New Jersey's Segregated Schools
Trends and Paths Forward

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Foreword

This is the second report by the Civil Rights Project on school segregation in New Jersey. The first, ***A Status Quo of Segregation: Racial and Economic Imbalance in New Jersey Schools, 1989-2010***, explored the patterns from l989-2010. That report goes extensively into the history, legal, and policy issues as well as much greater detail on the metros, cities and school districts.
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After that report was widely discussed in the state, concerned New Jerseyans asked for an update and an expansion of the issues we discussed. This second report, funded by a small grant from the Educational Testing Service in Princeton, is our response. We have updated the original report with data from 2010 to 2015 and expanded the analysis to additional issues including preschool segregation and the situation of English language learners amid the schools doubly segregated by race and poverty. We have studied another five years of racial change trends and looked at the racial patterns of private and charter schools, which need deeper examination in an era with leaders advocating alternatives to public schools.

This report shows that New Jersey has moved another substantial step toward a segregated future with no racial majority but severe racial stratification and division. The resulting harms affect a continually growing sector of the population and mean that schools are not serving their historical function of bringing newcomers and excluded groups into the mainstream of the society. We undertook this reexamination because we were encouraged by the response to the first report and because we believe that New Jersey has the talent and the institutions that could help the state turn in a much more positive direction. The best way to move forward is through leadership and voluntary action, informed by critical analysis. Even a modest turn away from ignoring the challenges can begin to move toward a better path. The risks to the future of the state are severe since the schools are the only major institution with the capacity to prepare the people for a different future and better relationships in a highly polarized society damaged by deep racial divisions and harmful stereotypes. The passage of time is only makeing the challenges more severe. Little has been accomplished in the years since the first report, It is time to act.

Gary Orfield, Los Angeles, September 2017

Introduction

New Jersey is an extraordinarily diverse state with dense and troubled central cities, elite suburbs, and beautiful rural areas and shores. Within minutes one can travel from a decrepit urban area to a top Ivy League university. Though it was long known primarily as a rich suburban state with troubled cities, it is now a state in flux where the rising generation will be the first without a racial majority. Though it has considerably lower shares of African Americans and Latinos[1] than many other states, it ranks sixth among the states in terms of the highest segregation of black students and seventh in segregation of Latinos.[2] Although the state has invested billions in trying to equalize school funding under a remarkable series of orders from the NJ Supreme Court, profound racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic gaps remain in educational outcomes. School segregation in NJ is not only by race, but it is double segregation by race and poverty with black and Latino students in schools with far poorer classmates—conditions research shows to be linked to educational inequality. There have been no significant efforts to change these patterns. Because the commitment of the courts has been to create schools that are more equitable solely in terms of dollars and programs, segregation has gone unchecked. Without any statewide effort to integrate schools, segregation has surged as the racial transition of spaces across NJ continues.

The basic story of New Jersey's population and enrollment changes is one of replacement of a severely declining share of white enrollment with an expanding population of Latino students and consistent share of black students. Additionally, the Asian population has grown rapidly and become a significant presence in the state's schools.

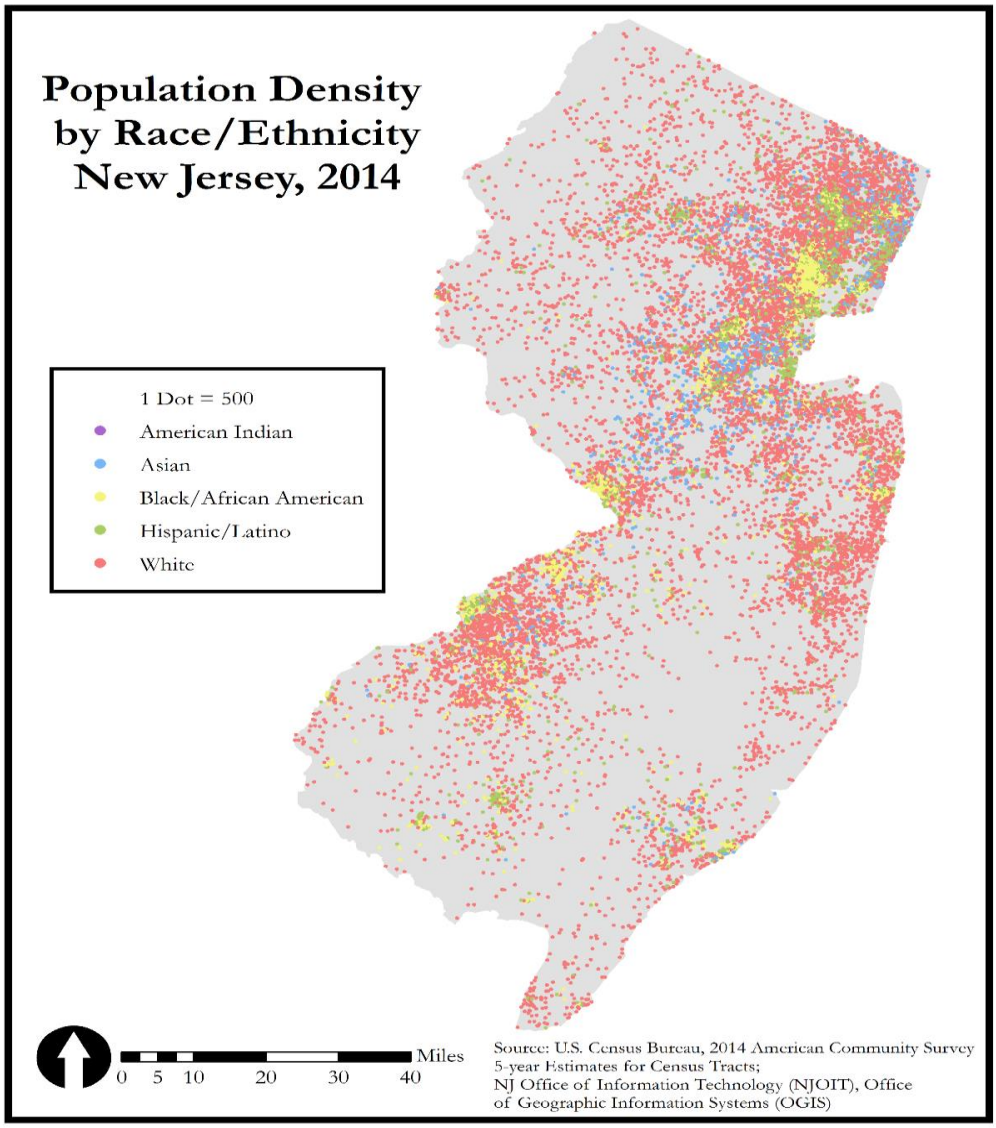
New Jersey, like most of the states in the Northeast has extremely decentralized school districts often dating back to the horse-and-buggy era with 585 operating school districts plus 88 charter schools in the 2015-16 school year.[3] The fragmentation of districts within metro areas and the serious residential segregation mean that segregation is mostly between districts not within districts. It has the eleventh largest school enrollment among the states. The biggest school district is Newark, and several of the largest systems serve very low-income populations of primarily black and Hispanic students. Some districts have been judged so inadequate that the state has taken control away from local officials and voters for long periods of time.

New Jersey has a highly populated central corridor running from New York to Pennsylvania and passing through a series of high poverty, heavily black and Hispanic central cities. These urban areas are surrounded by a combination of poor suburban municipalities as well as some very upscale suburban settings. In spite of the urbanized character of a substantial share of the population, there are also large areas of far less density away from the New Jersey Turnpike. These spaces are highly suburban or rural with largely white populations. The serious segregation of the schools spills across the state. While black and Hispanic students tend to be

[1] Throughout the report we use the terms "black" and "African American", and "Latino" and "Hispanic" interchangeably as these terms are used inconsistently in the literature and in various data sets.
[2] The measure of segregation used is black and Hispanic students' contact with white students. UCLA Civil Rights Project will release a national report with the latest NCES Common Core of Data on school segregation–Brown at 63 Report (working title)–in Fall 2017.
[3] http://www.nj.gov/education/data/fact.htm

segregated in the more urban areas of NJ, the white and Asian populations have isolated themselves in many of the suburban and rural areas across the state. It is important for the reader to recognize that there is profound diversity within the state and that the most severe segregation problems we are describing are concentrated in a few areas. Most of the segregation that could be addressed effectively by policies supporting diversity in neighborhoods and schools is limited by boundaries separating cities, racially changing suburbs and more affluent white suburbs.

Figure 1: Population Density by Race and Ethnicity, New Jersey, 2014

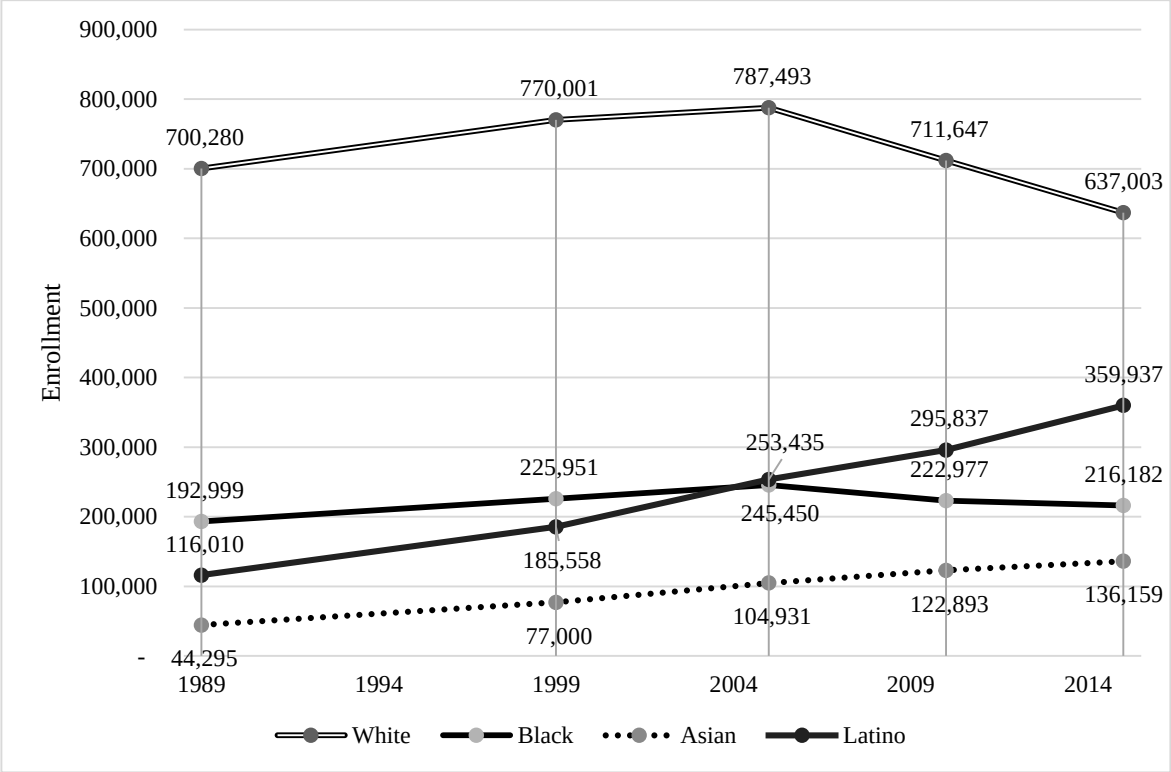


Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2014 American Community Survey 5-year Estimates for Census Tracts; NJ Office of Information Technology (NJOIT), Office of Geographic Information System (OGIS).

Demographic Changes in New Jersey

New Jersey, much like its neighboring states and the nation as a whole, has experienced a huge transformation of its population. During the Civil Rights era, the country was overwhelmingly white and approximately one-tenth black, with a very small percentage of other racial and ethnic groups. The focus of civil rights activists was to integrate the minority black population into white society, which controlled all major institutions and practiced overt discrimination.

