



A Status Quo of Segregation:

**Racial and Economic Imbalance in
New Jersey Schools, 1989-2010**

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with

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Foreword by

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This report is the fourth in a series of twelve reports from The Civil Rights Project analyzing school segregation in the Northeast and Mid-Atlantic states

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Foreword

by Gary Orfield

This is a study of the segregation of New Jersey's schools, the fourth of eleven state reports the Civil Rights Project, a nonpartisan research center at UCLA, will publish. Our work on New Jersey shows very severe double segregation by both race and poverty, but we believe that New Jersey has the potential to create positive initiatives that would lead to a much better future for the state.

As co-director of the Civil Rights Project and a former resident of New Jersey, I have a personal interest in the state, the birthplace of my second daughter. I became familiar with the state and some of its communities back in the 1970s. I participated in fair-housing testing in Princeton, my students studied many of the issues developing in New Jersey communities, and I even did political canvassing in Trenton and some northern communities. It was already apparent then that this wealthy, largely suburban, state had very serious issues of inequality and segregation. Many progressives hoped that the rise of African American leaders in the cities and school districts might produce a major breakthrough. Some cities were rapidly losing their white and middle-class populations and much of their economic base. There were incredibly unequal taxes, and almost none of the land in the developing suburban communities was zoned to permit the development of affordable rental housing for families. When I came to the Trenton area looking for a diverse community to live in while teaching at Princeton, officials at the largest bank in the area warned me that there was going to be a massive spread of segregation and it would be a bad risk to buy a house that wasn't far outside the existing black and Latino areas. They even showed me on a map where I should look. I complained to the Justice Department about this obvious violation of the federal fair housing laws. There were a few very positive integrated communities in the New York suburban rings, but great inequality elsewhere. I was stunned when public resistance to a desegregation effort in Trenton led the court to simply back down, something I had not even seen in the South. New Jersey seemed to have escaped the social transformation that had come to the Southern and Border states.

Since that time, New Jersey, under the leadership of its courts, has made extraordinary efforts to create a much more fair system of funding for public education, an effort that is, in many ways, a national model. Its courts also provided, in the *Mt. Laurel* cases, a breakthrough in forcing suburban communities to address problems of affordable housing. Unfortunately, however, neither of these important initiatives addressed the issue of intense residential and school segregation in the state. The basic reality we see in civil rights research across the nation is that, if you fail to address the issues of segregation directly, you are basically accepting and sometimes reinforcing segregation and betting that you can make it equal by spending money to address some of the problems. You are betting on separate but equal as a viable concept and assuming that we know how to do that and that we have the long-term political will to accomplish it. Unfortunately, there never has been a metropolitan area that has had separate but equal schools or communities, and the highest performing schools almost everywhere serve the most privileged students. Meanwhile, the weakest schools (with very few exceptions) serve the most isolated and disadvantaged students in the most isolated and disadvantaged communities. Since segregated schools are rarely segregated only by race and almost always on multiple dimensions, and because they normally provide very different opportunities and produce very different results, they tend to feed what Martin Luther King Jr. called the "false assumption of

superiority” on the part of those who attend the white and Asian schools serving the most affluent communities, whose residents rarely understand the true harm of the involuntary multiple segregation facing most African American and Latino children and who assume that those children’s parents do not care or that there is something wrong with their culture.

What is wrong is in fact something very different. New Jersey has let segregation fester and spread while trying to address some of the inequalities within the separate but equal frame. This has been much better than doing nothing, but the opportunities and outcomes are still deeply unequal and systems of intergenerational spatial and political separation have grown up that diminish the state’s capacity to function effectively as a multiracial community, which soon will have a nonwhite majority among its youth population.

People often say, when confronted with the sobering statistics of intense and growing segregation: “Well, we can’t do anything about that. We tried and it failed.” In fact, as this report shows, a half century of research on school desegregation shows substantial benefits for students of color, including better chances of graduating from high school and college, better educational opportunities and achievement. For white students there is no evidence of educational harm but substantial evidence that students feel better prepared to live and work in the multiracial, minority white, society that they will live in later in their adulthood. The truth is that New Jersey never tried desegregation on a serious scale. By the time the Supreme Court recognized the desegregation rights of students outside the South, it was 1973, and already too late to achieve real desegregation in most central cities, which were already largely nonwhite and poor. New Jersey is a suburban state where every metropolitan area is divided into small school districts in the suburbs and there has been no metropolitan desegregation. And, as the growth of African American and Latino students has soared in parts of suburbia, there has been little effort to avoid the spread of suburban segregation. Integration does work, and it has not been seriously tried with the exception of a few communities.

I hope that people around New Jersey, including its educators and its leaders, will look at the sobering trends in this report and think about how things can be done better. This report is not about mandatory student reassignment, which Alabama’s segregationist governor, George Wallace, framed as “forced busing.” All major new desegregation efforts for more than three decades have relied on choice mechanisms. We are calling on New Jerseyans to think about voluntary efforts and incentives that will foster diverse educational options for students who have been denied them and could profit greatly from them. It is about taking a more serious approach to enforcement of housing rights and about helping many suburban communities facing resegregation to achieve the kind of lasting racial and economic diversity that makes a successful community, rather than the destructive process of resegregation, first by race and then by poverty, that has undermined so many communities and school systems. It is about helping people from diverse backgrounds learn to understand, respect, and work together in a state that will have no racial or ethnic majority. Nearby Connecticut, another rich, highly educated, largely suburban state, has developed some creative models, such as regional magnet schools that are highly desired by students of all races and many communities, that New Jersey might well consider. As you read this report, think about the patterns it reveals and imagine how you would feel if your child had no option but to attend an apartheid school. The many thousands of children who have no other option are all our children, they are our future, and they deserve a better chance.

Executive Summary

New Jersey has a curious status regarding school desegregation. It has had the nation's most venerable and strongest state law prohibiting racially segregated schooling and requiring racial balance in the schools whenever feasible. Yet, it simultaneously has had one of the worst records of racially imbalanced schools.

In 1881, a New Jersey statute was enacted that prohibited segregated schooling based on race, one of the very first such laws in the nation.¹ In 1947, New Jersey adopted a state constitutional provision that specifically prohibited segregation in the public schools.² It is the only state with such an explicit provision. Connecticut's state constitution, the next strongest, bars "segregation or discrimination in the exercise or enjoyment of his or her civil or political rights," but it does not specify the public schools.³

In the period from 1944 through 1971, the New Jersey courts, especially after the 1947 constitution dramatically strengthened the judicial branch, rendered a series of decisions that strongly supported desegregation and racial balance in the schools. Indeed, the state's courts went far beyond the federal courts in establishing doctrine that made racial balance in the schools a high priority and its realization a possibility.

Nonetheless, the reality on the ground has never measured up to the strong legal doctrine, and since 1971 the state courts have been much less bold in their race-related rulings.

Against that legal and historical backdrop, this study explores demographic changes in New Jersey schools from 1989 to 2010, based on federal data from the National Center for Education Statistics. It utilizes measures such as the concentration of students of color and the exposure of a student of one race to students of another to examine the presence of segregation in schools throughout the state.

Major findings presented in the report include:

- The state has witnessed a rise in the proportionate enrollment of Latino and Asian students, with the percentage of these students doubling over the last 20 years from 11% to 22% and 4% to 9%, respectively. Meanwhile, enrollment of white and black students relative to total enrollment has decreased, from 66% to 52% and 18% to 16%, respectively.
- A majority of students at suburban schools in northern and central New Jersey (North and Central Jersey) and in Southern New Jersey (South Jersey) continue to be white, with 51% in North and Central Jersey and 63% in South Jersey. The majority of students in urban schools in North and Central Jersey are black, as was the case 20 years ago, yet the Latino student population is trending toward a shared majority with black students, having experienced an increase from 26% of enrollment to 42%. Urban schools in South Jersey have become majority Latino, from 29% of enrollment in 1989-1990 to 43% in 2010-2011.

¹ R.S. 18:14-2 (1881), which served as the source for the current statutory prohibition against exclusion from any public school because of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry, NJSA 18A: 38-5.1 (making it a misdemeanor for any board of education member to vote for such exclusion).

² N.J. Const. art. I, sec. 5.

³ Conn. Const. art. I, sec. 20.

- School enrollment trends in New Jersey over the past two decades indicate increasing racial isolation for Latino students, and reduced isolation for black students on some measures with signs of persistent segregation on others. Current segregation patterns demonstrate that a greater number of schools in New Jersey are now much more concentrated minority schools compared to 20 years ago, with 26% of black students and 13% of Latino students in the state attending apartheid schools (those with 99-100% enrollment of students of color). The proportion of these highly segregated schools in New Jersey increased by two-thirds between 1989 and 2010, from 4.8% to 8%.
- The typical black student and typical Latino student attend schools with a share of low-income students that is more than three times higher than the share of low-income students in the school of a typical white student (nearly three-fifths compared to less than one-fifth). This income disparity signifies the presence of double segregation in the state by race and class. These trends are also present in the North and Central Jersey and South Jersey metropolitan areas, although there is significantly less racial isolation for black students and Latino students in South Jersey than in North Central Jersey.
- There are some signs of progress in terms of having more diverse schools in the state. The proportion of schools considered multiracial, in which the three major racial groups (Asian students, white students, black students, and Latino students) are represented by at least 10% of the student body, increased from 10% to 26% between 1989-1990 and 2010-2011. Students in the state have also become more evenly distributed when comparing the average school's racial composition to the racial composition of the entire student population, with a 19% decrease in the percentage of the New Jersey student population that would have needed to attend different schools to achieve complete racial balance. While this represents a positive step, racial imbalance in New Jersey remained high in 2010, as the average school was 35% less diverse than the statewide student population.

School segregation in New Jersey today results from residential patterns of urbanization and suburbanization in the state, where minority students largely inhabit urban areas while white students make up the vast majority of suburban students. As New Jersey school district boundaries correspond with their municipalities, distinctly different racial compositions exist for schools in the suburbs versus urban cities. Housing policy that supports integrated communities, both racially and socioeconomically, can ameliorate this underlying cause of school segregation in the state. Other actions that could increase racial balance include regional school district consolidation and additional public school choice options that emphasize desegregation, such as the magnet schools in Montclair, New Jersey.

A Status Quo of Segregation: Racial and Economic Imbalance in New Jersey Schools, 1989-2010

This report begins with an examination of the history of school segregation in the state of New Jersey, before progressing to a review of studies pertaining to school segregation and its effects on students. Following this is a presentation of findings based on available enrollment data for New Jersey schools at the state level, more specifically the major metropolitan areas encompassing North and Central Jersey and South Jersey, along with a discussion of these results. Finally, a policy recommendation section evaluates the actions available to community members, activists, and legislators at the local, state, and national levels.

Historical and Legal Background of School Segregation in New Jersey⁴

New Jersey is a state with a long history of legal efforts aimed at reducing school segregation. In 1881, a New Jersey statute was enacted that prohibited segregated schooling based on race, one of the very first such laws in the nation.⁵ In 1947, New Jersey adopted a state constitutional provision that specifically prohibited segregation in the public schools.⁶ It is the only state with such an explicit provision. Connecticut's state constitution, the next strongest, bars "segregation or discrimination in the exercise or enjoyment of his or her civil or political rights," but it does not specify the public schools.⁷

From the start, however, New Jersey's 1881 law was not monitored or enforced, as many schools in South Jersey and other parts of the state remained segregated until the 1950s, even after the 1947 state constitutional provision was adopted by public vote. Eventually, state lawmakers had to threaten to withhold funds for schools that failed to integrate. This discrepancy between legislation and action in public behavior toward race continues to the present.

While many schools in Northern and Central New Jersey (North and Central Jersey) desegregated in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, districts in Southern New Jersey (South Jersey), near the Mason-Dixon Line, largely maintained separate schools for black and white children. The efforts of legislators in Northern counties led to the 19th-century state legislation prohibiting discrimination in schools, but there was little to no support in the central and Southern counties of the state for integrated schools. Moreover, school integration often required citizens to file suit against a school board, and very few legal challenges emerged due to the cost of litigation and the limited number of lawyers interested in the cause.⁸

School segregation actually increased substantially in the first half of the 20th century in South Jersey. The total number of segregated schools for black children in New Jersey increased by 35% between 1919 and 1935.⁹ Elementary and junior high schools in South Jersey often operated similarly to schools south of the Mason-Dixon Line. The increase in school segregation

⁴ This section is written by Paul Tractenberg, a professor at Rutgers School of Law-Newark.

⁵ R.S. 18:14-2 (1881), which served as the source for the current statutory prohibition against exclusion from any public school because of race, creed, color, national origin or ancestry, NJSA 18A: 38-5.1 (making it a misdemeanor for any board of education member to vote for such exclusion).

⁶ N.J. Const. art. I, sec. 5.

⁷ Conn. Const. art. I, sec. 20.

⁸ Douglas, D.M. (1997). The limits of law in accomplishing racial change: School segregation in the pre-Brown north. *UCLA Law Review*, 44, 677-743.

⁹ Ibid.

largely resulted from a growing black population in the state, as black families from Southern states increasingly moved north during and after World War I. Some school administrators supported their arguments in favor of segregation with racially discriminatory claims, such as that black children would hold white children back educationally.¹⁰ School officials pointed specifically to children from the South, and reports at the time indicated that economic conditions and the quality of education for children in the Southern states did seriously disadvantage them in their school performance.¹¹

However, as the black population in the state increased, so did political power for black citizens. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) worked at a grassroots level to motivate black parents to seek enrollment for their children in white schools, as well as at a policy level by lobbying the state government to enforce desegregation. After the state's constitution prohibited school segregation in 1947, New Jersey Governor Alfred Driscoll ordered the newly created Division Against Discrimination to enforce the constitutional provision. In 1948, the Division found that 43 school districts in South Jersey remained segregated. The Division had authority to withhold funding from these school districts but chose not to do so, as they gained voluntary compliance for school integration from 30 districts. Over the next several years, with assistance from NAACP lawsuits, the threat to withhold funding persuaded the remaining districts to do away with officially segregated schooling.¹²

These changes were not made without controversy. In Camden, a major community in the suburban Philadelphia region, white parents protested the presence of a black teacher in their local school. Many in the black community were concerned about the possibility of seeing black administrators and teachers pushed out of their positions in integrated schools. Fortunately, no severe conflicts erupted, and the transition to integrated schools proceeded relatively peacefully, even in Southern areas of the state where the Ku Klux Klan was known to be active.¹³

In the years immediately before and for several decades after the 1947 constitution's distinctive civil rights provisions were passed, the New Jersey courts broadly construed and vigorously enforced desegregation and racial balance in the schools. They stood as a formidable bulwark against segregation in the schools. In 1944, a full decade before the U.S. Supreme Court decided the landmark *Brown v. Board* case, a New Jersey court ruled in *Hedgepeth* that, given the 1881 statute barring segregation, it was unlawful for the Trenton school board to refuse to enroll students at a neighborhood school solely because of their race.¹⁴

In the mid-1960s and early 1970s, when the federal courts stunted school desegregation efforts, especially in the Northern states, by refusing to strike down de facto segregation or to reach across school district lines to fashion meaningful remedies, the New Jersey state courts ventured forth boldly.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Wright, M.T. (1954). Racial integration in the public schools in New Jersey. *The Journal of Negro Education*, 23, 282-289. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/2293225?origin=JSTOR-pdf>.

¹⁴ *Hedgepeth v. Board of Ed. of City of Trenton*, 131 N.J.L. 153, 35 A.2d 622 (Sup. Ct. 1944).

In the 1965 *Booker* decision, the state supreme court erased the distinction between de jure and de facto segregation, and stressed the importance of children learning to live together at as young an age as possible.¹⁵

In the 1971 *Jenkins* decision, the same court ruled that the state commissioner of education had the undeniable power to cross school district lines if, in his judgment, that was necessary to achieve racial balance in the schools.¹⁶ The court found that power to be derived not only from the state constitution's anti-segregation provision but also from its education clause. Whenever it was feasible for racial balance to be achieved, said the court, the state had the power, and presumably duty, to order it. The result of that decision was the mandatory consolidation of the urban Morristown school district with the surrounding white suburban Morris Township school district in 1973. This past summer, the consolidated Morris district celebrated its 40th anniversary as a racially, ethnically, and socioeconomically diverse district, one of the most balanced districts in the state. It also has much to celebrate in its students' educational successes and its widely touted positive effect on the City of Morristown, possibly the most flourishing county seat in the state.

Reaction to the mandatory consolidation was not always so positive, however. Shortly after the merger was effected, the commissioner of education lost his job and thereafter other districts similar to Morristown lost their regionalization fights before less bold successor commissioners. Plainfield and New Brunswick, instead of being dramatic if off-the-radar success stories like Morris, became one of the dismal stories of most New Jersey and American urban school districts—overwhelmingly populated by low-income students of color. The contrast between Morris on the one hand and Plainfield and New Brunswick (and a much later and more complicated Englewood) on the other could not be starker. Nevertheless, this has not yet led to the realization that the example of Morris was the much better road to take and that since then we have lost our way.

In truth, since the *Jenkins* decision in 1971 and the Morris district regionalization that followed in 1973, it has not been just education commissioners who have failed to take strong action to desegregate New Jersey's schools. The state courts, although they have been remarkably bold and courageous in related areas, also have been skittish about taking on race directly.

Over the last four decades, New Jersey's courts have taken on many important and controversial issues, often issues that the other branches of government were happy to see fall into the judiciary's lap. None of those issues was more contentious than school funding and affordable housing. Not only did the courts go far beyond what most other state judiciaries were willing to do in those areas, some 40 years later the same cases are still in, or nearly back in, the courts.

¹⁵ *Booker v. Board of Ed. of City of Plainfield*, 45 N.J. 161, 212 A.2d 1 (1965).

¹⁶ *Jenkins v. Morris Tp. School Dist.*, 58 N.J. 483, 279 A.2d 619 (1971).

As it turned out, in neither *Abbott v. Burke*¹⁷ (and its predecessor case *Robinson v. Cahill*¹⁸) nor the *Mount Laurel* litigation¹⁹ on exclusionary suburban zoning was race directly at issue. In a sense, *Abbott* became more like *Plessy v. Ferguson* than *Brown*. The extreme and undeniable racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic isolation of New Jersey's urban students, the plaintiffs in the case, became a core part of the court's justification for ensuring that those students got the funding and other educational resources they needed to really receive equal educational opportunities.

By the way, in regard to funding equalization, *Abbott* has been by far the most successful case in the nation. Through huge increases in state education aid, New Jersey's 31 poorest urban districts—the so-called Abbott districts, which educate almost a quarter of the state's students, have achieved per-pupil funding levels higher than all but a handful of the wealthiest suburban districts. Historically, the judicial formula was based on “parity funding” (base funding at the level of the average of the highest-wealth districts), plus supplemental funding to meet the needs of at-risk and otherwise disadvantaged urban students, which involved wrap-around services in areas such as nutrition, health care, and counseling. *Abbott* also required free high-quality early childhood education for all three- and four-year-old Abbott district children, as well as the largest state-funded capital construction program in the history of New Jersey, with almost every Abbott district school being replaced or renovated.

The results of *Abbott* have been uneven but on the whole positive. The *Abbott* preschool program has been touted as a national model,²⁰ and a number of leading national educational experts, including Professors Linda Darling-Hammond of Stanford and David Kirp of the University of California at Berkeley, have pointed to the *Abbott* program as a national model.²¹

Because residential segregation produces school segregation when neighborhood schools are the norm, residential desegregation can pave the way to school desegregation. Had *Mount Laurel* focused on the racial implications of exclusionary large-lot zoning practiced by wealthy suburban municipalities it could have represented a major step forward in that regard. Instead the justices chose to focus on socioeconomic factors and to require that developing areas of the state had to ensure that an adequate number of affordable housing units were provided for lower-income citizens. Of course, even that goal was significantly subverted by the actions of the other government branches and the unwillingness of the court to oversee implementation of its rulings to the same degree it did for school funding.

¹⁷ *Abbott v. Burke*, 206 N.J. 332, 20 A.3d 1018 (2011). This decision is referred to as “Abbott XXI,” the 21st decision of the N.J. Supreme Court in this case; for citations to and brief synopses of all the decisions, see www.edlawcenter.org.

¹⁸ *Robinson v. Cahill*, 62 N.J. 473, 303 A.2d 273 (1973). This is the main decision striking down the state's school funding law, but only one of seven N.J. Supreme Court decisions in the case.

¹⁹ *Southern Burlington County NAACP v. Township of Mount Laurel*, 67 N.J. 151, 336 A.2d 713 (1975). As with *Robinson* and *Abbott*, just one of a number of N.J. Supreme Court decisions in the litigation.

²⁰ See, e.g., National Institute for Early Education Research, *The State of Preschool 2012*.

²¹ Darling-Hammond, L. (2010). *The flat world and education: How America's commitment to equity will determine our future*; and Kirp, D. (2013). *Improbable scholars: The rebirth of a great American school system and a strategy for America's schools* (focusing on the Union City schools, an Abbott district).

The most egregious aspect of *Mount Laurel*'s implementation was the Regional Contribution Agreements (RCAs) through which wealthy, largely white suburban municipalities could buy their way out of their affordable housing obligations by transferring funds to nearby urban municipalities for the construction of affordable housing units there. If more affordable housing had been the goal, the RCAs might have served a useful purpose, but because residential desegregation was the goal, the RCAs thwarted it. And, of course, it meant building urgently needed subsidized housing in weak school districts, thereby perpetuating inequality.

The New Jersey court's refusal to deal forthrightly and effectively with race in education and elsewhere has hardly escaped notice. Indeed, the judiciary itself has reflected on the phenomenon. In 2004, then Chief Justice Deborah Poritz said about an education case that ironically struck a blow for racial balance, "We have paid lip service to the idea of diversity in our schools, but in the real world we have not succeeded."²²

Thus, despite *Abbott*'s great success in directing vastly increased resources to poor urban districts and *Mount Laurel*'s establishment of an unprecedented housing and regional development principle, little action has taken place in New Jersey to address the continued isolation of students by both race and income.

Consequently, school segregation has persisted across the state. Ongoing residential segregation patterns, although somewhat less severe in recent years, and fragmented school districts in metropolitan areas have created racially and socioeconomically separate schooling environments in many parts of the state.²³ As a result, New Jersey has consistently ranked as one of the most segregated states in the union in terms of desegregated schooling for the last 30 years.²⁴

Since there is substantial research indicating that school integration can lead to higher academic achievement for students of color while having no detrimental impact on white students, there should be an imperative for enhancing diversity in New Jersey schools to reduce the current achievement gap.²⁵

There is evidence, for example, that certain carefully focused and tailored forms of school choice can serve as valuable tools for school integration. In one New Jersey school district, Montclair, magnet schools have been successfully employed to promote school

²² *In Re Petition for Authorization to Conduct a Referendum on the Withdrawal of North Haledon School District from the Passaic County Manchester Regional High School District*, 181 N.J. 161, 179, 854 A.2d 327 (2004). The court overturned the commissioner of education's decision to allow a referendum because withdrawal of North Haledon would have reduced the white student population in the regional high school by 9%. Interestingly, in making her "lip service statement," Chief Justice Poritz relied upon Orfield, G., & Lee, C. (2004). *Brown at 50: King's dream or Plessy's nightmare*. Cambridge, MA: The Civil Rights Project at Harvard, pp. 27-28.

²³ In addition to residential segregation, school desegregation lawsuits consistently find historic patterns of attendance area gerrymandering, segregated site selection, segregation of minority teachers and administrators, transfer policies fostering segregation and many other forms of discriminatory activity in virtually every northern city that has been sued. This chapter makes no conclusions about those issues across New Jersey, but it is doubtful that New Jersey was fundamentally different in those respects than other cities in many states.

²⁴ Orfield, G., & Lee, C. (2007). *Historic reversals, accelerating resegregation, and the need for new integration strategies*. Los Angeles: The Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles at UCLA. Available at <http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/historic-reversals-accelerating-resegregation-and-the-need-for-new-integration-strategies-1/>.

²⁵ Crain, R., & Mahard, R. (1983). The effect of research methodology on desegregation-achievement studies: A meta-analysis. *American Journal of Sociology*, 88, 839-854.

desegregation. This district-wide program grew out of a 1960s lawsuit filed by parents who challenged the district's segregated schools, which resulted from residentially based de facto segregation. The New Jersey commissioner of education ordered the district to improve racial balance, and Montclair opted for magnet schools as a means of meeting this order. These schools worked to draw students of color into majority-white schools, while also attracting white students to schools with a majority of students of color.²⁶ The Montclair school district is now split into three geographic zones defined by five demographic and demographic variables, and the students assigned to each elementary school are balanced by zone to maintain student diversity throughout the district.²⁷

Another form of school choice, public charter schools, are touted by some as a vehicle for promoting racial balance, but the results thus far are hardly clear. New Jersey's charter school law does seek to minimize racial isolation and imbalance in charter schools, one of 14 states to have such a provision.²⁸ In a 2000 state supreme court decision, *In re Grant of the Charter School Application of Englewood on the Palisades Charter School*, the state commissioner was given the responsibility of monitoring racial balance in charter schools.²⁹ Interestingly, this ruling built on the 1971 *Jenkins* decision, which led to the commissioner's order consolidating the Morristown and Morris Township school districts for reasons of racial balance.³⁰

In spite of the court's efforts, it appears that charter schools have not had an appreciable effect on reducing school segregation in New Jersey. An analysis of charter schools and their surrounding neighborhoods by Gulosino and d'Entremont in 2008 revealed that these schools were located primarily in racially isolated black communities, and the schools, on average, were more racially isolated than their neighborhoods.³¹ Efforts to monitor the effectiveness of school choice options, such as magnet and charter schools, remain important, as these schools likely have a significant impact on the extent of school segregation in the state.

²⁶ Tefera, A., Frankenberg, E., Siegel-Hawley, G., & Chirichigno, G. (2011). *Integrating suburban schools: How to benefit from growing diversity and avoid segregation*. Los Angeles: The Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles at UCLA. Available at <http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/integrating-suburban-schools-how-to-benefit-from-growing-diversity-and-avoid-segregation>.

²⁷ *Montclair Board of Education Policy 5117*.

²⁸ Green P.C. III, & Oluwole, J.O. (2008). Charter schools: Racial balancing provisions and parents involved. *Arkansas Law Review*, 23,1-52.

²⁹ *In re Grant of the Charter Sch. Application of Englewood on the Palisades Charter Sch.*, 164 N.J. 316, 753 A.2d 687, 2000.

³⁰ *Jenkins vs. Tp. of Morris School Dist. and Bd. Of Ed.*, 58 N.J. 483, 279 A.2d 619, 1971.

³¹ Gulosino, C., & d'Entremont, C. (2008). Circles of influence: An analysis of charter school locations and racial patterns at varying geographic scales. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 23(8), 1-29.

Segregation and Desegregation: What the Evidence Says³²

The consensus of nearly 60 years of social science research on the harms of school segregation is also clear: separate remains extremely unequal. Racially and socioeconomically isolated schools are strongly related to an array of factors that limit educational opportunities and outcomes. These include less experienced and less qualified teachers, high levels of teacher turnover, less successful peer groups, and inadequate facilities and learning materials.

Teachers are the most powerful influence on academic achievement in schools.³³ One recent longitudinal study showed that having a strong teacher in the elementary grades had a long-lasting, positive impact on students' lives—to include reduced teenage pregnancy rates, higher levels of college-going, and higher job earnings.³⁴ Unfortunately, despite the clear benefits of strong teaching, we also know that highly qualified³⁵ and experienced³⁶ teachers are spread very unevenly across schools and are much less likely to remain in segregated or resegregating settings.³⁷ Teachers' salaries and advanced training are also lower in schools serving areas of concentrated poverty.³⁸

Research findings showing that the motivation and engagement of classmates are strongly linked to educational outcomes for poor students date back to the famous 1966 Coleman Report.³⁹ The central conclusion of that report (as well as numerous follow-up analyses) was that

³² This section is written by Jenn Ayscue and adapted from Orfield, G., Kuscera, J., & Siegel-Hawley, G. (2012). *E pluribus ... separation? Deepening double segregation for more students*. Los Angeles: The Civil Rights Project/Proyecto Derechos Civiles at UCLA. Available at <http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/mlk-national/e-pluribus...separation-deepening-double-segregation-for-more-students>.

