Building One New Jersey

School Integration and Funding Equity

Two Sides of the Same Coin

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Self-Reliant Communities

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We don't just build buildings and roads... we build communities.

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RUTGERS
Center for Urban Research and Education

National Center for Suburban Studies at HOFSTRA UNIVERSITY

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MERCER County Community College

INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS PA PENNA. CONFERENCE OF TEAMSTERS

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The Community Presbyterian Church of Brigantine

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*Moderators - **Diane Campbell**, Executive Dean for Student Affairs and Co-Chair of Building One New Jersey & **Marty Johnson**, CEO of Isles, Building One New Jersey Board*

6:00 - Introduction and Welcome to The James Kerney Campus – **Dr. Diane Campbell**, Executive Dean for Student Affairs

6:05 - Some background and history - before and after *Brown v. Board*

- **Thelma Napoleon-Smith** - *Hedgepeth-Williams* 1944 School desegregation case.
- **Andrea Torrice** - The Battle for School Desegregation in Hillsboro

6:25 - How we got from *Brown* to here? from *Hedgepeth*–to *Brown*, to *Milliken* to *Friedrichs* and now *Janus*?

- **Myron Orfield** - Earl R. Larson Professor of Civil Rights and Civil Liberties Law and Director, Institute on Metropolitan Opportunity University of Minnesota

  School segregation today, 63 Years after Brown

6:45 - Response from NJ leaders

7:00 - What can be done and why is New Jersey special? **Professor Orfield**

7:20 - Who will do it and how? *Call to action* –

7:35 – Reception – Gallery at the James Kerney Campus

Building One New Jersey

School Integration and Funding Equity

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Introduction and Welcome to

The James Kerney Campus –
Dr. Diane Campbell,
Executive Dean for Student Affair

MERCER County Community College

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School segregation today, 63 Years after Brown

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Racial and Fiscal Trends In New Jersey

School Integration and Funding Equity: Two Sides of the Same Coin

Myron Orfield

May 16th, 2017

School segregation today - 63 Years after *Brown*

it's growth, deepening and metastasization

- What are the consequences and implications for children, communities and for racial justice, and economic opportunity?
- How does school funding and property tax dependency drive segregation?
- How does it affect our politics (racial and class) and our economy?
- Who benefits and why is it still with us? Whose interest are served?
- How does it drive anti-public school politics anti-union policies?

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Municipal Racial Transition

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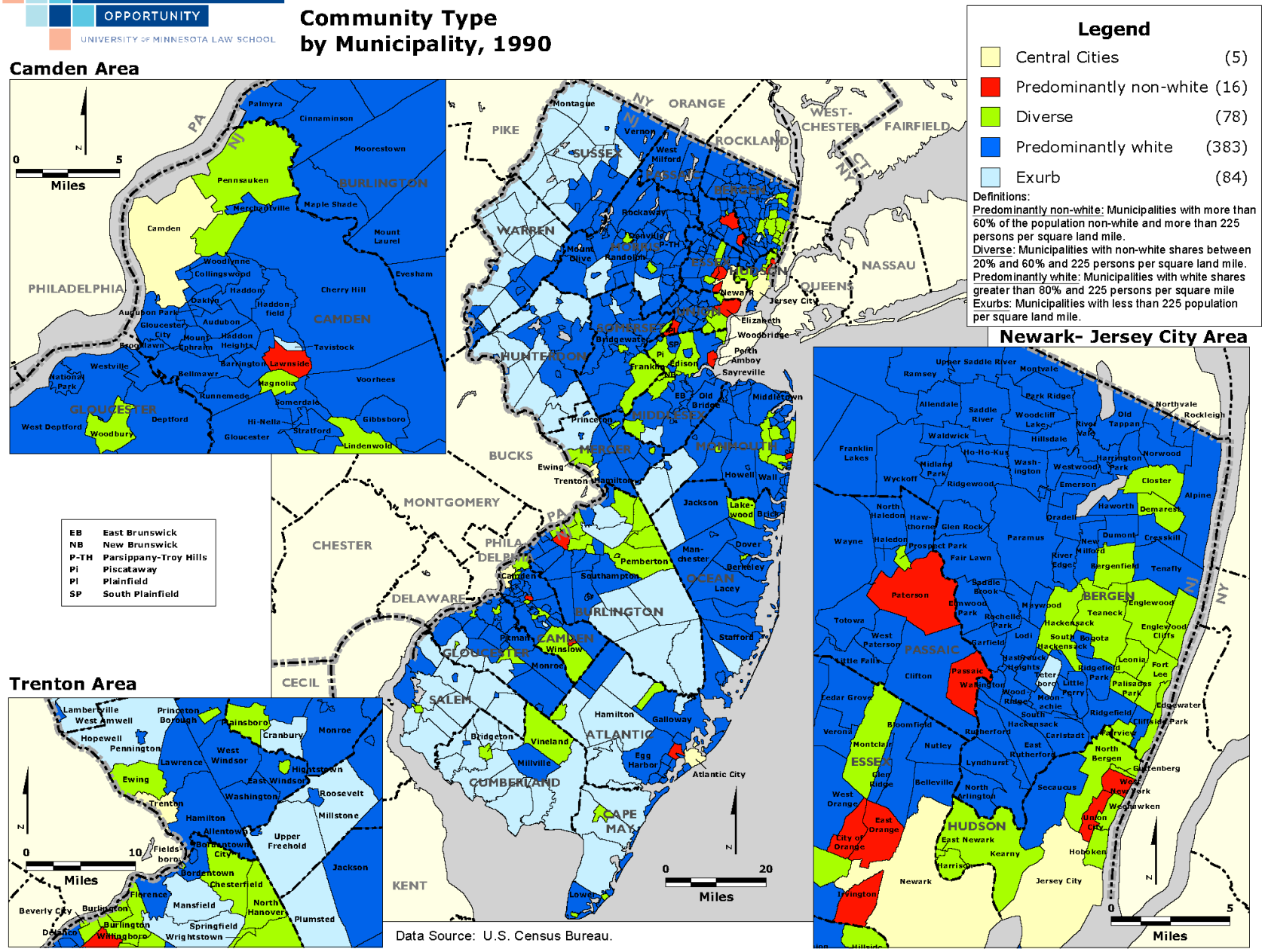
NEW JERSEY: Community Type by Municipality, 1990



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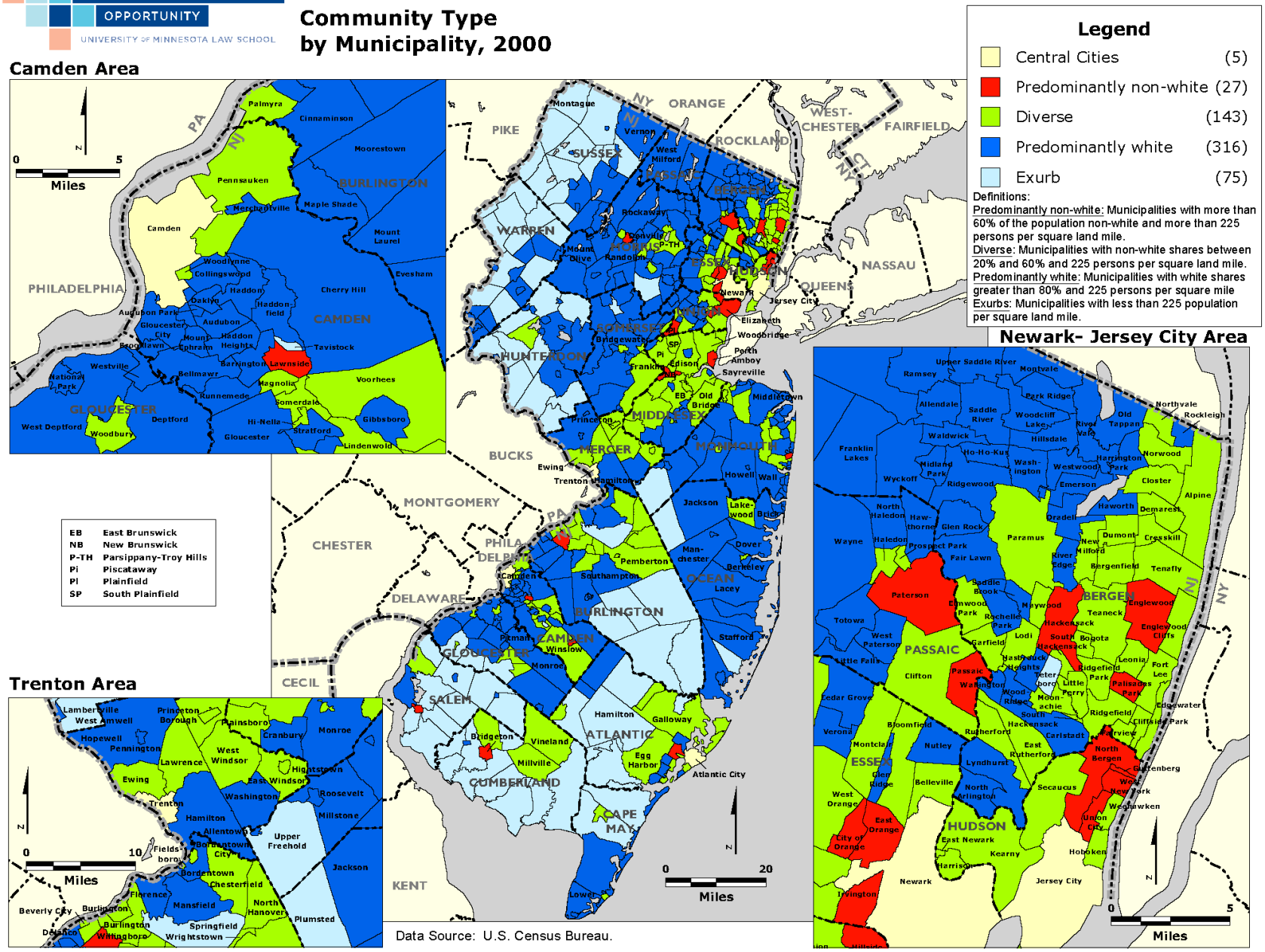