Figure 2: Declining White and Rapidly Increasing Hispanic Enrollments



Sources: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data for School Year (SY) 1989 and 1999; State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2005, 2010, and 2015

Until a major federal immigration reform passed in l965, the country's immigrant population was at a very low point and had been largely limited to people from Western Europe. However, when immigration surged in subsequent decades it was the first largely nonwhite immigration in U.S. history, deeply affecting the society. This wave of immigration also benefitted the U.S. by helped to slow aging and declining birthrates, both experienced by most of our peer nations in Europe and Asia. Latinos had long been important only in the Southwestern states and, New York, Chicago, and Miami regions. Only one-twentieth of the students were Latino but that share has since quintupled. Since it had been virtually impossible to immigrate from Asia to the U.S. until 1965, Asians were a virtually imperceptible minority, except in a handful of cities. Now the share of Asian students is about what the share of Latinos was a half century ago and the numbers have grown very rapidly. In fact, Asians are now the fastest growing ethnic group in the country, Thus school age students comprise a four-race population with a sharply declining

share of whites, a stable share of African Americans, and more than a fourth Latinos, while one in twenty students is Asian. All of this is visible in the New Jersey statistics.

Public School Trend

New Jersey's black student enrollment was relatively stable from 1989 to 2015, but the large increase in Asian and Hispanic enrollment has led to black students making up a declining proportion of the overall public school population (see Figure 2 and Table 1).
In 1989, the proportion of black students in NJ's public schools exceeded 18%, and it declined to less than 16% in 2015. Asian enrollment grew substantially during this period of time, rising from 4% to 10% of the overall student population. Similarly, Hispanic enrollment has increased from 11% to over 26% of the total student population. The American Indian population has remained steady at significantly less than 1%. While the number of white students attending public school in NJ increased between 1989 and 2004, it has steadily declined since. The proportion of public school students that is white has decreased from 66% in 1989 to 46% in 2015.

Table 1: Public School Enrollments by Race, l989 to 2015

		Percent (%)					
	Enrollment	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic	AI	Mixed
1989-1990	1,054,639	66.4	18.3	4.2	11.0	0.1	
1999-2000	1,262,297	61.0	17.9	6.1	14.7	0.2	
2005-2006	1,393,782	56.5	17.6	7.5	18.2	0.2	
2010-2011	1,364,470	52.2	16.3	9.0	21.7	0.1	0.7
2015-2016	1,372,755	46.4	15.7	9.9	26.2	0.1	1.6

Sources: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data for School Year (SY) 1989 and 1999; State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2005, 2010, and 2015
Note: AI=American Indian

Over the past 25 years, New Jersey public schools experienced growth followed by stagnation in student enrollment as well as radical changes in student racial composition (see Figure 2 and Table 1). From 1989 to 2004, the number of students in New Jersey public schools steadily increased, growing by 32%. During this 15-year period, overall white enrollment increased, but the white share declined by 10 percentage points from 66.4% to 56.5% as Hispanic and Asian enrollment grew far more rapidly. From 2005 to 2015, however, total enrollment decreased slightly. During this period, the white proportion fell by another 10 percentage points to 46% and the black proportion dropped slightly. These data show that there is no longer a racial subgroup that makes up a majority of the public school population in NJ. Along with declining birthrates of the white population and increases in the Asian and Hispanic populations, there has been a net white outmigration from the Northeastern states, including NJ.[4]

[4] State Migration Rates, Net Totals: 2011-2016, *Governing Magazine* www.governing.com/gov.../state-migration-rates-annual-net-migration-by-state.html, accessed, April 8, 2017

New Jersey, like the country as a whole, is now at a critical turning point. There is no longer a white majority in the public schools, and the demographic composition of the rest of society will soon match this trend. In order to ensure a prosperous future, the state must figure out how to develop the talents of all students and close the persistent achievement gaps between Asian and white students on one hand and black and Hispanic students on the other. One critically important strategy for improving educational outcomes for all students is to address the state's school segregation crisis. Many studies show that this would be an effective way to address achievement gaps.

Segregation tends to produce lower educational achievement and attainment—which in turn limits lifetime opportunities—for students who attend high poverty, high minority school settings. Additional findings on suspension and expulsion rates, dropout rates, success in college, test scores, and graduation rates underscore the negative impact of segregation.[5] Dropout rates are significantly higher in segregated and impoverished schools. Specifically, there are about 2,000 high schools in America where graduation is uncommon. Nearly all of the 2,000 "dropout factories" are doubly segregated by race and poverty,[6] and if students do graduate, research indicates that they are less likely to be successful in college, even after controlling for test scores.[7] Segregation, in short, has strong and lasting impacts on students' success in school and later life.

On the other hand, there is a mounting body of evidence indicating that desegregated schools are linked to profound benefits for all children. In terms of social outcomes, racially integrated educational contexts provide students of all races with the opportunity to learn and work with children from a range of backgrounds. These settings foster critical thinking skills that are increasingly important in our multiracial society—skills that help students understand a variety of different perspectives. Relatedly, integrated schools are linked to a reduction in students' willingness to accept stereotypes. Students attending integrated schools also report a heightened ability to communicate and make friends across racial lines.[8]

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[5] Schools and inequality: A multilevel analysis of Coleman's equality of educational opportunity data. Teachers College Record, 112(5), 1201-1246. 28; Rumberger, R. W., & Palardy, G. J. (2005). Does segregation still matter? The impact of student composition on academic achievement in high school. Teachers College Record, 107(9), 1999-2045; Migration background, minority-group membership and academic achievement research evidence from social, educational, and development psychology (pp. 67-95); Orfield, G., & Lee, C. (2005). Why segregation matters: Poverty and educational inequality. Cambridge, MA: Civil Rights Project; Mickelson, R. A. (2001). First- and second-generation segregation in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg schools. American Educational Research Journal, 38(2), 215-252.

[6] Balfanz, R., & Legters, N. E. (2004). Locating the dropout crisis: Which high schools produce the nation's dropouts? In G. Orfield (Ed.), *Dropouts in America: Confronting the graduation rate crisis* (pp. 57–84.). Cambridge: Harvard Education Press, 2004.

[7] Swanson, C. B. (2004). Who graduates? Who doesn't? A statistical portrait of public high school graduation, Class of 2001. Washington, DC: The Urban Institute; Benson, J., & Borman, G. (2010). Family, neighborhood, and school settings across seasons: When do socioeconomic context and racial composition matter for the reading achievement growth of young children? Teachers College Record, 112(5), 1338-1390; Crosnoe, R. (2005). The diverse experiences of Hispanic students in the American educational system. Sociological Forum, 20, 561-588.

[8] Perpetuation theory and the long-term effects of school desegregation. Review of Educational Research, 64, 531-555; Braddock, J. H., & McPartland, J. (1989). Social-psychological processes that perpetuate racial segregation: The relationship between school and employment segregation. Journal of Black Studies, 19(3), 267-289. 37 Schofield, J. (1995). Review of research on school desegregation's impact on elementary and secondary school

Studies have shown that desegregated settings are associated with heightened academic achievement for minority students, with no corresponding detrimental impact for whites. Exposure to draconian, "zero tolerance" discipline measures is linked to dropping out of school and subsequent entanglement with the criminal justice system, a very different trajectory than attending college and developing a career.[9]

These trends later translate into loftier educational and career expectations, and high levels of civic and communal responsibility. Black students who attended desegregated schools are substantially more likely to graduate from high school and college, in part because they are more connected to challenging curriculum and social networks that support such goals. Earnings and physical well-being are also positively impacted: a recent study by a Berkeley economist found that black students who attended desegregated schools for at least five years earned 25% more than their counterparts from segregated settings.[10] By middle age, the same group was also in far better health. Perhaps most important of all, evidence indicates that school desegregation can have perpetuating effects across generations. Students of all races who attended integrated schools are more likely to seek out integrated colleges, workplaces, and neighborhoods later in life, which may in turn provide integrated educational opportunities for their own children.

Private School Trend

In addition to its public schools, New Jersey has long had a significant share of its students in private, predominantly religious, schools. Furthermore, an increasing proportion of students attend charter schools. Given the Trump administration's focus on increasing school choice through charters and school vouchers, the following analysis of private school and charter school trends is essential.

Private schools serve a significant proportion of students in New Jersey. Although the total enrollment in private schools dropped by 25 percent between 2001 and 2011, more than 10% of school-age children attend private schools. In terms of racial composition, private schools dramatically differ from public schools. In 2011, nearly 70% of private school enrollment was white; less than 8% was Asian; and only 20% was black or Hispanic (see Table 2). Notably, the

students. In J. A. Banks & C. A. M. Banks (Eds.), Handbook of multicultural education (pp. 597–616). New York: Macmillan Publishing. 38 Mickelson, R., & Bottia, M. (2010). Integrated education and mathematics outcomes: A synthesis of social science research. North Carolina Law Review, 88, 993; Pettigrew, T., & Tropp, L. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 90(5), 751-783; Ready, D., & Silander, M. (2011). School racial and ethnic composition and young children's cognitive development: Isolating family, neighborhood and school influences.

[9] Advancement Project & The Civil Rights Project (2000). Opportunities suspended: The devastating consequences of zero tolerance and school discipline policies. Cambridge, MA: Civil Rights Project. Retrieved from http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/school-discipline/opportunities-suspended-the-devastatingconsequences-of-zero-tolerance-and-school-discipline-policies

[10] R. C. Johnson and R. Schoeni, "The Influence of Early-Life Events on Human Capital, Health Status, and Labor Market Outcomes over the Life Course." *The B.E. Journal of Economic Analysis & Policy Advances* 11, no. 3 (2011): 1-55

proportion of white and Asian students enrolling in private schools is on the rise, while the proportion of black and Hispanic students in private schools has declined.

At a time when the Trump Administration is giving very high priority to the expansion of vouchers for private schools it is important to look carefully at this data and the local history. The great majority of U.S. private schools are religious. Private schools historically enrolled a substantially higher share of U.S. students when the Catholic schools reached their peak in the mid-twentieth century. They were heavily concentrated in the older central cities. The vast migration of white urban ethnic groups to the suburbs after World War II, the failure of the Church to build large numbers of suburban schools, and the very dramatic decline in women's religious orders that provided very low-cost teaching staffs resulted in this decline. The Catholic school enrollment in New Jersey has declined by more than half from its peak.[11]

Table 2: New Jersey Private School Enrollment, 2001-2011

		Percent (%)					
	Enrollment	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic	AI	Mixed
2001-02	219,833	68.1	14.3	6.0	11.0	0.7	
2011-12	166,508	69.3	10.3	7.7	9.5	0.3	2.9

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Private School Universe Survey (PSS), 2011–12 and 2001–02.
Note: Details do not sum to total because private schools may belong to more than one association. The estimates for the 2011-12 data include private schools which provide instruction for one or more of grades kindergarten through twelve (or comparable ungraded levels); the 2001-2002 data encompass schools which provide instruction for grades one through twelve only.

Table 3: New Jersey Private School Enrollment by Religion, 2001-2011

	2001-2002			2011-2012		
	Schools	Enrollment	Percent	Schools	Enrollment	Percent
New Jersey	1,012	219,833		1,289	166,508	
By Religion						
Catholic schools	429	133,982	60.9	287	84,857	51.0
Other religious schools	268	49,582	22.6	354	48,148	28.9
Nonsectarian schools	315	36,269	16.5	648	33,503	20.1

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Private School Universe Survey (PSS), 2011–12 and 2001–02
Note: Details do not sum to total because private schools may belong to more than one association. The estimates for the 2011-12 data include private schools which provide instruction for one or more of grades kindergarten through twelve (or comparable ungraded levels); the 2001-2002 data encompass schools which provide instruction for grades one through twelve only.

Despite the decrease in overall private school enrollment, the number of private schools increased by 277 between 2001 and 2011. Across the U.S. approximately 70% of private schools are religious,[12] but nonsectarian private schools in New Jersey are on the rise and make up over

[11] Adam Clark, "By the Numbers: NJ Catholic School Education" www.nj.com/education/.../the_decline_in_catholic_school_education_by_the_nu.html
[12] Number and percentage distribution of private schools, students, and full-time equivalent (FTE)

half the number of all private schools. Nevertheless, in 2011 Catholic schools still accounted for 51% of private school enrollment, and other religious schools made up an additional 29% of total private school enrollment (Table 3). If school vouchers legislation is enacted, the declining private school sector may increase in the coming years, and it will be important to examine the reasons for the declining share of private school seats going to students of color.

Charter School Trend

Charter schools did not exist a quarter-century ago, but their numbers have grown substantially in the past decade under the strong support of the Bush and Obama administrations. The Trump administration's budget proposals call for even greater support of charter schools. In New Jersey, the overall proportion of students attending charter schools remains low, but it has grown steadily over the past decade. This section of the report considers the role charter schools play in New Jersey's growing school segregation crisis.