³³ Rivkin, S. G., Hanushek, E. A., & Kain, J. F. (2005). Teachers, schools, and academic achievement, *Econometrica*, 73, 417-458.

³⁴ Chetty, R., Friedman, J. N., & Rockoff, J. E. (2011). The long-term impacts of teachers: Teacher value-added and student outcomes in adulthood (NBER Working Paper # 17699). Retrieved from http://obs.rc.fas.harvard.edu/chetty/value_added.pdf.

³⁵ Clotfelter, C., Ladd, H., & Vigdor, J. (2005). Who teaches whom? Race and the distribution of novice teachers. *Economics of Education Review*, 24, 377-392; Rivkin, Hanushek, & Kain, 2005.

³⁶ See, for example, Lankford, H., Loeb, S., & Wyckoff, J. (2002). Teacher sorting and the plight of urban schools: A descriptive analysis. *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 24(1), 37-62; Watson, S. (2001), *Recruiting and retaining teachers: Keys to improving the Philadelphia public schools*. Philadelphia: Consortium for Policy Research in Education. In addition, one research study found that, in California schools, the share of unqualified teachers is 6.75 times higher in high-minority schools (more than 90%) than in low-minority schools (less than 30% minority). See Darling-Hammond, L. (2001). *Apartheid in American education: How opportunity is rationed to children of color in the United States*. In T. Johnson, J.E. Boyden, & W.J. Pittz (Eds.), *Racial profiling and punishment in U.S. public schools* (pp. 39-44). Oakland, CA: Applied Research Center.

³⁷ Clotfelter, C., Ladd, H., & Vigdor, J. (2010). Teacher mobility, school segregation, and pay-based policies to level the playing field. *Education, Finance, and Policy*, 6, 399-438; Jackson, K. (2009). Student demographics, teacher sorting, and teacher quality: Evidence from the end of school desegregation, *Journal of Labor Economics*, 27, 213-256.

³⁸ Miller, R. (2010). *Comparable, schmomparable. Evidence of inequity in the allocation of funds for teacher salary within California's public school districts*. Washington, DC: Center for American Progress; Roza, M., Hill, P. T., Sclafani, S., & Speakman, S. (2004). *How within-district spending inequities help some schools to fail*. Washington DC: Brookings Institution; U.S. Department of Education. (2011). *Comparability of state and local expenditures among schools within districts: A report from the study of school-level expenditures*. Washington, DC: Author.

³⁹ Coleman, J.S., Campbell, E.Q., Hobson, C.J. McPartland, J., Mood, A.M., Weinfeld, F.D., & York, R.L. (1966). *Equality of educational opportunity*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office.

the concentration of poverty in a school influenced student achievement more than the poverty status of an individual student.⁴⁰ This is largely related to whether or not high academic achievement, homework completion, regular attendance and college-going are normalized by peers.⁴¹ Attitudinal differences toward schooling among low-, middle-, and high-income students stem from a variety of internal and external factors, including watered-down learning materials that seem disconnected from students' lives.

Schools serving low-income and segregated neighborhoods have been shown to provide less challenging curricula than schools in more affluent communities that largely serve white and Asian students.⁴² The impact of the standards and accountability era has been felt more acutely in minority-segregated schools, where rote skills and memorization in many instances have subsumed creative, engaging teaching.⁴³ By contrast, students in middle-class schools normally have little trouble with high-stakes exams, so the schools and teachers are free to broaden the curriculum. Segregated school settings are also significantly less likely than more affluent settings to offer AP or honors-level courses that help boost student GPAs and garner early college credits.⁴⁴

All of these things taken together tend to produce lower educational achievement and attainment, which in turn limits lifetime opportunities, for students who attend high-poverty, high-minority schools.⁴⁵ Student discipline is harsher and the rate of expulsion is much higher in minority-segregated schools than in wealthier, whiter ones.⁴⁶ Dropout rates are significantly

⁴⁰ Borman, G., & Dowling, M. (2010). Schools and inequality: A multilevel analysis of Coleman's equality of educational opportunity data. *Teachers College Record*, 112, 1201-1246.

⁴¹ Kahlenberg, R. (2001). *All together now: Creating middle class schools through public school choice*. Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press.

⁴² 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, 1999-2045; Hoxby, C.M. (2000). *Peer effects in the classroom: Learning from gender and race variation* (NBER Working Paper No. 7867). Cambridge, MA: National Bureau of Economic Research; Schofield, J.W. (2006). Ability grouping, composition effects, and the achievement gap. In J.W. Schofield (Ed.), *Migration background, minority-group membership and academic achievement research evidence from social, educational, and development psychology* (pp. 67-95). Berlin: Social Science Research Center.

⁴³ Knaus, C. (2007). Still segregated, still unequal: Analyzing the impact of No Child Left Behind on African-American students. In The National Urban League (Ed.), *The state of Black America: Portrait of the Black male* (pp. 105-121). Silver Spring, MD: Beckham Publications Group.

⁴⁴ Orfield, G., & Eaton, S.E. (1996). *Dismantling desegregation: The quiet reversal of Brown v. Board of Education*. New York: The New Press; Orfield, G., & Lee, C. (2005). *Why segregation matters: Poverty and educational inequality*. Cambridge, MA: The Civil Rights Project at Harvard.

⁴⁵ Mickelson, R.A. (2006). Segregation and the SAT, *Ohio State Law Journal*, 67, 157-200; Mickelson, R.A. (2001). First- and second-generation segregation in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg schools. *American Educational Research Journal*, 38, 215-252; Borman, K.A. (2004). Accountability in a postdesegregation era: The continuing significance of racial segregation in Florida's schools. *American Educational Research Journal*, 41, 605-631; 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, 1338-1390; Borman, G., & Dowling, M. (2010). Schools and inequality: A multilevel analysis of Coleman's equality of educational opportunity data. *Teachers College Record*, 112, 1201-1246; Crosnoe, R. (2005). The diverse experiences of Hispanic students in the American educational system. *Sociological Forum*, 20, 561-588.

⁴⁶ 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

higher in segregated and impoverished schools (nearly all of the 2,000 “dropout factories” are doubly segregated by race and poverty),⁴⁷ and if students in these schools do graduate, research indicates that they are less likely to be successful in college, even after controlling for test scores.⁴⁸ Segregation, in short, has a strong and lasting impact on students’ success in school and later life.⁴⁹

On the other hand, there is also 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 the opportunity to learn and work with children from a wide array 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.⁵⁰ Integrated schools also are linked to a reduction in students’ willingness to accept stereotypes.⁵¹ Students attending integrated schools also report a heightened ability to communicate and make friends across racial lines.⁵²

Studies have shown that desegregated settings are associated with heightened academic achievement for minority students,⁵³ with no corresponding detrimental impact for white

career. Advancement Project & The Civil Rights Project. (2000). *Opportunities suspended: The devastating consequences of zero tolerance and school discipline policies*. Cambridge, MA: The Civil Rights Project at Harvard. Retrieved from <http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/school-discipline/opportunities-suspended-the-devastating-consequences-of-zero-tolerance-and-school-discipline-policies/>.

⁴⁷ 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, MA: Harvard Education Press; Swanson, C. (2004). Sketching a portrait of public high school graduation: Who graduates? Who doesn’t? In G. Orfield, (Ed.), *Dropouts in America: Confronting the graduation rate crisis* (pp. 13-40). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

⁴⁸ Camburn, E. (1990). College completion among students from high schools located in large metropolitan areas. *American Journal of Education*, 98, 551-569.

⁴⁹ Wells, A.S., & Crain, R.L. (1994). 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, 267-289.

⁵⁰ Schofield, J. (1995). Review of research on school desegregation’s impact on elementary and secondary school students. In J.A. Banks & C.A.M. Banks (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural education* (pp. 597-616). New York: Macmillan.

⁵¹ 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, 751-783; Ready, D., & Silander, M. (2011). School racial and ethnic composition and young children’s cognitive development: Isolating family, neighborhood and school influences. In E. Frankenberg & E. DeBray (Eds.), *Integrating schools in a changing society: New policies and legal options for a multi-racial generation* (pp. 91-113). Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.

⁵² Killen, M., Crystal, D., & Ruck, M (2007). The social developmental benefits of intergroup contact among children and adolescents. In E. Frankenberg & G. Orfield (Eds.), *Lessons in integration: Realizing the promise of racial diversity in American schools* (pp. 31-56). Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

⁵³ Braddock, J. (2009). Looking back: The effects of court-ordered desegregation. In C. Smrekar & E. Goldring (Eds.), *From the courtroom to the classroom: The shifting landscape of school desegregation* (pp. 3-18). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press; Crain, R., & Mahard, R. (1983). The effect of research methodology on desegregation-achievement studies: A meta-analysis. *American Journal of Sociology*, 88, 839-854; Schofield, J. (1995). Review of research on school desegregation's impact on elementary and secondary school students. In J.A. Banks & C.A.M. Banks (Eds.), *Handbook of multicultural education* (pp. 597-616). New York: Macmillan.

students.⁵⁴ These trends later translate into loftier educational and career expectations⁵⁵ and a high level of civic and communal responsibility.⁵⁶ Black students who attend desegregated schools are substantially more likely to graduate from high school and college, in part because they are more connected to the challenging curriculum and social networks that support such goals.⁵⁷ 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 in segregated settings. By middle age, the same group was also in far better health.⁵⁸ 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.⁵⁹

In the aftermath of *Brown*, we learned a great deal about how to structure diverse schools to make them work for students of all races. In 1954, a prominent Harvard social psychologist, Gordon Allport, suggested that several key elements are necessary for positive contact across different groups.⁶⁰ Allport theorized that all group members need to be given equal status, that guidelines for cooperatively working toward common goals need to be established, and that strong leadership that is visibly supportive of building intergroup relationships is necessary. Over the past 60-odd years, Allport's conditions have held up in hundreds of studies of diverse institutions across the world.⁶¹ In schools, those crucial elements can play out in multiple ways, including efforts to de-track students and integrate them at the classroom level, ensuring cooperative, heterogeneous grouping in classrooms, and highly visible, positive modeling from teachers and school leaders around issues of diversity.⁶²

⁵⁴ Hoschild, J., & Scrovrnick, N. (2004). *The American dream and the public schools*. New York: Oxford University Press.

⁵⁵ Crain, R.L. (1970). School integration and occupational achievement of Negroes. *American Journal of Sociology*, 75, 593-606; Dawkins, M.P. (1983). Black students' occupational expectations: A national study of the impact of school desegregation. *Urban Education*, 18, 98-113; Kurlaender, M., & Yun, J. (2005). Fifty years after *Brown*: New evidence of the impact of school racial composition on student outcomes. *International Journal of Educational Policy, Research, and Practice*, 6(1), 51-78.

⁵⁶ Braddock, J. (2009). Looking back: The effects of court-ordered desegregation. In C. Smrekar & E. Goldring (Eds.), *From the courtroom to the classroom: The shifting landscape of school desegregation* (pp. 3-18). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

⁵⁷ Guryan, J. (2004) Desegregation and Black dropout rates. *The American Economic Review*, 94, 919-943; Kaufman, J.E., & Rosenbaum, J. (1992). The education and employment of low-income black youth in white suburbs. *Education Evaluation and Policy Analysis*, 14, 229-240.

⁵⁸ Johnson, R.C., & Schoeni, R. (2011). 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(3), 1-55.

⁵⁹ Mickelson, R. (2011). Exploring the school-housing nexus: A synthesis of social science evidence. In P. Tegeler (Ed.), *Finding common ground: Coordinating housing and education policy to promote integration* (pp. 5-8). Washington, DC: Poverty and Race Research Action Council; Wells, A.S., & Crain, R.L. (1994). Perpetuation theory and the long-term effects of school desegregation. *Review of Educational Research*, 6, 531-555.

⁶⁰ Allport, G. (1954). *The nature of prejudice*. Cambridge, MA: Addison-Wesley.

⁶¹ Pettigrew, T., & Tropp, L. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90, 751-783.

⁶² Hawley, W.D. (2007). Designing schools that use student diversity to enhance learning of all students. In E. Frankenberg & G. Orfield (Eds.), *Lessons in integration: Realizing the promise of racial diversity in American schools* (pp. 31-56). Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press.

Data and Methods

This study explores demographic, segregation, and district stability patterns at the state, metropolitan area, and district levels by analyzing education data from the National Center for Education Statistics. The data consisted of 1989-1990, 1999-2000, and 2010-2011 Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey and Local Education Agency data files. The segregation analyses utilized three different dimensions of school segregation over time: average exposure or contact with racial group members and low-income students, the evenness or even distribution of racial group members, and the concentration of minority students in segregated schools.

School segregation patterns determined by the proportion of each racial group enrolled in predominantly minority segregated schools (50-100% of the student body are students of color), intensely segregated schools (90-100% of the student body are students of color), and apartheid schools (99-100% of the schools are students of color) were also explored. To provide estimates of diverse environments, the proportion of each racial group in multiracial schools (i.e., schools with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student body) was also calculated.

Exposure or isolation rates were calculated by exploring the percentage of a certain group of students (e.g., Latino students) in school with a particular student (e.g., white student) in a larger geographic area, and finding the average of all these results. This measure might conclude, for example, that the typical white student in a particular district attends a school with 35% Latino students. That average is a rough measure of the potential contact between these groups of students.

The evenness with which racial group members are spread across schools in a larger area was assessed using the dissimilarity index and the multi-group entropy (or diversity) index. These measures compare the actual pattern of student distribution to what it would be if proportions were distributed evenly by race. For example, if the metropolitan area enrolled .35 (or 35%) black and .65 (or 65%) white students and each school had this same proportion, the indices would reflect perfect evenness. At the other end, maximum possible segregation or uneven distribution would be present if each school in the metropolitan area was either all white or all Latino. With the dissimilarity index, a value above .60 indicates high segregation (above .80 is extreme), while a value below .30 indicates low segregation. For the multi-group entropy index, a value above .25 indicates high segregation (above .40 is extreme), while a value below .10 indicates low segregation.

To explore district stability patterns, school divisions were categorized as predominantly white (those with 80% or more white students), diverse (those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students), or predominantly nonwhite (with 60% or more nonwhite students) types.⁶³ The degree to which the district's white enrollment changed in comparison to the overall metropolitan area was explored, resulting in three different degrees of change: rapidly changing, moderately changing, and stable. The type and direction of the change in school districts was then assessed, which provided insight into whether districts are resegregating, integrating, or remaining segregated or stably diverse. See Appendix B for more details.

⁶³ Similar typography has been used with residential data. See Orfield, M., & Luce, T. (2012). *America's racially diverse suburbs: Opportunities and challenges*. Minneapolis: Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity.

Segregation Trends, 1989-1990 through 2010-2011

This report explores trends in school segregation in New Jersey from 1989 to 2010, primarily by examining rates of student concentration, exposure, and even (or uneven) distribution across schools at the statewide and metropolitan-area levels. These measures will indicate the differences and similarities in school segregation patterns between the North and Central Jersey area and the greater South Jersey area, and how these areas compare to the state as a whole.

Statewide Patterns

The Demographic Growth of Latino and Asian Students

Since 1989, the New Jersey school-age population has undergone a significant transformation (Table 1). Total enrollment has increased by nearly 25%, and much of that enrollment increase is due to the growth of the Latino and Asian student populations. For instance, in 1989-1990, 11% of students were Latino, compared to 21.6% in 2010-2011 (Figure 1). The proportion of Asian students in New Jersey schools, meanwhile, more than doubled, from 4.2% in 1989-1990 to 9.1% in 2010-2011. The white and black populations have seen declines in terms of their racial percentage of students in New Jersey; the proportion of white students shifted from 66.4% to 52.2% in the 21-year span, while the proportion of black students changed from 18.3% to 16.3% in that same time period.

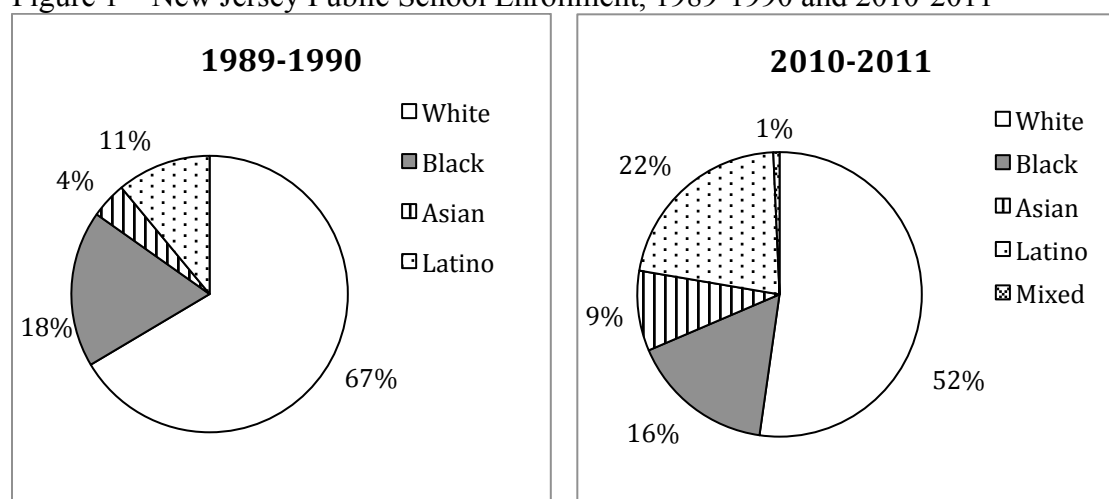
Table 1 – Public School Enrollment

	Total Enrollment	Percentage					
		White	Black	Asian	Latino	AI	Mixed
New Jersey							
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%	
2010-2011	1,315,054	52.2%	16.3%	9.1%	21.6%	0.1%	0.7%
Northeast							
1989-1990	6,940,135	73.9%	14.6%	3.0%	8.4%	0.2%	
1999-2000	8,007,804	68.5%	15.2%	4.3%	11.8%	0.3%	
2010-2011	7,780,729	61.1%	14.6%	6.2%	16.6%	0.3%	1.2%
Nation							
1989-1990	39,937,135	68.4%	16.5%	3.3%	10.8%	1.0%	
1999-2000	46,737,341	61.2%	16.8%	4.1%	16.6%	1.2%	
2010-2011	48,782,384	52.1%	15.7%	5.0%	23.6%	1.2%	2.3%

Note: AI=American Indian

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Figure 1 – New Jersey Public School Enrollment, 1989-1990 and 2010-2011



Note: American Indian is less than 1% of total enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

The Concentration of Students

Examining the concentration of minority students in New Jersey schools provides evidence of the current state of school segregation in New Jersey (Table 2). Multiracial schools are those in which at least one-tenth of the students represent at least three racial groups. The percentage of multiracial schools in New Jersey increased each decade from 1989-1990 to 1999-2000, then to 2010-2011. Majority-minority segregated schools are those in which 50-100% of the student enrollment is comprised of minority students. Majority-minority schools have nearly doubled since 1989-1990. There was a significant increase in intensely segregated schools—those that are 90-100% minority—from 11.4% in 1989-1990 to 18.7% in 2010-2011. Apartheid schools are those in which 99-100% of the student enrollment is comprised of minority students. In New Jersey, the proportion of these schools in the state also rose, from 4.8% of all New Jersey schools to 8%. Overall, these patterns represent mixed findings, with an increase in both multiracial and segregated schooling environments across the state of New Jersey.

Table 2 – Number and Percentage of Multiracial and Minority Schools

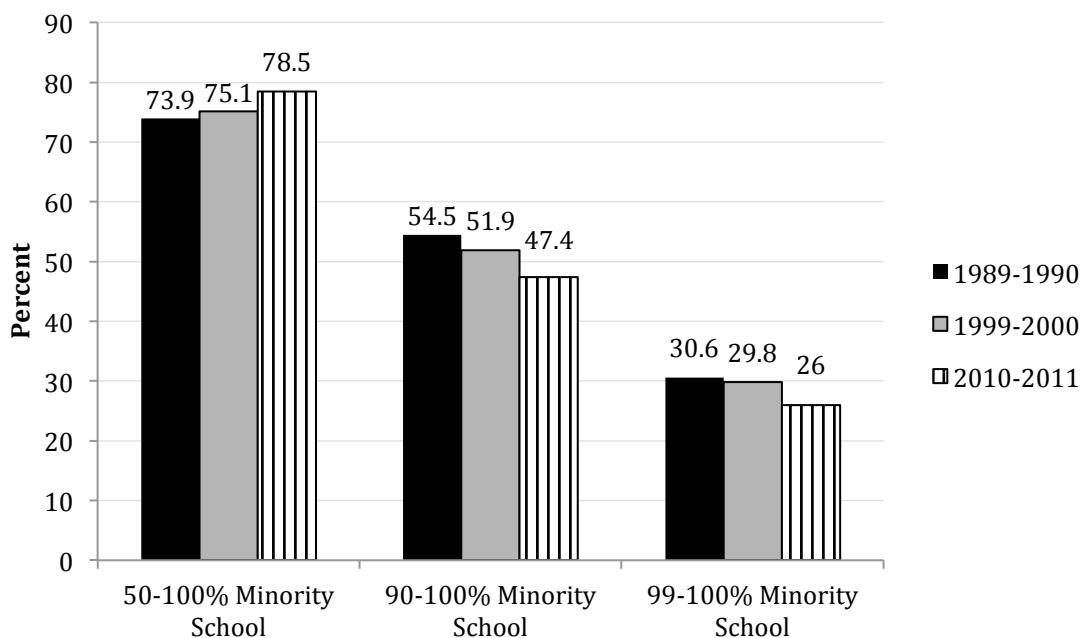
	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
New Jersey					
1989-1990	2151	9.9%	21.8%	11.4%	4.8%
1999-2000	2255	18.7%	29.7%	15.4%	7.0%
2010-2011	2378	26.3%	40.0%	18.7%	8.0%

Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment, respectively.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Similar proportions of Latino and black students are currently enrolled in minority schools in New Jersey, with one major exception: 26% of black students are enrolled in apartheid schools, compared to 12.9% of Latino students. In these intensely segregated schools, the share of black students declined from 30.6% in 1989-1990 to 26% in 2010-2011 (Figure 2). However, in majority-minority schools, the share of black students increased from 73.9% to 78.5% in that same time period. A different trend exists for Latino students (Figure 3). The proportion of Latino students in intensely segregated schools has increased from 7.2% to 12.9% between 1989-1990 and 2010-2011.

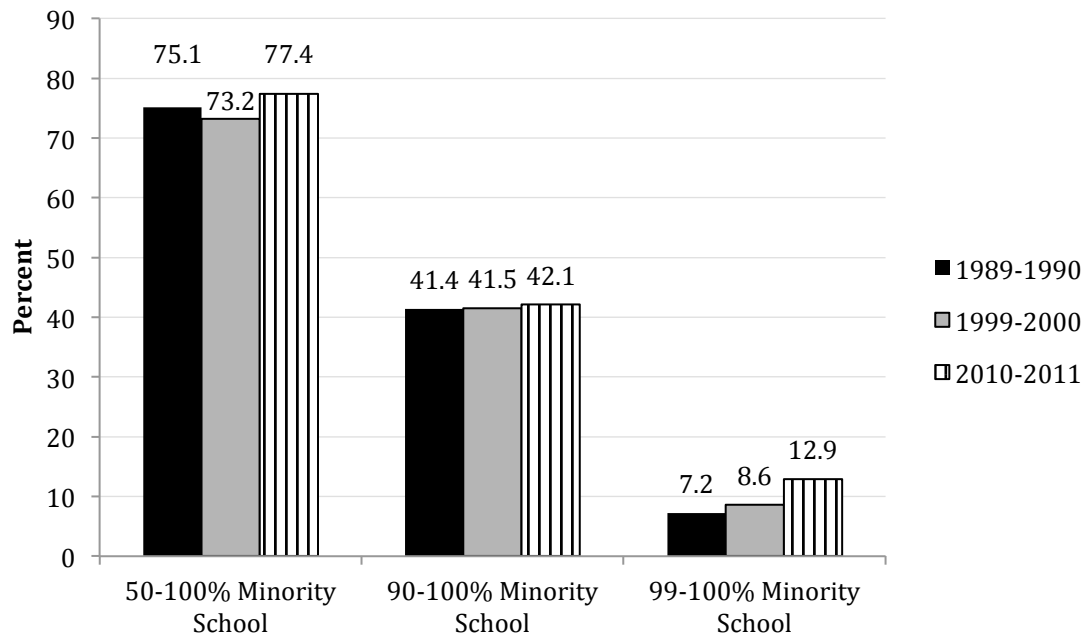
Figure 2 – Percentage of Black Students in Minority Schools in New Jersey



Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Figure 3 – Percentage of Latino Students in New Jersey Minority Schools

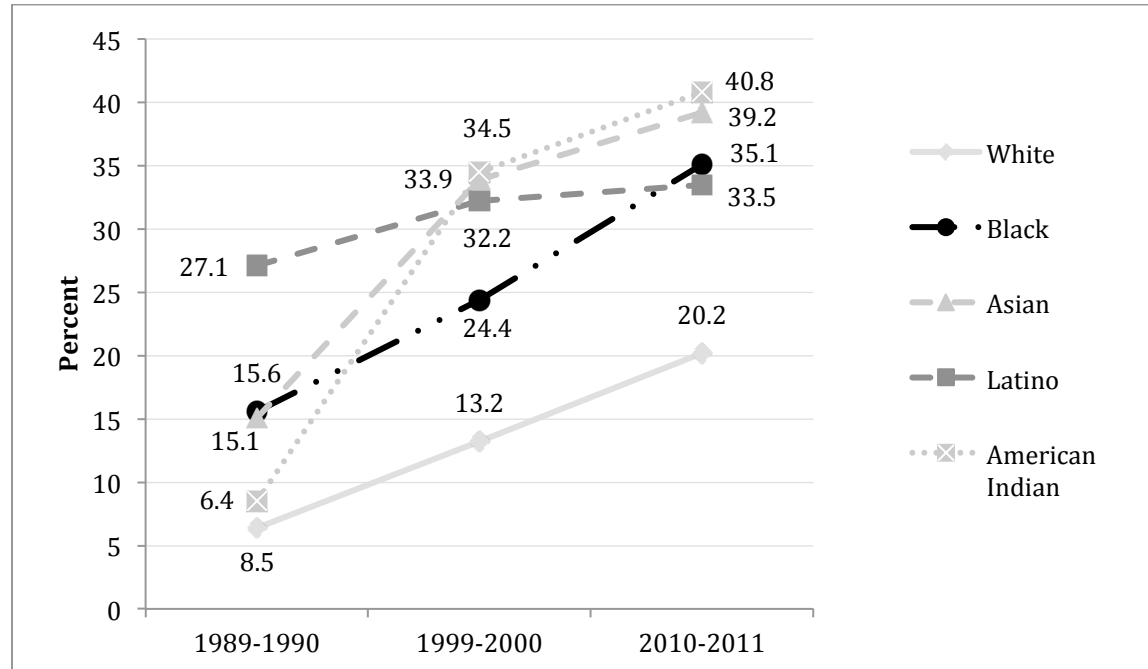


Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Since 1989-1990, multiracial schools in New Jersey—those that have at least three races, each of which represents at least one-tenth of the total student enrollment—have seen much higher enrollment rates of black, Asian, and Latino students than white students. Enrollment of students in each of these racial groups has increased along with the higher number of multiracial schools statewide (). In 2010-2011, only 20.2% of white students attended multiracial schools, compared to 39.2% of Asian students, 35.1% of black students, and 33.5% of Latino students.