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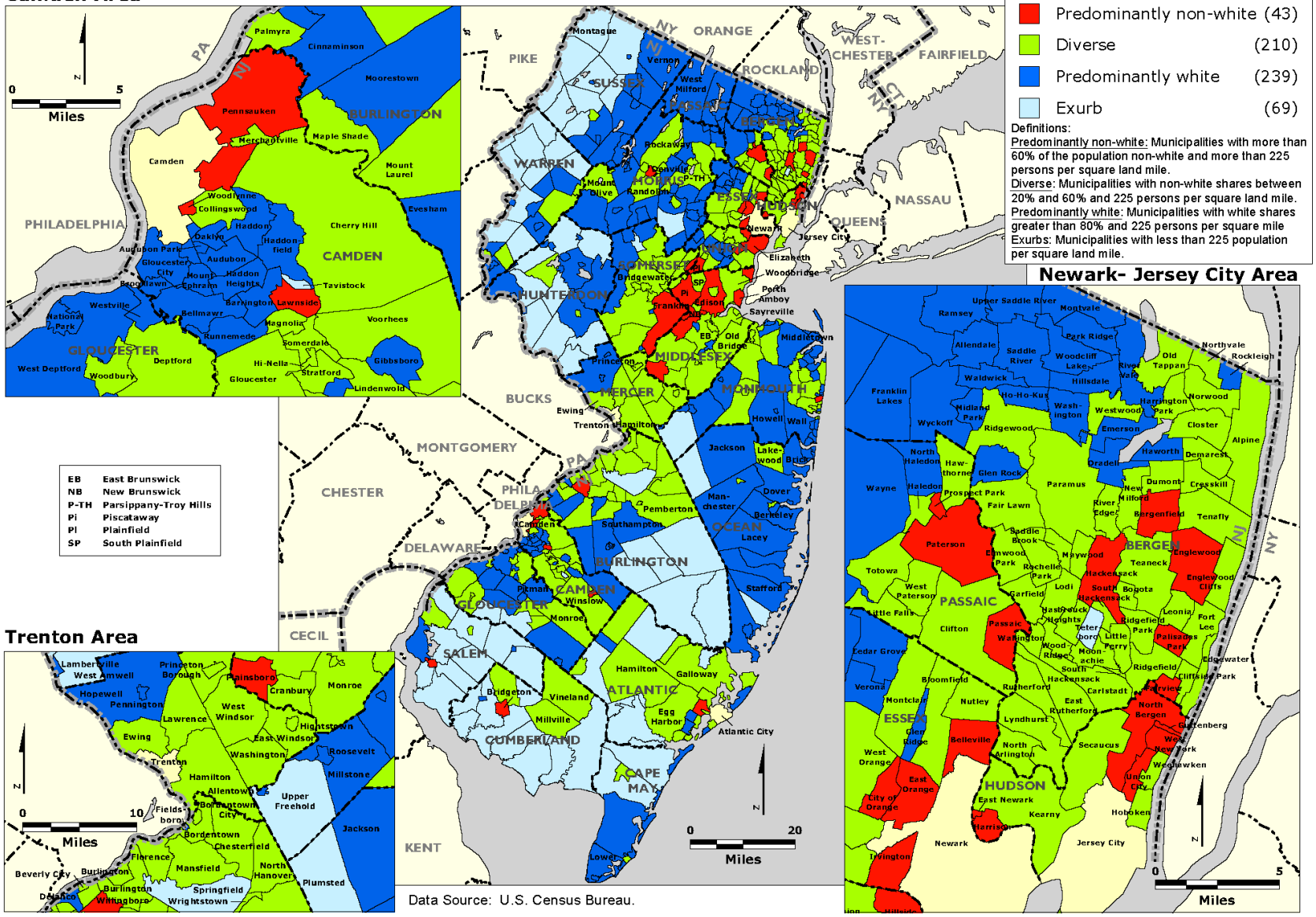

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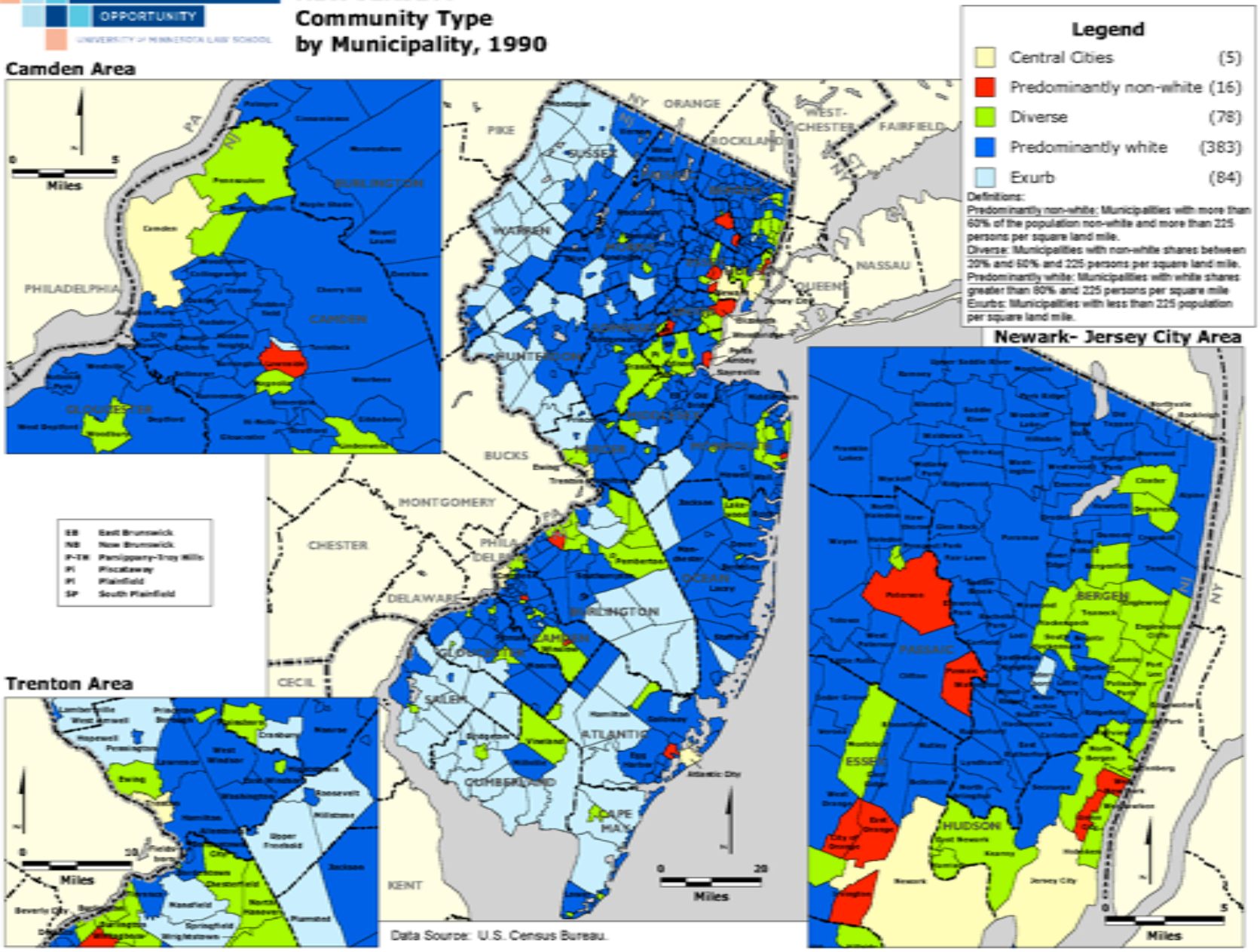

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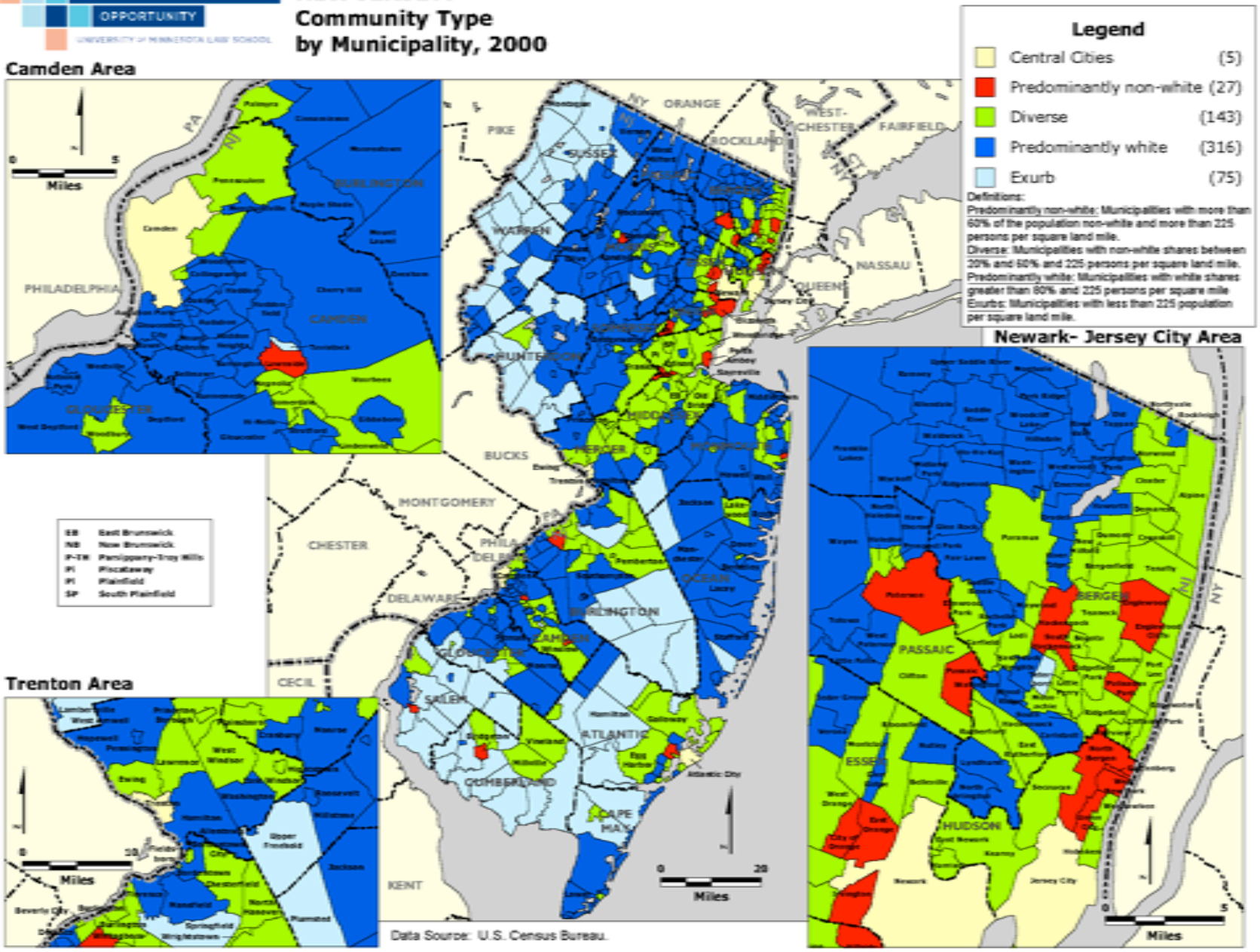

