017). However, to the extent that public transit only extends into part of suburbia, usually communities closer to the central city, it may leave other suburban areas further out inaccessible to low-income households. And for poor families who do reside in further flung

suburbs, lack of transit poses deep challenges (University Transportation Research Center, 2015). This is especially true given the lower density that would also make further flung areas less walkable for those without access to reliable personal transportation.

Black migration to sunbelt suburbia

Black population flows within the U.S., sometimes called "return migration" (Lacy, 2016) account for at least part of the suburban increases in racial/ethnic diversity. "Return migration" underscores a 21st century reversal of an earlier south to north migration pattern for Black Americans driven by Jim Crow policies in the South (Wilkerson, 2010). Recent studies document major African American population loss in cities like Detroit, Chicago, Philadelphia, and New York and highlight corresponding increases in the suburbs surrounding major southern cities like D.C., Atlanta, Dallas and Houston (Frey, 2022). Census 2020 data points to a continuation of the trend. Reasons for reverse migrations are multifaceted and understudied but revolve around growing industries and jobs in the South, as well as hope for increasingly inclusive southern communities (Lacy, 2016). Class overlapped with race in reverse migrations, with middle class African American migration to the suburbs evident in some major southern and border cities (Lacy, 2007, 2016). Consequently, majority Black suburbs reported significant income diversity (Lacey, 2007).

International immigration into suburbia

Research points to suburban areas, particularly in the South and Midwest, as growing sites of first arrival for immigrant families, a contrast to traditional big city gateways like Los Angeles, San Francisco, Miami, New York and Chicago (Alba & Nee, 2003; Waters and Jiminez, 2005). In the 1990s, almost half of new immigrants settled in the suburbs outside of central cities (Alba & Nee, 2003). By 2013, more than 60% of immigrants lived in the suburbs of the largest metros (Wilson & Svajlenka, 2014). A steady pull of lower-wage U.S. jobs in recent decades has also meant that waves of immigration consistently "refresh" with new flows (Waters & Jiminez, 2005). That heralds a need

to better understand the characteristics of refreshment, in addition to the longstanding focus on how each subsequent immigrant generation fares in the United States (Waters & Jiminez, 2005).

Other evidence shows voluntary clustering of post-1965 immigrant groups into more affluent suburban communities relative to ethnic enclaves in urban cores. Indeed, a study of the largest immigrant groups in New York and Los Angeles indicated a growth in higher wealth ethnic community enclaves (Logan, 2014).

Ongoing discrimination in the suburban housing market

Legal prohibitions against racial discrimination in real estate markets, codified by the 1968 Fair Housing Act, in subsequent decades slowly opened up some suburban communities to buyers of color. Yet ongoing discrimination in the housing market limits possibilities for buyers of color seeking suburban living. Unfair lending practices abound, making it more difficult for equally qualified but racially/ethnically different candidates to procure a mortgage, continuing a long legacy of discrimination in mortgage markets (Hurley, 2016). One study found that a Black family earning $157,000 a year was less likely to qualify for a prime loan than a White family making $40,000 (Institute on Race and Poverty, 2009). Homes in majority White communities were also more likely to be appraised at higher values (Howell & Korver-Glenn, 2022). Moreover, suburban real estate steering, or the process by which prospective homebuyers are shown housing options in racially discriminatory ways, remains rampant, if under-investigated (Besbris & Faber, 2017). A 2019 exposé of steering on suburban Long Island indicated that roughly 40% of buyers of color experienced discrimination. Based on a three-year undercover investigation, fair housing testers of different races but similar on other meaningful homebuyer characteristics, including income, documented starkly discriminatory treatment. Black testers experienced the most discrimination (49% of the time), which ran the gamut—from seeing fewer listings, to being encouraged to explore housing in

predominantly Black communities to not being shown housing in predominantly White communities (Choi, Herbert & Winslow, 2019).

Social networks maintaining segregated suburban housing

For all racial/ethnic groups seeking housing, stigma about possible neighborhoods—created over time by life experiences navigating through metros and stories shared by highly segregated social networks and media—close minds off to large portions of metropolitan communities (Krysan & Crowder, 2017). Many White prospective buyers in a Chicago area study declined to even consider housing options in portions of the metropolitan area with higher concentrations of Black residents, often without ever visiting the areas in question.

Similarly, qualitative research from both coasts shows that White and/or affluent home seekers rely heavily on informal webs of family, friends and acquaintances to glean race-neutral but racially coded information about schools and neighborhoods. A study of Southern California families who moved to the suburbs "for the schools" found that participants described schools to their networks as good or bad without visiting the schools or exploring available data related to them (Holme, 2002). The labels guided decisions about where to live and corresponded tightly with the racial/ethnic makeup of the schools (Holme, 2002; Lareau, 2014). An accountability system that tries to simplify the complicated elements of schooling into single scores or grades enables further race-neutral exchange among White and affluent families, exacerbating segregation along the way (Dougherty, 2012; Hasan & Kumar, 2019).

Exclusionary suburban land-use policies, racialized wealth inequalities and school segregation

Suburban land use and zoning policies exclusively permitting high cost, single family dwellings on large lots render suburban swaths of highly resourced schools and neighborhoods accessible only to those who have accumulated enough wealth to enter (Rothwell, 2012; Troustine,

2018). Deeply related to past discrimination, especially in housing, racial wealth gaps are pervasive in the U.S. The typical White family has 8 times the wealth of the typical Black family, and 5 times the wealth of the typical Latinx Family (Bhutta, Chang, Dettling, and Hsu, 2020). Moreover, racial wealth gaps are larger for households with children than those without (Percheski and Gibson-Davis, 2020). Suburban resistance to affordable housing has meant that when it does emerge, it tends to do so in inner ring suburbs, closer to schools that are resegregating (M. Orfield & Luce, 2013). Moreover, suburban housing markets can be so inaccessible to lower or moderate-income buyers that housing assistance efforts cannot meet demand, such as in Montgomery County, Maryland (see Frankenberg, Fowler, Asson, and Buck, 2023 for discussion). A web of nonprofit housing developers, for-profit tax credit "syndicators," lawyers and lobbyists helps cement this pattern by building in areas demonstrating the least resistance (M. Orfield & Luce, 2013).

Meanwhile, developers of new suburban housing avoid parts of suburbia that are resegregating, seeking sites near schools perceived by affluent families as "good" (Holme, 2002; Lareau, 2014) and labeled successes by overly simplistic accountability systems. School boards ultimately decide where students residing in new developments attend school, but they face pressure from developers to draw attendance boundaries around neighborhoods in ways that yield more profit—and further segregate (Siegel-Hawley, 2020). Relatedly, school site selection by school boards accommodating growth can accelerate the concentration of wealth and racial advantage in some parts of suburbia (Benjamin, 2012; Erickson, 2017; Siegel-Hawley, 2020). School closure decisions also trigger decisions about attendance boundaries. Though research is limited on school closures in suburbia, an analysis of older federal data from 2003-2013 found that 53% of school closures occurred in suburban locales, compared to 26% in rural areas and 21% in urban areas (Gallagher & Gold, 2017).

Suburbia, school district boundaries, secession and school segregation

While school site selection and attendance boundaries help shape segregation within school systems, district boundary lines matter too. Like attendance zones but on a larger scale, district lines bound communities and give structure to the racial/ethnic and economic demographics in them. The lines between school districts account for roughly 60% overall of school segregation (Stroub & Richards, 2013), cleaving students into separate systems of education. And the more numerous the school districts in an area (e.g., the level of fragmentation), the more the boundary lines between them matter (Bischoff, 2008; Wells, Fox, Cordova-Cobo, and Ready, 2018). More recently, school district secessions have started to erode the countywide advantage in the South. Smaller suburban municipalities have broken away from their larger county systems to form new, relatively Whiter and advantaged school districts (Cooperstock, 2023 Taylor, Frankenberg & Siegel-Hawley, 2019). Ostensibly race-neutral rationales like the desire for local control animate the political battles surrounding the proliferation of new boundary lines, even as they exacerbate segregation (Siegel-Hawley, Diem & Frankenberg, 2017; Frankenberg, Siegel-Hawley & Diem, 2018).

School choice and segregation in the suburbs

School choice in the form of suburban charters, many of which constitute their own districts, represents another form of fragmentation. Some evidence suggests that suburban charters exacerbate segregation in suburbia. Descriptive analyses based on data from 2007-08 indicated a growing trend toward suburban charters. Roughly one-quarter of charter students nationwide enrolled in suburban charter schools at that time (Frankenberg, Siegel-Hawley, and Wang, 2011). Trends varied by state; those with more populous suburban areas tended to have higher shares of suburban charter school students. And some southern states, including states like Florida and Georgia with predominantly countywide districts, had higher shares of suburban charter school students than suburban regular public school students. Suburban charters in 2007-08 also tended to

be segregated; with nearly 30% of students attending either a racially isolated White or a racially isolated minority school.

Racial identifiability influences segregation in the charter sector as well as between the regular public and charter sectors. A Los Angeles County dataset found that White and Asian families exercise considerable school choice in communities with higher shares of Black and Latinx families (Schachner, 2022). School choice among the study's White and Asian families appeared largely driven by racial avoidance, echoing findings from survey and qualitative research finding school racial makeup fueled simplistic labels like good and bad (Holme, 2002; Goyette & Lareau, 2014; Haderlein, 2022). Roughly 40% of White and Asian families in the sample of over 2,000 children attending school in Los Angeles County during the 2000s opted out of assigned schools, selecting into schools that were less diverse but further away and lower performing (Schachner, 2022).

Stratification within suburban schools

Beyond stratification between sectors, between districts, and between schools in suburbia, a growing body of research explores the sociology of inequality *within* suburban schools (Diamond & Posey-Maddox, 2020; Lewis-McCoy et al., 2023). Racial inequality within more highly resourced suburban schools affects how those resources are distributed across lines of racial/ethnic difference. Pervasive, racialized tracking into advanced coursework, deep racial disparities in school discipline and unequal access to extracurricular activities siphon away resources, opportunities and support for historically marginalized students of color in suburban schools (Lewis & Diamond, 2015; Lewis-McCoy, 2014; Warikoo, 2022). At the same time, suburban schools are sites of resistance, as a study of Latinx students in the outskirts of Chicago highlighted (Rodriguez, 2020). Suburban school inequities are partly shaped by White and affluent families lobbying for more power in school parent-teacher organizations, exceptions to the discipline code when it impacts their children and

access to advanced coursework and experienced teachers to again benefit their children (Lewis & Diamond, 2015; Lewis-McCoy, 2014; Posey-Maddox, 2014).

In summary, we need to better understand the relationship between drivers and patterns of suburban segregation in a contemporary context. School choice and school openings and closures represent particularly understudied aspects of suburban segregation drivers, as most choice research has focused on urban systems (e.g., Linkow, 2011) and very few studies zero in on school closures.

Data & Methods

One of the challenges in doing research about suburbia generally and schools and districts in suburban areas specifically is the lack of consistency in how "suburban" is defined and operationalized. We adopt a straightforward definition used in several major demographic analyses of suburbia, which considers a community suburban if it lies in "the physical space beyond a city's boundaries, yet still within the metropolitan area" (Kneebone & Berube, 2013; Massey and Denton, 1998 as cited in Lacy, 2016). This may be an expansive definition, including satellite cities outside of the central city or exurban/rural fringes on the outer edges of the MSA.[2] However, because these places might lack some of the physical or social infrastructure of central cities, for our purposes, they seemed important to include in our analysis.

We use the Common Core of Data, Public School Universe in our analysis, merging data from school-level and district-level files. We analyze district enrollment and segregation across the suburbs in the 25 largest U.S. metros in 2010-11 and 2019-20.[3] These students account for approximately 30% of the entire public school enrollment in the U.S. We use the CBSA definition

[2] For example, approximately 10% of students within the largest 25 metros were enrolled in *schools* designated as rural even though their districts were designated as suburban. We designate "suburban" at the district level.
[3] We began with 2010-11 because this was the first year that all schools and districts reported race/ethnicity using the new federal classification. As a result, this gives us more confidence that racial change is not a result of changing definitions but reflects actual changes in enrollment.

of metros for 2019-20 to define metros, and selected the largest 25 according to Census population estimates in summer 2021.[4] We identified a district as suburban if it was coded as such according to the NCES' Common Core of Data definition (a plurality of students in the district are enrolled in schools designated as suburban) in either 2010-11 or 2019-20; all other metro area schools were designated as urban. Given the growing multiracial nature of suburban enrollment, we analyze demographic trends for four major racial/ethnic groups: White, Black, Latinx, and Asian; in some tables we also include the rapidly growing multiracial population. In addition, we look at changes in the distribution of students from low-income households.[5]

Our analysis uses a variety of descriptive measures to compare changes in enrollment across time between groups (e.g., suburban and urban districts) and between metros. We look at mean changes at the school level and district level in racial/ethnic composition, including among schools that are opening and closing during this time period. We examine how school closure and the establishment of new schools varies in suburban districts, perhaps as a response to demographic changes. This helps us understand if schools are being closed in disproportionately Black and/or Latinx or low-income districts, and the extent to which newly opened schools are diverse (or not). We also include analysis of charter school patterns, which have increased rapidly in suburban areas during this time period.

Finally, we use several segregation measures to understand segregation at the district and the school level. We use concentration measures of racial and class composition to understand how district opportunities for integration or not may be changing. We augment this with school-level concentration analysis for Black + Latinx schools as well as concentrated White and Asian schools

[4] In future work, we hope to identify a set of smaller metros to compare patterns.
[5] This measure is not extremely accurate and seems to be less so by 2019-20, but is the only available measure. ELL status is also not available in 2019-20 and thus not included.

following the 2016 GAO report (GAO, 2016). Additionally, we look at racial exposure and exposure to low-income students by race to understand the experiences of different suburban students.

Enrollment Increases and Swift Demographic Change in Suburbia

Consistent with earlier research about racial transformation in suburban schools and districts (e.g., Herold, 2021; M. Orfield & Luce, 2014), we find that while suburban enrollment is characterized by a higher percentage of White students and a lower percentage of low-income students, it continues to change rapidly, fueled especially by Latinx growth. Across all large metros, the decline of White students is pronounced, and Black student suburbanization remains roughly constant. Asian students also represent a rising share of suburban students. Demographic shifts are seen in the aggregate, as well as in school-level and district-level racial composition changes. These patterns continue to reinforce the suburban nature of our largest metros since majorities of all racial groups in large metros were enrolled in suburban districts during this time period.

Substantial Racial Transition in Suburban Schools and Districts

The suburban public school enrollment in the largest metros continues a decades-long trend of increasing enrollment and substantial racial transition. The largest 25 metros enrolled more than 20 million students by 2019-20, an increase of not quite one million students. Significantly, the suburbs of these metros account nearly 30% of the entire public school enrollment in the U.S. (see Table A-1 in Appendix). Tracking national trends, White students in the largest suburban districts are a plurality, not majority, of students, and Latinx students are rapidly approaching the size of White suburban students. Thus, these suburbs are a critical place to understand how changing demographics affects schools and districts.

Among the largest metros, at the beginning and end of the past decade, suburban enrollment was twice as large as urban enrollment. Both urban and suburban enrollments increased over this

time, with a slightly higher percentage change (4.4%) in suburban enrollment than in urban enrollment (3.3%).

White students remain the largest racial group in the suburbs of large metros, though their share has declined sharply (eight percentage points). They made up just 40% of enrollment by 2019-20 (Figure 1). Still, the White percentage of the suburban enrollment is disproportionately higher than urban enrollment, which experienced a more modest decline in White percentage (1.5 percentage points; see Table A-1 in Appendix).

Latinx students continued to increase rapidly as a share of the suburban enrollment. Nearly one in three suburban students were Latinx, and Latinx growth in the suburbs was higher than in urban areas. Further, in suburban districts, the Latinx share of the enrollment is rapidly approaching that of White students. Projections of the youth population suggest continued increases among Latinx school-aged population by 2050, and declines in non-Hispanic White school-aged population,[6] which could result in a Latinx plurality in suburban schools in our largest metropolitan areas. (This is already a reality in a number of large metros as we will discuss below.) Such changes represent a radical remaking of these formerly homogeneous White areas that previously had stood in contrast to more racially diverse urban districts.

Black students are the third largest group of students in suburban areas, with a slight decline in the share of Black students. Between 2010-11 and 2019-20, the *percentage* of Black students declined slightly to 14.7% of suburban enrollment, a more modest decline than among urban enrollment. However, because the overall suburban enrollment increased, the *number* of Black suburban students actually rose slightly by approximately 50,000 students.

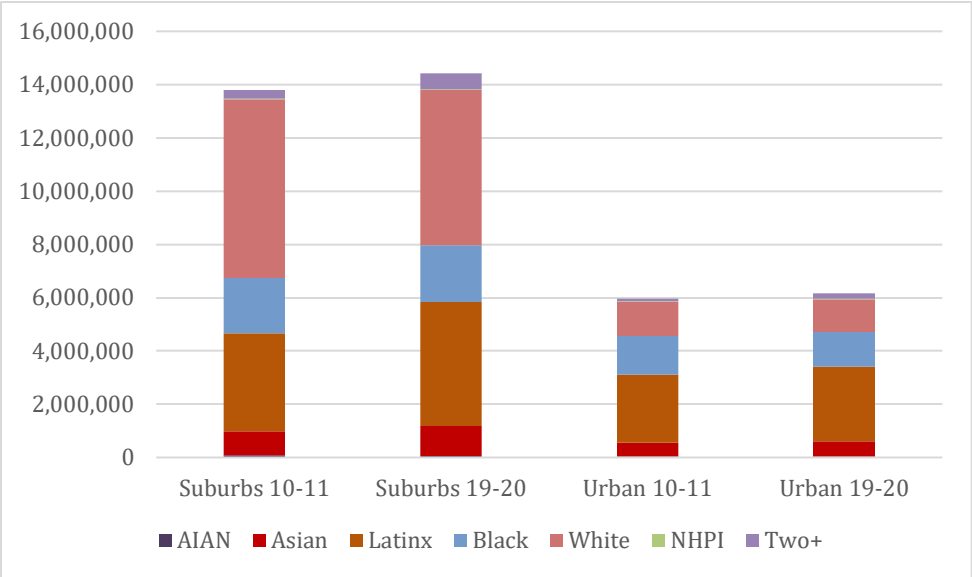
[6] As Van Hook and colleagues illustrate, however, these projections are subject to a number of factors, including for example how children of mixed-race parentage choose to ethnoracially identify (Van Hook et al, 2023). Additionally, it assumes suburban areas of large metros will retain their pull factors for Latinx households.

Asian and multiracial students also increased as a share of the suburban enrollment. In particular, Asian students accounted for nearly 8% of the suburban enrollment, just shy of their share among the urban enrollment; these patterns may differ within the Asian population such as by national origin or generational status. Native Hawaiian and Pacific Island (NHPI) and American Indian/Alaskan Native (AIAN) students are a small part of the suburban enrollment in the 25 largest metros, 0.2% and 0.3% in 2019-20, and thus are not included in most tables moving forward.[7]

Sharp differences between suburban and urban schools are present when examining our existing measure of economic disadvantage in public schools. In 2010-11 and 2019-20, more than 40% of suburban students received free/reduced price lunch (FRL), a commonly-used metric of students from households that are under 185% of the federal poverty line. The percentage of FRL students was approximately 20 percentage points higher in urban than suburban districts at both times (See Appendix Table A-1).[8]

[7] The introduction of groups like Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander are some of the changes required by 2010-11, but were not uniformly collected and reported prior to 2010-11. Because Alaska and Hawaii are not home to any of the nation's largest 25 metros, they are not included. Therefore, while we include Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander (NHPI) and American Indian/Alaskan Native (AIAN) in some tables and figures, they are a relatively small percentage of the suburban enrollment in the largest 25 metros, and we do not include in our segregation analyses or metro-level tables.
[8] To reduce administrative burden on schools and feed more eligible students, the Community Eligibility Provision was implemented beginning in 2011 to provide universal meals to all students in schools that had 40% or more students eligible for free or subsidized meals. While this program provides important benefits for families, students, and schools, it has further reduced the accuracy of using this measure to approximate the percentage of low-income students in schools (See Greenberg, Blagg & Rainer, 2019; Harwell, 2018).

