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FACING FLORIDA'S GOVERNMENTS



PATTERNS OF RESEGREGATION IN FLORIDA'S SCHOOLS



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PATTERNS OF RESEGREGATION IN FLORIDA'S SCHOOLS

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PATTERNS OF RESEGREGATION IN FLORIDA'S SCHOOLS

Florida is a very important state for the future of American race relations. As the third largest state in a country with large white, Hispanic and black population, it is important that students in the state receive fair and equal access to the best schools. During the desegregation crisis in the South, the state of Florida experienced dramatic desegregation more peacefully than much of the region because of positive leadership of some of the state's leaders and focus on preserving public schools while other states spent their time futilely fighting in the courts.

Another factor is that unlike most large states, Florida school districts are county-wide which leads to more racially diverse districts containing both central cities and much of the suburban ring.¹ The state experienced a dramatic drop in segregation of black students, a drop that was more durable because of the county-wide school systems, which tended to produce the deepest and most durable desegregation. Many plans across the country were limited to central cities operated in heavily nonwhite systems surrounded by white suburbs, making it easy for white families to avoid desegregation in contrast to Florida's large districts which often contained both the city and the suburban ring. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the racial composition of schools in Florida changed very substantially and much of the intense public controversy went away over time. In the 1980s, however, court decisions and a dramatic change in the position of the federal government in the Reagan and George H.W. Bush years, reopened the issues and the Supreme Court's 1991 decision in the *Board of Education of Oklahoma v. Dowell* 498 U.S. 237 (1991) case authorized lower federal courts to make findings that the court order had been sufficiently implemented for a time and to dissolve court-ordered desegregation. This case gave authority to local federal judges to rule that a district was "unitary" and could return to neighborhood schools that would be segregated.² Since that time there has been a major decline in desegregation levels in Florida and the country as a whole.³ This report provides a context for Florida's school segregation including the impact of U.S. Supreme Court decisions and trends in school accountability and choice. It then examines enrollment trends and racial proportion changes in Florida schools including public schools and charter schools, and charts segregation trends at the state level over time

Major findings presented in the report include:

- » Florida has experienced a rapid increase in the proportionate enrollment of Hispanic students, with the percentage of these students nearly quadrupling over the last three decades from 8% to 31%. During the same period, the proportion of white students has dropped from 68% to 40%. The black share has remained around 22%. The Asian share has increased from 1 to 3%.
- » Student enrollment trends in Florida over the past decades show growing racial isolation for Hispanic and black students on some measures with signs of continuous segregation on others. Currently, 32% of Hispanic students and 35% of black students in the state attend intensely segregated schools (those with 90-100% enrollment of nonwhite students). However, the increase in the proportions of Hispanic and black students in apartheid schools (those with 99-100 enrollment of nonwhite students) is modest in the last 20 years.
- » School segregation in Florida today is strongly related to residential patterns of urbanization and suburbanization in the state, where students of color reside in urban areas. Accordingly, highly segregated schools are concentrated in metropolitan urban areas of the state, including metro Miami, Tampa, Orlando, Jacksonville, and Tallahassee, although the Miami area has the highest concentration of intensely segregated schools.
- » The proportion of low-income students in Florida public schools reaches nearly 60%. The typical Hispanic student and typical black student attend schools with a share of socioeconomically disadvantaged students that is almost 1.5 times higher than the share of low-income students in the school of a typical white or Asian student. These gaps imply deepening double segregation by race and class in Florida. The trend of double segregation is now salient across the nation, and Florida is not an exception.
- » Florida has witnessed a rise in the overall enrollment of charter school students, with the total student population nearly tripling over the past decade from 83,000 to 231,000. Although the majority of students in Florida charter schools were white a decade ago, today charter schools have become majority Hispanic. In 2014-2015, Hispanic students make up 40% of charter school students—up from 27% of enrollment in 2004-2005.

- » Segregation patterns are similar in public and charter schools. In charter schools, it has been increasing for Hispanics while declining modestly for blacks.
- » Hispanic and black students typically attend schools with large majorities of fellow students living in poverty while white Floridians, on average, attend majority middle class schools.
- » Academic achievement in the state is strongly correlated with the level of poverty in a district's population in the data analyzed here and we have found these strong relationships at the school level in many of our other reports, so black and Hispanic students are far more likely to be segregated in schools with low achieving students.

THE CONTEXT OF FLORIDA'S SCHOOL SEGREGATION

Trends in Florida desegregation flow from both demographics and policy. Florida, like the nation, has experienced major demographic changes since the civil rights era. The white share of the student population since 1970 had declined from 80% of total enrollment to 40% while the black portion has remained relatively constant around a sixth of the total and the once tiny Hispanic and Asian shares have quintupled. The basic pattern is heavily influenced by the Hispanic and Asian immigration surge since the 1960s. These changes, of course, mean that even without policy changes whites would experience relatively more contact with nonwhites and blacks and, especially, Hispanics would be in contact with fewer whites. So the changes in various measures of segregation are the net result of demographic transformation and radical changes in public policy and law, first in the direction of mandatory desegregation and then toward dismantling desegregation and restoring segregated schools based on neighborhoods.

When desegregation came to the South the leaders of the region mobilized intensely to fight the implementation of the *Brown* decision, in many cases deciding to take great risks with the public schools to forestall any step toward implementation of the Supreme Court's mandate. Under the slogan of "massive resistance" some 101 Southern Members of Congress signed the Southern manifesto, attacking the legitimacy of the decision, which it said was a "clear abuse of judicial power," essentially overturning the power of Congress and state governments.⁴ Florida was not immune to these efforts but it enjoyed two crucial advantages. The first was that state officials adopted a far less negative stance and there was strong support for public schools, later reflected in the positive leadership of Gov. LeRoy Collins. A number of southern states adopted policies that put maintaining segregation above preserving the public schools, including Virginia's law authorizing the governor to close schools to prevent integration. The second was that the organization of public schools by county meant that the districts included the dominant city and the great majority of its suburbs within a single district. That meant that the districts were more likely to include both predominantly white and middle-class schools and nonwhite schools with high poverty levels. However, greater Miami sprawled over three large counties so Dade County functioned more like a central city component of an urbanized area than a district containing all or most of the metropolitan housing market. Across the country, desegregation plans based on countywide districts showed the highest level of school desegregation and were far more stable than those limited to central cities.

Florida's political leaders differed from the common southern response by taking the position that desegregation was inevitable and that it was extremely important to preserve the public schools. Gov. LeRoy Collins responded to the *Brown* decision by taking the position that the primary goal was to preserve public education not to fight quixotic battles against the Supreme Court. In 1957, in response to a resolution passed by the legislature declaring *Brown v. Board of Education* "null, void and of no force or effect," Gov. Collins responded that the resolution was "an evil thing, whipped up by the demagogues and carried on the hot and erratic winds of passion, prejudice and hysteria."⁵ He became known as a leading southern moderate and was later chosen by President Johnson to lead the Community Relations Service, a key part of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Perhaps the most important center for designing desegregation plans in the South was the Southeastern Desegregation Center at the University of Miami which aided school districts across the South, led for 30 years by Prof. Gordon Foster.⁶

The plans implemented across the state produced large declines in segregation. The most dramatic changes followed the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which threatened loss of all federal school funds for districts that did not implement desegregation and two vital unanimous Supreme Court decisions—the 1968 *Green v. School Bd. of New Kent Co*, 391 U.S. 430, decision that required systematic mandatory district-wide desegregation of students

and faculties and the 1971 *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg Bd. of Education*, 402 U.S. 1. decision that authorized district-wide student transportation when necessary to achieve full desegregation. Major desegregation plans were implemented in the early 1970s.

Between 1968 and 1980 the progress in desegregating black students in the state was remarkable. In 1968, 14 years after the *Brown* decision, less than a fourth (23%) of the state's black students attended majority white schools, but in 1980 it was 60%. For the rapidly growing Hispanic student bodies, on the other hand, 50% of Hispanic students were in majority white schools in 1968 but just 30% attended such schools in 1980, probably because of the high concentration of those students in a handful of South Florida counties.⁷ The right of Hispanic students to desegregation was not recognized by the Supreme Court until 1973⁸ so most of the plans in Florida had no strategy to desegregate the rapidly growing number of Hispanic students. There was a remarkable change for black students in Florida schools in the 1971-72 school year when eleven school districts implemented new desegregation plans in the single year following the Supreme Court's first decision, *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenberg*, authorizing pupil transportation as part of desegregation plans.⁹ Those districts included a number of the largest in the state and the nation, Broward with 122,000 students, Duval with 117,000, Hillsborough with 101,000, Orange with 85,000, Palm Beach with 66,000, and Pinellas with 87,000¹⁰

In Florida and across other districts in various regions of the U.S. there was an incredible contrast between the political storm outside the schools and the general calm within.¹¹ The teachers in the nearly desegregated classrooms consistently reported very few problems and said the students who were upset were usually reacting to the anger of their parents not the experiences in their schools where most children very quickly adjusted to integrated classrooms as something normal, though there were, of course many dimensions of successful change within the schools.¹²

A major study of the desegregation process in that period showed that there were significant losses of white students at the beginning of the new plans, overwhelmingly families that withdrew children without ever trying the integrated schools.¹³ But, the researchers found that a substantial share of the students who left came back to the diverse schools in the following years and the rapid demographic change did not continue. The level of desegregation achieved in Florida was among the highest in the country¹⁴ and the impact of the plans endured for decades.¹⁵ Desegregation in Florida affected a few of the largest school districts in the U.S. in the early 1970s, including Dade (Miami), number 6, Broward (Ft. Lauderdale), number 17, Duval (Jacksonville), number 20, and Hillsborough (Tampa), number 22. Florida had, by a great margin, the nation's largest experiment in mandatory metropolitan-wide desegregation.

» Three Supreme Court Decisions Negatively Affecting Desegregation

In the 1990s, Florida and the rest of the country were deeply affected by a series of three U.S. Supreme Court decisions, beginning with the 1991 *Dowell* case.¹⁶ These Supreme Court decisions by an increasingly conservative court undermined and soon began to reverse desegregation progress. Courts seemed much more eager to apply these new resegregation policies than they had been to implement desegregation policies. A final step in the reversal of desegregation law came in the 2007 *Parents Involved in Community Schools v. Seattle School District No. 1*, 551 U.S. 701 (2007) decision in which the Supreme Court greatly narrowed the ability of school districts desiring to operate their school choice plans in a way that would produce diverse schools through targeted recruitment of students and setting aside seats when necessary to preserve desegregation.

The Supreme Court's decision in the 1991 *Dowell* case authorized federal courts to dissolve desegregation plans after the court concluded that the district had taken all practical steps to remedy the segregated "dual school system" and had become a desegregated "unitary" district. This permitted the courts to turn things back to local control and let local officials restore segregated neighborhood schools. Many judges, particularly those appointed by conservative administrations, thought that the districts had been under court supervision too long and made unitary findings. In some important cases, the federal judges actually took the very unusual step of taking the initiative to begin the resegregation process even when the district did not want it, since a number of the plans had been working well with broad community acceptance. This happened in two of Florida's largest districts, Broward and Hillsborough.¹⁷ By 2004 most of the state's largest districts including Miami-Dade, Broward, Duval, Hillsborough, Palm Beach and Pinellas were unitary¹⁸ and their plans were unravelling.¹⁹ The final judicial push came in the Supreme Court's 2007 decision in the *Parents Involved* case which prohibited the use of race to consciously balance magnet schools and transfer programs. What followed, of course, was widespread resegregation. Before these court cases, Florida and

the South had had schools that were more diverse than the state's communities but afterwards the schools came to reflect and even exceed the segregation of neighborhoods.²⁰

» Florida Since the 1990s

The last significant effort in Florida to try to preserve some significant diversity came in the early 1990s. A number of Florida districts adopted new controlled choice plans in the 1990s under a state policy supporting choice and explicitly permitting such efforts. In those plans, school districts were divided into big regions and all families were required to list their preferences in order among the schools in their regions and were assigned to the highest-ranking choice that would be compatible with keeping the schools diverse. (Controlled Open Enrollment Choice Law, F.S. 228.057). Two counties, Lee County and St. Lucie County, implemented this approach.²¹

Florida has become a very active incubator of conservative education policies. After Jeb Bush became governor in 1999, he instituted a series of very high stakes accountability plans, as well as a large expansion of charters and voucher programs. He also became the first governor in the U.S. to end affirmative action in higher education under his own authority. These reforms have, of course, been viewed very differently across political lines and in research findings.²² For this study what is important is that in this period the focus turned decisively toward the separate but equal theory and that segregated schools were subjected to very strong pressure on test scores.

During this period, the federal courts in the South were increasingly holding that any consideration of race was inherently suspect, even if done for the purpose of creating and stabilizing integration. In response, districts that were “unitary” moved away from any consideration of race and segregation deepened. In the 2000s, racial concerns were replaced with accountability and school choice policies including No Child Left Behind and Race to the Top. With intense pressure on schools to increasing perform on high stakes state testing program, segregation became a diversion and, even worse, an excuse. When the schools did not perform, and a very disproportionate share of schools with double segregation by race and poverty were branded with “D’s” or “F’s”, the state, under the leadership of Gov. Jeb Bush, blamed them, sanctioned them and encouraged the growth of charter and voucher schools.²³ Without attention on segregation and its remedies, the goal of racial diversity was ignored.

The remainder of this report highlights the enrollment changes and segregation trends in Florida public schools since 1994, following the U.S. Supreme Court decisions undercutting desegregation and before the advent of accountability and choice. It highlights the resegregation of Florida schools, particularly notable in light of the increasing diversity in the state and its student population. In many areas, Florida has come a long way since the time of LeRoy Collins—but integration of its public schools is not one of them.

OVERVIEW OF TRENDS IN RESEGREGATION OF FLORIDA'S SCHOOLS

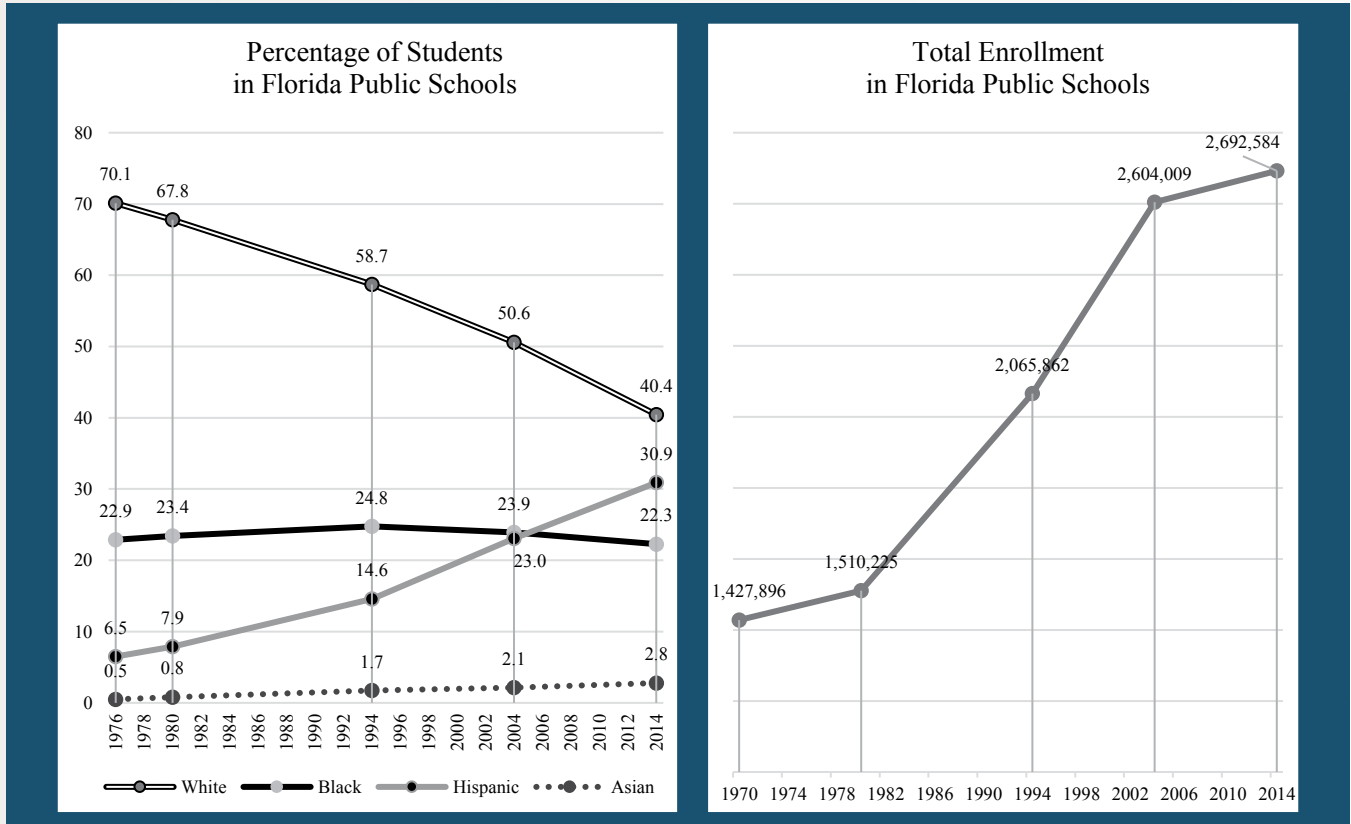
This report examines enrollment changes and segregation trends in Florida public schools by drawing on U.S. Department of Education's Common Core of Data Public School Universe, 1994-1995, 2004-2005, and 2014-2015. The data come from every public school in Florida, as well as in every state in the nation. The definition of segregation in this report is the extent to which black and Hispanic students attend school with white students. This definition, of course, depicts one aspect of the intricate picture of segregation; thus, careful explanation is recommended. This report investigates segregation in two ways. First, segregation is measured by calculating the shares of black and Hispanic students in schools with less than 10 percent whites (*intensely segregated* schools) and with less than one percent whites (*apartheid* schools). The other measure used here—the exposure statistics—shows the degree of exposure of the typical student for each race to a certain racial group of students: for instance, the proportion of white students in schools attended by Hispanic students. Appendix A details the formula used to compute this measure.