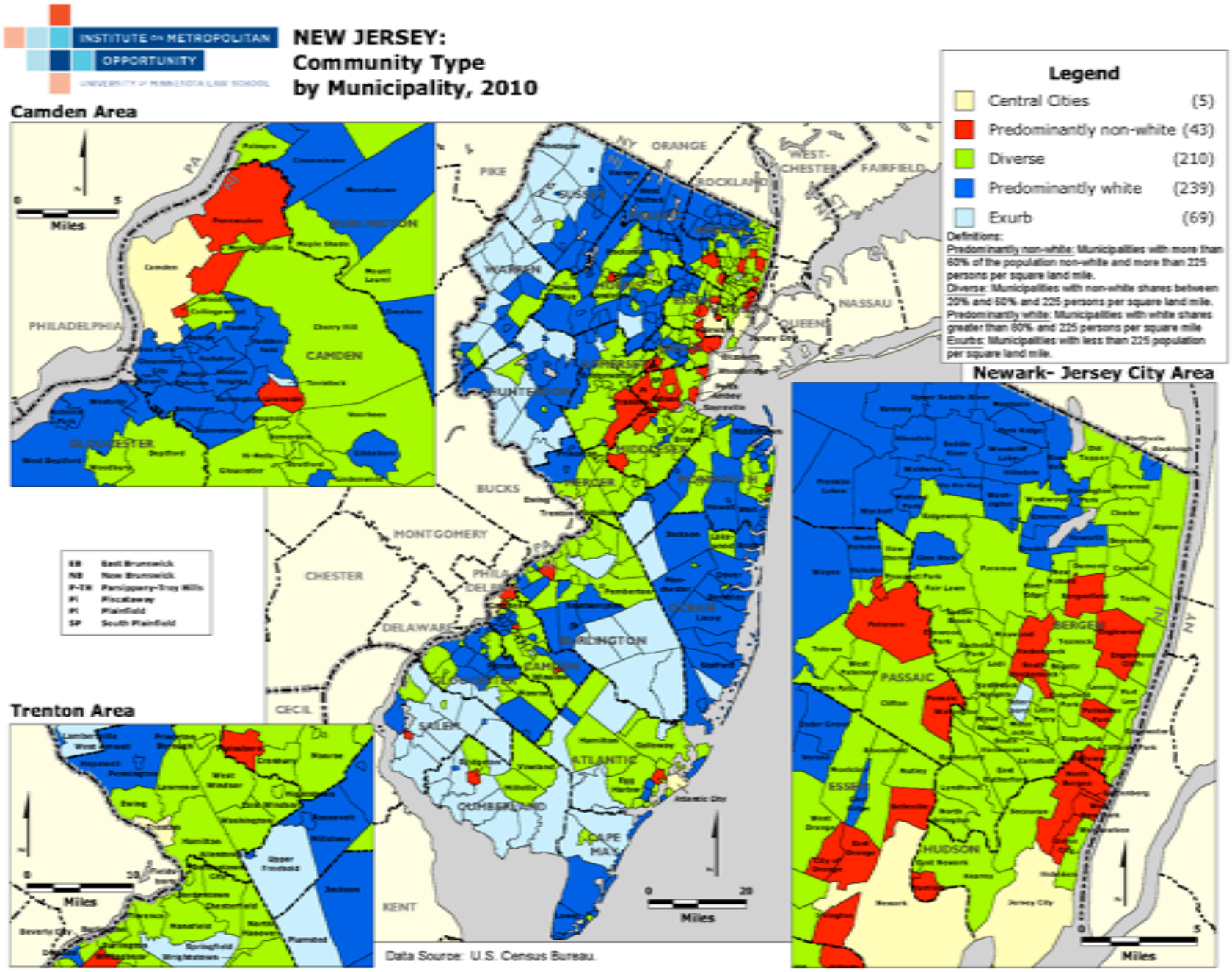
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NEW JERSEY:
Community Type
by Municipality, 2010
Legend
Central Cities (5)
Predominantly non-white (43)
Diverse (210)
Predominantly white (239)
Exurb (69)
Definitions:
Predominantly non-white: Municipalities with more than 60% of the population non-white and more than 225 persons per square land mile.
Diverse: Municipalities with non-white shares between 20% and 60% and 225 persons per square land mile.
Predominantly white: Municipalities with white shares greater than 60% and 225 persons per square mile
Exurbs: Municipalities with less than 225 population per square land mile.
Camden Area
Trenton Area
Newark- Jersey City Area
Miles
Data Source: U.S. Census Bureau.

Municipal Tax Base

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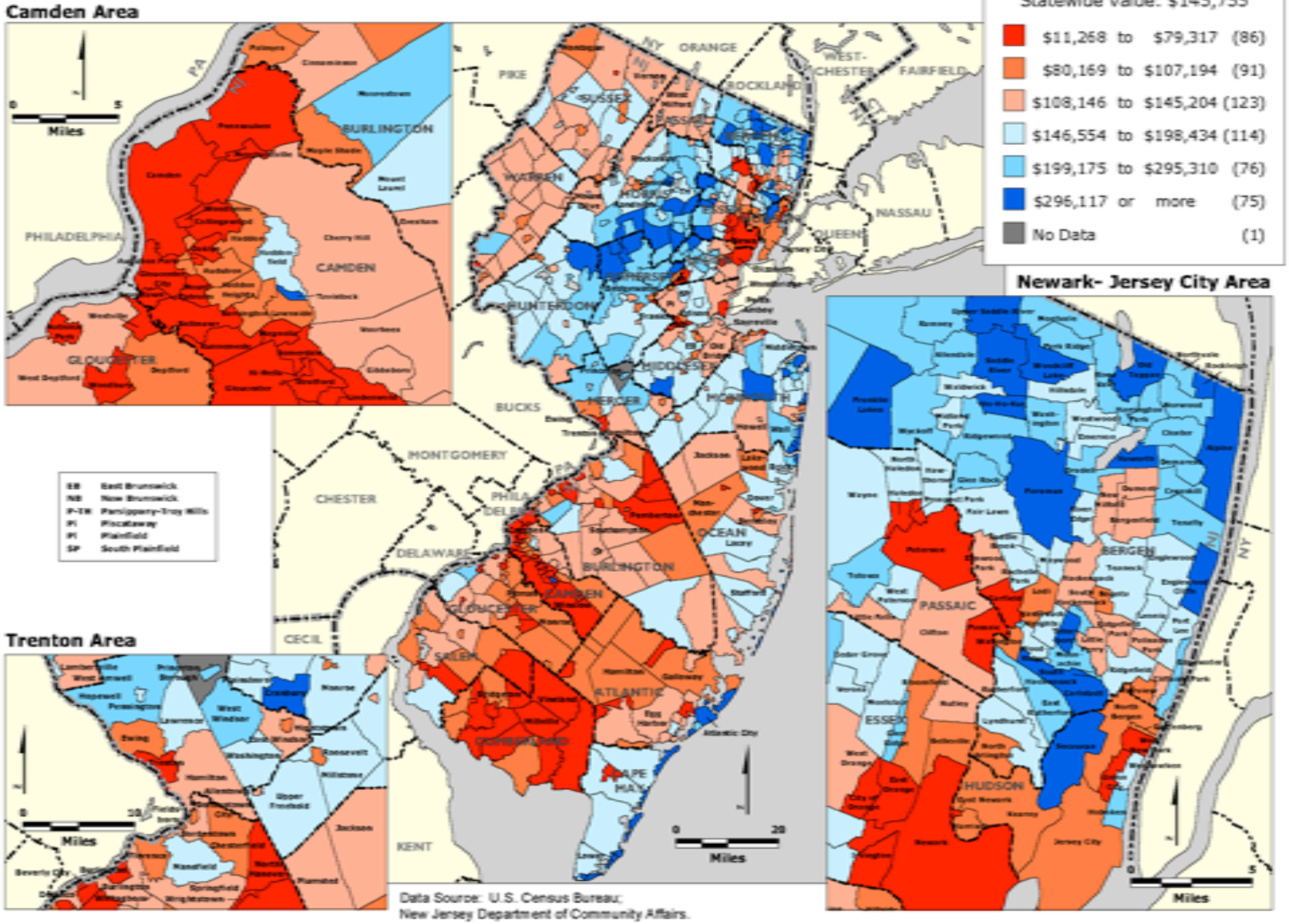
NEW JERSEY:
Property Tax Base per Capita by Municipality, 2010



Data Source: U.S. Census Bureau;
New Jersey Department of Community Affairs.

