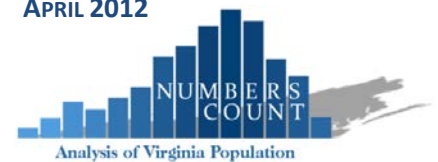


# Blacks in Virginia

## Demographic Trends in Historical Context

By Michele P. Claibourn

APRIL 2012



Black Virginians have shaped the history of the commonwealth – beginning in Jamestown in 1619 with “twenty and odd” Africans,<sup>1</sup> through six regiments of the U.S. Colored Infantry at General Lee’s Appomattox surrender, and up to and beyond Governor L. Douglas Wilder, the first black governor elected in the nation since Reconstruction. The relationship between the Commonwealth’s past, and the future for black Virginians, is illuminated in geographic and demographic trends, examined in this report.

This report begins by tracing the geographic distribution of blacks across Virginia over time, as well as the contemporary distribution of blacks within Virginia’s metropolitan neighborhoods, which bears a clear relation to the Antebellum era. Next, education, a key focus of the fight for Civil Rights, is analyzed. Finally, improvements in educational attainment are compared to changes in the economic outcomes experienced by Virginia’s black population.

Blacks are the largest racial minority in Virginia. According to the 2010 Census, more than 1.5 million, or one in five Virginians is “Black or African American.” This proportion has been quite stable since 1970, as shown in Figure 1, which presents the percent of Virginia’s population by racial groups across time.

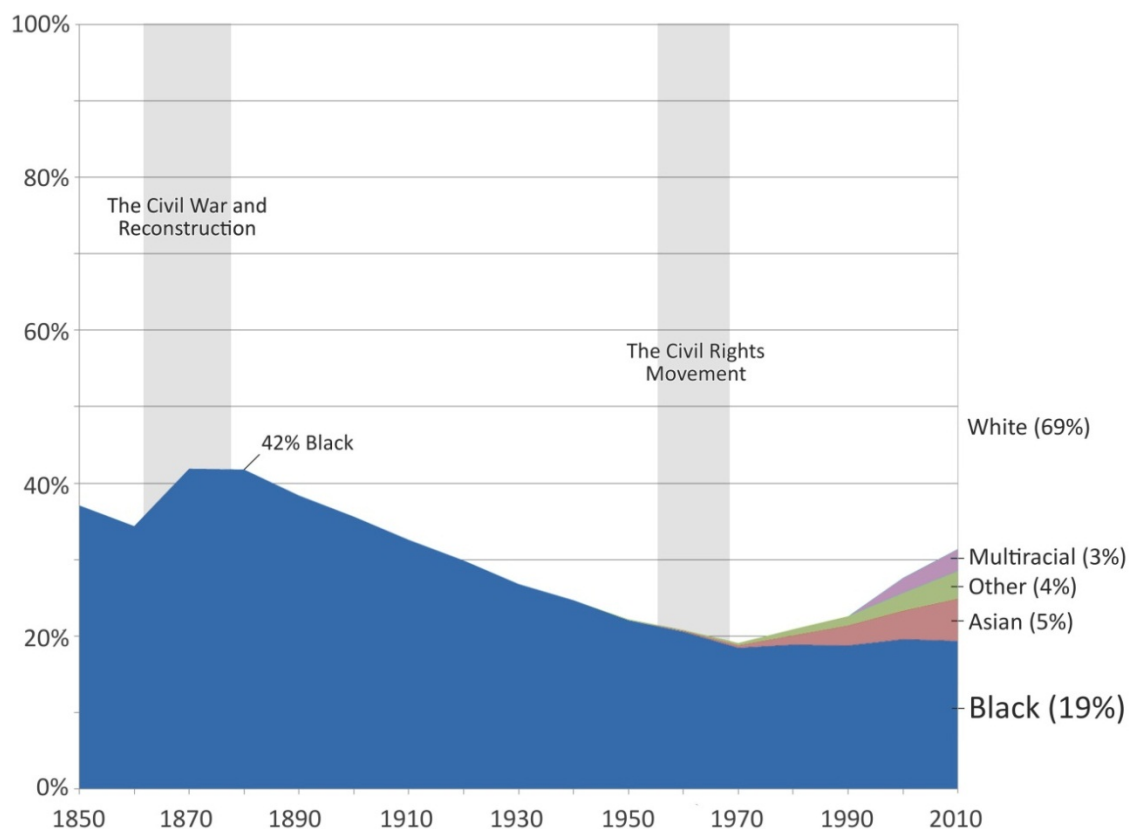


Figure 1 – The Changing Racial Composition in Virginia

Though blacks accounted for more than 40 percent of Virginia’s population during the post-Civil War Reconstruction Era (1863 – 1877), the proportion fell steadily from 1880 – 1965 during Virginia’s Jim Crow Era. The biggest decline occurred between 1920 and 1930 during the period of “The Great Migration” when blacks migrated in large numbers from the South.<sup>2</sup> Though the 1920s was the only post-Civil War decade to see an absolute reduction in the number of black Virginians, the proportion of blacks in Virginia decreased until 1970.