Figure 1: Racial and FRL composition of suburban and urban enrollment, 2010-11 & 2019-20 (% of enrollment)



Note: Largest 25 metros; see Appendix Table A-1 for entire metro

Looking at the spatial distribution of students in the largest metro areas, the majority of students in each racial/ethnic group were enrolled in suburban districts (Table 1). This is especially true for White students in the largest MSAs: more than 80% of White students were in suburban districts, which declined slightly between 2010 and 2019. By contrast, lower shares of Black, Latinx and Asian metro students were in suburban districts, although each of these groups had an increasing share of students in suburbia since 2010-11. The share of Asian students was somewhat higher than for other groups of color and increased by a slightly larger percentage. Additionally, approximately 60% of students receiving free/reduced priced lunch were in suburban districts. These patterns have important implications for civil rights groups, which may historically have focused on central cities, but these districts increasingly educate a minority of students of color in large metros.

Table 1: Percentage of students enrolled in suburban districts overall and by subgroup, in largest 25 metro-areas

	Free/ reduced Lunch	American Indian/ Alaska Native	Asian	Latinx	Black	White	Native Hawaiian / Pacific Islander	Two or more races	Enrollment
2010-11	60.3	62.6	63.7	59.1	58.5	84.1	68.4	77.5	69.9
2019-20	61.3	58.0	66.6	62.5	61.8	82.7	63.7	73.5	70.1

Having seen the aggregate enrollment trends in suburban districts in the largest metros, we now turn to examining patterns that vary between metros. As background context, an earlier exploration of suburban school districts, which relied on 2006-07 data from the 25 largest U.S. metros, uncovered wide variation in suburban district characteristics, from exclusive enclaves, or communities with high shares of White students, low poverty and minimal racial change, to inner-ring transitioning suburban districts in close proximity to urban cores, to developing immigration meccas, to stable, mixed income districts with little racial change and few students of color (Frankenberg, 2012). Though the latter group constituted the largest cluster (1,102 districts), exclusive enclaves accounted for the next largest (703). Inner-ring transition districts constituted the smallest number (75), while developing immigration meccas were somewhere in between (142).

In this analysis, we find that not only do demographics vary among metros, but the number of districts also differs significantly. Because more district options fragment family educational choices across metro areas, suburban communities defined by more districts may also be linked to greater segregation (Bischoff, 2008). Level of fragmentation, along with demographics, is somewhat similar within regions, so we examine metro patterns grouping the 25 metros by their region of the country.

Examining the percentage of White suburban students illustrates two trends: 1) dramatic racial change has occurred in many of these metros, and 2) there is stark variation among the largest 25 metros. For example, on the latter point, in several metros mostly in the Midwest, approximately

66% of students were White: Portland, St. Louis, Detroit, Minneapolis, Boston. In others, all in the Sunbelt, it was under 20%: Los Angeles, Miami, Riverside. Five metros have had suburban enrollment White % decline by 10 percentage points or more during this time, including two that are still among the suburban enrollments that have the highest White percentage: Minneapolis, NYC, Baltimore, Boston, Seattle. Conversely, some metros have experienced very little change, both those that are largely non-White (San Antonio, TX) and those that are very White (St Louis), which may indicate some convergence among metros.

A number of metros in the West and South have majority Latinx suburban enrollment: Los Angeles, Miami, Riverside, San Antonio, San Diego; all but Miami were also majority Latinx in 2010-11. In every one of the largest 25 MSAs, the percentage of the suburban enrollment that was Latinx increased and in a few, such as the NYC metro, it increased by nearly 10 percentage points. Some midwestern metros that are still largely White in their suburban enrollment—St. Louis and Detroit—have quite small shares of Latinx students. Both of those metros had a decline in the number of suburban students since 2010-11 (Table A-11).

Five metros had a substantial suburban Black enrollment, with at least 20% or more of suburban students. The highest share was in suburban Atlanta (36%). The Black share of the enrollment remained quite similar over time, with the 2019-20 percentage in each metro being within 3 percentage points of its 2010-11 share (either increase or decrease).

Most metros reported relatively small but growing percentage of Asian students among their suburban enrollment. Five metros had 10% or more: NYC, Los Angeles, SF, DC, Seattle. As with the case of Latinx enrollment, these metros were on either coast of the US. Most metros had modest increases in Asian percent among the suburban enrollment although SF had sharp increase (5 percentage points) while Phoenix's percentage of suburban enrollment that was Asian declined slightly.

Of the largest 25 metros, Seattle had the largest share of suburban students that were multiracial, slightly over 10%. This represented a sharp increase from just 5.8% of public school suburban enrollment in the Seattle metro in 2010-11, which might reflect a growing number of interracial households (likely given the higher intermarriage rates of Asian adults, who are a higher percentage of the Seattle metro) but also may reflect growing awareness of this as a racial category given its relative newness in federal education data collection. Multiracial students are rapidly growing among the under-18 population, as noted in 2020 Census, and it will be important to monitor the extent to which this group–itself incredibly diverse–grows as well as the educational experiences and outcomes of students.[9]

Washington, DC's suburban areas represent an especially rich diversity of students—Black, Asian, Latinx and White students were all at least 10% of the enrollment in suburban districts. White students are the largest group, but represent just one-third of overall enrollment. In addition, many suburban districts in this metro are counties, which could be large enough to encompass many of these groups within one jurisdiction, thereby offering the opportunity for multiracial suburban diversity.

Nine of the 25 largest metros have a majority of suburban students receiving subsidized lunch through the federal school lunch program, which is the best available measure. Seven of these metros had a similarly high share of low-income suburban students in 2010-11. The highest prevalence in suburban districts was Riverside, in which nearly 70% of students were classified as low-income.

[9] As another paper in this collection suggests, the size and growth of multiracial students is also dependent upon how racial/ethnic classifications shift and are redefined over time (see Van Hook et al., 2023); see also proposed 2030 Census racial/ethnic classification changes.

Consistent White Enrollment Decline Amid Clear Regional Differences in Enrollment by Race/Ethnicity

Enrollment differences by region were substantial, although across all regions White students declined in suburban districts.[10] Large suburban areas in the Midwest and Northeast reported the highest percentages of White students and had majority White suburban enrollments in 2019-2020 (Figure 2). Yet, the Northeast experienced a ten percentage-point decline in White students, the largest decline among regions. The Northeast and Midwest regions also experienced a decline in the size of their overall suburban enrollment (see Tables in Appendix).

Latinx enrollment in the suburbs is the highest in the West (45%), with the gap between Latinx and White students widening since 2010-11. But in every region, Latinx increases were substantial in suburban areas, with a lower percentage increase in the West than in other regions. In the Northeast, for example, there were 200,000 more Latinx suburban students during this time, an increase of 46%.

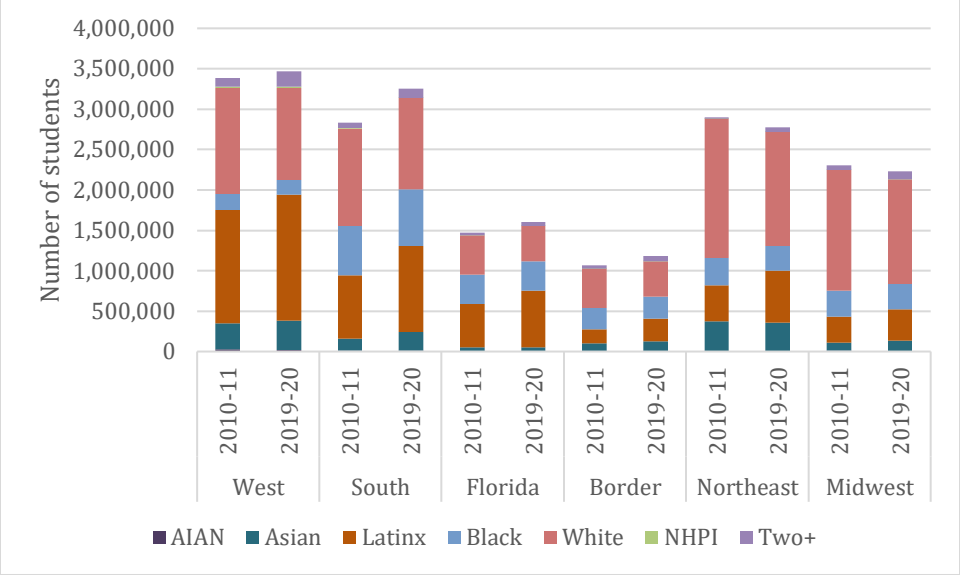
Likely reflecting patterns of "return migration" discussed earlier, the suburbs of large Border metros reported an increase in Black students, as did the South. In non-Florida suburban metros in the South, the Black enrollment increased by 15%. In both the Border and the South, Black enrollment increases were smaller than for Latinx students. Further in the Border region metros, Latinx students grew to be slightly larger in size than Black student suburban enrollment.

Although still small in size, many regions' suburban enrollment saw a rapid increase in multiracial students. In the Border and West regions, the multiracial suburban enrollment is greater than 5%; it nearly tripled in size in the Northeast. Asian students were at least 10% of suburban

[10] Because of our interest in schools, we use regional definitions that align with states' history of school desegregation: South, Border, West, Northeast and Midwest. Metro definitions include West: Portland, Seattle, Denver, SF, LA, SD, Riverside, Phoenix; South: Atlanta, Charlotte, San Antonio, Dallas, Houston; Because Florida metros (Orlando, Tampa, Miami) include urban in countywide districts, we separately disaggregate them; Border: Baltimore & DC; Northeast: Boston, NYC, Philadelphia; and Midwest: Detroit, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Chicago.

students in most regions, although they declined slightly in the Northeast. These patterns show tremendous and growing diversity in suburban areas across all regions, but that diversity looks different depending on region.

Figure 2: Composition of suburban enrollment by region, 2010-11 and 2019-20



Overall, enrollment grew in both suburban and urban districts—higher enrollment growth in the suburbs—but these patterns were mixed compared to earlier analysis (1990-2006 where all of the then-largest 25 metros had expanding suburban enrollment; see Frankenberg & Orfield, 2012). In eight of the 25 metros, suburban enrollment declined (Table A-12). In most of the metros where suburban decline was occurring, urban enrollment also declined. However, in three metros, suburban enrollment declined while urban enrollment increased (e.g., Boston, New York, and San Diego). Additionally, in Los Angeles, the suburban enrollment decline was a larger percentage than the urban enrollment decline. By contrast, in Midwestern metros like Chicago and Detroit, suburban percentage decline was less substantial than urban decline.

Several metros that had the highest White percentage also had declines in the overall suburban enrollment: Boston, Detroit, and St. Louis. Similar to patterns in an earlier analysis

(Frankenberg & Orfield, 2012), these suburban areas may be less successful in attracting families of color to the same extent as other metros' suburban districts, which spurs enrollment growth.

Just under 50% of suburban districts had increasing enrollment during this time, though the percentages varied widely. Generally, lower percentages of suburban districts had increasing enrollments in metros that were more fragmented (e.g., larger number of districts).

Significant Changes in White and Latinx Enrollment in Suburban Districts and Schools

To understand how these overall enrollment patterns play out, we next turned to district-level and school-level changes in composition among schools that were open at both time points. These patterns show fairly substantial change in the White and Latinx enrollment in relatively short periods of time in suburban districts and schools (see Figure 3). Additionally, the percentage of low-income students increased about half a percentage point per year in suburban districts, on average (see table A-3 in Appendix). Altogether, these represent rather substantial suburban change on average though, of course, there is tremendous variation among suburban districts.

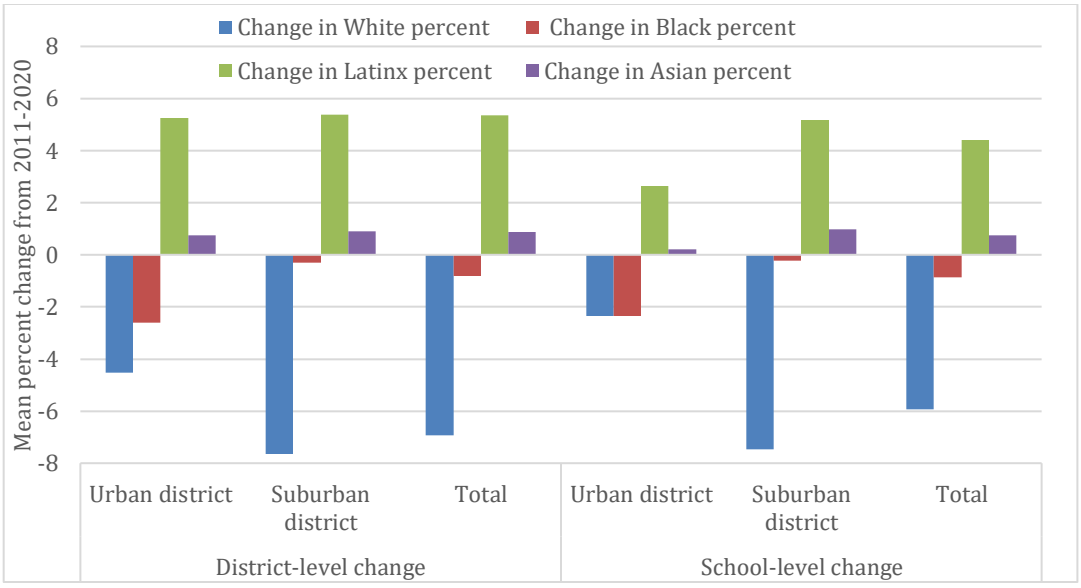
The decline in the percentage of White students is larger in suburban districts, on average, than among urban districts while the change in Black percentage of students is nearly zero in suburban districts (Figure 3). The mean increase in the percentage of Latinx students in both suburban and urban districts is slightly more than 5 percentage points, and there are similarly sized, but smaller, increases also among the percent of Asian students.

Next, we explored school-level demographic changes among schools that were open over the past decade, finding that school-level trends were similar in the suburbs as district-level trends but slightly less in magnitude. The contrasts between urban and suburban school-level changes are more dramatic, however. For example, the average decline in the percentage of White students was much larger in suburban schools (7.5 points) than in urban schools (2.3 points; Table A-4). This is due, in part, to the fact that urban schools had lower percentage of White students to begin with,

and may also reflect some movement by White families back to urban districts. Likewise, the increase among the percentage of Latinx students was much higher in suburban districts than urban ones, Patterns among Black and Asian change were more consistent between the school and district level. These patterns underscore the large change in suburban schools.

Taken together, these school-level changes among schools open at both points in time show more complex, multiracial changes in suburban districts than in urban districts in the largest metros. District-level changes tracked school-level changes generally, with slightly larger margins, e.g., Latinx increase in suburban districts was 5.4 percentage points compared to 5.2 among schools. Suburban districts and schools continue to converge with those in urban areas in terms of their racial composition.

Figure 3: Mean district-level and school-level racial change in schools open during both time periods 2010-11 and 2019-20 (in percentage points)



Note: At district level, differences for change in White percent, Black and FRL percent are statistically significant, p<.05; Differences in change for all groups is statistically significant, p<.01. Number of urban schools 7,953, suburban schools 18,557; Number of urban districts 715, suburban districts 2,474.

The mean and median school-level change in the percentage of White students declined in the suburban districts of each of the 25 metros, with some metros like Seattle experiencing an

average school-level White percentage decline of more than ten percentage points. Likewise, all metros had a mean school-level increase among suburban schools' Latinx percentage, with the lowest being St. Louis' mean increase of 1.5 percentage points. All but three metros had an average change in the percentage of Asian students in suburban schools that was positive. The pattern was more mixed for Black school-level change. Many metros had minimal changes, but some with higher Black percentages like NYC and DC had mean declines of more than 2 percentage points at the school level. Upper Midwestern metros that were largely White—Detroit and Minneapolis—had school-level increases of similar magnitude in terms of the percentage of Black students.

Suburban School Openings and Closings Are Frequent and Vary by Regular Public and Charter School Status

The 25 largest metros encompass many areas that are growing or shrinking, places where population changes and school capacity—along with other factors—may necessitate the opening and closing of schools. Although school closure is largely associated with either urban areas or rural areas due to neoliberal school reform and/or consolidation, among our suburban schools, 5.4% of all schools open in 2010-11 had closed by 2019-20, which represented over 1,000 schools.[11] Closing schools can be disruptive to children who must be reassigned to other schools and to communities if they lose an institution that is central to the cohesion and vitality of the area. Research, especially in urban areas, demonstrates that schools are disproportionately closed when they serve higher shares of students of color. Moreover, case studies of growing suburban districts illustrate that rapidly growing, affluent communities (and their developers) can leverage this growth into building new schools that may be in more advantaged areas of the district (e.g., Siegel-Hawley, 2020). And, indeed, there were more than 1,800 *new* suburban schools during this period.[12] In both directions

[11] By comparison, 1200 urban schools closed during this time period in these same metros.
[12] There were even more new schools opening in urban areas: just over 1900.

then, we sought to understand whether schools that opened or closed during the last decade are demographically different from those that remained open the entire time.

Because of the high churn among suburban charter schools—and their disproportionate rates of racial concentration—we analyze the operating status of all suburban schools as well as schools separately by charter status. Charter schools often operate as separate Local Education Agencies (LEAs), or districts, and thus their opening/closing affects overall fragmentation in suburban areas.

New suburban schools, on average, have a disproportionately lower percentage of White students and higher shares of Black and Latinx students than schools that were open in 2010-11—however these gaps narrow considerably when we restrict the analysis to non-charter schools (Figure 4b). Traditional public schools that opened or closed had a lower percentage of White students than those open both years. By 2019-20, suburban schools that had opened since 2010-11 were 38.7% White on average compared to schools that had been open the entire time, which were 43.6% White. This is somewhat unexpected and may represent opening schools in suburban spaces with high growth fueled by diverse groups of students. Among traditional public schools that opened since 2010-11 when compared to those open the entire time, the percentage of Black students is 1.6 percentage points higher (15.8% compared to 14.2%), on average; similar gaps are seen for Latinx students, 2.1 points higher (32.1% compared to 30.0%), and 1.0 point higher for Asian students (8.3% compared to 7.3%).

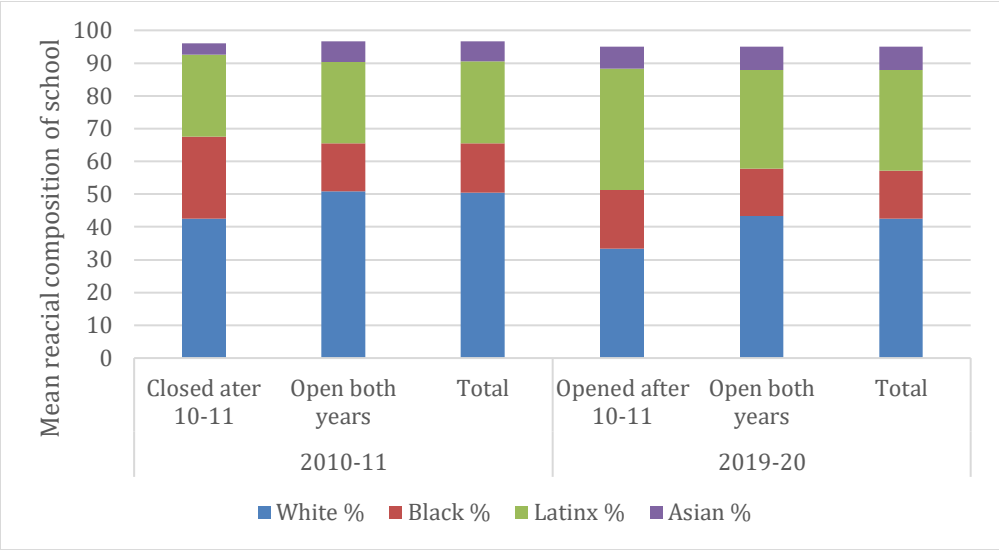
Close to half of new schools in suburban areas were charter schools during this time period (43.5%, or 796 out 1827), and differed from new schools in traditional suburban districts in several ways. These new schools were substantially smaller in enrollment if they were charter schools (mean

enrollment was 501) compared to non-charter (mean enrollment of 632).[13] Suburban charter schools were also disproportionately enrolling students of color compared to non-charter schools that were newly open (Figures 4b and 4c). In fact, suburban charters opened since 2010 were just 26% White on average and nearly 44% Latinx—sharp differences from traditional public schools (39% and 32%, respectively) and from charters that had been operating since 2010-11 or earlier (36% and 32%, respectively).