The remainder of this report consists of two parts. The first part explores enrollment trends and racial proportion changes in Florida schools, including public schools and charter schools. The second part examines segregation trends at the state level over time. Appendix B reports district-level results for School Years (SY) 1994-95, 2004-2005 and 2014-2015.

» Public School Enrollment Trend

Over the past four decades, Florida public schools have experienced significant changes in the number and composition of students. During the last half century, the total enrollment nearly doubled to almost 2.7 million in 2014, and racial diversity also grew rapidly (Figure 1). Most notable is the drop in the percentage of white students in Florida public schools—from 70% in 1976 to 40% in 2014. The black share slightly decreased over time. In contrast, the proportion of Hispanic students has soared during the same period, and the Asian share—virtually invisible in the past—gradually rose to closely 3% (Figure 1). As Table 1 illustrates, Florida's trends generally reflect those of other Southern states and the nation but with larger percentages of Hispanic students and smaller percentages of white students.

Figure 1: Public School Enrollment Trends in Florida



Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), Common Core of Data (CCD), Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data; NCES Digest of Education Statistics. Data prior to 1994 obtained from the analysis of the Office of Civil Rights data in Orfield, G. (1983). Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980. Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies.

Table 1: Public School Enrollment Trends in the United States and the South

Nation		1970	1980	1994	2004	2014
White		79.1	73.2	64.7	57.2	49.3
Black		15.0	16.1	16.4	16.8	15.3
Hispanic		5.1	8.0	14.1	20.2	25.9
Asian		0.5	1.9	3.7	4.6	5.2
AI		0.4	0.8	1.1	1.2	1.0
Multiracial						3.2
South		1970	1980	1994	2004	2014
White		66.9	63.3	57.8	49.3	42.6
Black		27.2	26.9	27.2	27.0	23.9
Hispanic		5.5	8.8	13.0	20.8	27.0
Asian		0.1	0.7	1.7	2.5	3.3
AI		.02	0.3	0.4	0.5	0.5
Multiracial						2.7

Source: NCES CCD Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data; Data prior to 1994 obtained from the analysis of the Office of Civil Rights data in Orfield, G. (1983). Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980. Washington, D.C.: Joint Center for Political Studies. Note: AI=American Indian

» Charter School Enrollment Trend

This report also examines the trend of Florida charter schools over the past decade. The charter system grew rapidly over the last 10 years, and charter school students now make up 8.6% of the total student population in Florida public schools. The total enrollment in charter schools almost tripled for the past decade, and the number of charter schools also rose by nearly 80%. A decade ago, nearly half of the student population in charter schools were white, but the white share now dropped to 35%. The black proportion also declined to less than 20%. By contrast, the percentage of Hispanic students soared to 40% (Table 2).

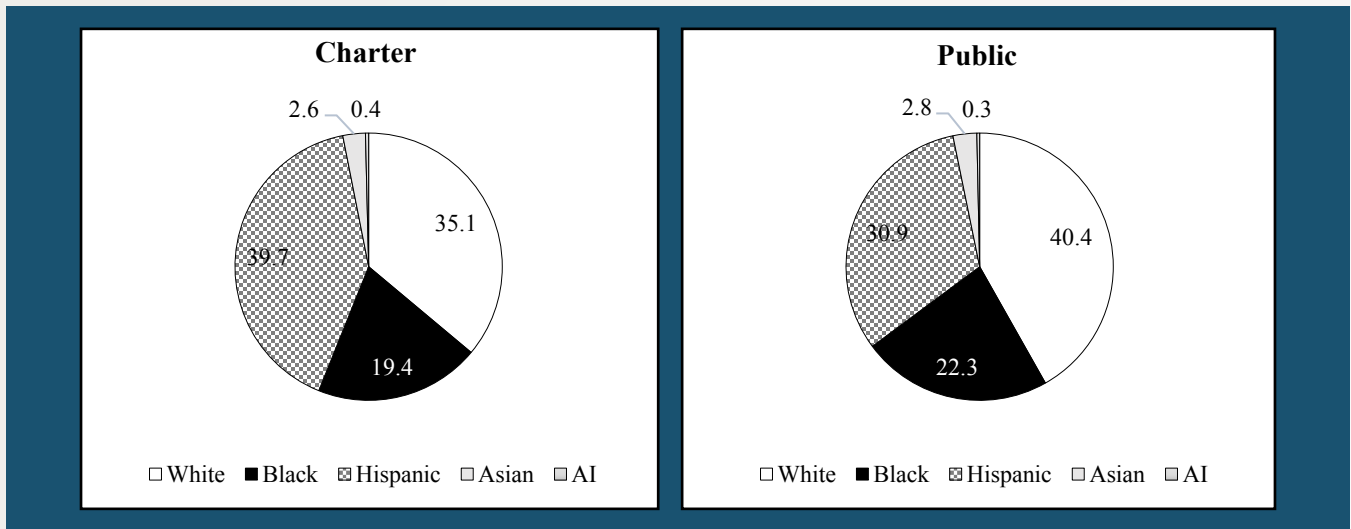
Table 2: Enrollment Trends in Florida Charter Schools

	School Count	Total Enrollment	Percent					AI	Mixed
			White	Black	Hispanic	Asian			
2004-2005	317	82,998	46.5	25.2	26.5	1.5	0.3		
2014-2015	562	231,467	35.1	19.4	39.7	2.6	0.4	2.8	

Source: NCES CCD Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

In general, charter schools tend to enroll more Hispanic students and fewer black and white students compared to the overall racial composition of Florida schools. Although public and charter schools in Florida differ slightly in student composition, the difference is trivial (Figure 2). However, given the rapid growth and changes in racial proportion of Florida charter schools, the racial composition of the student population in charter schools may well change in the future compared to public schools.

Figure 2: Student Composition (%) in Public Schools and Charter Schools in Florida in 2014



Source: NCES CCD Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

SEGREGATION TRENDS IN FLORIDA

» Segregation in Public Schools

As the racial composition of students in Florida has become more diverse, segregation trends in Florida public schools have also changed. Only one-fifth of Florida public schools were multiracial schools²⁴ in the mid-1990s when white and black students combined made up 84% of the public-school enrollment. Twenty years later, more than one-third of public schools were multiracial schools, reflecting increasing diversity in the student population. However, the growing diversity has not been uniformly spread across Florida public schools; rather, it has been concentrated in certain schools. Specifically, the percentage of schools with 0 to 50% nonwhite students almost doubled from 29.6 to 54.8% between 1994 and 2014. The proportion of intensely segregated schools with 90 to 100% nonwhite students also doubled to 20% (Table 3). This evidence of school segregation is evident, but fortunately, the growth of apartheid schools with 99 to 100% nonwhite students is somewhat minimal.

Table 3: Schools Classified by Percent of Nonwhite Students

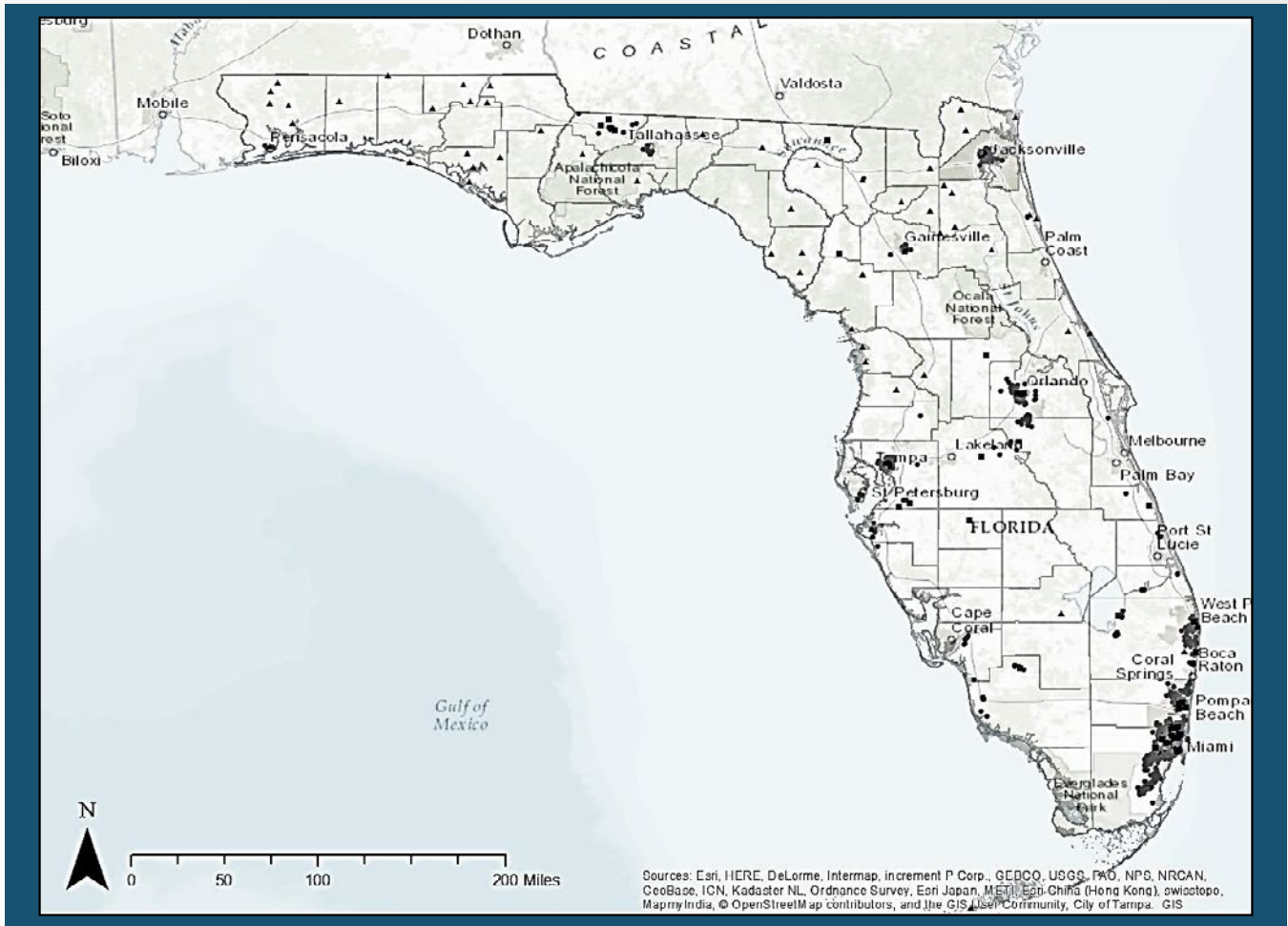
	Percent				
	Total Schools	Multiracial Schools	50-100% Nonwhite Schools	90-100% Nonwhite Schools	99-100% Nonwhite Schools
1994-1995	2,312	20.9	29.6	10.6	2.1
2004-2005	3,347	30.4	44.2	15.2	3.9
2014-2015	3,710	36.3	54.8	20.2	3.7

Source: NCES CCD Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

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

The following map shows that the severe segregation in the state is concentrated in densely populated urban and suburban areas—particularly in the Miami, Broward and Palm Beach area. However, Jacksonville, Tampa, Orlando and Tallahassee also have concentrations of intensively segregated and apartheid schools. By contrast, 90-100% white schools are concentrated in the northern region of the state (Figure 3).

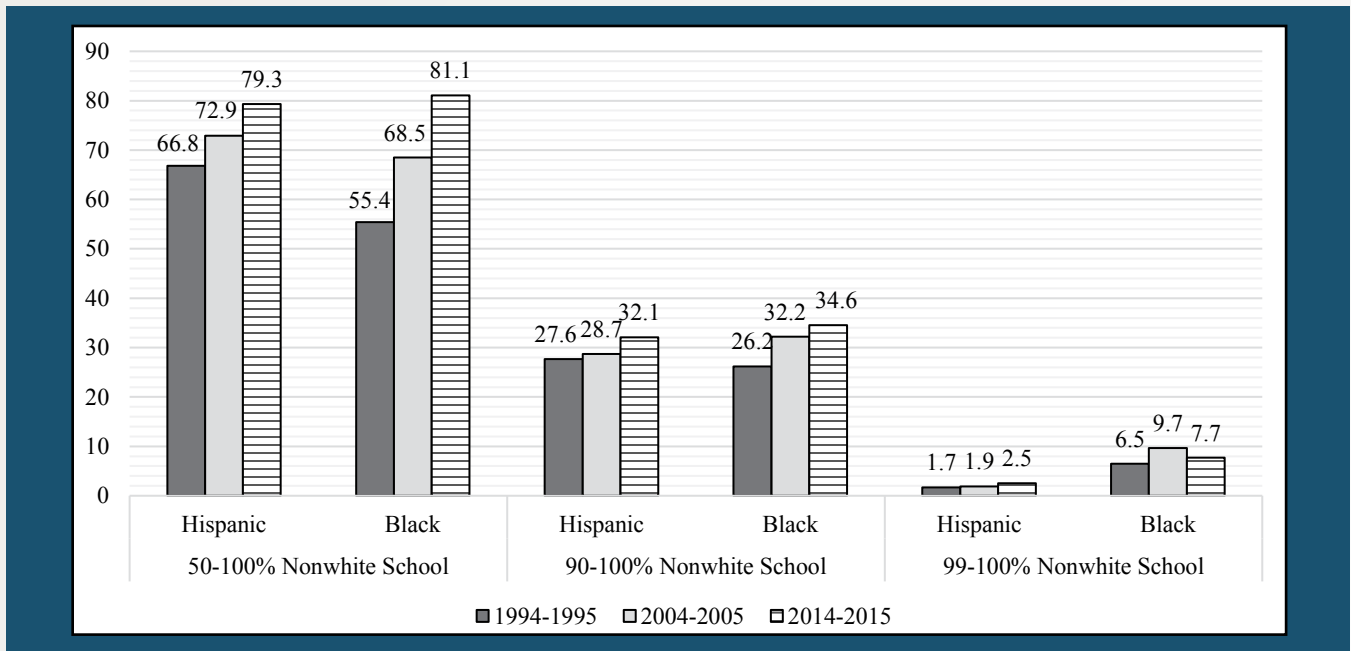
Figure 3: Distribution of Majority Nonwhite and White Schools in Florida, 2014



Source: NCES CCD Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data
 Note: ▲ – 90-100% white school; ● – 90-100% nonwhite school; ■ – 99-100% nonwhite school

We further investigate segregation trends by examining the distribution of black and Hispanic students in majority nonwhite schools. For those who attend intensively segregated schools with 0 to 10% whites, the shares of Hispanic and black students in such schools rose by 4.5 and 8.4 percentage points, respectively, over the past 20 years. The percentage of Hispanic students in 99-100% nonwhite schools was not much different from 20 years ago, growing by only 0.8 percentage points. The black share attending apartheid schools rose to nearly 10% in the mid-2000s; fortunately, it declined to closely 8% in 2014. Although the proportion of students in 99-100% nonwhite schools in Florida is lower than that of other states, it is apparent that black students are more likely to go to extremely segregated schools compared to their Hispanic peers (Figure 4).

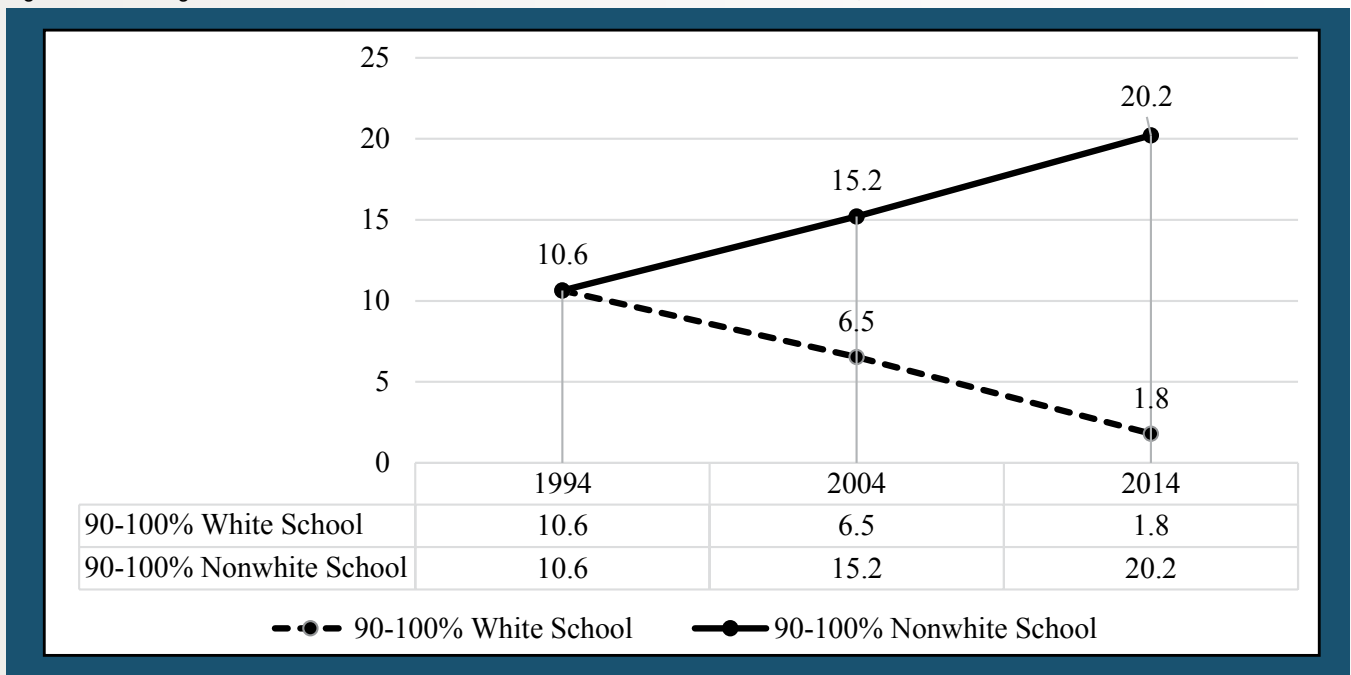
Figure 4: Black and Hispanic Students in Nonwhite Segregated Schools in Florida, 1994-2014



Source: NCES CCD Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Nearly 20 years ago, the numbers of Florida public schools with 90-100% whites and 90-100% nonwhites were the same, and the proportions were about 11%, respectively. Now, the share of majority white schools dropped sharply and is less than 2% of Florida public schools. However, the percentage of majority nonwhite schools nearly doubled to 20% during the same period, and our data show that this trend is likely to continue (Figure 5).

