

POLICY BRIEF



BRING OUR CHILDREN HOME: A Prison-to-School Pipeline for New Jersey's Youth Close Hayes Girls' Prison and Reopen the Bordentown School



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From The Ground Up

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INTRODUCTION

New Jersey is the home of a literal school-to-prison pipeline. For more than half a century, New Jersey operated the Bordentown School, also referred to as the “Tuskegee of the North,” an elite public boarding school for New Jersey’s Black youth. Today, however, the Female Secure Care and Intake Facility (also known as Hayes), the state’s only girls’ youth prison, now occupies the land on which this school once stood. The transition of Bordentown from a school to a prison reflects a practice that occurs in far too many classrooms across New Jersey, where students of color are pushed into the youth justice system and ultimately into our state’s youth prisons. Former Governor Chris Christie’s historic announcement of the closure of two of the state’s youth prisons, Hayes and the New Jersey Training School for Boys (also known as Jamesburg), and the creation of two smaller youth rehabilitation centers based on national best practices, is an important step in transforming our state’s youth justice system. In addition to this important step, we must also repair the impact of incarceration’s damaging legacy on the youth of our state, particularly our youth of color, for over 150 years.

THE BORDENTOWN SCHOOL

Nestled down a wooded country road in Bordentown, New Jersey, stands a land lost in the past. For over half a century, this 400-acre estate was home to the New Jersey Manual Training and Industrial School for Colored Youth,¹ also known as the Bordentown School.² Originally founded in 1886 by the formerly enslaved Reverend Walter Rice as an industrial school for Black girls,³ the school ultimately became an elite co-ed, state-run boarding school for New Jersey’s Black students.⁴ Recognized as the “Tuskegee of the North” after Booker T. Washington’s Tuskegee Institute in Alabama, the Bordentown School developed a reputation for preparing its students for a lifetime of leadership through vocational training and academic studies.⁵

But in 1947, New Jersey adopted a state constitutional provision⁶ that prohibited public school segregation and required the Bordentown School to integrate the following year.⁷ After the school attracted only two white students,⁸ New Jersey closed the Bordentown School in 1955, just one year after the Supreme Court’s decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, arguing that it perpetuated racial segregation.⁹ More than sixty years after New Jersey closed the Bordentown School’s doors, most of its many campus buildings are uninhabitable and abandoned; yet, some remain in use.¹⁰

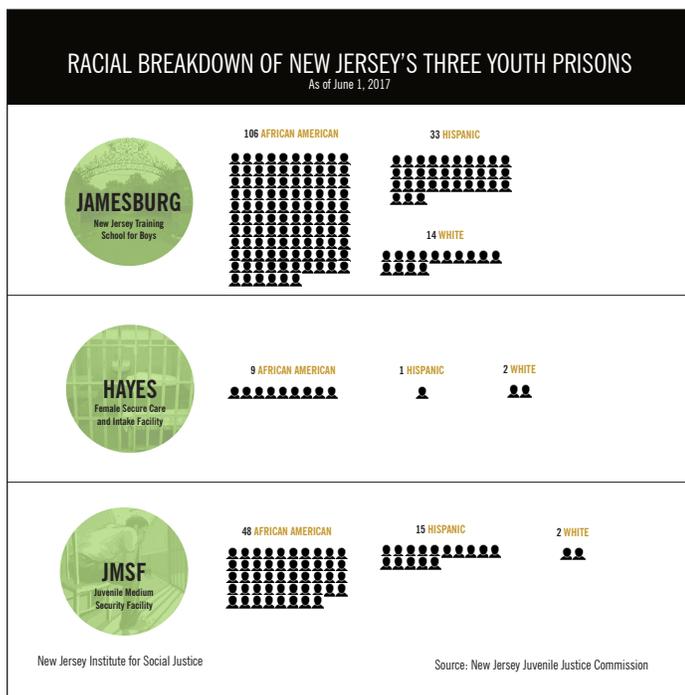
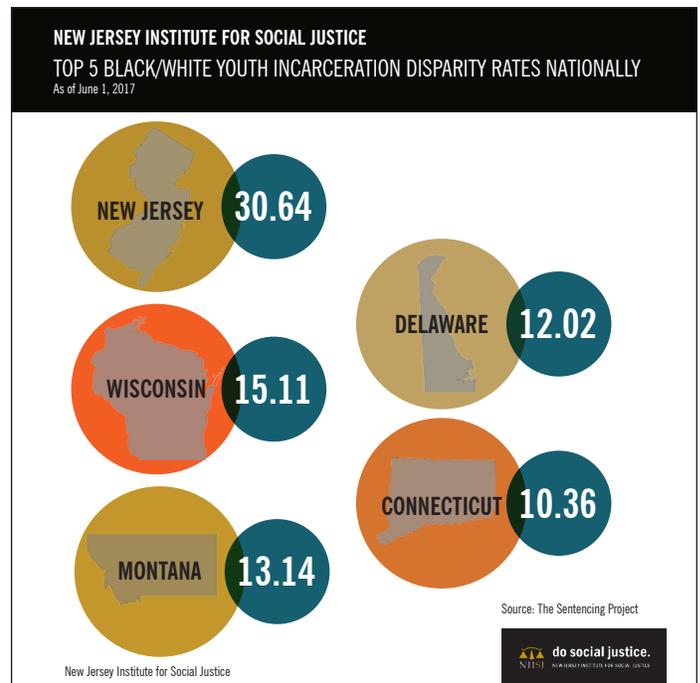
The Bordentown School is,
literally, the school-to-prison
pipeline realized.