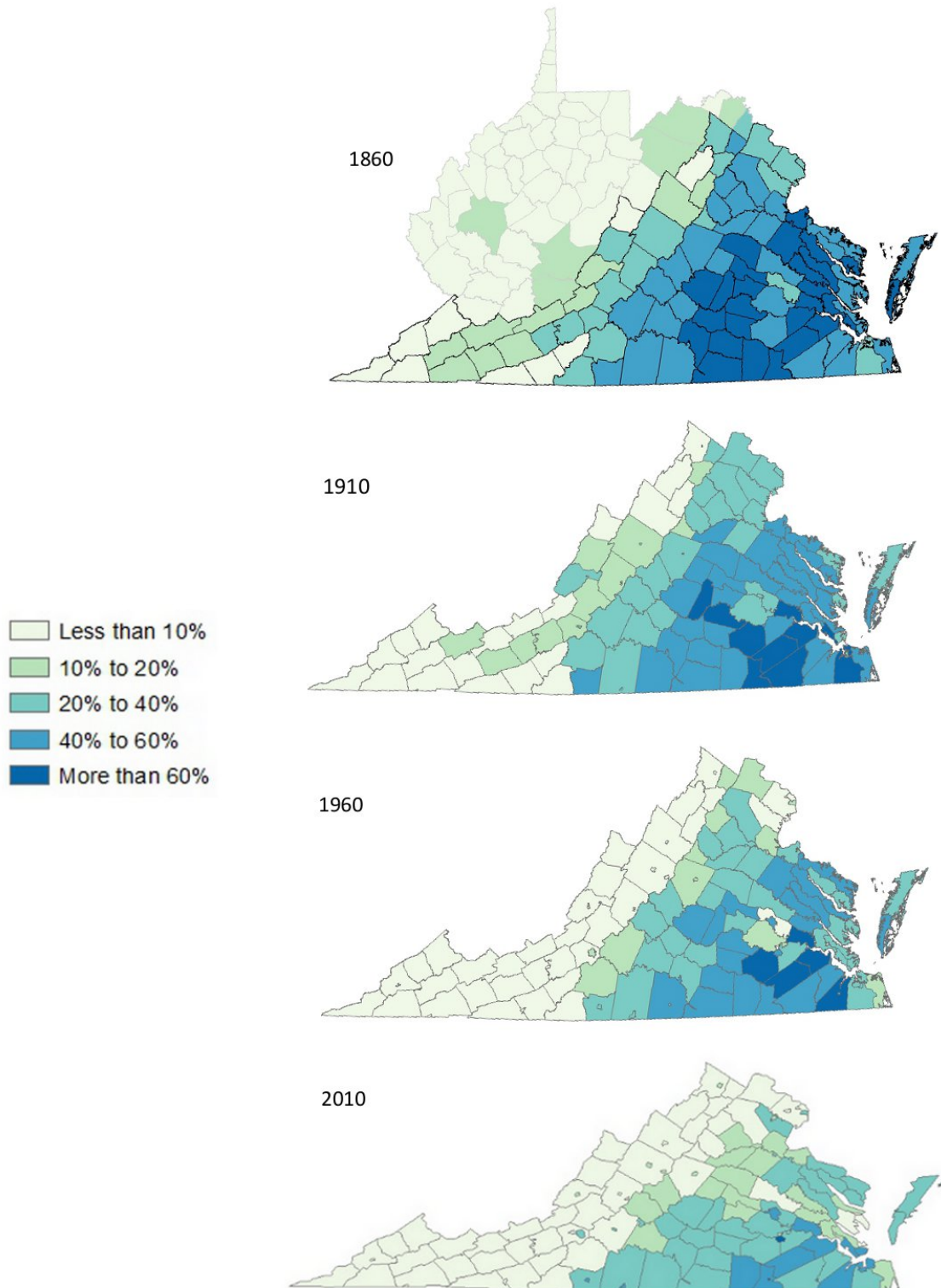
## A CONSISTENT GEOGRAPHIC DISTRIBUTION ACROSS VIRGINIA

The distribution of blacks throughout the Commonwealth is distinctly uneven, with larger populations in the southeastern part of the state and very small populations in the western region. The maps in Figure 2 show the percentage of the population that was black in each locality at four key points in Virginia’s history: 1860, before the Civil War; 1910, during the early Jim Crow Era; 1960, during the Civil Rights Movement; and 2010, the present. The broad contours of the geographical distribution of blacks have persisted over time.

In 1860, blacks – primarily slaves – were concentrated in the Tidewater and southern Piedmont regions dominated by tobacco and plantation agriculture. In contrast, regions west of the Blue Ridge Mountains had the lowest concentration of blacks (as remains the case today). Indeed, the absence of slaves in the westernmost counties of 1860 Virginia (outlined in light gray) was central to the creation of pro-Unionist West Virginia in 1863.

By 1910, blacks represented more than 60% of the population in noticeably fewer areas. While the overall proportion of blacks in the state declined during this time, the essential pattern endured: blacks remained most heavily concentrated in the southeastern part of the state. The Tidewater region was home to several significant institutions in black history, including Hampton Institute, a flourishing black educational institution established after the Civil War (now Hampton University);<sup>3</sup> and Aberdeen Gardens, the first and only resettlement community for blacks in Virginia, built by and for blacks under the New Deal’s Resettlement Administration.<sup>4</sup> Within the central southeast region, only the populations of Henrico, Richmond City, and Chesterfield were less than 40 percent black.

By 1960, after the Great Migration, the percentage of blacks in the overall population continued to decline, as did the number of counties with significant concentrations of blacks. The maps show the geographical boundaries with high concentrations of blacks receding. Yet key urban centers belied the trend. The proportion of blacks grew in Richmond, while declining in surrounding counties. This increase, along with the U.S. Supreme Court’s ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), precipitated Richmond’s eight-year effort to expand its boundaries in an attempt to dilute the growing political power of blacks in the state’s Capitol.<sup>5</sup> By 2010, the concentration of blacks in the urban centers of Hampton Roads had grown as well.



**Figure 2 – Percent of Black Virginians by Locality, 1860 to 2010**

In 2010, blacks made up 50 percent or more of the residents in only eight Virginia localities, shown in Table 1. The City of Petersburg had the largest concentration of black Virginians, 79 percent; and,

though black Virginians constituted one-fifth of the population in the state overall, they made up less than 1 percent of the population in seven localities, mostly in the Southwest and Valley regions.

**Table 1 -Areas with High and Low Concentrations of Black Virginians, 2010**

More than 50% Black Residents		Less than 1% Black Residents	
Petersburg City	79%	Craig County	0.1%
Emporia City	63%	Highland County	0.3%
Greensville County	60%	Dickenson County	0.3%
Sussex County	58%	Scott County	0.6%
Brunswick County	57%	Carroll County	0.6%
Franklin City	57%	Poquoson City	0.6%
Portsmouth City	53%	Russell County	0.8%
Richmond City	51%		

As evident in the maps of Figure 2, the geographic distribution of blacks throughout the state today follows from historical patterns. Areas where blacks were concentrated during Virginia's slaveholding era continue to have large concentrations of black residents, while regions where slaveholding was less common contain only a small percent of blacks in 2010.

Examining recent geographic changes, from 1970 to present, reveals additional changes:

- While the overall percent of black Virginians remained constant from 1970 to 2010, in more than 60% of localities the percent of black residents declined across these 40 years.
- Localities with larger populations were more likely to see increases in the proportion of blacks. In all but two of fifteen localities with 2010 populations of 100,000 or more, the proportion of blacks increased in this period, usually by 5 percent or more. (The two exceptions are Loudon and Spotsylvania counties, Virginia's two fastest-growing counties.)