Figure 4 – Percentage of Racial Group in Multiracial Schools in New Jersey



Note: Multiracial schools are those with any three races, each representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment, respectively.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

As schools become more segregated and racially isolated, a higher proportion of low-income students attend. Nearly 80% of students in apartheid schools, those with a 99-100% proportion of minority students, were low-income as of 2010 (Table 3). The share of low-income students in both multiracial and minority schools remained relatively stable compared to data from 1999-2000. A larger share of students in majority-minority schools were low-income than those in multiracial schools; a minimum of 58.4% of students in majority-minority schools were low-income in 2010-2011, compared to 41.2% of students in multiracial schools. These data suggest that racially isolated schools are frequently isolated by income as well, segregating students by both race and class.

Table 3 – Percentage of Students Who Are Low-Income in Multiracial and Minority Schools

	Overall Share of Low-Income Students	% Low-Income in Multiracial Schools	% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
New Jersey					
1999-2000	28.0%	39.1%	61.9%	76.2%	78.7%
2010-2011	32.7%	41.2%	58.4%	78.5%	79.4%

Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment, respectively.

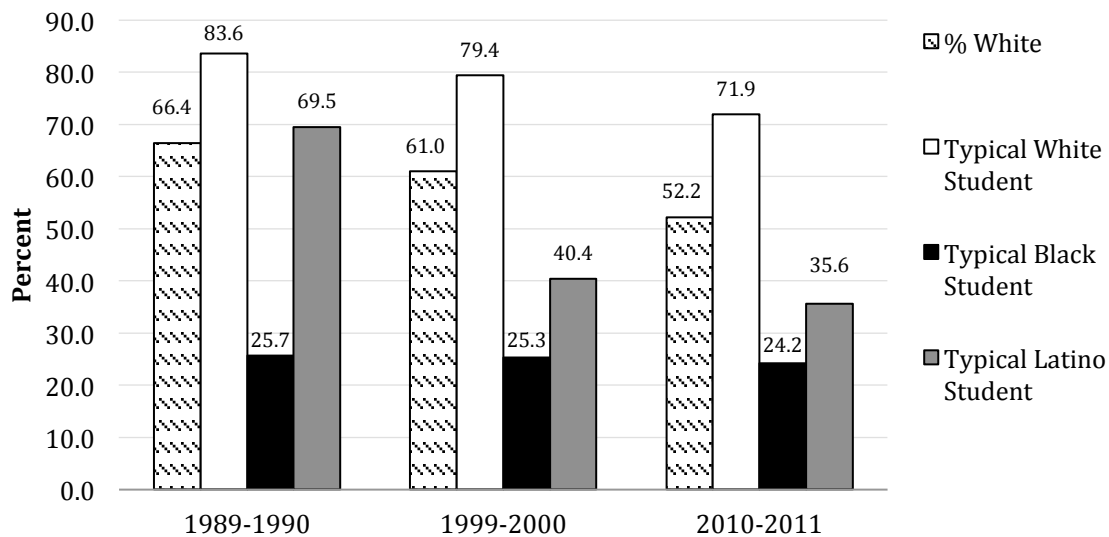
Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Exposure: A Measure of Interracial Contact

Exposure rates, which measure the level of interracial contact between students, are another tool for determining the level of school segregation throughout the state. This statistic is determined by looking at, for example, the percentage of Latino students in the school of each white student and finding the average of all these results, leading to a mean estimate of white students exposure to Latino students. The average is a rough measure of the potential contact between these groups of students, referred to in this report as the “typical” student representing a certain race, and serves as a key indicator of a racial group’s isolation from other groups.

Although the percentage of white students in New Jersey’s public schools has steadily decreased from 66.4% in 1989-1990 to 52.2% in 2010-2011, white students continue to attend schools with a higher proportion of white students than the average school in New Jersey (). Exposure to white students has been similar for both the typical black and the typical Latino student since 1989-1990. Over the last two decades, both the typical black and the typical Latino student have attended schools with decreasing percentages of white students. For Latino students, this exposure has declined from 28.9% in 1989-1990 to 26.8% in 2010-2011. For black students, the percentage of white students in the same school as the typical black student has gone down slightly, from 25.7% to 24.2%. The decrease in exposure to white students could be due in part to the decrease in the overall white share of public school enrollment. However, the typical black and the typical Latino student are still extremely underexposed to white students in New Jersey, compared to the proportion of white students in the average school.

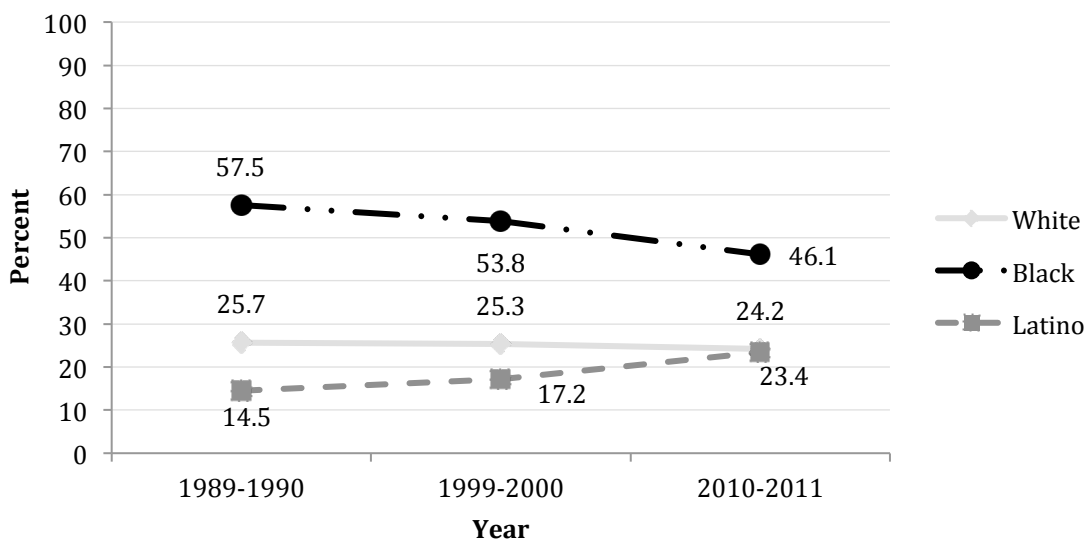
Figure 5 – Percentage of White Students in School Attended by the Typical Student of Each Race in New Jersey



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

The racial composition of the school that a typical black student in New Jersey attends has been transformed over the last two decades (). As the black student population has decreased relative to the whole student population, the percentage of black students in the school of the average black student has decreased from 57.5% in 1989-1990 to 46.1% in 2010-2011. Meanwhile, as the Latino student population has grown, the proportion of Latino students in the school of the typical black student has increased from 14.5% to 23.4% in a two-decade span.

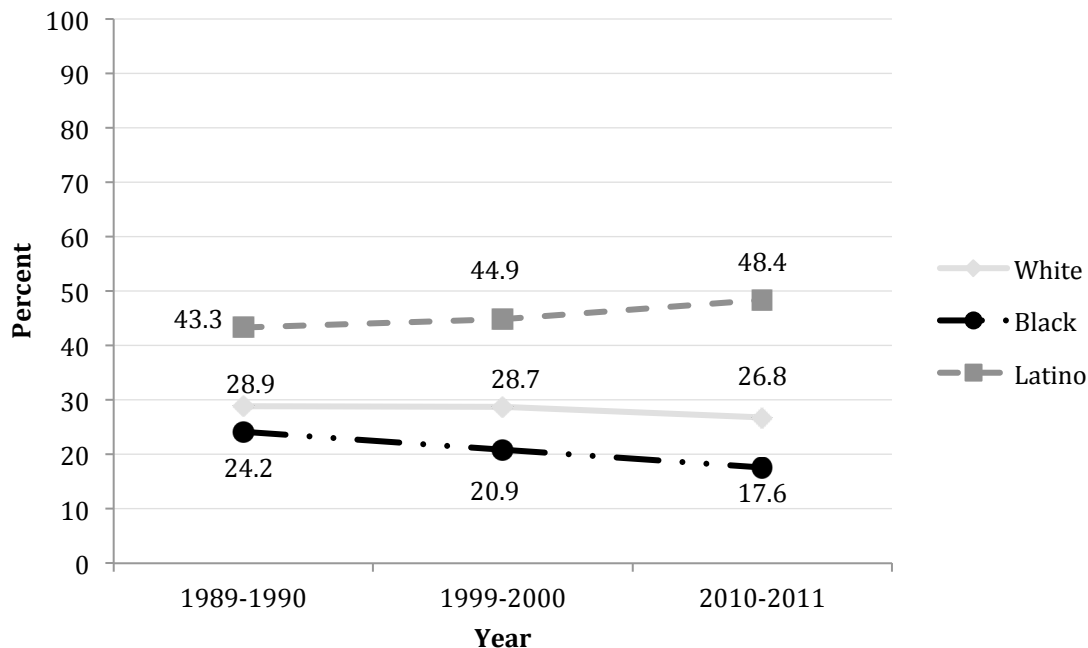
Figure 6 – Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student in New Jersey



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

The racial composition of the school that a typical Latino student in New Jersey attends is significantly different than that of the typical black student, and it has also changed significantly over time. Since 1989-1990, the typical Latino student has attended a school that became increasingly more Latino and less black). The share of white students at the school of a typical Latino student has seen a slight decline over the last two decades.

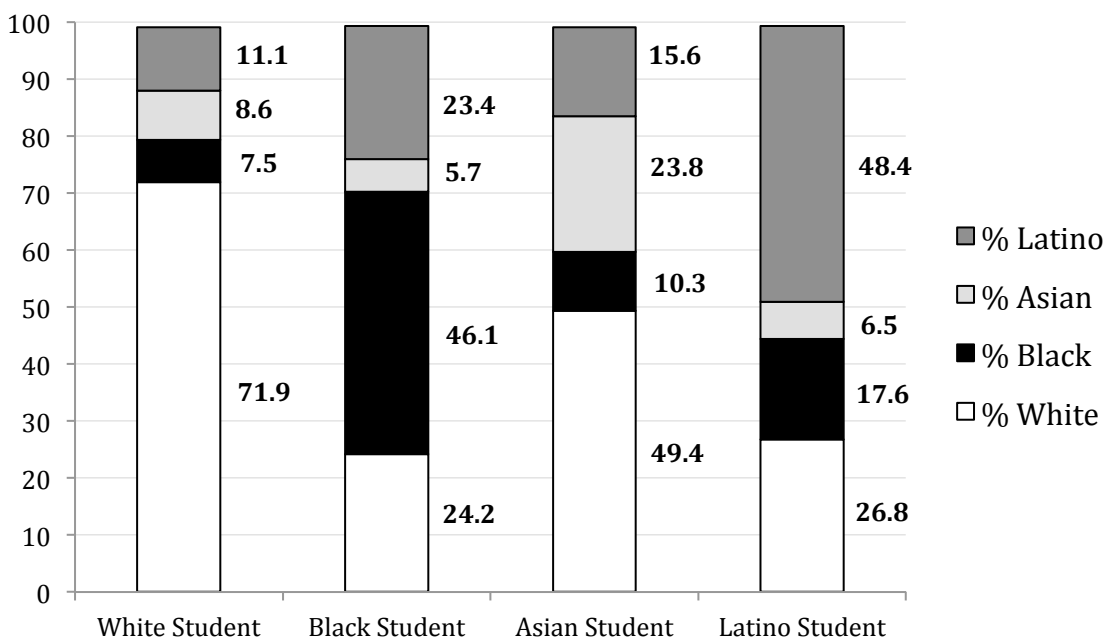
Figure 7 – Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Latino Student in New Jersey



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

With the exception of Asian students, students in New Jersey tend to attend a school in which the majority of students belong to the same racial group (). As of 2010-2011, most white students go to schools that are heavily white, with small proportions of black, Asian, and Latino students. Black students tend to go to schools that are majority black, with comparable proportions of white and Latino students and a small share of Asian students. Latino students tend to go to schools that are largely Latino, with some white and black students and a small proportion of Asian students. Asian students tend to go to schools that are largely white and have the largest share of Asian students. The racial composition of schools attended by Asian students have a significantly higher share of Asian students than the share of Asian students in the general school population (23.8% compared to 9.1%). These schools are nearly half white, with approximately 10% share of black students and 15% share of Latino students. With the exception of the Asian student population, these schools represent the racial composition of the general student population most similarly, indicating that Asian students have the most exposure to other racial groups among those examined in this study. These schools, along with those attended by white students, have populations that are at least three-fourths students from groups with high average achievement levels and much lower rates of poverty than schools attended by Latino students and black students, thereby increasing the opportunities for both white students and Asian students to succeed.

Figure 8 – Composition of School Attended by Typical Student in New Jersey, by Race, 2010-2011



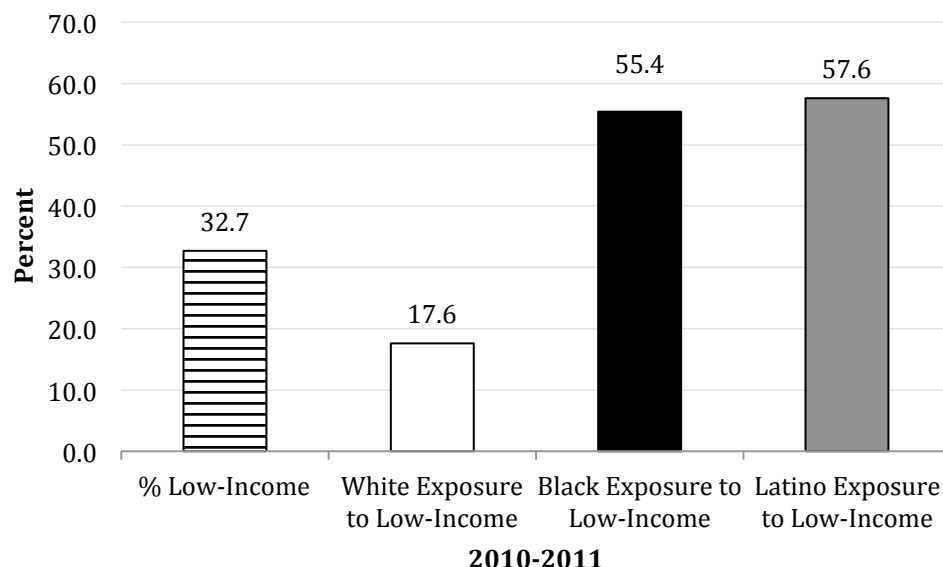
Note: Composition figures exclude American Indian and mixed-race students and thus do not exactly equal 100%.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

It is also important to examine, at the state level, the frequency of contact between students of different racial groups and students from low-income families to determine the extent that students are grouped together by both race and class. shows the relationship between race and exposure to low-income students, indicating the extreme difference between white students and black and Latino students. The graph displays the overall proportion of low-income students in the state, as well as a column for each racial group that shows the percentage of low-income students the typical student of the specified race is exposed to.

The typical New Jersey white student attends a school where 17.6% of children qualify as low-income, whereas the typical black student attends a school where 55.4% of his/her classmates come from low-income families. The typical Latino student attends a school in which 57.6% of his/her classmates are low income. This figure emphasizes the extremely disparate distribution of low-income students, who make up nearly a third of students in New Jersey as of 2010-2011, to schools where black and Latino students are enrolled. This pattern indicates the presence of double segregation that black and Latino youth experience by attending schools segregated by both race and class.

Figure 9 – Racial Group Exposure Rates to Low-Income Students for Typical Racial Student in New Jersey Public Schools, 2010-2011



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Evenness: The Distribution of Students

Since 1989-1990, there has been a highly uneven distribution of racial groups across New Jersey's public schools. In 2010-2011, the average school was 35% less diverse than the entire state, which indicates a high level of segregation (Table 4). It is important to note that over 90% of this difference in diversity between the average public school and the entire state was due to segregation across or between district boundaries rather than within districts. This finding most likely results from the presence of home rule in New Jersey, where small municipalities have their own school districts that lack diverse student bodies, due to residential segregation. At the same time, although segregation for all public schools has decreased since 1989-1990 and thus so has segregation within and between districts, existing unevenness is increasingly due to the segregation occurring between districts.

Table 4 – Differential Distribution (Evenness) of White, Black, Asian, and Latino Students across All Public Schools, and the Degree of Evenness within and between School Districts

	H	H Within Districts	H Between Districts
New Jersey			
1989-1990	.43	.05	.38
1999-2000	.39	.04	.35
2010-2011	.35	.03	.32

Note: H=Multi-Group Entropy Index or Theil's H. HW= the degree of un/evenness (H) that is within (W) districts; HB= the degree of un/evenness (H) that is between (B) districts.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Over the last two decades, public school enrollment figures reflect the demographic transformation occurring in New Jersey, and much of the rest of the country as well. New Jersey has seen a twofold increase in the proportion of students who are either Latino (11% to 22%) or Asian (4% to 9%), with a significant decrease in the relative white student population (from 67% to 52%) and a minor decrease in the proportionate black student population (18% to 16%). Results across school segregation measures of the state of New Jersey are mixed. With the demographic shift, more schools qualify as majority-minority schools and more Latino and black students attend these schools presently than in 1989-1990. The proportion of black students in apartheid schools, those with 99-100% minority population, has decreased, although a very high proportion of black students continue to attend these extremely racially isolated schools. Meanwhile, the share of Latino students attending apartheid schools has increased over time. A similar trend exists in intensely segregated schools, those with 90-100% minority student enrollment, as the proportion of black students in these schools has declined from 52% to 47%, while the rate of Latino students attending these schools has increased from 41% to 42%.

Whereas black students 20 years ago saw the most segregation on average in the schools they attended, Latino students are currently the most isolated from students of other races. This analysis provides further evidence of the interaction between class and race in New Jersey, as significantly fewer white students than black and Latino students attend schools with low-income students. While schools in New Jersey have generally become more racially balanced over time, growing racial imbalance in schools in the state is occurring between school district boundaries, as opposed to within.

Metropolitan Areas

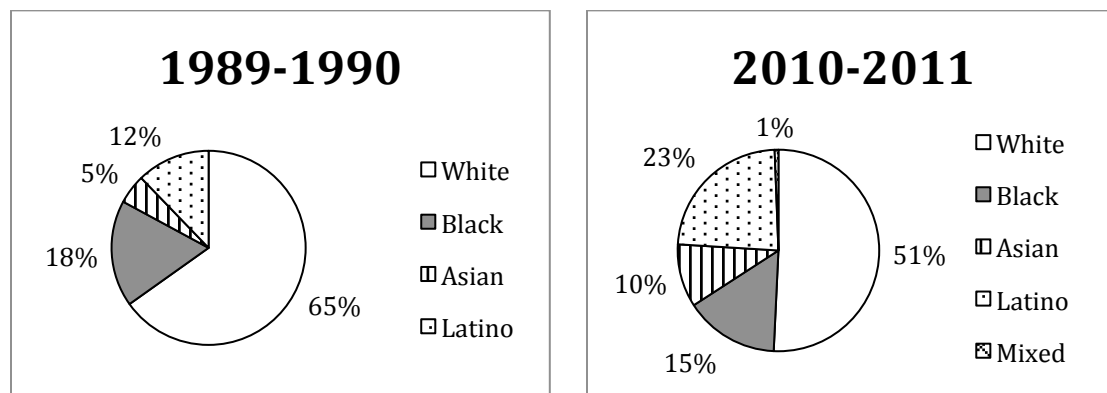
Northern and Central New Jersey Metropolitan Area

New Jersey is heavily influenced by two of the nation's largest metropolitan complexes, metro New York City and metro Philadelphia. While the North and Central Jersey area is subsumed within the New York-Northern and Central New Jersey-Long Island Census-based metropolitan area used in this study⁶⁴—which consists of cities across New York, New Jersey, Connecticut, and Pennsylvania—only those districts within North and Central Jersey were considered for this analysis. The metropolitan area includes the counties of Ocean, Mercer, Middlesex, Monmouth, Somerset, Hunterdon, Warren, Sussex, Morris, Passaic, Bergen, Essex, Hudson, and Union. The North and Central Jersey area in particular consists of a great many municipalities, both suburbs and cities, near New York City. Examples of cities include Newark, Jersey City, Paterson, Elizabeth, New Brunswick, and Trenton, while large suburbs include Toms River, Clifton, and Edison. Suburbs stretch across the metropolitan area outside of these cities as well as New York City and, consistent with the statewide doctrine of home rule, each distinct suburban municipality has its own school district.

The North and Central Jersey metropolitan area has experienced a demographic shift similar to the one taking place in the state as a whole, namely, a decreasing white population relative to overall school enrollment, and increasing Asian and Latino populations.

From the 1989-1990 school year to the 2010-2011 school year, three significant demographic transformations have occurred in North and Central Jersey, fundamentally altering the racial composition of this metropolitan area in the state (Figure 10). White student enrollment has declined relatively, from 65.1% to 50.7% of total student enrollment. Latino student enrollment has increased from just over one-tenth of all students to nearly a quarter of students in the area, and Asian enrollment has also risen, from 4.9% to 10.1% of all students.

Figure 10 – Northern and Central New Jersey Public School Enrollment, 1989-1990 and 2010-2011



Note: American Indian is less than 1% of total enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

⁶⁴ We used the Census Reference Bureau's 1999 Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) as the unit of metropolitan analysis for all years. An MSA must contain at least one urbanized area of 50,000 or more inhabitants. See Appendix B for further details.

Over the last two decades, North and Central Jersey schools have shifted in terms of racial populations to varying degrees, depending on whether they exist in urban or suburban areas. Both urban and suburban areas have seen reductions in the proportion of white students, along with increased proportions of Latino and Asian students. White students make up half of students in suburban schools in the metropolitan area, whereas they make up 5% of students in urban schools. Enrollment of black students has remained relatively stable in suburban schools while steadily declining relative to other groups in urban schools. Both the Latino student population and Asian student population have seen a significant increase in their share of total enrolled students in suburban schools. The share of Asian students has nearly doubled in suburban schools, from 5.6% in 1989-1990 to 10.9% in 2010-2011. The share of Latino students has increased from 11.3% to 23.9% in suburban schools in that period, while also growing from a quarter of urban school enrollment to over two-fifths of urban school enrollment. Urban schools in North and Central Jersey have very few white students, and relatively fewer as time goes on according to the data.

Table 5 – Race/Ethnicity Percentage in Urban and Suburban Schools in Metro Area

	Urban Schools				Suburban Schools			
	White	Black	Asian	Latino	White	Black	Asian	Latino
Northern and Central New Jersey								
1989-1990	10.3%	63.1%	0.9%	25.7%	68.7%	14.3%	5.6%	11.3%
1999-2000	8.0%	59.7%	0.8%	31.3%	61.1%	14.6%	7.9%	16.1%
2010-2011	5.2%	52.2%	0.9%	41.5%	50.8%	13.7%	10.9%	23.9%

Note: Urban schools refer to those inside an urbanized area and a principal city. Suburban schools refer to those inside an urbanized area but outside a principal city. Data comprises schools open 1989-2010, 1999-2010, and only 2010. We apply 2010 boundary codes to all years. Some schools were missing data on urbanicity and therefore were excluded from this analysis.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

As total enrollment in North and Central Jersey has increased, so has the number of schools; from 1,614 in 1989-1990 to 1,826 in 2010-2011 (Table 6). The increase in the ratio of multiracial schools in the area, up to nearly a quarter of all schools in 2010-2011, indicates that the population shift has created a larger number of schools with diverse student bodies. However, along with this increase, the proportion of schools that qualify as intensely segregated have also increased, numbering over one-fifth of schools in North and Central Jersey as of 2010-2011.

Table 6 – Number and Percentage of Multiracial and Minority Schools

	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
Northern and Central New Jersey					
1989-1990	1614	9.6%	23.2%	12.7%	5.6%
1999-2000	1710	19.6%	31.7%	16.6%	7.8%
2010-2011	1826	24.4%	42.8%	20.4%	8.5%

Note: Multiracial schools are those with any three races, each representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment, respectively.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

In these same majority-minority and intensely segregated schools, a high proportion of students qualify as low income (Table 7). As schools become more concentrated in their share of students of color, they also become more concentrated in their share of low-income students. At least 57% of students are low income in majority-minority schools, 78.6% of students in intensely segregated schools, and 79.3% of students in apartheid schools in 2010-2011. No major shifts have occurred since 1999-2000 in the low-income proportion of the population of these schools, although the proportion of low-income students in those schools most segregated has increased with time.

Table 7 – Percentage of Students Who Are Low Income in Multiracial and Minority Schools

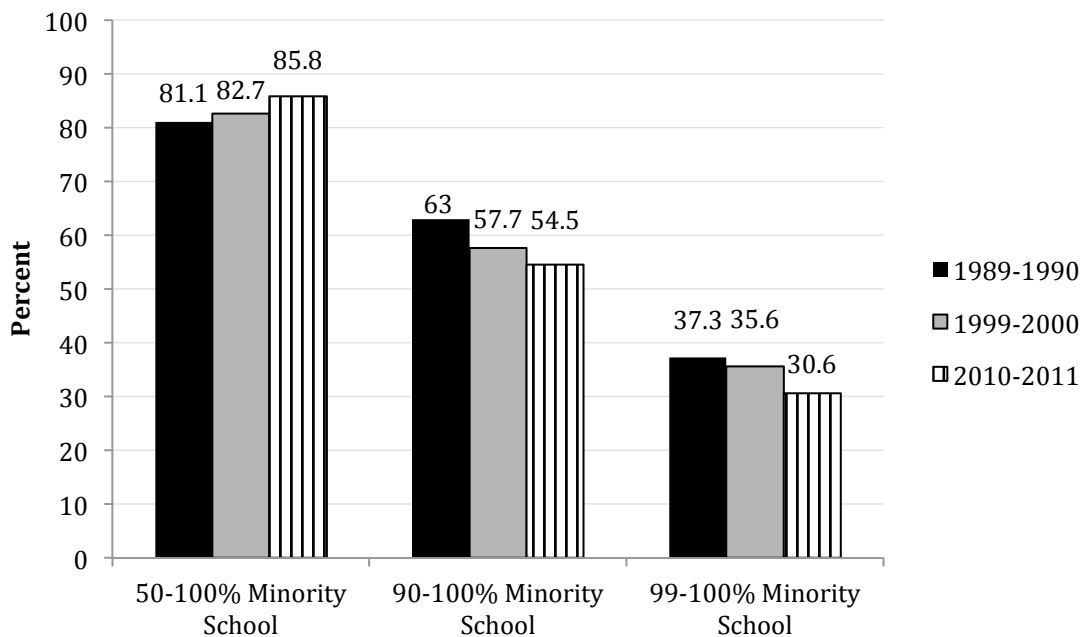
	Overall Share of Low- Income Students	% Low- Income in Multiracial Schools	% Low- Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low- Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low- Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Northern and Central New Jersey					
1999-2000	27.3%	37.0%	60.7%	76.0%	77.9%
2010-2011	31.8%	38.5%	57.2%	78.6%	79.3%

Note: Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment, respectively.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

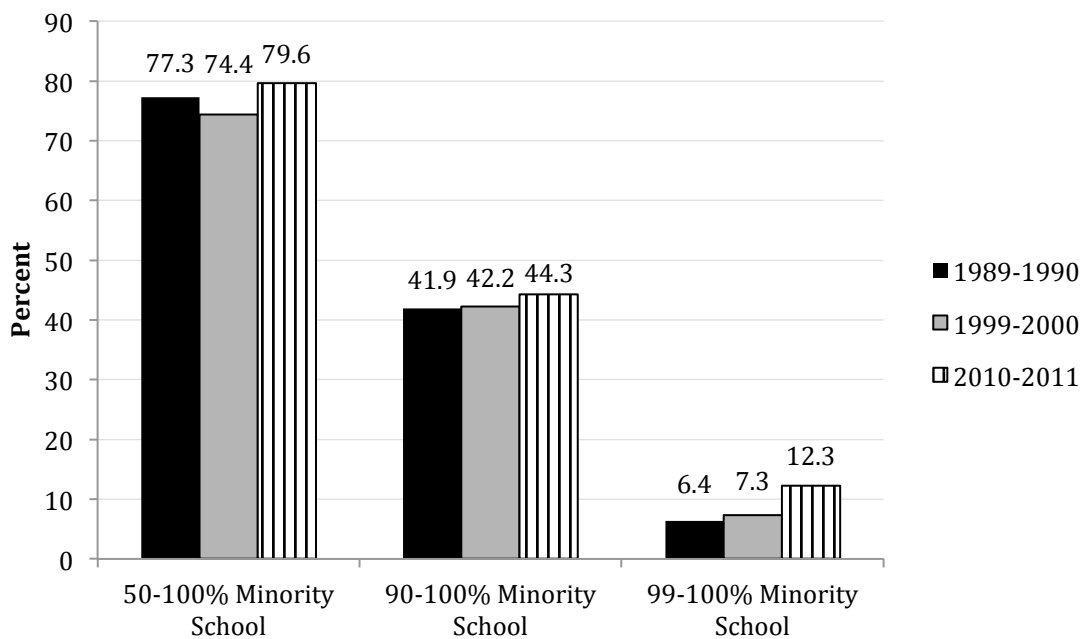
The racial composition of majority-minority, intensely segregated, and apartheid schools has changed over the last two decades, in part reflecting the demographic shift taking place at the state and metropolitan area levels. Over half of black students attend schools in which 90-100% of students are students of color. However, a smaller proportion of black students in North and Central Jersey attended intensely segregated and apartheid schools in 2010-2011 than in the previous two decades (Figure 11). Meanwhile, an increasing proportion of Latino students are attending intensely segregated and apartheid schools, with the rate of Latino students enrolled at apartheid schools nearly doubling from 6.4% in 1989-1990 to 12.3% in 2010-2011 (Figure 12).