So what now occupies the land that was once home to the “Tuskegee of the North”? New Jersey’s only girls’ youth prison—the Female Secure Care and Intake Facility, also known as Hayes.¹¹

RACIAL DISPARITIES AND YOUTH INCARCERATION

New Jersey has the worst racial disparities among its incarcerated Black and white youth in the nation.¹² In New Jersey, a Black child is over thirty times more likely to be detained or committed to a youth facility than a white child.¹³ As a result, as of June 1, 2017, 70% of incarcerated kids are Black, and only 8% (just eighteen kids) are white.¹⁴

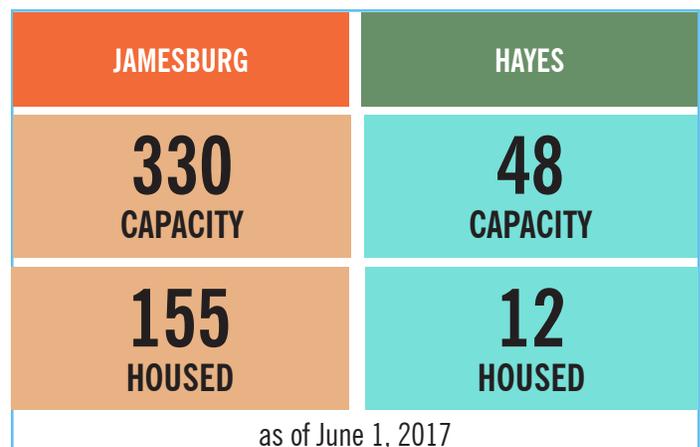
As of June 1, 2017, of the twelve girls committed to Hayes, nine are Black, and two are white.¹⁵ Although the population is small, the racial disproportionality of our state’s incarcerated girls reflects demographics at the national level—Black girls are the fastest growing population in the youth justice system and generally receive more severe sentences than other system-involved girls.¹⁶ It should also be noted that as of June 1, 2017, two-thirds of our state’s incarcerated girls have been involved with both the child welfare system and the youth justice system, and all of them have a mental health diagnosis.¹⁷



These racial disparities persist even though Black and white youth commit most offenses at similar rates.¹⁸ This disproportionality in our state’s youth prisons reflects racially-discriminatory decisions about which kids are sentenced to prison, and which kids are treated like children and receive grace and developmentally appropriate care.¹⁹

New Jersey also has the second worst Latino/white youth incarceration disparity rate in the nation (behind Massachusetts).²⁰ A Latino youth in New Jersey is five times more likely to be detained or committed than a white youth.²¹ As of June 1, 2017, New Jersey had forty-nine incarcerated youth classified as Hispanic.²²

The New Jersey Training School for Boys (also known as Jamesburg), the largest youth prison for boys in the state, which has a capacity of 330,²³ houses only 155 boys as of June 1, 2017.²⁴ Hayes, which has a maximum capacity of forty-eight girls,²⁵ incarcerates twelve as of June 1, 2017,²⁶ ranging in age from sixteen to twenty-one.²⁷ Indeed, New Jersey has the lowest girls’ confinement rate in the nation.²⁸