### **STALLED REDUCTIONS IN RESIDENTIAL SEGREGATION**

Within a locality, residential segregation (the concentration of racial groups in different neighborhoods) impacts the social and economic environments blacks and whites face. For example, because public elementary schools are organized primarily by neighborhoods, residential segregation shapes school segregation.<sup>6</sup> As black Virginians are more likely than white Virginians to be poor, residential segregation by race also tends to concentrate poverty. As a result, highly segregated minority schools have more children in poverty, more students entering school unprepared, less experienced teachers, lower test scores, and generally fewer resources.<sup>7</sup> In short, the more segregated the neighborhoods and their schools, the more unequal the quality of education available to black and white students.<sup>8</sup>

Beyond the impact on education, residential segregation impacts access to employment, as low-skilled but well-paying jobs move out of the urban centers where blacks are concentrated.<sup>9</sup> Further, blacks in

segregated neighborhoods are removed from information flows and social networks that could inform them of the employment opportunities often filled through word-of-mouth.<sup>10</sup> As Massey and Denton amply demonstrated in *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*,<sup>11</sup> blacks who live in very segregated places have a different lived experience than blacks who live in integrated neighborhoods: exposure to greater poverty, increased joblessness, less educational success, and poorer health outcomes.<sup>12</sup>

Residential racial segregation has multiple causes.

- Custom, economics, and intimidation produced marked segregation after the Civil War, reinforced by local ordinances dividing cities into black and white areas.<sup>13</sup>
- Federal policy actively contributed to these practices when the Federal Housing Administration (established in 1934) adopted the practice of “red-lining” or channeling mortgage funds away from black neighborhoods.<sup>14</sup>
- Private discrimination is at play when homebuyers are steered into racially similar neighborhoods.<sup>15</sup>
- Credit markets may depress black homeownership when mortgage applications of black qualified homebuyers are rejected at higher rates.<sup>16,17</sup>

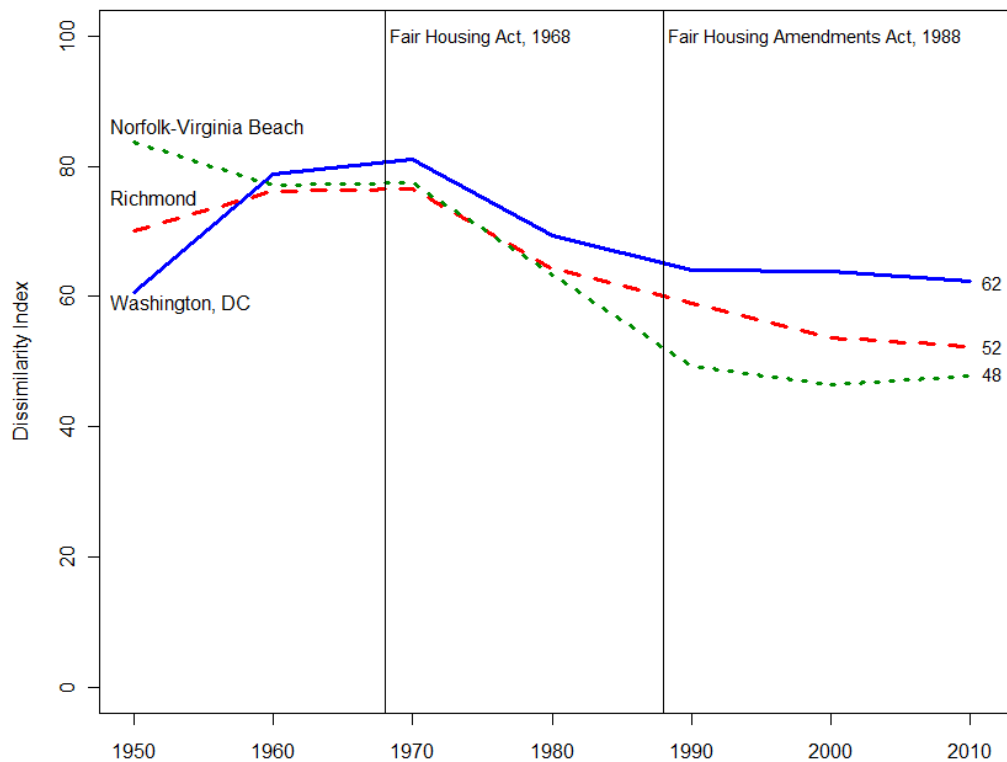
The dissimilarity index is the most common way of measuring residential segregation between blacks and whites. This measure captures how evenly blacks and whites are distributed throughout neighborhoods within an area.<sup>18</sup> A dissimilarity value of 0 means that blacks and whites are found in every neighborhood in proportions equal to their overall proportion in the locality, while a dissimilarity value of 100 means that blacks and whites live in completely separate neighborhoods, with blacks living in all-black areas and whites living in all-white areas. A dissimilarity value of 50 means that half of the blacks (or half of the whites) in a locality would need to move to another neighborhood to produce a proportional distribution.

Traditionally, residential segregation has been starkest in metropolitan areas. Virginia’s largest metropolitan areas – those with populations over 1 million – encompass more than three-quarters of Virginia’s blacks. In 2010:

- The dissimilarity index for the Washington-Arlington-Alexandria metro area was 62.
- In the Richmond metro area, the dissimilarity value was 52.
- In the Virginia Beach-Norfolk-Newport News metro area, the dissimilarity value was 48.

These dissimilarity index scores represent moderate improvements since the peak of residential segregation in the 1970s.<sup>19</sup> Figure 3 plots the dissimilarity index measuring black and white residential segregation since 1950 and shows that, after passage of the Fair Housing Act of 1968 (which prohibited discrimination in the sale, rental, and financing of housing), neighborhood racial segregation in all of Virginia’s largest metropolitan areas declined, most notably in the Virginia Beach metro area, which had

previously experienced the greatest segregation. While still high, Virginia's metro areas are near 55, the average measure of residential segregation across the 100 largest U.S. metropolitan areas.<sup>20</sup>