Although the number of charter school students was only 3% of the public-school enrollment in 2015, the proportion of students attending charter schools is on the rise. Unlike the recent decline in the total enrollment in public schools, the total enrollment in New Jersey charter schools almost tripled in the last ten years. Another notable aspect of charter schools is student demographic composition. In 2015, 8% of charter school students were white, 55% were African American, 5% were Asian, and 31% were Hispanic (Table 5).

Table 4: New Jersey Charter School Enrollment, 2005-2015

		Percent (%)					
	Enrollment	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic	AI	Mixed
2005-06	14,883	9.8	66.7	2.5	21.0	0.1	
2010-11	23,257	10.2	61.0	3.1	25.2	0.1	
2015-16	41,890	7.8	55.3	4.9	30.9	0.1	0.9

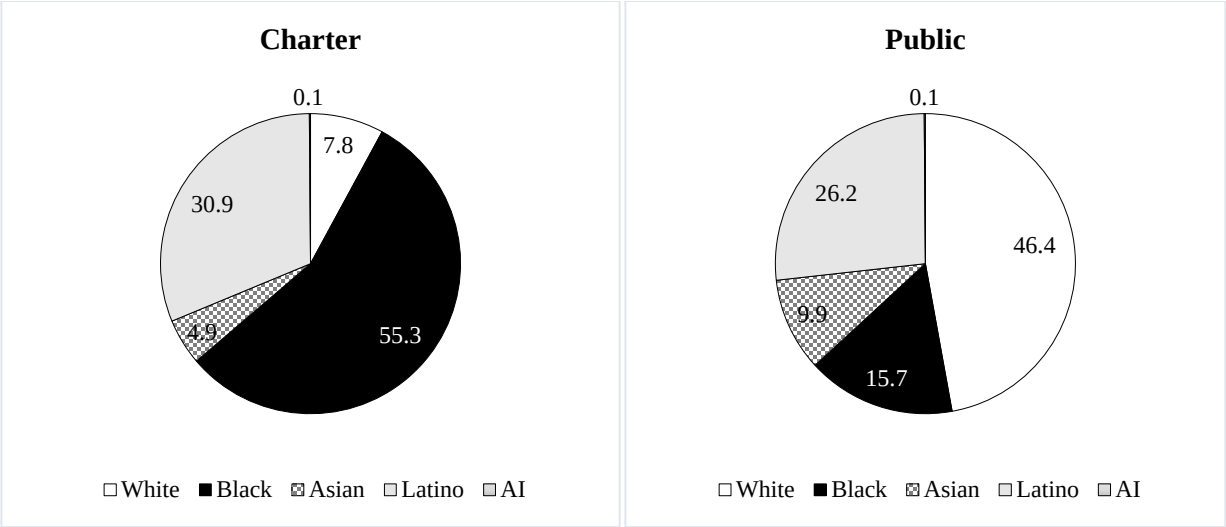
Sources: State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2005, 2010, and 2015

The sharp differences in student composition between traditional public schools and charter schools in New Jersey are evident. In traditional public schools, nearly half of the students are white. In contrast, black students account for more than half of the total enrollment in charter schools, and the combined shares of black and Hispanic students make up 86% of students in the charter system. The proportion of white students in traditional public schools is seven times higher than the proportion of white students in charters. This would appear to result from communities' frustration with poor performing traditional public schools in low income areas, but trading one segregated school for another that may be even more segregated does not address the fundamental problem of segregated schooling. The proportion of Asian students in charter schools is only half of that in traditional public schools (Figure 3).

teachers, by religious or nonsectarian orientation of school: United States, 2011–12, https://nces.ed.gov/surveys/pss/tables/table_2011_02.asp, accessed May 7, 2017

Given the nationwide trend of the spread of charter schools, the sharp growth of student enrollment in New Jersey charter schools is not surprising. Still, the stunning disparity in the racial composition of New Jersey's traditional public schools and charter schools is a cause for deep concern. If school choice in the form of charters continues to rise, which is likely in the current political climate, charter schools could exacerbate New Jersey's school segregation crisis even more. New Jersey officials hoping to expand their systems of charter schools should take the time to look at the patterns of hyper-segregation found in areas, such as New York, that have much higher charter school enrollment.

Figure 3: Student Composition (%) in Public Schools and Charter Schools in New Jersey, SY 2015-16



Sources: State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2005, 2010, and 2015

Segregation Trends in New Jersey Public Schools

Racially Segregated Schools in New Jersey

Between 1989 and 2015, the proportion of schools serving a majority nonwhite student population more than doubled from 22% to 46%. Similarly, the percentage of students in intensely segregated schools—schools serving a population with 0% to 10% white students—nearly doubled from 11.4% to 20.1%. At the extreme, the proportion of students attending apartheid schools—schools serving a population with 0% to 1% white students—also nearly doubled from 4.8% to 8.3%. Such increasing segregation in New Jersey schools is partially a reflection of the surge in the Hispanic population as well as the relative decrease in the proportion of white students in the state over the past quarter century. Substantial contact between white students and students of color becomes more difficult as the share of whites declines (Table 5).

Table 5: Number and Percentage of Nonwhite Schools

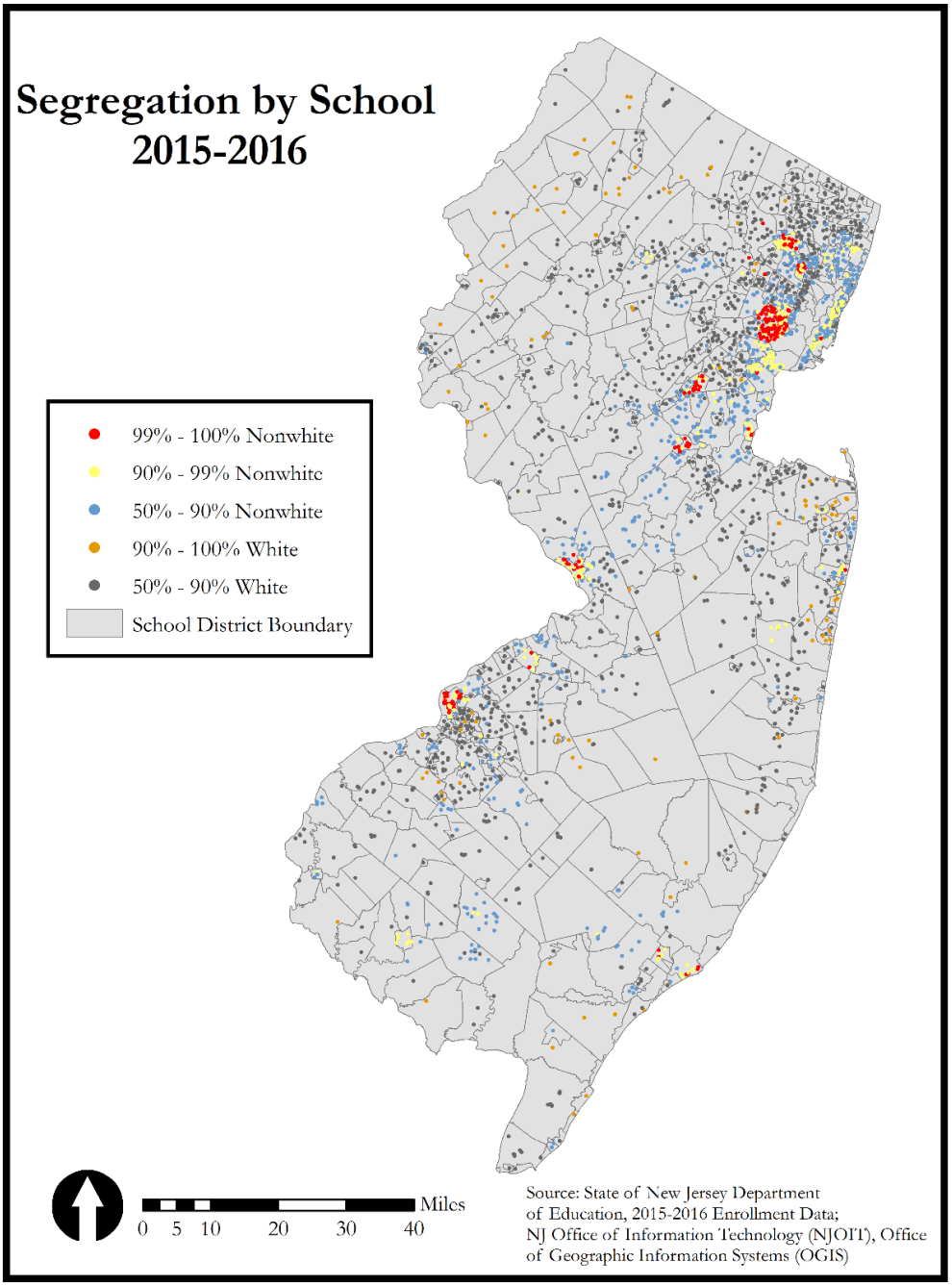
		Percent (%)		
	Total Schools in New Jersey	50-100% Nonwhite Schools	90-100% Nonwhite Schools	99-100% Nonwhite Schools
1989-1990	2,151	21.8	11.4	4.8
1999-2000	2,255	29.7	15.4	7.0
2005-2006	2,466	36.6	17.2	7.3
2010-2011	2,465	41.0	18.4	7.8
2015-2016	2,518	46.1	20.1	8.3

Sources: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data for SY 1989 and 1999; State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2005, 2010, and 2015

The following map shows that the severe segregation of black and Hispanic students is highly concentrated in more densely populated urban areas. Racial and ethnic diversity is higher in many of the suburban areas that surround more densely populated municipalities. However, there are also areas of New Jersey where white students are isolated in schools serving a student body composed of more than 90% white students (Figure 4). Housing segregation plays a major role in shaping the landscape of school segregation in the state. In areas, like New Jersey, with serious housing segregation in the absence of integration programs, or large choice programs with free transportation, housing deeply shapes school opportunity and tends to perpetuate inequality. Given the long-established patterns, the severe segregation of subsidized housing, and continuing discrimination in housing and home finance markets, housing choice is limited for families of color and becomes a barrier that persists unless it is confronted directly.[13]

[13] G. Orfield, "Housing Segregation Produces Unequal Schools: Causes and Solutions," in Prudence L. Carter and Kevin G. Welner, *Closing the Opportunity Gap: What America Must Do to Give Every Child an Evan Chance*, New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2013, pp. 40-60.

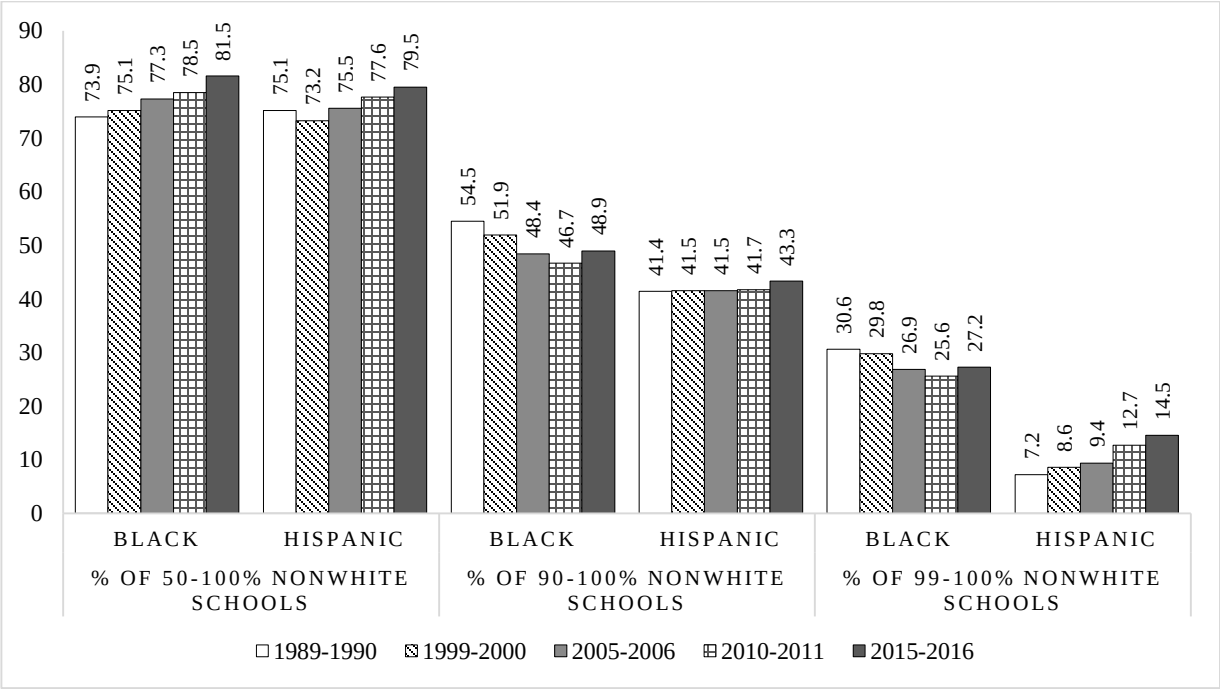
Figure 4: Segregation by School in New Jersey, 2015-2016



Source: State of New Jersey Department of Education, 2015-16 Enrollment Data; NJ Office of Information Technology (NJOIT), Office of Geographic Information System (OGIS).