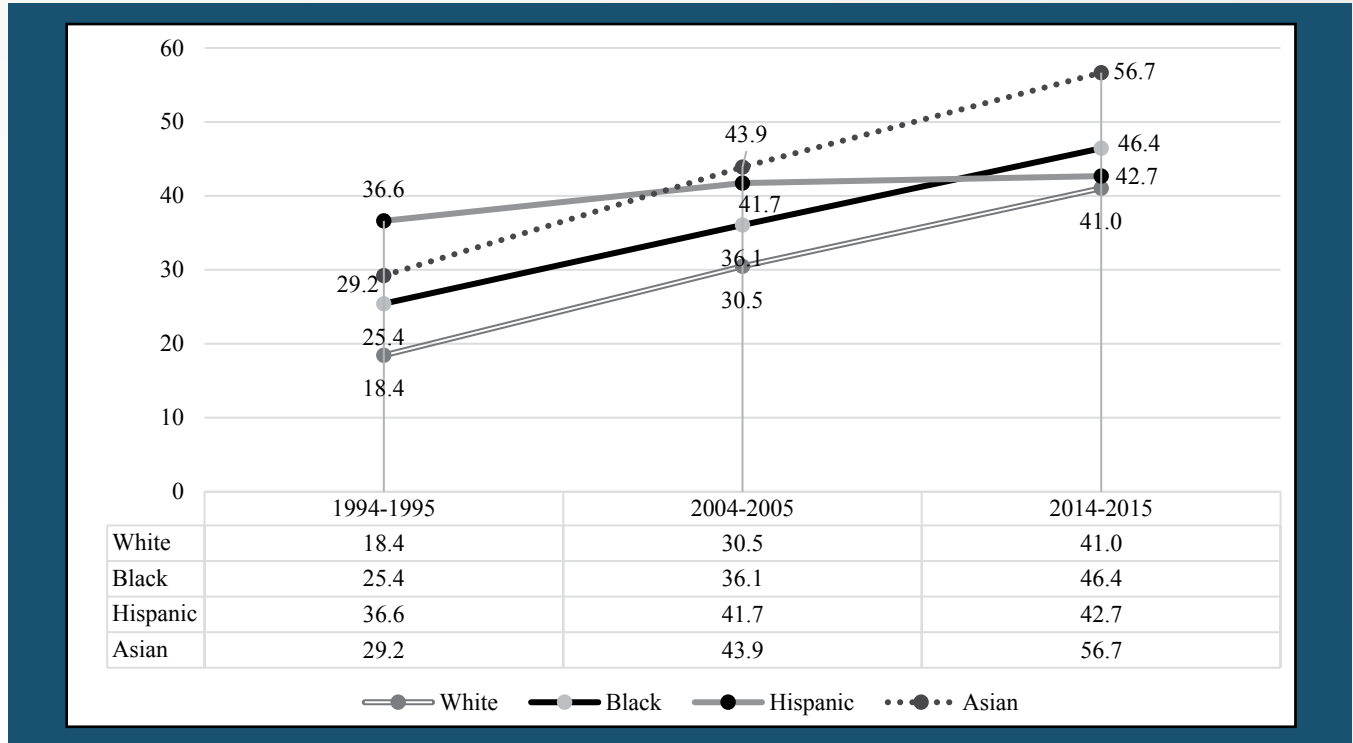
Figure 5: Percentage of 90-100% White Schools and 90-100% Nonwhite Schools in Florida, 1994-2014



Source: NCES CCD Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

As mentioned earlier, the growing diversity of student population has increased the proportion of students for each race attending multiracial schools. As of 2014, nearly 57% of Asians were in multiracial schools, and around 40% of white, black, and Hispanic students went to such schools. These figures demonstrate that almost half or over half of all ethnic groups of Florida students attend multiracial schools where they meet classmates from various racial backgrounds (Figure 6).

Figure 6: Percentage of Students in Multiracial Schools by Race, 1994-2014



Source: NCES CCD Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

» Intergroup Contact in Florida Public Schools

Substantial effects of educational and social integration flow from contact with significant numbers of students of other races or ethnicities under positive conditions.²⁵ White middle-class student enrollment is especially important since these students typically have access to more challenging classes, peer groups and support systems in stronger schools. These educational advantages benefit disadvantaged students in ways that enrollment in predominantly minority schools do not. For this reason, this report examines the percentage of white students in a school that the typical white, black, Hispanic, and Asian student attends, respectively. Calculating the exposure index, this report explores the level of interracial contact between groups, as well as the racial composition of schools where the typical student of each race goes.

As the white share in Florida public schools dropped by nearly 20 percentage points over the past two decades, the percentage of white students that the typical student of each race meets in school also declined. In 1994 and still today, white students tend to go to schools with many white students but the exposure rates have fallen from 72.5 to 57.2%. However, black and Hispanic students' exposure to whites fell from 1994 when they were 40% for blacks and 35% for Hispanics to 26-27% for the two groups in 2014. In 2014, white students were in schools where nearly 60% of their classmates are from the same racial background. By contrast, the percent of white students that the typical black or Hispanic student meets is just over 25%. The relatively low exposure rates are important for socialization and also can lead to differences in the resources of the schools in which each racial group attends (Table 4).

Table 4: Exposure to Whites by the Typical Student of Each Race and the Percentage of Whites

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	% White Enrollment
1994-1995	72.5	40.1	34.5	61.5	58.7
2004-2005	67.1	33.0	32.2	53.1	50.6
2014-2015	57.2	26.3	27.5	43.7	40.4

Source: NCES CCD Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

As the proportion of black students slightly decreased by 2.5 percentage points over the past two decades or so, the percentage of black students in schools that each racial group attends also declined. However, non-black students in general go to schools that enroll less than 20% of black students, which is lower than the state's overall share of black students (22%). Of all racial groups, white students in particular tend to go to schools with the least share of black classmates. In contrast to whites, the typical black student is in school where nearly half of her classmates are like her. This figure is 45%, which is twice the share of black students in Florida public schools (Table 5).

Table 5: Exposure to Blacks by Typical Student of Each Race and Percentage of Blacks

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	% Black Enrollment
1994-1995	16.9	47.0	19.1	21.6	24.8
2004-2005	15.6	47.4	18.0	21.4	23.9
2014-2015	14.5	44.5	16.9	19.6	22.3

Source: NCES CCD Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Unlike black and white students, the proportion of Hispanic students in Florida public schools doubled in the last two decades to 31%; accordingly, exposure to Hispanic students increased significantly across all ethnic groups. Specifically, the Hispanic share in schools attended by all non-Hispanic students more than doubled and now ranges from 21 to 27%. Hispanic students, on the other hand, are in schools where more than half of their classmates are from the same racial background, and that figure rose by 6 percentage points over the two decades (Table 6).

Table 6: Exposure to Hispanics by the Typical Student of Each Race and the Percentage of Hispanics

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	% Hispanic Enrollment
1994-1995	8.6	11.3	44.6	13.2	14.6
2004-2005	14.7	17.4	47.6	21.2	23.0
2014-2015	21.0	23.4	50.5	27.2	30.9

Source: NCES CCD Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

About 20 years ago, Asian students accounted for less than 2% of the total enrollment in Florida public schools and were virtually invisible. For the past two decades, the Asian population in Florida public schools did not grow significantly. As in other Southern states, the proportion of Asians in Florida schools is barely 3%. There are a handful of Asian students in schools where the typical non-Asian student of each racial group attends, ranging from 2.4 to 3%. However, Asian students in general tend to go to schools that enroll somewhat higher share of Asian students (5.5%) (Table 7).

Table 7: Exposure to Asians by the Typical Student of Each Race and the Percentage of Asians

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	% Asian Enrollment
1994-1995	1.8	1.5	1.6	3.5	1.7
2004-2005	2.3	1.9	2.0	4.0	2.1
2014-2015	3.0	2.4	2.5	5.5	2.8

Source: NCES CCD Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

One way to look at segregation in a society with multiple racial and ethnic groups is to look at the contact between the two more privileged and educationally successful groups, whites and Asians, and the three more disadvantaged and educationally less successful groups, Hispanics, blacks and American Indians. This is a rough approximation—of course there are disadvantaged Asian and white students and affluent successful black and Hispanic families—but it a useful starting point in this analysis.

Combined shares of white and Asian students in Florida public schools are slightly less than 45%. However, the typical white student attends a school where more than 60% of their peers are either white or Asian. The typical Asian student also has nearly half of her classmates who are white or Asian. In contrast with these two groups, the typical black and Hispanic students go to schools where around 30% of their classmates are white or Asian. Such differences in the contacts with whites and Asians between black/Hispanic students and white/Asian students are prominent (Table 8). As was underscored earlier, the differences in the composition of students' peer groups are not just a matter of having more exposure to white/Asian students but imply gaps in social and economic resources available to a school where a particular racial group of student attends. Furthermore, these resource gaps directly affect education quality that students experience and impact on educational outcomes, such as school discipline,²⁶ success in college and later life,²⁷ and drop-out rates.²⁸

Table 8: Exposure to Whites and Asians by the Typical Student of Each Race and the Percentage of Whites and Asians

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	% White/Asian Enrollment
1994-1995	74.3	41.6	36.1	65.0	60.5
2004-2005	69.4	35.0	34.1	57.1	52.7
2014-2015	60.2	28.7	30.0	49.2	43.2

Source: NCES CCD Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

With respect to black, Hispanic, and American Indian students, combined shares of these three groups in Florida public schools make up more than half of the total student population. However, the typical white student tends to go to school where these three groups account for about one-third of the total enrollment. The typical Asian student also attends a school where less than half of classmates are from these three groups. By contrast, the typical black and Hispanic students are in schools where almost 70% of their peers are black, Hispanic, or American Indian (Table 9).

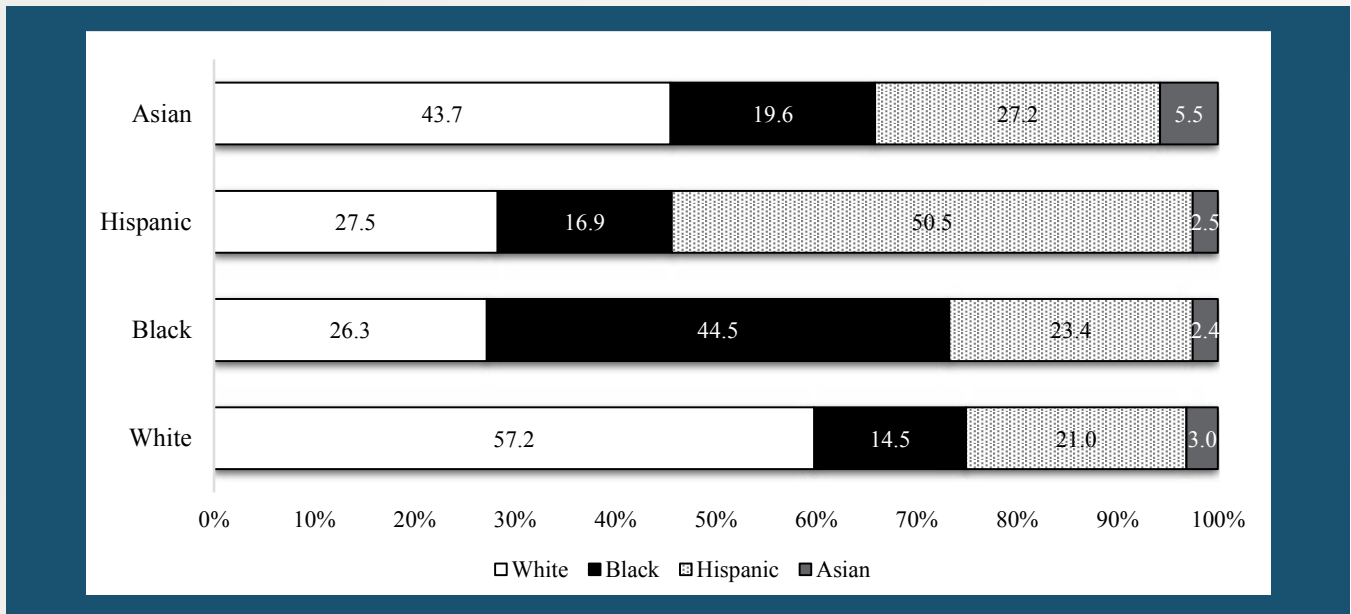
Table 9: Exposure to Blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians by the Typical Student of Each Race and the Percentage of Blacks, Hispanics, and American Indians

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	% Black/Hispanic/Al Enrollment
1994-1995	25.7	58.4	63.9	35.0	39.5
2004-2005	30.6	65.0	65.9	42.9	47.3
2014-2015	35.8	68.2	67.7	47.1	53.5

Source: NCES CCD Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Taken together, statistics below show the overall racial composition of the school in which the typical student for each race attends. Students in general tend to go to schools where students from the same racial backgrounds are more enrolled. However, it is important to note that white and Asian students are more likely to have more contacts with their white and Asian peers; black and brown students tend to go to schools where blacks and Hispanics make up the majority of the student population (Figure 7).

Figure 7: Racial Composition of School Attended by the Typical Student in Florida, by Race, 2014-2015



Source: NCES CCD Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data
 Note: Data include four racial groups; thus, percentage total does not add up to 100%.

» Segregation in Charter Schools

For the past decade or so, segregation trends in Florida charter schools have also changed, reflecting the dramatic changes in student enrollment among charters. When compared to public schools, the charter system has more segregated schools. Nearly two-thirds of charter schools enrolled more than 50% nonwhite students in 2014. The percentage of intensely segregated schools with 90 to 100% nonwhite students also grew from 25.6% to 31%. The share of apartheid schools with 99 to 100% nonwhite students remained around 8% in the last 10 years (Table 10).

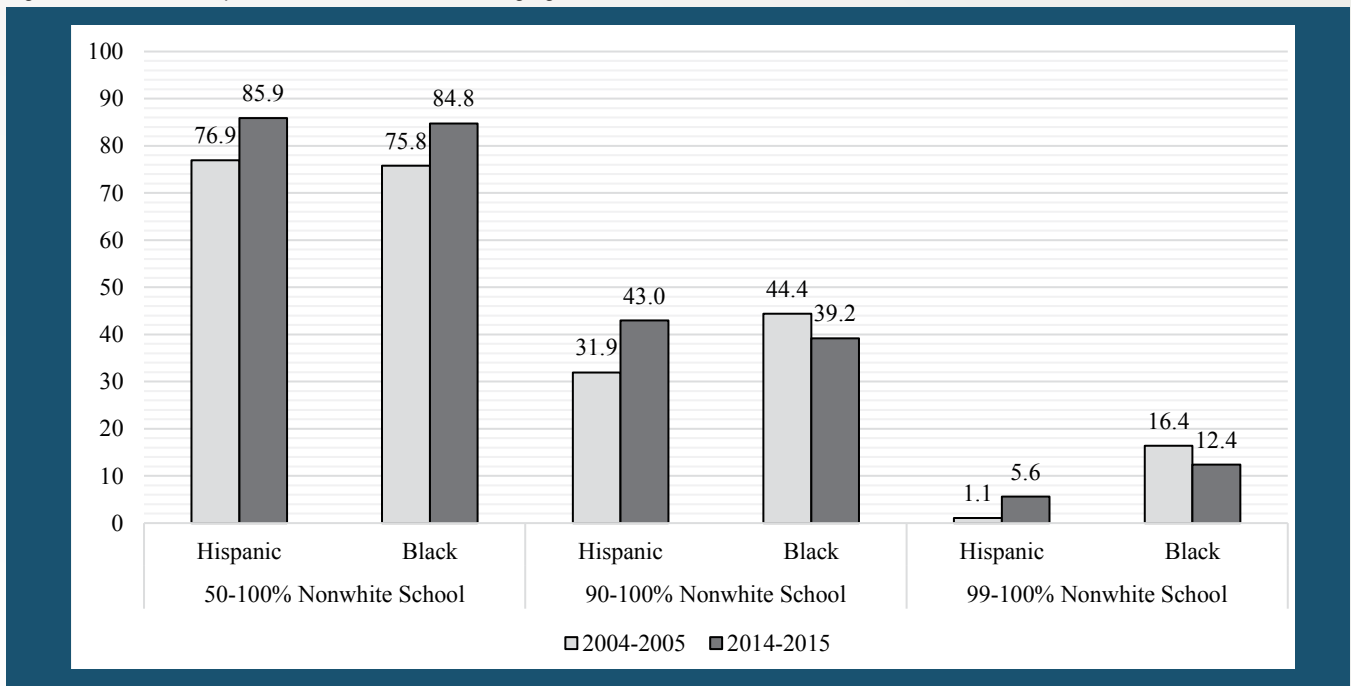
Table 10: Charter Schools Classified by Percent of Nonwhite Students

	Percent				
	Total Schools	Multiracial Schools	50-100% Nonwhite Schools	90-100% Nonwhite Schools	99-100% Nonwhite Schools
2004-2005	317	22.1	52.2	25.6	8.4
2014-2015	562	33.8	64.9	30.6	7.6

Source: NCES CCD Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data
 Note: Multiracial schools are defined here as schools that have at least 10% students from three or more racial/ethnic groups.