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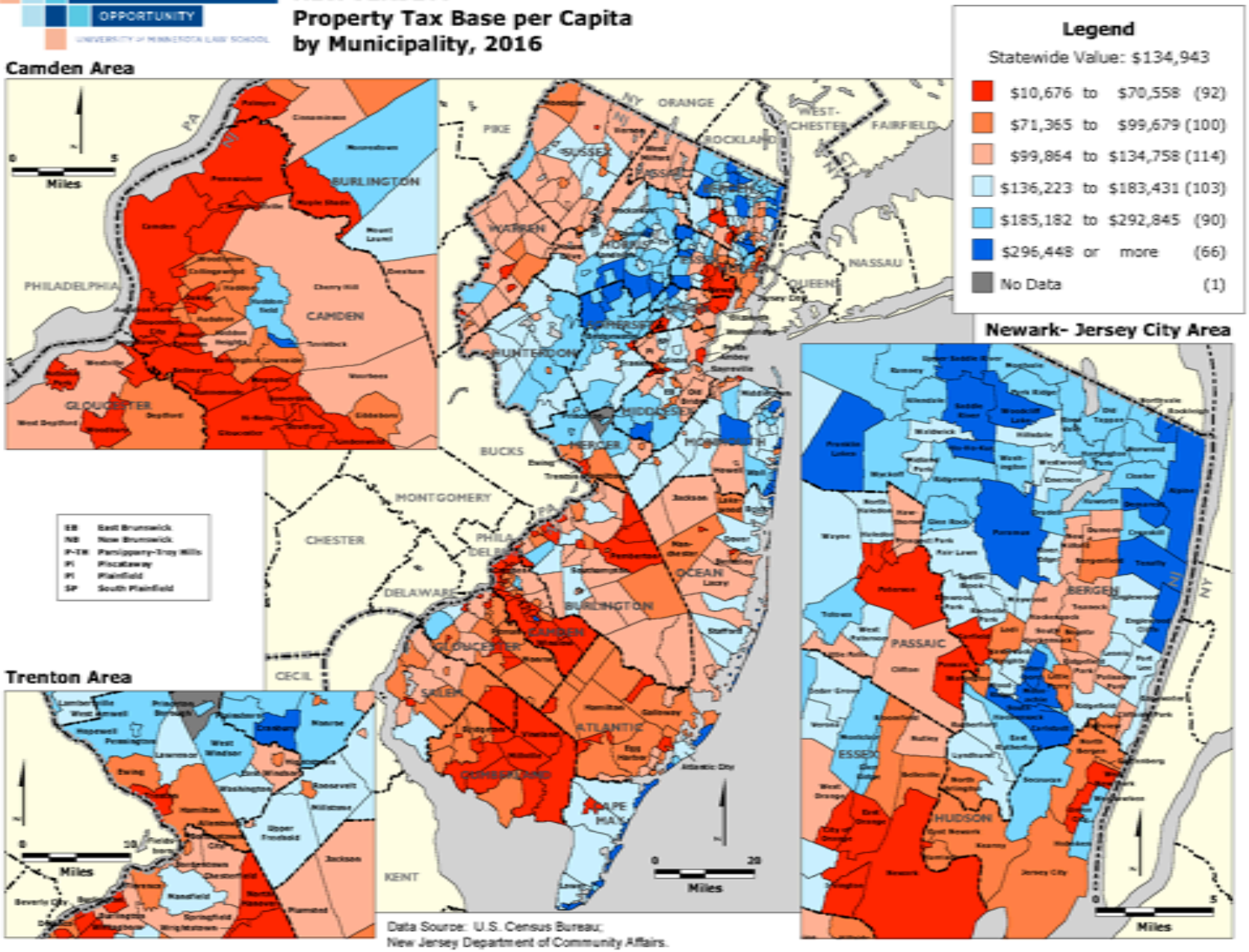
NEW JERSEY:
Property Tax Base per Capita by Municipality, 2016



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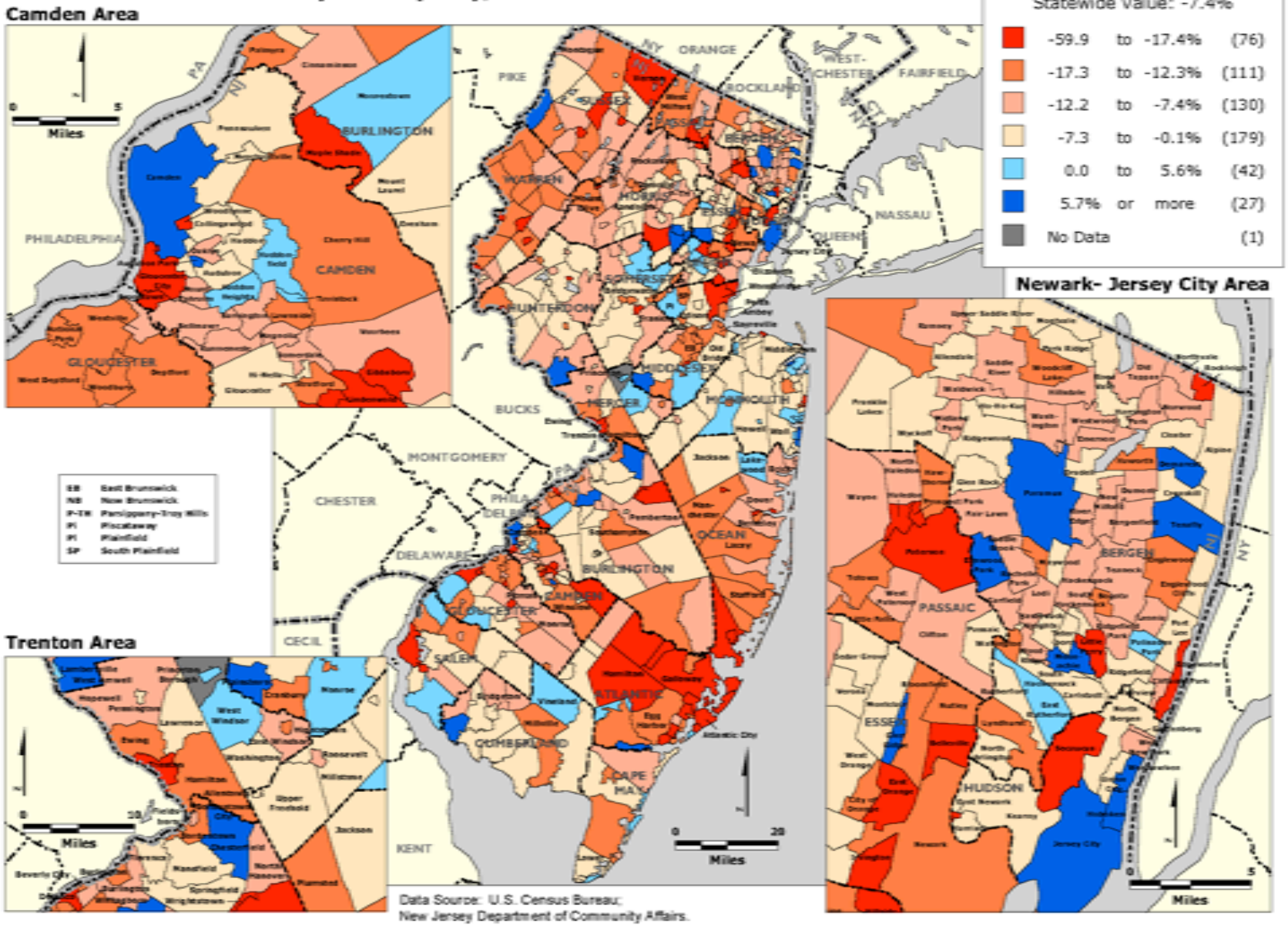
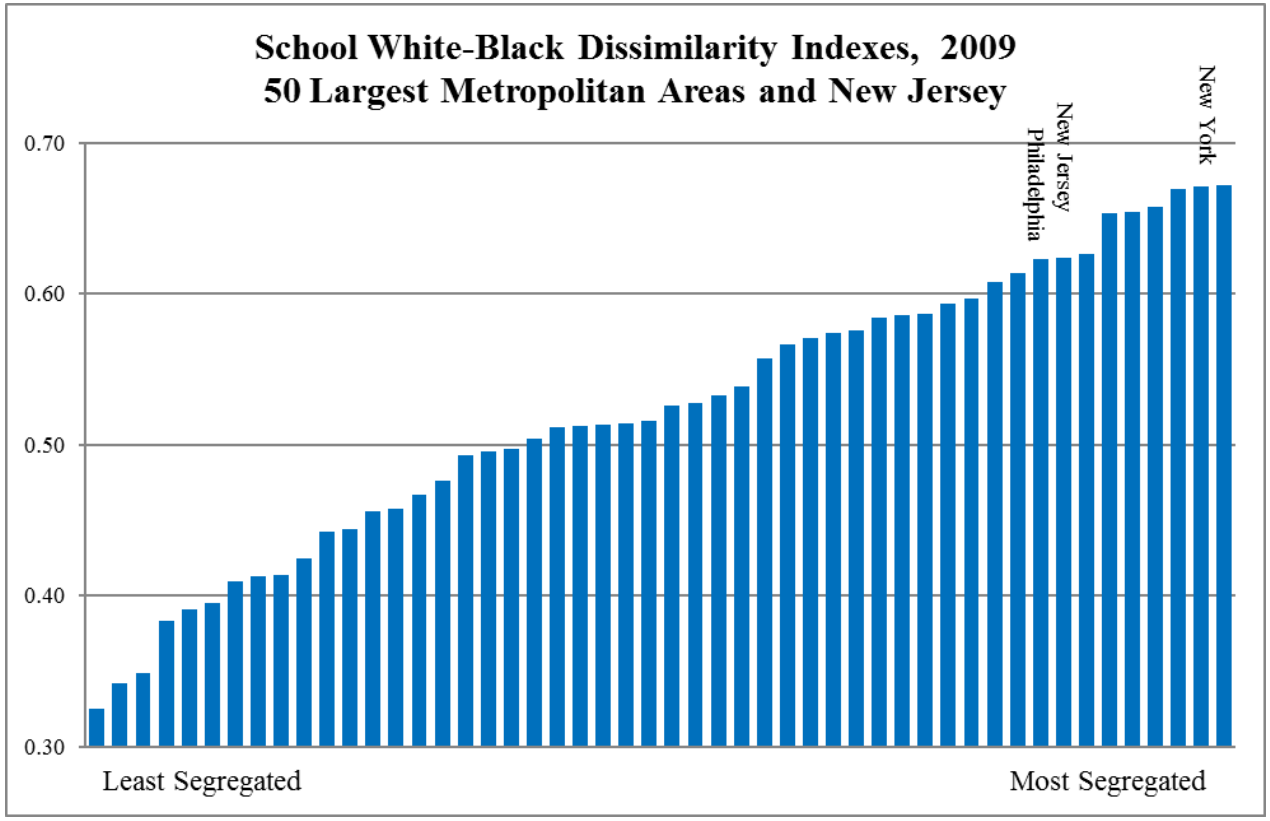
NEW JERSEY:
Percentage Change in Property Tax Base per Capita by Municipality, 2010 to 2016