Over the past twenty-five years, black and Hispanic students have become increasingly concentrated in schools serving a majority nonwhite student population. Despite this larger trend, the percentage of black students in intensely segregated schools and apartheid schools gradually declined over the last twenty-five years. Still, nearly half of black students attend 90-100% intensely segregated schools, and over one-quarter of black students attend schools where less than 1% of students are white. As for Hispanic students, the proportion attending intensely segregated schools has been stagnant, while the percentage of students attending apartheid schools has doubled (Figure 5). In sum, black students are still the most segregated group in New Jersey public schools but their segregation has declined slightly. Hispanic students were significantly less isolated but their segregation, especially in apartheid schools, is growing substantially.

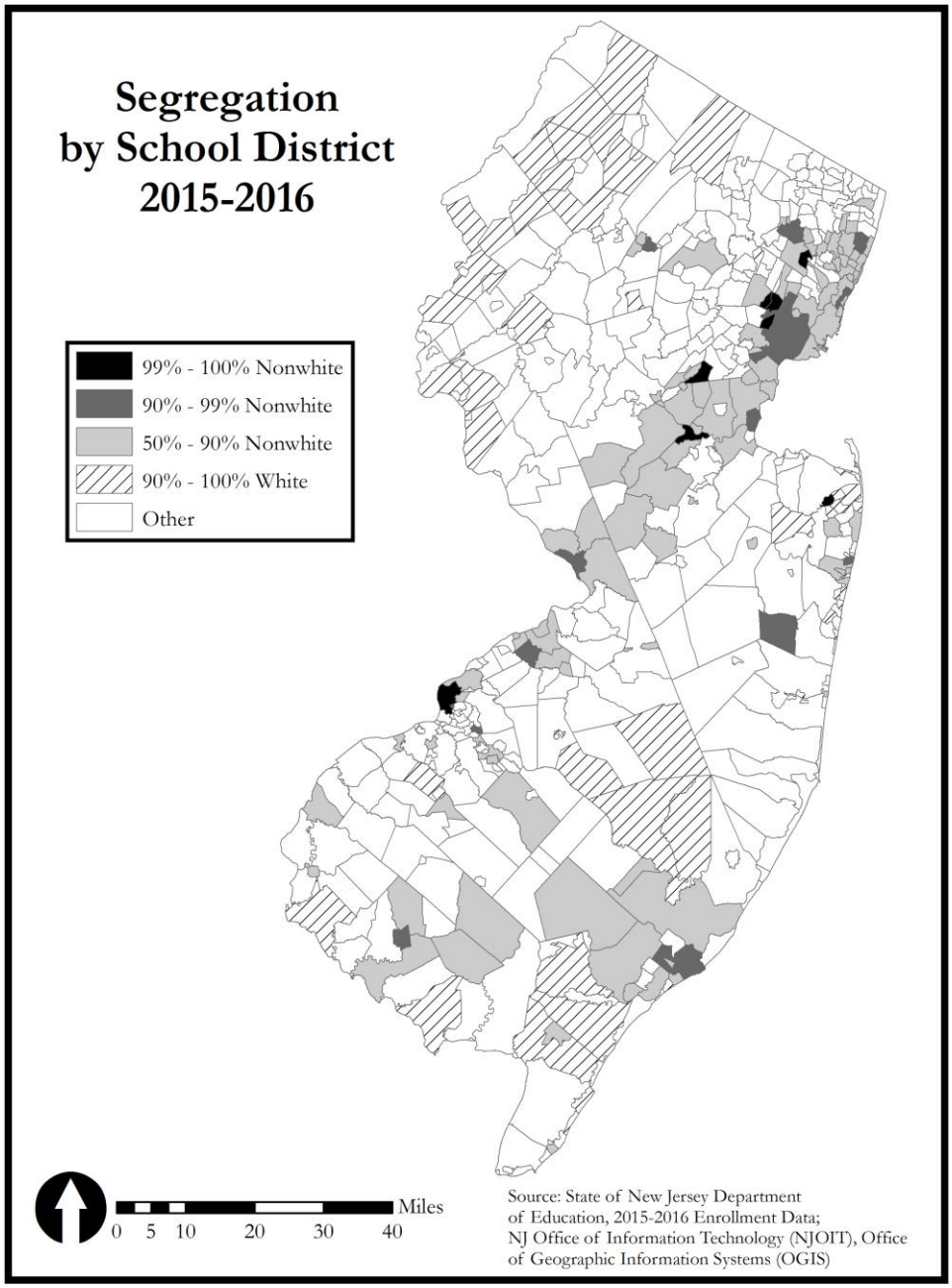
Figure 5: Percentage of Black and Hispanic Students in Nonwhite Schools in New Jersey



Sources: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data for SY 1989 and 1999; State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2005, 2010, and 2015

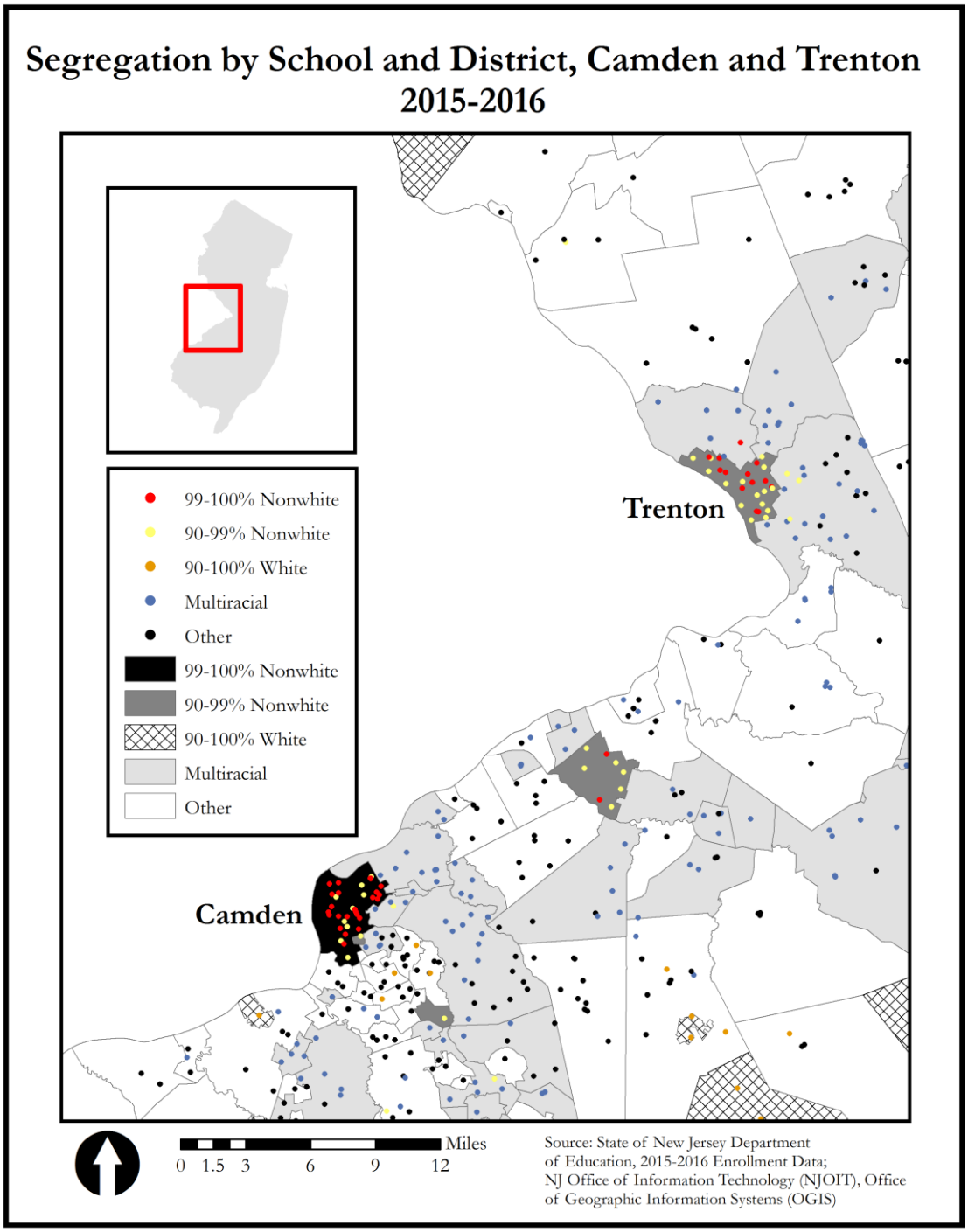
As highlighted in Figures 6, 7, and 8, a large share of the severe segregation is concentrated in a few intensely segregated school districts along the NYC-Philadelphia corridor. Figure 6, which shows segregation at the district-level, highlights the areas of New Jersey where inter-district segregation levels are particularly egregious. Figure 7 displays the high degree of school-level segregation in Trenton and Camden, while Figure 8 shows the high degree of school-level segregation in Newark and the surrounding areas in Essex County.

Figure 6: Segregation by School District in New Jersey, 2015-2016



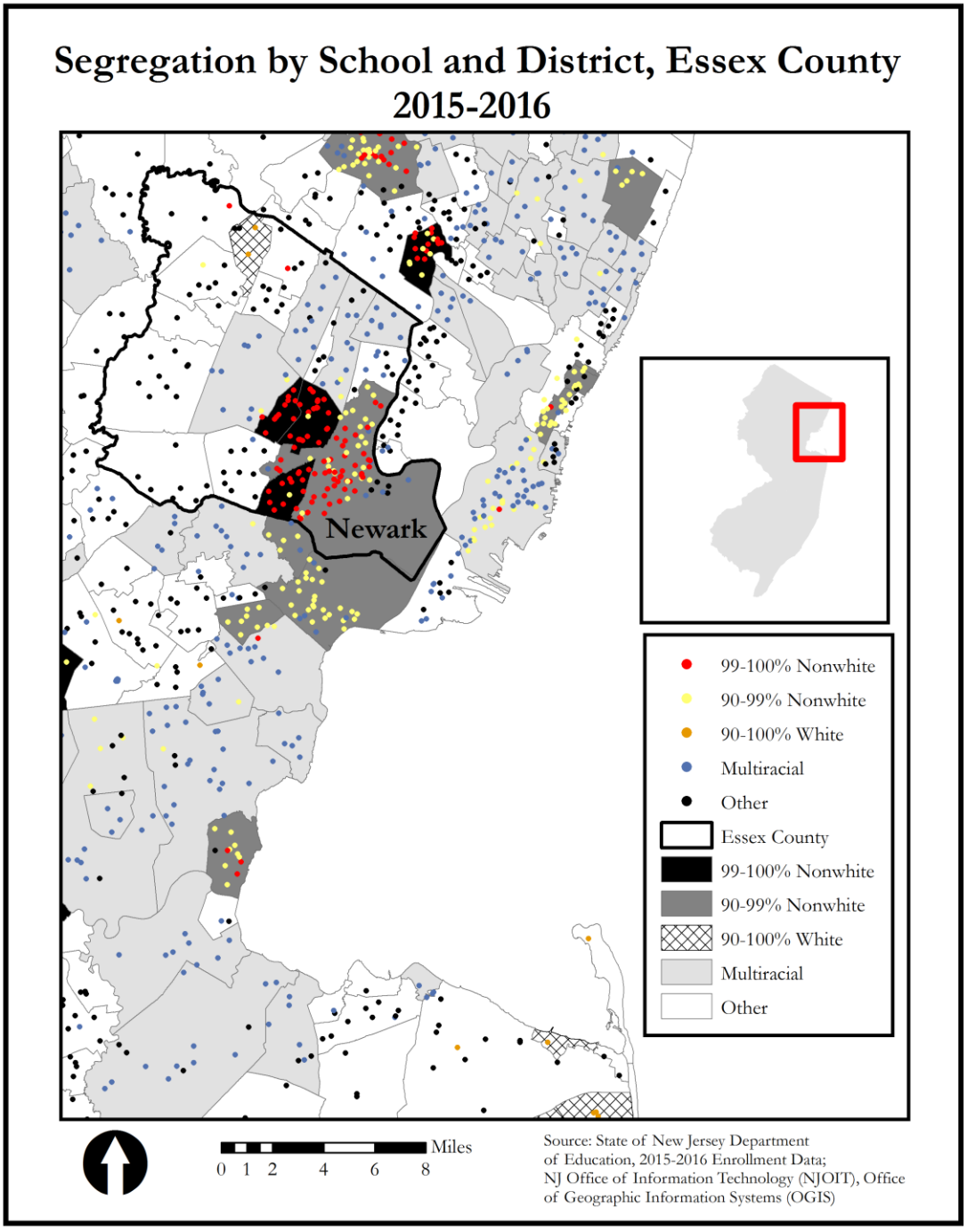
Source: State of New Jersey Department of Education, 2015-16 Enrollment Data; NJ Office of Information Technology (NJOIT), Office of Geographic Information System (OGIS).