THE SCHOOL-TO-PRISON PIPELINE

Over the past few decades, there has been a marked increase in the use of suspensions, expulsions, law enforcement referrals, and school-based arrests.²⁹ These disciplinary practices not only deprive our youth of valuable classroom time and positive peer relationships,³⁰ they also push them into the youth justice system.³¹

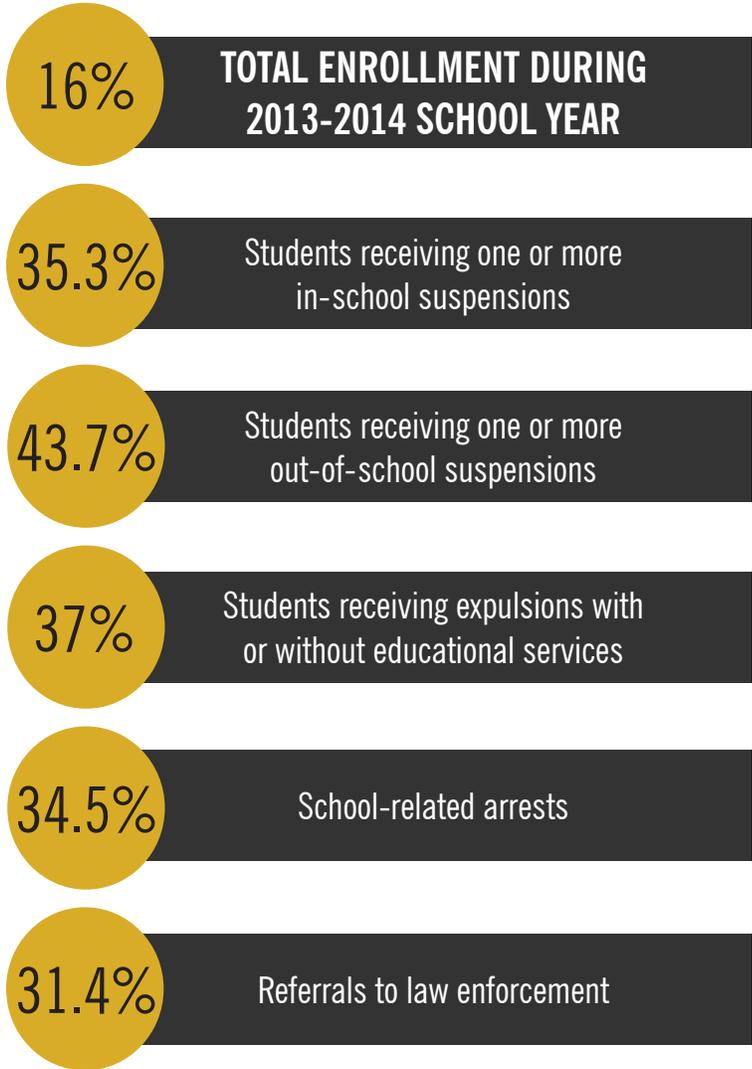
Importantly, the school-to-prison pipeline largely pushes kids into the youth justice system for minor behavior.³² Indeed, a 2015-2016 study of eight New Jersey counties found that over half of school-based delinquency complaints (51.3 percent) were for misdemeanor offenses.³³ This phenomenon—the funneling of children from school and into incarceration—is commonly known as the “school-to-prison pipeline.”

BLACK STUDENTS

Overly-punitive school disciplinary measures have been disastrous for Black students. Importantly, these racial disparities do not reflect greater culpability of Black children than their white peers, as Black and white youth commit most offenses at similar rates.³⁴ Rather, these disparities exist, in part, because of our schools’ inability to see Black children as children.³⁵ Indeed, both Black boys and girls are seen as less innocent and more mature than their white peers.³⁶ Studies also show the implicit bias some educators have toward viewing Black youth as more likely to engage in disruptive behavior, even among students as young as preschool age.³⁷ Given that New Jersey has some of the most racially-segregated schools in the nation,³⁸ an important area for further research in our state is the overlap of school racial segregation and punitive disciplinary measures.

During the 2013-2014 school year, with a total enrollment of about 16%,³⁹ Black students in New Jersey made up an estimated 35.3% of students receiving one or more in-school suspensions, 43.7% of students receiving one or more out-of-school suspensions, and 37% of students receiving expulsions with or without educational services.⁴⁰ Black students in the state also made up an estimated 34.5% of school-related arrests and 31.4% of referrals to law enforcement.⁴¹

BLACK STUDENTS IN NEW JERSEY





A Black girl in New Jersey is 8.5 times more likely to be suspended than a white girl.