Focusing on suburban school closure, the percentage of Black students in traditional public suburban schools that closed after 10-11 was substantially higher than in schools that remained open (24% Black versus 14%, Figure 4b).[14] Among charter schools, the gap in Black percentage of students among suburban schools that closed (27%) compared to those that remained open (21%), was a larger gap than among urban charter schools that closed (compared to staying open). Indeed, on average, in 2010-11 more than half of students in suburban charter schools that closed were Black and Latinx, much higher than their overall share of the enrollment at that time.

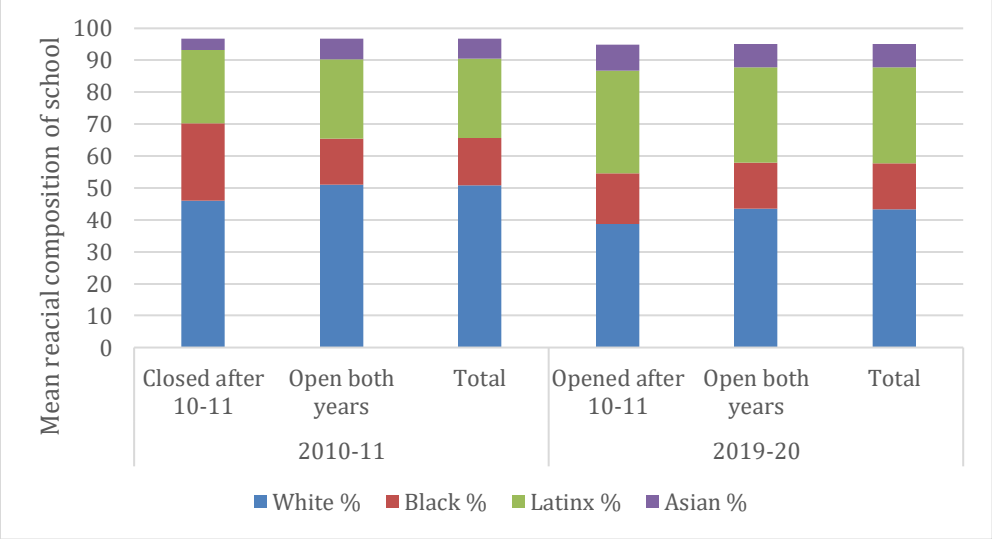
[13] Likewise, suburban charter schools open in both years were, on average, smaller than traditional public schools. But there were no enrollment size differences, on average, among those that closed after 2010-11.
[14] For comparison, given the typical focus on closure of urban schools, the difference in Black percentage among schools closing and staying open was even larger however in urban schools in these 25 metros (Table A-6 in Appendix; see also A-6b and A-6c).

Figure 4a: Mean racial composition of all suburban schools by operating status, 2010-11 and 2019-20



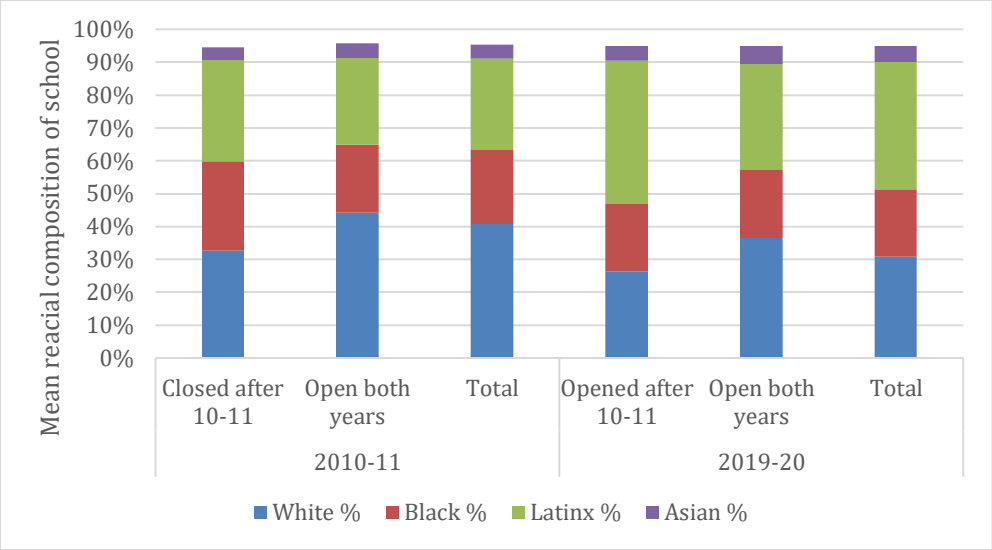
See corresponding table A-5 in Appendix

Figure 4b: Mean racial composition of suburban traditional public schools in school districts by operating status, 2010-11 and 2019-20



Note: does not include charter schools; See also Table A-7a in Appendix

Figure 4c: Mean racial composition of suburban charter schools by operating status, 2010-11 and 2019-20



See Table A-7b in Appendix

School Segregation Deepening in Suburbia and Associated with Fragmentation

Having reviewed the substantial continued demographic shifts in suburban districts and schools in the largest metros, we turn next to suburban school segregation. First, we examine concentration among suburban districts and then schools. We then turn to exposure, both interracial exposure and exposure to low-income by race. We look at district level, and then school level patterns over time. These help us to understand the extent to which the growing diversity among suburban enrollment is distributed across districts and schools, or how factors like boundary lines and school choice in suburban spaces overlap with segregation patterns.

During the time we examined—just under a decade—there were more than 300 new LEAs in the same geographic area of the 25 largest metros. As described above, there was significant *school-level* opening and closing from 2010 to 2019, and to the extent that many of these were charters and distinct LEAs that could fuel the rising number of jurisdictions. This increase, however, is of concern given earlier research finding higher segregation in metros with more extensive

fragmentation (Bischoff, 2008; Fiel, 2015). As a result, in some of our analyses below, we separately look at charter schools to see whether and how it may change the nature of suburban segregation.

Decline in White and Asian suburban student concentration and rise in Black and Latinx suburban student concentration at district level.

In 2010-11, there were 800,000 more suburban students enrolled in 90-100% White and Asian districts than in 90-100% Black and Latinx districts. Since then, suburban school districts have reported a sharp drop in enrollment of more than one million students in White and Asian concentrated districts and a doubling of enrollment in 90-100% Black and Latinx districts. By 2019-20, more than 1 million more suburban students were in 90-100% Black & Latinx districts than in 90-100% White and Asian districts, more than reversing patterns of concentration in less than a decade. While one out of nine suburban students were in a 90-100% White and Asian district in 2010-11, nearly a similar share of suburban students by 2019-20 were in 90-100% Black and Latinx districts.

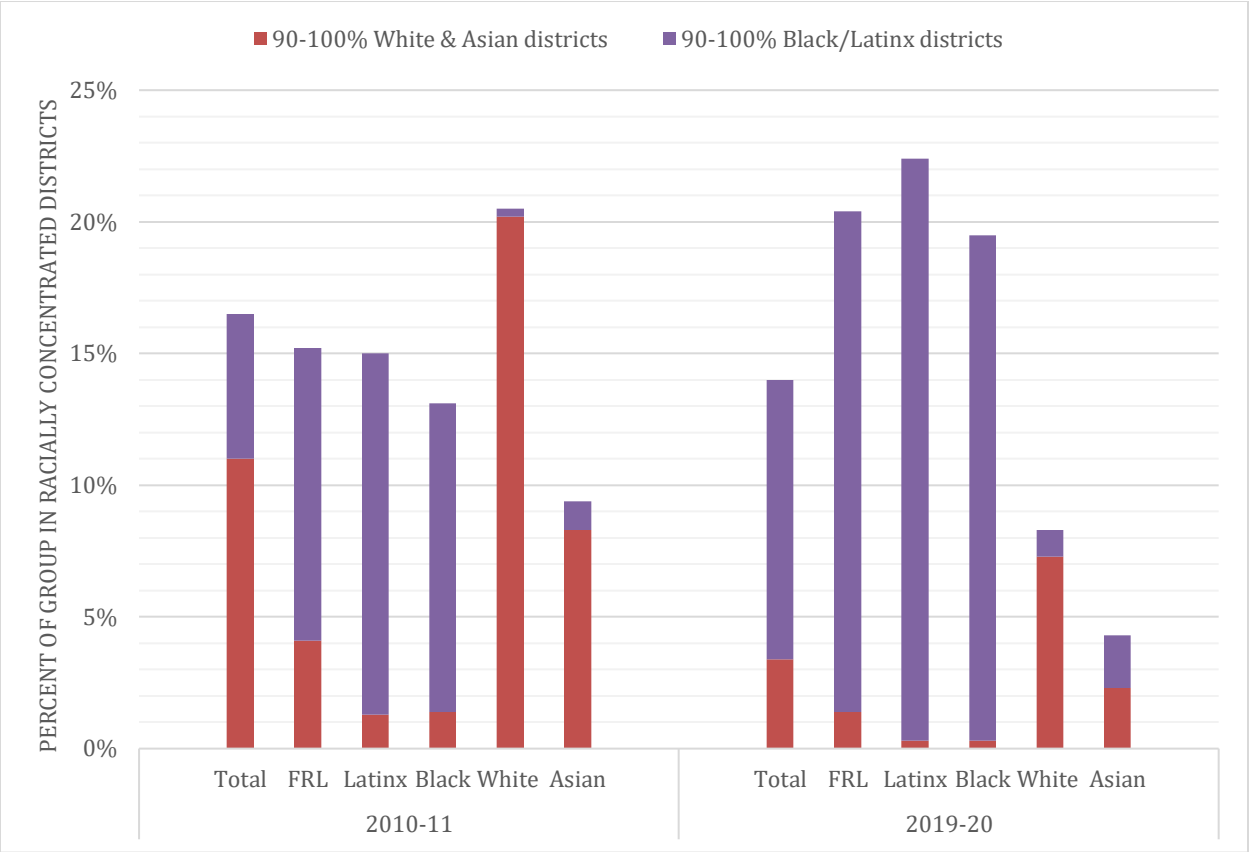
The shifting numbers of students in racially concentrated districts is a result of shifting enrollment in districts that are segregated, but even more so changes in whether districts meet the concentration threshold. As an example, in 2019-20, 313 districts were 90-100% White and Asian, a decline from 669 districts in 2010-11. In addition to enrolling a declining number of students overall, the percentage of White students in these districts shrunk from 20.2% to 7.3% of all suburban White students (Figure 5). The vast majority of those districts that remained White and Asian segregated districts had been so in 2010-11, but more than half that had also been White and Asian segregate in 2010-11 were not so by 2019-20. By contrast, the percentage of students in 90-100% Black & Latinx segregated districts has increased to 10.6% of all suburban students and accounted for 287 districts in 2019-20, ten percent of all suburban districts and a near doubling of the number of Black and Latinx concentrated suburban districts since 2010-11 when there were 156.

More than one million suburban Latinx students were in concentrated Black and Latinx districts in 2019-20. The percentage of Latinx suburban students in such districts was the highest of any racial/ethnic group (22.1%) and the percentage of both Black and Latinx students enrolled in these districts increased substantially since 2010-11 (7.5 and 8.4 percentage points, respectively). Additionally, nearly 20% of FRL students were in 90-100% Black and Latinx districts by 2019-20, an increase of nearly 8 percentage points since 2010-11. By contrast, just 1% of low-income students were enrolled in White and Asian segregated districts in 2010-11, and their enrollment was even less (0.3%) in 2019-20.

By definition, relatively few Asian students are in either type of concentrated district by 2019-20. A slightly higher number of Asian students were in 90-100% Asian and White districts in 2019-20 though the number of Asian students in concentrated Black and Latinx districts had risen substantially since 2010-11. In 2010-11, by contrast, many more Asian students were in 90-100% White and Asian districts than 90-100% Black and Latinx districts.

When separately analyzing segregation at the district level for suburban charter-only districts, 5.5% of all students in the 90-100% Black and Latinx districts were students in charter districts in 2019-20. This represents an increase from 3.3% of students in segregated districts that are charter-only in 2010-11. A higher percentage of Black students in segregated Black and Latinx districts, 8.3%, were in charters. Conversely, charters also played a smaller role for 90-100% White & Asian districts—2% of all students in segregated White & Asian districts were in charters in 2019-20. The increase among charters and White and Asian segregation at the district level is much smaller from 2010-11, from 1.2% to 2.0%.

Figure 5: Percent of all suburban students in racially concentrated districts, 2010-11 and 2019-20



The geographic scale of metropolitan segregation is increasing, according to earlier research. Overall segregation in metropolitan areas is influenced by various changes in segregation at different geographic scales (Fischer, Stockmayer, Stiles, & Hout, 2004; Tienda & Fuentes 2014). So while segregation between neighborhoods in one part of a metro might be declining, segregation between inner-ring and outer-ring exurbs may be rising. Indeed, one study examining U.S. metros between 1990 and 2010 found this to be true, revealing that as suburbs close to central cities grew more diverse; White residents moved further from the core into exurban, or fringe, parts of a metro area (Hall & Lee, 2010; Lighter, Parisi, & Taquino, 2015).

Six of the largest MSAs in both years had no suburban districts that were 90-100% Black and Latinx. Two of these metros, Orlando and Tampa were in metros with countywide school districts (meaning lower levels of fragmentation; Baltimore is also countywide outside of Baltimore City).

Two other metros, Seattle and Portland, have relatively low percentages of Black and Latinx suburban students, which may also help to explain these patterns.

Three other metros had no suburban districts in 2010-11 that were 90-100% Black and Latinx but did have at least one such district by 2019-20 (see tables A-13a and A-13b). San Diego is one metro, and still has very small shares of suburban students enrolled in these concentrated districts. Two other metros experienced substantial changes. In the Miami area, the Miami-Dade district, which is classified by NCES as suburban, had been slightly under the 90% cutoff in 2010-11 and was 92% Black and Latinx by 2019-20. Likewise, a similar small increase in the composition of Prince George's County, Maryland resulted in that district being more than 90-100% Black and Latinx, which meant that nearly 40% of suburban Black students in the metro attended school in 90-100% Black and Latinx district by 2019-20.[15]

Atlanta also reported a relatively higher increase in suburban enrollment in concentrated Black and Latinx districts. There was minimal enrollment in 90-100% Black and Latinx suburban districts in 2010-11, but accounted for nearly 12% of Black suburban enrollment by 2019-20.

While the general pattern was an increasing share of the suburban enrollment in 90-100% Black and Latinx districts, in a few, the share of students remained similar. For example, in suburban Chicago, 11.2% of suburban students were in 90-100% Black and Latinx districts during both years, and there were slight declines in the percentage of Black and Latinx students enrolled in these districts. In suburban Philadelphia, a metro that experienced only a slight increase in the number of suburban students, the percentage of overall as well as subgroups in 90-100% Black and Latinx districts was fairly constant.

[15] While Prince George's County has a majority of high-income Black Census tracts in the country, nearly two-thirds of its public school enrollment was eligible for free/reduced priced lunch in 2019-20 (Rowlands, D., 2020).

Deepening school-level racial concentration.

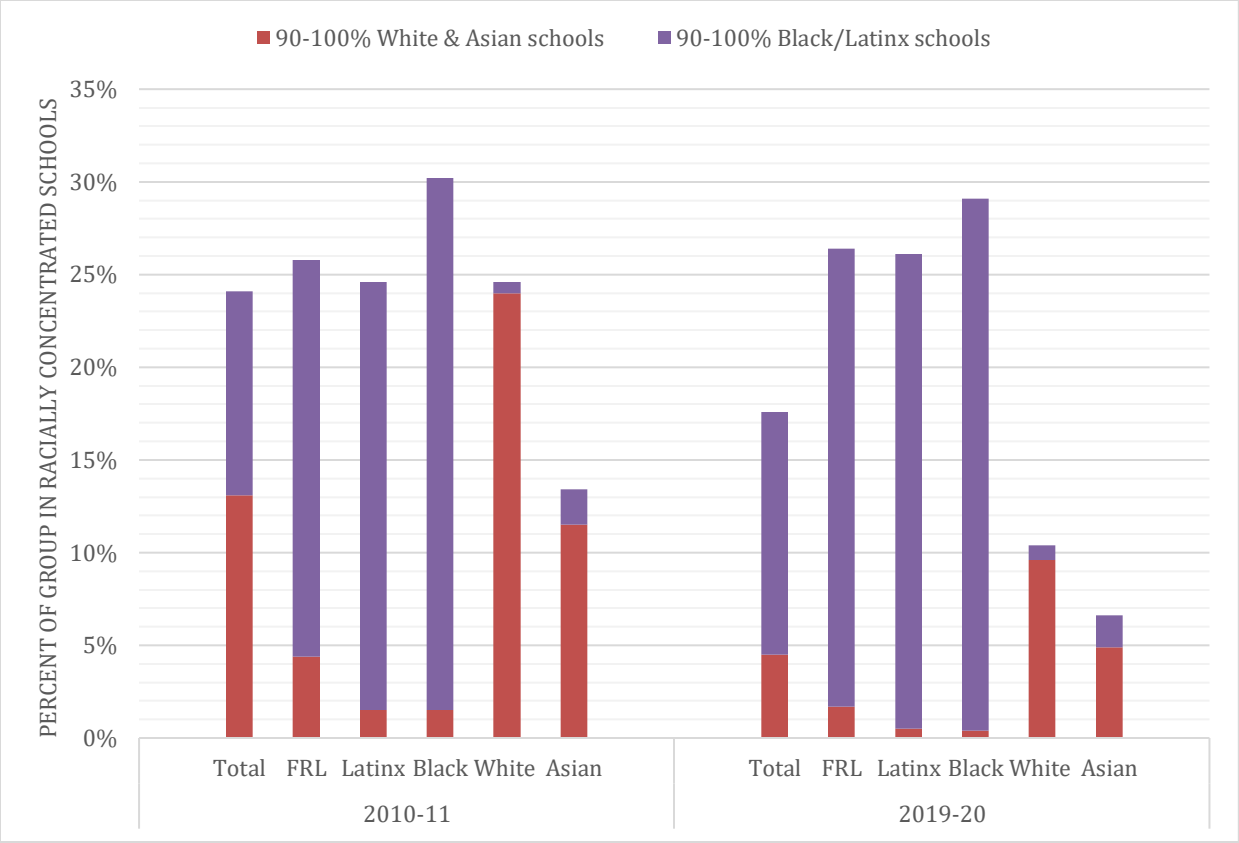
More than one-quarter of Black and Latinx suburban students were in concentrated Black and Latinx schools, which was an increase for Latinx students since 2010-11 while the percentage of suburban Black students in such schools remained the same. School level concentration patterns are similar to district-level concentration, although the increase in 90-100% Black & Latinx schools is not as dramatic as it was among 90-100% black and Latinx suburban districts (11% to 13% for schools versus 6% to 11% for districts; see Figure 6 and Tables A-14a and A-14b). The percentage of students in 90-100% White & Asian schools declined similar to those in White and Asian concentrated districts. That higher shares of students overall (4.5%) and White students (9.6%) in 2019-20 are in concentrated White & Asian schools is indicative of within district sorting in somewhat more diverse districts as well as students in schools in concentrated White and Asian districts (Table A-15).

In addition to smaller increases the percentage of suburban students in 90-100% black and Latinx students when compared to similar district-level concentration, notably the increase in suburban students enrolled in such schools contrasts to urban patterns (not shown) in which the percentage of students in 90-100% black and Latinx schools declined slightly but was considerably higher (51.3% in 2019-20). Also, more than one-fifth of FRL students were enrolled in 90-100% Black/Latinx schools in both years, with a slight increase in the percentage of FRL students during this time period.

The number of Asian students in 90-100% White and Asian schools was half as many in 2019-20 as in 2010-11—but the number of White students in such schools fell even more sharply, declining by two-thirds or over 1 million students. Thus, this time period witnessed a dramatic lessening of the numbers of White students in concentrated White & Asian schools, in addition to a

lower number of such schools in suburbia of large metros, although nearly 10% of White suburban students were enrolled in schools where 90% of students were White or Asian in 2019-20.

Figure 6: Percent of all suburban student enrollment in racially concentrated schools, 2010-11 and 2019-20



Note: includes charter schools; See also Tables A-8 and A-9 in Appendix

In some metros, student enrollment in 90-100% Black and Latinx *schools* is very similar to the enrollment patterns reported above in their enrollment in 90-100% Black and Latinx *districts* (Tables A-13a and A-14a for 2019-20; see Appendix tables A-14a and A-14b for 2010-11). For example, in Boston and Chicago the percentages of students in 90-100% Black and Latinx schools and districts is roughly similar. This may well reflect small suburban districts (in which schools' composition corresponds closely to that of districts) and/or charter schools that are individual LEAs in these metros. By contrast, the table above showed that Baltimore had no suburban students enrolled in 90-100% Black and Latinx districts, but they do have 5% of all students—and more than 15% of

Black students—in 90-100% Black and Latinx schools. This likely is more reflective of the within district segregation in larger, diverse county districts.