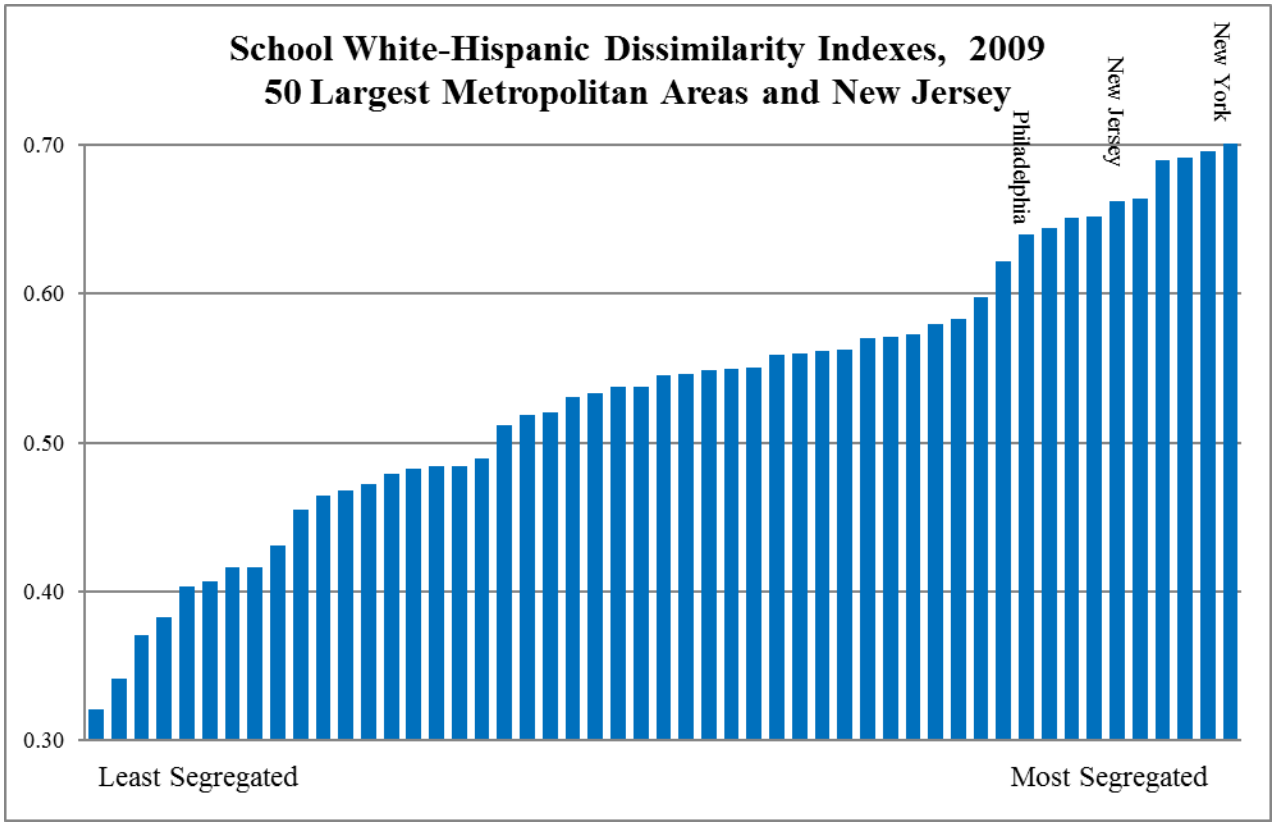


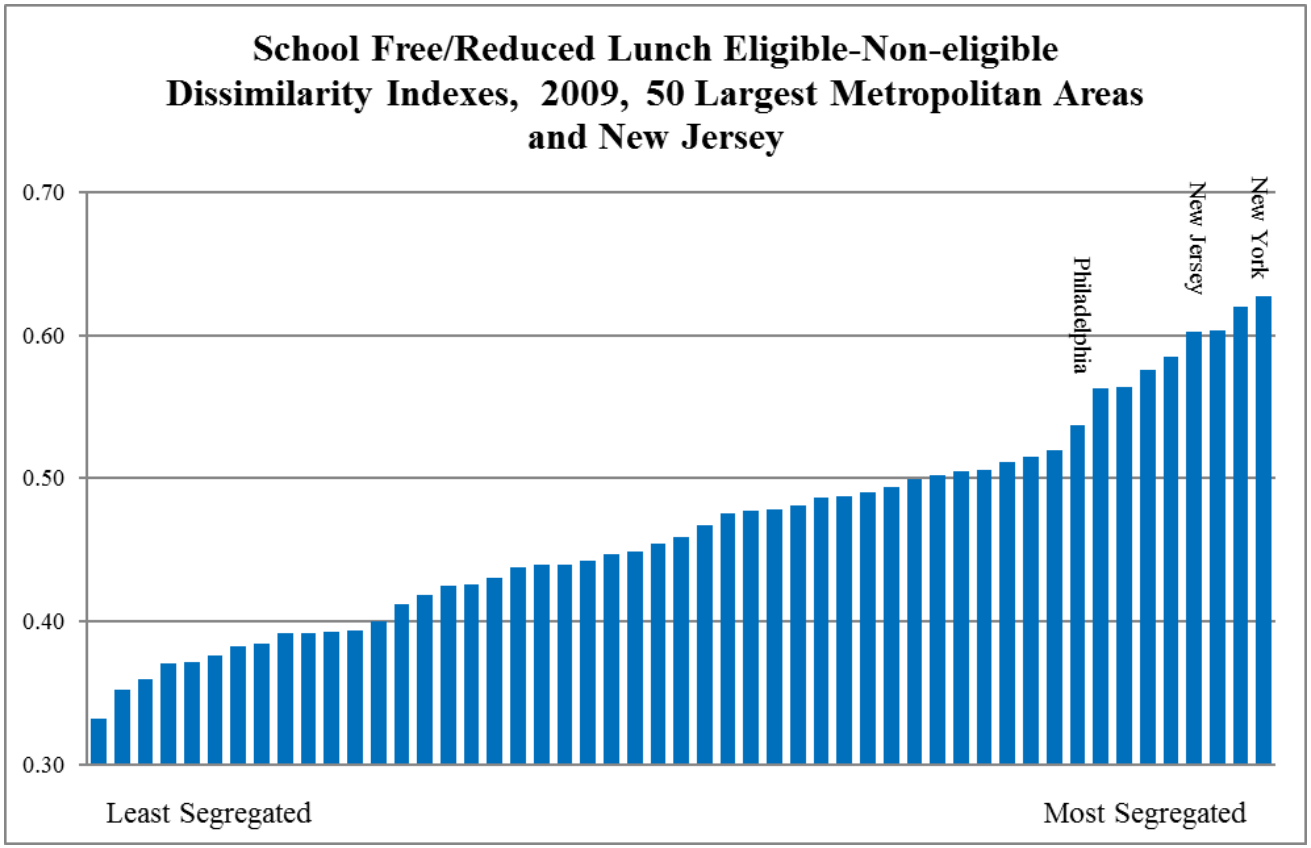
Data Source: U.S. Census Bureau;
New Jersey Department of Community Affairs.

Schools Segregation & Racial Transition

Segregation levels in New Jersey schools are among the worst seen in the 50 largest metropolitan areas.