Figure 11 – Percentage of Black Students in Minority Schools in Northern and Central New Jersey



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

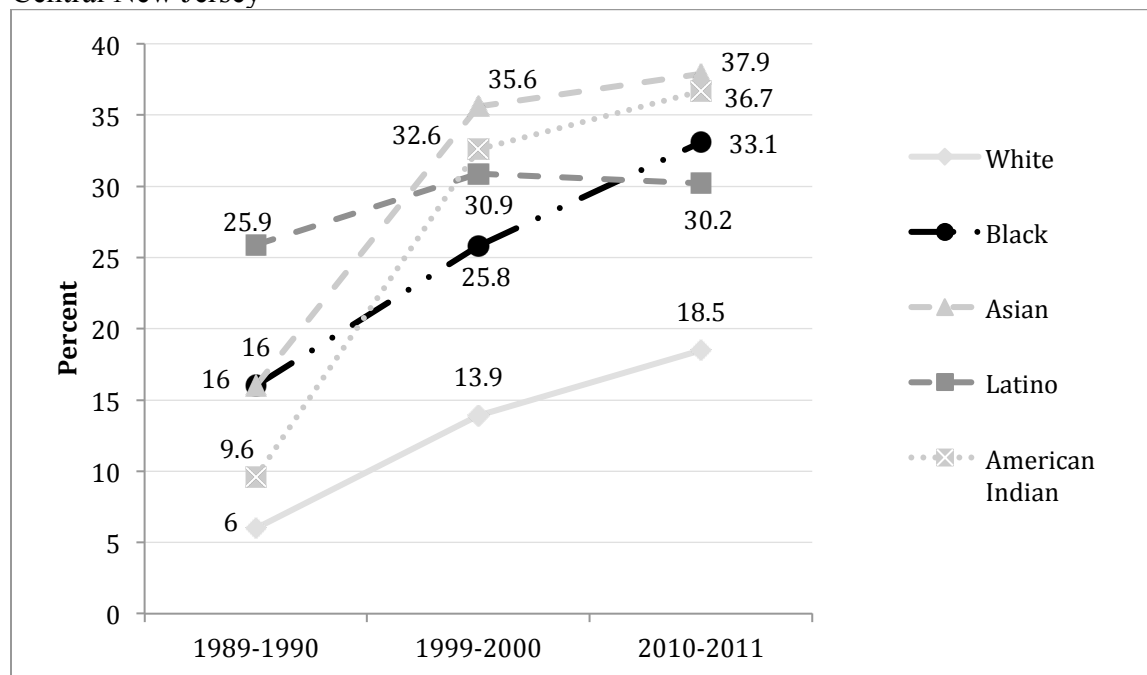
Figure 12– Percentage of Latino Students in Minority Schools in Northern and Central New Jersey



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

As the number of multiracial schools has increased since 1989-1990, so have enrollment figures across racial groups. However, some racial groups have seen a greater proportion of students entering these schools (Figure 13). The proportion of Asian students in North and Central Jersey multiracial schools is highest among the main racial groups in the area, 37.9% in 2010-2011, up from 16% in 1989-1990. The proportions of black students and white students have seen steady increases in their membership in multiracial schools, although a significantly smaller proportion of white students (18.5%) attend these schools than black students (33.1%). Latino students are the only racial group to have leveled out in terms of changes in multiracial school proportionate enrollment, with a slight decrease in the percentage of Latino students attending these diverse schools, from 30.9% to 30.2%, between 1999-2000 and 2010-2011.

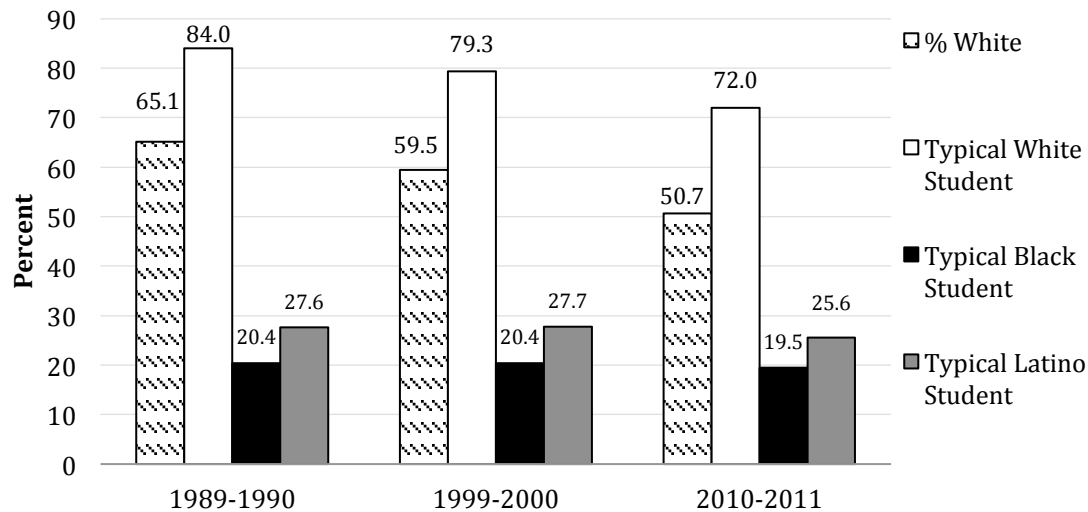
Figure 13 – Percentage of Racial Group in Multiracial Schools in Northern and Central New Jersey



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Over the last 20 years, the typical black student in the area has gone to a school with approximately 20% white enrollment (Figure 14). In comparison, the average white student in 2010-2011 attends a school with 72% white enrollment. A similar disparity occurs for Latino students, with the typical Latino student attending a school with an enrollment of 25.6% white students in the same year. These figures also highlight the disparity between actual white enrollment in the entire area and exposure rates, as rates of white exposure to other white students is consistently 20 percentage points above enrollment proportions. Meanwhile, rates of white students' exposure to Latino and black students remain far below white enrollment proportions. These rates have declined at a slower rate than the decrease in white enrollment though, which may indicate that North and Central Jersey schools may be neither improving nor worsening in terms of racial segregation.

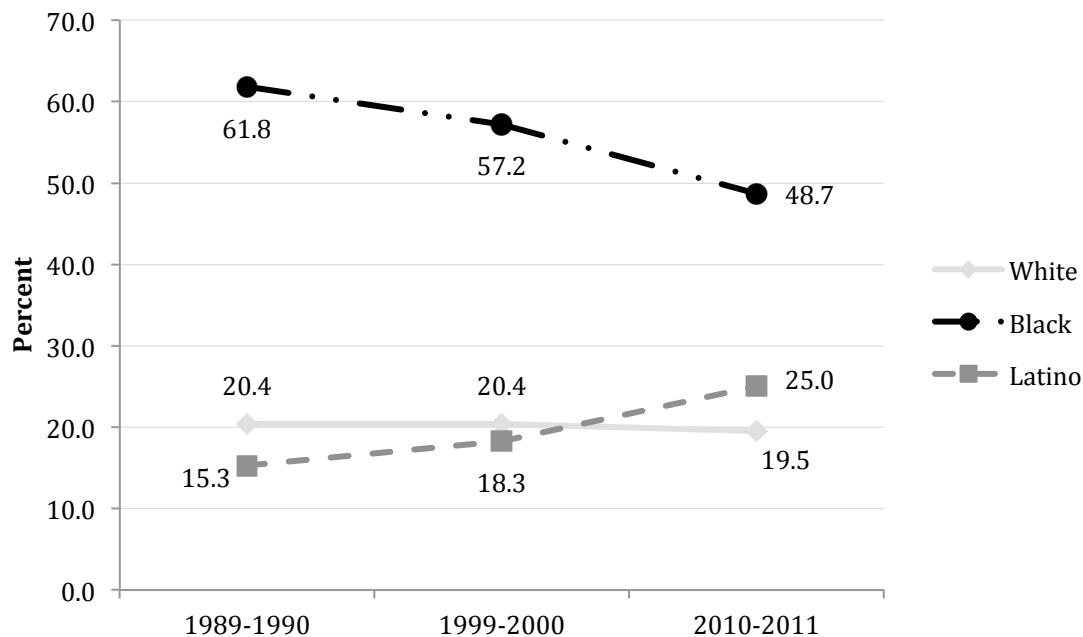
Figure 14 – Percentage of White Students in School Attended by the Typical Student of Each Race in Northern and Central New Jersey



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

The racial makeup of the school attended by the typical black student has shifted over the years, concurrently with demographic changes in North and Central Jersey public school enrollment (Figure 15). The proportion of black students in the same school as the average black student has decreased from 61.8% to 48.7% from 1989-1990 to 2010-2011. Black student exposure to Latino students has increased, from 15.3% in 1989-1990 to 25% in 2010-2011. The typical black student still attends a school with approximately 20% white enrollment, a figure that has not changed over the last 20 years. These rates indicate a reduction in isolation among black students as exposure to students of another race in the same school, largely Latino students, has risen.

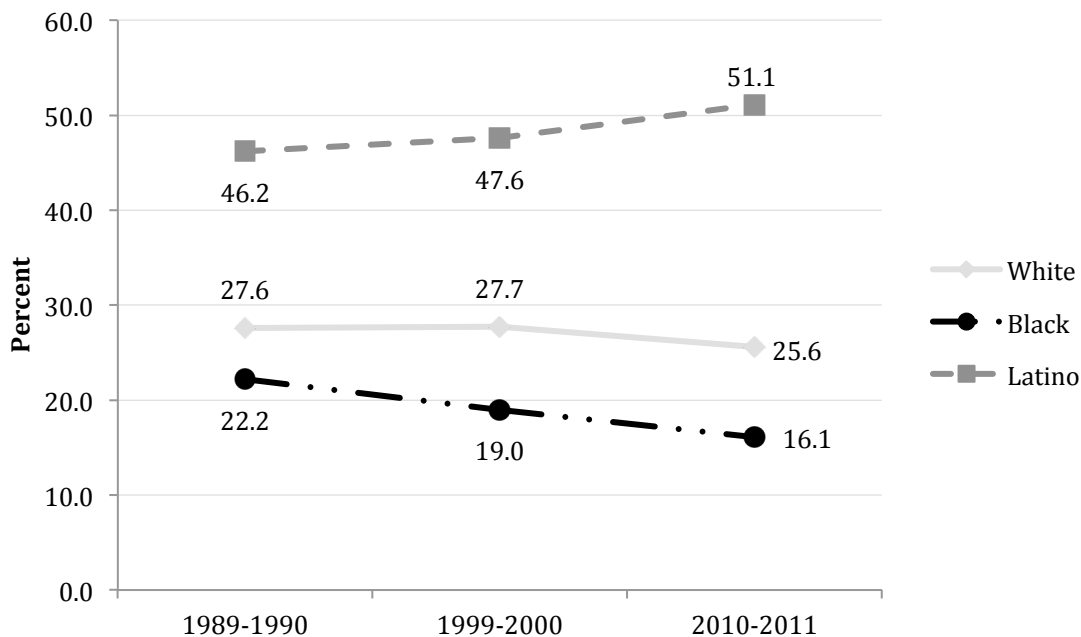
Figure 15 – Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student in Northern and Central New Jersey



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

For the typical Latino student, the proportion of Latino, white, and black students attending the same school has seen moderate shifts since 1989-1990 (Figure 16). Exposure to other Latino students has increased from 46.2% in 1989-1990 to 51.1% in 2010-2011, while exposure to black and white students has decreased. The share of black students attending the same school as the typical Latino student has fallen most significantly, from 22.2% to 16.1% over the 21-year timespan. These figures may partially represent the increase in Latino student enrollment in North and Central Jersey, from 12.2% of students in 1989-1990 to 23.4% in 2010-2011.

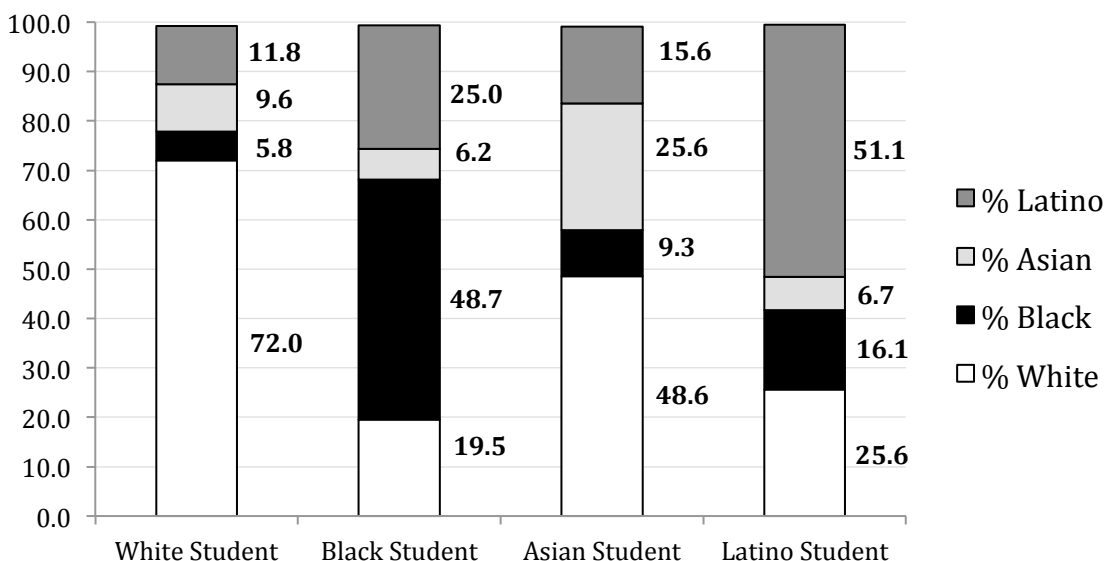
Figure 16 – Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Latino Student in Northern and Central New Jersey



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

The distribution of students according to race who attend the same school as the typical student of each race reveals how diverse a student body the average student encounters in their public education in North and Central Jersey (Figure 17). White students primarily attend the least diverse schools, where a large majority of the average white student's fellow students are white (72%). White students have the least exposure to black students, as black students comprise 5.8% of enrollment at the typical white student's school. The typical black student attends a school where nearly half of students also are black and a quarter of students are Latino. The typical Latino student attends a school where student enrollment is approximately half Latino and a quarter of students are white. Asian students, despite comprising 10.1% of enrollment in North and Central Jersey in 2010-2011, make up 25.6% of enrollment at the school of the typical Asian student in the area. These data present the racial composition of schools for students across races, revealing the great discrepancy in exposure to students of other races currently prevalent in North and Central Jersey schools.

Figure 17 – Composition of School Attended by Typical Student in Northern and Central New Jersey, by Race, 2010-2011

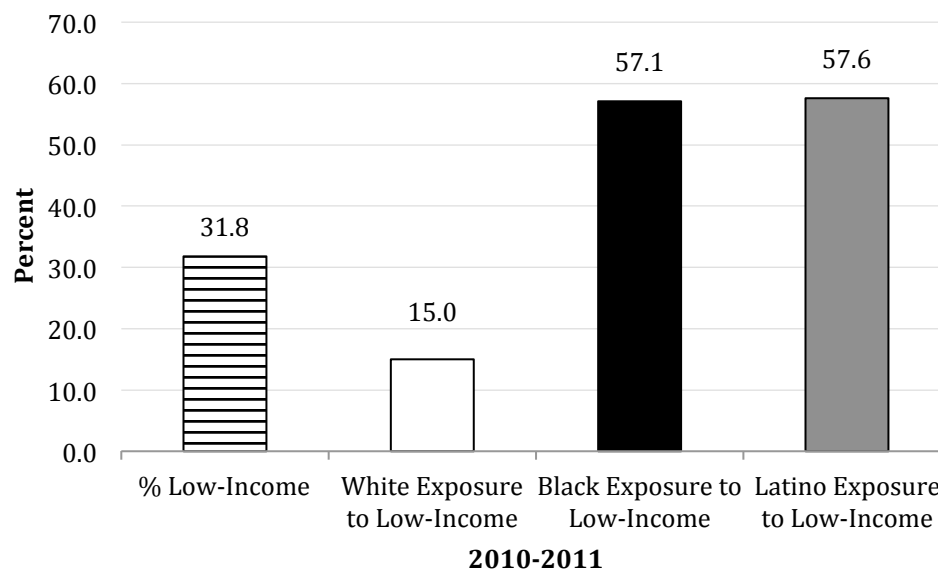


Note: Composition figures exclude American Indian and mixed-race students and thus do not exactly equal 100%.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

In 2010-2011, 31.8% of students were low income, yet the typical white student attended a school with half this proportion of low-income students while the typical black or Latino student attended a school with nearly double this proportion of low-income students. Beyond measuring students' exposure to students of other races, measuring their exposure to low-income students generates important data on the degree to which class and race intersect in terms of segregation. In 2010-2011 in North and Central Jersey, the typical white student attended a school with a 15% share of low-income students (Figure 18). This greatly differs from their exposure to low-income students or black and Latino students. The average black student attends a school with a population of 57.1% low-income students, while the average Latino student attends a school with 57.6% low-income students. This demonstrates the varying degree to which white students and black and Latino students attend the same school as low-income students. This finding indicates the presence of double segregation in the North and Central Jersey metropolitan area, whereby students see segregation by class as well as race.

Figure 18 – Exposure Rates to Low-Income Students for Northern and Central New Jersey, by Race, 2010-2011



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

The average school in North and Central Jersey is 36% less diverse than the average school in the state as a whole, with over 92% of this difference stemming from segregation that occurs across district boundaries (Table 9). Schools in this metropolitan area, taken on the aggregate level, show a high level of segregation. Like statewide trends, however, public schools in North and Central Jersey have become more racially balanced in terms of evenness in between the 1989-1990 and 2010-2011 academic years. The racial composition of schools in North and Central Jersey remains highly similar to that of the overall enrollment of their containing districts. To a much greater degree, unevenness in student distribution by race occurs when comparing schools to the racial composition of all students in the greater metropolitan area, or when comparing the average demographic enrollment of one school district to another.

Table 8 – Differential Distribution (Evenness) of White, Black, Asian, and Latino Students across All Public Schools, and the Degree of Evenness within and between School Districts

	H	H Within Districts	H Between Districts
Northern and Central New Jersey			
1989-1990	0.46	0.06	0.39
1999-2000	0.41	0.04	0.37
2010-2011	0.36	0.03	0.33

Note: H=Multi-Group Entropy Index or Theil's H. HW= the degree of un/evenness (H) that is within (W) districts. HB= the degree of un/evenness (H) that is between (B) districts.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Racial Transition in Northern and Central New Jersey Area Districts

As enrollments around the country grow more diverse, the racial makeup of school systems in metropolitan areas often shifts rapidly. A district that appears integrated or diverse at one point in time can transition to a resegregating district in a matter of years. A recent study of neighborhoods, based on census data from the 50 largest metropolitan areas, found that diverse areas with nonwhite population shares over 23 percent in 1980 were more likely to become predominately nonwhite over the ensuing 25 years than to remain integrated.⁶⁵ School districts reflect similar signs of instability. Nearly one-fifth of suburban school districts in the 25 largest metro areas are experiencing rapid racial change.⁶⁶

The process of transition is fueled by a number of factors, including pervasive housing discrimination (to include steering families of color into specific neighborhoods), the preferences of families and individuals, and school zoning practices that intensify racial isolation. Importantly, schools that are becoming minority segregated learning environments are much more likely than other types of school settings to be associated with negative factors such as high teacher turnover.⁶⁷

Stably diverse schools and districts, on the other hand, are linked to a number of positive indicators. Teachers, administrators, and students experience issues of diversity differently in stable environments than students and staff at schools in racial transition. In a 2005 survey of over 1,000 educators, teachers working in stable, diverse schools were more likely to think that their faculty peers could work effectively with students from all races and ethnicities.⁶⁸ They were also significantly more likely to say that students did not self-segregate. And though white and nonwhite teachers perceived levels of tension somewhat differently, survey respondents reported that tension between racial groups was lowest in schools with stable enrollments, and much higher in rapidly changing schools.⁶⁹ It stands to reason, then, that school and housing policies should help foster stable diversity—and prevent resegregation—whenever possible.

From 1990 to 2011, districts in North and Central Jersey changed such that the majority of districts either had a diverse population, 20-60% nonwhite, or a predominately nonwhite population, 60% or more (Figure 19). The proportion of districts that qualify as predominately nonwhite in the area grew 70.6% between the 1999-2000 and 2010-2011 academic years, marking a significant shift in district demographics as more Latino students continued to enroll in New Jersey schools.

⁶⁵ Orfield & Luce, 2012.

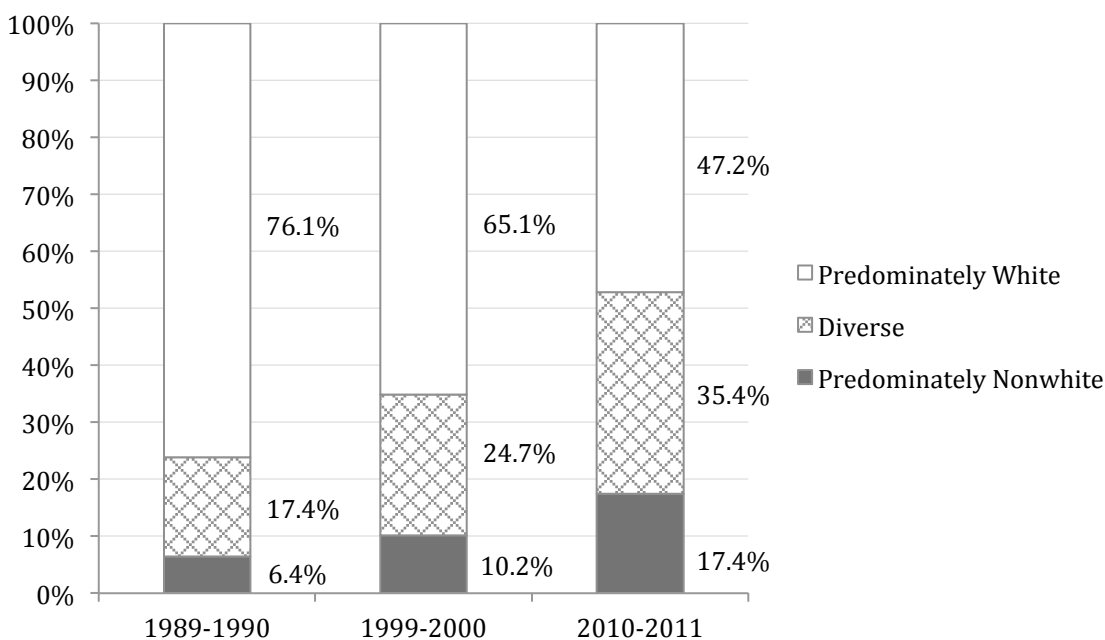
⁶⁶ Frankenberg, E. (2012). Understanding suburban school district transformation: A typology of suburban districts. In E. Frankenberg & G. Orfield (Eds.), *The resegregation of suburban schools: A hidden crisis in education* (pp. 27-44). Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.

⁶⁷ Jackson, 2009.

⁶⁸ Siegel-Hawley, G., & Frankenberg, E. (2012). *Spaces of inclusion: Teachers' perceptions of school communities with differing student racial & socioeconomic contexts*. Los Angeles: The Civil Rights Project at UCLA.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

Figure 19 – Racial Transition by District, Northern and Central New Jersey, 1989-2010



Note: Diverse districts are those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. Predominantly nonwhite districts are those with 60% or more nonwhite students. Predominantly white districts are those with 80% or more white students. $N=373$ districts that were open and had enrollment with at least 100 students for each time period.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

It may seem positive that a larger proportion of districts in North and Central Jersey are now considered diverse than was the case 20 years ago. However, the data indicate that once a district has become predominately nonwhite it is very unlikely that it will become diverse. Out of the ten most populated districts in North and Central Jersey, none that had been predominately nonwhite in 1989 or 1999 transitioned to become diverse over time (Table 10). Rather, as the nonwhite population in New Jersey has grown, one major district, Edison Township, shifted to become a predominately nonwhite district. On the other hand, the districts of Woodbridge Township and Hamilton Township have transitioned from predominately white districts into diverse districts. The classification of the remaining seven of the top ten districts has not changed over time.