The regional patterns of concentrated White and Asian schools are especially striking. Five of the eight southern metros have no students in concentrated White and Asian schools by 2019-20, and the three that do have less than 2% of all suburban students in 90-100% White and Asian schools. The West also has three metros where no suburban students are in concentrated White and Asian schools; the one metro with higher than 2% of suburban enrollment, San Francisco, is driven by higher percentage of Asian students in 90-100% White and Asian schools. The Border also had relatively low percentages of suburban students in concentrated White and Asian schools, with Baltimore's White students being more concentrated among suburban students in this region. These regions have larger districts but also more racially diverse enrollments.

By contrast, in the Northeast and Midwest—regions of the country that are more fragmented and have higher percentages of White and Asian students—particularly high percentages of suburban students were enrolled in concentrated White and Asian schools. In fact, each Northeast and Midwestern metro had a higher share of all suburban students enrolled in such schools than *any* of the metros in the South or West. One Northeastern metro, Boston, had more than a quarter of suburban students in 90-100% White and Asian schools (driven by 37% of White students)[16] while two Midwestern metros had similarly high shares of suburban students in concentrated White and Asian schools. Minneapolis had nearly twenty percentage of students in these schools—and in each of these metros, the high concentration of students overall reflects the higher percentage of White students in 90-100% White schools (less so for Asian students with the exception of Detroit).

[16] The Boston METCO program has tried to address this segregation through its voluntary interdistrict effort that allows some Boston students to attend schools in 31 of these largely White and Asian suburban districts.

Race and segregation by charter and metro.

Of the students in segregated Black and Latinx schools, 10% were in charter schools in 2019-20, in 378 schools. This represented a fairly substantial increase from 2010-11 when just 4.5% of students in segregated Black and Latinx suburban schools were enrolled in charters (187 segregated charters). Comparatively, 2% or less of students in segregated White suburban schools were enrolled in charters (27 schools in 2019-20, 45 in 2010-11).

The past decade witnessed an expansion of the number of suburban charter schools. In 22 of the 25 metros, there were increases in the number of suburban charter schools—some of them dramatic (Table A-16). In Baltimore and Portland, the number of charter schools remained the same (few in Baltimore) and in St. Louis suburban charter schools declined from 2 to 1. In Missouri, however, the establishment of charter schools is only permitted in two urban districts.

The expansion of charter schools occurred in a number of southern or western metros. In Los Angeles, the number of suburban charter schools increased from 5 in 2010-11 to 100 in 2019-20. This has occurred alongside research findings, reviewed above, suggesting that White and Asian families in the LA suburbs travel long distances to suburban charters and other choice options to avoid schools with higher concentrations of Black and Latinx students (Schachner, 2022). There were also large suburban charter school increases in Charlotte, Dallas, and Houston. Additionally, perhaps reflecting the lingering challenges of the economic recession that deeply affected Detroit, with decades of city-suburban segregation by race and class especially vulnerable to the collapse on manufacturing, a city that declared bankruptcy, and management of Detroit Public Schools by state appointed emergency managers, suburban charter schools expanded substantially in Detroit. This time period included the aftermath of the 2009 stimulus package in the form of Race to the Top, which dangled billions of dollars in front of cash-strapped states if they adhered to the Obama administration's educational priorities—which included charter school expansion.

In 18 of the largest 25 metros, the *number* of Black/Latinx segregated charter schools grew, though in some of them, segregated Black and Latinx schools represented a lower percentage of charter schools in 2019-20 than in 2010-11 because of the overall growth in the number of charter schools. In the majority of metros, charter schools that were 90-100% Black and Latinx comprised ten percent or more of all suburban charter schools by 2019-20. Atlanta, for example, reported an increase from 6 Black and Latinx segregated suburban charter schools to 20, representing over half of their suburban charter schools. This also represented a much higher share of Black and Latinx segregation in charter schools compared to traditional public schools. Los Angeles is another example. As mentioned, it has experienced a strong growth of suburban charter schools. In addition to growth, 63% of the charters are 90-100% Black and Latinx. Only one of the five suburban LA charter schools in 2010-11 was similarly segregated. Thus, new charter school growth has been largely among schools that are highly racially concentrated.

Some metros, mostly outside of the South and Border regions, also reported segregated White and Asian suburban charter schools. In Boston, similar to suburban district patterns, seven out of the area's 35 suburban charter schools were at least 90% White and Asian in 2019-20. Other metros with segregated White and Asian charter schools included Charlotte, Detroit, Denver, Minneapolis, San Diego, and Portland. In fact, in Portland, the only type of segregation among charter schools were 90-100% White charter schools. Still, most of the largest metros did not have segregated White charter schools by 2019-20.

Strikingly, some metros in 2019-20 had suburban charter schools that were both 90-100% White and Asian and 90-100% Black and Latinx. Boston, as mentioned, had 10 and 7 segregated White charters in 2010-11 and 2019-20, respectively, yet it also reported growth in segregated Black and Latinx charters, from 2 to 7, during this time period. Likewise, in 2019-20, Detroit had 10 90-100% White and Asian charter schools and 21 90-100% Black and Latinx charter schools. In both of

these metros, segregated charters were more than one third of all charter schools. In Minneapolis there were more segregated White and Asian charter schools (15, a decline from 21) as there were segregated Black and Latinx charter schools (10) in 2019-20.

Variation in segregation by open/close and charter status.

Combining the above analysis of schools that opened and closed between 2010 and 2019, we found an overlap between concentrations of Black and Latinx schools that closed, similar to prior research, including in urban communities. Overall, approximately 5% of schools that were open in 2010-11 were closed by the end of the decade, although this percentage was considerably higher when looking at the 90-100% Black and Latinx schools in 2010-11. By 2019-20, nearly 11% of 90-100% Black and Latinx schools had closed. By contrast, 4.8% of segregated White schools in 2010-11 were closed in 2019-20.

In 2019-20, 9% of all schools had opened since 2010-11. Encouragingly, a smaller percentage of 90-100% White and Asian schools (4.8%) had opened since 2010-11, meaning that a lower proportion of schools were not opening as concentrated White and Asian schools, but instead were more racially diverse. Conversely, however, 14.1% of schools that were 90-100% Black and Latinx were new schools, which may indicate school site selection was less effective in identifying new school locations that draw diverse enrollments.

Finally, we specifically look at this relationship for suburban charter schools, which, as described, increased during this time period. In 2019-20, 378 of 1422 suburban charter schools were 90-100% Black and Latinx. Of these, 235 opened since 2010 representing 62% of all 90-100% Black and Latinx charter schools; 143 had been open for nearly a decade or more. Moreover, nearly 37% of suburban charter schools that were 90-100% Black and Latinx in 2010-11 closed before the 2019-20 school year while another 116 suburban charters remained open. These figures represent a high

percentage of segregated Black and Latinx charter schools opening and closing in suburbia, and less stability for students enrolling in such schools compared to other suburban schools.

There were far fewer suburban charter schools that were 90-100% White and Asian. In 2019-20, just 39 existed, 22 of which had been open in 2010-11 while 17 (or 44%) had opened since then. As was the case with schools overall, more charter schools were 90-100% White and Asian in 2010—66—and all but 6 schools (9%) remained open in 2019-20. In other words, there was considerable flux in suburbia with charters opening and closing—and there were differential patterns of opening and closing depending on whether a charter was 90-100% Black and Latinx compared to those that were 90-100% White.

Sharp variation in average exposure to same- and other-race suburban students.

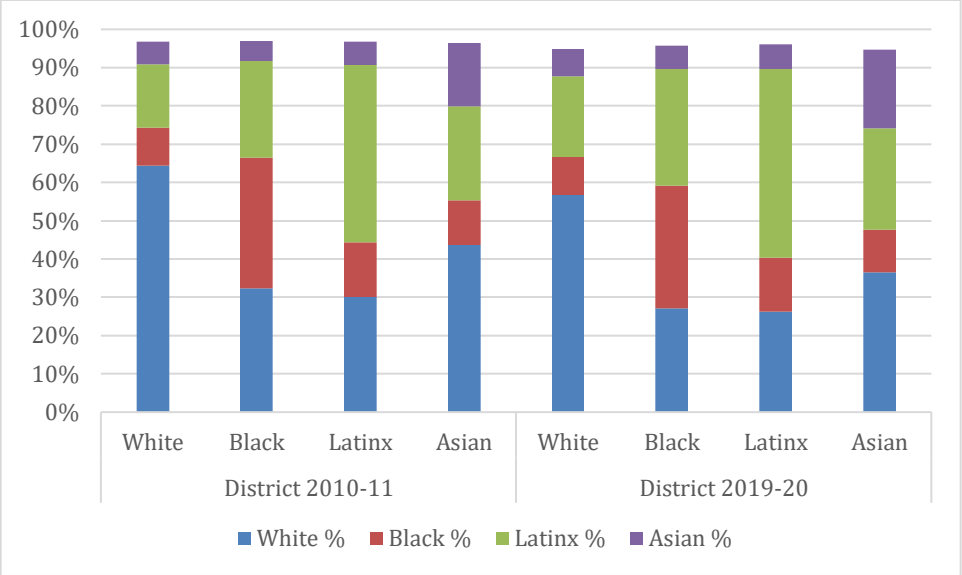
We also examine suburban segregation at the school and district level using the exposure index. We examine exposure to students of different races/ethnicities as well as exposure to students receiving free/reduced price lunch. Exposure at the district level helps us to understand the extent to which students of different groups have, on average, racial diversity—and which kinds of diversity—present in their district. This is important because the vast majority of students attend schools within the district in which they reside.

Unsurprisingly, tracking district-level concentration patterns described above, White students have the highest exposure to other White students in their district, with declines similar to the decline in White percentage during the time studied (see Figure 7). By 2019-20, the typical Black or Latinx student was enrolled in a suburban district with just over one-quarter White students, and Asian students had slightly higher exposure at 36.6%.

However, these data also indicate that there is limited interracial exposure for Latinx students at the district level. By 2019-20, nearly half of students in the typical Latinx student's district were same-race; exposure to Asian and Black students combined was approximately 20% of

students. Black and Asian students also had relatively higher isolation when compared to their share of the suburban enrollment, e.g., Asian isolation was 20.5% in 2019-20 considerably higher than the 7.9% of the suburban enrollment that they comprise. There was a four percentage point rise in district-level isolation for Asian students, the highest increase. Conversely, Black isolation fell slightly as their exposure to Latinx students increased.

Figure 7: District-level racial/ethnic exposure in suburban districts, 2010-11 & 2019-20



Note: does not sum to 100% due to other racial groups not shown: American Indian/Alaskan Native, Multiracial and Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander in 2019-20; See also table A-10 in Appendix

School-level exposure is influenced by both district-level exposure described above as well as within district sorting, which can be caused by district assignment policies like attendance zone boundaries as well as use of school choice in a way that exacerbates segregation. For each racial group, school-level isolation is higher than district-level isolation, similar to concentration patterns described above.

Compared to the share of the suburban enrollment in Table 1, the typical White student attends a school in both years that is at least 20 percentage points higher in the percentage of White students in their school, on average (see Figure 8). This declined since 2010-11 7.3 percentage

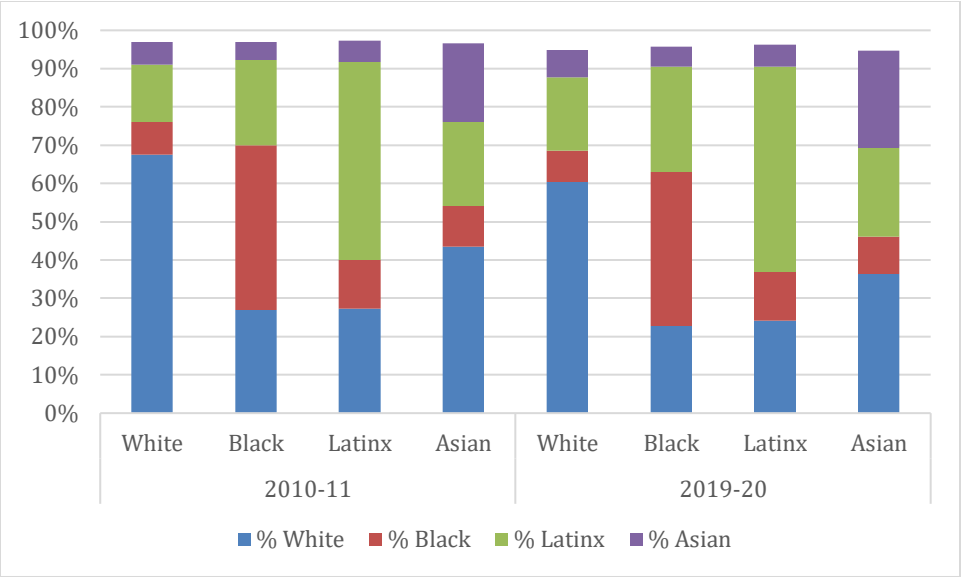
points, which is close to the eight percentage-point decline in White students during this time. Black and Latinx students have the lowest exposure to White students, and suburban Black students had larger declines in exposure and overall had the lowest exposure in 2019-20. Asian exposure to Whites is highest of other groups, but at 36.3% White, on average, is still lower than the White share of students (40.5%), and has a similar decline in exposure to White students.

Latinx isolation increased and is approaching that of White isolation. The Latinx isolation increase of nearly two percentage points is lower than the increase of either Black or White students' exposure to Latinx students (5.1 and 4.2 percentage points, respectively). Yet, the typical Latinx student's school was more than half of the enrollment at both points in time, and was nearly 54% by 2019-20, more than twenty percentage points higher than Latinx students' share of the suburban enrollment.

Black isolation at the school-level has fallen slightly (2.6 pts), more than the decline among the Black percent of suburban enrollment; still more than 25 percentage points higher than the share of the Black enrollment in 2019-20. Other groups' exposure to Black students remains constant or declined slightly (e.g., Asian students). For Black and Latinx students nearly two-thirds of their school is a combination of Black and Latinx students (67.8 and 66.3, respectively), which has increased for both groups since 2010-11.

As was the case at the district level, Asian isolation increased the sharpest, five percentage points, and is much higher than share of enrollment, especially in 2019-20 (three times as high). Overall, the increases in Asian isolation offset their declines in exposure to White; their exposure to Black and Latinx students are similar in both years. Black and Latinx students have lower exposure to Asian students, albeit slightly increasing. White students had a somewhat larger increase in their exposure to White students, which was comparable to the Asian share of enrollment.

Figure 8: School-level racial exposure in suburban districts, 2010-11 & 2019-20



Note: does not sum to 100% due to other racial groups not shown: American Indian/Alaskan Native, Multiracial and Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander in 2019-20.

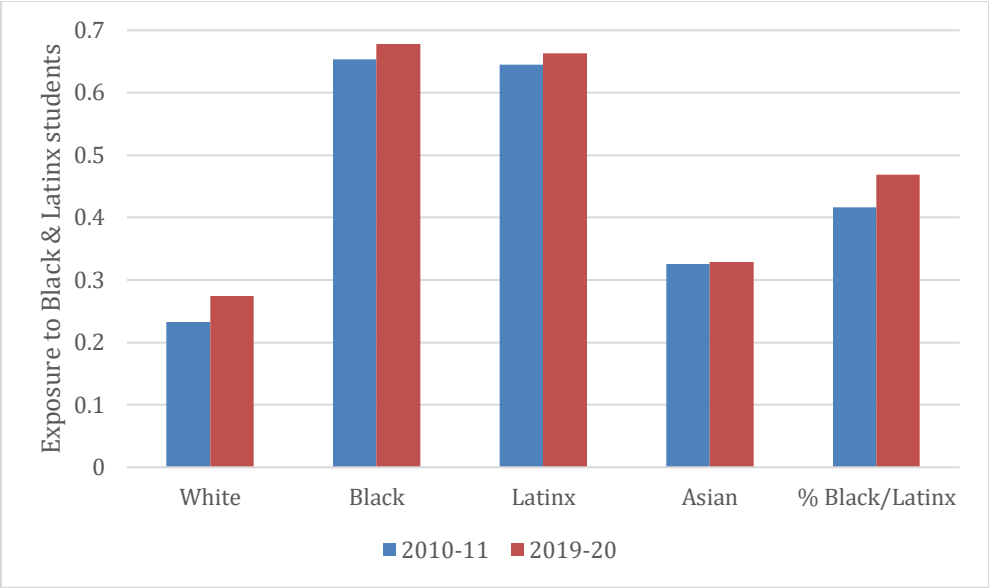
We separately look at exposure to Black and Latinx students at the district and school levels for suburban students. Latinx students, as seen, are the largest growing group in suburbia and historically both groups have been marginalized. There is less frequent movement across district boundaries, so the district-level measure helps us understand how sorting into districts relates to segregation while comparing school-level exposure to district-level illustrates additional segregation within districts. There are generally similar patterns at the district and school level in which Black and Latinx students have higher exposure to Black & Latinx students combined than is the case for Asian or especially White students. Given that the percentage of Black and Latinx students increased (bars to the far right of each graph, Figures 9a and 9b), it's unsurprising that, generally, exposure to these students also increased. The one exception is that school-level exposure for Asian students to Black and Latinx students held constant during this period. If all students were fully integrated, Asian exposure to Black and Latinx students would match their share of enrollment and thus the

widening gap indicates growing segregation for Asian students from Black and Latinx students at the school level.

When comparing district and school level patterns, a few differences indicate additional ways in which sorting within suburban districts furthers segregation of White and Asian students from Black and Latinx students. For White students, at the district level in 2019-20, average exposure to Black & Latinx students was 30.9%, the lowest of all groups. Yet, school-level exposure was even lower (27.5%). If within-district segregation didn't exist, school-level and district-level exposure would be identical, meaning that segregation within districts drives some suburban segregation. A similar pattern is seen for Asian students while the opposite is true for Latinx and especially Black students. Black students had the highest exposure at the school level to Black and Latinx students, twenty percentage points higher than their share of suburban enrollment in 2019-20.

Figure 9a: Exposure to Black & Latinx students, by race, at district level, 2010-11 & 2019-20

Figure 9b: Exposure to Black & Latinx students, by race, at school level, 2010-11 & 2019-20



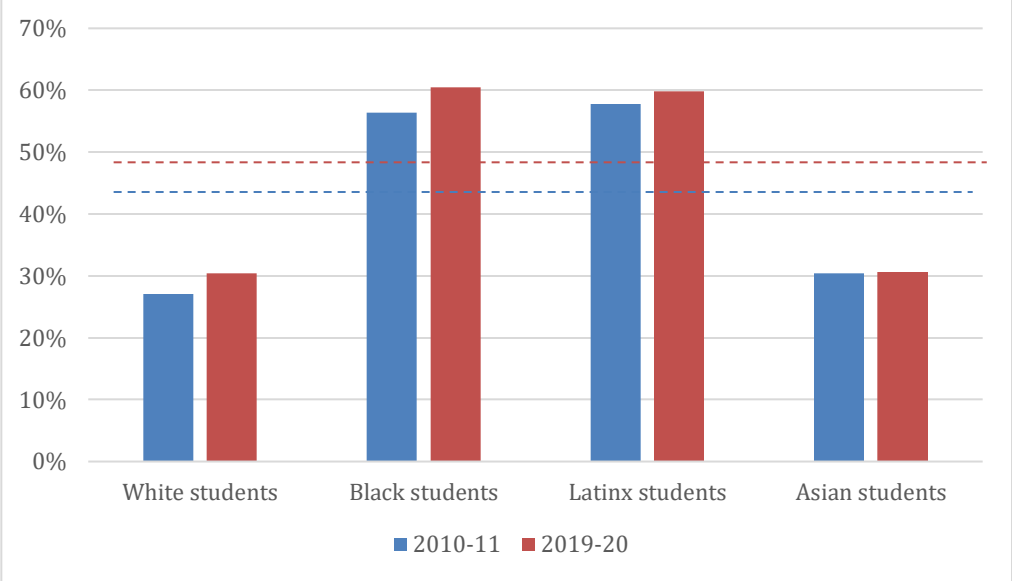
Segregation by race and class intensifying in suburban districts.