Figure 7: Segregation by School and District, Camden and Trenton in New Jersey, 2015-2016



Source: State of New Jersey Department of Education, 2015-16 Enrollment Data; NJ Office of Information Technology (NJOIT), Office of Geographic Information System (OGIS).

Figure 8: Segregation by School and District, Essex County in New Jersey, 2015-2016



Source: State of New Jersey Department of Education, 2015-16 Enrollment Data; NJ Office of Information Technology (NJOIT), Office of Geographic Information System (OGIS).

Intergroup Contact in New Jersey Schools

A growing body of theoretical work and empirical evidence demonstrates that there has to be significant real contact with students of other races or ethnicities under positive conditions to realize the full benefits of diverse educational institutions. Educational benefits are inherently tied to access to both tangible and intangible resources. School funding, high-quality teachers who aren't overburdened by struggling students, challenging and stimulating curriculum, appropriate technology, and strong school communities all support learning. Unfortunately, these resources are not distributed evenly. More often than not, such resources are concentrated in schools serving white (and often Asian) students from families with relative wealth. Conversely, many black and Hispanic students from families with fewer economic resources are relegated to schools that lack many of these essential resources. One of the key benefits of school desegregation is that all students are able to access the resources needed for academic success in a more equitable manner. Another important benefit of attending schools with diverse student bodies is that intergroup contact encourages critical thinking and a more positive mindset about other groups, characteristics that augur greater success in a diverse society. The first step to ensuring these benefits is to fully understand the degree to which students interact with children with different racial and ethnic identities. This report uses measures of exposure and isolation to examine the level of interracial contact between groups as well as the racial composition of schools where the typical student of each race attends.

As the white share of the public school population has declined over the past twenty-five years, the percentage of white students that the typical student of each race meets in school has also decreased. However, the degree of decline varied among groups. Throughout the past quarter century, the average white student has attended a school where an overwhelming majority of the student body is white. Although the white proportion of students in New Jersey schools was 46% in 2015, the typical white student attended a school where more than two-thirds of the total enrollment was white. In contrast, the percentage of white students in a school that the typical black student attends has decreased from 26% to 22% over the last twenty-five years. Similarly, the share of white students in a school where the typical Hispanic student attends has declined from 29% to 25% during the same period. Asian students' contact with whites has also fallen gradually, yet Asians still attend schools where whites account for more than 40% of the enrollment (Table 6).

Table 6: Percentage of White Students in School Attended by the Typical Student of Each Race in New Jersey

	% White	Typical White Student	Typical Black Student	Typical Hispanic Student	Typical Asian Student
1989-1990	66.4	83.6	25.7	28.9	69.5
1999-2000	61.0	79.4	25.3	28.7	61.0
2005-2006	56.8	75.7	25.0	27.9	55.3
2010-2011	52.2	71.8	24.4	26.8	49.4
2015-2016	46.4	67.3	22.0	24.7	43.5

Sources: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data for SY 1989 and 1999; State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2005, 2010, and 2015

Twenty-five years ago, the typical black student went to school with a high percentage of other black students (58%). Today, the typical black student attends a school with a smaller proportion of black students but attends a school where the combined proportion of black and Hispanic students exceeds 70% (Table 7). The steady rise in the proportion of Hispanic students in New Jersey has increased the ethnic diversity that black students encounter, however it has clustered low-income students together. While there are potential benefits to this increase in diversity, both black and Hispanic students often share similar economic disadvantages. An analysis of the combined effects of racial segregation and socioeconomic segregation is provided later in this report.

Table 7: Racial Composition of School Attended by the Typical Black Student in New Jersey

	% White	% Black	% Hispanic	% Asian
1989-1990	25.7	57.5	14.5	2.2
1999-2000	25.3	53.8	17.2	3.5
2005-2006	25.0	49.7	20.7	4.4
2010-2011	24.4	45.6	23.7	5.7
2015-2016	22.0	43.2	27.5	5.9

Sources: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data for SY 1989 and 1999; State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2005, 2010, and 2015

The proportion of Hispanic students in a school where the typical Hispanic student attends grew from 43% to 51% percent over the past quarter century (Table 8). Interestingly, while black exposure to Hispanic students doubled, Hispanic exposure to black students declined by 8 percentage points between 1989 and 2015. The white share in a school that the typical Hispanic student attends also fell by 4 percentage points during this period, and Hispanic students' exposure to Asians grew steadily from 4% to 7% (Table 8). Hispanic students are now more isolated with other Hispanic students than black students are with other black students—51% vs. 43%. This means that Hispanic students now have substantially less contact with black or white students than they did a quarter century ago.

Table 8: Racial Composition of School Attended by the Typical Hispanic Student in New Jersey

	% White	% Black	% Hispanic	% Asian
1989-1990	28.9	24.2	43.3	3.5
1999-2000	28.7	20.9	44.9	5.2
2005-2006	27.9	20.0	46.0	5.9
2010-2011	26.8	17.8	48.3	6.5
2015-2016	24.7	16.5	51.1	6.5

Sources: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data for SY 1989 and 1999; State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2005, 2010, and 2015

Asian students' contact with white students declined in New Jersey during the same period examined, as the overall white share shrank gradually. In contrast, since 1989, Asian student contact with Hispanics has risen from 9 to 17%. Asian contact with New Jersey black students

has remained constant, around 9-10%. Yet, Asian students' exposure to Asians has increased steadily from 12% to 28% over the twenty-five year period (Table 9).

Table 9: Racial Composition of School Attended by the Typical Asian Student in New Jersey

	% White	% Black	% Hispanic	% Asian
1989-1990	69.5	9.6	9.3	11.6
1999-2000	61.0	10.3	12.6	16.1
2005-2006	55.3	10.4	14.2	19.9
2010-2011	49.4	10.3	15.6	23.8
2015-2016	43.5	9.3	17.2	28.0

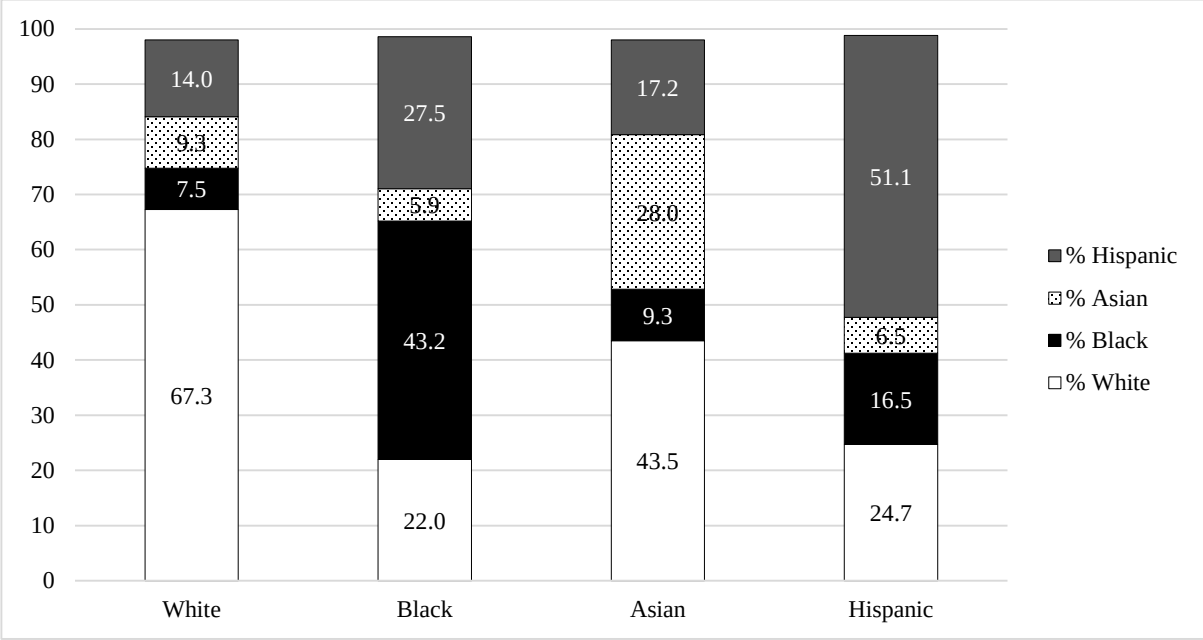
Sources: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data for SY 1989 and 1999; State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2005, 2010, and 2015

The bar chart below demonstrates the overall racial composition in a school that the typical student of each race attends (

Figure 9). With the exception of Asian students, who make up the smallest proportion of the overall student population in New Jersey, the typical student from all racial groups attends schools where the same racial group of students makes up the largest proportion of the school's student body. Figure 9 shows that white students are the most isolated group in terms of racial diversity. In 2015, the typical white student went to a school where 67% of the total enrollment was white. The typical Hispanic student also went to school where more than half of their peers were from the same racial background. The typical black student attended a school where 43% percent of students were black and 28% were Hispanic. Finally, although Asians made up less than 10% of the New Jersey student population, the typical Asian student went to a school where the Asian share was 28%. Asian exposure to whites was also high; 44% of students at schools attended by the typical Asian student were white. Both whites and Asians typically attended schools where approximately three-fourths of the enrollment was white and Asian (

Figure 9).

Figure 9: Composition of School Attended by the Typical Student in New Jersey, by Race, 2015-2016



Source: State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2015

Double Segregation

Segregation by race and concentrated poverty are strongly intertwined across the nation, and New Jersey is no exception. During the past fifteen years, the low-income share in New Jersey public schools increased by 10 percentage points. In 2015, segregated schools—both intensely segregated schools with 0 to 10 percent whites and apartheid schools with 0 to 1 percent whites—enrolled a remarkably high percentage of students living in poverty. Specifically, students living in poverty accounted for 77% of enrollment in intensely segregated schools and nearly 80% of the total enrollment in apartheid schools. This double segregation—segregation by race and poverty—exacerbates inequality and creates additional challenges for New Jersey's schools (Table 10). Research consistently shows that concentrated poverty in schools trammels educational attainment in ways unmatched by any other variable, but only students of color are highly concentrated in such schools.[14]

[14] Reardon, Sean F. 2011. "The Widening Academic-Achievement Gap between the Rich and the Poor: New Evidence and Possible Explanations." Pp. 91-115 in Whither Opportunity? Rising Inequality, Schools, and Children's Life Chances, edited by Greg J. Duncan and Richard J. Murnane. New York: Russell Sage Foundation: G. Orfield and C. Lee, *Why Segregation Matters*, Cambridge: Civil Rights Project, 2005.