Table 9 – White Proportion and Classification in Metropolitan Area and Top Ten Highest Enrolling Districts in 2010, Northern and Central New Jersey, 1989-2010

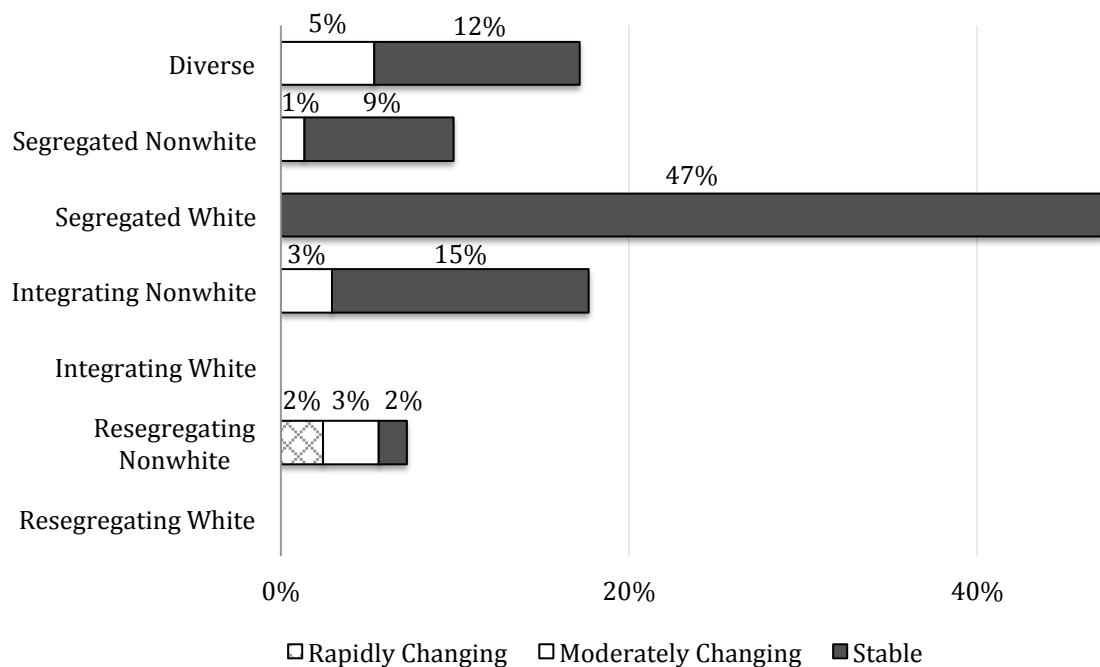
	White Proportion			Classification		
	1989	1999	2010	1989	1999	2010
Northern and Central New Jersey Metro	65.1%	59.5%	50.7%	D	D	D
NEWARK	10.0%	8.8%	8.0%	PNW	PNW	PNW
JERSEY CITY	12.5%	9.2%	10.4%	PNW	PNW	PNW
PATERSON	9.8%	6.4%	5.3%	PNW	PNW	PNW
ELIZABETH	22.1%	14.0%	8.5%	PNW	PNW	PNW
TOMS RIVER REGIONAL	96.9%	92.1%	80.2%	PW	PW	PW
EDISON TOWNSHIP	67.6%	50.5%	26.5%	D	D	PNW
PASSAIC CITY	7.3%	2.6%	1.0%	PNW	PNW	PNW
WOODBIDGE TOWNSHIP	81.7%	62.6%	42.6%	PW	D	D
HAMILTON TOWNSHIP	86.8%	77.4%	58.2%	PW	D	D
FREEHOLD REGIONAL HIGH SC	88.6%	86.0%	80.1%	PW	PW	PW

Note: D=Diverse area or districts with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. PNW=Predominantly nonwhite area or districts with 60% or more nonwhite students. PW=Predominantly white area or districts with 80% or more white students. Metropolitan figures represent enrollment counts for all schools open during each time period. Districts are those open, and with enrollments with at least 100 students, for each time period.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

The most segregated school districts in North and Central Jersey have remained relatively consistent in their levels of segregation over time, as 100% of segregated white districts classify as stable and 90% of segregated nonwhite districts classify as stable (Figure 20). As a result, there are three times as many stably segregated white districts in the area as stably diverse districts. While 18% of districts have become more diverse over time through the further integration of nonwhite students into majority white districts, approximately 7% of districts in the area are resegregating and becoming increasingly racially isolated for nonwhite students.

Figure 20 – Degree and Type of Racial Transition, Northern and Central New Jersey, 1999 to 2010

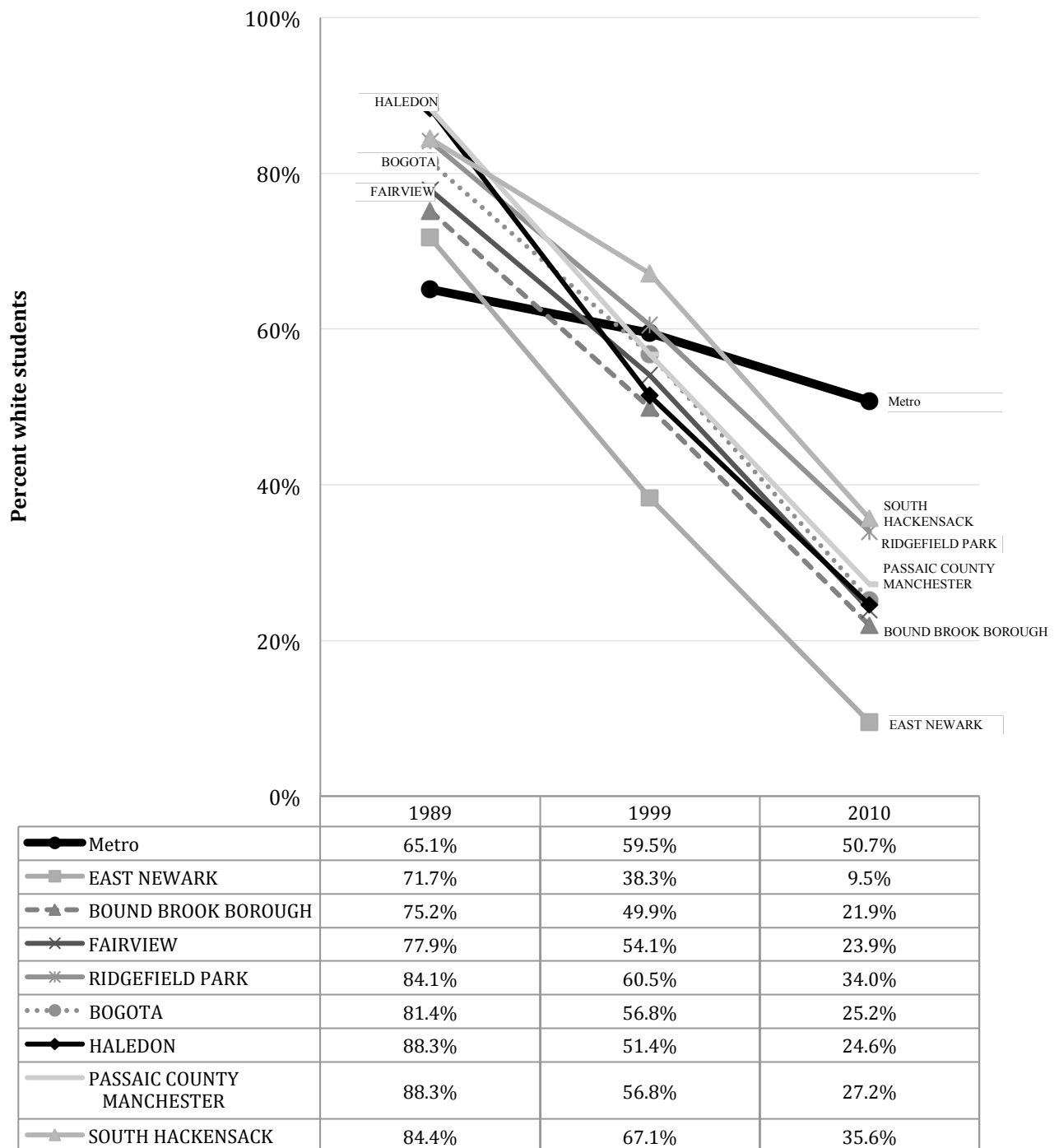


Note: $N=373$ districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period. For the degree of change categories: Rapidly changing districts are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Moderately changing districts are those with white student % change 2 times but less than 3 times greater than metro white % change, or those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change but classified as predominately white, nonwhite, or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the later period. Stable districts are those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change. For the type of change: Resegregating districts are those classified as predominately white, nonwhite, or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as the other predominately type in the later period. Integrating districts are those classified as predominately white or nonwhite in the earlier time period and diverse in the later period. Segregated districts are those classified as predominately white or nonwhite in both time periods. Diverse districts are those classified as diverse in both periods.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Several North and Central Jersey districts have far outpaced the metropolitan average in terms of a decreasing proportion of white students. These rapidly resegregating districts have generally shifted from being predominately white to predominately nonwhite districts, with the exception of East Newark, Bound Brook Borough, and Fairview (Figure 21). East Newark has seen a particularly rapid transition into resegregation. In 1989, the district had a 71.7% share of white students, compared to a 9.5% share of white students in 2010. For many of the resegregating districts in the metropolitan area, the pace of this transition became more rapid once it had begun. This is evidence of the difficulty of halting resegregation once it begins.

Figure 21 – Rapidly Resegregating Districts in Northern and Central New Jersey, 1989-2010



Note: Rapidly changing districts are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Resegregating districts are those classified as predominately white, nonwhite, or diverse in the prior year and classified as the other predominately type in the latter year. Metropolitan figures represent enrollment counts for all schools open during each time period.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

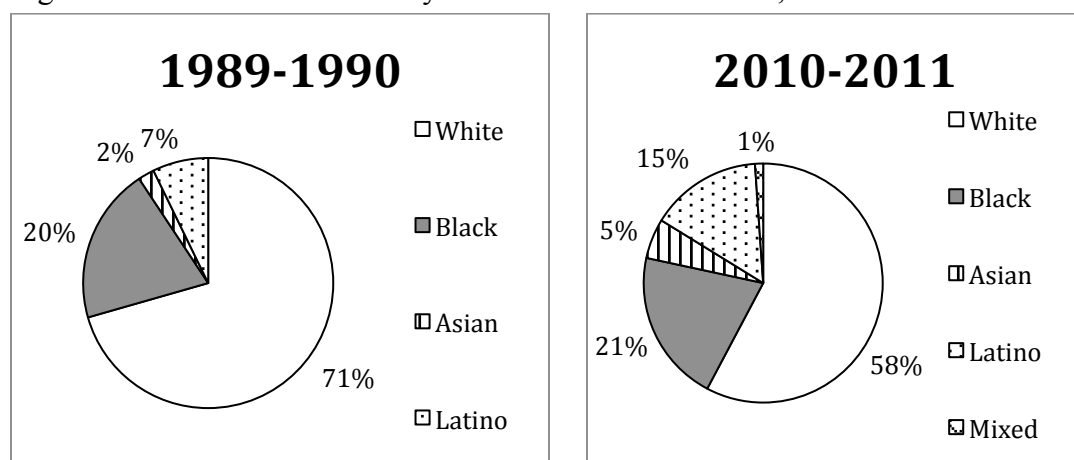
By examining demographic, exposure, and racial transition data in North and Central Jersey from 1989-1990, to 1999-2000, to 2010-2011, it is apparent that the area has seen a significant shift in the racial composition of schools, which has affected the potential interaction between students of different races within schools. These shifts, including larger Latino and Asian student populations and smaller white and black student populations, indicate the future direction of the population of the area as a whole. However, in reviewing exposure rates between races, schools largely remain as segregated as they were 20 years ago, despite these demographic changes. Given the high rate of exposure to low-income students among black and Latino students relative to that of white students, school segregation in North and Central Jersey may also take place in terms of the income of students' families, as well as their racial background.

Southern New Jersey Metropolitan Area

Although the census-based metropolitan area of Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City spans four states, only the portion of the area in New Jersey is examined for this report. The Philadelphia-Wilmington-Atlantic City metropolitan area incorporates South Jersey, including such cities as Camden, Atlantic City, Vineland, Bridgeton, and Millville. It contains a smaller population than North and Central Jersey and borders Pennsylvania and Delaware.⁷⁰ The area includes the counties of Burlington, Camden, Gloucester, Salem, Cumberland, Atlantic, and Cape May. The proximity of Philadelphia acts as a major factor in the area's population, as suburbs in New Jersey span eastward from the city.

Changes in the racial composition of schools in South Jersey from 1989 to 2010 are similar to the demographic trends occurring throughout the state (Figure 22). The proportions of Latino students and Asian students in the area have more than doubled, with the white population seeing an 18% decrease in its share of enrollment, and the population of black students remaining steady at approximately one-fifth of enrollment.

Figure 22 – Southern New Jersey Public School Enrollment, 1989-1990 and 2010-2011



Note: American Indian is less than 1% of total enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

⁷⁰ This area will be referred to as Southern New Jersey or South Jersey, to distinguish it from the Northern and Central New Jersey region.

In South Jersey in 1989-1990, the demographic makeup of the school-going population in urban schools consisted of 45.8% black students, 23.6% white students, and 29.4% Latino students (Table 10). Two decades later, the population has changed such that over two-fifths of students enrolled in urban schools are Latino, less than two-fifths are black students, and less than a fifth are white students. Suburban schools in South Jersey have seen a different trend with a significantly different demographic profile. White students made up four-fifths of the suburban student population in 1989-1990, and they continue to make up the majority, albeit a decreasing one, of the area's suburban schools as of 2010-2011, at 62.9% of enrolled students. The proportion of black students in suburban schools in South Jersey increased from 13.2% in 1989-1990 to 19.1% in 2010-2011. Suburban schools have seen a growth in the Latino population as well, although this group has a much smaller share of enrollment, just one-tenth, compared to its two-fifths share in schools in urban areas. The proportion of Asian students has seen a sizable increase in both suburban and urban schools, from 2.7% of students in suburban schools in 1989-1990 to 6.6% in 2010-2011, and from 1.2% to 3.2% over that same period for urban schools.

Table 10 – Race/Ethnicity Percentage in Urban and Suburban Schools in Metro Area

	Urban Schools				Suburban Schools			
	White	Black	Asian	Latino	White	Black	Asian	Latino
Southern New Jersey								
1989-1990	23.6%	45.8%	1.2%	29.4%	81.5%	13.2%	2.7%	2.5%
1999-2000	19.9%	44.1%	2.1%	33.4%	74.5%	16.6%	3.9%	4.8%
2010-2011	16.8%	37.0%	3.2%	42.5%	62.9%	19.1%	6.6%	10.2%

Note: Urban schools refer to those inside an urbanized area and a principal city. Suburban schools refer to those inside an urbanized area but outside a principal city. Data comprises schools open 1989-2010, 1989-1999-2010, 1999-2010, and only 2010. We apply 2010 boundary codes to all years. Some schools were missing data on urbanicity and therefore were excluded from this analysis.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Over the last two decades, the number of schools in South Jersey has increased slightly, from 537 to 552 (Table 11). Interestingly, the proportion of these schools that qualify as multiracial has increased much more dramatically, from 10.8% to 32.6%. At the same time, the proportions of those schools that qualify as majority-minority (50-100% minority population), intensely segregated (90-100% minority population), and apartheid (99-100% minority population) have also increased. These higher rates in the concentration of students of color in particular schools highlight an increase in segregation, coupled with an increase in the Latino and Asian student population in South Jersey.

Table 11 – Number and Percentage of Multiracial and Minority Schools

	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
Southern New Jersey					
1989-1990	537	10.8%	17.5%	7.4%	2.2%
1999-2000	545	15.8%	23.3%	11.7%	4.2%
2010-2011	552	32.6%	30.8%	13.2%	6.5%

Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment, respectively.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

In examining the percentage of low-income students in these different type of schools, it is possible to determine the presence of double segregation based on both class and race. In South Jersey, a consistent trend occurs for both 1999-2000 and 2010-2011 (Table 12). The more segregated a school, the higher rate of low-income students in attendance. While the overall 2010-2011 share of low-income students in the area was 35.9%, the share of low-income students in the most highly concentrated minority schools was 80.2%. There have been no significant shifts in these rates since 1999-2000, except for a slight decrease in the proportion of low-income students in both apartheid schools and majority-minority schools.

Table 12 – Percentage of Low-Income Students in Multiracial and Minority Schools

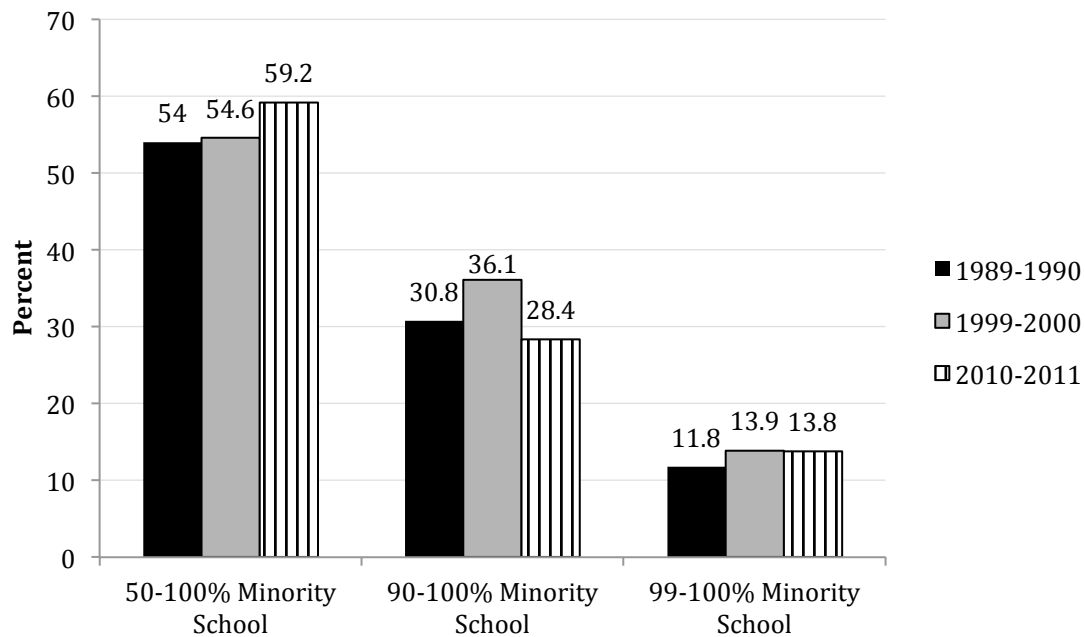
	Overall Share of Low-Income Students	% Low- Income in Multiracial Schools	% Low-Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low-Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Southern New Jersey					
1999-2000	30.2%	48.1%	67.6%	77.4%	83.3%
2010-2011	35.9%	48.7%	64.8%	78.1%	80.2%

Note: Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment, respectively.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

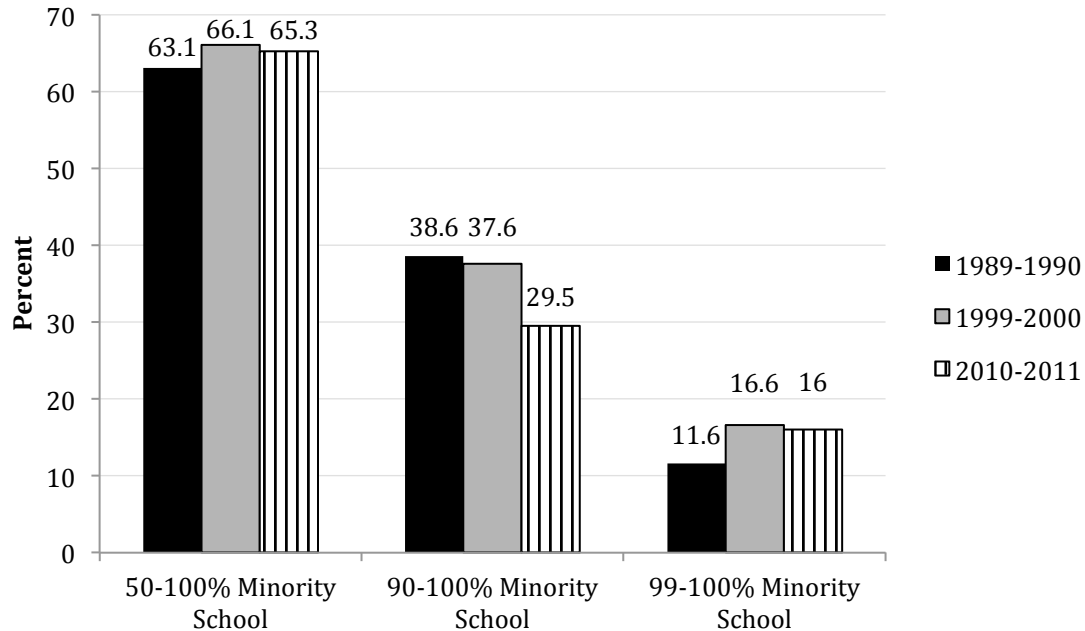
At least half of both black and Latino students have attended majority-minority schools in the South Jersey area since 1999-2000 (Figures 23 and 24). The proportion of black students attending these schools has increased to nearly 60% as of 2010-2011, while the proportion of Latino youth in these schools has remained steady, at around 65% of Latino students. While these statistics remain high, the proportion of Latino and black students in intensely segregated schools has declined in the two decades since 1989-1990. The proportion of Latino students in these schools has seen the largest decrease over the 21-year timespan, from 38.6% to 29.5%. The proportion of black students in apartheid schools in South Jersey has remained stable at nearly 14% of all black students in the area, while the proportion of Latino students in the area attending apartheid schools has slightly declined, from 16.6% to 16%.

Figure 23 – Percentage of Black Students in Minority Schools in Southern New Jersey



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

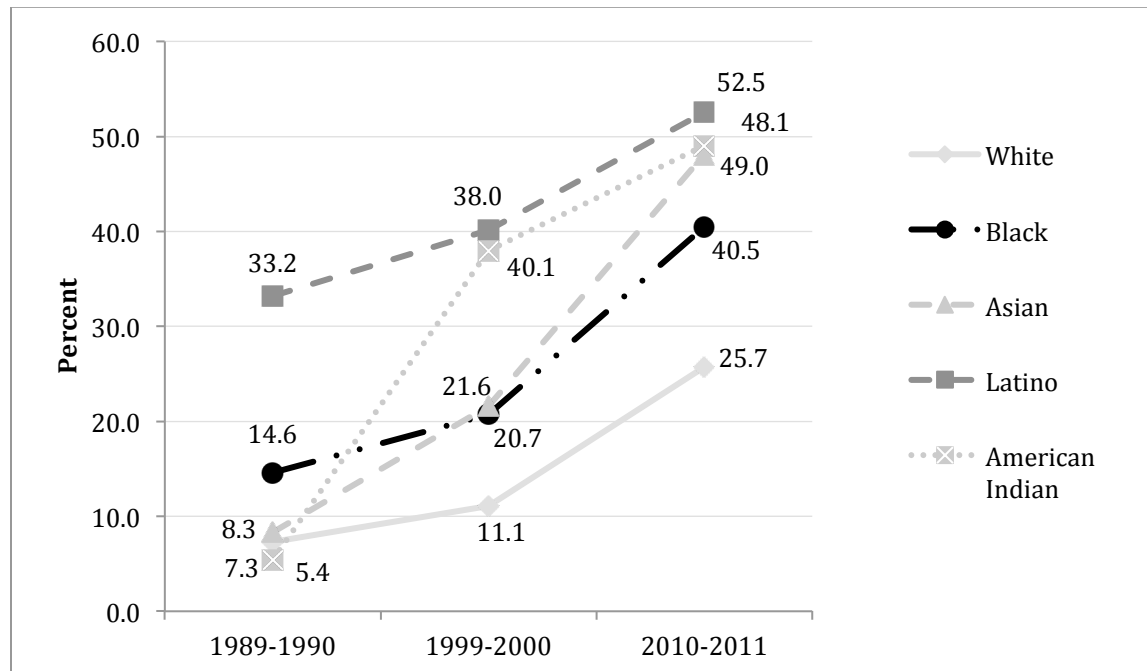
Figure 24 – Percentage of Latino Students in Minority Schools in in Southern New Jersey



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Each major racial group in the South Jersey metropolitan area saw increases in their representation in multiracial schools from 1989-1990 to 2010-2011 (Figure 25). Over half of Latino students in South Jersey currently attend multiracial schools, and nearly half of Asian and American Indian students attend these schools as well. Meanwhile, about 40% of black students go to multiracial schools, while a quarter of white students are enrolled in them. These significant proportions indicate a growth in the diversity of South Jersey schools, which is especially significant considering the single-digit rates of students in some racial groups (White, Asian, and American Indian) who attended multiracial schools in 1989-1990.

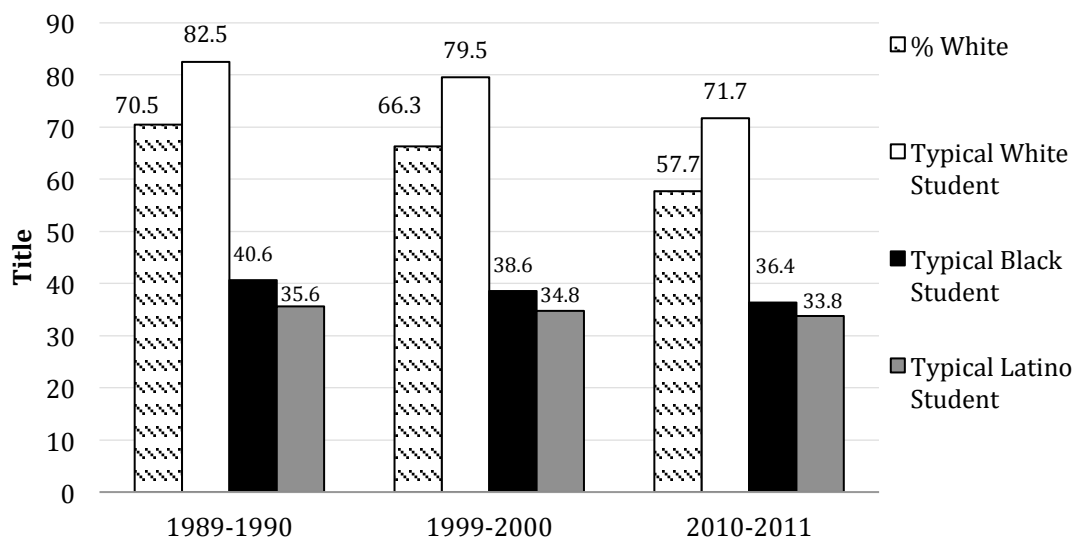
Figure 25 – Percentage of Racial Group in Multiracial Schools in Southern New Jersey



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Beyond measuring the concentration of students in schools, data reflecting the exposure, or interracial contact, between students of different races can indicate the presence of school segregation in an area. Comparing the proportion of white students enrolled in South Jersey schools to the proportion of white students in the schools of a typical student of any race illuminates the extent to which disproportionate exposure may be occurring (Figure 26). White students are disproportionately exposed to other white students in the area, with rates consistently higher than the total proportion of white students in schools. For the typical black student and typical Latino student, the proportion of white students in the same school has been around or under 40% since 1989-1990 and continues to fall. However, this decline in exposure to white students coincides with a decrease in the relative number of white students in overall student enrollment, which may imply that opportunities for interracial contact with white students are lessening, due to the smaller share of white students in South Jersey schools.

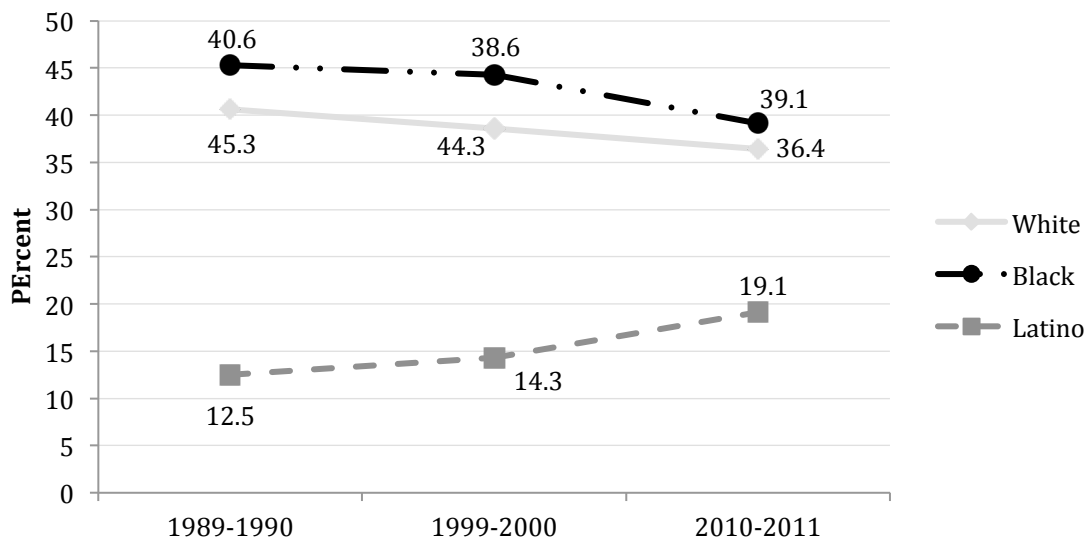
Figure 26 – Percentage of White Students in School Attended by the Typical Student of Each Race in Southern New Jersey



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

In 1989-1990, the typical black student in New Jersey schools in the South Jersey metropolitan area attended a school with approximately 45.3% black students, 40.6% white students, and 12.5% Latino students (Figure 27). Those proportions have shifted significantly over the last 20 years, so that the typical black student in the region now attends a school with 39.1% black students, 36.4% white students, and 19.1% Latino students. Population changes have undoubtedly had an impact on the racial composition of schools attended by the average black student, as the proportion of Latino students in the area has more than doubled since 1989-1990.