School White-Hispanic Dissimilarity Indexes, 2009
50 Largest Metropolitan Areas and New Jersey
Philadelphia
New Jersey
New York
0.70
0.60
0.50
0.40
0.30
Least Segregated
Most Segregated


School Free/Reduced Lunch Eligible-Non-eligible
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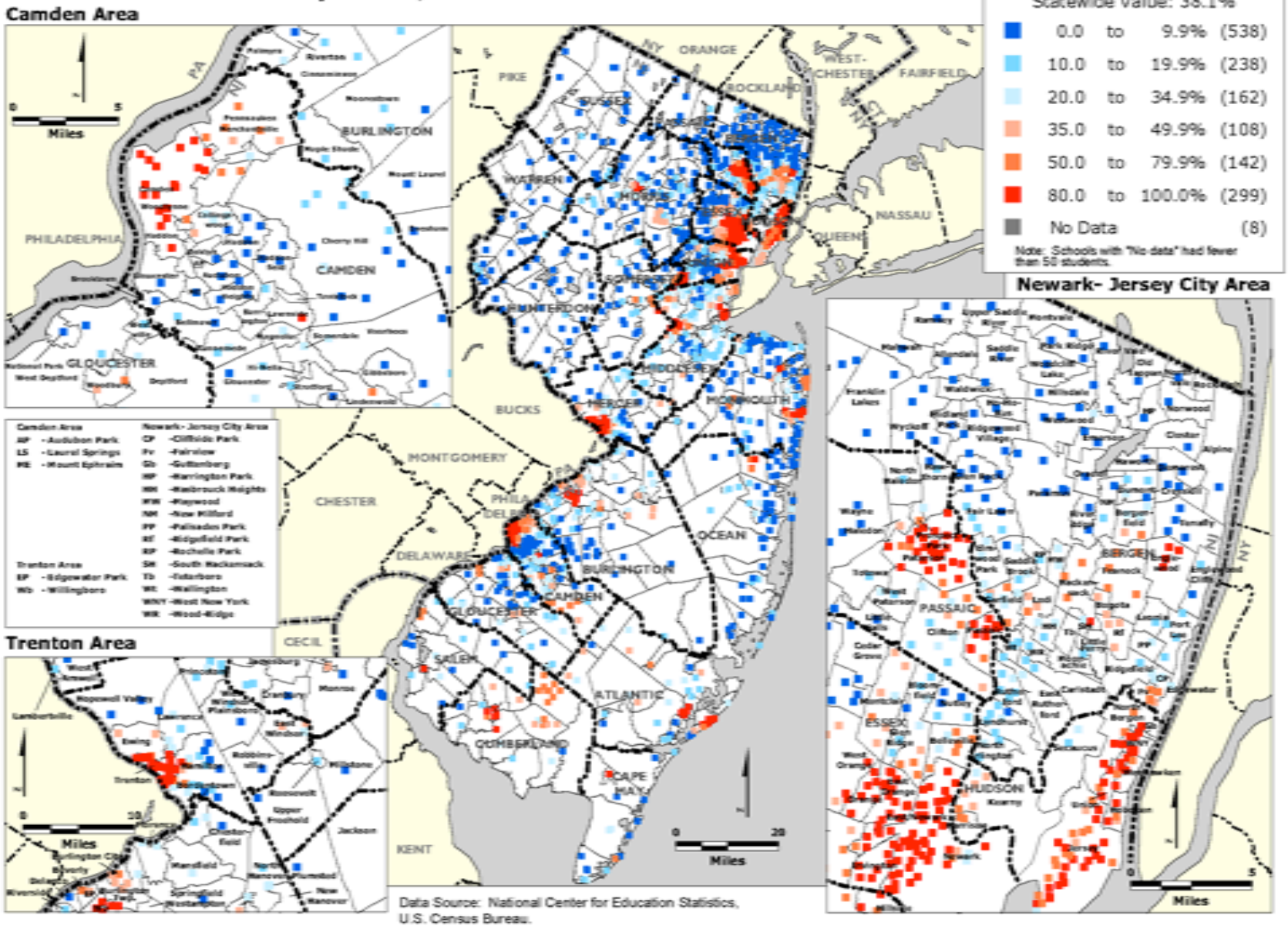
NEW JERSEY:
Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Elementary Students by School, 2003



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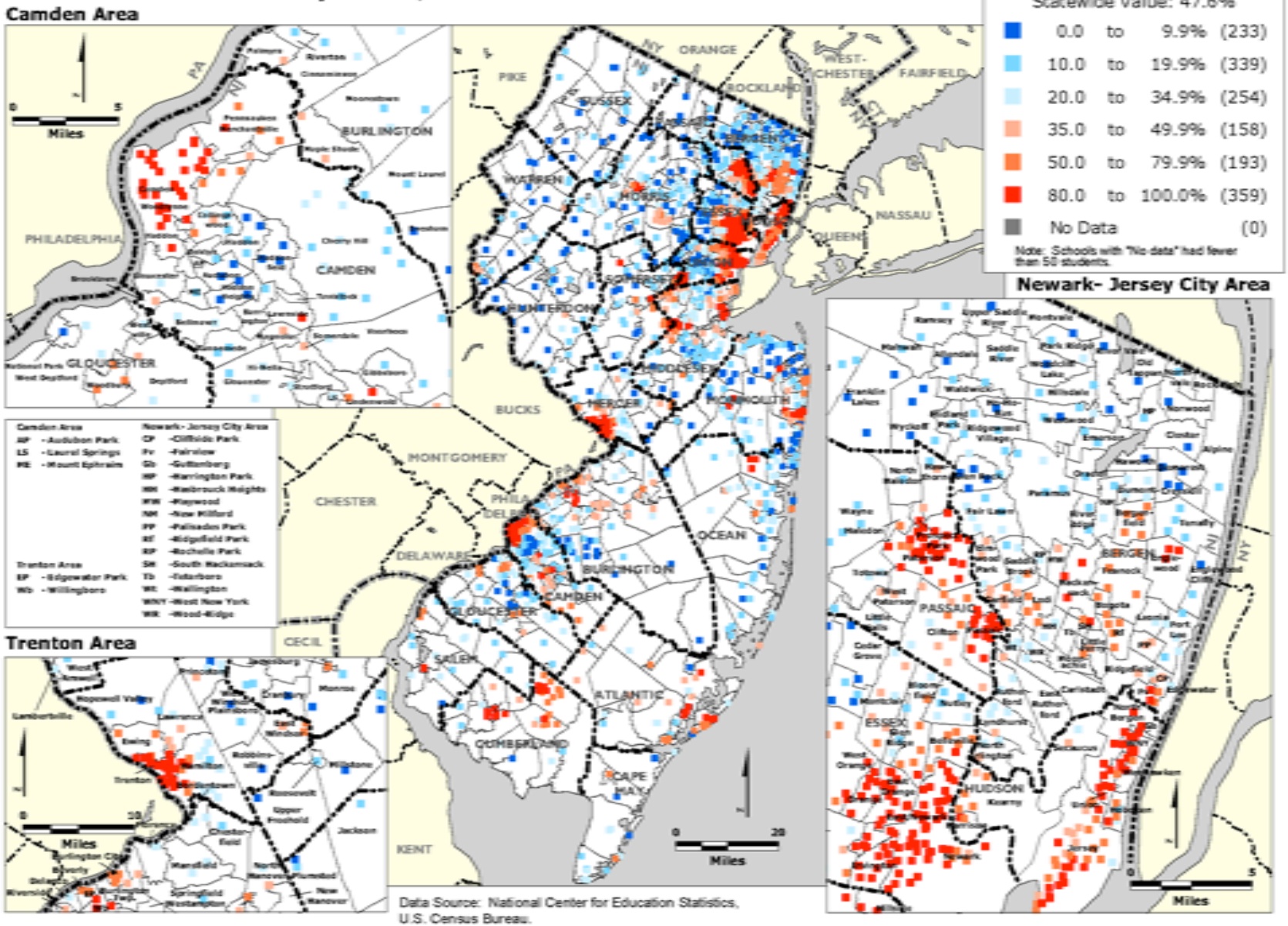
NEW JERSEY:
Percentage of Non-Asian Minority Elementary Students by School, 2015



Data Source: National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Census Bureau.

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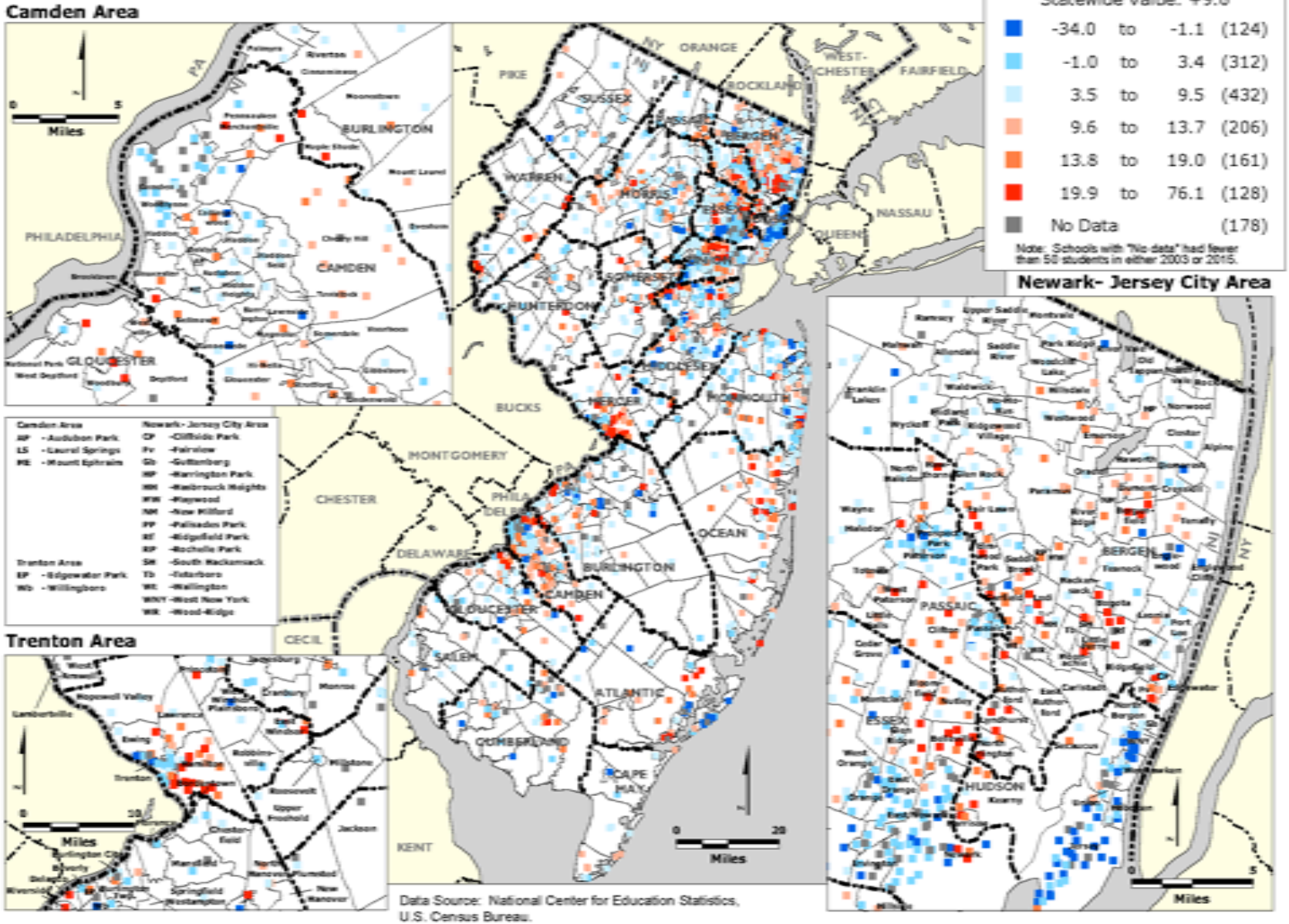
NEW JERSEY:
Percentage Point Change in the Share of Non-Asian Minority Elementary Students by School, 2003-2015



Data Source: National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Census Bureau.