The share of black students attending 90-100% nonwhite charter schools somewhat declined from 44 to 39% over the past decade. Closely one in four black students attends an intensely segregated charter school in Florida today. The pattern for Hispanic students has exacerbated over time. Higher percentage of Hispanic students (43%) go to intensely segregated charter schools than their black peers (39%). The shares of black and Hispanic students in apartheid charter schools are larger than those of black and Hispanic students in public schools. Nearly 6% of Hispanic students attend 99-100% nonwhite charter schools, and one in eight black students goes to an apartheid charter school in Florida (Figure 8).

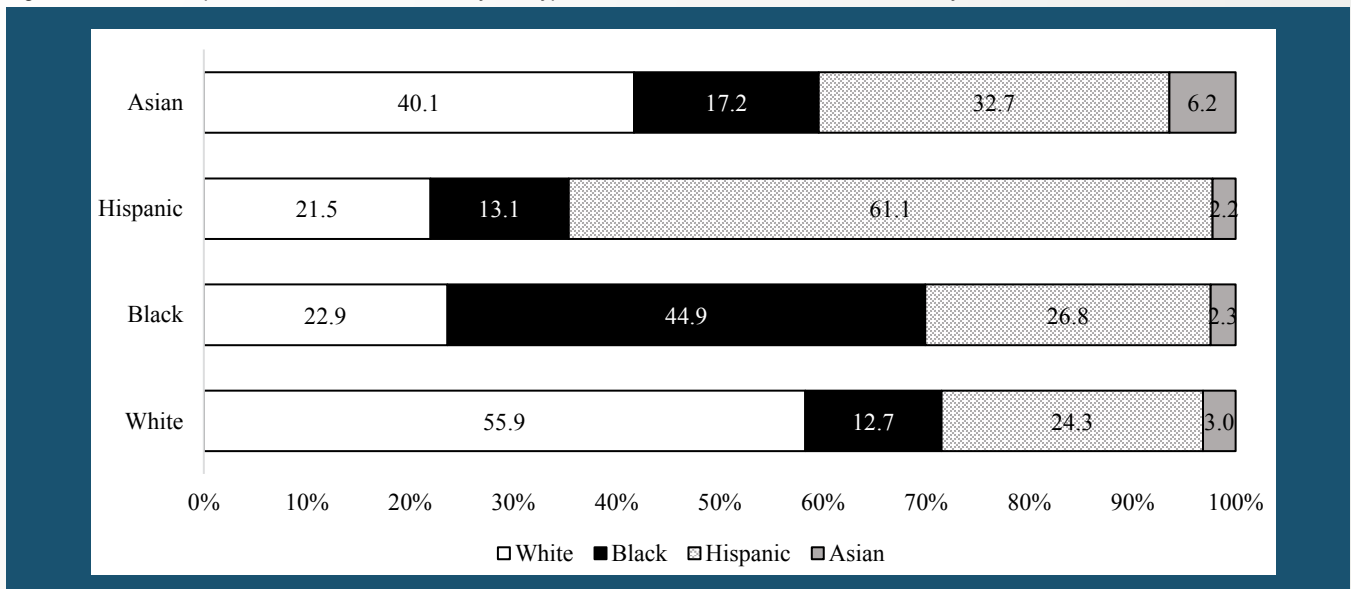
Figure 8: Black and Hispanic Students in Nonwhite Segregated Charter Schools in Florida, 1994-2014



Source: NCES CCD Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Differences in exposure for students in charter schools exist when compared to public schools in Florida. Black and Hispanic students have lower exposure to white students and higher exposure to black and brown students in charter schools than in public schools. Specifically, the typical black and Hispanic charter school students are in schools where white students comprise slightly more than 20% of the enrollment, about 20 percentage points lower than the overall white share in the state. The typical Hispanic charter school student in particular attends a school where 61% of the student body are from the same racial group, compared to 51% (Figure 7) in Florida public schools (Figure 9).

Figure 9: Racial Composition of School Attended by the Typical Student in Florida Charter Schools, by Race, 2014-2015



Source: NCES CCD Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data
 Note: Data include four racial groups; thus, percentage total does not add up to 100%.

» Double Segregation: Segregation by Race and Poverty

Segregation by race and concentrated poverty are strongly related across the nation and in Florida. During the past two decades, the low-income²⁹ proportion in Florida public schools climbed from 36 to 59%. In 2014, segregated schools—both intensely segregated schools with 90-100% nonwhites and apartheid schools with 99-100% nonwhites—enrolled an extraordinarily high percentage of students living in poverty. For instance, such students made up more than 80% and nearly 90% of the student population in intensely segregated schools and apartheid schools, respectively (Table 11). Unfortunately, double segregation—segregation by race and poverty—trends are exacerbating over time.

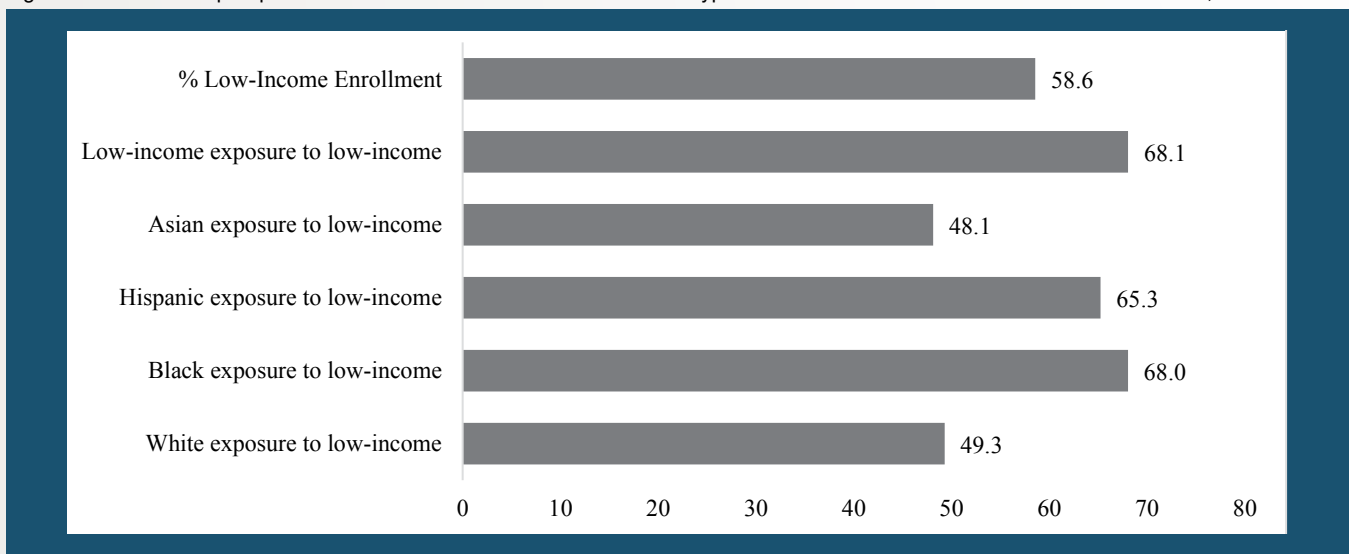
Table 11: Percentage of Students who are Low-Income in Multiracial and Nonwhite Schools

	Percent				Low-income enrollment
	Low-income in multiracial schools	Low-income in 50-100% non-white schools	Low-income in 90-100% non-white schools	Low-income in 99-100% non-white schools	
1994-1995	39.7	52.3	64.3	70.9	35.7
2004-2005	49.1	61.9	76.0	82.9	47.3
2014-2015	58.4	68.3	82.5	88.3	58.6

Source: NCES CCD Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

The following chart shows the deeply-rooted relationship between race and poverty. As the number of students from low-income families grew dramatically, the exposure to such students also increased across all racial groups. Nevertheless, both white and Asian students tend to go to schools where less than half of their classmates are living in poverty. By contrast, black and Hispanic students are in schools where nearly two-thirds of their peers are poor. Low-income students also go to schools in which nearly 70% poor students account for the total enrollment. It is evident that students of color living in poverty are facing higher educational barriers than any other student (Figure 10). This is a significant gap. This is not just a numerical gap, but a gap in school resources, education quality, academic achievement, and the environment around the school.

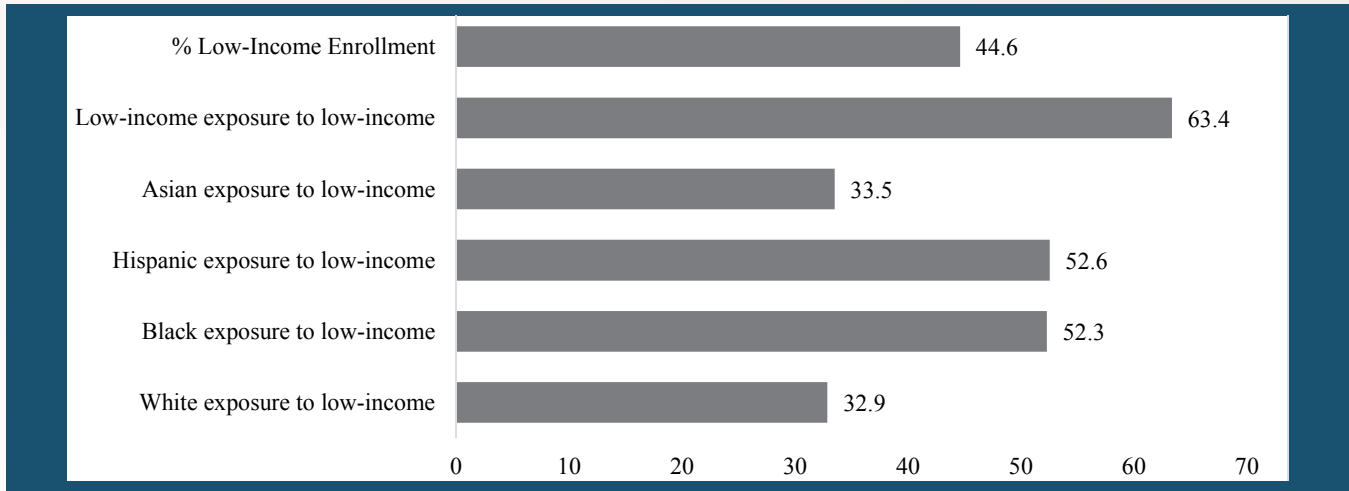
Figure 10: Racial Group Exposure Rates to Low-Income Students for the Typical Student of Each Race in Florida Public Schools, 2014-2015



Source: NCES CCD Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

The overall percentage of low-income students in Florida charter schools (45%) is lower than in public schools (59%) in 2014, but double segregation trend is apparent in the charter system. As was seen in public schools, black, Hispanic and low-income students tend to attend schools where low-income students make up a considerable portion of the enrollment, ranging 52 to 63%. Conversely, white and Asian students' exposure to school poverty is lower than that of black and Hispanic students in charter schools.

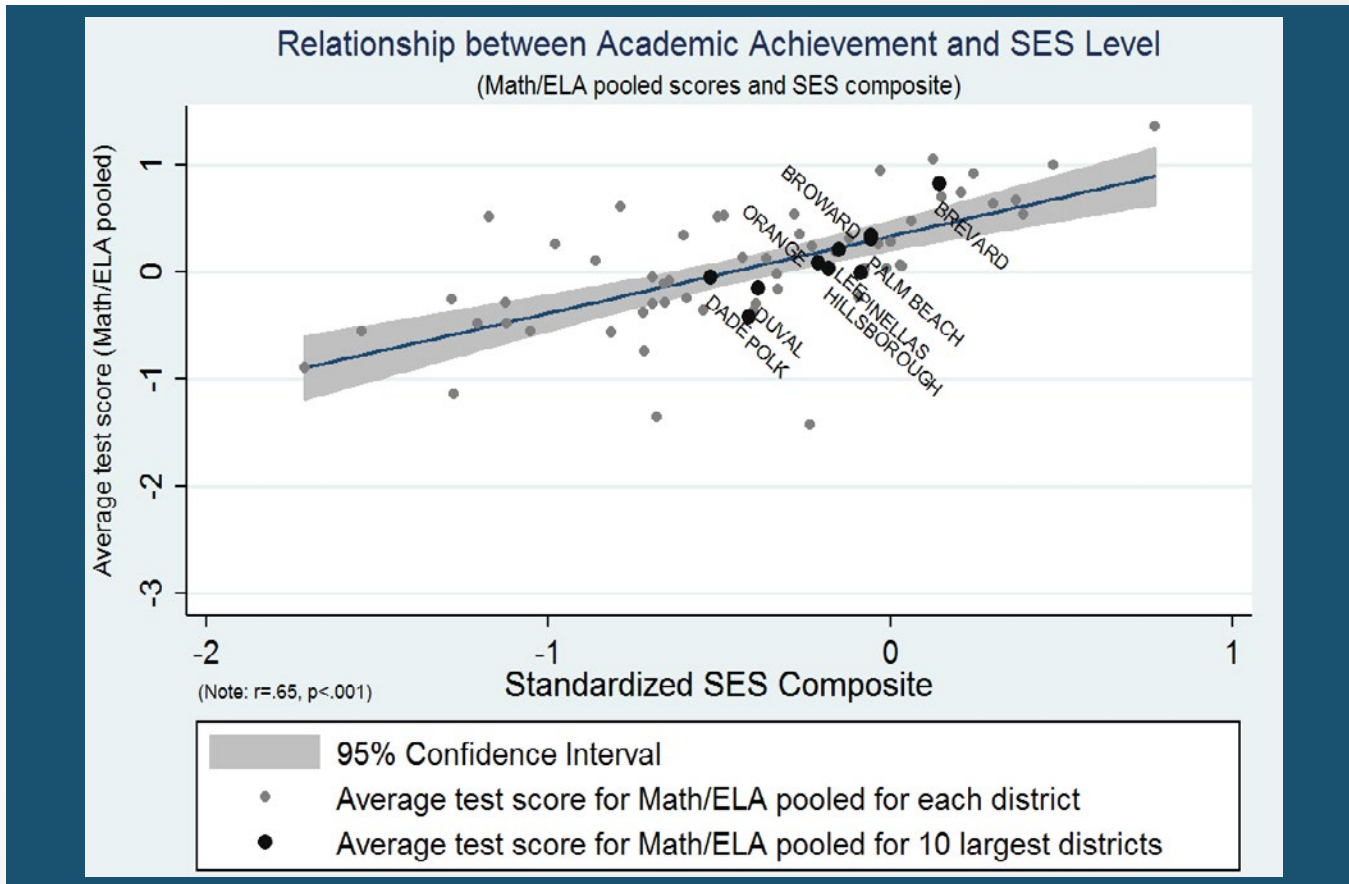
Figure 11: Racial Group Exposure Rates to Low-Income Students for the Typical Student of Each Race in Florida Charter Schools, 2014-2015



Source: NCES CCD Public Elementary/Secondary School Universe Survey Data

Next, we explore how overall socio and economic statistics (SES) relate to academic achievement at the district level. For this analysis we used Stanford Education Data Archive (SEDA), which offers district-level academic outcomes averaged across years, grades and subjects³⁰ and the American Community Survey (ACS) for demographic and economic data.³¹ The association between educational outcomes and overall SES levels is strong and significant ($r = .65, p < .001$), implying that students' academic outcomes are closely linked with the community's overall SES levels and that students from disadvantaged communities are likely to underperform compared to their counterparts from well-off communities (Figure 12).

Figure 12: Relationship between Academic Achievement and SES levels at the District Level in Florida



Source: Stanford Education Data Archive (SEDA), version 1.1.
 Note: For more information regarding data used for this analysis, refer to the following documentation:
https://cepa.stanford.edu/sites/default/files/SEDA%20Technical%20Documentation%20Version1_1.pdf

CONCLUSIONS

The racial composition of Florida schools has changed significantly over the past decades. The Hispanic student population has climbed from 8 to 31%, and the white share has dropped from 68 to 40%. The percentage of black students has remained the same around 22%. Students in Florida charter schools have also grown substantially, making up 9% of the total student population in Florida public schools. Although the racial makeup in both charter and public schools does not differ substantially, charter schools tend to enroll more Hispanic students and fewer white students when compared to public schools.

The concentration of students in majority nonwhite schools in Florida indicates a reliable measure of school segregation in the state. Schools in which 50-100 percent of the student population is composed of students of color make up more than half of Florida public schools. In 2014-2015, one-fifth of schools in Florida are intensely segregated schools (those with 90-100% enrollment of nonwhite students), compared to slightly over one-tenth in 1994-1995. Additionally, apartheid schools (99-100% nonwhite schools) account for nearly 4% of Florida public schools in 2014-2015, compared to 2% in 1994-1995. The great majority of students who go to segregated schools are from low-income families. Around 90% of students attending apartheid schools are poor, and this trend has exacerbated over the last two decades.

Exposure statistics demonstrate the overall intergroup experiences for a typical student of each race. The exposure rates in Florida signify limited intergroup contacts, especially for black and Hispanic students. The typical white student in 2014-2015 attended a school where about one-third of the enrollment was black, Hispanic or American Indian students (even though these three groups account for around one-third of the total student enrollment in the state). In contrast, black and Hispanic students are in schools where almost 70% of their peers are black, Hispanic or American Indian.

Double segregation is a strikingly notable trend in Florida. Nearly 90% of students attending apartheid schools in Florida are from low-income families. The typical black student and Hispanic student attend schools with 68% and 65% low-income students, respectively, while the typical white student and Asian student are in schools where less than half of students are poor. These statistics indicate double segregation, implying that white and Asian students and low-income students in general attend different schools and thus have few opportunities to interact. By contrast, the typical black and Hispanic students generally go to schools with a high share of low-income students and with fewer resources and opportunities.