Understanding the link between segregation by race and class is increasingly crucial, according to a number of recent studies. Relying on a dataset containing both student race/ethnicity and family income, researchers explored segregation between school districts from 2000 to 2011, finding that declines in school segregation between White and Black students were concentrated among affluent Black students (Richards & Stroub, 2020). Income segregation increasingly contributed to segregation between Black and White students as well as Latinx and White students, but not between Asian and White students. Moreover, families with children experience much higher income segregation between school districts than families without children (Owens, 2016).

Tracking national trends (Reardon, 2016), exposure to low-income students in suburban schools varies substantially by student's race. Overall, among schools with FRL information, 45% of students in 2019-20 are low-income. If perfect integration existed, then all students, regardless of race, would be exposed to 45% of FRL students on average. Instead, the typical White or Asian student has just over 30% of students who are low-income while the percentage of low-income

students in the typical Black or Latinx suburban student's school is nearly double (approximately 60%, see Figure 10). The 2019-20 findings are similar to those in 2010-11, with slightly higher increases in exposure to low-income students for Black suburban students in particular.

Figure 10: School-level exposure to poverty in suburban districts, 2010-11 & 2019-20[17]



Note: Horizontal lines indicate percentage of FRL students in that year in suburban districts

As described above, the percentage of students that are eligible for FRL varies widely by metro, and in a number of metros, more than half of suburban students are low-income—especially in the South and in Southern California. Persistent patterns of Black and Latinx suburban students having higher exposure to low-income students exist in every metro relative to White and Asian students. (Asian and White students vary as to which group has the lowest exposure to FRL students in suburban districts, depending upon metro.) The gaps by race have grown substantial, and only in Boston and San Diego was the difference in White and Black exposure to low-income students, for example, less than twenty percentage points in 2019-20 (see Tables A-18a and A-18-b).

[17] Exposure to poverty especially during 2019-20 may be affected by the growing shares of schools using the Community Eligibility Provision.

In some metros, disparities in exposure to low-income students are quite stark, and result in high exposure to low income students for Black and/or Latinx students. For example, while the typical White suburban student in Los Angeles was in a school that was 29% FRL, the typical Black or Latinx student attended a school that was more than 70% low-income. Atlanta, New York, Chicago, and San Francisco were examples of other metros with large gaps by race, all metros in which the suburban enrollment was quite racially diverse. In a majority of the metros, Black students have the highest exposure to low-income students of any racial/ethnic group.

In every metro except Boston and Minneapolis, Asian exposure to low-income students was lower than the % of FRL students in suburban districts. The gap was largest in suburban Minneapolis, which may reflect that it has been a place of settlement for southeast Asian families, like Hmong refugees. These patterns held in both 2010-11 and 2019-20.

Patterns remained relatively stable since 2010-11, with suburban Black and Latinx students having higher exposure to FRL students than suburban White and Asian students in each metro. In some of the districts with the largest disparities by race in 2019-20 there were also large gaps in 2010-11. In fact, the disparities by race grew over time in suburban Atlanta as White and Asian exposure to FRL students declined while Black exposure increased. In San Francisco, which experienced the largest increase of suburban Asian students, their exposure to FRL students decreased while other students' exposure to low-income students increased since 2010-11.

Mirroring overall patterns among suburban students across the largest 25 MSAs, in 2010-11, in 14 metros, Latinx students had the highest exposure to low-income students while Black students had the highest in the 11 other metros. By 2019-20, this pattern had reversed, and in 16 metros, Black students had the highest exposure to low-income students. In some cases, this was because Latinx exposure to low-income students dropped while in most, the increases were more modest than among Black students.

In addition to looking at differential exposure to low-income students, we also follow the convention of the Governmental Accountability Office (GAO)'s 2016 study of school segregation to define schools concentrated by race and poverty. In particular, we considered districts in which there were 75% Black and Latinx students and 75% or greater low-income students doubly concentrated. We found that patterns of doubly concentrated districts within suburban areas of metros varied. In some metros with higher Black suburban enrollment, like Detroit or St. Louis, relatively higher shares of Black students were in doubly concentrated districts but there were low percentages of Latinx students in these schools (Table A-17). A contrasting pattern was seen in Denver, which had smaller percentages of Black suburban students. This suggests that these students may be sorted into different suburban districts, and, by extension, offered varied levels of educational opportunity (see, e.g., Linn & Welner, 2007).

That Detroit and St. Louis suburbs had such high percentages of Black students in doubly concentrated districts is somewhat surprising given their relatively high White percentage of enrollment. The pattern likely indicates that in these metros—with largely Black central cities—where Black suburbanization is occurring it is concentrated in a smaller number of suburban districts that are also segregated. Detroit reported 30% of Black students in doubly concentrated districts even though the Detroit suburbs had the highest % of White students. St Louis had an even higher share of Black students enrolled in districts concentrated by race and class, nearly 40%. It too was one of the metros with the highest shares of White students.

Riverside was another metro where high shares of suburban students were in districts with high concentrations of low-income and Black and Latinx students. This finding is less surprising, however, because suburban districts here also reported among the highest percentages of Latinx students. Yet, in Miami, which had higher percentage of Black and Latinx students in suburban districts than Riverside, no districts were designated as racially and economically concentrated. One

reason could be the countywide boundaries that help to minimize segregation even in metros with high shares of black and Latinx students and students eligible for FRL.

In some metros, charters as separate LEAs were also designated as a doubly concentrated "district". Overall, more than one in six students enrolled in suburban charters were in LEAs that were at least 75% Black and Latinx and FRL compared to less than one in ten in traditional public school districts. The percentage of Black students was twice as high in charters as in non-charter LEAs.

Suburban Racial and Economic Change Amidst Rising Fragmentation and Segregation

Discussion

Substantial suburban racial transition continues in the suburbs of major U.S. metros. White students remain the largest group of suburban students but have declined considerably, from 48% to 40% of the overall share of the enrollment. Latinx students are the next largest suburban group, making up about a third of the enrollment, while the Black enrollment share declined to about 15%. Asian students rose slightly to about 8% of the suburban enrollment in the last decade and multiracial students represent 4.5% of it. To the extent that the data is valid, suburban student poverty is considerable and increasing, from 40% to about 43% of the enrollment, but is still much lower than urban student poverty. These trends all vary widely for racial/ethnic groups in the largest 25 metros, as well as across regions and suburban districts within those metros.

To wit, though a decline in White suburban enrollment was consistent across the 25 largest metros, it was much more significant in some, like Minneapolis, than in others, like San Antonio. And those same two metros, illustrative of the trend toward sharp variation, enrolled widely differing overall shares of White students in suburban schools. Metro differences between San Antonio and Minneapolis also highlight regional differences. Though all regions experienced a

decline in the number and percentage of White suburban students, the suburban areas in the Midwest and Northeast reported the highest percentages of White students. On average, suburban schools saw a decline in White enrollment of 7.5 percentage points.

Conversely, the suburban enrollment of Latinx students rose considerably over the last decade. Latinx enrollment in the suburbs is the largest in the West (45%). But in every region, Latinx increases were substantial in suburban areas, with a lower percentage increase in the West than other regions. Five of the top 25 metros report that Latinx students make up majorities of the suburban enrollment, compared to four a decade earlier. Metros experiencing the fastest growth in Asian suburban students tended to be on the coasts. Moreover, metros reporting growth in Latinx and Asian suburban enrollment tended to report growth in the overall enrollment. Though small, multiracial student enrollment grew across metros.

Meanwhile, Black student suburban enrollment held relatively steady across most of the 25 largest metros and was largest in Atlanta. Regionally, the suburbs of large Border and southern metros reported an increase in Black students.

In terms of student poverty, in 2019, suburban schools in nine of the top 25 metros indicated that students qualifying for free and reduced lunch constituted a majority of their enrollment, up from seven metros in 2010.

School openings and closures, which flow from population shifts and decisions about housing and resource allocation, among other factors, represent a previously understudied aspect of suburban school segregation. We found that new schools in suburbia opened with much higher shares of Black and Latinx enrollment than existing schools. Student population growth may be concentrated in diversifying parts of suburbs or it could be that schools in older parts of suburbs were closed and replaced. Relatedly, in the other direction, suburban schools that closed over the last decade had a disproportionately lower share of White students.

School opening/closing trends became more extreme when charters were included in our analysis. Roughly two in five new suburban schools were charters and they opened with high concentrations of students of color (about 65% Black and Latinx). Segregated non-White charter schools also were more likely to close over the ten-year period studied.

Beyond opening and closing composition trends, suburban charter segregation is intensifying. Roughly 27% of suburban charters in 2019 were 90-100% Black and Latinx; nearly two in three were newly opened in the past decade. Charters represent a form of fragmentation since many operate as separate local education agencies, otherwise known as districts. Over the past decade, 327 new districts emerged in the suburbs of the top 25 MSAs. More than one in six students enrolled in suburban charters were also in new, separate districts where Black and Latinx students and FRL-eligible students constituted 75% or more of the enrollment, compared to less than 1 in 10 in traditional public school districts.

At the district level, student enrollment in 90-100% Black/Latinx districts doubled, a sea change from a decade ago when more students were enrolled in 90-100% White districts than in 90-100% Black/Latinx ones. The percentage of Latinx suburban students in these districts was the highest of any racial/ethnic group (22.1%) and the percentage of both Black and Latinx students enrolled in these districts rose substantially over the past decade. Fast growing Atlanta saw a particularly sharp increase for Black students, from minimal enrollment in 90-100% Black and Latinx districts in 2010 to 12% in 2019.

White student segregation declined even as Black and Latinx student segregation rose sharply. In 2019-20, 7.4% of suburban districts were 90-100% White, a decline from 17.7% in 2010-11. The share of 90-100% Black and Latinx suburban districts rose to 10% of districts in the suburbs of our largest metros. In keeping with the literature, less intense district fragmentation was linked to less intense district-level segregation (Frankenberg, 2005). For instance, of the six metros

that reported no 90-100% Black and Latinx suburban districts, three contained countywide school districts. Still, there were differences in the share of Black students enrolled in 90-100% Black and Latinx districts versus 90-100% Black and Latinx schools in several metros with larger, countywide districts. This likely indicated the presence of within-district segregation when between-district segregation was less of an issue (Clotfelter, Ladd, Clifton, & Turaeva, 2021).

The typical Black and Latinx student in the suburbs enrolled in a district that was just over 25% White. Yet White student exposure to other White students remains very high at 57%. Perhaps as an explanation, within diversifying districts, evidence of White sorting into White segregated schools emerged. That sorting may be related to within district policies, like the way districts draw attendance boundaries or implement systems of school choice.

Asian students, historically the most integrated with White students, experienced rising isolation with same race peers over the past decade. In fact, Asian isolation with other Asian students increased more sharply than isolation for any other racial/ethnic group. At the same time, average Asian student exposure to school poverty remains disproportionately low, as the typical Asian student attends a school where just over 30% of students qualify for subsidized lunches. In tandem with the residential segregation literature on Asian enclaves (Alba et al., 2014), our findings support the idea that Asian students are increasingly concentrated together in affluent suburban schools.

Indeed, racial resegregation by race overlaps with resegregation by class in suburbia. The typical White or Asian student goes to a suburban school where just over 30% of students qualify for subsidized lunches. That figure doubles to 60% for the typical Black or Latinx student. This is

close to rates for all Black and Latinx students nationally, indicating little "suburban advantage" in terms of lower concentrations of poverty for Black and Latinx students in our largest metros.[18]

Policy Recommendations

We need an ambitious policy agenda to combat suburban school segregation. Such an agenda would replace market-driven complacency that has yielded profitable suburban and exurban development on large, single-family lots without attention to the expanding geographic scale of segregation (M. Orfield, & Stancil, 2022). A lack of regional oversight and development fuels and exacerbates the issue. But current patterns are not set in stone. Households continue to move, developers continue to develop and racial attitudes continue to shift.

An overarching recommendation, supported by our analysis and review of the literature on suburbia, is to move beyond simplistic urban/suburban/exurban dichotomies and to instead think in highly regional ways. The geographic footprint of metropolitan segregation is growing larger as the patchwork of higher and lower opportunity communities spreads within and across suburbia (Fischer et al. 2004; Florida, 2017; Tienda and Fuentes 2014). A lack of consensus around what constitutes suburbia flows from those rapid population shifts and the still widespread "Leave it to Beaver" suburban mythology.

We offer a set of policy recommendations below. They highlight the importance of recognizing nuance, confronting history together, tackling segregation and stigma and working within suburban school districts and across districts and sectors to combat segregation. The order in which they are listed builds from difficult-to-measure but important community education and organizing efforts to create political support up to concrete policy proposals for tackling suburban segregation within and across districts and sectors.

[18] Depending on data restrictions, analysis of Black student exposure to low-income students in 2018-19 was either 63% or 69%; Latinx was 58% or 65% (Orfield & Jarvie, 2020).

Recognizing Nuance and Confronting History Together.

Our metro-level analyses underscore the need to consider wide contextual variations in suburban demography and segregation. In some metros, suburban enrollment is still largely White; in others there is a large share of Black students. All have growing shares of Latinx students, and several, on the coasts, have growing shares of Asian students. These differences also are reflected in suburban district jurisdiction and fragmentation. Though U.S. suburbs share a common, if not commonly known, historical arc—massive federal subsidization coupled with restrictive covenants and discriminatory lending that locked most families of color out of suburban communities early on (Pattillo-McCoy, 1999; Rothstein, 2017)—subsequent development, migration and demographic patterns make it important to understand the nuances of context. As they have in the past, community leaders, advocacy organizations and local universities should partner to confront that history in its local context, as well as to understand its contemporary through-lines to the present. Policy solutions should be tailored accordingly.

Similarly, as U.S. society—and by extension, suburbia, where the vast majority of Americans reside—grows more diverse and stratified, our findings suggest that we need to consider the multidimensional ways that race/ethnicity intersects with economic standing. This study corroborates earlier work suggesting that White and Asian suburban students experience far lower average exposure to school poverty than Black and Latinx suburban students. At the same time, Asian students are by no means a monolith as the label encompasses many different subgroups, immigration experiences and, relatedly, income trajectories. Better data collection that disaggregates student race/ethnicity by poverty-status, as Virginia and some other states are already pursuing, would allow for more finely grained analyses. Such analyses will become increasingly important as residential segregation literature, in tandem with some suggestive findings reported here, indicates growth in high-income Asian immigrant enclaves.

Tackling Suburban Segregation and Stigma.

Findings indicating increased suburban fragmentation, driven by the growth in charter schools, alongside foundational literature about the school-housing segregation cycle (Holme, 2002; Krysan & Crowder, 2017; Wells et al, 2018), illustrate the need to tackle informal and formal information underlying suburban segregation and stigma. In other words, we need to address how narrow, racialized data about school performance contributes to negative stereotypes and avoidance of particular schools and neighborhoods. The same data also helps rationalize the push toward privatization in the form of charters or other market-based choices (Schneider, 2017). Policy efforts to shift school conversations in informal social networks might include more nuanced school evaluation that includes an assessment of student growth, family and student surveys, and consideration for school context. The Massachusetts Consortium for Innovation Education Assessment offers a strong example of a more holistic approach to understanding the inner workings of a school, as does a new school ratings app called School Sparrow that accounts for student SES in school performance measures. Alongside policy efforts, grassroots organizing and nonprofits devoted to nurturing cross-racial dialogue offer the benefit of expanding highly segregated social networks, through which information about schools is often passed.

More equitable funding allocations for schools and districts would also help address the stigma related to suburban school segregation by combating structures that render separate schools and districts demonstrably unequal when it comes to resources, given the increased fragmentation we documented in suburban areas (EdBuild, 2019). Beyond schools and districts, targeted financial assistance and counseling for home buying or renting, given to families locked out of past subsidies by racial discrimination, would help open up access to higher opportunity schools and districts (Bergman et al., 2023). Hartford, Connecticut, for example, has a pilot program for housing choice

voucher portability into suburbs offering city students seats in high opportunity suburban schools through an open choice program.

Combating Segregation Within and Across Suburban Districts.

Findings showing persistent segregation between suburban school districts, as well as school segregation within them, highlight the need for policies that address both forms of segregation. Importantly, many of the policies herein can be designed as "both/and," that is, they can apply to a single school district or a set of school districts.

Systemic school choice with a focus on integration and equity seems increasingly imperative given the sharply rising number of segregated suburban charter schools alongside resegregating regular public suburban schools. Though suburban charters could retain many elements of autonomy, to combat resegregation and fragmentation they should participate in the same student assignment systems with proximate regular public schools. Those student assignment systems should take the form of effective managed choice systems. In suburbia, as in other contexts, managed choice requires that everyone rank order a set of schools, equitable resource distribution so that all schools are attractive to families, diversity goals, criteria-free admissions processes, extensive outreach and guaranteed transportation (Orfield & Frankenberg, 2013) across a single district or a set of districts. Within managed choice systems, schools can implement specialized programming designed to attract racially, ethnically, linguistically and socioeconomically diverse families. Equitable dual language schools and programs, where all students learn for most of the day in a language other than English, stand out as particularly appealing models with potential for equal status engagement and strong academic gains over time (Gándara & Hopkins, 2010). Dual language programs represent an important effort in the many large metros with strong Asian and Latinx suburban student growth.

Within districts, redrawing attendance boundaries with an eye toward ameliorating the school-housing relationship in suburbia represents another policy option. Media stories and research

highlight the fraught nature of rezoning processes, as they challenge the geography of educational inequality in ways that activate families with the most political power and resources to maintain boundaries around their already highly resourced schools and neighborhoods (Castro et al., 2022; Frankenberg et al., 2023; Harris, 1993; Siegel-Hawley, 2013). Clear rezoning criteria that contain measurable, strong integration priorities, detailed community education about the history of intentional residential segregation and past school desegregation efforts, as well as public engagement processes that center race and racial discrimination in rezoning dialogues may help counter the politics however (Siegel-Hawley, Taylor, Frankenberg, & Bridges, 2021), as can courageous leadership on school boards.

High levels of segregation between suburban school districts calls for strategic regional cooperation that recognizes the dynamics of demographic change. This could take the form of inner and outer ring suburban consolidations, for instance, defined by joint managed choice systems. Earlier lessons from the first wave of school desegregation indicate that city-suburban districts like Louisville-Jefferson County and Charlotte-Mecklenburg County reduced both school and housing segregation after consolidating and desegregating schools (M. Orfield, 2015; Siegel-Hawley, 2016). Less comprehensive but still worthy of consideration are two-way regional magnet schools and interdistrict enrollment with civil rights guardrails like diversity goals and guaranteed transportation. These endeavors, found in divergent states like Connecticut, Nebraska and Massachusetts (Eaton, 2001; Holme & Finnegan, 2019; Scott & Wells, 2013), theoretically allow students to move more fluidly across segregative school district boundaries.[19] Existing forms of regional cooperation around education, often related to career and technical education and special education (see, e.g., Virginia, Massachusetts and New Jersey), can serve as models for strengthening and expanding

[19] Though these policies are on the books, there are many ways that participating districts erect barriers to entry. For instance, districts can indicate that they are "full" and can't accept outside students.

regional efforts to promote access to educational opportunity. A modest planning and implementation grant from the U.S. Department of Education may support new and existing interdistrict efforts once it is released in 2023.

Federal and state governments should incentivize highly politicized local decisions that shape school integration within and across districts in a given region. Grants to consortia of districts to facilitate planning and implementation around voluntary integration are imperative. The federal Strength in Diversity Act, which involves just that, has passed the House and should become legislation. The federal magnet schools program, the longest-running federal desegregation effort, should award more grants to diversifying suburban communities, strongly reward applications that involve consortia of districts and require ambitious targets to reduce racial isolation (Ayscue, Levy, Siegel-Hawley, & Woodward, 2017). State advocacy groups, legislatures and departments of education can and should use these federal programs as models for action.

In the other direction, federal and state governments should oversee and sanction local actions that shape school segregation within and across districts in a given region. If they are unwilling to do so, civil rights advocacy organizations must step in. These oversight and enforcement efforts should include monitoring suburban regular public and charter school openings and closings for their impact on segregation (PRRAC/NCSD, 2020), as well as suburban district secession attempts. This could include a requirement for submitting school opening and closing plans, and/or secession attempts, to state departments of education with an assessment of segregation potential. Because the creation of multiple new charter districts in a single metro area can contribute to the same kind of regional fragmentation and segregation that district secession promotes, federal and state governments should consider issuing a moratorium on new charter school districts and strengthen oversight of existing ones.