INTERSECTIONALITY: BLACK AND FEMALE

Due to the intersection of being both Black and female,⁴² Black girls are uniquely affected by the school-to-prison pipeline.⁴³ The pervasive refusal to recognize the girlhood of Black female students contributes to their disproportionate removal from the classroom.

A Black girl in New Jersey is 8.5 times more likely to be suspended than a white girl.⁴⁴

During the 2015-2016 school year, while Black and Hispanic girls in the state made up 7.7% and 12.8% of total enrollment, respectively,⁴⁵ they made up 13.3% and 17.6% of total dropouts.⁴⁶ By contrast, white girls, 22.4% of total enrollment, only accounted for 9% of dropouts.⁴⁷ In addition, over the 2013-2014 school year, while Black girls made up only 16.2% of female students in New Jersey,⁴⁸ they made up an estimated half (50.4%) of girls receiving one or more out-of-school suspensions, 30.2% of girls receiving expulsions with or without educational services, 37.6% of girls subject to school-related arrests, and 33.9% of girls referred to law enforcement.⁴⁹

**BLACK AND FEMALE
2015-2016 SCHOOL YEAR**

TOTAL ENROLLMENT	
Black	7.7%
Hispanic	12.8%
White	22.4%

TOTAL DROPOUTS	
Black	13.3%
Hispanic	17.6%
White	9%

**BLACK FEMALES IN THE 2013-2014
SCHOOL YEAR WERE:**

- 16.2%** of female students
- 50.4%** of female students receiving one or more out-of-school suspensions
- 30.2%** of girls receiving expulsions with or without educational services
- 37.6%** of girls subject to school-related arrests
- 33.9%** of girls referred to law enforcement



A WAY FORWARD: BUILDING A PRISON-TO-SCHOOL PIPELINE IN NEW JERSEY



1 New Jersey Must Take Immediate Steps to Close Hayes

Following the Christie administration's historic announcement, the state must take immediate steps to close Hayes.

Due to the small number of girls currently incarcerated at Hayes, New Jersey should immediately begin a holistic assessment of each girl to create an individualized program of services. Importantly, at the decision-making point, the default should be to keep every girl in their home community with services and supports that are trauma-informed, gender-specific, and culturally-sensitive.⁵⁰

If a girl may need to be in an out-of-home placement, best practices dictate that such settings should be small, home-like, rehabilitation- and treatment-focused, and have family and/or community engagement at the heart of a girl's rehabilitation.⁵¹

Closing Hayes and Jamesburg is only the beginning of the path to ending youth incarceration in our state. The Institute, through its youth justice campaign 150 Years is Enough, also advocates for the closure of the Juvenile Medium Security Facility (JMSF), across the street from Hayes. We cannot transform our state's youth justice system without closing all of the state's youth prisons and creating a community-based system of care.⁵² Closing Hayes and rebuilding the Bordentown School must be tied to JMSF's closure as well.⁵³

2 New Jersey Should Rebuild a Modern Bordentown School

New Jersey must take immediate steps to close Hayes and create a prison-to-school pipeline in its place by reinvesting funds into rebuilding a modern Bordentown School.

Operating a public boarding school focused on academic rigor, leadership preparedness, and diversity would allow New Jersey to join the ranks of a number of states from around the country already operating world-class, public residential schools, such as Arkansas, Illinois, and Maine.⁵⁴ Importantly, the development of such a school on the land where the Bordentown School once stood must be informed by the voices of girls formerly incarcerated at Hayes, young people who have been incarcerated in the state's other youth prisons, and young people who have had other youth justice system involvement.

By reopening the Bordentown School and accounting for the current educational landscape, New Jersey has the opportunity to stand apart in providing a transformative educational experience for New Jersey's youth.

3 The New Jersey Department of Education Should Conduct a Comprehensive Qualitative Report on School Pushout in New Jersey

The DOE should conduct a statewide, comprehensive school-to-prison pipeline qualitative study. The research should include focus groups and interviews with students, families, teachers, school law enforcement, guidance counselors, social workers, nurses, administrators, and others involved with school environments, and should primarily target school districts with high rates of suspensions, expulsions, law enforcement referrals, and arrests.