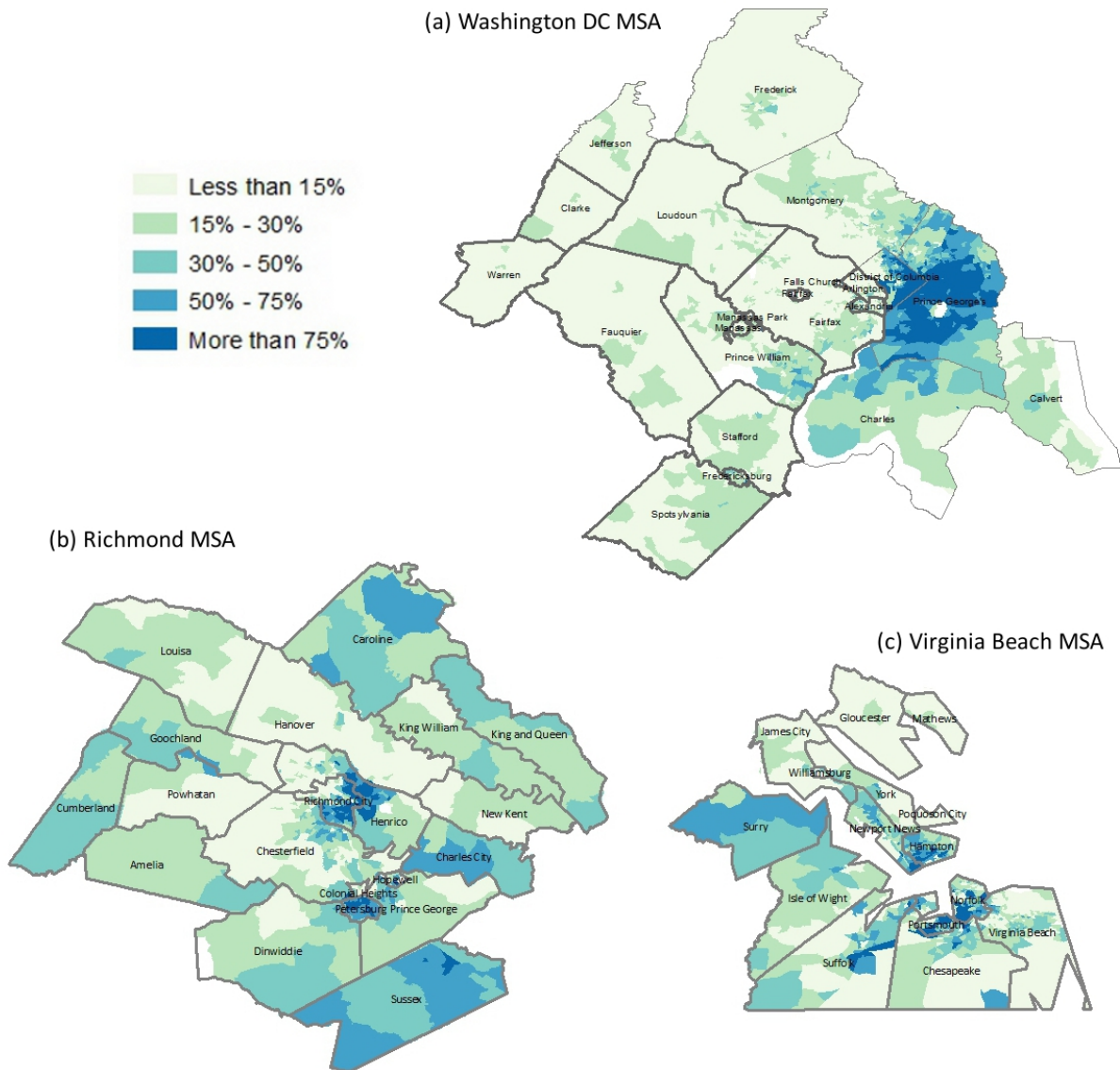


**Figure 3 – Change in Virginia's Metropolitan Residential Segregation**

To visualize current residential racial segregation and integration patterns, Figure 4 shows the distribution of black Virginians across neighborhoods in 2010<sup>21</sup> within these three large metro areas.

- In the Washington D.C. metro area, most of the Virginia block groups (outlined in black) have relatively low concentrations of blacks. Instead, black residents are concentrated in the eastern corner of Washington D.C. and Prince George's County in Maryland.
- In both the Richmond and Virginia Beach metro areas, multiple neighborhoods in the urban core are more than 75 percent black. In contrast, areas surrounding the urban core are less than 30% black while on the periphery of each metro area, a few neighborhoods are majority black.

Across Virginia's three metro areas, residential racial segregation endures at moderate to high levels, and the pattern of segregation noted by scholars at the height of segregation – largely black urban centers surrounded by largely white suburbs – persists.

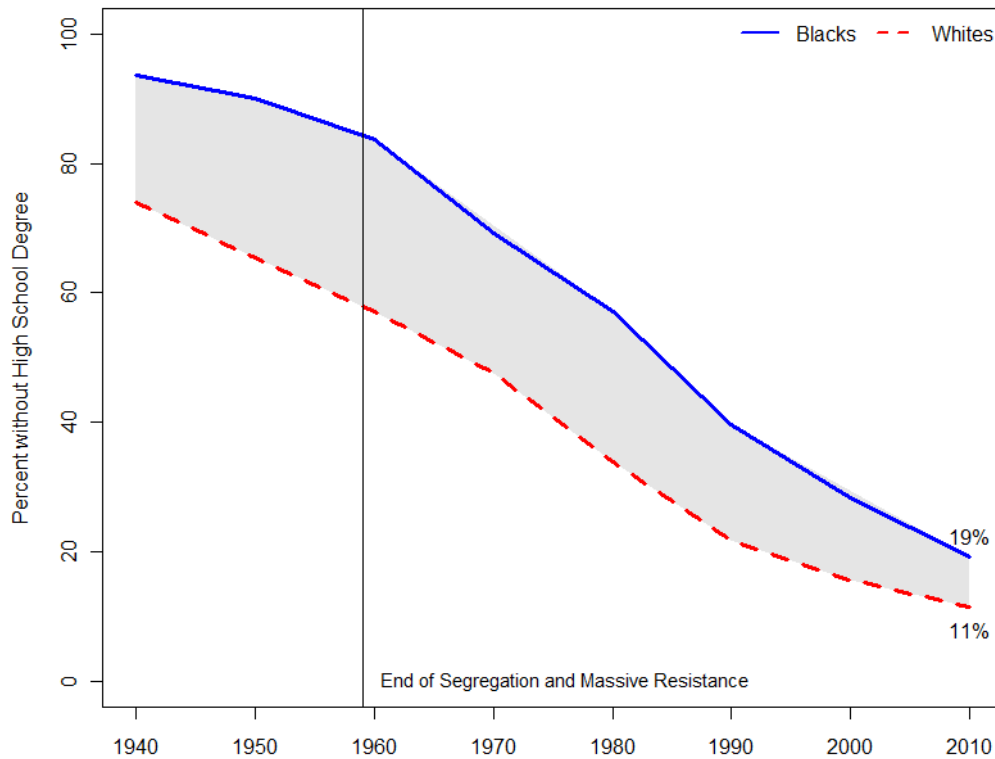


**Figure 4 – Concentration of Blacks by Neighborhood in (a) Washington DC MSA, (b) Richmond MSA, and (c) Virginia Beach MSA**