Coordinating Across Sectors to Combat Suburban School Segregation.

Lastly, given the strong and overlapping link between school and residential segregation, education policies to promote more integrated suburban spaces must be implemented alongside inclusionary housing policies. Recognizing the linkages, as of June 2021 the federal government is again requiring that housing officials consult with education officials when drafting regional plans to affirmatively further fair housing. Because Obama era efforts to require similar consultation between the two sectors did not ultimately yield strong action plans (DeBray, Finnigan, Greenlee, & Kurniawan, 2021), regions have to move beyond consultation to genuine collaboration with school officials regularly seated at the table with housing officials. Fair share distributions of affordable housing across regions are imperative, and affordable housing should be sited near high opportunity schools. Past efforts to link school and housing desegregation plans included exemptions from school transportation requirements if neighborhoods stably integrated through inclusionary zoning (Orfield, 1981). Public transportation accessibility should likewise be considered alongside schools and housing. Proposals to streamline federal regulations and funding across sectors like education, housing and transportation–with equitable, integrated regions as guiding principle incentivizing coordination–should be piloted. So too should reparations programs that award financial compensation to descendants of groups that continue to face discrimination in housing and mortgage financing (Karlamangla, 2022). Market forces and developers currently wield far too much control over the contours of metropolitan growth and segregation; profit must be set alongside concern for equity, inclusion and environment. Sprawl control that sets a bright line past which development is not allowed can incentivize more equitable infill plans that should keep the creation of and access to high opportunity, integrated schools at their center. Prompted by advocacy groups, state legislatures should set up ongoing monitoring, evaluation and incentives to review the

interconnected arenas of education, housing, transportation and environmental discrimination (Boddie, 2016). Where violations are found, regional jurisdictions should be held accountable.

We write these recommendations with a heightened sense of urgency. Over a century of racist, profit-driven policy—often sanctioned by law—fueled the creation of deeply inequitable metropolitan communities, districts, and schools. During that same period, the makeup of U.S. students has grown dramatically more racially, ethnically and socioeconomically diverse. Racial and economic segregation once concentrated in urban school systems can now be found in many suburban ones even as too many ignore a changing suburban reality. In other fragmented metros, suburban districts are largely tethered to rapid changes in the housing market. A checkerboard of educational opportunities increasingly confronts students across broad urban and suburban swaths of metropolitan spaces. This has not happened by accident, and it will take concerted intention across different spheres of society to address it. The potential for powerful multiracial political coalitions aimed at tackling regional inequities exists but so too does the politics of racial grievance and fear. We must work hard to nurture the former and reject the latter.

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Appendix Tables

Table A-1: Composition of suburban, urban and metro enrollment in largest 25 metropolitan areas, 2010-11 & 2019-20

National	Free/ Reduced Lunch	American Indian/ Alaska Native	Asian	Latinx	Black	White	Native Hawaiian/ Pacific Islander	Two or more races	Enrollment
Suburbs 2010-11	40.1	0.5	6.6	26.6	15.0	48.5	0.2	2.5	13,823,496
Suburbs 2019-20	42.8	0.3	7.9	32.2	14.7	40.5	0.2	4.1	14,437,888
Urban 2010-11	61.2	0.6	8.7	42.7	24.6	21.3	0.3	1.7	5,966,740
Urban 2019-20	63.4	0.6	9.3	45.2	21.3	19.8	0.3	3.5	6,166,428
Metro 2010-11	46.4	0.5	7.3	31.5	17.9	40.3	0.3	2.2	19,790,236
Metro 2019-20	49.0	0.4	8.3	36.1	16.7	34.3	0.3	3.9	20,604,316

Table A-2a: Composition of suburban, urban and metro enrollment, largest metros in western region, 2010-11 & 2019-20

West	Free/ reduced Lunch	American Indian/ Alaska Native	Asian	Latinx	Black	White	Native Hawaiian / Pacific Islander	Two or more races	Enrollment
Suburbs 2010-11	45.4	0.7	9.5	41.5	5.8	38.5	0.6	3.2	3,393,725
Suburbs 2019-20	48.6	0.6	10.5	45.0	5.2	32.8	0.6	5.4	3,465,253
Urban 2010-11	53.2	0.9	10.5	50.6	8.6	26.3	0.6	2.4	2,289,482
Urban 2019-20	58.9	0.7	10.5	52.2	7.2	23.6	0.5	5.3	2,352,291
Metro 2010-11	48.5	0.8	9.9	45.2	6.9	33.6	0.6	2.9	5,683,207
Metro 2019-20	52.8	0.6	10.5	47.9	6.0	29.1	0.6	5.4	5,817,544

Metros: Portland, Seattle, Denver, SF, LA, SD, Riverside, Phoenix

Table A-2b: Composition of suburban, urban and metro enrollment, largest metros in southern region, 2010-11 & 2019-20

South	Free/ reduced Lunch	American Indian/ Alaska Native	Asian	Latinx	Black	White	Native Hawaiian/ Pacific Islander	Two or more races	Enrollment
Suburbs 2010-11	46.4	0.5	5.1	27.8	21.4	42.7	0.1	2.4	2,832,665
Suburbs 2019-20	49.4	0.4	7.0	32.8	21.4	34.7	0.1	3.5	3,258,340
Urban 2010-11	58.8	0.4	4.0	51.8	24.0	18.2	0.1	1.6	1,276,295
Urban 2019-20	69.2	0.3	4.6	54.9	22.1	15.9	0.1	2.1	1,395,319
Metro 2010-11	50.3	0.4	4.7	35.3	22.2	35.1	0.1	2.1	4,108,960
Metro 2019-20	55.4	0.4	6.3	39.5	21.6	29.1	0.1	3.1	4,653,659
Florida Metros/ Suburbs 2010-11	57.4	0.4	2.9	36.8	24.3	33.1	0.1	2.5	1,471,887
Florida Metros/ Suburbs 2019-20	57.4	0.3	3.2	43.6	22.8	27.2	0.2	2.9	1,596,838
Total all 2010-11	52.2	0.4	4.2	35.7	22.7	34.6	0.1	2.2	5,580,847
Total all 2019-20	55.9	0.3	5.5	40.5	21.9	28.6	0.1	3.0	6,250,497

Metros include Atlanta, Charlotte, San Antonio, Dallas, Houston; Because Florida metros (Orlando, Tampa, Miami) include urban in districts, we separately disaggregate them.

Table A-2c: Composition of suburban, urban and metro enrollment, largest metros in border region, 2010-11 & 2019-20

Border	Free/ Reduced Lunch	American Indian/ Alaska Native	Asian	Latinx	Black	White	Native Hawaiian / Pacific Islander	Two or more races	Enrollment
Suburbs 2010-11	31.1	0.4	9.1	16.1	24.7	45.4	0.2	4.2	1,069,092
Suburbs 2019-20	36.7	0.3	10.5	23.4	23.2	37.1	0.1	5.3	1,182,751
Urban 2010-11	71.7	0.2	2.5	12.3	70.3	13.2	0.1	1.3	179,672
Urban 2019-20	28.0	0.2	2.7	19.1	58.4	16.7	0.1	2.8	205,135
Metro 2010-11	37.0	0.3	8.1	15.5	31.2	40.8	0.1	3.8	1,248,764
Metro 2019-20	35.4	0.3	9.3	22.8	28.4	34.1	0.1	5.0	1,387,886

Metros: Baltimore & DC

Table A-2d: Composition of suburban, urban and metro enrollment, largest metros in northeastern region, 2010-11 & 2019-20

Northeast	Free/ Reduced Lunch	American Indian/ Alaska Native	Asian	Latinx	Black	White	Native Hawaiian/ Pacific Islander	Two or more races	Enrollment
Suburbs 2010-11	26.4	0.2	13.5	16.1	12.1	62.6	0.1	0.6	2,754,299
Suburbs 2019-20	26.1	0.2	12.9	23.9	11.2	52.0	0.1	2.2	2,707,551
Urban 2010-11	73.4	0.4	7.5	38.5	34.8	15.1	0.0	1.0	1,340,100
Urban 2019-20	68.5	0.9	9.5	36.1	29.5	15.1	0.4	3.1	1,399,443
Metro 2010-11	41.8	0.2	9.3	22.7	19.6	47.0	0.1	0.9	4,094,399
Metro 2019-20	40.6	0.4	10.8	28.9	17.4	39.4	0.2	2.7	4,106,994

Metros: Boston, NYC, Philadelphia

Table A-2e: Composition of suburban, urban and metro enrollment, largest metros in midwestern region, 2010-11 & 2019-20

Midwest	Free/ reduced Lunch	American Indian/ Alaska Native	Asian	Latinx	Black	White	Native Hawaiian / Pacific Islander	Two or more races	Enrollment
Suburbs 2010-11	33.7	0.4	4.4	14.1	13.7	64.9	0.1	2.4	2,301,828
Suburbs 2019-20	37.3	0.3	5.6	17.7	13.8	58.3	0.1	4.2	2,227,155
Urban 2010-11	64.7	0.6	6.2	24.9	42.5	24.2	0.1	1.4	881,191
Urban 2019-20	66.7	0.4	8.4	26.7	37.1	24.5	0.1	2.8	814,240
Metro 2010-11	42.2	0.5	4.9	17.1	21.7	53.6	0.1	2.1	3,183,019
Metro 2019-20	45.2	0.3	6.3	20.1	20.1	49.3	0.1	3.8	3,041,395

Metros: Detroit, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Chicago

Table A-3: Mean district-level racial and economic change, 2011-2020

		Change in White percent	Change in Black percent	Change in Latinx percent	Chang in Asian percent	Change in FRL percent
Urban District	Mean	-4.53	-2.61	5.25	0.76	5.84
	# of districts	715	715	715	715	567
Suburban District	Mean	-7.64	-0.29	5.39	0.91	4.50
	# of districts	2474	2474	2474	2474	2226
Total	Mean	6.94	-0.81	5.36	0.87	4.77
	# of districts	3189	3189	3189	3189	2793

Table A-4: Mean school-level racial change, 2011-2020

		Change in White percent	Change in Black percent	Change in Latinx percent	Change in Asian percent
Urban District	Mean	-2.34	-2.34	2.65	0.20
	# of schools	7953	7953	7953	7953
Suburban District	Mean	-7.47	-0.22	5.17	0.97
	# of schools	18557	18557	18557	18557
Total	Mean	-5.94	-0.86	4.42	0.74
	# of schools	26510	26510	26510	26510

Table A-5: Mean racial composition for all suburban schools by operating status, 2010-11 and 2019-20

		2019-20				2010-11			
Operating Status		White %	Black %	Latinx %	Asian %	White %	Black %	Latinx %	Asian %
Opened after 2010-11	Mean	33.33	17.86	37.11	6.64				
	# of schools	1827	1827	1827	1827				
Closed after 2010-11	Mean					42.53	24.95	25.12	3.53
	# of schools					1068	1068	1068	1068
Open both years	Mean	43.35	14.44	30.07	7.21	0.5082	0.1467	0.2490	0.0624
	# of schools	18570	18570	18570	18570	18563	18563	18563	18563
Total	Mean	0.4247	0.1475	0.3069	0.0716	0.5037	0.1523	0.2491	0.0610
	# of schools	20403	20403	20403	20403	19631	19631	19631	19631

All but Latinx % differences are significant in 2010-11; All statistically significant for 2019-20 at $p<.05$. Note a few schools did not specify race/ethnicity of enrollment.

Table A-6a: Mean racial composition in all urban public schools by operating status, 2010-11 and 2019-20

URBAN		2019-20				2010-11			
Operating Status		White %	Black %	Latinx %	Asian %	White %	Black %	Latinx %	Asian %
Opened after 2010-11	Mean	11.80%	34.77%	44.62 %	5.03%				
	# of schools	1944	1944	1944	1944				
Closed after 2010-11	Mean					8.33%	56.98%	29.49%	2.76%
	# of schools					1200	1200	1200	1200
Open both years	Mean	19.11%	24.34%	43.78 %	8.14%	21.46%	26.67%	41.13%	7.94%
	# of schools	7960	7960	7960	7960	7953	7953	7953	7953
Total	Mean	17.68%	26.39%	43.95 %	7.53%	19.74%	30.65%	39.60%	7.26%
	# of schools	9904	9904	9904	9904	9153	9153	9153	9153

Table A-6b: Mean racial composition in urban traditional public schools by school operating status, 2010-11 and 2019-20

		2019-20				2010-11			
Operating status		White %	Black %	Latinx %	Asian %	White %	Black %	Latinx %	Asian %
Opened after 2010-11	Mean	14.76%	35.89%	38.40%	7.11%				
	# of schools	714	714	714	714				
Closed after 2010-11	Mean					6.81%	61.07%	27.47%	2.79%
	# of schools					793	793	793	793
Open both years	Mean	19.54%	22.46%	44.67%	8.62%	21.81%	24.70%	42.23%	8.47%
	# of schools	7157	7157	7157	7157	7196	7196	7196	7196
Total	Mean	19.11%	23.68%	44.10%	8.48%	20.32%	28.31%	40.77%	7.90%
	# of schools	7871	7871	7871	7871	7989	7989	7989	7989

Table A-6c: Mean racial composition in urban charter schools by school operating status, 2010-11 and 2019-20

		2019-20				2010-11			
Operating status		White %	Black %	Latinx %	Asian %	White %	Black %	Latinx %	Asian %
Opened after 2010-11	Mean	10.08%	34.11%	48.23%	3.83%				
	# of schools	1230	1230	1230	1230				
Closed after 2010-11	Mean					11.28%	49.02%	33.43%	2.70%
	# of schools					407	407	407	407
Open both years	Mean	15.28%	41.07%	35.89%	3.89%	18.16%	45.47%	30.65%	2.91%
	# of schools	803	803	803	803	757	757	757	757
Total	Mean	12.14%	36.86%	43.36%	3.85%	15.76%	46.71%	31.62%	2.83%
	# of schools	2033	2033	2033	2033	1164	1164	1164	1164

Table A-7a: Mean racial composition of all suburban schools by school operating status, school-level analysis, 2010-11 and 2019-20

		2019-20				2010-11			
Operating status		White %	Black %	Latinx %	Asian %	White %	Black %	Latinx %	Asian %
Opened after 2010-11	Mean	38.74	15.82	32.08	8.33				
	# of schools	1031	1031	1031	1031				
Closed after 2010-11	Mean					46.02	24.19	23.08	3.44
	# of schools					788	788	788	788
Open both years	Mean	43.60	14.22	30.00	7.27	51.05%	14.46%	24.85%	6.31%
	# of schools	17946	17946	17946	17946	17911	17911	17911	17911
Total	Mean	43.33	14.30	30.11	7.33	50.83%	14.87%	24.78%	6.18%
	# of schools	18977	18977	18977	18977	18702	18702	18702	18702

Table A-7b: Mean racial composition of suburban charter schools by school operating status, 2010-11 and 2019-20

		Charter in 2019-20				Charter in 2010-11			
Operating status		White %	Black %	Latinx %	Asian %	White %	Black %	Latinx %	Asian %
Opened after 2010-11	Mean	0.2633	0.2050	0.4363	0.0447				
	# of schools	796	796	796	796				
Closed after 2010-11	Mean					0.3271	0.2709	0.3085	0.0378
	# of schools					280	280	280	280
Open both years	Mean	0.3643	0.2079	0.3215	0.0546	0.4431	0.2059	0.2628	0.0461
	# of schools	624	624	624	624	643	643	643	643
Total	Mean	30.76%	20.63%	38.58%	4.90%	40.79%	22.56%	27.67%	4.36%
	# of schools	1420	1420	1420	1420	923	923	923	923

Note: 2010-11 enrollment uses whether school is charter in 2010-11 or not; 2019-20 enrollment uses whether school is a charter in 2019-20

Table A-8: District Segregation—number and percent of all suburban students in racially concentrated districts, 2010-11 and 2019-20

		Total	Free/ Reduced Lunch	Latinx	Black	White	Asian	N of districts
2019-20	90-100% White & Asian districts	490,009	89,813	16,298	5,746	427,549	26,712	313
		3.4%	1.4%	0.3%	0.3%	7.3%	2.3%	
	90-100% Black/ Latinx districts	1,537,549	1,176,918	1,027,403	408,857	57,833	23,258	287
		10.6%	19.0%	22.1%	19.2%	1.0%	2.0%	
2010-11	90-100% White & Asian districts	1,528,343	227,483	47,136	28,366	1,355,496	76,382	669
		11.0%	4.1%	1.3%	1.4%	20.2%	8.3%	
	90-100% Black/Latinx districts	728,139	574,333	466,951	222,313		9,894	156
		5.5%	11.1%	13.7%	11.7%	0.3%	1.1%	

Note: In 2019-20 there were 2871 LEAs and in 2010-11 there were 2544 LEAs in the suburbs. Includes charter schools

Table A-9: School Segregation—number and percent of all suburban students enrolled in racially concentrated schools, 2010-11 and 2019-20

		Total	Free/ Reduced Lunch	Latinx	Black	White	Asian	N of schools
2019-20	90-100% White & Asian schools	649,530	102,948	21,793	8,185	547,558	55,015	1,208
		4.5%	1.7%	0.5%	0.4%	9.6%	4.9%	
	90-100% Black/ Latinx schools	1,891,820	1,524,662	1,187,331	609,979	47,828	19,998	2,755
		13.1%	24.7%	25.6%	28.7%	0.8%	1.7%	
2010-11	90-100% White & Asian schools	1,778,297	241,447	53,348	32,028	1,565,624	103,042	2,960
		13.1%	4.4%	1.5%	1.5%	24.0%	11.5%	
	90-100% Black/ Latinx schools	1,517,512	1,185,611	851,238	594,539	38,741	17,084	2,211
		11.0%	21.4%	23.1%	28.7%	0.6%	1.9%	

Note: includes charter schools

Table A-10: District-level racial/ethnic exposure in suburban districts, 2010-11 & 2019-20

	White exposure to				Black exposure to				Latinx exposure to				Asian exposure to			
	White %	Black %	Latinx %	Asian %	White %	Black %	Latinx %	Asian %	White %	Black %	Latinx %	Asian %	White %	Black %	Latinx %	Asian %
District 2010-11	64.3%	10.0%	16.6%	5.9%	32.3%	34.2%	25.3%	5.2%	30.1%	14.2%	46.3%	6.1%	43.6%	11.7%	24.6%	16.6%
District 2019-20	56.8%	9.9%	21.0%	7.2%	27.1%	32.0%	30.6%	6.0%	26.3%	14.0%	49.3%	6.5%	36.6%	11.1%	26.5%	20.5%

Table A-11: Demographic characteristics of 25 largest MSAs, 2019-20 and 2010-11, by urban and suburban districts

Metropolitan area		2010-11						2019-20					
		% FRL	% Asian	% Black	% Latinx	% White	% Multi-racial	% FRL	% Asian	% Black	% Latinx	% White	% Multi-racial
Western Region													
Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO	Urban district	67.1%	3.7%	14.9%	54.5%	23.0%	3.0%	65.3%	3.7%	14.0%	52.3%	24.3%	4.5%
	Suburban district	29.6%	3.8%	3.3%	26.0%	63.3%	2.8%	30.6%	4.8%	3.2%	29.1%	57.5%	4.7%
	Total	39.9%	3.8%	6.5%	33.9%	52.2%	2.8%	40.8%	4.5%	6.4%	35.8%	47.8%	4.6%
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	Urban district	58.0%	10.4%	7.3%	64.5%	15.4%	1.2%	69.3%	10.4%	6.1%	64.9%	14.9%	3.1%
	Suburban district	52.4%	14.1%	5.2%	54.3%	23.0%	2.5%	58.1%	14.6%	4.9%	57.9%	18.0%	4.2%
	Total	55.2%	12.2%	6.2%	59.5%	19.1%	1.8%	63.9%	12.4%	5.5%	61.5%	16.4%	3.7%
Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ	Urban district	45.9%	3.0%	6.9%	48.7%	37.1%	1.0%	54.4%	3.5%	7.1%	52.0%	30.7%	3.8%
	Suburban district	38.0%	3.9%	6.7%	33.6%	52.3%	1.2%	37.5%	3.6%	6.0%	37.2%	46.3%	4.8%
	Total	42.1%	3.4%	6.8%	41.4%	44.4%	1.1%	45.8%	3.6%	6.5%	44.4%	38.7%	4.3%
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	Urban district	46.0%	9.8%	6.6%	20.2%	56.2%	5.3%	41.8%	10.0%	5.4%	24.3%	49.8%	8.7%
	Suburban district	42.5%	3.6%	2.0%	17.1%	71.5%	4.1%	36.8%	4.1%	2.0%	21.2%	64.2%	6.7%
	Total	44.0%	6.3%	4.0%	18.4%	64.9%	4.6%	39.0%	6.7%	3.5%	22.6%	58.0%	7.6%
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	Urban district	54.7%	5.2%	8.2%	60.8%	22.0%	2.7%	68.4%	5.1%	6.5%	65.3%	18.0%	4.4%
	Suburban district	61.3%	4.6%	8.2%	59.9%	24.2%	2.1%	68.8%	5.2%	7.1%	65.7%	17.9%	3.2%
	Total	59.8%	4.8%	8.2%	60.1%	23.7%	2.2%	68.7%	5.2%	7.0%	65.6%	18.0%	3.5%
San Diego-Carlsbad-	Urban district	49.8%	15.6%	7.8%	38.4%	33.7%	3.4%	44.8%	15.3%	5.2%	40.6%	29.6%	8.8%