The DOE should generate a report based on this research that highlights the experiences of Black and Latino youth, and includes separate analyses for how school environments have uniquely impacted their Black and Latino female and male students.⁵⁵ This report should be made publicly available and should guide the DOE and the legislature in considering changes to current disciplinary measures used in schools across the state.

4 The Federal Civil Rights Data Collection and the New Jersey Department of Education Should Improve and Expand Their Data Collection Measures

Similarly, data from both the federal CRDC and the state DOE should be improved. Although the CRDC is a mandatory data collection, it is missing data from key jurisdictions—such as the entire Newark public school district. The CRDC must engage the necessary accountability measures to ensure collection from all schools throughout the nation and should clearly publicize what jurisdictions (if any) are not included in the collection, and why.

While the New Jersey Department of Education website does include a data section for the state, there are also areas for improvement. In response to an Open Public Records Act request made by the Institute, the DOE stated that it does not aggregate statewide data on suspensions or expulsions, broken down by gender or race, for either its public school or charter school students.⁵⁶ This information is necessary to understand the extent of the impact of the school-to-prison pipeline on students of color.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Cristina Rojas, *Alumni Reflect on Impact of Manual Training and Industrial School for Colored Youth in Bordentown*, NJ.COM (Aug 4, 2014), 7:00 AM), http://www.nj.com/mercer/index.ssf/2014/08/alumni_gather_in_bordentown_to_reflect_on_impact_of_manual_training_and_industrial_school_for_colore.html.
- ² N.J. Historical Comm'n, *The Bordentown School*, IT HAPPENED HERE: NEW JERSEY, <http://www.nj.gov/state/historical/it-happened-here/ihnj-er-bordentown.pdf> (last visited Jan. 8, 2018).
- ³ Rojas, *supra* note 1; NAZERA SADIQ WRIGHT, *BLACK GIRLHOOD IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY 127-28* (2016). Please note, Reverend Walter Rice is referred to as Reverend Raymond Rice in this text.
- ⁴ See Rojas, *supra* note 1.
- ⁵ See N.J. Historical Comm'n, *supra* note 2.
- ⁶ GREG FLAXMAN ET AL., *A STATUS QUO OF SEGREGATION: RACIAL AND ECONOMIC IMBALANCE IN NEW JERSEY SCHOOLS, 1989-2010* 9 (2013), https://www.civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/a-status-quo-of-segregation-racial-and-economic-imbalance-in-new-jersey-schools-1989-2010/Norfl-et_NJ_Final_101013_POSTb.pdf.
- ⁷ History of the Township of Bordentown, Bordentown Township, <http://www.bordentowntownship.com/history> (last visited Jan. 8, 2018).
- ⁸ *Jersey to Close All-Negro School Because It Can't Get White Pupils*, N.Y. TIMES (Dec. 18, 1954), <http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9D03E2D8123DE23BBC4052DFB467838F649EDE>.
- ⁹ *Id.*; *Bordentown Manual Training School Institutional History*, N.J. ST. ARCHIVES COLLECTION GUIDE, <http://www.nj.gov/state/archives/guides/sedma000.pdf> (last visited Jan. 8, 2018). In *Brown v. Board of Education*, 347 U.S. 483 (1954), the Supreme Court of the United States held that racial segregation in public schools was unconstitutional.
- ¹⁰ See Rojas, *supra* note 1.
- ¹¹ The Female Secure Care and Intake Facility is located in the Hayes Building. See Bobbi Pohlman-Rodgers, PREA AUDIT REPORT: JUVENILE FEMALE SECURE CARE AND INTAKE FACILITY 1 (2015), www.nj.gov/lps/jjc/pdf/PREA_JSCIF_Hayes_Audit_Report_2015.pdf. While Hayes is located on the original grounds of the Bordentown School, it is not housed in any of the former school's buildings.
- ¹² THE SENTENCING PROJECT, *BLACK DISPARITIES IN YOUTH INCARCERATION* (2017), <https://www.sentencingproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/09/Black-Disparities-in-Youth-Incarceration.pdf>. This statistic is as of 2015.
- ¹³ *Id.*
- ¹⁴ E-mail from Jennifer LeBaron, Deputy Exec. Dir., Policy, Research & Planning, N. J. Juvenile Justice Comm'n, to Andrea McChristian, Assoc. Counsel, N. J. Inst. for Soc. Justice (Sept. 28, 2017, 10:01 EST) (on file with author).
- ¹⁵ *Id.*