### INCREASES IN EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

Education has been, and remains, an important means of promoting equality, and the black community's fight for equal access to education has a long history. In the wake of the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling that mandated desegregation of public schools, Virginia originated massive resistance efforts. Led by Senator and former Governor Harry Byrd, Virginia enacted laws to prevent desegregation in the state, primarily by closing any school facing a desegregation order. The Virginia Supreme Court of Appeals and the United States District Court overturned massive resistance efforts in January 1959.<sup>22</sup>

Finishing high school became an established norm for both black and white Virginians only after World War II, and the proportion of uneducated Virginians (age 25 or more), black or white, declined steadily since that time as depicted in Figure 5.<sup>23</sup>



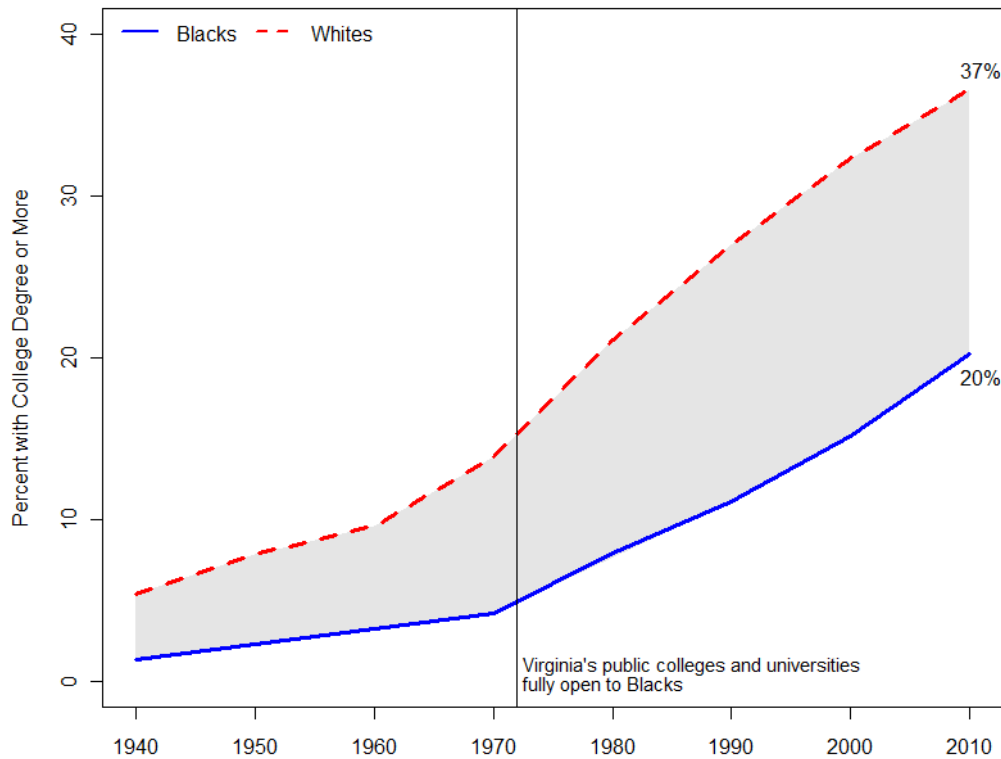
**Figure 5 – Proportion age 25 or over without a High School Degree**

The percent of whites without a high school degree dropped steadily over the decades as younger generations – more likely to have finished high school – replaced older generations for whom high school graduation was less common. The percent of blacks without a high school degree also declined, but with a particularly sharp drop between 1960 and 1970 (15 percent): notably, a decade after Virginia’s acquiescence to the Supreme Court’s desegregation ruling. By 2010, though blacks were still more likely than whites to lack a high school diploma, the racial gap had narrowed to only 8 percent, the smallest gap to date. On this measure, blacks have made enormous gains in education.<sup>24</sup>

Nevertheless, blacks in Virginia remain far less likely than whites to obtain a college degree (Figure 6). Blacks were not permitted full access to all of Virginia’s public institutions of higher education until 1972.<sup>25</sup> This makes the steady rise in the proportion of college-educated blacks in Virginia, evident after 1970, all the more remarkable. Yet the increase in the percent of white Virginians with a college degree has outpaced the increase for blacks, so that the racial gap in college attainment has grown.



By 2010, 37 percent of whites age 25 or more had a college degree compared to 20 percent of blacks (a gap of 17 percent). In 1970, before Virginia's public colleges and universities were fully open to blacks, the gap was 10 percent.<sup>26</sup>



**Figure 6 - Proportion age 25 or over with Bachelor's Degree or More**

Census data further show that black women have outpaced black men in the attainment of a college degree by a small margin. In 2010, 22 percent of adult black women had a college degree compared to 18 percent of adult black men. Among whites, where men have historically earned more college degrees than women, the gender difference had disappeared by 2010: 36 percent of adult white women possessed a college degree compared to 37 percent of adult white men.

### CONTINUED DISPARITIES IN ECONOMIC WELL-BEING

Education serves as a key engine of social mobility in the United States, and the importance of education in the increasingly competitive labor market has only grown over time. While black and white Virginians participate in the labor force at similar rates (66.3 percent and 68.3 percent, respectively, in 2011<sup>27</sup>), blacks have been hit with much higher levels of unemployment.

In 2011, the annual unemployment rate among whites was 5.3% compared to 11.3% among blacks. Generally, economic recessions hit the most vulnerable workers the hardest; and, in the 2008 recession,