Table 10: Percentage of Students who are Low-Income in Multiracial and Nonwhite Schools

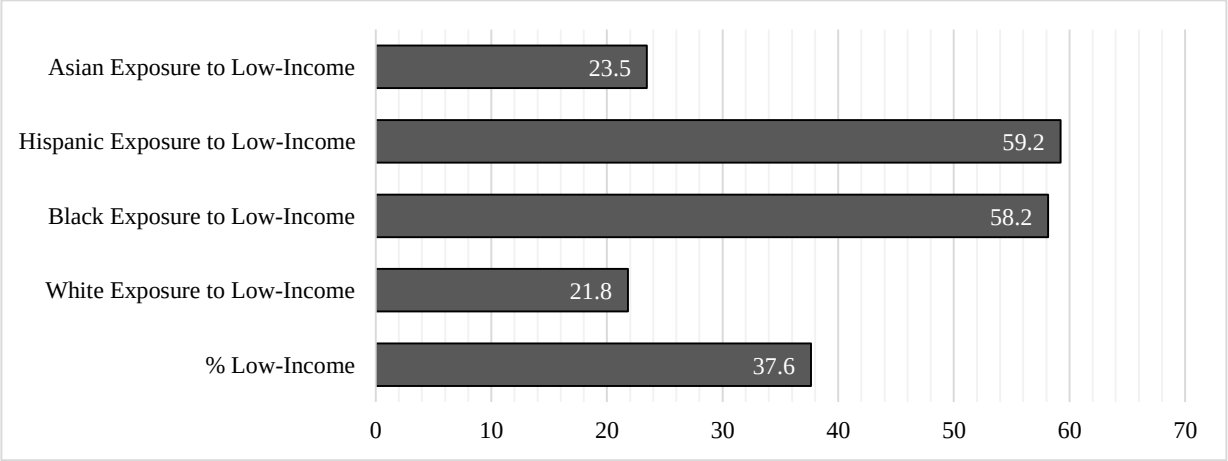
	Percent (%)				
	Low-Income Enrollment	Low-Income in Multiracial Schools*	Low-Income in 50-100% Nonwhite Schools	Low-Income in 90-100% Nonwhite Schools	Low-Income in 99-100% Nonwhite Schools
1999-2000	28.0	39.1	61.9	76.2	78.7
2005-2006	32.7	41.2	58.4	78.5	79.4
2010-2011	32.9	41.5	58.1	78.5	79.1
2015-2016	37.6	42.2	59.3	76.9	78.9

Sources: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data for SY 1999; State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2005, 2010, and 2015

*Multiracial schools are defined here as schools that have at least 10% students from three or more racial/ethnic groups.

Figure 10 provides additional insight into the deeply-rooted relationship between race and poverty. The typical white and Asian students in New Jersey attend schools in which 22-24% of students are poor enough to be eligible for free or reduced-price meals, a proxy for poverty. By contrast, the typical black student and Hispanic student attend schools where nearly 60% of students are living in poverty by the same standards. These data show that white students, on average, attend solidly middle class schools. Conversely, black and Hispanic students typically attend schools where an overwhelming majority of students lives in poverty (Figure 10). More often than not, this economic gap equates to stark differences in students' experiences and aspirations, school resources, quality education, academic achievement, and the environment around the school.

Figure 10: Racial Group Exposure Rates to Low-Income Students for the Typical Student of Each Race in New Jersey Public Schools, 2015-2016

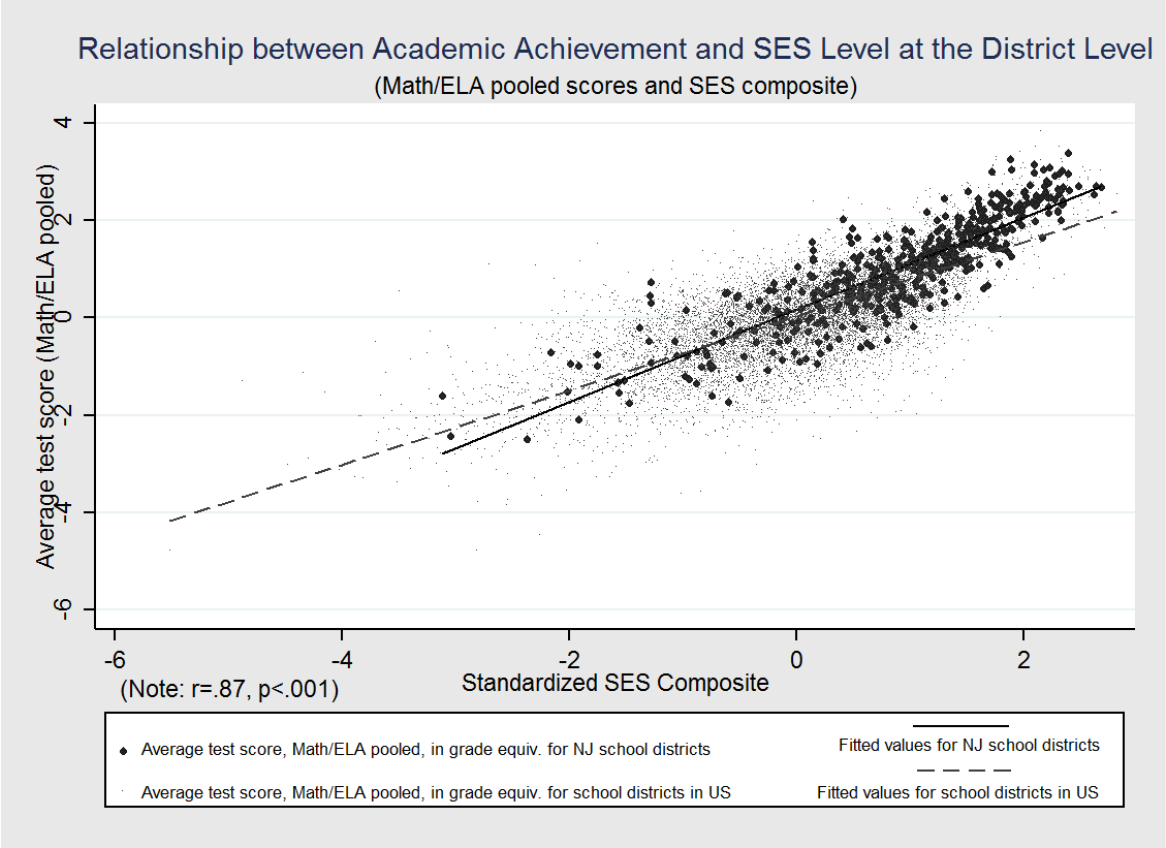


Source: State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2015

Before considering other facets of New Jersey's school segregation crisis, it is worth briefly considering the relationship between socioeconomic status and academic achievement. The Stanford Education Data Archive (SEDA), which offers district-level academic outcomes

averaged across years, grades and subjects,[15] was analyzed alongside demographic and economic data come from the American Community Survey (ACS).[16] The association between educational outcomes and overall SES levels is extremely strong and significant (r = .87, p <.001), implying that students' academic outcomes are closely linked with the community's overall SES levels (Figure 11).

Figure 11: Relationship between Academic Achievement and SES Status at the District Level



Source: Stanford Education Data Archive (SEDA), version 1.1.

[15] EDFacts data collected for SEDA encompass assessment outcomes for students in School Years 2008-09, 2009-10, 2010-11, 2011-12, and 2012-13; grades 3 to 8; and test subjects English Language Arts (ELA) and Math. There is one observation per district; values are averaged across years, grades and subjects.

[16] The demographic and economic measures include data with regard to median income, percent with a bachelor's degree or higher, poverty rate, Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) rate, single mother headed household rate, and unemployment rate in the American Community Survey Data.

Segregation Starts Very Early: Intergroup Isolation at the Pre-Kindergarten Level[17]

The level of segregation that black and Hispanic children at the pre-K level encounter was more severe than the segregation experienced across all school levels. For example, the typical black student went to a pre-K program where more than 80% of children were black or Hispanic.This is much higher than the racial isolation experienced by these populations at higher grades (Table 5, Table 11, and Table 12).

Table 11: Racial Composition of PreK School Attended by the Typical Black Student in New Jersey (Public Schools Only)

	% White	% Black	% Hispanic	% Asian
2005-2006	18.0	51.3	26.5	4.9
2010-2011	14.0	48.8	31.3	4.9
2015-2016	12.9	50.4	31.0	3.8

Sources: State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2005, 2010, and 2015

Table 12: Racial Composition of PreK School Attended by the Typical Hispanic Student in New Jersey (Public Schools Only)

	% White	% Black	% Hispanic	% Asian
2005-2006	17.7	18.1	59.2	4.7
2010-2011	14.8	16.3	63.6	4.6
2015-2016	16.0	16.5	60.8	5.2

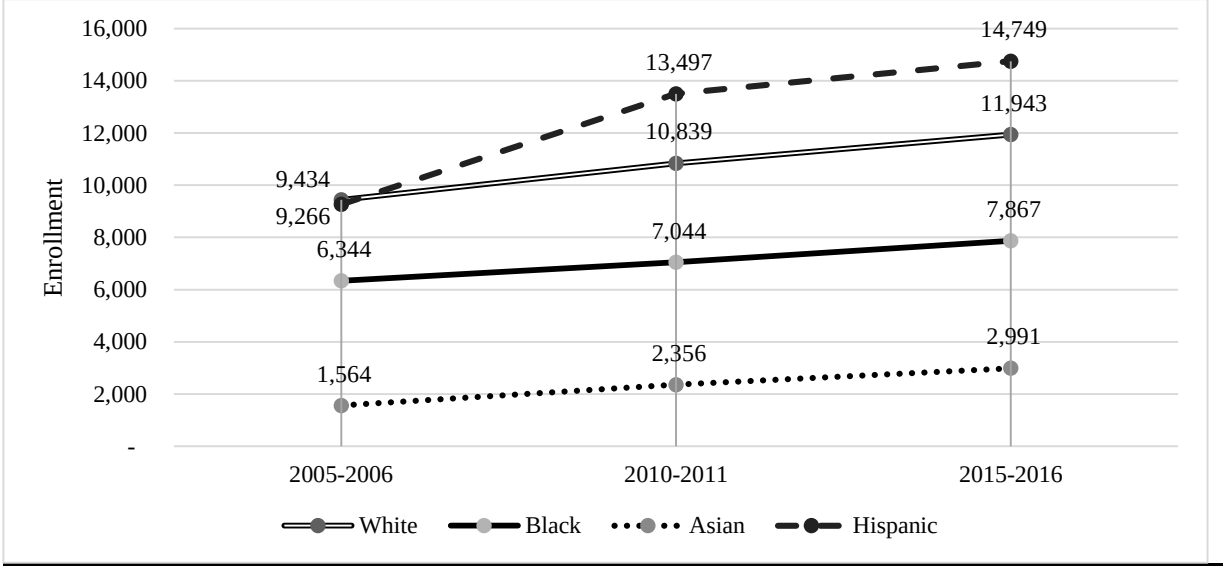
Sources: State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2005, 2010, and 2015

Ensuring that students attend diverse schools from the beginning of their schooling experience is important given that stereotypes and group consciousness have not formed at such young ages. A great deal of recent research has demonstrated the lasting consequences of inequalities in the preschool years. With the exception of certain high-poverty districts, publicly financed pre-K programs are not guaranteed in New Jersey. As a result, pre-K programs vary widely and are most commonly outside of the public sector. During the past decade, public pre-K enrollment has grown by more than 40%. This growth stands in contrast to the slight decrease in the total student population in New Jersey public schools during the same period and is a result of greater public support for pre-K programs. Notably, enrollment in public pre-K programs has increased for all racial groups (

Figure 12). Given these trends in pre-K enrollment, it is essential for New Jersey to develop a plan for addressing school segregation in these formative years of schooling.

[17] One major caveat for readers is that this report examined students at the pre-kindergarten level in New Jersey public schools only. Because more private school students on average tend to be enrolled in pre-kindergarten than in any other grade level (see Broughman and Swaim's (2013) report on *Characteristics of Private Schools in the United States: Results from the 2011–12 Private School Universe Survey.* National Center for Education Statistics. Available at https://nces.ed.gov/pubs2013/2013316.pdf), further investigation of students at the same grade level in the private sector is needed. As of SY 2011-12, the count of students in New Jersey enrolled in nursey/prekindergarten, kindergarten, and transitional kindergarten programs offered by private schools was more than 63,000.