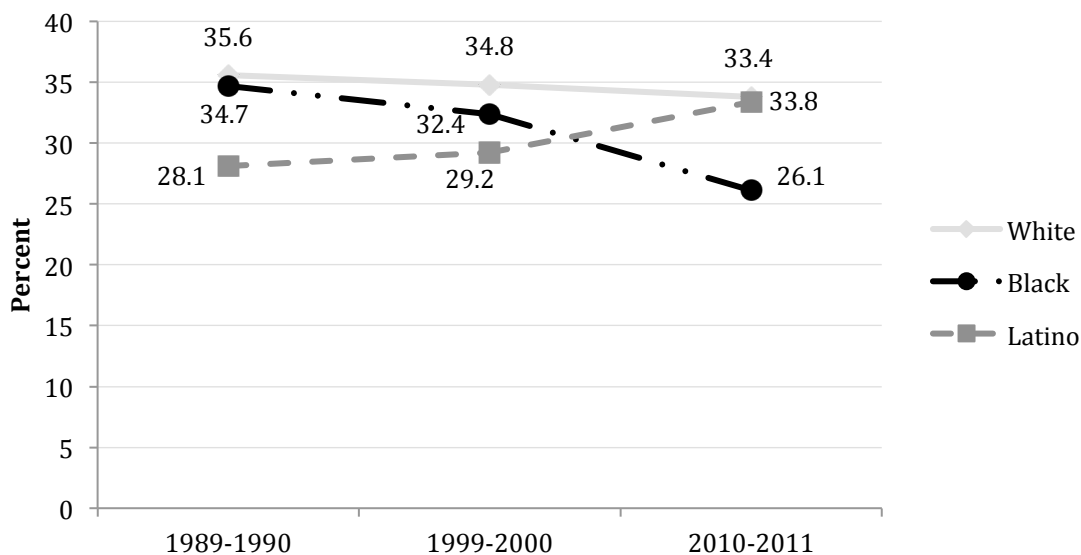
Figure 27 – Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Black Student in Southern New Jersey



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

The typical Latino student, as of 2010-2011, attends a school with a third white students, a third Latino students, and approximately a quarter black students (Figure 28). The racial composition of a school attended by the average Latino student has shifted over the last 20 years, so that it is now made up of smaller share of black students and a higher share of Latino students, with a slight decline in the share of white students.

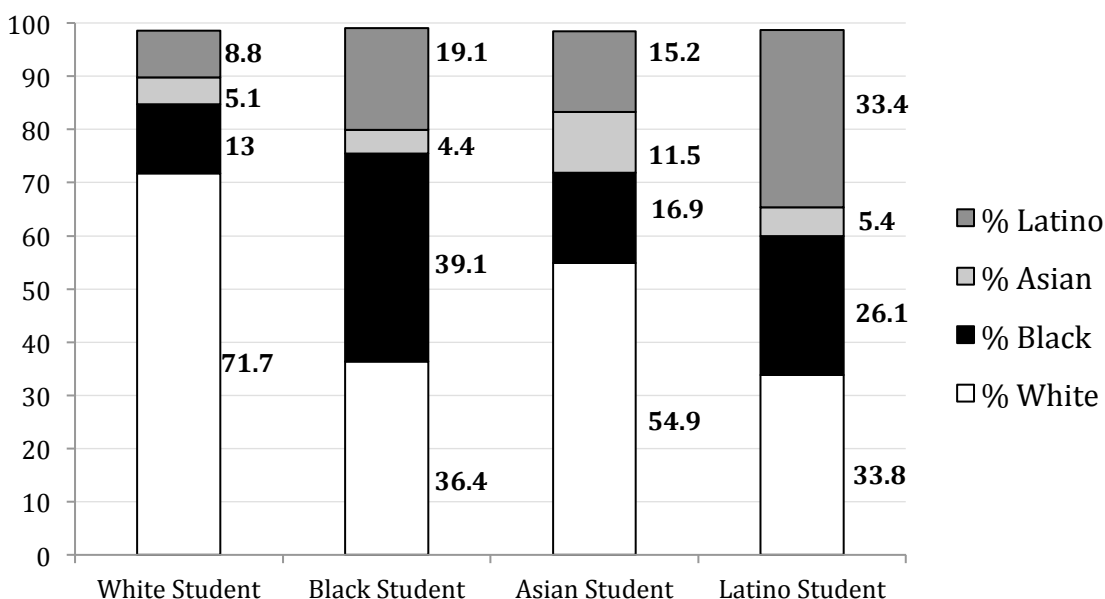
Figure 28 – Racial Composition of School Attended by Typical Latino Student in Southern New Jersey



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

The racial composition of a school attended by the typical student of one race varies distinctly from that of a student of another race in South Jersey as of 2010-2011 (Figure 29). More specifically, the typical white student tends to attend a significantly less diverse school than the typical Latino student or black student. The average Latino student in the area attends a school with a similar proportion of white and Latino students, while the average white student attends a school with a proportion of white students more than eight times as high as the proportion of Latino students in that school. The average black student also attends a more diverse school than the average white student, with similar shares of white and black students and one-fifth Latino students among those enrolled.

Figure 29 – Composition of School Attended by Typical Student in Southern New Jersey, by Race, 2010-2011



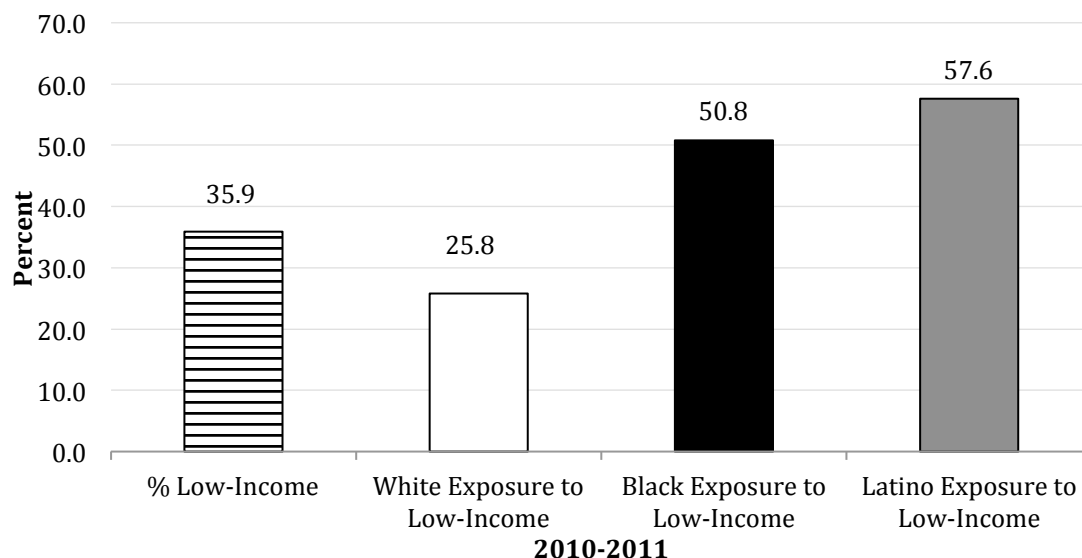
Note: Composition figures exclude American Indian and mixed-race students and thus do not exactly equal 100%.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

In exploring the interaction of class and race in segregation in South Jersey, an analysis of rates of exposure to low-income students among the different racial groups provides significant indicators of this interaction. The first column in Figure 30 indicates the proportion of low-income students in South Jersey's student enrollment, while the other columns display the proportion of low-income students attending a school of the typical student who belongs to the particular racial group.

The comparison reveals the disproportionate distribution of low-income students in the schools of the average Latino student and black student, as compared to the average white student. While low-income students comprise 35.9% of total enrollment in the area, the typical Latino student attends a school in which 57.6% of enrolled students are low income. Similarly, the typical black student in the area attends a school with 50.8% low-income student enrollment. On the other hand, the typical white student attends a school in which 25.8% of students are low income. This disparity demonstrates the association between race and income, and the existing double segregation whereby white students have significantly less contact with low-income students than do black or Latino students.

Figure 30 – Percentage of Racial Group and Exposure Rates to Low-Income Students for Typical Student in Southern New Jersey, by Race, 2010-2011



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

A look at the evenness index of South Jersey indicates increasing racial diversity in schools when relating those schools to the greater metropolitan area (Table 13). Schools have become more racially balanced as the degree of segregation, according to this index, has decreased by 24% from 1989-1990 to 2010-2011. Schools in South Jersey remain moderately segregated according to this index. As with North and Central Jersey and the state as a whole, stark differences exist when figuring between-district segregation and within-district segregation. Segregation between districts accounts for 92% of the uneven distribution of students by race in the metropolitan area, while segregation within districts accounts for the remaining 8%. While schools have been trending toward increased diversity in South Jersey, districts on average remain quite dissimilar from each other in terms of racial composition.

Table 13 – Differential Distribution (Evenness) of White, Black, Asian, and Latino Students across All Public Schools, and the Degree of Evenness within and between School Districts.

	H	H Within Districts	H Between Districts
Southern New Jersey			
1989-1990	0.33	0.03	0.30
1999-2000	0.31	0.02	0.28
2010-2011	0.25	0.02	0.23

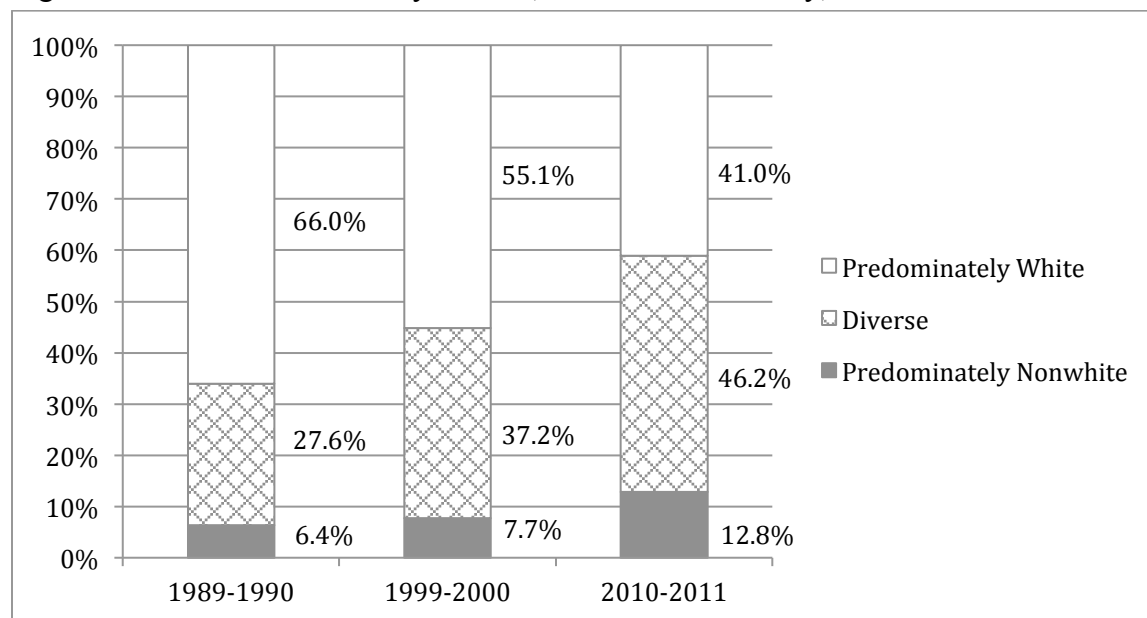
Note: H=Multi-Group Entropy Index or Theil's H. HW= the degree of un/evenness (H) that is within (W) districts. HB= the degree of un/evenness (H) that is between (B) districts.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Racial Transition in Southern New Jersey Area Districts

Two decades of change in South Jersey school districts has led to an increasing share of diverse districts and predominately nonwhite districts, and a decreasing share of predominately white districts (Figure 31). The proportion of districts that are predominately nonwhite have seen the largest relative growth, as the share of these districts doubled from 1989 to 2010. Meanwhile, the proportion of diverse districts has grown by 67%, while the proportion of predominately white districts has decreased by 61% over the same time period.

Figure 31 – Racial Transition by District, Southern New Jersey, 1989-2010



Note: Diverse districts are those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. Predominantly nonwhite districts are those with 60% or more nonwhite students. Predominantly white districts are those with 80% or more white students. N=156 districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

When considering how districts have shifted in terms of their classification as either diverse, predominately nonwhite, or predominately white, South Jersey district data indicate similar trends in North and Central Jersey. While a few districts have transitioned from predominately white to diverse, no predominately nonwhite districts have become diverse in the same two-decade span (Table 14). The largest district in South Jersey, Camden, had an extremely low percentage of white students in 1989, and as of 2010 it had a student population with less than 1% white students. While no other district in the area has seen such segregation, districts that have shifted from diversity to being predominately nonwhite, like Vineland City, may be heading in that direction.

Table 14 – White Proportion and Classification in Metropolitan Area and Top Ten Highest Enrolling Districts in 2010, Southern New Jersey, 1989-2010

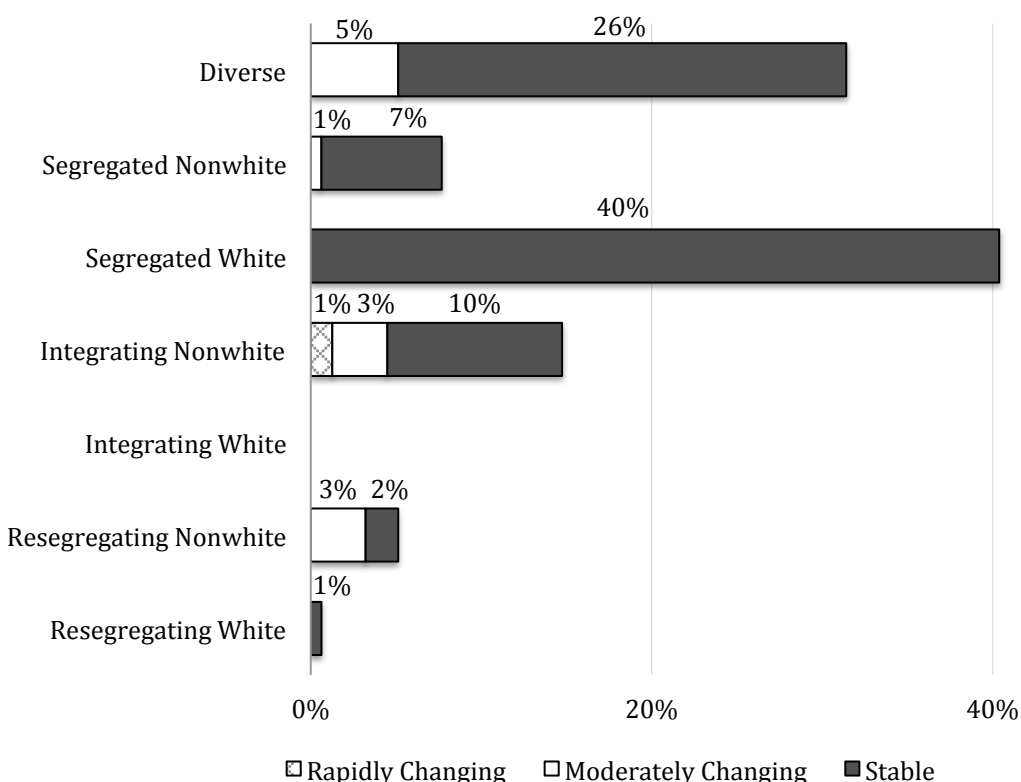
	White Proportion			Classification		
	1989	1999	2010	1989	1999	2010
Southern New Jersey Metro	70.5%	66.3%	57.7%	D	D	D
CAMDEN CITY	4.1%	1.7%	0.6%	PNW	PNW	PNW
CHERRY HILL TOWNSHIP	83.7%	78.7%	67.2%	PW	D	D
VINELAND CITY	46.5%	38.1%	26.9%	D	PNW	PNW
EGG HARBOR TOWNSHIP	79.1%	72.4%	50.1%	D	D	D
LENAPE REGIONAL HS DISTRICT	93.0%	90.3%	85.4%	PW	PW	PW
GLOUCESTER TOWNSHIP	89.1%	79.1%	65.5%	PW	D	D
ATLANTIC CITY	12.7%	9.3%	7.7%	PNW	PNW	PNW
MILLVILLE	73.7%	61.8%	48.7%	D	D	D
MONROE TOWNSHIP	81.8%	80.5%	71.3%	PW	PW	D
PENNSAUKEN TOWNSHIP	65.3%	42.1%	16.5%	D	D	PNW

Note: D=Diverse area or districts with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students. PNW=Predominantly nonwhite area or districts with 60% or more nonwhite students. PW=Predominantly white area or districts with 80% or more white students. Metropolitan figures represent enrollment counts for all schools open during each time period. Districts are those open, and with enrollments of at least 100 students, for each time period.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

Over a quarter of South Jersey districts meet the classification of stable and diverse (Figure 32). This serves as a positive indicator for these districts in maintaining diverse schooling environments for youth. The largest share of districts in the area do remain stably segregated, however, with 40% of districts as stable, segregated white, and 7% as stable, segregated nonwhite.

Figure 32 – Degree and Type of Racial Transition, Southern New Jersey, 1999 to 2010

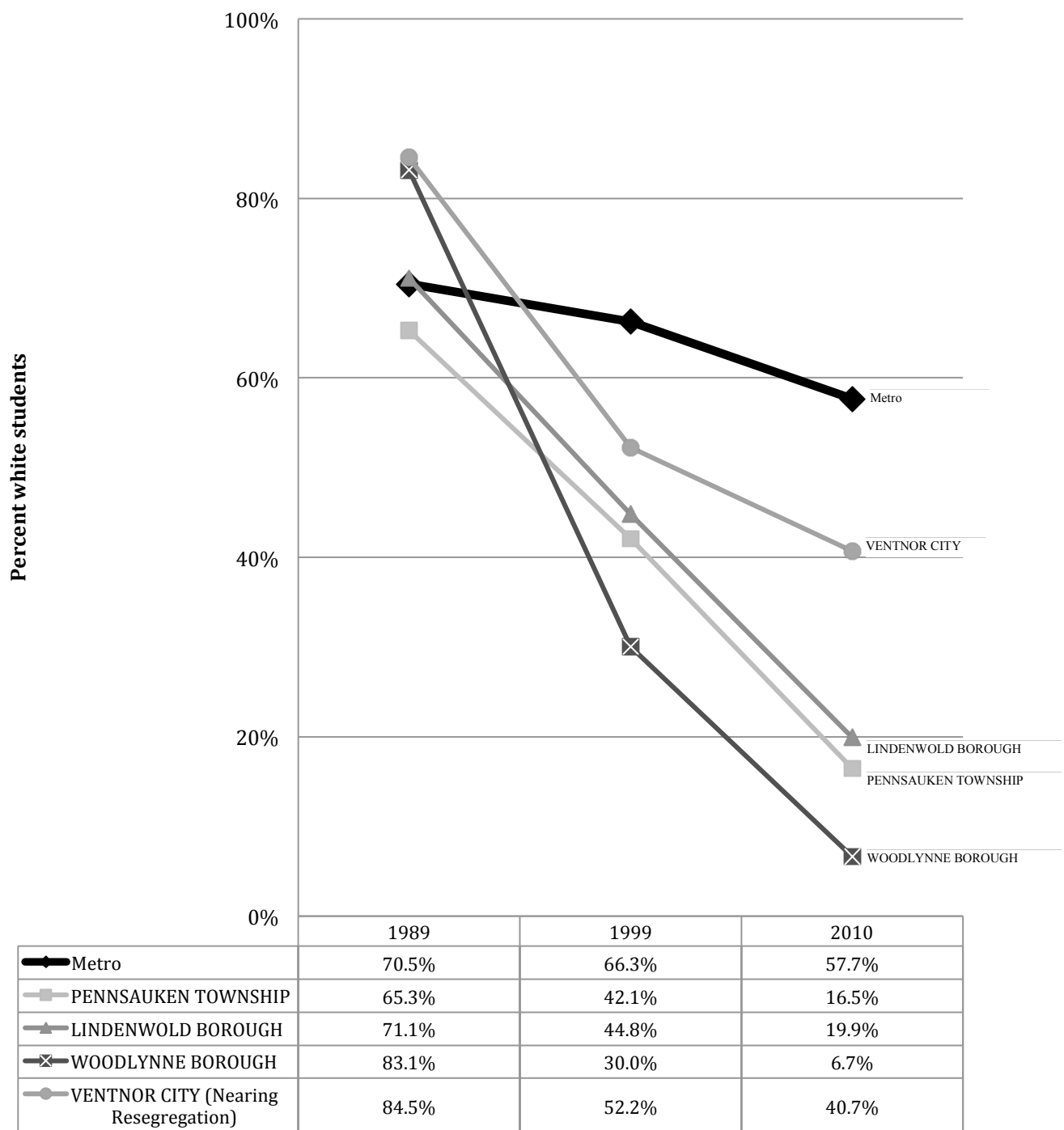


Note: N=156 districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period. For the degree of change categories: Rapidly changing districts are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Moderately changing districts are those with white student % change 2 times but less than 3 times greater than metro white % change, or those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change but classified as predominately white, nonwhite, or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the later period. Stable districts are those that experienced a white % change less than 2 times the metro white % change. For the type of change: Resegregating districts are those classified as predominately white, nonwhite, or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as the other predominately type in the later period. Integrating districts are those classified as predominately white or nonwhite in the earlier time period and diverse in the later period. Segregated districts are those classified as predominately white or nonwhite in both time periods. Diverse districts are those classified as diverse in both periods.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

The rapid resegregation in three South Jersey districts and near resegregation in one other is troubling, due to the challenge of reversing this trend once it has begun (Figure 33). The most dramatic shift in resegregation has occurred in Woodlynne Borough, shifting from predominately white to diverse, and finally to predominately minority as the proportion of white students dropped from 83.1% to 6.7% from 1989 to 2010.

Figure 33 – Rapidly Resegregating Districts in Southern New Jersey, 1989-2010



Note: Rapidly changing districts are those with white % change 3 times greater than metro white % change. Resegregating districts are those classified as predominately white, nonwhite, or diverse in 1989 and classified as the other predominately type in 2010. Metropolitan figures represent enrollment counts for all schools open during each time period.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data.

This review of demographic, exposure, evenness, student concentration, and racial transition data reveals the current state of South Jersey schools as in transition. As evidenced by the large increase in the number of multiracial schools in the area from 1989-1990 to 2010-2011 and a trend toward more evenly distributed school enrollment, schools in this area have become more diverse and opportunities for interracial contact have increased. However, segregation of schools in this area has increased according to some measures, such as the rise in number of majority-minority, intensely segregated, and apartheid schools. Double segregation also continues in the area, as black and Latino students have a much higher rate of exposure to low-income students than do white students. While it appears that South Jersey schools have stagnated across some segregation indicators, the increased share of multiracial schools is promising as a sign of new opportunities for students of different racial groups to come together in the classroom.

Discussion

In the past two decades, New Jersey has seen little progress in terms of providing more racially and culturally diverse schooling environments for students. Schools in the state have become increasingly racially isolated, with fewer opportunities for white students and students of color to engage in learning together. Little change has occurred for poorer students, as these students maintain the same level of isolation in schools as a decade ago. Similar trends exist for the North and Central Jersey major metropolitan area, where no visible gains have been made in integrating schools. In South Jersey, however, schools have become more diverse on average over the last 20 years. The majority of the school segregation that does exist in the state and both major metropolitan areas occurs across districts rather than within. This indicates New Jersey's status as an increasingly racially heterogeneous state separated into racially homogenous school districts. In considering opportunities for greater interaction between students of different races, it is important to acknowledge the current demographic trends in New Jersey that are affecting the racial composition of schools.

The racial makeup of schools in New Jersey at the aggregate level has shifted significantly over the last 20 years. The Latino student population has risen from 11% to 22% of total student enrollment, and Asian students now make up 9% of enrolled students compared to 4% in the 1989-1990 academic year. Both white students and black students, meanwhile, now make up less of the New Jersey student population than they did 20 years ago, with shifts from 66% to 52% and 18% to 16%, respectively. Student demographic figures in both of the state's major metropolitan areas have followed the same trend, with twice the proportion of Latino students and Asian students enrolled, a stable black student population, and a decreasing white student population. Examining urban and suburban schools within the major metropolitan areas of the state reveals how this trend occurs differently based on urbanicity. In both North and Central Jersey and South Jersey, white students and Asian students tend to enroll in suburban schools at much higher rates than in urban schools, while black students and Latino students make up the majority of urban school attendees.

The concentration of students in minority schools in New Jersey serves as a reliable measure for understanding school segregation in the state. Majority-minority schools are those in which 50-100% of the student population is made up of students of color. Two-fifths of schools in New Jersey are majority-minority schools as of 2010-2011, compared to just over one-fifth in 1989-1990. Closer to 19% of schools in New Jersey today are intensely segregated, or 90-100%

minority schools, after making up 11% of schools in 1989-1990. Apartheid schools, those with 99-100% enrollment of students of color, account for 8% of New Jersey schools in 2010-2011, compared to 5% in 1989-1990. The vast majority of students who go to minority schools are low income, with a correlation of the percentage of low-income students to the extent to which the school is segregated. This has remained unchanged over the last decade, as nearly 80% of students in apartheid schools are low-income, 79% in intensely segregated schools, and 58% in majority-minority schools. The persistence of a high correlation between low-income students and racially isolated schools indicates the continued presence of double segregation in New Jersey by class and race.

Exposure rates indicate the potential for a student of one race to interact with a student of another. The exposure rates in New Jersey currently signify the limited potential for this kind of interaction in the state, especially for white students, who in 2010-2011 have enrollment rates at the same school of the typical black student or typical Latino student far lower (24% and 27%) than the average enrollment of white students throughout all schools in the state (61%). An evenness index, another measure of segregation, provides information on the racial distribution among schools. The evenness indices for New Jersey and its constituent metropolitan areas show signs of progress in terms of increased racial balance in schools, where the racial composition of schools matches the racial composition of all students in the state. The average school in New Jersey in 2010-2011 would require 19% fewer students to be redistributed to attain complete racial balance than the percentage required for such perfect school diversity in 1989-1990. Likely due to the high number of municipalities in New Jersey and distinct differences in the demographics of these municipalities, a large proportion of the uneven racial composition in schools results from differences between school districts. This trend exists in both major metropolitan areas in the state, although to a lesser extent in South Jersey than in North and Central Jersey.

As previously mentioned, nearly 80% of students who attend intensely segregated and apartheid schools in New Jersey are low income. These rates have increased in the last decade. This statistic ties to the disproportionately high rates of exposure that Latino students and black students have to low-income students. The typical Latino student attends a school with 58% low-income students, whereas the typical black student attends a school with 55% low-income students. The typical white student, on the other hand, is enrolled at a school with an 18% share of low-income students. Meanwhile, the proportion of students in the state who are low income is roughly 33%, indicating the double segregation that means students of color and white students have few opportunities to interact, and that white students and low-income students generally go to different schools. This is a trend in both major metropolitan areas in New Jersey, albeit to differing degrees. For instance, the typical white student in South Jersey attends a school with 26% low-income students, whereas the typical white student in North and Central Jersey attends a school with 15% low-income students. The share of low-income students for South Jersey is slightly higher, 36% compared to 32%, so that may account for some of the difference in exposure, but not all.

Recommendations⁷¹

State Level

Many steps can be taken at the state level to create and maintain integrated schools. State-level policies that focus on reducing racial isolation and promoting diverse schools are critical. Ohio recently developed an updated version of such policies that could provide direction for other states. Ohio's policy, which applies to both regular public schools and charter schools, provides guidance to school districts concerning the development of student assignment policies that foster diverse schools and reduce concentrated poverty. The policy encourages inter-district transfer programs and regional magnet schools. Ohio's policy promotes the recruitment of a diverse group of teachers and also requires districts to report to the Ohio state superintendent of public instruction on diversity-related matters. Massachusetts's Racial Imbalance Act, which requires districts to improve the racial balance of schools and to fund magnet schools and inter-district transfers, is another example of a state policy that could help other states.