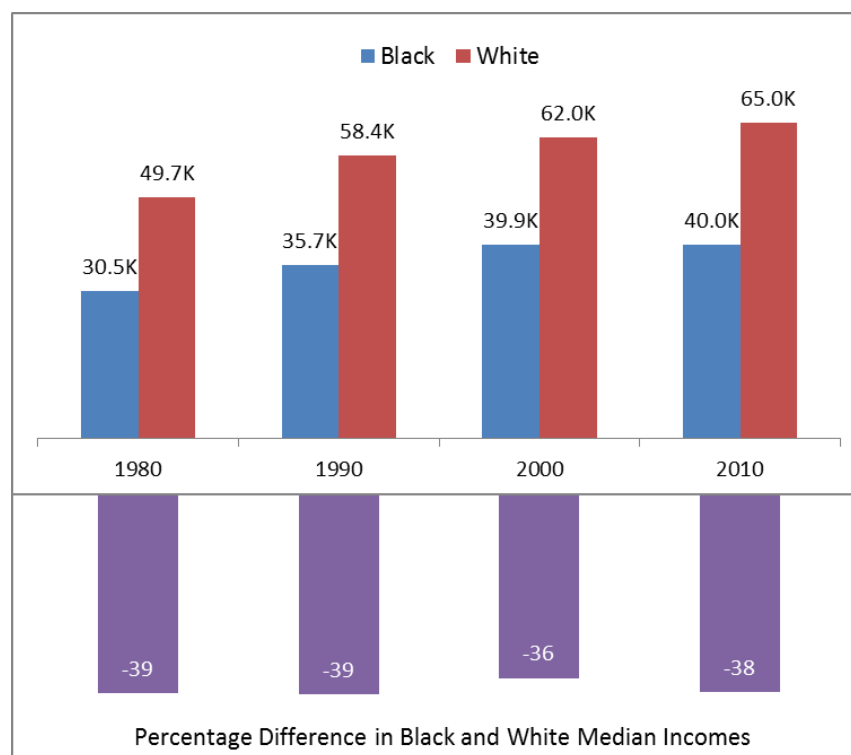
those without a college degree suffered a disproportionate share of the pain. For instance, in the 2010 American Community Survey, 16.1% of those without a high school degree reported being unemployed, compared to 10.2% of those with only a high school degree, and 3.6% of those with a Bachelor's degree or more.

Yet, even among blacks and whites with the same level of education, the unemployment rate among black Virginians is higher.

- 15.2% of whites and 21.9% of blacks with a high school degree reported being unemployed in the 2010 ACS.
- Among those with a high school degree, 8.5% of whites and 15.4% of blacks were unemployed.
- Even with a college degree, blacks were somewhat more likely than whites to report being unemployed: 5.4% versus 3.2%.

Education, alone, cannot account for unemployment differences among blacks and whites.

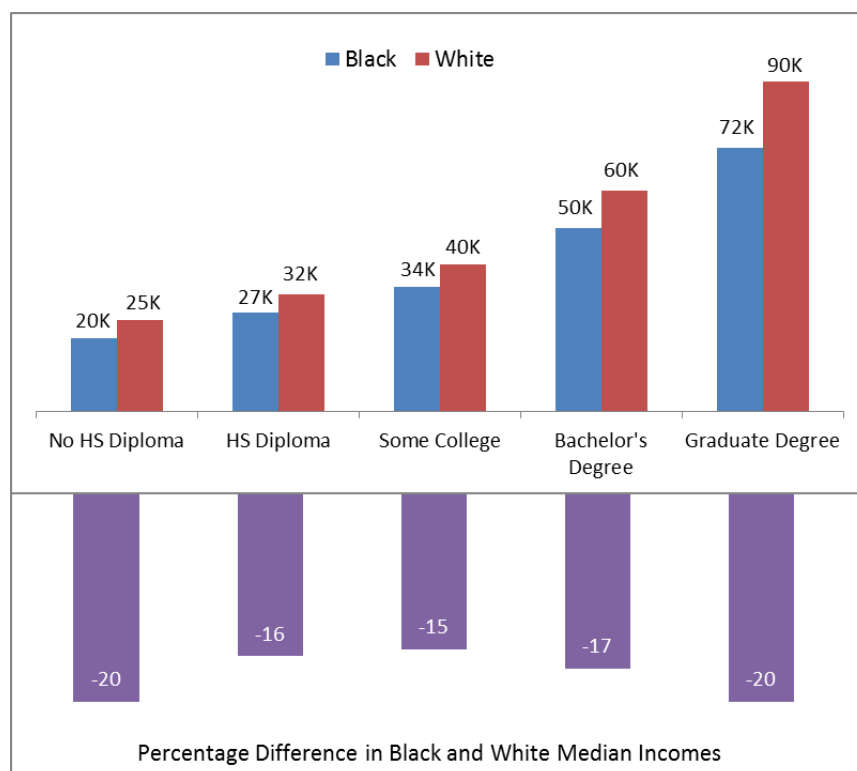
Overall, black Virginians earn less than whites. The 2010 median income for households headed by blacks in Virginia was \$40,000 compared to \$65,000 for Virginia households headed by whites.<sup>28</sup> As Figure 7 reveals, this gap has been consistent over the last several decades.<sup>29</sup> Though incomes have risen for both black and white households, blacks have seen little relative gain. In 1980 and 1990, the median black household income was 39 percent less than the median white household income. The gap shrank to 36 percent in 2000, but this modest gain was short-lived.



**Figure 7 – Median Household Income of Black and White Virginians, 1980-2010**

Lower educational attainment and higher unemployment rates among blacks account for some of these income differences, but these factors do not account for all of the disparity. A look at individual income (rather than household income) reveals that for any given level of education, full-time working blacks earn less than whites. Figure 8 shows the median income of black and white Virginians, working 30 or more hours a week, across educational status.

- Across each level of educational attainment, blacks have a lower median income than whites. For instance, the median income of full-time working black Virginians with a Bachelor's degree is \$50,000, 17 percent less than the \$60,000 median income of full-time working white Virginians with a Bachelor's degree.
- Compared to the median income of whites, the inequities in the median income of blacks are starkest among the least educated, those lacking a high school degree, and the most educated, those with graduate degrees.



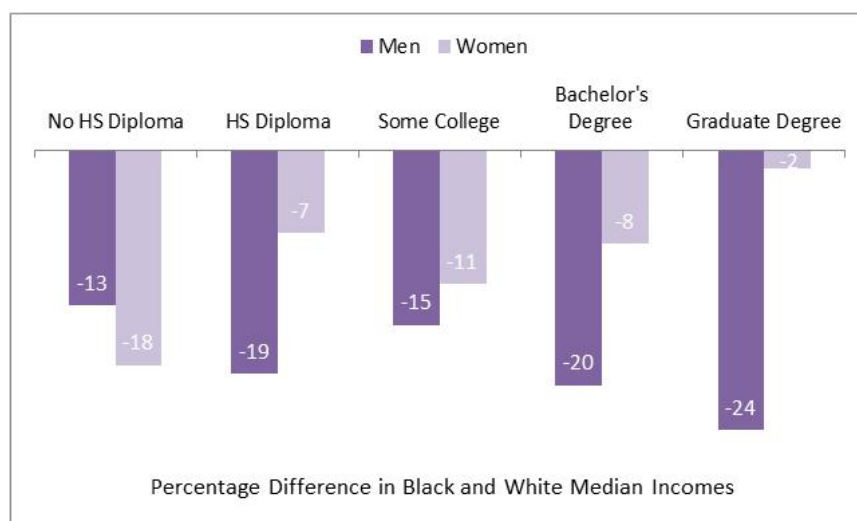
**Figure 8 – Median Individual Income of Black and White Virginians by Education, 2010**

The black-white income gap in Figure 8 masks contrasting patterns among men and women (Figure 9).