Figure 12: NJ Pre-Kindergarten Enrollment Four year-old in Public Schools, 2005-2015



		Percent (%)					
	Enrollment	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic	AI	Mixed
2005-2006	26,676	35.4	23.8	5.9	34.7	0.3	
2010-2011	34,156	31.7	20.6	6.9	39.5	0.2	1.0
2015-2016	38,415	31.1	20.5	7.8	38.4	0.2	2.1

Sources: State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2005, 2010, and 2015

Segregation trends at the pre-kindergarten level differ from those at all other grade levels. In 2015, about a fourth of pre-kindergarten schools were intensely segregated, and about an eighth were apartheid schools. While segregation levels in pre-K schools have declined over the past ten years, the shares of intensely segregated and apartheid schools at the pre-K level were higher than the overall public school segregation levels (Table 5 and Table 13). Children in New Jersey schools start out in schools even more segregated than in the later grades, affecting children in a period in which stereotypes have not yet formed and interracial contact is usually easy. Part of this pattern in the public schools is a reflection of the state's excellent court orders providing high quality preschool for many students of color.

Table 13: Percentage of Nonwhite Schools at the Pre-K level (Public Schools Only)

			Percent (%)			
	Total Enrollment	Total Schools*	90-100% White PK	50-100% Nonwhite PK	90-100% Nonwhite PK	99-100% Nonwhite PK
2005-2006	26,676	476	10.7	56.5	31.3	18.5
2010-2011	34,156	556	13.1	52.2	26.6	13.7

2015-2016	38,415	662	10.0	57.4	26.4	12.7

Sources: State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2005, 2010, and 2015
*Only schools serving ten or more PK students are included in the schools count.

In 2015, the white proportion of the student population in public pre-K programs was slightly over 30%. However, white children in general went to overwhelmingly white schools where over 60% were white. Similarly, Asian students' contact with white students has been substantial (around 32-35%) in pre-K programs. Black children, on the other hand, went to schools where only about one-eighth of all students were white. Similarly, Hispanic children were in schools where whites accounted for less than a sixth of the student enrollment. (Table 14). Children from non-English speaking homes could benefit from contact with fluent English speakers and vice versa since development of unaccented language is easier for the young. Similarly, children from English speaking homes could benefit from contact with children from non-English speaking homes in thoughtfully constructed dual language programs.

Table 14: Percentage of White Students in School Attended by the Typical Student of Each Race in New Jersey (Public Schools Only)

	% White	Typical White Student	Typical Black Student	Typical Hispanic Student	Typical Asian Student
2005-2006	35.4	64.5	18.0	17.7	35.1
2010-2011	31.7	64.0	14.0	14.8	31.3
2015-2016	31.1	61.0	12.9	16.0	31.6

Sources: State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2005, 2010, and 2015

Asian students' contact with other racial groups is more balanced when compared to black and Hispanic students at the pre-K level. However, Asian exposure to black students is disproportionately low (around 10%) given that blacks contributed about 16% of the student enrollment (Table 15).

Table 15: Racial Composition of School Attended by the Typical Asian Student in New Jersey (Public Schools Only)

	% White	% Black	% Hispanic	% Asian
2005-2006	35.1	16.2	28.0	20.2
2010-2011	31.3	14.8	26.2	26.1
2015-2016	31.6	9.9	25.4	30.3

Sources: State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2005, 2010, and 2015

Inter-district Segregation

Most school segregation is the result of segregation among districts not within districts. New Jersey's schools are quite reflective of the districts where they are located. 75% of public schools in New Jersey serve a student population that is proportional to the overall racial composition of their districts. In this case, *proportional* indicates that less than 10% of students would need to change schools in order to ensure perfect proportionality across all schools in a district. While this figure sounds promising, the reality is that most of New Jersey's school districts are quite small and serve relatively homogeneous populations (Table 16). In fact, using the same

definition of *proportional*, only 2.8% of districts in New Jersey can be classified as proportional in relationship to the overall student population across the state. Close to 20% of schools in New Jersey are highly disproportional to the overall student population in the state, meaning that more than 50% of students in these schools would need to move to ensure perfect racial proportionality.

Table 16: Measures of Proportionality

	Schools to Districts		Schools to Counties		Schools to State		Districts to Counties		Districts to State		Counties to State	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
Proportional	1892	75.1	372	14.8	68	2.7	136	20.3	19	2.8	2	9.5
Somewhat Proportional	2257	89.6	977	38.8	419	16.6	316	47.1	99	14.8	6	28.6
Highly Disproportional	10	0.4	342	13.6	497	19.7	64	9.5	97	14.5	0	0

Source: State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2015
Note: Proportional areas are subareas where less than 10% of students would need to be replaced with students from different demographic backgrounds in order to achieve proportionality with the region examined. *Somewhat proportional* areas are subareas where less than 20% of students would need to be replaced with students from different demographic backgrounds in order to achieve proportionality with the larger region. *Highly Disproportional* areas are subareas where more than 50% of students would need to be replaced with students from different demographic backgrounds in order to achieve proportionality with the larger region.

Comparing the districts to the much larger counties, only one district in five has student enrollment that is racially proportional to the county where it is located. These data indicate that school desegregation could take place at the county-level given that most segregation in New Jersey is a result of between-district segregation. Perhaps New Jersey could benefit from a remedy similar to the one mandated by the Supreme Court of Connecticut in the *Sheff* decision that produced integrated regional magnet schools and transfer programs across district lines.

Multiracial Schools in New Jersey

In this report, as well as in our previous reports, we have defined multiracial schools as schools in which any three racial groups comprise at least 10% of the total enrollment, respectively. [18] Considering nationwide and statewide demographic shifts this measure may have less meaning today.[19] However, given the fact that the Hispanic population barely reached 11% of the total student enrollment at the end of the 1980s and that Asians were just 10% of the student population in 2015, this multiracial measure does offer a worthwhile perspective. There are myriad combinations of schools that fall under this broad multiracial category of three groups

[18] We also explored a 20-percent baseline for 2005-06, 2010-11, and 2015-16 data, attempting to get closer to the likelihood that each group would have a critical mass of students in the school. According to this threshold, 4.6 percent, 5.4 percent, and 6 percent of New Jersey public school were multiracial schools in those years. The 20-percent baseline was too high to be realistically applied in the past, so this study used the results for reference purposes only.
[19] James T. Fisher, Communion of Immigrants: A History of Catholics in America. New York, NY: Oxford University Press, 2008.

making up at least 10% of the total population in a school. At one extreme a multiracial school could be a historically black school experiencing a surge of Hispanic students coming into the neighborhood with a small percentage of white students. At another extreme, a multiracial school could be in an area that is predominantly white with a growing population of Asian immigrants and a Hispanic community. Such schools are rarely created intentionally by policy and usually reflect underlying demographic changes as the share of the white population drops and that of the Hispanic and Asian populations rise. The multiracial measure is limited and only offers an analysis of schools with the presence of at least three groups of students with more than token representation, but it does show interesting patterns. Only limited research has been done on the possible effects of multiracial schools and it seems very likely that the effects would vary widely with the type of multiracial populations and the stability of these populations.

Table 17: Number and Percentage of Multiracial Schools

	School Count	% of Multiracial Schools
1989-1990	213	9.9
1999-2000	421	18.7
2005-2006	586	23.7
2010-2011	690	28.0
2015-2016	792	31.5

Sources: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data for School Year (SY) 1989 and 1999; State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2005, 2010, and 2015

Of the 2,151 public schools in New Jersey, only 10% were multiracial in 1989, but this share tripled over a quarter century. In 2015, 32% of New Jersey schools were multiracial, reflecting an increase in overall diversity in New Jersey schools, especially in the proportion of Hispanic and Asian students (Table 17).

Table 18: Percentage of Racial Group in Multiracial Schools* in New Jersey

	Percent (%)				
	White	Black	Asian	Hispanic	AI
1989-1990	8.5	15.6	15.1	27.1	6.4
1999-2000	13.2	24.4	33.9	32.2	34.5
2005-2006	16.3	29.7	38.4	33.9	34.4
2010-2011	20.4	35.5	39.2	34.4	41.2
2015-2016	25.7	37.3	43.3	33.3	43.2

*At least 10% of at least 3 groups.

Sources: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Common Core of Data, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data for SY 1989 and 1999; State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2005, 2010, and 2015

In addition, this report identifies the percentage of students attending multiracial schools for each racial group. Across all racial groups there was a remarkable increase in the proportion of students attending multiracial schools over the past twenty-five years. For white and Asian students, this figure was nearly a three-fold increase; the black share in multiracial schools more

than doubled. Roughly one-third of black and Hispanic students went to multiracial schools in 2015. More than 43% of Asian students were in those schools in the same period (Table 18).

English Language Learners (ELLs) in New Jersey Schools

English language learners (ELLs) represent the fastest growing segment of school-age children across the nation. Over the past decade, nearly 80 percent of homes in New Jersey, close to the national average, speak English as their primary language and there has been little change Spanish is spoken in 14 percent of households in New Jersey. 9 percent speak languages other than English and Spanish, including Chinese, Portuguese, Tagalog, Italian, Korean, Gujarati, Polish, Hindi, and Arabic.[20] (Table 19)

Table 19: Language Spoken at Home

	% English	% Spanish	% Other
2005-06	79.5	11.5	9.0
2010-11	79.4	12.2	8.4
2014-15	77.0	14.1	9.0

Sources: State of New Jersey Department of Education, School Performance Report for SY 2005, 2010, and 2014

ELLs and Triple Segregation

Civil Rights Project often uses the terms "double segregation" to indicate segregation by both race and poverty, which is the norm. When linguistic isolation is added, we call it "triple segregation," and it represents a particularly intense form of isolation combining race or ethnicity, class, and language.

Unlike the overall growth of ELL students in the nation, this emerging population was just over 5 percent of the total enrollment in New Jersey public schools in 2015. The story is, however, different in segregated schools. In intensely segregated schools with 0 to 10 percent whites, one in seven students was an English learner in 2015. This was the same for apartheid schools. Moreover, like poor students and black and Hispanic students, ELLs tend to be isolated in racially segregated schools where the ELL share has been on the rise over time (Table 20).

Table 20: Percentage of Students who are ELLs in Segregated Schools, 2005-2015

		% ELLs in		
	% ELL	50-100% Nonwhite Schools	90-100% Nonwhite Schools	99-100% Nonwhite Schools
2005-06	3.6	7.5	10.3	7.2
2010-11	4.1	7.8	11.4	10.2
2015-16	5.1	9.1	13.8	12.8

Sources: State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2005, 2010, and 2015

For young English learners at the elementary level, a higher percentage of those students attended racially segregated schools compared to overall ELLs in New Jersey. Specifically, a

[20] U.S. Census Bureau, 2015, Detailed Languages Spoken at Home and Ability to Speak English for the Population 5 Years and Over: 2009-2013. http://www.census.gov/data/tables/2013/demo/2009-2013-lang-tables.html?eml=gd&utm_medium=email&utm_source=govdelivery

fifth of ELLs at the elementary level were attending intensely segregated and apartheid schools that enrolled less than ten percent white students (Table 21).