Florida has the most diverse student body in its history, and data show the diversity will become far greater. Since *Brown vs. Board of Education*—the landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision on segregation—schools in the South changed sharply to promote integration, and so did Florida schools. Although Florida schools achieved more integration than those in most other states, the trends in this report show that resegregation is underway in Florida schools and that segregation now is more complex than it was a half century ago. The proportion of Hispanic students dramatically increased for the past decades, adding racial and linguistic diversity in Florida schools. Moreover, segregation is concentrated in urban areas, exacerbating education quality of schools located in low-income urban communities where school segregation is deeply associated with residential segregation. Additionally, it is mainly black and Hispanic students who attend such segregated schools in Florida.

The state is facing a critical moment regarding whether its hard-earned accomplishment in desegregation going back to the courage of Gov. LeRoy Collins is moving forward or backward. To preserve the history of integration in the state and move forward, active policy discussions and conscious efforts are needed. Based on the authors' experience and substantial policy research, here are some recommendations that the state might consider:

Magnet/charter schools with integration policies and special programs

1. expansion of the federal magnet school program and the imposition of similar desegregation requirement for federally supported charter schools. (In the desegregation era magnet schools were required to have desegregation goals and strategies to attain them, sometimes for oversubscribed schools giving preference to students who would increase the school's diversity. After a court order ends such preference for individual students is forbidden by the *Parents Involved* decision but preference for students from segregated neighborhoods, students with different home languages, and many other criteria that could increase diversity is still permitted).
2. federal and state funding and university sponsorship for the creation of integrated metropolitan-wide magnet schools
3. creation of more two-way language immersion programs where students of each language group learn with, work with, and help each other to acquire English and a partner language (e.g., Spanish)

Inter-district and urban-suburban supports

4. provision of funding for better counseling and transportation for inter-district transfer policies
5. funding of teacher exchanges between city and suburban school district and training of teachers in techniques for successful interracial classrooms

State-level and local-level policies

6. creation of expertise on desegregation and race relations training in the Florida Department of Education
7. exploration of school and housing policies to avoid massive resegregation of large sections of the inner suburbs
8. active support by private foundations and community groups of efforts to continue local desegregation plans and programs through research, advocacy, and litigation
9. school district surveys documenting the value (in legal terms, the compelling interest) of interracial schooling experience in their own cities

Research to support desegregation policy and effective education

10. serious research to learn about the most effective approaches to effective education and race relations in schools with three or more racial groups present in significant numbers and two or more languages strongly represented
11. careful research and analysis documenting what happens in students in districts that restore segregated neighborhood schools

» Appendix A

Segregation Statistics (Exposure Rates)

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

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

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

» Appendix B

District-level exposure rates:

Exposure to White and Asian Students by the Typical Student of Each Race by District and by Year

Year	District Name	Total Enrollment	% of White and Asian	White exposure to wht/Asi	Black exposure to wht/Asi	Hispanic exposure to wht/Asi	Asian exposure to wht/Asi
1994	ALACHUA	27981	61.3	65.1	55.4	59.8	57.5
1994	BAKER	4619	82.7	82.8	82.5	83.1	83.7
1994	BAY	24006	83.6	85.3	75.8	79.8	77.5
1994	BRADFORD	4088	77.9	78.4	76.0	80.9	79.6
1994	BREVARD	64308	82.0	84.0	71.3	80.9	83.8
1994	BROWARD	195487	53.5	67.5	31.6	54.3	60.5
1994	CALHOUN	2287	82.0	84.1	71.7	87.1	73.2
1994	CHARLOTTE	14814	88.6	89.1	85.0	85.6	87.3
1994	CHARLOTTE	14814	88.6	89.1	85.0	85.6	87.3
1994	CITRUS	13338	93.0	93.2	90.6	92.1	92.6
1994	CLAY	23839	89.2	89.9	83.2	86.9	87.0
1994	COLLIER	25630	66.4	79.5	44.4	38.6	80.0
1994	COLUMBIA	8878	73.9	74.4	72.3	75.7	72.9
1994	COLUMBIA	8878	73.9	74.4	72.3	75.7	72.9
1994	DADE	314881	16.4	33.3	10.5	14.9	27.7
1994	DE SOTO	4243	63.8	64.1	63.2	63.4	64.0
1994	DIXIE	2227	89.1	89.6	84.9	93.1	96.0
1994	DUVAL	118195	58.8	70.6	40.4	67.4	69.9
1994	ESCAMBIA	43887	65.0	72.4	51.1	67.7	64.1
1994	FLAGLER	4924	80.4	80.6	79.9	79.0	79.9
1994	D M UNI LAB SCHOOL	575	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.0	0.0
1994	FRANKLIN	1631	79.3	83.7	62.5	73.1	78.3
1994	GADSDEN	8408	9.0	15.3	8.0	14.3	9.0
1994	GILCHRIST	2373	93.3	93.5	89.2	92.2	0.0
1994	GILCHRIST	2373	93.3	93.5	89.2	92.2	0.0
1994	GLADES	1063	53.9	54.2	53.7	53.1	54.3
1994	GULF	2243	77.0	78.6	71.7	75.7	81.6
1994	HAMILTON	2335	46.4	47.0	45.5	51.9	50.1
1994	HAMILTON	2335	46.4	47.0	45.5	51.9	50.1
1994	HARDEE	4419	54.7	55.4	55.2	53.5	59.6
1994	HENDRY	6744	47.3	49.4	43.3	46.8	51.1
1994	HERNANDO	14795	87.7	87.8	85.6	87.8	88.1
1994	HERNANDO	14795	87.7	87.8	85.6	87.8	88.1
1994	HIGHLANDS	10462	66.1	67.3	63.8	63.3	70.2
1994	HIGHLANDS	10462	66.1	67.3	63.8	63.3	70.2
1994	HILLSBOROUGH	137770	60.9	66.6	50.4	54.8	62.3
1994	HOLMES	3699	96.1	96.3	90.3	97.3	90.2
1994	INDIAN RIVER	12773	76.7	78.4	76.8	54.1	77.8
1994	JACKSON	7927	65.6	66.9	63.2	66.9	65.7
1994	JEFFERSON	2123	32.2	32.5	32.0	33.4	34.3
1994	JEFFERSON	2123	32.2	32.5	32.0	33.4	34.3
1994	LAFAYETTE	965	84.1	84.2	84.2	83.6	0.0
1994	LAKE	22636	76.4	78.5	68.4	72.7	79.9
1994	LEE	47930	75.0	76.3	70.8	72.2	74.2
1994	LEON	29165	61.6	71.1	45.9	60.9	65.9
1994	LEVY	5434	78.3	79.5	73.7	75.7	77.2
1994	LIBERTY	1194	85.1	85.6	81.9	84.0	84.3
1994	MADISON	3359	42.5	52.3	34.8	78.0	26.7
1994	MANATEE	30264	72.9	78.2	58.5	58.6	80.1
1994	MARION	33741	72.9	75.8	63.3	72.4	75.4
1994	MARTIN	13467	79.3	85.2	59.5	51.8	80.8
1994	MONROE	9291	75.1	77.5	66.0	69.2	73.4
1994	NASSAU	9396	86.7	87.3	82.5	84.2	85.1
1994	OKALOOSA	28639	84.2	84.8	81.1	82.1	82.9
1994	OKEECHOBEE	6216	71.6	72.3	70.1	69.6	71.1
1994	ORANGE	117444	57.7	66.3	39.7	57.8	62.5
1994	OSCEOLA	24009	66.1	72.2	56.2	54.9	60.0
1994	PALM BEACH	124384	58.3	70.7	36.0	52.0	66.3
1994	PALM BEACH	124384	58.3	70.7	36.0	52.0	66.3
1994	PASCO	39804	90.5	92.1	70.1	78.7	94.0
1994	PINELLAS	99558	79.6	80.9	74.6	78.4	77.0

Tough Choices Facing Florida's Governments

Year	District Name	Total Enrollment	% of White and Asian	White exposure to wht/Asi	Black exposure to wht/Asi	Hispanic exposure to wht/Asi	Asian exposure to wht/Asi
1994	PINELLAS	99558	79.6	80.9	74.6	78.4	77.0
1994	POLK	68597	70.1	71.7	67.0	64.0	72.5
1994	PUTNAM	12711	65.2	67.0	62.0	62.3	61.6
1994	SAINT JOHNS	14389	85.8	87.5	74.7	84.2	88.5
1994	SAINT LUCIE	25679	62.3	63.6	60.8	57.4	63.9
1994	SANTA ROSA	18675	93.6	94.1	85.8	91.8	91.9
1994	SANTA ROSA	18675	93.6	94.1	85.8	91.8	91.9
1994	SARASOTA	27201	84.6	88.1	66.1	64.9	82.9
1994	SEMINOLE	52794	76.6	78.8	64.7	76.4	79.2
1994	SEMINOLE	52794	76.6	78.8	64.7	76.4	79.2
1994	ST. JOHNS	14389	85.8	87.5	74.7	84.2	88.5
1994	ST. LUCIE	25679	62.3	63.6	60.8	57.4	63.9
1994	SUMTER	5611	69.1	72.1	61.6	68.8	74.0
1994	SUWANNEE	5482	78.7	79.5	75.6	77.9	75.4
1994	SUWANNEE	5482	78.7	79.5	75.6	77.9	75.4
1994	TAYLOR	3681	72.0	72.9	69.7	69.5	70.4
1994	UF - LAB SCHOOL	127	33.1	33.1	33.1	33.1	0.0
1994	UNION	2074	79.7	79.7	79.5	79.3	80.2
1994	VOLUSIA	52954	77.5	80.3	67.2	70.2	77.8
1994	WAKULLA	3887	86.4	86.4	86.3	86.0	86.1
1994	WALTON	5019	86.6	87.5	80.2	83.8	86.8
1994	WASHINGTON	3113	79.5	79.6	79.2	77.8	80.5
1994	WASHINGTON	3113	79.5	79.6	79.2	77.8	80.5
2004	ALACHUA	28757	56.2	64.4	44.1	60.7	58.9
2004	BAKER	4771	85.1	85.2	84.9	84.3	84.9
2004	BAY	26765	81.5	84.3	68.2	79.0	76.0
2004	BRADFORD	3814	73.4	74.4	70.5	72.5	71.4
2004	BREVARD	73622	79.4	81.7	68.3	74.4	82.1
2004	BROWARD	268304	38.1	52.8	22.2	40.3	44.8
2004	CALHOUN	2307	84.9	86.7	74.1	83.9	76.1
2004	CHARLOTTE	16855	86.0	86.7	81.1	82.2	84.7
2004	CITRUS	15328	91.6	91.9	85.4	90.5	91.1
2004	CLAY	32282	83.6	85.2	75.6	77.4	79.1
2004	COLLIER	41448	49.8	65.4	31.9	35.1	64.9
2004	COLUMBIA	9883	74.0	77.2	62.9	77.5	77.1
2004	DADE	362500	11.3	24.8	6.7	10.9	19.7
2004	DESOTO	4930	52.2	53.2	51.6	50.9	51.2
2004	DIXIE	2143	88.7	89.0	86.3	88.8	85.1
2004	DOZIER/OKEECHOBEE	3904	82.1	82.1	82.0	81.9	82.2
2004	DUVAL	127012	50.3	62.3	36.2	54.9	59.4
2004	ESCAMBIA	42657	60.3	68.5	47.3	61.2	59.1
2004	FLAGLER	9691	79.9	80.1	78.9	79.7	79.7
2004	LABORATORY SCHOOL	519	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
2004	LABORATORY SCHOOL	639	55.6	55.6	55.6	55.6	55.6
2004	DEAF AND THE BLIND	745	55.0	56.1	53.1	53.8	62.5
2004	LABORATORY SCHOOL	2316	55.1	58.9	56.5	44.6	49.5
2004	FRANKLIN	1361	83.8	87.7	60.9	82.8	91.3
2004	GADSDEN	6582	4.5	8.5	3.9	7.1	3.7
2004	GILCHRIST	2851	93.3	93.4	91.4	93.6	92.5
2004	GLADES	1237	48.7	48.8	47.9	49.0	49.3
2004	GULF	2177	83.1	83.5	81.6	82.2	81.0
2004	HAMILTON	1927	44.3	44.5	43.7	46.5	44.6
2004	HARDEE	5130	41.4	43.3	44.0	39.5	40.8
2004	HENDRY	7587	33.8	35.0	31.9	33.7	35.2
2004	HERNANDO	20530	83.7	83.9	81.9	83.4	83.7
2004	HIGHLANDS	12025	59.1	60.8	56.1	56.8	61.9
2004	HILLSBOROUGH	185421	50.4	60.8	35.8	43.6	55.4
2004	HOLMES	3389	95.0	95.5	82.7	93.2	95.2
2004	INDIAN RIVER	16726	70.9	73.7	69.4	57.6	73.1
2004	JACKSON	7133	66.1	67.7	62.6	68.4	62.2
2004	JEFFERSON	1373	27.2	27.8	27.0	27.1	31.9
2004	LAFAYETTE	1058	79.1	79.2	79.1	78.4	81.7
2004	LAKE	35570	70.7	72.6	65.2	67.7	67.7
2004	LEE	69657	62.3	65.8	52.1	59.3	64.6
2004	LEON	31111	55.8	70.0	37.0	56.0	63.6
2004	LEVY	6132	78.4	79.4	74.5	75.0	80.0
2004	LIBERTY	1383	80.3	84.2	62.3	70.3	0.0

Tough Choices Facing Florida's Governments

Year	District Name	Total Enrollment	% of White and Asian	White exposure to wht/Asi	Black exposure to wht/Asi	Hispanic exposure to wht/Asi	Asian exposure to wht/Asi
2004	MADISON	3060	41.1	47.0	36.7	42.9	44.6
2004	MANATEE	40017	64.8	72.0	51.8	51.5	70.5
2004	MARION	40129	68.3	71.0	61.8	64.1	68.1
2004	MARTIN	17648	73.9	81.7	59.3	47.5	79.2
2004	MONROE	8619	66.3	69.3	57.5	61.7	67.7
2004	NASSAU	10624	89.3	89.7	85.5	85.3	87.3
2004	OKALOOSA	30593	82.8	84.0	76.1	79.4	81.8
2004	OKEECHOBEE	6828	64.4	65.2	63.9	62.9	67.8
2004	ORANGE	171057	42.6	54.3	29.5	39.2	48.4
2004	OSCEOLA	46690	41.7	56.7	30.4	32.0	38.3
2004	PALM BEACH	172676	48.0	63.5	28.5	40.9	55.8
2004	PASCO	60305	84.8	86.7	71.6	75.3	84.3
2004	PINELLAS	110345	73.1	76.6	62.2	68.8	71.4
2004	POLK	84549	60.6	63.7	58.9	52.0	65.2
2004	PUTNAM	12299	62.2	68.0	52.5	53.9	60.4
2004	SANTA ROSA	24910	91.8	92.1	85.7	91.0	91.4
2004	SARASOTA	38543	79.7	84.4	57.2	64.5	81.5
2004	SEMINOLE	65798	69.3	71.5	62.9	65.8	70.2
2004	ST. JOHNS	24269	87.8	89.0	76.4	87.4	90.6
2004	ST. LUCIE	34578	54.3	56.7	51.4	51.7	56.8
2004	SUMTER	7058	73.4	77.3	60.0	68.2	81.9
2004	SUWANNEE	5778	76.7	77.9	72.9	72.8	76.2
2004	TAYLOR	3373	74.2	75.0	71.8	74.3	72.0
2004	UNION	2179	80.3	80.5	79.2	80.5	81.0
2004	LABORATORY SCHOOL	1158	63.4	63.4	63.4	63.4	63.4
2004	VOLUSIA	64670	72.1	76.3	59.0	63.4	76.2
2004	WAKULLA	4816	88.3	88.3	88.0	88.5	88.7
2004	WALTON	6439	88.7	89.4	81.6	87.4	90.4
2004	WASHINGTON	3449	79.5	79.5	79.3	78.9	79.8
2014	ALACHUA	27537	50.6	57.5	40.6	53.4	51.1
2014	BAKER	4936	83.4	83.5	83.4	83.3	82.6
2014	BAY	26732	72.5	76.1	59.2	68.4	70.1
2014	BRADFORD	3173	72.6	73.4	70.3	73.0	72.8
2014	BREVARD	71392	64.8	68.5	52.9	60.3	69.7
2014	BROWARD	256454	27.2	40.2	16.7	29.7	33.5
2014	CALHOUN	2273	76.8	78.4	68.2	73.9	68.2
2014	CHARLOTTE	15625	72.7	74.2	67.3	69.2	73.6
2014	CITRUS	14821	84.1	84.2	83.3	83.2	83.8
2014	CLAY	35592	70.8	74.1	61.2	65.5	63.7
2014	COLLIER	43932	38.3	56.3	25.4	26.5	55.4
2014	COLUMBIA	10056	68.5	71.4	59.1	70.9	67.4
2014	DADE	352042	8.7	21.3	5.2	8.2	14.8
2014	DESOTO	4680	41.3	43.1	40.7	39.9	39.0
2014	DIXIE	2101	85.1	85.4	80.9	85.7	81.5
2014	DUVAL	124674	42.0	54.7	28.9	45.0	52.2
2014	ESCAMBIA	39629	53.0	61.0	41.8	50.8	52.6
2014	FAMU LAB SCH	482	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.5	0.0
2014	FAU LAB SCH	2420	46.2	46.1	45.9	46.1	48.1
2014	FL VIRTUAL	6108	63.9	63.9	63.9	63.9	63.9
2014	FLAGLER	12793	65.5	66.1	63.7	65.1	65.4
2014	FRANKLIN	1283	79.9	80.2	79.8	78.7	75.7
2014	FSU LAB SCH	2411	46.9	49.8	47.2	41.5	41.2
2014	GADSDEN	5709	3.5	9.8	2.8	4.9	2.9
2014	GILCHRIST	2615	85.4	85.5	83.1	85.1	87.0
2014	GLADES	1592	39.8	43.9	43.9	45.1	46.7
2014	GULF	1872	78.2	78.7	76.8	74.6	77.1
2014	HAMILTON	1727	43.0	43.4	41.9	44.3	41.3
2014	HARDEE	5210	31.4	32.7	32.4	30.7	33.0
2014	HENDRY	7040	21.6	22.8	19.9	21.6	20.5
2014	HERNANDO	22019	71.3	71.9	70.0	70.0	71.4
2014	HIGHLANDS	12219	47.0	49.4	44.2	44.9	49.7
2014	HILLSBOROUGH	202892	39.8	51.0	28.1	34.0	46.8
2014	HOLMES	3313	91.3	91.5	89.1	90.5	88.4
2014	INDIAN RIVER	17755	58.0	62.1	54.2	49.8	61.6
2014	JACKSON	6559	59.4	61.7	55.8	57.6	59.1
2014	JEFFERSON	886	18.2	20.7	17.6	17.5	17.7
2014	LAFAYETTE	1244	69.6	69.8	69.9	69.1	66.8