- For men, the black-white income gap is smallest among the least educated, those without a high school degree, and largest among the most educated, those with a graduate degree.

- For women, the income gap between blacks and whites is largest among the least educated, declines with increasing educational attainment, and essentially disappears among black and white women with graduate degrees.

Among men, the racial differences in income are generally larger than for women, and increasing education does not increase income parity between blacks and whites. Among women, education reduces income differences.



**Figure 9 – Black-White Gap in Individual Income by Education and Gender, 2010**

Given how important education is in shaping economic outcomes, the presence of such notable differences – even when educational attainment and hours worked are held constant – is troublesome.<sup>30</sup> While black Virginians acquire less education, on average, than do whites, equal educational attainment does not yield equivalent economic outcomes.<sup>31</sup>

Income is only one measure of economic well-being. Across multiple measures, black Virginians are more likely to be economically disadvantaged. For example:

- Black householders in Virginia are more likely to rent their homes (51 percent) than are white householders (27 percent). As home ownership is a key component of wealth accumulation, the differential home ownership rates of blacks and whites exacerbate the gap in income to produce more dramatic differences in overall assets.<sup>32</sup>
- The poverty rate among blacks was more than twice that of whites in Virginia in 2010: 20 percent among blacks compared to 9 percent among whites.<sup>33</sup> Twenty-nine percent of black children lived in poverty in Virginia in 2010.

While blacks have achieved absolute gains in income, the relative disparity in economic well-being between blacks and whites remains.

## SUMMARY

Over the past thirty years, blacks in Virginia have achieved significant gains in educational attainment and income, despite patterns of persistent divergence between black and white Virginians – patterns with deep and wide roots in Virginia history. The divergences – in place, in educational outcomes, in economic well-being – between Virginia’s largest minority group and the majority are reflected in these patterns:

- Black Virginians continue to be concentrated in the southern and eastern portions of the state, a pattern established during Virginia’s pre-Civil War history.
- Rates of residential racial segregation in Virginia’s large metropolitan areas remain high, with little change in the last two decades.
- Despite gains in education, blacks still lag far behind the educational attainment of whites.
- The household income of blacks continues to trail significantly behind that of whites, despite absolute gains; and a significant differential income is found even among blacks and whites with the same level of education and number of hours worked.
- On additional metrics of economic well-being – unemployment, home ownership, and poverty – black Virginians remain consistently worse off than white Virginians.

Because these differences are, in part, a reflection of long-standing structural inequalities – in housing markets, access to education, employment opportunities, and government policies – they are stubbornly resistant to change; and the impact of continuing discrimination cannot be discounted. At the same time, black Virginians’ achievements of steady absolute increases in earned degrees, income, and residential integration serve as countervailing forces and a foundation for future progress.

---

<sup>1</sup> "Letter from John Rolfe to Sir Edwin Sandys, January 1619/1620." Library of Congress, American Memory Project, Thomas Jefferson Papers Series 8: Virginia Records Manuscripts, 1606-1737, Records of the Virginia Company, Volume III. Retrieved from

<http://lcweb2.loc.gov/cgi-bin/ampage?collId=mtj8&fileName=mtj8pagevc03.db&recNum=266>

<sup>2</sup> This period coincided with an active period of legislation hostile to blacks in Virginia. In 1924, Virginia passed The Racial Integrity Act, expanding the scope of Virginia's ban on interracial marriage by adopting the "one-drop rule" to define race. Virginians with any non-white ancestry were defined as non-white. While far from the first state to use the "one-drop rule," Virginia exercised the most rigid enforcement. In 1926, Virginia passed the Public Assemblages Act, the first of its kind in the nation, mandating separation of blacks and whites in all public places. But in 1928, in response to an increase in mob violence targeted at blacks in Virginia, the state passed the first Anti-Lynching Bill that directly defined lynching as a state crime. For a fuller history of this period, see J. Douglas Smith. 2002. *Managing White Supremacy: Race, Politics, and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia*. The University of North Carolina Press

<sup>3</sup> Smith, *Managing White Supremacy*, Chapter 4.

<sup>4</sup> Loth, Calder (ed). 2000. *The Virginia Landmarks Register*, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition. The University Press of Virginia.

<sup>5</sup> Moeser, John V. and Rutledge M. Dennis. 1982. *The Politics of Annexation: Oligarchic Power in a Southern City*. Schenkman Publishing Co.

<sup>6</sup> The dissimilarity indices measuring residential segregation and elementary school segregation across Virginia's localities are highly correlated, at 0.47. Excluding school divisions with only one elementary school or no black students, as these cannot produce racial segregation in elementary school, the correlation increases to 0.61.

<sup>7</sup> Orfield, Gary and Chungmei Lee. 2005. "Why Segregation Matters: Poverty and Educational Inequality." The Civil Rights Project, Harvard University.

<sup>8</sup> Rivkin, Steven G. 1994. "Residential Segregation and School Integration." *Sociology of Education* 67: 279-292.

<sup>9</sup> VonLockette, Niki Dickerson. 2010. "The Impact of Metropolitan Residential Segregation on the Employment Chances of Blacks and Whites in the United States." *City & Community* 3: 256-273.

<sup>10</sup> Wilson, William Julius. 1996. *When Work Disappears*. Alfred A. Knopf, Inc.

<sup>11</sup> Massey, Douglas S. and Nancy A. Denton. 1993. *American Apartheid: Segregation and the Making of the Underclass*. Harvard University Press.

<sup>12</sup> See also: Charles, Camille Zubrinsky. 2003. "The Dynamics of Racial Residential Segregation." *Annual Review of Sociology* 29: 167-207; Ananat, Elizabeth Otlmans. 2011. "The Wrong Side(s) of the Tracks: The Causal Effects of Racial Segregation on Urban Poverty and Inequality." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 3: 34-66.