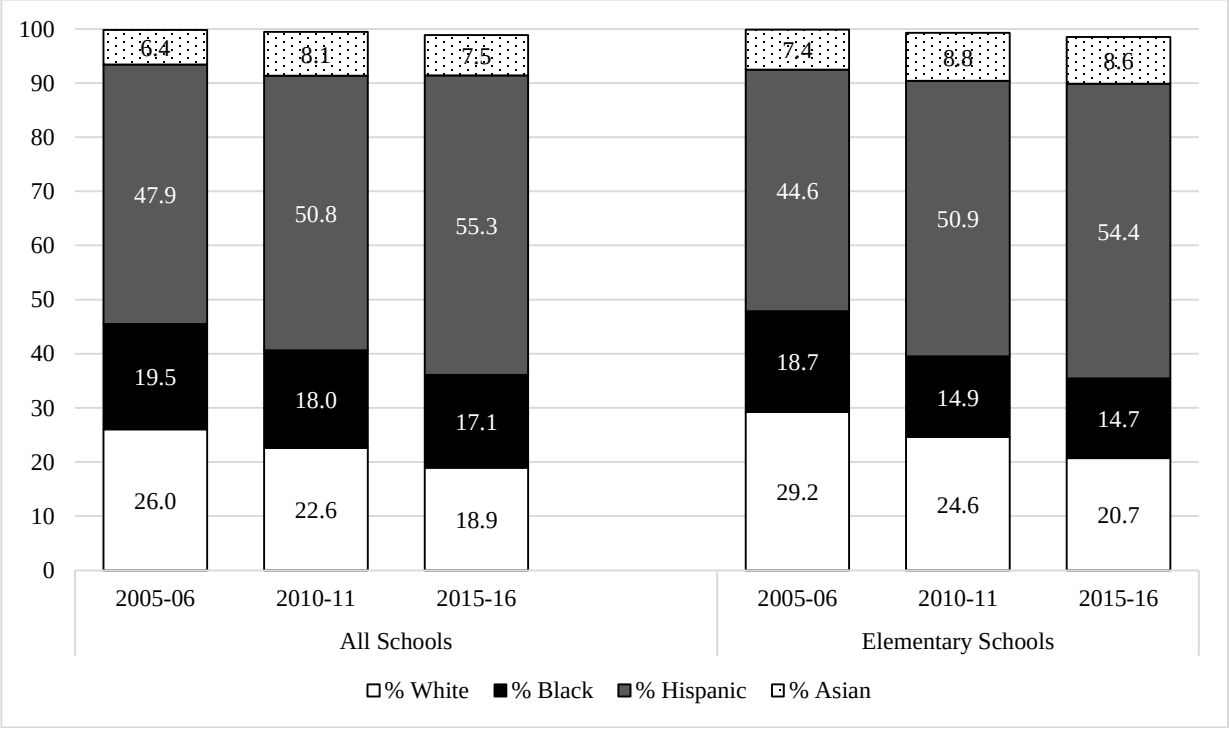
Table 21: Percentage of ELL Students at the Elementary Level in Nonwhite Schools

		% ELLs in		
	% ELL	50-100% Nonwhite Schools	90-100% Nonwhite Schools	99-100% Nonwhite Schools
2005-06	4.0	8.1	12.3	9.8
2010-11	5.3	10.2	15.3	15.8
2015-16	6.9	12.0	20.1	21.0

Sources: State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2005, 2010, and 2015

This report examines the proportion of each racial group in a school that the typical ELL student attends. In general, ELL students tend to go to schools where Hispanics make up more than 55 percent of the total enrollment. Although almost half of New Jersey students were white in 2015, the level of ELL's exposure to white students was less than 20 percent. Regarding young ELLs in elementary schools, the same pattern emerged. The white share in a school that a young ELL student attends has decreased over time from 29 to 21 percent; instead, the proportion of Hispanic students in an elementary school that the typical ELL student goes to has risen from 45 to 54 percent over the past decade. In other words, Hispanic students are experiencing increasing both ethnic and linguistic isolation (Figure 13).

Figure 13: Racial Composition of Schools Attended by the Typical ELL Student in New Jersey



Source: State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2015

ELLs in general go to schools where a majority of their peers are from low-income families. In the typical school attended by an ELL student, for instance, nearly two-thirds of students are economically disadvantaged students.

More importantly, a significant portion of ELLs in New Jersey are linguistically isolated. The typical ELL student is in a school where a fifth of the student population is English learners. In elementary schools, in particular, ELLs tend to go to schools where ELLs account for a quarter of the total enrollment (Table 22). Since ELL status is defined, in part, by achievement levels, such schools usually contain substantial numbers of former ELLs who also have a different home language and may not be strong in academic English, further increasing the isolation from fluent English speakers. Given that exposure to English-speaking students in earlier ages is a crucial key to strong English language development, these statistics raise questions as to whether New Jersey schools are providing appropriate environments for English learners and especially for young ELL children who are the most isolated.

Table 22: Percentage of Low-Income and ELL Students in a School Attended by the Typical ELL student

	All Schools		Elementary Schools	
	% Low-Income	% ELL	% Low-Income	% ELL
2005-06	53.3	16.6	52.2	18.0
2010-11	62.2	16.9	60.3	20.7
2015-16	64.7	20.2	63.8	24.2

Sources: State of New Jersey Department of Education, Enrollment Data for SY 2005, 2010, and 2015

Conclusion

Reports do not change the world -- but hard facts regularly reviewed can raise serious questions in the minds of readers and policy makers. The first thing that is positive about this work is that many individuals thinking about schools in NJ saw the patterns of segregation in our first report, have been discussing the issues, and wanted to know whether or not the state was making any progress. Given that research shows a decline in overt discrimination in the housing market and a modest drop in residential segregation of African Americans, one would think that the scenario in schools would be getting better. On most of our measures of black segregation there is little progress and the situation has become notably more severe for Latinos.

New Jersey's relatively stable school enrollment for more than l5 years has shown recent and gradual declined, as there have been major changes in the racial and economic composition of the state's schools. The long history of a large white majority is gone and the trends are toward a substantial but shrinking white share. The main growth has been Hispanic and Asian, making it a four-race state. As in the nation, the level of poverty has grown among students. New Jersey has historically been one of the most segregated states in the country, but blacks have modestly improved in interracial contact though it is still very high. Simultaneously, segregation has grown for Latinos. The average Asian pattern is more like the white pattern. Whites and Asians attend schools that have an average of less than a fourth black and Hispanic population and a large middle class majority. Blacks and Hispanics, however, typically go to schools segregated from whites and with a clear majority of children living in poverty. This pattern has large implications, weakening educational opportunities and attainment, life chances, and blocking experiences that can prepare students for success in a multiracial highly stratified society.

Segregation has many roots and has been a consistent feature of NJ communities. History shows that it will not go away by itself, particularly in the schools—segregation is self-perpetuating and it spreads, especially now among Latinos. Integration and equal opportunity can be approached from many directions but significant progress requires serious focus and ongoing attention

In this era of school choice, it is important to operate choice plans in ways that foster diversity and access, rather than as an unregulated high stakes market in which the best choices go to those with the most information and able to provide their own transportation. "Choice" means little or no choice for those who cannot or do not know which choice would make a difference or have no way to get their children to the stronger schools. A relatively simple set of procedures can produce very different results. Clear and abundant information and outreach to parents, preference for students in weak segregated school areas, genuinely attractive alternatives, welcoming all groups of students in the school, and good free transportation are key ingredients.

Obviously, school segregation is strongly related to residential segregation. In a time when progress has been made in residential segregation, it is possible to think of ways to build policies that produce a positive cycle, in contrast to the long-standing vicious cycle of segregation and resegregation extended into new areas. There are positive possibilities in both the subsidized and private sectors of the housing and mortgage markets as well as integrated community strategies that could be supported. It is very important, for example, that new family housing built with the

Federal Low Income Housing Tax Credit be located in areas with strong, diverse schools rather than, as often happens, in communities where the children will attend "dropout factory" schools and have greatly diminished chances for college and future success.

A fundamental need is to help communities understand and deal with racial change, whether it be the threat of resegregation in suburban sectors or parts of cities and small towns, or excessive gentrification that drives out existing diverse or nonwhite groups and offers long-time low income residents no way to stay. Except in those rare situations where the housing market happens to create a stable equilibrium, it is necessary to have constructive policy to produce effective and lasting integration of communities and schools.[21] Unfortunately New Jersey's famous Mt. Laurel litigation focusing on class and allowing suburbs to buy their way out of providing affordable housing did not achieve racial integration.[22]

Even when school desegregation happens, within-school segregation often takes place. Teachers, counselors and administrators need training in the monitoring of key data on course taking, on class selection and in offering academic support and counseling for school, family and community problems. Such efforts, along with de-tracking, can help limit within-school segregation. Faculty and staff diversity can aid relationships and fair treatment within schools.

Language can be a very severe barrier or an important asset for children who begin school speaking a language other than English. It is important that, as much as possible, it is treated as an asset and that schools are capable of communicating and creating positive relationships across linguistic divisions. Dual language immersion schools provide a positive way for all students to acquire a second language positively interacting with and helping teach students fluent in the other language.

Colleges should be involved in creating regional magnets and explaining the academic value of diverse education, which is a central feature of their mission statements. Colleges in areas with no college prep programs should help create them in high schools, and offer on-campus support to help students acquire key pre-collegiate skills and understanding about college opportunities.

[21] Michael D.M. Bader, Siri Warkentien **, "**The Fragmented Evolution of Racial Integration since the Civil Rights Movement**,"** *Sociological Science*, March 2, 2016.

[22]G. Orfield, "Suburban Exclusion and the Courts: Can a Class-Based Remedy Reduce Urban Segregation," C. Michael Henry, ed., *Race, Poverty, and Domestic Policy*, New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 2004, pp. 242-269.

Recommendations

The recommendations in this report are in response to the trends documented here, and draw on the broader research of Civil Rights Project scholars over the past two decades. Our work on issues of school desegregation and educational choice reflected in many reports and studies can be found at civilrightsproject.ucla.edu and in a series of books, including a recent one on school choice.[23]

School choice should not be embraced as an end onto itself. Without appropriate policies it often increases stratification and accords the biggest rewards to the most sophisticated families. With the right supports, though, choice can strongly foster diversity and increase the options for students living in areas where the existing schools are weak.

Resegregation rather than stable integration has been the basic reality of demographic change for the past century. To achieve better outcomes, communities and school districts need coordinated plans to support successful and lasting diversity and to help stabilize areas threatened by resegregation. Where there is a strong housing market, communities should take advantage of gentrification and combine school efforts with housing aid plans to stabilize diverse communities and schools. Of course this requires that school district and city officials work in concert to develop such plans.

Demographic transformation creates a need to train all teachers and administrators in ways to manage diversity and create successful interracial staffs.

Efforts should involve teacher training institutions to help prepare the staff and to address the needs of language minority students so that linguistic diversity is viewed as an educational and social asset.

Successful interracial communities need training for students and community leaders in the cultural and historical contributions of the major communities. Those contributions should be respected and included as an important antidote to negative stereotypes that tend to be widespread. Moreover, immigrant students and families need to understand the history of racial relations in their newly adopted country.

The basic lesson of the report is that the future of the state and its communities depends on making an extremely diverse society work much better than what has been achieved so far. New Jersey does not face a problem without solutions -- but it is on a path that will make things worse. Turning onto a viable future path will take understanding and leadership and could produce very large rewards.

[23] Orfield, G., & Frankenberg, E. (2013). Educational Delusions?: Why Choice Can Deepen Inequality and How to Make Schools Fair. Berkeley and Los Angeles, CA: Univ. of California Press.

Appendix

Segregation Statistics (Exposure Rates)

In this report we used exposure statistics to measure segregation and to capture the experiences of segregation. Exposure of certain racial groups to one another or to majority groups shows the distribution of racial groups among organizational units – states in this report – and describes the average contact between different groups. It is calculated by employing the percentage of a particular group of students of interest in a small unit (e.g., school) with a certain group of students in a larger geographic or organizational unit (e.g., state) to show an weighted average of the composition of a particular racial group. The formula for calculating the exposure rates of a student in racial group A to students in racial group B is:

$$P^* = \sum_{i=1}^{N} \frac{a_i}{A}\frac{b_i}{t_i}$$

where:

n is the number of small units (e.g., school) in a larger unit (e.g., state)
a_i is the number of student in racial group A in the small unit *i* (school *i*)
A is the total number of students in racial group A in the larger unit (state)
b_i is the number of students in racial group B in the small unit *i* (school *i*)
t_i is the total number of students in all racial groups in the small unit *i* (school *i*)

The Proportionality Measure

There are a number of challenges to quantifying segregation levels. Most significantly, it is difficult to construct a measure that is both easy to interpret and inclusive or all racial and ethnic subgroups. Another issue in constructing segregation measures is identifying a measure that is aspirational—directing us towards an ideal. This report presents a measure of proportionality that attempts to address these challenges. The measure highlights the proportionality of a student population in one organizational unit in comparison to the demographic composition of the student population in a larger organizational unit. In practice, the measure identifies the proportion of a student population in a given space that needs to change in order to achieve proportionality across all racial/ethnic subgroups in a larger geographic area under investigation. We have designated organizational units where less than 10% of students would need to be replaced with students from different demographic backgrounds in order to achieve proportionality across the larger organizational unit as *proportional areas. Somewhat proportional* areas include organizational units where less than 20% of students would need to be replaced with students from different demographic backgrounds in order to achieve proportionality across the larger organizational unit; and *highly disproportional* areas include organizational units where more than 50% of students would need to be replaced with students from different demographic backgrounds in order to achieve proportionality across the larger organizational unit. The formula for calculating the proportionality measure is:

$$\frac{\sum_{r=1}^{r}|(\Pi_r \times T_i) - T_{ir}|}{2T_i}$$

where:

r = a racial/ethnic subgroup
i = a subarea (school/district/county/region)
Π_r = the proportion of subgroup r in the full geographic region being studied
T_{ir} = the population of subgroup r in subregion i
T_i = the total population of all subgroups in subregion i