Year	District Name	Total Enrollment	% of White and Asian	White exposure to wht/Asi	Black exposure to wht/Asi	Hispanic exposure to wht/Asi	Asian exposure to wht/Asi
2014	LAKE	41464	58.0	61.1	52.6	54.4	55.7
2014	LEE	87050	45.9	54.7	33.5	40.0	50.2
2014	LEON	32460	48.1	63.9	30.6	47.4	60.8
2014	LEVY	5402	72.8	73.6	70.3	70.0	72.1
2014	LIBERTY	1327	78.4	80.3	71.8	70.8	81.3
2014	MADISON	2513	40.5	50.1	32.0	46.8	43.8
2014	MANATEE	47052	50.9	59.8	40.4	41.4	57.0
2014	MARION	41566	54.3	58.1	48.7	50.3	53.8
2014	MARTIN	18800	62.4	70.5	54.8	46.1	65.8
2014	MONROE	8442	50.5	56.0	40.5	45.9	50.1
2014	NASSAU	11170	84.0	84.6	80.8	80.5	81.0
2014	OKALOOSA	29422	71.0	72.9	65.2	67.0	69.1
2014	OKEECHOBEE	6081	49.8	50.8	48.7	48.5	52.9
2014	ORANGE	186668	33.8	45.6	23.1	31.0	40.9
2014	OSCEOLA	57358	28.7	42.5	21.9	23.6	29.0
2014	PALM BEACH	182417	36.7	53.6	21.9	30.6	46.4
2014	PASCO	68566	67.9	70.2	61.1	63.1	67.6
2014	PINELLAS	99760	62.6	68.8	45.0	59.1	64.5
2014	POLK	96938	45.4	50.8	42.2	39.3	51.0
2014	PUTNAM	10944	55.3	60.5	50.8	43.8	53.9
2014	SANTA ROSA	26123	81.5	82.2	77.1	79.3	80.4
2014	SARASOTA	39199	66.4	71.6	48.5	57.5	69.3
2014	SEMINOLE	65664	58.1	61.2	50.8	55.5	60.3
2014	ST. JOHNS	34777	82.8	83.5	75.0	82.2	84.8
2014	ST. LUCIE	39511	38.6	42.7	34.0	37.4	43.3
2014	SUMTER	8247	70.4	73.3	55.3	69.7	78.0
2014	SUWANNEE	6002	65.6	67.6	60.6	62.2	65.6
2014	TAYLOR	2980	67.5	68.5	65.4	68.7	66.0
2014	UF LAB SCH	1153	53.1	53.1	53.1	53.1	53.1
2014	UNION	2343	78.6	78.6	78.5	78.5	78.7
2014	VOLUSIA	60900	62.1	67.0	53.0	53.0	68.0
2014	WAKULLA	5100	81.6	81.7	81.2	81.4	81.8
2014	WALTON	8120	79.0	79.8	72.3	76.8	80.8
2014	WASHINGTON	3267	75.0	75.1	74.8	74.3	75.4

Exposure to African American, Hispanic, and American Indian Students by the Typical Student of Each Race by District and by Year

Year	District Name	Total Enrollment ⁴	% of Black, Hispanic, and American Indian	White exposure to Blk/Hsp/AI	Black exposure to Blk/Hsp/AI	Hispanic exposure to Blk/Hsp/AI	Asian exposure to Blk/Hsp/AI
1994	ALACHUA	27981	38.7	34.9	44.6	40.2	42.5
1994	BAKER	4619	17.3	17.2	17.5	16.9	16.3
1994	BAY	24006	16.4	14.7	24.2	20.2	22.5
1994	BRADFORD	4088	22.1	21.6	24.0	19.1	20.4
1994	BREVARD	64308	18.0	16.0	28.7	19.1	16.2
1994	BROWARD	195487	46.5	32.5	68.4	45.7	39.5
1994	CALHOUN	2287	18.0	15.9	28.3	12.9	26.8
1994	CHARLOTTE	14814	11.4	10.9	15.0	14.4	12.7
1994	CHARLOTTE	14814	11.4	10.9	15.0	14.4	12.7
1994	CITRUS	13338	7.0	6.8	9.4	7.9	7.4
1994	CLAY	23839	10.8	10.1	16.8	13.1	13.0
1994	COLLIER	25630	33.6	20.5	55.6	61.4	20.0
1994	COLUMBIA	8878	26.1	25.6	27.7	24.3	27.1
1994	COLUMBIA	8878	26.1	25.6	27.7	24.3	27.1
1994	DADE	314881	83.6	66.7	89.5	85.1	72.3
1994	DE SOTO	4243	36.2	35.9	36.8	36.6	36.0
1994	DIXIE	2227	10.9	10.4	15.1	6.9	4.0
1994	DUVAL	118195	41.2	29.4	59.6	32.6	30.1
1994	ESCAMBIA	43887	35.0	27.6	48.9	32.3	35.9
1994	FLAGLER	4924	19.6	19.4	20.1	21.0	20.1
1994	FLORIDA A AND M UNI LAB SCHOOL	575	99.8	99.8	99.8	0.0	0.0
1994	FRANKLIN	1631	20.7	16.3	37.5	26.9	21.7
1994	GADSDEN	8408	91.0	84.7	92.0	85.7	91.0
1994	GILCHRIST	2373	6.7	6.5	10.8	7.8	0.0
1994	GILCHRIST	2373	6.7	6.5	10.8	7.8	0.0
1994	GLADES	1063	46.1	45.8	46.3	46.9	45.7
1994	GULF	2243	23.0	21.4	28.3	24.3	18.4
1994	HAMILTON	2335	53.6	53.0	54.5	48.1	49.9
1994	HAMILTON	2335	53.6	53.0	54.5	48.1	49.9
1994	HARDEE	4419	45.3	44.6	44.8	46.5	40.4
1994	HENDRY	6744	52.7	50.6	56.7	53.2	48.9
1994	HERNANDO	14795	12.3	12.2	14.4	12.2	11.9
1994	HERNANDO	14795	12.3	12.2	14.4	12.2	11.9
1994	HIGHLANDS	10462	33.9	32.7	36.2	36.7	29.8
1994	HIGHLANDS	10462	33.9	32.7	36.2	36.7	29.8
1994	HILLSBOROUGH	137770	39.1	33.4	49.6	45.2	37.7
1994	HOLMES	3699	3.9	3.7	9.7	2.7	9.8
1994	INDIAN RIVER	12773	23.3	21.6	23.2	45.9	22.2
1994	JACKSON	7927	34.4	33.1	36.8	33.1	34.3
1994	JEFFERSON	2123	67.8	67.5	68.0	66.6	65.7
1994	JEFFERSON	2123	67.8	67.5	68.0	66.6	65.7
1994	LAFAYETTE	965	15.9	15.8	15.8	16.4	0.0
1994	LAKE	22636	23.6	21.5	31.6	27.3	20.1
1994	LEE	47930	25.0	23.7	29.2	27.8	25.8
1994	LEON	29165	38.4	28.9	54.1	39.1	34.1
1994	LEVY	5434	21.7	20.5	26.3	24.3	22.8
1994	LIBERTY	1194	14.9	14.4	18.1	16.0	15.7
1994	MADISON	3359	57.5	47.7	65.2	22.0	73.3
1994	MANATEE	30264	27.1	21.8	41.5	41.4	19.9
1994	MARION	33741	27.1	24.2	36.7	27.6	24.6
1994	MARTIN	13467	20.7	14.8	40.5	48.2	19.2
1994	MONROE	9291	24.9	22.5	34.0	30.8	26.6
1994	NASSAU	9396	13.3	12.7	17.5	15.8	14.9
1994	OKALOOSA	28639	15.8	15.2	18.9	17.9	17.1
1994	OKEECHOBEE	6216	28.4	27.7	29.9	30.4	28.9
1994	ORANGE	117444	42.3	33.7	60.3	42.2	37.5
1994	OSCEOLA	24009	33.9	27.8	43.8	45.1	40.0
1994	PALM BEACH	124384	41.7	29.3	64.0	48.0	33.7
1994	PALM BEACH	124384	41.7	29.3	64.0	48.0	33.7
1994	PASCO	39804	9.5	7.9	29.9	21.3	6.0
1994	PINELLAS	99558	20.4	19.1	25.4	21.6	23.0
1994	PINELLAS	99558	20.4	19.1	25.4	21.6	23.0
1994	POLK	68597	29.9	28.3	33.0	36.0	27.5
1994	PUTNAM	12711	34.8	33.0	38.0	37.7	38.4

Year	District Name	Total Enrollment ⁴	% of Black, Hispanic, and American Indian	White exposure to Blk/Hsp/AI	Black exposure to Blk/Hsp/AI	Hispanic exposure to Blk/Hsp/AI	Asian exposure to Blk/Hsp/AI
1994	SAINT JOHNS	14389	14.2	12.5	25.3	15.8	11.5
1994	SAINT LUCIE	25679	37.7	36.4	39.2	42.6	36.1
1994	SANTA ROSA	18675	6.4	5.9	14.2	8.2	8.1
1994	SANTA ROSA	18675	6.4	5.9	14.2	8.2	8.1
1994	SARASOTA	27201	15.4	11.9	33.9	35.1	17.1
1994	SEMINOLE	52794	23.4	21.2	35.3	23.6	20.8
1994	SEMINOLE	52794	23.4	21.2	35.3	23.6	20.8
1994	ST. JOHNS	14389	14.2	12.5	25.3	15.8	11.5
1994	ST. LUCIE	25679	37.7	36.4	39.2	42.6	36.1
1994	SUMTER	5611	30.9	27.9	38.4	31.2	26.0
1994	SUWANNEE	5482	21.3	20.5	24.4	22.1	24.6
1994	SUWANNEE	5482	21.3	20.5	24.4	22.1	24.6
1994	TAYLOR	3681	28.0	27.1	30.3	30.5	29.6
1994	UF - LAB SCHOOL	127	66.9	66.9	66.9	66.9	0.0
1994	UNION	2074	20.3	20.3	20.5	20.7	19.8
1994	VOLUSIA	52954	22.5	19.7	32.8	29.8	22.2
1994	WAKULLA	3887	13.6	13.6	13.7	14.0	13.9
1994	WALTON	5019	13.4	12.5	19.8	16.2	13.2
1994	WASHINGTON	3113	20.5	20.4	20.8	22.2	19.5
1994	WASHINGTON	3113	20.5	20.4	20.8	22.2	19.5
2004	ALACHUA	28757	43.8	35.6	55.9	39.3	41.1
2004	BAKER	4771	14.9	14.8	15.1	15.7	15.1
2004	BAY	26765	18.5	15.7	31.8	21.0	24.0
2004	BRADFORD	3814	26.6	25.6	29.5	27.5	28.6
2004	BREVARD	73622	20.6	18.3	31.7	25.6	17.9
2004	BROWARD	268304	61.9	47.2	77.8	59.7	55.2
2004	CALHOUN	2307	15.1	13.3	25.9	16.1	23.9
2004	CHARLOTTE	16855	14.0	13.3	18.9	17.8	15.3
2004	CITRUS	15328	8.4	8.1	14.6	9.5	8.9
2004	CLAY	32282	16.4	14.8	24.4	22.6	20.9
2004	COLLIER	41448	50.2	34.6	68.1	64.9	35.1
2004	COLUMBIA	9883	26.0	22.8	37.1	22.5	22.9
2004	DADE	362500	88.7	75.2	93.3	89.1	80.3
2004	DESOTO	4930	47.8	46.8	48.4	49.1	48.8
2004	DIXIE	2143	11.3	11.0	13.7	11.2	14.9
2004	DOZIER/OKEECHOBEE	3904	17.9	17.9	18.0	18.1	17.8
2004	DUVAL	127012	49.7	37.7	63.8	45.1	40.6
2004	ESCAMBIA	42657	39.7	31.5	52.7	38.8	40.9
2004	FLAGLER	9691	20.1	19.9	21.1	20.3	20.3
2004	FLORIDA A&M LABORATORY SCHOOL	519	100.0	0.0	100.0	100.0	0.0
2004	FLORIDA ATLANTIC UNIVERSITY LABORATORY SCHOOL	639	44.4	44.4	44.4	44.4	44.4
2004	FLORIDA SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF AND THE BLIND	745	45.0	43.9	46.9	46.2	37.5
2004	FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY LABORATORY SCHOOL	2316	44.9	41.1	43.5	55.4	50.5
2004	FRANKLIN	1361	16.2	12.3	39.1	17.2	8.7
2004	GADSDEN	6582	95.5	91.5	96.1	92.9	96.3
2004	GILCHRIST	2851	6.7	6.6	8.6	6.4	7.5
2004	GLADES	1237	51.3	51.2	52.1	51.0	50.7
2004	GULF	2177	16.9	16.5	18.4	17.8	19.0
2004	HAMILTON	1927	55.7	55.5	56.3	53.5	55.4
2004	HARDEE	5130	58.6	56.7	56.0	60.5	59.2
2004	HENDRY	7587	66.2	65.0	68.1	66.3	64.8
2004	HERNANDO	20530	16.3	16.1	18.1	16.6	16.3
2004	HIGHLANDS	12025	40.9	39.2	43.9	43.2	38.1
2004	HILLSBOROUGH	185421	49.6	39.2	64.2	56.4	44.6
2004	HOLMES	3389	5.0	4.5	17.3	6.8	4.8
2004	INDIAN RIVER	16726	29.1	26.3	30.6	42.4	26.9
2004	JACKSON	7133	33.9	32.3	37.4	31.6	37.8
2004	JEFFERSON	1373	72.8	72.2	73.0	72.9	68.1

Year	District Name	Total Enrollment ⁴	% of Black, Hispanic, and American Indian	White exposure to Blk/Hsp/AI	Black exposure to Blk/Hsp/AI	Hispanic exposure to Blk/Hsp/AI	Asian exposure to Blk/Hsp/AI
2004	LAFAYETTE	1058	20.9	20.8	20.9	21.6	18.3
2004	LAKE	35570	29.3	27.4	34.8	32.3	32.3
2004	LEE	69657	37.7	34.2	47.9	40.7	35.4
2004	LEON	31111	44.2	30.0	63.0	44.0	36.4
2004	LEVY	6132	21.6	20.6	25.5	25.0	20.0
2004	LIBERTY	1383	19.7	15.8	37.7	29.7	0.0
2004	MADISON	3060	58.9	53.0	63.3	57.1	55.4
2004	MANATEE	40017	35.2	28.0	48.2	48.5	29.5
2004	MARION	40129	31.7	29.0	38.2	35.9	31.9
2004	MARTIN	17648	26.1	18.3	40.7	52.5	20.8
2004	MONROE	8619	33.7	30.7	42.5	38.3	32.3
2004	NASSAU	10624	10.7	10.3	14.5	14.7	12.7
2004	OKALOOSA	30593	17.2	16.0	23.9	20.6	18.2
2004	OKEECHOBEE	6828	35.6	34.8	36.1	37.1	32.2
2004	ORANGE	171057	57.4	45.7	70.5	60.8	51.6
2004	OSCEOLA	46690	58.3	43.3	69.6	68.0	61.7
2004	PALM BEACH	172676	52.0	36.5	71.5	59.1	44.2
2004	PASCO	60305	15.2	13.3	28.4	24.7	15.7
2004	PINELLAS	110345	26.9	23.4	37.8	31.2	28.6
2004	POLK	84549	39.4	36.3	41.1	48.0	34.8
2004	PUTNAM	12299	37.8	32.0	47.5	46.1	39.6
2004	SANTA ROSA	24910	8.2	7.9	14.3	9.0	8.6
2004	SARASOTA	38543	20.3	15.6	42.8	35.5	18.5
2004	SEMINOLE	65798	30.7	28.5	37.1	34.2	29.8
2004	ST. JOHNS	24269	12.2	11.0	23.6	12.6	9.4
2004	ST. LUCIE	34578	45.7	43.3	48.6	48.3	43.2
2004	SUMTER	7058	26.6	22.7	40.0	31.8	18.1
2004	SUWANNEE	5778	23.3	22.1	27.1	27.2	23.8
2004	TAYLOR	3373	25.8	25.0	28.2	25.7	28.0
2004	UNION	2179	19.7	19.5	20.8	19.5	19.0
2004	UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA LABORATORY SCHOOL	1158	36.6	36.6	36.6	36.6	36.6
2004	VOLUSIA	64670	27.9	23.7	41.0	36.6	23.8
2004	WAKULLA	4816	11.7	11.7	12.0	11.5	11.3
2004	WALTON	6439	11.3	10.6	18.4	12.6	9.6
2004	WASHINGTON	3449	20.5	20.5	20.7	21.1	20.2
2014	ALACHUA	27537	43.3	36.5	53.5	40.2	42.5
2014	BAKER	4936	13.7	13.7	13.8	13.8	14.0
2014	BAY	26732	21.9	18.7	34.1	25.4	24.1
2014	BRADFORD	3173	24.9	24.1	27.2	24.4	24.9
2014	BREVARD	71392	28.2	24.7	39.7	32.5	23.7
2014	BROWARD	256454	70.2	56.9	81.0	67.7	63.7
2014	CALHOUN	2273	17.6	16.1	25.4	20.2	24.7
2014	CHARLOTTE	15625	22.9	21.6	27.6	25.9	22.2
2014	CITRUS	14821	12.0	11.8	12.6	12.8	12.5
2014	CLAY	35592	24.7	21.6	33.6	29.5	31.1
2014	COLLIER	43932	59.7	41.2	72.9	71.9	42.1
2014	COLUMBIA	10056	26.6	23.9	35.8	24.3	27.9
2014	DADE	352042	90.8	77.9	93.9	91.3	84.4
2014	DESOTO	4680	56.5	54.8	57.1	57.9	58.7
2014	DIXIE	2101	11.3	10.9	15.3	10.7	14.8
2014	DUVAL	124674	53.5	40.4	67.2	50.2	42.9
2014	ESCAMBIA	39629	40.3	32.5	51.7	42.2	40.7
2014	FAMU LAB SCH	482	97.9	97.9	97.9	97.9	0.0
2014	FAU LAB SCH	2420	49.4	49.4	49.6	49.5	47.6
2014	FL VIRTUAL	6108	31.1	31.1	31.1	31.2	31.1
2014	FLAGLER	12793	28.9	28.4	30.7	29.2	28.9
2014	FRANKLIN	1283	15.8	15.7	15.9	16.2	17.3
2014	FSU LAB SCH	2411	48.9	45.9	48.5	54.3	54.7
2014	GADSDEN	5709	95.2	88.5	95.9	93.7	95.9
2014	GILCHRIST	2615	11.7	11.5	13.5	11.9	10.6
2014	GLADES	1592	58.1	54.6	54.3	53.6	52.6
2014	GULF	1872	18.3	17.9	19.2	20.8	19.1
2014	HAMILTON	1727	54.6	54.1	55.8	53.2	56.1
2014	HARDEE	5210	67.0	65.8	65.8	67.8	65.7
2014	HENDRY	7040	77.7	76.5	79.7	77.6	79.0
2014	HERNANDO	22019	24.4	24.0	25.7	25.6	24.4