- ¹⁶ KIMBERLÉ GRENSHAW ET AL., *AFRICAN AM. POLICY FORUM & CTR. FOR INTERSECTIONALITY & SOC. POLICY STUDIES, BLACK GIRLS MATTER: PUSHED OUT, OVERPOLICED, AND UNDERPROTECTED* 9 (2015), https://static1.squarespace.com/static/53f20d90e4b0b80451158d8c/t/54dcc1ece4b001c03e323448/1423753708557/AAPF_BlackGirlsMatterReport.pdf.
- ¹⁷ E-mail from Jennifer LeBaron, Deputy Exec. Dir., Policy, Research & Planning, N. J. Juvenile Justice Comm'n, to Andrea McChristian, Assoc. Counsel, N. J. Inst. for Soc. Justice (Aug. 7, 2017, 11:59 EST) (on file with author). Unless otherwise noted, all data pertaining to New Jersey's incarcerated youth is as of June 1, 2017.
- ¹⁸ JOSHUA ROVNER, THE SENTENCING PROJECT, *RACIAL DISPARITIES IN YOUTH COMMITMENTS AND ARRESTS* 6-7 (2016), <https://www.sentencingproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/04/Racial-Disparities-in-Youth-Commitments-and-Arrests.pdf>; NAT'L JUVENILE JUSTICE NETWORK, *IMPLICIT BIAS: WHY IT MATTERS FOR YOUTH JUSTICE* 1-2 (2017), <http://www.njjn.org/uploads/digital-library/NJJN%20Implicit%20Bias%20Snapshot%202017.pdf>.
- ¹⁹ See Andrea McChristian, *How Discrimination is Sending More Black Kids to Prison*, THE STAR-LEDGER (Oct. 3, 2017), http://www.nj.com/opinion/index.ssf/2017/10/how_discrimination_is_sending_more_black_youths_to.html.
- ²⁰ THE SENTENCING PROJECT, *LATINO DISPARITIES IN YOUTH INCARCERATION* (2017), <https://www.sentencingproject.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/10/Latino-Disparities-in-Youth-Incarceration.pdf>. This statistic is as of 2015.
- ²¹ *Id.*
- ²² See E-mail from Jennifer LeBaron, *supra* note 14.
- ²³ Dorothy Xanos, PREA Audit Report: New Jersey Training School 1 (2016), http://www.nj.gov/lps/jjc/pdf/2016-PREA-Final-Report_NJ%20Training-School.pdf.
- ²⁴ See E-mail from Jennifer LeBaron, *supra* note 14.
- ²⁵ See Pohlman-Rodgers, *supra* note 11, at 1.
- ²⁶ See E-mail from Jennifer LeBaron, *supra* note 14.
- ²⁷ See E-mail from Jennifer LeBaron, *supra* note 17.
- ²⁸ Nat'l Ctr. for Juvenile Justice, *Sex of Residents by State, 2015*, EASY ACCESS TO THE CENSUS OF JUVENILES IN RESIDENTIAL PLACEMENT: 1997-2015, https://www.ojdp.gov/ojstatbb/ezajcrp/asp/State_Sex.asp (last visited Jan. 16, 2018). This statistic is as of 2015. This national survey includes youth confined to the following facilities: detention centers, shelters, reception/diagnostic centers, group homes, boot camps, ranch/wilderness camps, residential treatment centers, long-term secure facilities, and other facilities (such as alternative schools and independent living). See Nat'l Ctr. for Juvenile Justice, *Glossary*, EASY ACCESS TO THE CENSUS OF JUVENILES IN RESIDENTIAL PLACEMENT: 1997-2015, https://www.ojdp.gov/ojstatbb/ezajcrp/asp/State_Sex.asp (last visited Jan. 16, 2018).
- ²⁹ See, e.g., Jason P. Nance, *Over-Disciplining Students, Racial Bias, and the School-to-Prison Pipeline*, 50 U. RICH. L. REV. 1063, 1063 (2016), <http://scholarship.law.ufl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1766&context=facultypub>.
- ³⁰ MARK BIEDRON ET AL., *EDUCATION/JUSTICE PARTNERSHIP TO SUPPORT OUR SHARED YOUTH: A PRESENTATION TO THE NEW JERSEY STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION* (2018), [http://www.state.nj.us/education/sboe/meetings/2018/January/public/CJJSI-EDU_SBOE_Presentation_1-3-18%20\(final\).pdf](http://www.state.nj.us/education/sboe/meetings/2018/January/public/CJJSI-EDU_SBOE_Presentation_1-3-18%20(final).pdf).
- ³¹ REBECCA EPSTEIN ET AL., *GEORGETOWN LAW CTR. ON POVERTY & INEQUALITY, GIRLHOOD INTERRUPTED: THE ERASURE OF BLACK GIRLS' CHILDHOOD* 9 (2017), <http://www.law.georgetown.edu/academics/centers-institutes/poverty-inequality/upload/girlhood-interrupted.pdf>.
- ³² Kendra Cheek & Justin Bucchio, *School-to-Prison Pipeline Can Be Dismantled Using Alternative Discipline Strategies*, JUV. JUST. INFO. EXCHANGE (Sept. 7, 2017), <http://jjie.org/2017/09/07/alternative-discipline-strategies-for-dismantling-the-school-to-prison-pipeline/>.
- ³³ BIEDRON ET AL., *supra* note 30.
- ³⁴ See ROVNER, *supra* note 18, at 6-7; NAT'L JUVENILE JUSTICE NETWORK, *supra* note 18, at 1-2.
- ³⁵ See McChristian, *supra* note 19.
- ³⁶ See EPSTEIN ET AL., *supra* note 31, at 1; see also Philip A. Goff et al., *The Essence of Innocence: Consequences of Dehumanizing Black Children*, 106 J. OF PERSONALITY AND SOC. PSYCHOL. 526 (2014), <http://www.apa.org/pubs/journals/releases/psp-a0035663.pdf>.