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Response from New Jersey Leaders

- *How do you see these trends playing out in our communities, region and state? What are the most important factors for you in your work or for your people, communities and organizations?*

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What can be done And Why is New Jersey special?

Building One New Jersey

Differences in the racial mixes and rates of racial change are less pronounced across COAH districts than counties. Non-white shares range from 25% (district 4) to 50% (district 2) in 2010. They vary from 11% (Sussex) to 69% (Hudson) across counties.

This means that there is greater potential to achieve stably diverse schools if integration policies are implemented across COAH districts instead of counties.

In counties like Essex and Hudson, non-white shares are high enough that truly integrated schools are not possible at county scales.

In other counties like Camden and Essex, schools in suburbs near to central cities are already in racial transition.

Racial Diversity and Change in New Jersey Counties and COAH Districts, 1990-2010

	Percentage of Population Non-white			Percentage Point Change		
County	1990	2000	2010	1990-2000	2000-2010	1990-2010
Atlantic	26	36	41	10	5	15
Bergen	17	28	37	10	10	20
Burlington	19	24	29	4	6	10
Camden	25	32	40	7	8	15
Cape May	8	10	13	2	3	5
Cumberland	31	42	50	11	8	19
Essex	55	62	67	7	4	12
Gloucester	12	14	19	3	5	7
Hudson	53	65	69	12	5	17
Hunterdon	5	8	12	3	4	7
Mercer	28	36	45	8	10	18
Middlesex	23	38	51	15	13	28
Monmouth	15	19	23	4	4	8
Morris	12	18	25	6	7	13
Ocean	7	10	14	3	4	7
Passaic	37	49	55	11	6	17
Salem	18	20	23	3	3	6
Somerset	15	26	38	11	12	23
Sussex	4	7	11	2	5	7
Union	35	46	55	11	9	20
Warren	4	8	14	4	6	10
Range	51	58	58	13	10	23
COAH District						
1	31	42	49	11	7	18
2	37	44	50	7	6	13
3	19	32	43	13	12	24
4	15	20	25	5	5	10
5	20	25	31	5	6	11
6	23	31	37	8	6	14
Range	21	24	25	8	7	15

Building One New Jersey

Differences in the racial mixes and rates of racial change in schools are less pronounced across COAH districts than counties. Non-white shares range from 40% (district 4) to 64% (district 1) in 2010. They vary from 12% (Sussex) to 82% (Hudson) across counties.

This means that there is greater potential to achieve stably diverse schools if integration policies are implemented across COAH districts instead of counties.

In counties like Essex and Hudson, non-white shares are high enough that truly integrated schools are not possible at county scales.

In other counties like Camden and Essex, schools in suburbs near to central cities are already in racial transition.

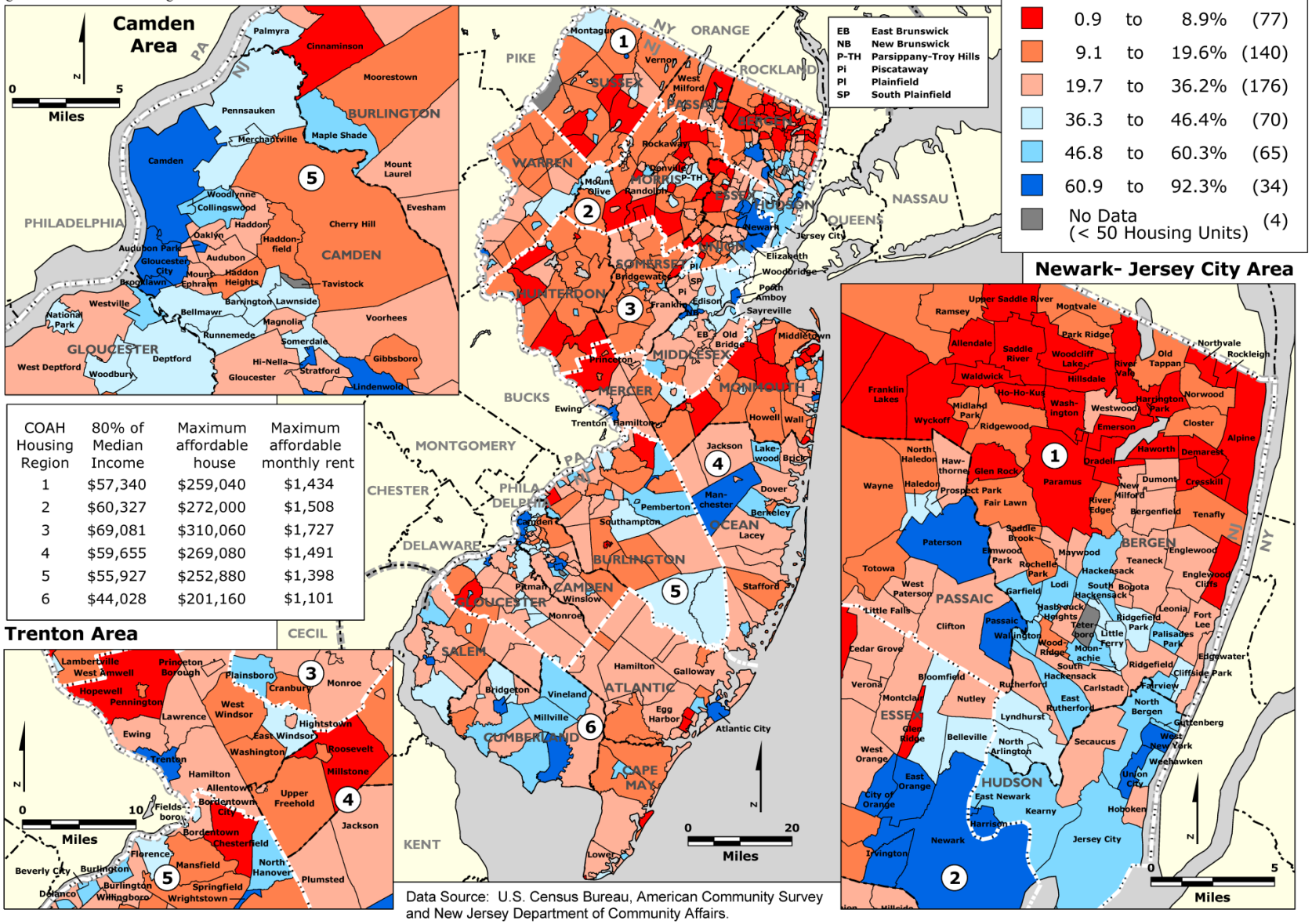
School Racial Diversity and Change in New Jersey Counties and COAH Districts, 2003-2015

	Percentage of Population Non-white			Percentage Point Change		
County	2003	2009	2015	2003-2009	2009-2015	2003-2015
Atlantic	49	55	65	6	10	16
Bergen	34	40	49	6	9	15
Burlington	27	33	39	5	6	11
Camden	47	51	58	4	7	11
Cape May	18	22	27	5	4	9
Cumberland	57	65	71	8	6	14
Essex	70	72	76	2	4	6
Gloucester	19	23	28	4	5	9
Hudson	80	81	82	1	1	2
Hunterdon	6	10	16	4	6	10
Mercer	49	59	68	10	9	19
Middlesex	52	63	71	10	8	19
Monmouth	24	27	34	3	7	10
Morris	22	27	35	5	8	13
Ocean	16	23	29	7	7	14
Passaic	66	70	75	4	5	9
Salem	31	33	38	2	4	7
Somerset	36	43	56	7	13	20
Sussex	7	10	12	3	2	5
Union	59	62	69	3	7	10
Warren	9	16	24	7	9	15
Range	74	71	69	10	12	19
COAH District						
1	55	58	64	3	6	9
2	53	57	63	3	6	9
3	42	51	62	9	10	19
4	28	34	40	6	7	13
5	36	38	45	3	6	9
6	46	52	59	6	7	14
Range	26	23	22	7	4	11

institute on race and poverty
Research, Education and Advocacy

Map 1: NEW JERSEY: Percentage of Housing Affordable to a Household with 80% of the Regional Median Income by Housing Region and Municipality, 2005-2009

An even distribution of affordable housing gives people of all incomes greater choice in where they live, reduces the costs of dealing with poverty by ensuring that it is not concentrated in just a few places and increases the chances that people live close to their jobs. Each of the six New Jersey regions established by the Council on Affordable Housing shows significant variation in the availability of moderately priced homes and apartments, although affordable housing rates are highest in cities and distressed suburbs. The most serious imbalances are in Essex, Bergen and Morris counties. Many communities in this part of the state have very little housing—in many cases less than10 percent—that is affordable to even a middle-income household. Because housing prices in the south tend to be lower compared to incomes, greater shares of the housing stock are affordable to middle-income households there.