State-level policies that promote diversity in schools are needed in New Jersey. Policies should provide guidance about how districts can create student assignment policies that foster diverse schools. Policies should also consider how to recruit a diverse teaching staff, and states should set credentialing standards for training a more diverse teaching force. Additionally, states should require that districts report to the state on diversity-related matters for both public and charter schools.

It is also important for state-level policies to provide a framework for developing and supporting inter-district programs in the form of city-suburban transfers and regional magnet schools, and states should play a role in setting up such schools. This is especially important for New Jersey, due to the high degree of between-district segregation that occurs at the state level. New Jersey has the most municipalities per capita of any state in the country, currently numbered at 565. The doctrine of home rule in the state dictates that each municipality has a right to its own core services, such as fire department, police department, school district, and so on. Beyond inter-district cooperation, the consolidation of districts provides another option for reducing school segregation. One way districts could merge is at the county level. A recent Hunterdon County proposal estimated cost savings at 25% a year from consolidation. Merging districts does have obstacles, however, as differing municipal tax rates and union contracts would need to be reconciled as the process moves forward.⁷² Consolidation at the municipal level could also lead to more integrated schools and is being looked at increasingly in New Jersey as a means of

⁷¹ General recommendations in this section are written by Jenn Ayscue and adapted from Orfield, G., Kuscera, J., & Siegel-Hawley, G. (2012). *E pluribus ... separation? Deepening double segregation for more students*. Los Angeles: The Civil Rights Project/ Proyecto Derechos Civiles at UCLA. Retrieved from <http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/mlk-national/e-pluribus...separation-deepening-double-segregation-for-more-students>.

⁷² Star-Ledger Editorial Board. (2012, January 29). *N.J. should support school district mergers*. NJ.com. Retrieved from http://blog.nj.com/njv_editorial_page/2012/01/nj_should_support_school_distr.html.

curbing property taxes.⁷³ One recent example of a full municipal merger is that of Princeton Township and Princeton Borough, which took effect at the beginning of 2013.⁷⁴

Fair housing agencies and state and local housing officials need to regularly audit discrimination in housing markets, particularly in and around areas with diverse school districts. The same groups should seek prosecution of violators. Housing officials need to strengthen and enforce site selection policies for projects receiving federal direct funding or tax credit subsidies so that they support integrated schools rather than foster segregation. The continued development of affordable housing, as overseen by the Council on Affordable Housing and the Fair Share Housing Center, can support a reduction in the economic segregation of communities. Mt. Laurel Township is a current example of the benefits of this approach. A study conducted by Rebecca Casciano and Douglas S. Massey of Princeton University evaluated the educational attributes of residents who moved into the Ethel Lawrence Homes affordable housing development that was built in Mt. Laurel, N.J., in 2000.⁷⁵ The study showed that residents enjoyed significantly higher school quality and improvements across economic indices such as employment and welfare use than nonresidents on the waiting list. While the Mt. Laurel Doctrine of a fair share of affordable housing traditionally operates at the municipal level, an increase in regional planning for affordable housing could reduce economic segregation across communities more effectively.⁷⁶ Regional affordable housing plans may play an especially important role in reducing school segregation in New Jersey, due to student assignment by municipality, as it could lead to a reduction in the racial and economic isolation taking place on a regional level.

State and local officials should work to promote diversity in charter school enrollments, in part by encouraging extensive outreach to diverse communities, inter-district enrollment, and the provision of free transportation. Officials should also consider pursuing litigation against charter schools that receive public funds yet serve only one racial or ethnic group, or refuse service to English language learners. Current evidence in New Jersey points to an abundance of charter schools in primarily black communities, with those schools having a higher rate of racial isolation than their surrounding neighborhoods.⁷⁷ While current policy implicates the New Jersey commissioner of education in monitoring racial isolation in charter schools, state courts need to enforce implementation of this policy to ensure that students in charter schools do not receive a segregated education.⁷⁸ New Jersey state and local officials should also investigate charter schools that are virtually all white in diverse areas or schools that provide no free lunch program, making it impossible to serve students who need these subsidies in order to eat and therefore excluding a large share of nonwhite students.

⁷³ Kocieniewski, D. (2009, May 19,). A wealth of municipalities, and an era of hard times. *New York Times*. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/2009/05/31/nyregion/31merge.html?pagewanted=all&_r=0.

⁷⁴ Offredo, J. (2013, January 13). *Princeton merger begins to pay off as early tally shows higher than expected savings*. NJ.com. Retrieved from http://www.nj.com/mercer/index.ssf/2013/01/princeton_merger_begins_to_pay.html.

⁷⁵ Casciano, R., & Massey, D.S. (2012). School context and educational outcomes: results from a quasi-experimental study. *Urban Affairs Review*, 48, 180-204.

⁷⁶ Fair Share Housing Center. (n.d.). *Our advocacy*. Retrieved January 19, 2013, from <http://fairsharehousing.org/advocacy/>.

⁷⁷ Gulosino, C., & d'Entremont, C. (2008). Circles of influence: An analysis of charter school locations and racial patterns at varying geographic scales. *Education Policy Analysis Archives*, 23(8), 1-29.

⁷⁸ Green P.C. III, & Oluwole, J.O. (2008). Charter schools: Racial balancing provisions and Parents Involved. *Arkansas Law Review*, 23, 1-52.

Local Level

At the local level, raising awareness is an essential step in preventing further resegregation and encouraging integrated schooling. Civil rights organizations and community organizations in nonwhite communities should study the existing trends and observe and participate in political and community processes and action related to boundary changes, school siting decisions, and other key policies that make schools more segregated or more integrated. Local communities and fair housing organizations must monitor their real estate market to ensure that potential home buyers are not being steered away from areas with diverse schools. Community institutions and churches need to facilitate conversations about the values of diverse education and help raise community awareness about its benefits. Local journalists should cover the relationships between segregation and unequal educational outcomes and realities, in addition to providing coverage of high-quality, diverse schools.

Many steps can be taken in terms of advocacy as well. Local fair housing organizations should monitor land use and zoning decisions and advocate for low-income housing to be set aside in new communities that are attached to strong schools, as has been done in Montgomery County, Maryland, just outside Washington, D.C. Schools—both public and charter—should not be built or opened in racially isolated areas of the district. Local educational organizations and neighborhood associations should vigorously promote diverse communities and schools as highly desirable places to live and learn. Communities need to provide consistent and vocal support for promoting school diversity and recognize the power of local school boards to either advocate for integration or work against it. Efforts should be made to foster the development of suburban coalitions to influence state-level policy-making around issues of school diversity and equity.

School district policy-makers also have control over student assignment policies and thus can directly influence the level of diversity within each school. Districts should develop policies that consider race among other factors in creating diverse schools. Magnet schools, such as those present in Montclair, and transfer programs within district borders can also be used to promote more racially integrated schools.

The enforcement of laws guiding school segregation is essential. Many communities have failed to comply with long-standing desegregation plans and have not been released by the federal courts. Such noncompliance and/or more contemporary violations are grounds for a new or revised desegregation order. Many suburban districts never had a desegregation order because they were virtually all white during the civil rights era. However, many of them are now diverse and may be engaged in classic abuse of the racial gerrymandering of attendance boundaries, school site selection that intensifies segregation and choice plans, or operating choice plans with methods and policies that undermine integration and foster segregation. Where such violations exist, local organizations and parents should ask the school board to address and correct them. If there is no positive response, they should register complaints with the U.S. Department of Justice or the Office for Civil Rights of the Department of Education.

Recent desegregation policy in New Jersey aims to promote multicultural competence and anti-discrimination guidelines as well as technical assistance to schools on these issues.⁷⁹ No current standard exists that advocates for more integrated schools for students. Another possibility lies in merging these desegregation goals with education finance reform, a powerful yet politically challenging option.⁸⁰ The 2012 Education Funding Report from the New Jersey Department of Education indicates the wide achievement gap that remains between students based on their economic background.⁸¹ These findings evidence the educational disparities present in the state based on income level. The current structure of school finance for high-need districts (formerly known as Abbott districts) does not address the issue of economic or racial segregation, and such a statewide approach would facilitate improved integration in schools at the aggregate level for New Jersey and likely reduce the achievement gap.

Educational Organizations and Universities

Professional associations, teachers' organizations, and colleges of education need to make educators and communities fully aware of the nature and costs of existing segregation. Foundations should fund research dedicated to exploring the continued harms of segregation and the benefits of integration. Researchers and advocates need to analyze and publicize the racial patterns and practices of public charter schools. Nonprofits and foundations funding charter schools should not incentivize the development of racially and economically isolated programs and instead should support civil rights and academic institutions that are working on these issues.

Institutions of higher education can also influence the development of more diverse K-12 schools by informing students and families that their institutions are diverse and that students who have not been in diverse K-12 educational settings might be unprepared for the experiences they will encounter at such institutions of higher education. Admission staffs of colleges and universities should also consider the skills and experiences that students from diverse high schools will bring to their campuses when reviewing college applications and making admissions decisions.

Private and public civil rights organizations should also contribute to enforcing laws. They need to create a serious strategy to enforce the rights of Latino students in districts where they have never been recognized and serious inequalities exist.

The Courts

The most important public policy changes affecting desegregation have been made not by elected officials or educators but by the courts. The U.S. Supreme Court has changed basic elements of desegregation policy by 180 degrees, particularly in the 2007 *Parents Involved* decision, which sharply limited voluntary action with desegregation policies by school districts using choice and magnet school plans. The Court is now divided 5-4 in its support of these limits and many of the appeals courts are deeply divided, as are courts at the state and local level. Since we give our courts such sweeping power to define and eliminate rights, judicial appointments are

⁷⁹ Spiller, N. (2001). *Racial segregation in New Jersey's public schools: Progressive public policy at a crossroads*. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Caspersen School of Graduate Studies, Drew University, Madison, NJ.

⁸⁰ Kazal-Thresher, D.M. (1994). Desegregation goals and educational finance reform: An agenda for the next decade. *Educational Policy*, 8(1), 51-67.

⁸¹ New Jersey Department of Education. (2012, February 23). *Education funding report*. Retrieved January 24, 2013, from <http://www.nj.gov/education/stateaid/1213/report.pdf>.

absolutely critical. Interested citizens and elected officials should support judicial appointees who understand and seem willing to address the history of segregation and minority inequality and appear ready to listen with open minds to sensitive racial issues that are brought into their courtrooms.

Federal Level

At the federal level, our country needs leadership that expresses the value of diverse learning environments and encourages local action to achieve school desegregation. The federal government should establish a joint planning process between the Department of Education, the Department of Justice, and the Department of Housing and Urban Development to review programs and regulations that will result in successful, lasting community and school integration. Federal equity centers should provide effective desegregation planning, which was their original goal when they were created under the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Federal choice policies should include civil rights standards. Without such requirements, choice policies, particularly those guiding charter schools, often foster increased racial segregation.

Federal policy should recognize and support the need for school districts to diversify their teaching staff. The federal government should provide assistance to districts in preparing their own paraprofessionals, who tend to represent a more diverse group, to become teachers.

Building on the Obama administration's grant program for Technical Assistance for Student Assignment Plans, a renewed program of voluntary assistance for integration should be enacted. This renewed program should add a focus on diversifying suburbs and gentrifying urban neighborhoods, and should provide funding for preparing effective student assignment plans, reviewing magnet plans, implementing summer catch-up programs for students transferring from weaker to stronger schools, supporting partnerships with universities, and reaching out to diverse groups of parents.

The Justice Department and the Office for Civil Rights need to take enforcement actions in some substantial school districts to revive a credible sanction in federal policy for actions that foster segregation or ignore responsibilities under desegregation plans.

Courts that continue to supervise existing court orders and consent decrees should monitor them for full compliance before dissolving the plan or order. In a number of cases, courts have rushed to judgment to simplify their dockets without any meaningful analysis of the degree of compliance.

As an important funding source for educational research, the federal government should support a research agenda that focuses on trends of racial change and resegregation, the causes and effects of resegregation, the value of alternative approaches to achieving integration and closing gaps in student achievement, and creating housing and school conditions that support stable neighborhood integration.

Final Thoughts

As explored in this report, the state of New Jersey currently faces the looming question of how it will foster diversity in the classroom as diversity increases statewide. The Asian and Latino student populations continue to grow steadily, each doubling between 1989 and 2010. While this has led to some gains in increasingly multicultural schools and classrooms, a parallel process has taken place. More and more schools in New Jersey can be considered apartheid schools in which at least 99% of the student population belongs to a minority group. New Jersey schools have one of the highest rates of segregation in the country, in large part due to distinct demographic differences between school districts. The share of white students attending schools in urban districts in New Jersey continues to decline at a rapid pace, and some districts have trended toward resegregation as they struggle to enroll students from various racial or socioeconomic backgrounds. A number of policy options at the local, state, and national levels can help to remedy the issue of a segregated education for New Jersey students. Strategies that promote school choice and affordable housing, especially those considered at the regional level, can begin to provide hope for a more equitable and culturally enriching education for New Jersey's youth.

Appendix A: Additional Data Tables

State Level Data

Table A-1 – Exposure Rates to White Students in Public Schools

	% White	White Exposure to White	Black Exposure to White	Asian Exposure to White	Latino Exposure to White
New Jersey					
1989-1990	66.4%	83.6%	25.7%	69.5%	28.9%
1999-2000	61.0%	79.4%	25.3%	60.9%	28.7%
2010-2011	52.2%	71.9%	24.2%	49.4%	26.8%
Northeast					
1989-1990	73.9%	89.0%	26.6%	58.7%	28.4%
1999-2000	68.5%	86.5%	25.0%	50.5%	26.4%
2010-2011	61.1%	80.7%	24.2%	45.7%	27.0%
Nation					
1989-1990	68.4%	83.2%	35.4%	49.4%	32.5%
1999-2000	61.2%	80.2%	31.4%	44.8%	26.7%
2010-2011	52.1%	73.1%	27.8%	39.6%	25.1%

Note: * Less than one-20th of a racial enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Other interpretations: Typical (racial group) exposure to white students, percentage of white students in school with a typical (racial group) student, or the average intergroup exposure to white students for a typical (racial group) student.

Table A-2 – Exposure Rates to Black Students in Public Schools

	% Black	White Exposure to Black	Black Exposure to Black	Asian Exposure to Black	Latino Exposure to Black
New Jersey					
1989-1990	18.3%	7.1%	57.5%	9.6%	24.2%
1999-2000	17.9%	7.4%	53.8%	10.3%	20.9%
2010-2011	16.3%	7.5%	46.1%	10.3%	17.6%
Northeast					
1989-1990	14.6%	5.3%	55.4%	14.1%	26.0%
1999-2000	15.2%	5.5%	53.0%	13.6%	22.9%
2010-2011	14.6%	5.8%	47.3%	11.8%	19.4%
Nation					
1989-1990	16.5%	8.6%	54.6%	11.0%	11.5%
1999-2000	16.8%	8.6%	54.5%	11.7%	10.9%
2010-2011	15.7%	8.4%	49.4%	10.8%	10.9%

Note: * Less than one-20th of a racial enrollment. AI=American Indian

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table A-3 – Exposure Rates to Asian Students in Public Schools

	% Asian	White Exposure to Asian	Black Exposure to Asian	Asian Exposure to Asian	Latino Exposure to Asian
New Jersey					
1989-1990	4.2%	4.4%	2.2%	11.6%	3.5%
1999-2000	6.1%	6.1%	3.5%	16.1%	5.2%
2010-2011	9.1%	8.6%	5.7%	23.8%	6.5%
Northeast					
1989-1990	3.0%	2.4%	2.9%	13.6%	4.8%
1999-2000	4.3%	3.1%	3.8%	18.3%	6.3%
2010-2011	6.2%	4.7%	5.0%	23.0%	6.8%
Nation					
1989-1990	3.3%	2.4%	2.2%	23.8%	4.6%
1999-2000	4.1%	3.0%	2.9%	24.4%	4.6%
2010-2011	5.0%	3.8%	3.5%	24.2%	4.6%

Note: * Less than one-20th of a racial enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table A-4 – Exposure Rates to Latino Students in Public Schools

	% Latino	White Exposure to Latino	Black Exposure to Latino	Asian Exposure to Latino	Latino Exposure to Latino
New Jersey					
1989-1990	11.0%	4.8%	14.5%	9.3%	43.3%
1999-2000	14.7%	6.9%	17.2%	12.5%	44.9%
2010-2011	21.6%	11.1%	23.4%	15.6%	48.4%
Northeast					
1989-1990	8.4%	3.2%	15.0%	13.4%	40.6%
1999-2000	11.8%	4.6%	17.8%	17.4%	44.1%
2010-2011	16.6%	7.3%	22.0%	18.2%	45.6%
Nation					
1989-1990	10.8%	5.2%	7.5%	15.2%	50.8%
1999-2000	16.6%	7.2%	10.8%	18.4%	57.1%
2010-2011	23.6%	11.4%	16.5%	21.7%	56.9%

Note: * Less than one-20th of a racial enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table A-5 – Black and Latino Exposure Rates to White and Asian Students in Public Schools

	White and Asian Share of School Enrollment	Black and Latino Exposure to White and Asian Students	Difference
New Jersey			
1989-1990	70.6%	29.6%	-41.0%
1999-2000	67.1%	31.1%	-36.0%
2010-2011	61.3%	31.9%	-29.4%
Northeast			
1989-1990	76.9%	30.7%	-46.1%
1999-2000	72.7%	30.5%	-42.2%
2010-2011	67.3%	31.6%	-35.7%
Nation			
1989-1990	71.7%	37.7%	-34.0%
1999-2000	65.4%	32.8%	-32.6%
2010-2011	57.1%	30.3%	-26.8%

Note: * Less than one-20th of a racial enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table A-6 – Student Exposure Rates to Low-Income Students in Public Schools

	Low-Income Students Share of School Enrollment	White Exposure to Low-Income Students	Black Exposure to Low-Income Students	Asian Exposure to Low-Income Students	Latino Exposure to Low-Income Students
New Jersey					
1999- 2000	28.0%	14.3%	54.6%	17.9%	56.5%
2010- 2011	32.7%	17.6%	55.4%	21.3%	57.6%
Northeast					
1999- 2000	32.2%	20.4%	59.8%	37.4%	63.3%
2010- 2011	39.5%	26.8%	64.5%	39.9%	64.4%
Nation					
1999- 2000	36.9%	26.3%	55.1%	35.7%	57.9%
2010- 2011	48.3%	37.7%	64.5%	39.9%	62.2%

Note: * Less than one-20th of a racial enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table A-7 – Differential Distribution (Evenness) of White, Black, Asian, and Latino Students across All Public Schools, and the Degree of Evenness within and between School Districts.

	H	H Within	H Between
New Jersey			
1989-1990	.43	.05	.38
1999-2000	.39	.04	.35
2010-2011	.35	.03	.32
Northeast			
1989-1990	.45	.10	.36
1999-2000	.46	.09	.36
2010-2011	.40	.07	.33
Nation			
1989-1990	.44	.07	.38
1999-2000	.46	.08	.39
2010-2011	.41	.07	.34

Note: H=Multi-Group Entropy Index or Theil's H. HW= the degree of un/evenness (H) that is within (W) districts. HB= the degree of un/evenness (H) that is between (B) districts.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Interpretation: H is an evenness index that measures the degree students of multiple groups are evenly distributed among schools. Or, the proportion of the student population that needs to be rearranged among schools (H and HW) or districts (HB) to obtain an even distribution of students across the larger geography. Thus, if score is .50, then

50% of students in schools or districts need to be redistributed to obtain evenness or racial balance across the larger area. Higher values (up to 1) indicate that the multiple groups are unevenly distributed across schools/districts in a geographic area while lower values (closer to 0) reflect more of an even distribution or more integration. A value above .25 indicates high segregation (above .40 is extreme), while a value below .10 indicates low segregation.

Table A-8 – Differential Distribution (Evenness) of Two Racial Groups across Public Schools

	Dissimilarity Index					
	White Black	White Asian	White Latino	Black Asian	Black Latino	Asian Latino
New Jersey						
1989-1990	.73	.45	.74	.75	.58	.69
1999-2000	.72	.48	.69	.71	.56	.64
2010-2011	.68	.49	.65	.68	.51	.61
Northeast						
1989-1990	.76	.58	.77	.69	.56	.62
1999-2000	.76	.61	.76	.68	.55	.60
2010-2011	.73	.59	.71	.66	.51	.60
Nation						
1989-1990	.67	.63	.74	.74	.75	.65
1999-2000	.69	.63	.73	.73	.73	.66
2010-2011	.67	.61	.68	.70	.66	.63

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Interpretation: The Dissimilarity Index is a dual-group evenness measure that indicates the degree students of two racial groups are evenly distributed among schools. Or, the degree to which the distribution of students differs from an even non-racial pattern (in which dissimilarity would measure 0) or a totally racialized pattern (in which dissimilarity would measure 1). Or, the proportion of (racial group) students who need to attend schools with a greater proportion of the other racial group in order to achieve perfect integration. Higher values (up to 1) indicate that the two groups are unevenly distributed across schools in a geographic area, while lower values (closer to 0) reflect more of an even distribution or more integration. A value above .60 indicates high segregation (above .80 is extreme), while a value below .30 indicates low segregation.

Northern and Central New Jersey Area

Table A-9 – Public School Enrollment by Urbanicity

	Urban School Enrollment	Suburban School Enrollment	Other School Enrollment
Northern and Central New Jersey			
1989-1990	56,541	642,597	56,187
1999-2000	55,278	807,568	78,480
2010-2011	57,434	889,501	83,796

Note: Other schools include town and rural schools. Data comprises schools open 1989-2010, 1989-1999-2010, 1999-2010, and only 2010. We apply 2010 boundary codes to all years.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table A-10 – Differential Distribution (Evenness) of Two Racial Groups across Public Schools

	Dissimilarity Index					
	White Black	White Asian	White Latino	Black Asian	Black Latino	Asian Latino
Northern and Central New Jersey						
1989-1990	0.79	*	0.75	*	0.60	*
1999-2000	0.77	0.46	0.70	0.72	0.58	0.64
2010-2011	0.73	0.49	0.66	0.69	0.53	0.63

Note: * Less than one-20th of a racial enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Interpretation: The Dissimilarity Index is a dual-group evenness measure that indicates the degree students of two racial groups are evenly distributed among schools. Or, the degree to which the distribution of students differs from an even non-racial pattern (in which dissimilarity would measure 0) or a totally racialized pattern (in which dissimilarity would measure 1). Or, the proportion of (racial group) students who need to attend schools with a greater proportion of the other racial group in order to achieve perfect integration. Higher values (up to 1) indicate that the two groups are unevenly distributed across schools in a geographic area, while lower values (closer to 0) reflect more of an even distribution or more integration. A value above .60 indicates high segregation (above .80 is extreme), while a value below .30 indicates low segregation.

Table A-11 – Racial Transition by District, Northern New Jersey, 1989-1999

1989 Classification	1999 Classification			
	Predominately Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominately White	Total
Predominately Nonwhite	24(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	24(100%)
Diverse	14(22%)	50(77%)	1(2%)	65(100%)
Predominately white	(0%)	42(15%)	242(85%)	284(100%)
Total	38(10%)	92(25%)	243(65%)	373(100%)

Note: Represents total districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table A-12 – Racial Transition by District, Northern New Jersey, 1999-2010

1999 Classification	2010 Classification			
	Predominately Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominately White	Total
Predominately Nonwhite	38(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	38(100%)
Diverse	27(29%)	65(71%)	(0%)	92(100%)
Predominately white	(0%)	67(28%)	176(72%)	243(100%)
Total	65(17%)	132(35%)	176(47%)	373(100%)

Note: Represents total districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table A-13 – Racial Transition by District, Northern New Jersey, 1989-2010

1989 Classification	2010 Classification			Total
	Predominately Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominately White	
Predominately Nonwhite	24(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	24(100%)
Diverse	34(52%)	31(48%)	(0%)	65(100%)
Predominately white	7(2%)	101(36%)	176(62%)	284(100%)
Total	65(17%)	132(35%)	176(47%)	373(100%)

Note: Represents total districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Southern New Jersey Area

Table A-14 – Public School Enrollment by Urbanicity

	Urban School Enrollment	Suburban School Enrollment	Other School Enrollment
Southern New Jersey			
1989-1990	32,651	133,371	55,958
1999-2000	34,752	169,353	61,620
2010-2011	33,756	181,189	69,348

Note: Other schools include town and rural schools. Data comprises schools open 1989-2010, 1989-1999-2010, 1999-2010, and only 2010. We apply 2010 boundary codes to all years.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table A-15 – Differential Distribution (Evenness) of Two Racial Groups across Public Schools

	Dissimilarity Index					
	White Black	White Asian	White Latino	Black Asian	Black Latino	Asian Latino
Southern New Jersey						
1989-1990	0.57	*	0.69	*	0.44	*
1999-2000	0.57	*	0.65	*	0.41	*
2010-2011	0.53	0.44	0.57	0.54	0.39	0.52

Note: * Less than one-20th of a racial enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Interpretation: The Dissimilarity Index is a dual-group evenness measure that indicates the degree students of two racial groups are evenly distributed among schools. Or, the degree to which the distribution of students differs from an even non-racial pattern (in which dissimilarity would measure 0) or a totally racialized pattern (in which dissimilarity would measure 1). Or, the proportion of (racial group) students who need to attend schools with a greater proportion of the other racial group in order to achieve perfect integration. Higher values (up to 1) indicate that the two groups are unevenly distributed across schools in a geographic area, while lower values (closer to 0)

reflect more of an even distribution or more integration. A value above .60 indicates high segregation (above .80 is extreme), while a value below .30 indicates low segregation.