Year	District Name	Total Enrollment ⁴	% of Black, Hispanic, and American Indian	White exposure to Blk/Hsp/AI	Black exposure to Blk/Hsp/AI	Hispanic exposure to Blk/Hsp/AI	Asian exposure to Blk/Hsp/AI
2014	HIGHLANDS	12219	49.7	47.3	52.4	51.8	46.7
2014	HILLSBOROUGH	202892	56.1	44.5	67.8	62.3	48.5
2014	HOLMES	3313	6.5	6.4	9.1	7.3	9.7
2014	INDIAN RIVER	17755	38.5	34.4	42.2	47.2	34.8
2014	JACKSON	6559	35.2	33.1	38.6	36.7	35.6
2014	JEFFERSON	886	81.3	78.7	81.8	81.9	81.8
2014	LAFAYETTE	1244	27.9	27.8	27.6	28.3	30.4
2014	LAKE	41464	38.0	35.0	43.0	41.7	40.4
2014	LEE	87050	51.5	42.7	63.9	57.5	47.2
2014	LEON	32460	48.3	32.4	65.9	49.2	35.4
2014	LEVY	5402	23.8	23.0	26.3	26.7	24.2
2014	LIBERTY	1327	19.8	18.1	26.4	27.1	17.2
2014	MADISON	2513	57.6	47.7	66.4	50.7	54.3
2014	MANATEE	47052	45.8	36.9	56.3	55.4	39.7
2014	MARION	41566	40.8	37.1	46.1	44.8	41.0
2014	MARTIN	18800	34.9	26.7	42.3	51.5	31.3
2014	MONROE	8442	46.8	41.3	56.5	51.6	46.8
2014	NASSAU	11170	11.8	11.3	14.9	15.0	14.7
2014	OKALOOSA	29422	21.0	19.4	25.9	24.6	22.8
2014	OKEECHOBEE	6081	47.3	46.3	48.3	48.6	44.0
2014	ORANGE	186668	63.9	51.7	74.9	66.8	56.6
2014	OSCEOLA	57358	68.7	54.6	75.7	74.0	68.4
2014	PALM BEACH	182417	60.5	43.1	75.6	67.0	50.3
2014	PASCO	68566	27.8	25.6	34.6	32.6	28.1
2014	PINELLAS	99760	33.3	27.1	51.0	36.6	31.2
2014	POLK	96938	51.6	46.1	54.7	58.0	45.9
2014	PUTNAM	10944	41.2	35.8	46.0	52.4	42.7
2014	SANTA ROSA	26123	11.5	11.1	14.6	13.0	12.3
2014	SARASOTA	39199	28.8	23.7	46.3	37.8	26.0
2014	SEMINOLE	65664	38.5	35.5	45.6	41.0	36.4
2014	ST. JOHNS	34777	14.9	14.3	22.5	15.4	12.9
2014	ST. LUCIE	39511	57.8	53.5	62.6	59.0	52.9
2014	SUMTER	8247	26.1	23.4	40.6	26.9	18.8
2014	SUWANNEE	6002	30.6	28.6	35.7	34.0	30.6
2014	TAYLOR	2980	28.1	27.3	30.0	27.1	29.9
2014	UF LAB SCH	1153	40.2	40.2	40.2	40.2	40.2
2014	UNION	2343	17.2	17.2	17.3	17.3	16.9
2014	VOLUSIA	60900	34.0	29.1	42.5	43.8	28.0
2014	WAKULLA	5100	13.8	13.7	14.3	13.9	14.1
2014	WALTON	8120	16.2	15.5	21.9	18.2	15.1
2014	WASHINGTON	3267	20.2	20.1	20.4	20.7	19.9

**Exposure to Low-Income Students
by the Typical Student of Each Race by District and by Year**

Year	District Name	Total Enrollment	% Low-Income	White exposure to low-income	Black exposure to low-income	Hispanic exposure to low-income	Asian exposure to low-income	Low-income exposure to low-income
1994	ALACHUA	27981	39.1	34.4	43.5	37.9	40.8	46.4
1994	BAKER	4619	37.0	36.9	37.4	35.9	26.3	39.2
1994	BAY	24006	35.6	34.5	41.3	34.6	39.3	44.1
1994	BRADFORD	4088	41.9	41.7	42.6	37.8	42.0	44.6
1994	BREVARD	64308	22.9	22.6	32.2	25.1	21.2	32.7
1994	BROWARD	195487	28.5	20.0	41.9	28.2	22.4	43.6
1994	CALHOUN	2287	43.8	43.4	45.8	44.4	41.2	46.2
1994	CHARLOTTE	14814	31.0	30.8	33.4	31.8	30.9	35.1
1994	CHARLOTTE	14814	31.0	30.8	33.4	31.8	30.9	35.1
1994	CITRUS	13338	37.6	37.6	38.0	35.6	36.2	41.2
1994	CLAY	23839	18.0	17.7	22.7	16.3	13.5	26.4
1994	COLLIER	25630	36.7	25.1	55.7	61.4	21.5	57.4
1994	COLUMBIA	8878	45.6	45.4	46.2	44.9	41.8	48.9
1994	COLUMBIA	8878	45.6	45.4	46.2	44.9	41.8	48.9
1994	DADE	314881	50.9	34.4	60.4	49.7	37.8	65.5
1994	DE SOTO	4243	53.5	53.6	52.1	55.4	48.9	55.2
1994	DIXIE	2227	52.6	53.0	48.6	52.2	60.3	54.0
1994	DUVAL	118195	20.9	17.5	26.4	19.4	16.1	27.5
1994	ESCAMBIA	43887	46.9	40.6	58.2	48.1	49.8	56.9
1994	FLAGLER	4924	33.1	33.2	33.1	31.9	30.4	35.1
1994	FLORIDA A AND M UNI LAB SCHOOL	575	10.6	10.6	10.6	0.0	0.0	10.6
1994	FRANKLIN	1631	56.0	56.0	56.1	51.5	50.6	57.5
1994	GADSDEN	8408	68.5	66.0	68.8	69.0	59.0	69.8
1994	GILCHRIST	2373	40.4	40.4	40.7	48.2	0.0	44.5
1994	GILCHRIST	2373	40.4	40.4	40.7	48.2	0.0	44.5
1994	GLADES	1063	52.9	52.7	51.8	55.4	57.3	56.2
1994	GULF	2243	39.6	39.6	39.7	41.8	42.5	42.2
1994	HAMILTON	2335	50.9	50.5	51.1	54.5	49.6	53.8
1994	HAMILTON	2335	50.9	50.5	51.1	54.5	49.6	53.8
1994	HARDEE	4419	54.7	53.6	53.6	56.7	45.8	56.7
1994	HENDRY	6744	58.1	57.2	58.6	59.2	54.7	59.2
1994	HERNANDO	14795	35.8	35.6	39.9	33.1	33.0	39.2
1994	HERNANDO	14795	35.8	35.6	39.9	33.1	33.0	39.2
1994	HIGHLANDS	10462	43.3	42.2	45.6	45.9	37.4	46.5
1994	HIGHLANDS	10462	43.3	42.2	45.6	45.9	37.4	46.5
1994	HILLSBOROUGH	137770	41.8	36.8	51.4	47.3	35.8	53.2
1994	HOLMES	3699	45.5	45.6	43.7	42.5	41.4	47.6
1994	INDIAN RIVER	12773	21.1	19.8	21.0	40.3	18.4	28.3
1994	JACKSON	7927	42.8	42.4	43.5	47.1	37.6	45.7
1994	JEFFERSON	2123	62.7	63.8	62.1	69.3	74.4	65.2
1994	JEFFERSON	2123	62.7	63.8	62.1	69.3	74.4	65.2
1994	LAFAYETTE	965	41.0	40.9	40.9	44.7	0.0	42.7
1994	LAKE	22636	36.5	35.5	39.5	41.2	30.2	41.8
1994	LEE	47930	35.2	34.0	39.3	37.9	33.5	41.6
1994	LEON	29165	26.7	19.2	38.9	26.6	23.3	44.8
1994	LEVY	5434	45.3	45.5	45.0	43.1	45.1	48.9
1994	LIBERTY	1194	33.8	33.7	33.6	35.5	29.3	34.3
1994	MADISON	3359	59.0	54.5	62.4	52.1	73.1	63.1
1994	MANATEE	30264	37.1	32.1	50.6	50.3	30.2	49.2
1994	MARION	33741	43.0	41.3	49.4	40.1	35.5	50.0
1994	MARTIN	13467	26.7	22.3	41.2	46.5	24.6	38.3
1994	MONROE	9291	28.3	26.8	34.1	32.3	27.7	33.6
1994	NASSAU	9396	27.0	27.0	27.0	27.3	25.9	31.4
1994	OKALOOSA	28639	22.1	22.0	24.1	21.3	19.6	28.1
1994	OKEECHOBEE	6216	51.0	50.3	50.0	54.2	47.5	54.5
1994	ORANGE	117444	30.9	26.7	40.0	30.6	25.8	41.9

Year	District Name	Total Enrollment	% Low-Income	White exposure to low-income	Black exposure to low-income	Hispanic exposure to low-income	Asian exposure to low-income	Low-income exposure to low-income
1994	OSCEOLA	24009	32.6	30.0	36.5	37.3	35.8	38.1
1994	PALM BEACH	124384	33.2	23.5	49.5	40.7	25.0	49.5
1994	PALM BEACH	124384	33.2	23.5	49.5	40.7	25.0	49.5
1994	PASCO	39804	38.7	37.7	52.9	46.0	33.1	45.2
1994	PINELLAS	99558	30.4	29.0	35.7	33.4	33.6	39.4
1994	PINELLAS	99558	30.4	29.0	35.7	33.4	33.6	39.4
1994	POLK	68597	43.0	41.5	44.7	52.6	35.2	50.5
1994	PUTNAM	12711	54.2	53.8	53.2	61.8	57.8	55.8
1994	SAINT JOHNS	14389	21.0	19.4	32.3	24.2	16.7	31.4
1994	SAINT LUCIE	25679	39.2	38.4	39.3	46.9	35.2	47.2
1994	SANTA ROSA	18675	28.4	27.7	40.7	29.3	28.1	35.4
1994	SANTA ROSA	18675	28.4	27.7	40.7	29.3	28.1	35.4
1994	SARASOTA	27201	15.8	14.3	22.9	27.7	15.6	21.9
1994	SEMINOLE	52794	19.8	17.8	31.2	19.4	15.6	31.7
1994	SEMINOLE	52794	19.8	17.8	31.2	19.4	15.6	31.7
1994	ST. JOHNS	14389	21.0	19.4	32.3	24.2	16.7	31.4
1994	ST. LUCIE	25679	39.2	38.4	39.3	46.9	35.2	47.2
1994	SUMTER	5611	55.7	55.2	56.8	58.4	50.8	58.1
1994	SUWANNEE	5482	38.0	37.8	38.3	39.8	32.2	40.3
1994	SUWANNEE	5482	38.0	37.8	38.3	39.8	32.2	40.3
1994	TAYLOR	3681	21.9	22.9	19.5	18.3	17.3	28.6
1994	UF - LAB SCHOOL	127	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
1994	UNION	2074	34.1	33.9	34.5	38.9	33.7	36.6
1994	VOLUSIA	52954	35.0	33.1	42.3	39.9	30.8	41.5
1994	WAKULLA	3887	30.5	30.5	30.5	27.4	26.4	33.6
1994	WALTON	5019	39.1	39.4	36.7	40.9	37.1	48.5
1994	WASHINGTON	3113	43.7	43.4	44.7	48.8	36.5	47.6
1994	WASHINGTON	3113	43.7	43.4	44.7	48.8	36.5	47.6
2004	ALACHUA	28757	48.5	42.7	57.5	44.6	42.0	58.9
2004	BAKER	4771	45.2	45.3	44.8	42.9	41.2	47.5
2004	BAY	26765	47.9	45.7	58.9	50.3	48.8	58.2
2004	BRADFORD	3814	60.2	60.5	59.1	66.0	56.2	63.2
2004	BREVARD	73622	32.7	30.2	44.7	38.7	27.7	46.0
2004	BROWARD	268304	41.1	29.4	55.9	36.9	31.3	56.5
2004	CALHOUN	2307	54.9	53.6	62.3	57.7	57.9	58.5
2004	CHARLOTTE	16855	26.7	26.0	31.4	29.7	28.4	32.1
2004	CITRUS	15328	45.5	45.7	43.0	44.4	45.1	47.8
2004	CLAY	32282	25.0	24.6	27.5	26.0	22.9	32.4
2004	COLLIER	41448	45.9	30.0	63.6	61.1	30.2	64.9
2004	COLUMBIA	9883	56.1	54.7	61.0	54.7	51.4	59.2
2004	DADE	362500	64.1	45.5	73.9	62.9	49.8	73.2
2004	DESOTO	4930	61.1	59.9	56.3	66.4	62.8	67.9
2004	DIXIE	2143	65.7	65.9	64.3	65.8	61.3	66.4
2004	DOZIER/OKEEC HOBEE	3904	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
2004	DUVAL	127012	45.1	36.7	54.9	43.4	35.3	56.9
2004	ESCAMBIA	42657	62.8	56.3	72.8	62.8	64.0	70.1
2004	FLAGLER	9691	31.8	31.8	31.5	33.0	32.6	35.3
2004	FLORIDA A&M LABORATORY SCHOOL	519	46.6	0.0	46.6	46.6	0.0	46.6
2004	FLORIDA ATLANTIC UNIVERSITY LABORATORY SCHOOL	639	27.2	27.2	27.2	27.2	27.2	27.2
2004	FLORIDA SCHOOL FOR THE DEAF AND THE BLIND	745	75.7	74.9	76.7	76.8	72.0	77.2