Metropolitan area		2010-11						2019-20					
		% FRL	% Asian	% Black	% Latinx	% White	% Multi-racial	% FRL	% Asian	% Black	% Latinx	% White	% Multi-racial
San Marcos, CA	Suburban district	48.5%	6.2%	4.7%	51.4%	32.7%	3.3%	54.7%	6.1%	3.4%	55.0%	28.5%	5.7%
	Total	49.0%	10.2%	6.0%	45.9%	33.1%	3.4%	50.3%	10.1%	4.2%	48.7%	29.0%	7.1%
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	Urban district	50.9%	25.9%	13.3%	32.4%	19.7%	6.8%	47.0%	24.5%	9.6%	37.3%	17.7%	9.8%
	Suburban district	34.7%	20.9%	7.8%	30.0%	33.4%	5.9%	35.6%	25.2%	5.8%	33.8%	26.3%	7.7%
	Total	39.8%	22.5%	9.5%	30.7%	29.1%	6.2%	39.3%	25.0%	7.0%	34.9%	23.6%	8.4%
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	Urban district	40.6%	17.7%	14.1%	13.8%	47.8%	4.1%	39.5%	17.6%	10.9%	18.7%	39.2%	11.3%
	Suburban district	30.1%	10.1%	5.6%	13.8%	62.2%	5.8%	35.8%	12.6%	6.0%	19.2%	49.7%	10.1%
	Total	33.1%	12.3%	8.0%	13.8%	58.1%	5.3%	36.9%	14.0%	7.4%	19.1%	46.7%	10.4%
Southern Region													
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	Urban district	74.6%	1.0%	74.9%	9.2%	13.1%	1.6%	75.6%	1.2%	67.3%	12.0%	16.6%	2.6%
	Suburban district	51.2%	5.1%	36.0%	13.9%	41.5%	3.1%	51.2%	6.9%	36.0%	19.4%	33.5%	3.9%
	Total	52.6%	4.9%	38.4%	13.6%	39.7%	3.0%	52.7%	6.5%	38.0%	18.9%	32.4%	3.9%
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC	Urban district	52.2%	4.7%	40.7%	15.0%	35.3%	3.9%	53.6%	6.5%	36.9%	24.1%	28.5%	3.5%
	Suburban district	42.0%	1.6%	17.6%	9.9%	67.9%	2.7%	41.6%	3.4%	17.6%	14.7%	58.2%	5.9%
	Total	46.3%	2.9%	27.3%	12.0%	54.2%	3.2%	46.7%	4.7%	25.8%	18.7%	45.5%	4.9%
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	Urban district	68.6%	4.9%	21.2%	53.1%	19.0%	1.3%	72.4%	5.2%	20.8%	55.9%	15.7%	1.9%
	Suburban district	42.0%	5.5%	14.6%	29.4%	47.3%	2.1%	44.7%	8.6%	16.0%	33.0%	38.0%	3.7%
	Total	52.1%	5.3%	17.1%	38.4%	36.6%	1.8%	54.4%	7.4%	17.7%	41.0%	30.2%	3.1%
Houston-Sugar Land-	Urban district	59.6%	4.7%	25.5%	58.2%	10.3%	0.7%	77.9%	5.2%	21.5%	62.0%	9.6%	1.2%

Metropolitan area		2010-11						2019-20					
		% FRL	% Asian	% Black	% Latinx	% White	% Multi-racial	% FRL	% Asian	% Black	% Latinx	% White	% Multi-racial
Baytown, TX	Suburban district	45.6%	6.2%	15.6%	41.1%	34.7%	1.8%	53.6%	7.3%	15.9%	45.9%	27.7%	2.6%
	Total	49.5%	5.7%	18.4%	45.9%	27.8%	1.5%	60.1%	6.7%	17.4%	50.2%	22.9%	2.2%
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL*	Suburban district	60.6%	2.3%	29.5%	45.0%	21.0%	1.7%	61.8%	2.4%	27.5%	51.5%	16.4%	1.8%
	Total	60.6%	2.3%	29.5%	45.0%	21.0%	1.7%	61.8%	2.4%	27.5%	51.5%	16.4%	1.8%
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL*	Suburban district	54.6%	3.9%	20.6%	32.6%	39.6%	2.7%	51.3%	4.1%	19.1%	42.0%	31.3%	2.9%
	Total	54.6%	3.9%	20.6%	32.6%	39.6%	2.7%	51.3%	4.1%	19.1%	42.0%	31.3%	2.9%
San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	Urban district	41.4%	2.0%	5.9%	72.3%	17.7%	1.8%	61.2%	2.7%	6.1%	72.5%	15.9%	2.4%
	Suburban district	52.6%	1.0%	7.0%	54.8%	34.8%	1.9%	52.0%	1.1%	6.4%	57.7%	31.5%	2.9%
	Total	45.2%	1.6%	6.3%	66.3%	23.5%	1.8%	57.9%	2.1%	6.2%	67.2%	21.4%	2.6%
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL*	Suburban district	53.4%	3.2%	16.8%	23.8%	51.8%	3.8%	54.6%	3.9%	17.0%	29.6%	44.2%	4.9%
	Total	53.4%	3.2%	16.8%	23.8%	51.8%	3.8%	54.6%	3.9%	17.0%	29.6%	44.2%	4.9%
Border Region													
Baltimore-Towson, MD	Urban district	84.8%	1.1%	86.1%	4.1%	8.0%	0.3%	55.0%	0.9%	75.8%	13.8%	7.9%	1.2%
	Suburban district	29.6%	6.2%	24.4%	6.7%	58.2%	4.0%	34.4%	8.1%	26.0%	12.5%	47.2%	5.7%
	Total	40.9%	5.1%	37.1%	6.1%	47.9%	3.2%	38.2%	6.8%	35.3%	12.7%	40.0%	4.9%
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	Urban district	61.9%	3.6%	58.4%	18.5%	17.2%	2.1%	12.9%	3.6%	48.7%	22.0%	21.6%	3.7%
	Suburban district	31.8%	10.2%	24.8%	19.7%	40.5%	4.3%	37.6%	11.4%	22.1%	27.6%	33.3%	5.2%
	Total	35.3%	9.4%	28.7%	19.6%	37.7%	4.1%	34.3%	10.4%	25.7%	26.8%	31.8%	5.0%

Metropolitan area		2010-11						2019-20					
		% FRL	% Asian	% Black	% Latinx	% White	% Multi-racial	% FRL	% Asian	% Black	% Latinx	% White	% Multi-racial
Northeastern Region													
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	Urban district	58.0%	8.8%	28.8%	31.0%	28.5%	2.5%	0.0%	9.0%	25.9%	33.9%	26.7%	4.1%
	Suburban district	25.4%	6.3%	5.6%	10.8%	74.9%	2.0%	1.8%	8.5%	6.6%	16.5%	64.0%	3.8%
	Total	30.0%	6.7%	8.9%	13.7%	68.4%	2.1%	1.6%	8.6%	9.5%	19.2%	58.3%	3.8%
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	Urban district	73.9%	14.6%	30.5%	40.0%	14.2%	0.1%	73.2%	15.1%	25.7%	41.7%	14.5%	1.5%
	Suburban district	27.0%	8.7%	12.5%	21.5%	56.2%	0.6%	34.1%	10.7%	10.6%	31.4%	44.7%	2.2%
	Total	45.6%	11.0%	19.6%	28.8%	39.6%	0.4%	50.3%	12.5%	16.8%	35.6%	32.2%	2.0%
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	Urban district	77.6%	5.9%	59.2%	19.0%	13.3%	2.4%	75.8%	6.8%	51.1%	24.2%	13.1%	4.4%
	Suburban district	25.8%	5.7%	17.1%	7.0%	68.2%	1.2%	27.4%	7.2%	16.7%	11.8%	59.6%	4.5%
	Total	38.8%	5.7%	27.7%	10.0%	54.4%	1.5%	39.7%	7.1%	25.4%	14.9%	47.8%	4.5%
Midwestern Region													
Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI	Urban district	67.9%	5.0%	39.6%	38.7%	14.5%	1.8%	70.9%	6.7%	33.0%	41.4%	16.4%	2.1%
	Suburban district	34.0%	4.9%	12.7%	25.2%	53.8%	3.0%	38.6%	6.3%	12.0%	30.5%	47.4%	3.5%
	Total	44.4%	4.9%	21.0%	29.3%	41.7%	2.6%	48.1%	6.4%	18.2%	33.7%	38.3%	3.1%
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	Urban district	62.9%	4.3%	53.9%	6.0%	34.2%	0.9%	67.3%	7.1%	49.5%	8.5%	32.6%	2.2%
	Suburban district	36.1%	3.3%	14.5%	3.7%	76.2%	1.7%	41.1%	4.6%	16.1%	5.8%	69.1%	4.0%
	Total	45.2%	3.7%	27.8%	4.5%	62.0%	1.4%	49.6%	5.4%	26.9%	6.7%	57.2%	3.4%

Metropolitan area		2010-11						2019-20					
		% FRL	% Asian	% Black	% Latinx	% White	% Multi-racial	% FRL	% Asian	% Black	% Latinx	% White	% Multi-racial
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	Urban district	52.6%	14.8%	25.0%	12.5%	43.7%	1.6%	48.8%	17.0%	25.0%	13.4%	37.7%	5.7%
	Suburban district	27.8%	6.2%	7.8%	6.0%	77.3%	2.0%	28.3%	7.1%	10.4%	9.0%	67.1%	5.8%
	Total	34.0%	8.3%	12.1%	7.6%	68.9%	1.9%	33.6%	9.7%	14.2%	10.1%	59.5%	5.8%
St. Louis, MO-IL	Urban district	74.6%	2.2%	71.6%	4.1%	21.7%	0.2%	85.4%	2.3%	65.9%	7.1%	22.3%	2.1%
	Suburban district	36.0%	2.3%	21.8%	2.8%	70.9%	1.9%	39.4%	2.9%	20.5%	4.8%	67.1%	4.5%
	Total	39.6%	2.3%	26.4%	2.9%	66.3%	1.8%	43.7%	2.8%	24.7%	5.0%	62.9%	4.3%

Table A-12: Enrollment & enrollment change by MSA, and by suburban and urban districts, 2010-11 and 2019-20

Metropolitan area		Enrollment change	% Change	Total Students, 2019-20	Total Students, 2010-11	Number (%) of districts with increasing enroll
Western Region						
Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO	Urban district	14,745	12.5%	133,033	118,288	4 (100.0%)
	Suburban district	9,945	3.2%	321,650	311,705	13 (52.0%)
	Total	24,690	5.7%	454,683	429,993	
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	Urban district	-8,386	-0.9%	946,526	954,912	3 (15.0%)
	Suburban district	-38,660	-4.2%	888,201	926,861	14 (15.7%)
	Total	-47,046	-2.5%	1,834,727	1,881,773	
Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ	Urban district	12767	3.4%	388,391	375,624	57 (41.0%)
	Suburban district	60842	17.5%	408,426	347,584	76 (57.6%)
	Total	73609	10.2%	796,817	723,208	
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	Urban district	3139	2.2%	144,388	141,249	4 (44.4%)
	Suburban district	2817	1.5%	189,556	186,739	20 (44.4%)
	Total	5956	1.8%	333,944	327,988	
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	Urban district	-118	-0.1%	188,738	188,856	0 (0%)
	Suburban district	-8483	-1.4%	617,081	625,564	14 (28.6%)
	Total	-8601	-1.1%	805,819	814,420	
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	Urban district	5363	2.6%	209,713	204,350	4 (50.0%)
	Suburban district	-8613	-3.1%	267,647	276,260	4 (12.1%)
	Total	-3250	-0.7%	477,360	480,610	
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	Urban district	13160	7.7%	184,694	171,534	8 (66.7%)
	Suburban district	17220	4.6%	393,150	375,930	29 (43.3%)
	Total	30380	5.5%	577,844	547,464	
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	Urban district	22139	16.4%	156,808	134,669	7 (100%)
	Suburban district	36460	10.6%	379,542	343,082	33 (75.0%)
	Total	58599	12.3%	536,350	477,751	
Southern Region						
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	Urban district	4,665	8.0%	62,676	58,011	3 (100%)
	Suburban district	62,637	7.1%	940,091	877,454	28 (71.8%)
	Total	67,302	7.2%	1,002,767	935,465	
Charlotte-Gastonia-	Urban district	24,830	15.9%	181,013	156,183	8 (100%)

Metropolitan area		Enrollment change	% Change	Total Students, 2019-20	Total Students, 2010-11	Number (%) of districts with increasing enroll
Rock Hill, NC-SC	Suburban district	28,037	13.0%	244,245	216,208	18 (72.0%)
	Total	52,867	14.2%	425,258	372,391	
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	Urban district	30,216	6.5%	493,283	463,067	17 (70.8%)
	Suburban district	157,646	20.8%	916,160	758,514	96 (83.5%)
	Total	187,862	15.4%	1,409,443	1,221,581	
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	Urban district	30,475	9.2%	363,153	332,678	17 (77.3%)
	Suburban district	152,482	18.1%	995,687	843,205	54 (84.4%)
	Total	182,957	15.6%	1,358,840	1,175,883	
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL*	Suburban district	35191	4.6%	799,527	764,336	5 (100%)
	Total	35191	4.6%	799,527	764,336	
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL*	Suburban district	57505	17.5%	385,603	328,098	4 (100%)
	Total	57505	17.5%	385,603	328,098	
San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	Urban district	28838	10.8%	295,194	266,356	7 (46.7%)
	Suburban district	24873	18.1%	162,157	137,284	28 (82.4%)
	Total	53711	13.3%	457,351	403,640	
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL*	Suburban district	32255	8.5%	411,708	379,453	3 (75.0%)
	Total	32255	8.5%	411,708	379,453	
Border Region						
Baltimore-Towson, MD	Urban district	-3,585	-4.7%	73,464	77,049	2 (100%)
	Suburban district	25,861	8.7%	323,780	297,919	4 (66.7%)
	Total	22,276	5.9%	397,244	374,968	
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	Urban district	29048	28.3%	131,671	102,623	24 (70.6%)
	Suburban district	87798	11.4%	858,971	771,173	16 (76.2%)
	Total	116846	13.4%	990,642	873,796	
Northeastern						
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	Urban district	7,422	8.3%	97,324	89,902	17 (70.8%)
	Suburban district	-8,497	-1.6%	538,577	547,074	73 (35.4%)
	Total	-1,075	-0.2%	635,901	636,976	
New York-Northern New	Urban district	49121	4.7%	1,091,358	1,042,237	125 (77.6%)
	Suburban district	-40667	-2.6%	1,548,614	1,589,281	220 (39.4%)

Metropolitan area		Enrollment change	% Change	Total Students, 2019-20	Total Students, 2010-11	Number (%) of districts with increasing enroll
Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	Total	8454	0.3%	2,639,972	2,631,518	
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	urban district	2800	1.3%	210,761	207,961	59 (81.9%)
	suburban district	2416	0.4%	620,360	617,944	96 (49.0%)
	Total	5216	0.6%	831,121	825,905	
Midwestern Region						
Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI	Urban district	-54,883	-11.3%	431,055	485,938	13 (68.4%)
	Suburban district	-54,977	-5.0%	1,034,424	1,089,401	114 (32.8%)
	Total	-109,860	-7.0%	1,465,479	1,575,339	
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	Urban district	-26,520	-11.7%	200,169	226,689	36 (57.1%)
	Suburban district	-29,594	-6.7%	414,139	443,733	43 (34.4%)
	Total	-56,114	-8.4%	614,308	670,422	
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	Urban district	15905	12.3%	145,707	129,802	43 (79.6%)
	Suburban district	21882	5.6%	413,543	391,661	77 (68.1%)
	Total	37787	7.2%	559,250	521,463	
St. Louis, MO-IL	Urban district	-1453	-3.7%	37,309	38,762	8 (72.7%)
	Suburban district	-11984	-3.2%	365,049	377,033	45 (34.9%)
	Total	-13437	-3.2%	402,358	415,795	
All 25 metros						
All	Urban district	199,688	3.3%	6,166,428	5,966,740	465 (64.9%)
	Suburban district	614,392	4.4%	14,437,888	13,823,496	1127 (45.4%)
	Total	814,080	4.1%	20,604,316	19,790,236	

* Florida metros (Orlando, Tampa, Miami) include urban in what are classified as suburban districts; there are no "urban districts" according to the classification scheme outlined above.