<sup>13</sup> In 1911, Richmond became the second city to enact a residential segregation ordinance, followed quickly by Norfolk, Ashland, Roanoke, and Portsmouth. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled these unconstitutional in 1917. Still, some cities tried to enforce modified segregation ordinances for the next decade. Norfolk's 1925 ordinance denied blacks the right of occupancy, but not the right to own houses, in white neighborhoods. Richmond's 1929 ordinance avoided making an explicit reference to race by prohibiting people already banned from intermarrying by Virginia law (people of different races) from living next door to one another. Both ordinances were struck down by courts within a year. See Smith, *Managing White Supremacy*.

<sup>14</sup> Jackson, Kenneth T. 1985. *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*. Oxford University Press. The discriminatory implementation of the GI bill, which systematically excluded blacks from its guaranteed mortgage program, also contributed to the reduced housing options for Blacks. See Ira Katznelson. 2005. *When Affirmative Action Was White*. W.W. Norton & Company.

---

<sup>15</sup> Turner, Margery Austin, Stephen L. Ross, George C. Gaister, and John Yinger. 2002. *Discrimination in Metropolitan Housing Markets: National Results from Phase 1 HDS 2000*. Washington, DC: Urban Institute and Department of Housing and Urban Development. Retrieved from [http://www.huduser.org/portal/Publications/pdf/Phase1\\_Report.pdf](http://www.huduser.org/portal/Publications/pdf/Phase1_Report.pdf)

<sup>16</sup> Munnell, Alicia H., GMB Tootell, LE Browne, J McEneaney. 1996. "Mortgage Lending in Boston: Interpreting HMDA Data." *American Economics Review* 86: 25-53.

<sup>17</sup> For a fuller description of the causes of residential segregation, see Michael B. de Leeuw, Megan K. Whyte, Dale Ho, Catherine Meza, and Alexis Karteron. 2008. "The Current State of Residential Segregation and Housing Discrimination." *Michigan Journal of Race & Law* 13: 337-390.

<sup>18</sup> Neighborhoods are defined here by census tracts. Census tracts are subdivisions of a county that cover a contiguous area, typically containing between 1,500 and 8,000 people, with an average of about 4,000 people.

<sup>19</sup> Historical segregation data from Cutler, David, Edward Glaeser and Jacob Vigdor. 1999. "The Rise and Decline of the American Ghetto." *Journal of Political Economy* 107: 455-506.

<sup>20</sup> Frey, William H. August 2011. "The New Metro Minority Map," *State of Metropolitan America*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution. Among the 100 largest metro areas, Washington DC ranked as the 32nd most segregated; Richmond and Virginia Beach ranked 63rd and 76<sup>th</sup>.

<sup>21</sup> Here, neighborhoods are defined by block groups. Block groups are divisions of census tracts, designed to contain between 300 and 3,000 people. The Washington-Arlington-Alexandria metro area includes parts of Washington, DC and Maryland as well.

<sup>22</sup> Though the courts ruled against massive resistance strategies in January 1959, Prince Edward County closed its public schools to resist desegregation until 1964, when the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling in *Griffin v. School Board of Prince Edward County* forced the schools to reopen. The pace of desegregation in Virginia did not increase appreciably until 1968 when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Charles C. Green et al. v. County School Board of New Kent County, Virginia* that the burden of integration is on school boards, not on African American students and families. For a more complete history, see Daugherty, Brian J. and Charles C. Bolton. 2008. *With All Deliberate Speed: Implementing Brown v. Board of Education*. University of Arkansas Press.

<sup>23</sup> Historical educational attainment data from the detailed tables of the census report's "A Half-Century of Learning: Historical Census Statistics on Educational Attainment in the United States, 1940-2000." Retrieved from <http://www.census.gov/hhes/socdemo/education/data/census/half-century/tables.html>

<sup>24</sup> To better isolate the effect of Virginia's history of denying blacks equal access to public education, additional analysis looked at the pattern of educational attainment among Virginian-born whites and blacks using data from the 1% and 5% Census samples available through IPUMS (Steven Ruggles, J. Trent Alexander, Katie Genadek, Ronald Goeken, Matthew B. Schroeder, and Matthew Sobek. 2000. *Integrated Public Use Microdata Series: Version 5.0* [Machine-readable database]. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota.). The pattern in the percent of each population without a high school diploma is nearly identical, though native-born Virginians have higher rates of non-completion overall.

<sup>25</sup> Wallenstein, Peter (ed). 2008. *Higher Education and the Civil Rights Movement: White Supremacy, Black Southerners, and College Campuses*. University Press of Florida. Black students had enrolled at Virginia's public colleges and universities prior to this, starting with graduate programs. In 1950, the University of Virginia's law school admitted a black student. In 1953, Virginia Polytechnic Institute enrolled the first black undergraduate student into its engineering program. But these students were only admitted into programs, like law and engineering, that had no counterpart at a black institution. Some institutions allowed full access to blacks prior to 1972, but full access was not universal until that year.

<sup>26</sup> People migrating into Virginia tend to be more highly educated, on average, than native-born Virginians. To be sure the increase in college-attainment among blacks was not simply a function of more educated blacks migrating to Virginia, the same trend was examined among native-born Virginians. While a smaller percent of native-born

---

Virginians have college degrees (23 percent of whites and 13 percent of blacks in 2010), the trends over time and the growing racial gap are mirrored among this subset of Virginians as well. This analysis relied on the 1% and 5% Census samples, as well as the 2010 American Community Survey data, available through IPUMS.

<sup>27</sup> Bureau of Labor Statistics. "Preliminary 2011 Data on Employment Status by State and Demographic Group." Retrieved from <http://www.bls.gov/lau/ptable14full2011.pdf>

<sup>28</sup> The median represents the middle amount; half of the individuals in the reference population make more than this and half make less.

<sup>29</sup> The median household incomes are represented in 2010 inflation-adjusted values.

<sup>30</sup> The results hold, as well, in a regression model controlling for gender, age, marital status, presence of children, and single parenthood along with hours worked, educational attainment and race.

<sup>31</sup> The same pattern is seen nationally. See Carnevale, Anthony P., Stephen J. Rose, and Ban Cheah. "The College Payoff: Education, Occupations, Lifetime Earnings." The Georgetown University Center on Education and the Workforce.

<sup>32</sup> Oliver, Melvin L. and Thomas M. Shapiro. 1997. *Black Wealth, White Wealth: A New Perspective on Racial Inequality*. Routledge.

<sup>33</sup> For additional information on poverty in Virginia, see: Cable, Dustin A. and Rebecca M. Tippett. February 2012. "Poverty and the Social Safety Net: Part I: Who Are Virginia's Poor?" *Numbers Count*. Charlottesville, VA: Weldon Cooper Center for Public Service.