COAH Housing Region	80% of Median Income	Maximum affordable house	Maximum affordable monthly rent
1	$57,340	$259,040	$1,434
2	$60,327	$272,000	$1,508
3	$69,081	$310,060	$1,727
4	$59,655	$269,080	$1,491
5	$55,927	$252,880	$1,398
6	$44,028	$201,160	$1,101

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BUILDING MULTI-RACIAL CITY / SUBURBAN GRASSROOTS POWER TO DEFEAT JIM CROW SEGREGATION AND ADVANCE RACIAL INCLUSION AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY

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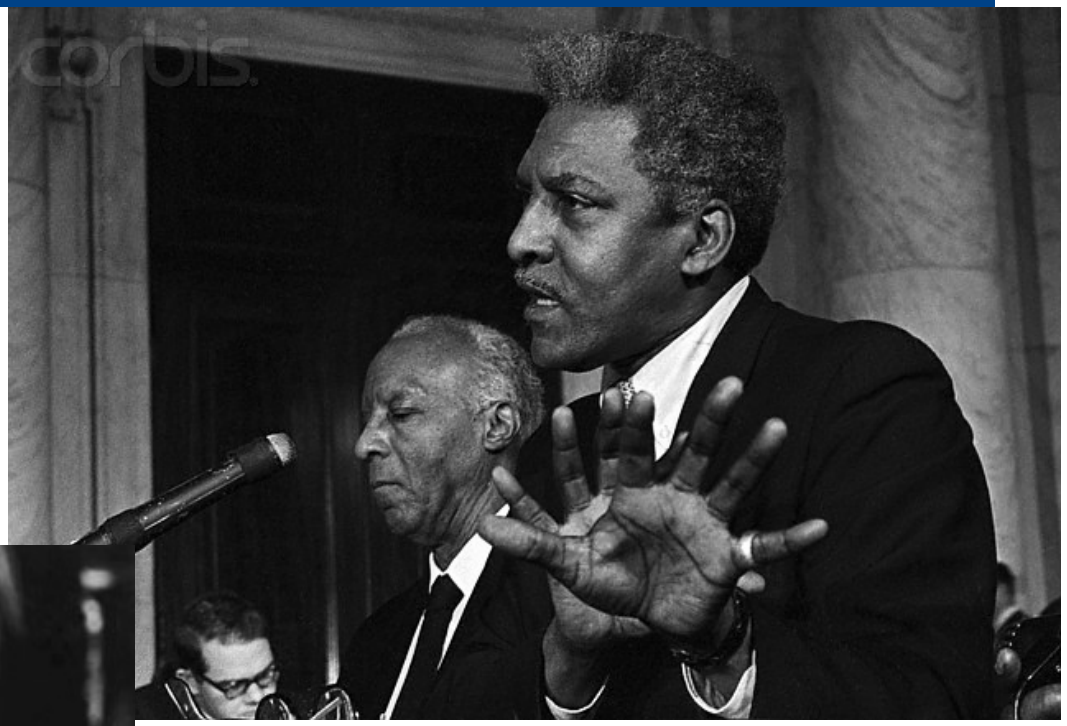

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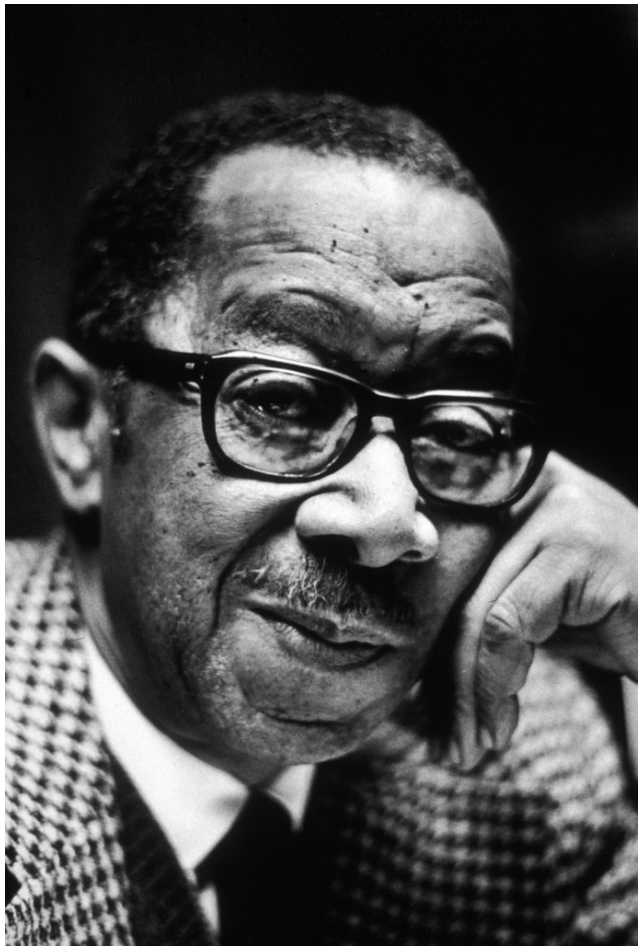

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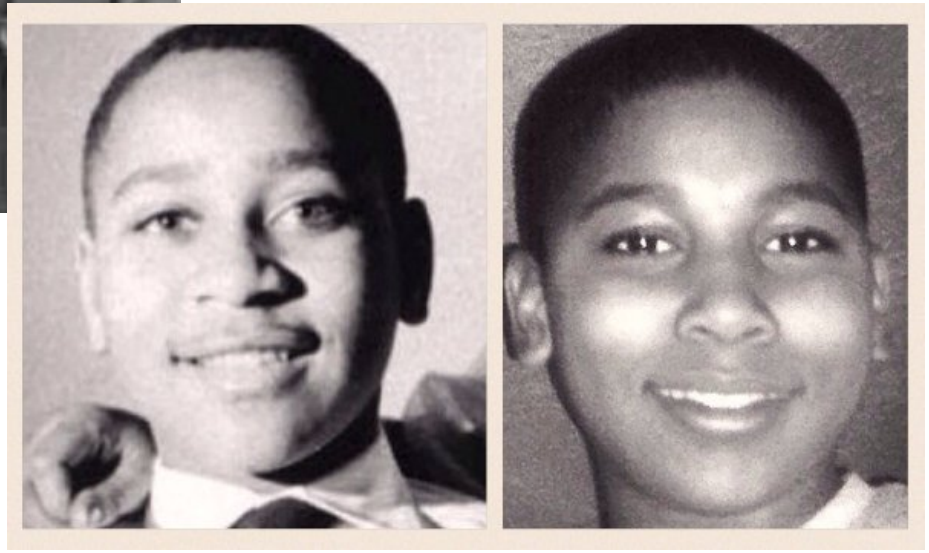

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What can be done And Why is New Jersey special?

Why is New Jersey Special?

1. New Jersey's severe level of segregation

3. Its legal history including:

- *Its unique constitutional provision against segregation*
- *Mount Laurel*
- *SFRA (School Funding Reform Act of 2008)*

3. We have rich history of organizing - including a recent history of grassroots multi-racial city/suburb organizing for racial justice and economic opportunity.

- *Fight for school funding reform*
- *RCA abolition*

How should it be done?

- **Take direct action** that will highlight and expose both the immorality and hypocrisy of our current system.
- **Identify who is responsible**, who benefits, and who is harmed
- **Don't blame the "segregated"** and don't paint all suburbs with the same brush.
- **Engage the self-interest of diverse middle and working class suburbs** and school districts
- **Don't back away from race** but don't forget class
- **Challenge the constitutional legality** of segregated schools in New Jersey

Promote a remedy that will be about "opportunity"

Opportunity *for families and children in segregated districts*

Support and Stability *and for inclusive suburbs and school districts*

Economic Growth and Fairness *for the Regional and State*

- **Consider COAH districts** and *not* counties
- **Use a strengthened SFRA** to incentivize inclusion and integration (at the neighborhood and district level)
- **Call for an "*opportunity obligation*"** on the highest capacity, lowest poverty and least diverse districts:
  - *an obligation to make "desks" available to minority, low income students from high-poverty segregated schools who choose to seek schools outside of their neighborhood.*
  - *based on per pupil fiscal capacity and level of racial and economic diversity of the district*
    - *Not New Jersey School Choice Program which is segregative.*
- **Provide logistical support and counseling** for students and families seeking to attend schools in an *opportunity districts*.
- Call for and support **pro-integrative regional magnet schools** in high poverty segregated districts. *Not more charters which are segregative.*

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Who will do it and how?

Call to action

Next Steps

Who should do it and how?

Lawyers and lawsuits are important but all successful civil rights struggles involved a combination of litigation and grassroots power

Organize: A multi-racial city / suburb, *self-interest* coalition

Target: From both segregated "urban" as well as increasingly diverse middle class suburban communities:

- **Congregations** – Traditional Black Church, mainline denominations, Pentecostals, Catholics, Jews, Muslims
- **Labor Unions** - public and private sector unions - Teachers as well as Bricklayers
- **Civil Rights** and racial justice organizations - old and new
- **Local Officials** - school boards, superintendents, mayors and local electeds

Raise Money: Mostly from your members and allies

Start Organizing

- Meet monthly to recruit and strategize
- Take action that *lights a spark*

School Integration and Funding Equity

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Who is in?

When is the next meeting?

Who else should be invited?

Who will do the inviting?

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Reception –
Gallery at the
James Kerney
Campus

Schools for the Colored

by Wendel A. White

Schools for the Colored is an extension of the ideas that formed the project *Small Towns, Black Lives*, in that it is a continuation of my journey through the African American landscape. I began making photographs of historically African American school buildings during the very first weeks of the *Small Towns, Black Lives* project more than seventeen years ago. In *Schools for the Colored* I began to pay attention to the many structures and sites that operated as segregated schools (making photographs of places where segregated schools once stood).

The project is a survey of the places that were connected to the historic system of racially segregated schools (broadly defined as "Jim Crow" segregation, in its various forms of *de jure* or *de facto* segregation) established at the southern boundaries of the northern United States. My particular interest is in the regions of the northern "free" states that bordered the slave states (sometimes known as the "Up-South," just over the line to freedom) as regions of unique concentrations of black settlements during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. *Schools for the Colored* is the representation of my effort to memorialize these sites. The architecture and geography of American apartheid (Jim Crow), in the form of a system of "colored schools" within the landscape of southern New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois is the central concern of this project.