- ³⁷ Cory Turner, *Bias Isn't Just a Police Problem, It's a Preschool Problem*, NPR (Sept. 28, 2016), <http://www.npr.org/sections/ed/2016/09/28/495488716/bias-isnt-just-a-police-problem-its-a-preschool-problem>.
- ³⁸ GARY ORFIELD ET AL., UCLA CIVIL RIGHTS PROJECT, *NEW JERSEY'S SEGREGATED SCHOOLS: TRENDS AND PATHS FORWARD* (2017), <http://assets.njspotlight.com/assets/17/1119/1735>.
- ³⁹ Black students made up 16.1 percent of total student enrollment during the 2013-2014 school year. See *2013-2014 Enrollment*, N.J. DEP'T OF EDUC., <http://www.state.nj.us/education/data/enr/enr14/county2.htm> (last visited Jan. 16, 2018).
- ⁴⁰ *2013-14 State and National Estimations: 2013-14 Discipline Estimations by Discipline Type*, C. R. DATA COLLECTION (data retrieved for New Jersey), https://ocrdata.ed.gov/StateNationalEstimations/Estimations_2013_14# (last visited Jan. 16, 2018). These numbers reflect the percentage of students with and without disabilities. According to an October 23, 2017 email from the Civil Rights Data Collection, "The [state and national] estimations might differ slightly from national numbers reported in the First Look, Protecting the Civil Rights of Students in the Juvenile Justice System, and other reports released by OCR, due to different methodologies used to summarize school-level data. For example, the prior reports used the public-use data files, where data elements were privacy protected by rounding at the school-level data. The school-level rounded data were summed to compute state-level or national-level summaries. The estimations, by comparison, used a more comprehensive privacy protection and computation strategy that included perturbing the data." See E-mail from Office for Civil Rights Civil Rights Data Collection to Andrea McChristian, Assoc. Counsel, N. J. Inst. for Soc. Justice (Oct. 23, 2017, 16:25 EST) (on file with author).
- ⁴¹ *2013-14 State and National Estimations*, *supra* note 40.
- ⁴² See Kimberlé Crenshaw, *Why Intersectionality Can't Wait*, WASH. POST (Sept. 24, 2015), https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/in-theory/wp/2015/09/24/why-intersectionality-cant-wait/?utm_term=.443e297899e8.
- ⁴³ See generally MISHA N. INNIS-THOMPSON, NAT'L BLACK WOMEN'S JUSTICE INST., *SUMMARY OF DISCIPLINE DATA FOR GIRLS IN U.S. PUBLIC SCHOOLS: AN ANALYSIS FROM THE 2013-14 U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION OFFICE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS DATA COLLECTION* (2017), https://www.acsa.org/application/files/5215/0532/2372/NBWJI_Fact_Sheet_090917FINAL.pdf (providing data on nationwide prevalence of disciplinary practices for Black and Latina female students).
- ⁴⁴ *Find the Suspension Rate for Black Girls in Your State*, NAT'L WOMEN'S L. CTR. (Apr. 18, 2017) (data retrieved for New Jersey), <https://nwlc.org/resources/find-the-suspension-rate-for-black-girls-in-your-state/>.
- ⁴⁵ See *2015-2016 Enrollment District Reported Data*, N.J. DEP'T OF EDUC., <http://www.state.nj.us/education/data/enr/enr16/count2.htm> (last visited Jan. 16, 2018).