Year	District Name	Total Enrollment	% Low-Income	White exposure to low-income	Black exposure to low-income	Hispanic exposure to low-income	Asian exposure to low-income	Low-income exposure to low-income
2004	FLORIDA STATE UNIVERSITY LABORATORY SCHOOL	2316	19.7	21.6	20.4	14.4	16.9	22.0
2004	FRANKLIN	1361	61.4	60.6	65.5	66.5	66.1	64.7
2004	GADSDEN	6582	76.1	75.9	76.0	77.2	70.1	77.7
2004	GILCHRIST	2851	50.4	50.4	51.6	51.7	47.2	51.6
2004	GLADES	1237	69.1	69.6	68.3	68.8	68.8	71.4
2004	GULF	2177	48.4	48.7	47.2	51.9	40.3	50.4
2004	HAMILTON	1927	59.2	59.7	57.7	64.1	57.6	61.6
2004	HARDEE	5130	65.8	63.1	60.0	68.7	68.8	68.6
2004	HENDRY	7587	66.9	65.8	65.7	68.0	64.3	68.3
2004	HERNANDO	20530	47.0	46.8	49.7	47.0	45.3	50.1
2004	HIGHLANDS	12025	61.5	60.3	63.3	63.3	57.9	62.9
2004	HILLSBOROUGH	185421	52.0	42.3	64.6	59.4	43.9	64.5
2004	HOLMES	3389	57.3	57.6	48.3	59.7	55.8	58.4
2004	INDIAN RIVER	16726	45.9	43.8	46.4	56.8	44.2	51.6
2004	JACKSON	7133	56.2	55.5	57.6	56.7	55.8	59.9
2004	JEFFERSON	1373	72.5	71.2	73.0	73.2	59.5	73.9
2004	LAFAYETTE	1058	55.5	55.3	55.6	56.7	50.7	55.9
2004	LAKE	35570	41.6	40.7	45.7	41.6	39.0	46.1
2004	LEE	69657	46.1	42.6	54.6	50.2	42.7	54.3
2004	LEON	31111	38.2	25.7	54.9	38.0	28.7	59.2
2004	LEVY	6132	55.7	55.7	54.5	59.8	50.6	57.8
2004	LIBERTY	1383	50.3	53.8	33.5	44.6	0.0	57.2
2004	MADISON	3060	63.1	60.1	65.3	64.8	46.3	68.5
2004	MANATEE	40017	44.8	37.5	57.4	59.0	40.0	58.4
2004	MARION	40129	56.5	55.3	59.0	60.1	51.2	61.4
2004	MARTIN	17648	35.8	28.2	50.1	60.9	30.6	52.2
2004	MONROE	8619	39.0	36.3	46.3	43.6	36.0	44.7
2004	NASSAU	10624	35.6	35.7	35.2	36.2	34.1	40.3
2004	OKALOOSA	30593	31.4	30.5	37.2	33.8	30.1	41.7
2004	OKEECHOBEE	6828	55.5	54.7	54.4	57.4	50.1	58.1
2004	ORANGE	171057	50.6	41.3	60.3	54.6	43.4	59.9
2004	OSCEOLA	46690	55.8	45.6	62.0	62.8	56.7	62.5
2004	PALM BEACH	172676	39.1	26.0	53.9	47.4	30.8	56.0
2004	PASCO	60305	47.5	46.9	50.9	50.9	42.2	56.1
2004	PINELLAS	110345	43.1	39.5	52.3	50.8	47.1	54.2
2004	POLK	84549	51.6	49.6	51.8	59.0	42.2	58.9
2004	PUTNAM	12299	67.6	65.0	68.4	80.4	65.6	71.7
2004	SANTA ROSA	24910	31.6	31.1	42.7	29.4	29.0	41.3
2004	SARASOTA	38543	40.7	37.0	57.8	53.9	36.0	49.5
2004	SEMINOLE	65798	29.5	26.8	37.9	33.4	27.0	40.1
2004	ST. JOHNS	24269	19.5	17.7	37.7	19.2	13.9	42.0
2004	ST. LUCIE	34578	50.1	47.9	52.3	53.7	47.4	55.1
2004	SUMTER	7058	55.1	51.6	67.0	60.1	50.2	63.3
2004	SUWANNEE	5778	53.3	52.7	54.5	58.1	43.1	57.3
2004	TAYLOR	3373	60.2	60.0	61.0	62.0	62.6	66.0
2004	UNION	2179	48.2	48.0	48.9	50.6	43.7	49.9
2004	UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA LABORATORY SCHOOL	1158	16.2	16.2	16.2	16.2	16.2	16.2
2004	VOLUSIA	64670	39.4	36.3	49.0	46.1	32.8	49.4
2004	WAKULLA	4816	36.3	36.3	36.1	38.6	33.5	42.0
2004	WALTON	6439	50.3	49.2	62.2	51.9	42.3	58.7
2004	WASHINGTON	3449	56.5	56.4	56.9	61.4	52.8	59.5
2014	ALACHUA	27537	48.7	44.2	55.9	46.2	45.1	53.4
2014	BAKER	4936	57.9	57.8	58.0	57.9	58.5	58.7
2014	BAY	26732	60.3	58.3	68.9	61.7	57.4	65.0

Year	District Name	Total Enrollment	% Low-Income	White exposure to low-income	Black exposure to low-income	Hispanic exposure to low-income	Asian exposure to low-income	Low-income exposure to low-income
2014	BRADFORD	3173	72.7	72.5	73.2	72.2	73.5	73.8
2014	BREVARD	71392	48.4	44.7	61.2	52.3	38.8	58.3
2014	BROWARD	256454	61.2	48.1	74.7	55.7	50.1	70.8
2014	CALHOUN	2273	67.7	67.7	66.9	68.0	71.7	68.1
2014	CHARLOTTE	15625	63.2	62.0	66.8	66.4	60.9	65.9
2014	CITRUS	14821	64.7	64.7	63.8	64.9	62.9	65.8
2014	CLAY	35592	41.5	42.1	40.7	41.1	36.1	48.3
2014	COLLIER	43932	61.7	43.9	74.3	73.4	44.9	73.2
2014	COLUMBIA	10056	60.8	59.3	65.4	60.4	59.1	65.0
2014	DADE	352042	73.9	54.7	84.7	72.7	62.0	80.0
2014	DESOTO	4680	62.2	62.0	61.5	62.5	62.3	63.2
2014	DIXIE	2101	97.5	97.8	93.0	98.8	92.8	98.4
2014	DUVAL	124674	43.9	37.6	51.0	42.0	35.1	51.7
2014	ESCAMBIA	39629	63.6	57.7	72.2	64.8	62.1	69.6
2014	FAMU LAB SCH	482	71.4	71.4	71.4	71.4	0.0	71.4
2014	FAU LAB SCH	2420	40.1	40.2	40.6	40.3	36.5	40.8
2014	FL VIRTUAL	6108	44.8	44.7	45.3	44.4	45.0	45.6
2014	FLAGLER	12793	62.3	61.6	65.4	62.0	59.8	66.9
2014	FRANKLIN	1283	63.1	61.8	63.7	68.8	83.0	70.1
2014	FSU LAB SCH	2411	28.6	29.2	28.7	27.5	27.4	28.8
2014	GADSDEN	5709	69.6	70.6	69.4	69.9	69.9	71.4
2014	GILCHRIST	2615	47.6	47.5	48.7	48.0	46.3	49.0
2014	GLADES	1592	58.5	66.4	72.4	69.7	68.6	72.1
2014	GULF	1872	59.0	59.3	58.2	58.2	57.5	60.2
2014	HAMILTON	1727	47.8	47.3	47.5	49.7	52.9	49.4
2014	HARDEE	5210	79.3	78.5	77.4	79.9	78.8	79.8
2014	HENDRY	7040	82.1	81.4	81.1	82.6	81.8	82.7
2014	HERNANDO	22019	64.1	63.5	67.4	64.8	59.2	67.1
2014	HIGHLANDS	12219	75.8	74.1	77.6	77.4	73.8	76.8
2014	HILLSBOROUGH	202892	60.4	48.5	72.1	67.5	49.4	72.0
2014	HOLMES	3313	70.5	70.6	69.6	70.6	65.1	71.2
2014	INDIAN RIVER	17755	57.3	52.6	63.2	65.2	52.8	65.9
2014	JACKSON	6559	67.1	66.4	68.0	68.7	64.2	68.8
2014	JEFFERSON	886	70.8	69.0	71.1	71.5	71.0	71.1
2014	LAFAYETTE	1244	63.1	62.8	62.5	64.0	68.7	63.7
2014	LAKE	41464	34.8	34.2	37.8	34.7	31.2	37.8
2014	LEE	87050	66.6	59.4	76.0	71.8	61.3	73.6
2014	LEON	32460	36.1	29.1	44.0	38.0	25.4	44.7
2014	LEVY	5402	55.0	54.9	55.1	55.6	52.2	56.4
2014	LIBERTY	1327	49.7	49.1	53.2	50.9	50.1	50.8
2014	MADISON	2513	59.9	57.4	62.3	57.7	56.9	60.8
2014	MANATEE	47052	61.3	51.0	73.1	72.5	51.7	74.7
2014	MARION	41566	64.6	63.5	66.2	66.4	55.5	67.4
2014	MARTIN	18800	44.0	36.8	51.4	58.4	41.2	54.0
2014	MONROE	8442	48.6	43.0	56.6	54.4	46.3	57.4
2014	NASSAU	11170	49.1	49.4	47.5	46.8	45.6	50.7
2014	OKALOOSA	29422	43.5	41.7	49.8	46.6	41.9	51.0
2014	OKEECHOBEE	6081	76.3	75.3	76.1	77.7	76.7	77.6
2014	ORANGE	186668	60.2	48.4	70.4	63.6	51.5	70.8
2014	OSCEOLA	57358	72.0	63.5	75.8	75.0	71.1	74.6
2014	PALM BEACH	182417	57.0	40.5	71.2	63.5	46.7	70.6
2014	PASCO	68566	56.3	56.1	56.8	57.8	45.2	65.5
2014	PINELLAS	99760	45.6	42.1	53.8	49.0	45.9	50.2
2014	POLK	96938	58.5	55.5	60.5	61.9	50.5	62.2
2014	PUTNAM	10944	77.7	75.7	77.2	84.8	75.6	79.3
2014	SANTA ROSA	26123	43.6	43.0	52.2	40.9	40.9	50.9
2014	SARASOTA	39199	51.5	48.0	64.2	57.6	48.1	56.5
2014	SEMINOLE	65664	47.0	43.4	55.2	50.3	43.1	53.2
2014	ST. JOHNS	34777	23.7	22.4	42.1	23.4	15.1	42.8
2014	ST. LUCIE	39511	62.0	60.3	63.8	62.6	59.1	63.5
2014	SUMTER	8247	59.6	57.1	73.7	61.3	42.7	66.0

Year	District Name	Total Enrollment	% Low-Income	White exposure to low-income	Black exposure to low-income	Hispanic exposure to low-income	Asian exposure to low-income	Low-income exposure to low-income
2014	SUWANNEE	6002	48.0	47.9	48.6	47.7	49.3	49.9
2014	TAYLOR	2980	56.3	55.7	57.1	54.6	57.1	58.0
2014	UF LAB SCH	1153	25.2	25.2	25.2	25.2	25.2	25.2
2014	UNION	2343	64.5	64.5	64.9	63.3	59.8	65.4
2014	VOLUSIA	60900	62.6	59.2	69.5	68.2	56.3	67.0
2014	WAKULLA	5100	52.9	52.9	52.6	54.1	49.6	54.5
2014	WALTON	8120	52.7	51.3	67.1	54.2	38.2	62.7
2014	WASHINGTON	3267	69.7	69.9	69.2	68.0	70.2	70.8

» Endnotes

¹ Charles T. Clotfelter, *After Brown: The Rise and Retreat of School Desegregation*, Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 2004.

² G. Orfield and S. Eaton, *Dismantling Desegregation, the Quiet Reversal of *Brown v. Board of Education**, New York: New Press, 1996.

³ U.S. Government Accountability Office, *K-12 EDUCATION Better Use of Information Could Help Agencies Identify Disparities and Address Racial Discrimination*, Washington, 2016.

⁴ Reed Sarratt, *The Ordeal of Desegregation*, New York: Harper and Row, 1966, p. 41.

⁵ Martin A. Dyckman. 2006. *Floridian of His Century: The Courage of Governor LeRoy Collins*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, p. 160.

⁶ Larry Hughes, William Gordon and Larry Hillman, *Desegregating America's Schools*, Southeastern Equity Center in Florida, 1980.

⁷ G. Orfield, *Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980*, Washington: Joint Center for Political Studies, 1983, pp. 8-19.

⁸ *Keyes v. Denver School Dist. No. 1*, 413 U.S. 189 (1973)

⁹ *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Bd. Of Education*, 402 U.S. 1 (1971)

¹⁰ U.S. House of Representatives, Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee No. 5, *Hearing, School Busing*, 92nd Cong., 2nd Sess, 1972, p. 1228

¹¹ G. Orfield, "How to Make Desegregation Work: The Adaptation of Schools to Their Newly Integrated Student Bodies," *Law and Contemporary Problems*, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Winter 1975), pp 314-340.

¹² In the major testing case, *Debra P*, Gary Orfield testified about what many Florida educators told him about the many obvious forms of educational inequality before desegregation. The state was going to deny high school diplomas to one-fourth of black seniors who had completed their course requirements on the basis of an exit test given without warning and after admittedly inferior preparation in segregated schools before desegregation. The court challenge delayed the test for four years and required preparation for the exam, setting an important precedent.

¹³ Orfield, *Public School Desegregation in the United States, 1968-1980*, Washington: Joint Center for Political Studies, 1983

¹⁴ G. Orfield, *Must We Bus? Segregated Schools and National Policy*, Washington: Brookings Institution, 1978, p. 412.

¹⁵ Michael W. Giles; Douglas S. Gatlin; Everett F. Cataldo, *Determinants of Resegregation: Compliance/Rejection Behavior and Policy Alternatives*, *Natl Science Foundation*: Everett F. Cataldo, Michael W. Giles and Douglas S. Gatlin, *School Desegregation Policy*. Lexington, Mass.: Lexington Books, 1978;

¹⁶ Dowell, discussed earlier, turned back authority to local school boards which were authorized to end desegregation efforts if basic requirements spelled out in the 1969 *Green* decision had been honored for a time. *Freeman v. Pitts*, 111 S. Ct 1430 (1992) permitted partial resegregation even if the order had never been fully complied with. *Missouri v. Jenkins*, 115 S. Ct 2938 (1995) ended the compensatory programs designed to repair the educational damage of segregation even before they had worked, lowering the requirements on state governments implicated in causing segregation.

¹⁷ Orfield, Gary. "Conservative Activists and the Rush toward Resegregation." In *Law and School Reform*, edited by Jay Heubert, pp. 39-87. New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1999.

¹⁸ Historically illegally segregation of black from white students in separate schools was described by the courts as a "dual school system." A unitary system meant that the dual features had been remedied and all students were expected to receive non-segregated fair education. The Supreme Court, however, lowered the standards for making this determination and gave great discretion to federal district judges to rule that what they thought was practicable had been done and then release the district from court supervision.

¹⁹ Florida Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, *Desegregation of Public School Districts in Florida: 18 Public School Districts Have Unitary Status, 16 Remain Under Court Jurisdiction*, Washington, p. 19. (Washington, U.S. Civil Rights Comm., 2007).

²⁰ Sean F. Reardon and John T. Yun, "Integrating Neighborhoods, Segregating Schools: The Retreat from School Desegregation in the South," in John Charles Boger and Gary Orfield, eds., *School Resegregation: Must the South Turn Back?*, Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1999, pp. 51-69.

²¹ Charles Vert Willie, Ralph Edwards, Michael J. Alves, *Student Diversity, Choice and School Improvement*, Westport, CT: Bergin and Garvey, 2002, chapter 3 and p. 160.

²² https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/answer-sheet/wp/2015/06/15/heres-what-jeb-bush-really-did-to-public-education-in-florida/?utm_term=.879f9b5aaa7b

²³ Kathryn M. Borman, Sherman Dorn, eds, *Education Reform in Florida: Diversity and Equity in Public Policy*, SUNY Press, Feb 1, 2012

²⁴ Multiracial schools are those with any three races representing 10 percent or more of the total student enrollment respectively.

²⁵ There is a vast body of research showing that desegregated schools are related to substantial benefits for all children. Some studies encompass: (1) 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 Publishing, (2) Mickelson, R.A., & Nkomo, M. (2012). Integrated schooling, life-course outcomes, and social cohesion in multiethnic democratic societies. *Review of Research in Education*, 36, 197-238, (3) Pettigrew, T., & Tropp, L. (2006). A meta-analytic test of intergroup contact theory. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 90(5), 751-783, (4) 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 multiracial generation* (pp. 91-113). Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, and (5) 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, VA: University of Virginia Press.

²⁶ Exposure to draconian, "zero tolerance" discipline measures is linked to dropping out of school and subsequent entanglement with the criminal justice system, a very different trajectory than attending college and developing a career. Advancement Project & The Civil Rights Project (2000). *Opportunities suspended: The devastating consequences of zero tolerance and school discipline policies*. Cambridge, MA: Civil Rights Project. Retrieved from <http://civilrightsproject.ucla.edu/research/k-12-education/schooldiscipline/opportunities-suspended-the-devastating-consequences-of-zero-tolerance-and-school-discipline-policies/>

²⁷ 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(3), 267-289.

²⁸ Balfanz, R., & Legters, N. E. (2004). Locating the dropout crisis: Which high schools produce the nation's dropouts? In G. Orfield (Ed.), *Dropouts in America: Confronting the graduation rate crisis* (pp. 57-84). Cambridge: Harvard Education Press, 2004; 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.

²⁹ The definition of low-income students in the report is students who are eligible for free or reduced-price lunch (FRPL) under the National School Lunch Program.

³⁰ ED Facts data collected for SEDA encompass assessment outcomes for students in School Years 2008-09, 2009-10, 2010-11, 2011-12, and 2012-13; grades 3 to 8; and test subjects English Language Arts (ELA) and Math. There is one observation per district; values are averaged across years, grades and subjects.

³¹ The demographic and economic measures include data regarding median income, percent with a bachelor's degree or higher, poverty rate, Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) rate, single mother headed household rate, and unemployment rate in the American Community Survey Data.

Beginning in 2005, the LeRoy Collins Institute has published a number of reports in a series called *Tough Choices: Shaping Florida's Future*. Many of these publications provide an in-depth analysis of Florida tax and spending and local governments' pension and other retirement benefits. This latest report is the first to focus on trends in school resegregation. The report is especially important to the LeRoy Collins Institute since it comes 60 years after Gov. Collins' denunciation of the Florida Legislature's interposition resolution that Florida could block or ignore the Supreme Court's *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. It is also important since the impetus for this report came from a longstanding member of the board, Brian Dassler, who died unexpectedly in Spring 2017. This report reflects the passion and foresight of both Gov. Collins and Dr. Dassler.

This report was written by Dr. Gary Orfield and Jongyeon (Joy) Ee. Dr. Orfield is a distinguished research professor of education, law, political science and urban planning at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) and the co-director of The Civil Rights Project at UCLA. Ee is a postdoctoral researcher at The Civil Rights Project at UCLA. The authors were assisted by Dr. Carol Weissert, Collins Institute Director and Professor of Political Science at Florida State University. Amy Stubblefield and Jennifer Fennell contributed to the editing, proofing, and production of the report. All publications from the Institute can be found on its website: <http://collinsinstitute.fsu.edu/>

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