Table A-16 – Racial Transition by District, Southern New Jersey, 1989-1999

1989 Classification	1999 Classification			Total
	Predominately Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominately White	
Predominately Nonwhite	10(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	10(100%)
Diverse	1(2%)	40(93%)	2(5%)	43(100%)
Predominately white	1(1%)	18(17%)	84(82%)	103(100%)
Total	12(8%)	58(37%)	86(55%)	156(100%)

Note: Represents total districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table A-17 – Racial Transition by District, Southern New Jersey, 1999-2010

1999 Classification	2010 Classification			Total
	Predominately Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominately White	
Predominately Nonwhite	12(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	12(100%)
Diverse	8(14%)	49(84%)	1(2%)	58(100%)
Predominately white	(0%)	23(27%)	63(73%)	86(100%)
Total	20(13%)	72(46%)	64(41%)	156(100%)

Note: Represents total districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table A-18 – Racial Transition by District, Southern New Jersey, 1989-2010

1989 Classification	2010 Classification			Total
	Predominately Nonwhite	Diverse	Predominately White	
Predominately Nonwhite	10(100%)	(0%)	(0%)	10(100%)
Diverse	9(21%)	34(79%)	(0%)	43(100%)
Predominately white	1(1%)	38(37%)	64(62%)	103(100%)
Total	20(13%)	72(46%)	64(41%)	156(100%)

Note: Represents total districts that were open and had enrollment with at least a 100 students for each time period.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Largest School Districts in New Jersey's Major Metropolitan Areas

Table A-19 – Public School Enrollment in 2010-2011

	Urbanicity	Total Enrollment	Percentage					
			White	Black	Asian	Latino	AI	Mixed
Northern and Central New Jersey								
NEWARK	urban	32,738	8.0%	52.4%	0.8%	38.7%	0.1%	0.0%
JERSEY CITY	suburban	27,407	10.4%	34.2%	16.8%	38.0%	0.6%	0.0%
PATERSON	suburban	24,383	5.3%	29.7%	3.7%	61.3%	0.1%	0.0%
ELIZABETH	suburban	22,737	8.5%	22.3%	2.0%	67.1%	0.0%	0.0%
TOMS RIVER REGIONAL	suburban	16,762	80.2%	4.7%	4.1%	9.8%	0.1%	1.1%
EDISON TOWNSHIP	suburban	14,178	26.5%	9.0%	54.8%	9.3%	0.0%	0.3%
PASSAIC CITY	suburban	13,281	1.0%	6.6%	2.5%	89.9%	0.0%	0.0%
WOODBIDGE TOWNSHIP	suburban	13,028	42.6%	12.3%	23.8%	20.6%	0.1%	0.5%
HAMILTON TOWNSHIP	suburban	12,558	58.2%	17.7%	4.0%	17.8%	0.1%	2.2%
FREEHOLD REGIONAL HIGH SC	suburban	11,864	80.1%	4.1%	7.9%	7.3%	0.1%	0.3%
Southern New Jersey								
CAMDEN CITY	urban	12,540	0.6%	50.2%	1.1%	48.0%	0.0%	0.0%
CHERRY HILL TOWNSHIP	suburban	11,039	67.2%	7.5%	15.4%	7.8%	0.0%	2.1%
VINELAND CITY	urban	9,594	26.9%	19.1%	1.9%	50.7%	0.3%	1.0%
EGG HARBOR TOWNSHIP		7,864	50.1%	10.3%	14.3%	20.2%	0.1%	5.1%
LENAPE REGIONAL HS DISTRICT	suburban	7,375	85.4%	7.2%	4.5%	2.7%	0.1%	0.0%
GLOUCESTER TOWNSHIP	suburban	7,258	65.5%	21.3%	4.5%	7.1%	0.2%	1.4%
ATLANTIC CITY	urban	6,687	7.7%	38.4%	15.3%	38.4%	0.0%	0.1%
MILLVILLE		6,021	48.7%	30.8%	1.1%	18.9%	0.4%	0.1%
MONROE TOWNSHIP	suburban	6,017	71.3%	19.7%	3.0%	5.6%	0.2%	0.1%
PENNSAUKEN TOWNSHIP	suburban	5,487	16.5%	34.6%	10.5%	38.3%	0.1%	0.0%

Note: Blank urbanicity represents rural, missing, or other.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table A-20 – Number and Percentage of Multiracial and Minority Schools in 2010-2011

	Total Schools	% of Multiracial Schools	% of 50-100% Minority Schools	% of 90-100% Minority Schools	% of 99-100% Minority Schools
Northern and Central New Jersey					
NEWARK	69	5.8%	92.8%	84.1%	50.7%
JERSEY CITY	36	55.6%	100.0%	58.3%	
PATERSON	44	6.8%	90.9%	86.4%	27.3%
ELIZABETH	34	29.4%	97.1%	58.8%	
TOMS RIVER REGIONAL	18	5.6%	5.6%		
EDISON TOWNSHIP	17	41.2%	100.0%		
PASSAIC CITY	16		100.0%	100.0%	75.0%
WOODBIDGE TOWNSHIP	24	83.3%	62.5%	4.2%	
HAMILTON TOWNSHIP	23	65.2%	34.8%	4.3%	
FREEHOLD REGIONAL HIGH SC	6				
Southern New Jersey					
CAMDEN CITY	30	3.3%	100.0%	100.0%	73.3%
CHERRY HILL TOWNSHIP	17	35.3%			
VINELAND CITY	16	93.8%	100.0%	6.3%	
EGG HARBOR TOWNSHIP	7	100.0%	57.1%		
LENAPE REGIONAL HS DISTRICT	4				
GLOUCESTER TOWNSHIP	11	18.2%	9.1%		
ATLANTIC CITY	10	30.0%	100.0%	90.0%	40.0%
MILLVILLE	10	100.0%	60.0%		
MONROE TOWNSHIP	6				
PENNSAUKEN TOWNSHIP	11	100.0%	100.0%	9.1%	

Note: Blank cells represent no schools or other. Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment, respectively.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table A-21 – Percentage of Students who are Low-Income in Multiracial and Minority Schools in 2010-2011

	% Low- Income in Multiracial Schools	% Low- Income in 50-100% Minority Schools	% Low- Income in 90-100% Minority Schools	% Low- Income in 99-100% Minority Schools
Northern and Central New Jersey				
NEWARK	77.9%	87.2%	88.6%	87.9%
JERSEY CITY	72.4%	75.1%	76.9%	
PATERSON	90.6%	86.1%	85.7%	85.3%
ELIZABETH	86.4%	88.2%	89.5%	
TOMS RIVER REGIONAL	59.1%	59.1%		
EDISON TOWNSHIP	23.9%	16.2%		
PASSAIC CITY		86.4%	86.4%	87.3%
WOODBRIIDGE TOWNSHIP	32.0%	34.4%	21.1%	
HAMILTON TOWNSHIP	34.2%	46.0%	73.0%	
FREEHOLD REGIONAL HIGH SC				
Southern New Jersey				
CAMDEN CITY	82.6%	77.2%	77.2%	77.2%
CHERRY HILL TOWNSHIP	25.4%			
VINELAND CITY	66.9%	67.0%	73.9%	
EGG HARBOR TOWNSHIP	35.3%	37.3%		
LENAPE REGIONAL HS DISTRICT				
GLOUCESTER TOWNSHIP	43.3%	43.1%		
ATLANTIC CITY	62.5%	77.7%	88.7%	88.2%
MILLVILLE	64.0%	72.0%		
MONROE TOWNSHIP				
PENNSAUKEN TOWNSHIP	62.1%	62.1%	68.4%	

Note: Blank cells represent no schools. Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student enrollment, respectively.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table A-22 – Percentage of Racial Group in Minority Schools in 2010-2011

	50-100% Minority School		90-100% Minority School		99-100% Minority School	
	% of Latino	% of Black	% of Latinos	% of Blacks	% of Latinos	% of Blacks
Northern and Central New Jersey						
NEWARK	97.3%	100.0%	74.9%	96.0%	30.3%	72.8%
JERSEY CITY	100.0%	100.0%	52.9%	71.7%		
PATERSON	100.0%	100.0%	92.1%	98.8%	23.9%	30.6%
ELIZABETH	100.0%	100.0%	66.0%	77.1%		
TOMS RIVER REGIONAL	6.0%	10.5%				
EDISON TOWNSHIP	100.0%	100.0%				
PASSAIC CITY	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	84.0%	83.1%
WOODBRIIDGE TOWNSHIP	77.2%	72.9%	0.4%	0.9%		
HAMILTON TOWNSHIP	47.1%	54.4%	4.1%	5.0%		
FREEHOLD REGIONAL HIGH SC						
Southern New Jersey						
CAMDEN CITY	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	75.2%	78.7%
CHERRY HILL TOWNSHIP						
VINELAND CITY	100.0%	100.0%	1.4%	1.6%		
EGG HARBOR TOWNSHIP	76.8%	78.0%				
LENAPE REGIONAL HS DISTRICT						
GLOUCESTER TOWNSHIP	18.8%	12.4%				
ATLANTIC CITY	100.0%	100.0%	71.9%	67.2%	30.2%	42.0%
MILLVILLE	62.9%	66.4%				
MONROE TOWNSHIP						
PENNSAUKEN TOWNSHIP	100.0%	100.0%	4.3%	4.5%		

Note: Blank cells represent no schools. Minority school represents black, Latino, American Indian, and Asian students.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table A-23 – Percentage of Racial Group in Multiracial Schools in 2010-2011

	White %	Black %	Asian %	Latino %	AI %
Northern and Central New Jersey					
NEWARK	25.0%	5.5%	47.7%	10.0%	13.3%
JERSEY CITY	81.0%	48.6%	84.0%	61.5%	82.1%
PATERSON	9.0%	5.8%	59.3%	9.5%	31.6%
ELIZABETH	47.9%	20.9%	38.0%	28.4%	0.0%
TOMS RIVER REGIONAL	1.2%	10.5%	0.6%	6.0%	0.0%
EDISON TOWNSHIP	57.1%	52.1%	23.8%	69.3%	85.7%
PASSAIC CITY					
WOODBRIIDGE TOWNSHIP	89.3%	95.3%	85.1%	96.3%	100.0%
HAMILTON TOWNSHIP	60.2%	85.2%	71.1%	82.5%	46.2%
FREEHOLD REGIONAL HIGH SC					
Southern New Jersey					
CAMDEN CITY	1.3%	2.5%	39.6%	4.0%	0.0%
CHERRY HILL TOWNSHIP	35.3%	49.5%	36.9%	58.7%	
VINELAND CITY	99.6%	98.4%	99.5%	98.6%	100.0%
EGG HARBOR TOWNSHIP	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
LENAPE REGIONAL HS DISTRICT					
GLOUCESTER TOWNSHIP	13.9%	24.2%	35.3%	31.5%	25.0%
ATLANTIC CITY	87.9%	38.4%	42.9%	36.9%	33.3%
MILLVILLE	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
MONROE TOWNSHIP					
PENNSAUKEN TOWNSHIP	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Note: Blank cells represent no schools. AI=American Indian. Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student population, respectively.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table A-24 – Exposure Rates to White Students in Public Schools in 2010-2011

	% White	White Exposure to White	Black Exposure to White	Asian Exposure to White	Latino Exposure to White
Northern and Central New Jersey					
NEWARK	8.0%	35.4%	1.9%		10.5%
JERSEY CITY	10.4%	14.8%	7.6%	13.5%	10.4%
PATERSON	5.3%	21.6%	2.8%		5.1%
ELIZABETH	8.5%	11.2%	7.3%		8.5%
TOMS RIVER REGIONAL	80.2%	81.3%			75.4%
EDISON TOWNSHIP	26.5%	30.6%	28.8%	23.1%	32.3%
PASSAIC CITY	1.0%				
WOODBIDGE TOWNSHIP	42.6%	48.0%	42.2%	34.6%	41.0%
HAMILTON TOWNSHIP	58.2%	64.1%	47.6%		49.9%
FREEHOLD REGIONAL HIGH SC	80.1%	80.8%		77.2%	77.0%
Southern New Jersey					
CAMDEN CITY	0.6%				
CHERRY HILL TOWNSHIP	67.2%	67.7%	66.2%	66.9%	64.9%
VINELAND CITY	26.9%	29.8%	27.0%		25.3%
EGG HARBOR TOWNSHIP	50.1%	51.2%	49.3%	49.2%	48.4%
LENAPE REGIONAL HS DISTRICT	85.4%	86.5%	77.3%		
GLOUCESTER TOWNSHIP	65.5%	67.9%	60.8%		61.9%
ATLANTIC CITY	7.7%	16.1%	7.0%	7.6%	6.7%
MILLVILLE	48.7%	50.9%	46.2%		47.1%
MONROE TOWNSHIP	71.3%	71.6%	70.4%		71.0%
PENNSAUKEN TOWNSHIP	16.5%	17.3%	16.4%	15.5%	16.4%

Note: Blank cells represent only one school or less than one-20th of a racial enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Other interpretations: Typical (racial group) exposure to white students, percentage of white students in school with a typical (racial group) student, or the average intergroup exposure to white students for a typical (racial group) student.

Table A-25 – Exposure Rates to Black Students in Public Schools in 2010-2011

	% Black	White Exposure to Black	Black Exposure to Black	Asian Exposure to Black	Latino Exposure to Black
Northern and Central New Jersey					
NEWARK	52.4%	12.5%	77.0%		27.6%
JERSEY CITY	34.2%	24.8%	50.9%	24.7%	26.0%
PATERSON	29.7%	15.5%	41.1%		25.9%
ELIZABETH	22.3%	19.2%	27.9%		20.9%
TOMS RIVER REGIONAL	4.7%				
EDISON TOWNSHIP	9.0%	9.8%	10.1%	8.2%	10.4%
PASSAIC CITY	6.6%		7.5%		6.5%
WOODBRIIDGE TOWNSHIP	12.3%	12.2%	13.7%	11.1%	13.2%
HAMILTON TOWNSHIP	17.7%	14.5%	24.0%		21.9%
FREEHOLD REGIONAL HIGH SC	4.1%				
Southern New Jersey					
CAMDEN CITY	50.2%		58.0%		42.4%
CHERRY HILL TOWNSHIP	7.5%	7.4%	8.1%	7.5%	8.1%
VINELAND CITY	19.1%	19.2%	19.6%		18.9%
EGG HARBOR TOWNSHIP	10.3%	10.2%	10.8%	10.3%	10.5%
LENAPE REGIONAL HS DISTRICT	7.2%	6.5%	12.7%		
GLOUCESTER TOWNSHIP	21.3%	19.7%	24.7%		22.7%
ATLANTIC CITY	38.4%	35.0%	55.9%	22.6%	27.9%
MILLVILLE	30.8%	29.2%	33.1%		31.2%
MONROE TOWNSHIP	19.7%	19.5%	20.8%		19.5%
PENNSAUKEN TOWNSHIP	34.6%	34.4%	35.1%	34.2%	34.2%

Note: Blank cells represent only one school or less than one-20th of a racial enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table A-26 – Exposure Rates to Asian Students in Public Schools in 2010-2011

	% Asian	White Exposure to Asian	Black Exposure to Asian	Asian Exposure to Asian	Latino Exposure to Asian
Northern and Central New Jersey					
NEWARK	0.8%				
JERSEY CITY	16.8%	21.8%	12.2%	22.8%	16.9%
PATERSON	3.7%				
ELIZABETH	2.0%				
TOMS RIVER REGIONAL	4.1%				
EDISON TOWNSHIP	54.8%	47.8%	49.9%	61.0%	43.6%
PASSAIC CITY	2.5%				
WOODBIDGE TOWNSHIP	23.8%	19.4%	21.4%	35.7%	20.7%
HAMILTON TOWNSHIP	4.0%				
FREEHOLD REGIONAL HIGH SC	7.9%	7.7%	7.4%	11.1%	8.0%
Southern New Jersey					
CAMDEN CITY	1.1%				
CHERRY HILL TOWNSHIP	15.4%	15.3%	15.4%	16.0%	15.0%
VINELAND CITY	1.9%				
EGG HARBOR TOWNSHIP	14.3%	14.0%	14.3%	14.6%	14.7%
LENAPE REGIONAL HS DISTRICT	4.5%				
GLOUCESTER TOWNSHIP	4.5%				
ATLANTIC CITY	15.3%	15.2%	9.0%	21.5%	19.2%
MILLVILLE	1.1%				
MONROE TOWNSHIP	3.0%				
PENNSAUKEN TOWNSHIP	10.5%	9.9%	10.4%	11.8%	10.5%

Note: Blank cells represent only one school or less than one-20th of a racial enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table A-27 – Exposure Rates to Latino Students in Public Schools in 2010-2011

	% Latino	White Exposure to Latino	Black Exposure to Latino	Asian Exposure to Latino	Latino Exposure to Latino
Northern and Central New Jersey					
NEWARK	38.7%	51.1%	20.4%		60.7%
JERSEY CITY	38.0%	37.9%	28.9%	38.2%	46.2%
PATERSON	61.3%	59.1%	53.5%		65.5%
ELIZABETH	67.1%	67.2%	62.9%		68.6%
TOMS RIVER REGIONAL	9.8%	9.3%			12.9%
EDISON TOWNSHIP	9.3%	11.4%	10.8%	7.4%	13.2%
PASSAIC CITY	89.9%		88.7%		90.1%
WOODBIDGE TOWNSHIP	20.6%	19.8%	22.1%	18.0%	24.3%
HAMILTON TOWNSHIP	17.8%	15.2%	21.9%		21.8%
FREEHOLD REGIONAL HIGH SC	7.3%	7.0%		7.3%	9.4%
Southern New Jersey					
CAMDEN CITY	48.0%		40.5%		55.7%
CHERRY HILL TOWNSHIP	7.8%	7.5%	8.3%	7.6%	9.6%
VINELAND CITY	50.7%	47.6%	50.1%		52.7%
EGG HARBOR TOWNSHIP	20.2%	19.5%	20.5%	20.7%	21.2%
LENAPE REGIONAL HS DISTRICT	2.7%				
GLOUCESTER TOWNSHIP	7.1%	6.7%	7.6%		8.3%
ATLANTIC CITY	38.4%	33.5%	28.0%	48.1%	46.0%
MILLVILLE	18.9%	18.3%	19.2%		19.9%
MONROE TOWNSHIP	5.6%	5.6%	5.6%		6.0%
PENNSAUKEN TOWNSHIP	38.3%	38.3%	38.0%	38.2%	38.7%

Note: Blank cells represent only one school or less than one-20th of a racial enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table A-28 – Black and Latino Exposure Rates to White and Asian Students in Public Schools

	White and Asian Share of School Enrollment	Black and Latino Exposure to White and Asian Students	Difference
Northern and Central New Jersey			
NEWARK	8.8%	6.4%	-2.5%
JERSEY CITY	27.3%	23.7%	-3.5%
PATERSON	9.0%	7.5%	-1.5%
ELIZABETH	10.5%	10.1%	-0.3%
TOMS RIVER REGIONAL	84.3%	79.5%	-4.8%
EDISON TOWNSHIP	81.3%	77.3%	-4.0%
PASSAIC CITY	3.5%	3.4%	-0.1%
WOODBIDGE TOWNSHIP	66.4%	62.4%	-4.0%
HAMILTON TOWNSHIP	62.2%	52.7%	-9.5%
FREEHOLD REGIONAL HIGH SC	88.0%	85.2%	-2.9%
Southern New Jersey			
CAMDEN CITY	1.7%	1.6%	-0.1%
CHERRY HILL TOWNSHIP	82.6%	80.7%	-1.9%
VINELAND CITY	28.9%	27.6%	-1.3%
EGG HARBOR TOWNSHIP	64.4%	63.2%	-1.1%
LENAPE REGIONAL HS DISTRICT	90.0%	84.7%	-5.3%
GLOUCESTER TOWNSHIP	70.0%	66.3%	-3.7%
ATLANTIC CITY	23.0%	21.0%	-2.0%
MILLVILLE	49.8%	47.6%	-2.2%
MONROE TOWNSHIP	74.3%	73.5%	-0.8%
PENNSAUKEN TOWNSHIP	27.0%	26.9%	-0.1%

Note: Blank cells represent only one school or less than one-20th of a racial enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Table A-29 – Student Exposure Rates to Low-Income Students in Public Schools in 2010-2011

	Low-Income Students Share of School Enrollment	White Exposure to Low- Income Students	Black Exposure to Low- Income Students	Asian Exposure to Low- Income Students	Latino Exposure to Low- Income Students
Northern and Central New Jersey					
NEWARK	86.4%	81.7%	87.9%		87.2%
JERSEY CITY	75.1%	73.8%	76.7%	72.9%	74.9%
PATERSON	86.1%	88.1%	84.6%		86.6%
ELIZABETH	88.2%	86.5%	88.9%		88.2%
TOMS RIVER REGIONAL	21.3%	20.5%			25.0%
EDISON TOWNSHIP	16.2%	18.4%	18.2%	14.1%	20.5%
PASSAIC CITY	86.4%		85.2%		86.7%
WOODBRIIDGE TOWNSHIP	30.6%	29.0%	32.7%	29.9%	33.1%
HAMILTON TOWNSHIP	28.2%	23.4%	36.5%		35.0%
FREEHOLD REGIONAL HIGH SC	5.5%	5.3%		5.3%	7.3%
Southern New Jersey					
CAMDEN CITY	76.8%		76.9%		77.5%
CHERRY HILL TOWNSHIP	15.6%	14.9%	17.3%	15.4%	19.4%
VINELAND CITY	67.0%	63.7%	66.5%		69.0%
EGG HARBOR TOWNSHIP	35.3%	34.5%	35.6%	36.2%	36.6%
LENAPE REGIONAL HS DISTRICT	7.6%	7.4%	9.4%		
GLOUCESTER TOWNSHIP	29.6%	28.4%	31.5%		32.2%
ATLANTIC CITY	77.7%	62.3%	78.3%	78.5%	79.9%
MILLVILLE	64.0%	61.5%	66.7%		65.8%
MONROE TOWNSHIP	27.6%	27.4%	28.2%		27.9%
PENNSAUKEN TOWNSHIP	62.1%	61.6%	61.9%	61.9%	62.5%

Note: Blank cells represent only one school or less than one-20th of racial or low-income enrollment.

Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, CCD, Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Appendix B: Data and Methodology

Data

The data in this study consisted of 1989-1990, 1999-2000, and 2010-2011 Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey and Local Education Agency data files from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES). Using this data, we explored demographic and segregation patterns at the national, regional, state, metropolitan, and district levels. We also explored district racial stability patterns for each *main* metropolitan area—those areas with greater than 100,000 students enrolled in 1989.

Geography

National estimates in this report reflect all 50 U.S. states, outlying territories, Department of Defense (overseas and domestic), and the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Regional analyses include the following regions and states:

- **Border:** Delaware, Kentucky, Maryland, Missouri, Oklahoma, West Virginia
- **Northeast:** Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont
- **South:** Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia.

Patterns for metropolitan areas are restricted to schools within each state, due to some metropolitan boundaries spanning two or more states.

Data Analysis

We reported the share of minority students in schools with concentrations of students of color—that is, more than half the students are from minority groups—along with the percentage of minorities in intensely segregated schools, those where 90-100% of students are minority youth, and apartheid schools, those where 99-100% of students are minority. To provide estimates of diverse environments, we calculated the proportion of each racial group in multiracial schools (schools with any three races representing 10% or more of the total student body).

We also explored segregation patterns by conducting two inversely related indices, exposure and isolation, both of which help describe the demographic and socioeconomic composition of schools that the average member of a racial/ethnic group attends. Exposure of one group to other groups is called the index of exposure, while exposure of a group to itself is called the index of isolation. Both indices range from 0 to 1, where higher values on the index of exposure but lower values for isolation indicate greater integration.

Finally, we explored the segregation dimension of evenness using the index of dissimilarity and the multi-group entropy (or diversity) index, both of which measure how evenly racial/ethnic population groups are distributed among schools compared with their larger geographic area. The dissimilarity index is a dual-group evenness measure that indicates the degree to which students of two racial groups are evenly distributed among schools. Higher values (up to 1) indicate that the two groups are unevenly distributed across schools in a geographic area, while lower values (closer to 0) reflect a more even distribution or more

integration. A rough heuristic for interpreting score value includes above .60 indicating high segregation (above .80 is extreme), .30 to .60 indicating moderate segregation, and a value below .30 indicating low segregation.⁸²

The multi-group entropy index measures the degree to which students of multiple groups are evenly distributed among schools. More specifically, the index measures the difference between the weighted average diversity (or racial composition) in schools and the diversity in the larger geographical area. So, if H is .20, the average school is 20% less diverse than the metropolitan area as a whole. Similar to D , higher values (up to 1) indicate that multiple racial groups are unevenly distributed across schools across a geographic area, while lower values (closer to 0) reflect more of an even distribution. However, H has often been viewed as superior to D , as it is the only index that obeys the “principle of transfers” (the index declines when an individual of group X moves from unit A to unit B , where the proportion of persons of group X is higher in unit A than in unit B).⁸³ In addition, H can be statistically decomposed into between and within-unit components, allowing us, for example, to identify how much the total segregation depends on the segregation between or within districts. A rough heuristic for interpreting score value includes above .25 indicating high segregation (above .40 is extreme), between .10 and .25 indicating moderate segregation, and a value below .10 indicating low segregation.

To explore district stability patterns for key metropolitan areas, we restricted our analysis to districts open across all three data periods (1989-1990, 1999-2000, and 2010-2011), districts with 100 or greater students in 1989, and districts in metropolitan areas that experienced a white enrollment change greater than 1%. With this data, we categorized districts, as well as their metropolitan area, into predominately white (those with 80% or more white students), diverse (those with more than 20% but less than 60% nonwhite students), and predominately nonwhite (with 60% or more nonwhite students) types.⁸⁴ We then identified the degree to which district white enrollment has changed in comparison to the overall metropolitan area. This analysis resulted in three different degrees of change: rapidly changing, moderately changing, and stable.⁸⁵ We classified rapidly changing districts as those with a white percentage change three times greater than the metro white percentage change. For moderately changing districts, the white student percentage change was two times but less than three times greater than the metropolitan white percentage change. Also included in the category of moderate change were districts that experienced a white percentage change less than two times the metropolitan white percentage change but were classified as predominately white, nonwhite, or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as a new category in the later period. We identified stable districts as those that experienced a white percentage change less than two times the metropolitan white percentage change.

⁸² Massey, D.S., & Denton, N.A. (1993). *American apartheid: Segregation and the making of the underclass*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

⁸³ Reardon, S.F., & Firebaugh, G. (2002). Measures of multigroup segregation. *Socio logical Methodology*, 32, 33-67.

⁸⁴ Similar typography has been used with residential data; see Orfield & Luce, 2012.

⁸⁵ Similar typography has been used in McDermott, K.A., DeBray, E., & Frankenberg, E. (2012). How does Parents Involved in Community Schools matter? Legal and political influence in education politics and policy. *Teachers College Record*, 114, 1-39.

Next, we explored the type and direction of change in school districts, which resulted in the following categories: resegregating white or nonwhite, integrating white or nonwhite, segregated white or nonwhite, or diverse. Resegregating districts are those classified as predominately white, nonwhite, or diverse in the earlier time period and classified as the other predominately type in the later period. Integrating districts are those classified as predominately white or nonwhite in the earlier time period and diverse in the later period. Segregated districts are those classified as predominately white or nonwhite in both time periods. Diverse districts are those classified as diverse in both periods.

Data Limitations and Solutions

Due to advancements in geocoding technology, as well as changes from the Office of Management and Budget and Census Bureau, metropolitan areas and local school boundaries have changed considerably since 1989. To explore metropolitan patterns over time, we used the historical metropolitan statistical area (MSA) definitions (1999) defined by the Office of Management and Budget as the metropolitan area base. We then matched and aggregated enrollment counts for these historical metropolitan area definitions with the current definitions of Core Based Statistical Areas (CBSA, 2010) using the 1999 MSA to 2003 CBSA crosswalk to make these areas geographically comparable over time. To control for local school boundary changes over time, data used in the analysis were only from schools open 1989-2010, 1989-1999-2010, 1999-2010, and only 2010. We then applied 2010 boundary codes to all years.

Another issue relates to missing or incomplete data. Because compliance with NCES reporting is voluntary for state education agencies (though virtually all do comply), some statewide gaps in the reporting of student racial composition occur. To address this limitation, particularly for our national and regional analyses, we obtained student membership, racial composition, and free and reduced-priced lunch status status from the nearest data file year for which these variables were available. Below we present the missing or incomplete data by year and state, and how we attempted to address each limitation.

Data Limitation	Data Solution
1999-2000: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> States missing FRL and racial enrollment: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Arizona Idaho Illinois Tennessee Washington 	1998-1999: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Tennessee: racial enrollment only 2000-2001: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Arizona: racial enrollment only Idaho: FRL and racial enrollment 2001-2002: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Illinois: FRL and racial enrollment Washington: FRL and racial enrollment
1989-1999: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Many states missing FRL enrollment for this year States missing racial enrollment: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Georgia Maine Missouri Montana South Dakota Virginia Wyoming 	1990-1991: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Montana: racial enrollment only Wyoming: racial enrollment only 1991-1992: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Missouri: racial enrollment only 1992-1993: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> South Dakota: racial enrollment only Virginia: racial enrollment only 1993-1994: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Georgia: racial enrollment only Maine: racial enrollment only Other: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Idaho is missing racial composition data from 1989 to 1999 and thus is excluded from this year

A final issue relates to the fact that all education agencies are now collecting and reporting multiracial student enrollment counts for the 2010-2011 data collection. However, because the Department of Education did not require these states to collect further information on the race/ethnicity of multiracial students, as we suggested they do (<http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/integration-and-diversity/data-proposals-threaten-education-and-civil-rights-accountability>), it is difficult to accurately compare racial proportion and segregation findings from 2010 to prior years, due to this new categorical collection. We remain very concerned about the severe problems of comparison that will begin nationally in the 2010 data. The Civil Rights Project and dozens of civil rights groups representing a wide variety of racial and ethnic communities recommended against adopting the Bush-era changes in the debate over the federal regulation.