- ⁴⁶ *2015-2016 Dropouts*, N.J. DEP'T OF EDUC., <http://www.state.nj.us/education/data/drp/drp17/county2.htm> (last visited Jan. 22, 2018).
- ⁴⁷ See *id.*; see also *2015-2016 Enrollment District Reported Data*, N.J. DEP'T OF EDUC., <http://www.state.nj.us/education/data/enr/enr16/coutny2.htm>.
- ⁴⁸ *2013-2014 Enrollment*, N.J. DEP'T OF EDUC., <http://www.nj.gov/education/data/enr/enr14/county2.htm> (last visited Jan. 29, 2018).
- ⁴⁹ See *2013-14 State and National Estimations*, *supra* note 40.
- ⁵⁰ The PACE Center for Girls (PACE)—which operates 19 nonresidential, year-round program centers for girls throughout Florida—provides one possible model. PACE incorporates gender-responsive programming, trauma-informed care, and wrap-around services as part of its preventative model; an implementation study found that, after a year, girls in PACE were more likely than girls in a control group to have received academic advising and health counseling, and to be enrolled in school. See LOUISA TRESKON ET AL., MDRC, *HELPING GIRLS GET BACK ON TRACK: AN IMPLEMENTATION STUDY OF THE PACE CENTER FOR GIRLS* (2017), https://www.mdrc.org/sites/default/files/PACE_Interim_Report_2017-Web.pdf.
- ⁵¹ See, e.g., ANDREA McCHRISTIAN, N.J. INST. FOR SOC. JUSTICE, *BRING OUR CHILDREN HOME: AIN'T I A CHILD?* (2016), https://d3n8a8pro7vhm.cloudfront.net/njisj/pages/465/attachments/original/1482183464/Ain%27t_I_A_Child_Final_.pdf?1482183464.
- ⁵² See, e.g., N.J. INST. FOR SOC. JUSTICE, "AIN'T I A CHILD?" A TRANSFORMATIVE VISION FOR YOUTH JUSTICE IN NEW JERSEY (2018), https://d3n8a8pro7vhm.cloudfront.net/njisj/pages/930/attachments/original/1515451591/Institute_Vision_Statement_for_Youth_Justice_.pdf?1515451591.
- ⁵³ In addition, the state would also need to relocate the Albert Elias residential community home, which presently also sits on the Bordentown School's former grounds.
- ⁵⁴ See, e.g., the Illinois Mathematics and Science Academy; the Arkansas School for Mathematics, Sciences, and the Arts; and the Maine School of Science and Mathematics.
- ⁵⁵ For example, the report *Be Her Resource: A Toolkit About School Resource Officers and Girls of Color*, which outlines a qualitative study conducted to assess the viewpoints of school girls of color and school resource officers in the South, could serve as helpful background. See MONIQUE W. MORRIS ET AL., GEORGETOWN LAW CTR. ON POVERTY & INEQUALITY & NAT'L BLACK WOMEN'S JUSTICE INST., *BE HER RESOURCE: A TOOLKIT ABOUT SCHOOL RESOURCE OFFICERS AND GIRLS OF COLOR* (2017), <https://www.law.georgetown.edu/news/press-releases/upload/be-her-resource.pdf>.
- ⁵⁶ E-mail from Jennifer Simons, Records Custodian, Div. of Legal and External Affairs, N. J. Dep't of Educ., to Andrea McChristian, Assoc. Counsel, N. J. Inst. for Soc. Justice (Jan. 2, 2018, 09:19 EST) (on file with author) ("The Department of Education does not make or maintain the requested documents. Accordingly, the request is denied.").