Table A-13a: Percent of all students in suburban districts that are 90-100% Black + Latinx, by MSA, 2010-11

Metropolitan area	% Enroll	% FRL	% Asian	% Latinx	% Black	% White	% Multiracial
Western Region							
Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO	n/a						
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	19.1%	29.4%	3.0%	30.7%	28.5%	1.3%	7.2%
Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ	0.2%	0.4%	0.0%	0.5%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	n/a						
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	14.4%	19.7%	5.0%	20.5%	14.0%	2.6%	3.4%
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	n/a						
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	0.1%	0.2%	0.0%	0.3%	0.3%	0.0%	0.0%
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	n/a						
Southern Region							
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	2.8%	5.0%	0.2%	2.2%	13.5%	0.3%	1.1%
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	10.5%	18.6%	2.1%	17.4%	17.5%	1.0%	4.9%
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	n/a						
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	n/a						
San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	9.5%	15.5%	4.6%	16.1%	3.6%	1.4%	3.5%
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	n/a						
Border Region							
Baltimore-Towson, MD	n/a						
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	n/a						
Northeastern Region							
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	2.5%	8.6%	0.8%	21.0%	0.7%	0.2%	0.2%
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	9.6%	27.7%	1.4%	25.7%	31.9%	0.5%	2.3%
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	2.9%	7.6%	0.4%	2.3%	15.3%	0.1%	0.0%
Midwestern Region							
Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI	11.2%	25.3%	1.4%	23.5%	37.3%	0.7%	5.2%
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	2.9%	6.6%	0.3%	0.1%	19.6%	0.1%	0.4%
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	0.3%	0.9%	0.0%	1.0%	2.9%	0.0%	0.0%
St. Louis, MO-IL	5.9%	13.9%	0.4%	1.1%	27.5%	0.1%	0.3%

Table A-13b: Percent of all students in suburban districts that are 90-100% Black + Latinx, by MSA, 2019-20

Metropolitan area	% Enroll	% FRL	% Asian	% Latinx	% Black	% White	% Multiracial
Western Region							
Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO	n/a						
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	28.1%	41.0%	4.3%	42.0%	43.8%	3.2%	8.1%
Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ	1.6%	3.4%	0.5%	3.4%	2.6%	0.2%	0.7%
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	n/a						
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	17.9%	22.1%	5.4%	24.2%	14.1%	3.3%	5.0%
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	0.5%	0.8%	0.1%	0.9%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	1.5%	3.5%	0.1%	4.0%	1.6%	0.0%	0.3%
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	n/a						
Southern Region							
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	6.1%	10.9%	2.9%	6.8%	11.8%	0.3%	3.8%
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.2%	0.0%	0.0%
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	4.7%	8.5%	0.4%	5.1%	17.0%	0.3%	3.1%
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	16.3%	25.5%	3.4%	27.5%	16.5%	2.3%	4.8%
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	42.8%	47.2%	19.5%	60.2%	30.0%	17.2%	13.6%
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	n/a						
San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	14.6%	23.7%	4.0%	23.0%	4.8%	2.8%	3.1%
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	n/a						
Border Region							
Baltimore-Towson, MD	n/a						
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	15.5%	26.9%	3.7%	20.5%	38.7%	1.8%	3.8%
Northeastern Region							
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	4.2%	0.0%	0.4%	22.9%	2.8%	0.3%	0.7%
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	13.6%	31.5%	1.6%	30.2%	33.1%	0.9%	2.8%
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	2.9%	6.4%	0.3%	2.2%	15.1%	0.1%	1.5%
Midwestern Region							
Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI	11.2%	21.8%	1.1%	20.5%	36.5%	0.6%	4.8%
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	3.4%	7.1%	0.1%	0.6%	21.0%	0.1%	0.6%
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	0.5%	1.5%	0.0%	1.2%	3.5%	0.0%	0.1%
St. Louis, MO-IL	5.5%	13.8%	0.2%	1.6%	25.9%	0.1%	1.4%

Table A-14a: Percent of all students in suburban schools that are 90-100% Black + Latinx, by MSA, 2010-11

Metropolitan area	% Enroll	% FRL	% Asian	% Latinx	% Black	% White	% Multiracial
Western Region							
Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO	0.6%	1.7%	0.1%	2.2%	0.2%	0.1%	0.0%
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	24.2%	38.1%	3.3%	39.6%	29.0%	1.7%	6.5%
Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ	3.6%	7.3%	0.4%	9.2%	3.2%	0.4%	1.5%
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	0.2%	0.4%	0.0%	1.1%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	19.6%	27.5%	4.8%	28.9%	13.9%	3.0%	5.0%
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	7.8%	12.9%	3.3%	13.8%	3.7%	0.7%	2.1%
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	2.3%	5.7%	0.2%	6.4%	2.9%	0.1%	0.7%
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Southern Region							
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	14.4%	22.9%	3.3%	13.6%	33.2%	0.5%	6.6%
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC	0.2%	0.6%	0.0%	1.3%	0.6%	0.0%	0.2%
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	5.0%	9.3%	0.6%	7.4%	17.4%	0.5%	1.9%
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	17.7%	26.2%	3.5%	29.7%	29.2%	1.6%	6.8%
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	36.3%	49.1%	11.0%	43.8%	50.9%	4.9%	10.5%
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	7.0%	11.2%	2.4%	4.0%	25.6%	0.5%	3.4%
San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	11.4%	18.1%	4.4%	18.4%	7.9%	1.7%	3.7%
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	2.6%	4.6%	0.3%	3.3%	9.8%	0.2%	0.9%
Border Region							
Baltimore-Towson, MD	5.2%	10.5%	1.6%	4.5%	19.0%	0.2%	1.8%
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	10.8%	19.8%	1.8%	11.4%	32.4%	0.4%	3.3%
Northeastern Region							
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	1.8%	6.2%	0.3%	15.4%	0.5%	0.1%	0.1%
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	11.2%	31.0%	1.4%	29.0%	35.8%	0.5%	2.3%
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	3.4%	9.5%	0.4%	4.5%	17.2%	0.1%	0.1%
Midwestern Region							
Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI	11.8%	26.9%	1.0%	24.7%	39.9%	0.6%	4.8%
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	3.2%	7.3%	0.3%	0.4%	21.6%	0.1%	0.6%
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	0.3%	0.9%	0.0%	1.0%	2.9%	0.0%	0.0%
St. Louis, MO-IL	9.5%	21.5%	0.8%	2.2%	42.1%	0.3%	1.5%

Table A-14b: Percent of all students in suburban schools that are 90-100% Black + Latinx, by MSA, 2019-20

Metropolitan Area	% Enroll	% FRL	% Asian	% Latinx	% Black	% White	% Multiracial
Western Region							
Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO	1.0%	2.5%	0.1%	3.0%	0.3%	0.1%	0.2%
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	30.0%	44.4%	3.7%	45.4%	45.1%	3.0%	8.0%
Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ	5.1%	11.1%	1.2%	11.6%	6.6%	0.5%	1.8%
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	0.2%	0.5%	0.0%	1.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	24.7%	31.4%	5.1%	33.6%	18.2%	3.9%	8.2%
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	9.6%	14.5%	3.5%	15.9%	4.3%	1.1%	2.4%
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	3.6%	8.5%	0.4%	9.0%	5.4%	0.2%	0.6%
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
Southern Region							
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	17.5%	29.9%	2.9%	20.2%	35.3%	0.8%	8.2%
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC	0.8%	1.8%	0.1%	2.8%	1.5%	0.1%	0.4%
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	6.8%	12.6%	0.5%	10.1%	19.0%	0.6%	3.4%
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	19.1%	30.5%	2.3%	29.8%	27.3%	2.2%	6.6%
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	43.9%	55.1%	14.0%	52.9%	53.8%	7.5%	15.4%
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	9.2%	14.3%	2.1%	7.5%	28.7%	0.9%	3.0%
San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	15.1%	24.1%	5.2%	23.7%	7.4%	2.5%	3.5%
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	3.5%	6.0%	0.3%	4.5%	11.1%	0.4%	1.5%
Border Region							
Baltimore-Towson, MD	5.1%	9.6%	1.1%	5.6%	15.5%	0.2%	2.0%
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	11.8%	22.3%	1.6%	18.1%	28.3%	0.7%	2.0%
Northeastern Region							
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	4.2%	0.0%	0.4%	21.9%	5.7%	0.2%	0.8%
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	14.5%	33.3%	1.4%	32.1%	36.3%	0.8%	2.6%
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	3.3%	6.3%	0.3%	3.3%	16.4%	0.1%	1.7%
Midwestern Region							
Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI	12.6%	25.2%	0.9%	23.9%	39.0%	0.6%	5.8%
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	3.9%	8.0%	0.1%	0.9%	23.1%	0.1%	1.0%
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	0.6%	1.9%	0.0%	1.5%	4.4%	0.0%	0.3%
St. Louis, MO-IL	8.4%	20.1%	0.5%	2.8%	39.1%	0.2%	2.3%

Table A-15: Percent of all students in suburban schools that are 90-100% White + Asian, by MSA, 2019-20

Metropolitan area	% Enroll	% FRL	% Asian	% Latinx	% Black	% White	% Multiracial
Western Region							
Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO	1.5%	0.4%	0.5%	0.3%	0.2%	2.4%	0.9%
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	0						
Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ	0						
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	1.7%	1.0%	0.6%	0.3%	0.3%	2.4%	0.8%
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	0						
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	2.4%	0.5%	8.3%	0.2%	0.2%	0.4%	0.7%
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	0.3%	0.1%	1.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.2%	0.1%
Southern Region							
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	1.3%	1.1%	1.6%	0.3%	0.1%	3.3%	0.8%
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC	0.9%	0.3%	0.7%	0.2%	0.1%	1.3%	0.4%
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	0.6%	0.0%	2.4%	0.1%	0.1%	1.0%	0.4%
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	0						
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	0						
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	0						
San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	0						
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	0						
Border Region							
Baltimore-Towson, MD	4.4%	1.6%	1.2%	1.2%	0.3%	8.3%	2.2%
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	0.4%	0.1%	1.3%	0.0%	0.0%	0.6%	0.3%
Northeastern Region							
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	26.5%	59.2%	16.0%	4.5%	4.8%	36.9%	17.3%
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	6.7%	1.2%	12.3%	1.0%	0.7%	11.2%	4.4%
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	10.0%	3.6%	13.6%	3.0%	0.9%	13.9%	4.7%
Midwestern Region							
Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI	3.0%	0.7%	5.5%	0.5%	0.2%	5.2%	2.1%
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	25.1%	16.3%	21.6%	12.3%	2.3%	32.7%	13.3%
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	19.0%	12.7%	3.4%	6.3%	1.8%	26.0%	10.0%
St. Louis, MO-IL	25.6%	22.2%	6.6%	11.1%	1.5%	36.1%	14.5%

Note: many of the schools in the Boston metro did not report FRL for 2019-20.

Table A-16: Percent of students in racially concentrated schools, by MSA and school type, 2010-11 & 2019-20

MSA	School Type	2010-11			2019-20		
		90-100% White & Asian	90-100% Black & Latinx	Total Schools	90-100% White & Asian	90-100% Black & Latinx	Total Schools
Western Region							
Denver	Charter	5	4	64	2	6	75
		7.8%	6.3%		2.7%	8.0%	
	TPS*	33	1	441	12	6	456
		7.6%	0.2%		2.7%	1.3%	
Los Angeles	Charter	0	1	5	0	63	100
		0.0%	20.0%		0.0%	63.0%	
	TPS	8	278	1076	1	336	1095
		0.7%	25.8%		0.1%	30.7%	
Phoenix	Charter	6	1	119	—	3	145
		5.0%	0.8%			2.0%	
	TPS	0	19	382	—	25	388
		0.0%	5.0%			6.4%	
Portland	Charter	8	0	29	3	0	29
		28.6%	0.0%		10.7%	0.0%	
	TPS	28	1	344	7	1	322
		8.1%	0.3%		2.2%	0.3%	
Riverside	Charter	—	2	37	—	9	53
			5.4%			17.0%	
	TPS	—	136	642	—	169	649
			21.2%			26.0%	
San Diego	Charter	1	6	45	1	3	57
		2.2%	13.3%		1.8%	5.3%	
	TPS	1	24	307	0	33	309
		0.3%	7.8%		0.0%	10.7%	
San Francisco	Charter	0	9	40	0	12	51
		0.0%	22.5%		0.0%	23.5%	
	TPS	27	10	528	10	14	530
		5.2%	1.9%		1.9%	2.6%	
Seattle	Charter		—		0	0	2
			—		0.0%	0.0%	
	TPS	46	1	613	4	2	581
		7.5%	0.2%		0.7%	0.3%	
Southern Region							
Atlanta	Charter	0	6	36	0	20	39
		0.0%	16.7%		0.0%	51.3%	

MSA		2010-11			2019-20		
	School Type	90-100% White & Asian	90-100% Black & Latinx	Total Schools	90-100% White & Asian	90-100% Black & Latinx	Total Schools
	TPS	28	162	964	20	188	978
		2.9%	16.8%		2.0%	19.2%	
Charlotte	Charter	1	1	13	1	1	29
		8.3%	7.7%		3.4%	3.4%	
	TPS	18	1	306	4	4	315
		6.1%	0.3%		1.3%	1.3%	
Dallas	Charter	0	6	43	0	12	101
		0.0%	14.0%		0.0%	11.9%	
	TPS	15	52	1070	6	69	1138
		1.4%	4.9%		0.5%	6.1%	
Houston	Charter	0	3	19	—	16	40
		0.0%	15.8%			40.0%	
	TPS	6	170	944	—	209	1010
		0.6%	18.0%			20.7%	
Miami	Charter	—	73	188	—	131	250
			38.8%			52.4%	
	TPS	—	312	722	—	361	713
			43.2%			50.6%	
Orlando	Charter	—	7	43	—	11	70
			16.3%			15.7%	
	TPS		33	322		41	339
			10.2%			12.1%	
San Antonio	Charter	—	1	4	—	1	5
			25.0%			20.0%	
	TPS	—	17	210	—	32	218
			8.1%			14.7%	
Tampa	Charter	0	5	43	—	9	74
		0.0%	11.6%			12.2%	
	TPS	1	19	424	—	26	430
		0.2%	4.5%			6.0%	
Border Region							
Baltimore	Charter	0	1	3	0	0	3
		0.0%	33.3%		0.0%	0.0%	
	TPS	62	24	439	22	25	446
		14.2%	5.5%		5.0%	5.6%	
Washington, DC	Charter	0	5	6	0	6	14
		0.0%	83.3%		0.0%	42.9%	

MSA		2010-11			2019-20		
	School Type	90-100% White & Asian	90-100% Black & Latinx	Total Schools	90-100% White & Asian	90-100% Black & Latinx	Total Schools
	TPS	21	119	986	4	135	1025
		2.1%	12.1%		0.4%	13.2%	
Northeastern Region							
Boston	Charter	10	2	26	7	7	35
		40.0%	7.7%		20.6%	20.0%	
	TPS	524	19	961	263	33	967
		56.6%	2.0%		28.6%	3.4%	
NYC	Charter	1	24	42	0	25	47
		2.4%	57.1%		0.0%	53.2%	
	TPS	753	266	2512	172	305	2532
		30.9%	10.6%		6.8%	12.0%	
Philadelphia	Charter	1	5	25	0	6	24
		4.0%	20.0%		0.0%	25.0%	
	TPS	300	37	972	91	29	948
		30.9%	3.8%		9.8%	3.1%	
Midwestern Region							
Chicago	Charter	1	3	14	0	5	17
		7.7%	21.4%		0.0%	29.4%	
	TPS	204	219	1712	74	249	1700
		12.3%	12.8%		4.4%	14.6%	
Detroit	Charter	11	16	57	10	21	81
		19.3%	28.1%		13.0%	25.9%	
	TPS	273	14	692	145	13	634
		39.5%	2.0%		23.8%	2.1%	
Minneapolis	Charter	21	4	49	15	10	78
		42.9%	8.2%		20.5%	12.8%	
	TPS	261	0	531	122	0	551
		49.2%	0.0%		23.2%	0.0%	
St. Louis	Charter	0	2	2	0	1	1
		0.0%	100.0%		0.0%	100.0%	
	TPS	285	90	734	212	72	702
		38.8%	12.3%		31.5%	10.3%	

*Traditional Public School

Table A-17: Percentage of suburban students in doubly concentrated districts by MSA, 2019-20 (75% Black + Latinx, 75% FRL)

Metropolitan area(s) in Largest 25 MSAs	% Enroll	% FRL	% Latinx	% Black
Western Region				
Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO	5.1%	13.4%	14.0%	3.2%
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	28.8%	43.7%	41.3%	54.6%
Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ	7.5%	16.9%	15.3%	12.6%
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA				
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	43.3%	52.3%	51.6%	52.4%
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	3.2%	4.9%	4.8%	3.5%
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	2.3%	5.3%	5.7%	2.4%
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	n/a			
Southern Region				
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	6.0%	10.8%	6.8%	11.6%
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%	0.2%
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	14.9%	26.3%	25.4%	27.7%
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	20.7%	32.4%	32.6%	25.3%
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL				
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	n/a			
San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	14.6%	23.7%	23.5%	4.0%
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	n/a			
Border Region				
Baltimore-Towson, MD	n/a			
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV				
Northeastern Region				
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH				
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	10.2%	25.2%	24.2%	18.8%
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	4.4%	14.9%	9.4%	15.7%
Midwestern Region				
Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI	8.2%	18.8%	15.3%	23.9%
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	5.7%	12.2%	3.7%	30.1%
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	0.8%	2.5%	1.5%	5.8%
St. Louis, MO-IL	8.8%	22.0%	4.3%	38.7%
Total Percentage, Students in All Suburban Schools	9.3%	18.6%	19.7%	14.1%
Total Percentage, Students in Suburban Charter Schools	17.7%	33.9%	31.1%	26.1%
Total Percentage, Students in Suburban Traditional Public Schools	9.0%	17.9%	19.1%	13.4%

Table A-18a: Exposure of suburban students to students receiving free/reduced lunch, by race/ethnicity and MSA, 2010-11

Metropolitan area(s) in Largest 25 MSAs	Exposure to FRL students in 2010-11 by:				FRL %
	White Students	Black Students	Latinx students	Asian students	
Western Region					
Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO	21.6%	38.1%	49.0%	24.5%	29.6%
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	24.3%	62.2%	67.0%	41.9%	52.6%
Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ	28.8%	44.3%	52.4%	27.1%	38.2%
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	39.4%	53.3%	54.3%	40.3%	42.5%
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	49.3%	63.8%	67.8%	44.5%	61.4%
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	35.1%	51.4%	57.8%	41.0%	48.5%
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	19.6%	51.0%	52.6%	27.3%	34.8%
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	26.5%	39.5%	40.2%	27.8%	30.1%
Southern Region					
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	37.2%	64.6%	62.8%	40.3%	51.2%
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC	37.7%	52.1%	54.8%	33.0%	42.0%
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	32.5%	52.1%	55.0%	30.0%	42.1%
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	34.4%	56.0%	55.2%	31.1%	46.2%
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	40.9%	72.1%	63.4%	46.6%	60.6%
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	45.9%	64.5%	59.9%	48.7%	54.6%
San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	40.6%	54.0%	60.7%	42.1%	52.6%
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	46.8%	65.3%	60.2%	47.9%	53.4%
Border Region					
Baltimore-Towson, MD	23.2%	43.8%	37.7%	23.2%	29.6%
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	21.2%	42.2%	44.6%	25.0%	31.8%
Northeastern Region					
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	18.1%	48.2%	60.4%	30.9%	25.4%
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	14.3%	49.7%	50.9%	18.6%	27.0%
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	20.1%	45.6%	42.0%	20.6%	26.1%
Midwestern Region					
Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI	21.9%	59.1%	53.9%	22.0%	35.4%
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	31.8%	57.8%	43.6%	29.9%	36.1%
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	24.6%	43.3%	38.9%	34.8%	27.8%
St. Louis, MO-IL	30.1%	58.9%	39.7%	21.2%	36.6%
Total Percentage, Suburban Students in 25 Largest MSAs	27.1%	56.4%	57.8%	30.4%	40.3%

Table A-18b: Exposure of suburban students to students receiving free/reduced lunch, by race/ethnicity and MSA, 2019-20

Metropolitan Area(s) in Largest 25 MSAs	Exposure to FRL students in 2019-20 by:				FRL %
	White Students	Black Students	Latinx students	Asian students	
Western Region					
Denver-Aurora-Broomfield, CO	21.7%	41.9%	48.9%	23.6%	30.6%
Los Angeles-Long Beach-Santa Ana, CA	29.4%	71.7%	70.6%	45.4%	58.1%
Phoenix-Mesa-Glendale, AZ	30.1%	50.9%	53.8%	27.6%	41.2%
Portland-Vancouver-Hillsboro, OR-WA	33.6%	53.8%	48.6%	33.6%	37.7%
Riverside-San Bernardino-Ontario, CA	57.2%	71.2%	73.7%	48.2%	68.8%
San Diego-Carlsbad-San Marcos, CA	43.8%	58.9%	61.8%	46.5%	54.7%
San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont, CA	20.6%	54.8%	53.1%	25.4%	35.6%
Seattle-Tacoma-Bellevue, WA	29.8%	52.5%	47.2%	29.1%	35.8%
Southern Region					
Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta, GA	34.4%	66.2%	60.2%	32.6%	51.2%
Charlotte-Gastonia-Rock Hill, NC-SC	36.9%	60.8%	55.9%	22.0%	44.2%
Dallas-Fort Worth-Arlington, TX	33.5%	56.1%	57.8%	25.4%	44.7%
Houston-Sugar Land-Baytown, TX	38.9%	60.6%	63.8%	33.9%	53.6%
Miami-Fort Lauderdale-Pompano Beach, FL	43.8%	73.7%	62.8%	46.1%	62.1%
Orlando-Kissimmee-Sanford, FL	43.4%	62.8%	52.9%	44.6%	51.3%
San Antonio-New Braunfels, TX	38.2%	56.4%	59.8%	41.9%	52.0%
Tampa-St. Petersburg-Clearwater, FL	46.9%	66.3%	61.2%	43.6%	54.6%
Border Region					
Baltimore-Towson, MD	25.8%	47.8%	44.8%	24.5%	34.4%
Washington-Arlington-Alexandria, DC-VA-MD-WV	25.0%	47.2%	52.0%	25.3%	37.7%
Northeastern Region					
Boston-Cambridge-Quincy, MA-NH	16.7%	20.8%	18.3%	17.6%	16.9%
New York-Northern New Jersey-Long Island, NY-NJ-PA	20.5%	54.3%	54.9%	21.1%	35.3%
Philadelphia-Camden-Wilmington, PA-NJ-DE-MD	25.9%	56.3%	44.9%	25.5%	32.9%
Midwestern Region					
Chicago-Joliet-Naperville, IL-IN-WI	25.9%	59.1%	53.9%	23.3%	38.6%
Detroit-Warren-Livonia, MI	35.4%	64.5%	48.0%	33.8%	41.1%
Minneapolis-St. Paul-Bloomington, MN-WI	22.8%	44.6%	38.2%	37.1%	28.3%
St. Louis, MO-IL	30.9%	69.5%	42.9%	21.4%	39.5%
Total Percentage, Suburban Students in 25 Largest MSAs	30.4%	60.5%	59.8%	30.6%	45.0%