It's Not Just Black and White
The Emergence of the Hispanic and Asian Communities in Northeast Florida

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ABSTRACT

In 2005–2006 the Northeast Florida Center for Community Initiatives carried out a series of research efforts with the Jacksonville Human Rights Commission (JHRC) to 1) understand how dramatic demographic changes will affect the local community in the future, 2) identify creative ways that the city could prepare for this opportunity, and 3) plan how to limit potential problems that other communities have experienced from demographic shifts. In this paper, we present a condensed version of our report to the JHRC.

REFLECTING CHANGES IN THE NATION AS WELL AS THE STATE, Jacksonville (Duval County) witnessed exceptional increases in its minority populations. As we can see in Table 1, compared to all other minorities, Hispanics are predicted to increase at the fastest rate in Duval County. In 2000, Hispanics constituted 4.1 percent of the population (U.S. Census Bureau). By 2008 it was estimated that Hispanics represented more than 5 percent (ESRI Business Analyst, 2008). By 2013, the Hispanic population is expected to account for over 7.2 percent of the Duval County population, almost triple the size of this group in 1990 (2.6 percent) and a 76 percent increase since 2000 (U.S. Census Bureau and ESRI Business Analyst, 2008). Map 1 further illustrates the increase in the Hispanic population from 2000 to 2010. (To view this article with maps, visit http://www.unf.edu/coas/cci. Under Publications, select "It's Not Just Black and White.")

Other minorities have experienced growth in Duval County as well. Blacks have grown to over 31 percent of Duval County's population in 2008 and are estimated to represent over one third of the county population in 2013, an increase of 22 percent of the population (ESRI Business Analyst, 2008). Additionally, Asians/other Pacific Islanders are expected to represent almost 5 percent of the county's population by 2013, an increase of over 57 percent since the 2000 census. Those of other

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Table 1. Duval County Population by Race and Hispanic Origin, 2000–2013 (Percent of Total Population)

	2000	2008	2013	% Change 2000–2013
Total Population	778,879	915,457	996,644	28.0
White	65.8	60.1	56.7	–13.8
Black	27.8	31.7	33.9	21.9
Asian/Pacific Islanders	2.8	3.7	4.4	57.1
Other	3.6	4.4	5.0	38.9
Non-Hispanic White	63.5	56.9	52.7	–17.0
Hispanic	4.1	5.9	7.2	75.6

Sources: 2000—Population Division, U.S. Census Bureau; 2008 and 2013—ESRI Business Analyst
Note: Percentages may not add up to 100 due to rounding.

racial backgrounds will make up 5 percent of the population in 2013, rising more than one-third (38.9 percent) in 13 years (U.S. Census Bureau and ESRI Business Analyst, 2008).

Papademetriou and Ray (2004) examined the immigrant population growth between 1990 and 2000 of the top 100 largest metropolitan areas. The Jacksonville Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA), which includes Baker, Clay, Duval, Nassau, and St. Johns counties, was categorized as a "new fast-growing hub," indicating the proportion of immigrants in 1990 was less than the average size of the foreign-born population (11.1 percent), but the average rate of immigrant population growth during the next decade exceeded the average growth rate (55 percent) (Papademetriou and Ray, 2004, p. 5).

Jacksonville MSA experienced a 96 percent increase in the immigrant population between 1990 and 2000 (Papademetriou and Ray, 2004, p. 5). While not all racial minorities are immigrants or vice versa, the designation is another indication of Duval County's changing demographics.

It is most important for city leaders to understand that about 55 percent of the population will be non-Hispanic whites in 2013, down from over 63 percent in 2000, and 72 percent in 1990 (U.S. Census Bureau and ESRI Business Analyst, 2008). The implications for this change in "the face" of the population of Jacksonville, particularly in light of racial disharmony in the city's past, should be considered by city leaders as future planning is carried out.

CULTURAL CHANGE

We can see increasing racial diversity in our culture as well. The increase in the number of Hispanics, in particular, resulted in responses from the government as well as the private sector. For instance, Spanish media, in the form of radio, TV, and print, has increased over the past several years. In June 2005, *Hola News*, the only Spanish newspaper in Jacksonville, premiered (First Coast Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, 2005). The free newspaper distributes weekly in Baker, Clay, Columbia, Duval, Nassau, St. Johns, and Suwanee Counties and has established partnerships with other media, such as a local television news station, First Coast News, in order to increase exposure (Norsan Media, n.d.).

Florida schools have responded to the changing demographics. For example, some county school districts require teachers to instruct non-English speaking students. Additionally, schools print handouts in both English and Spanish and provide translators (Lane, 2005).

The business sector has also transformed over the past several years as more people of diverse cultural backgrounds own, operate, and cater to businesses. More specifically, Hispanic businesses

have experienced an exceptional increase in certain areas of the state. As one Southern Florida reporter noted, the increase in Hispanic populations has given "birth to a whole new culture of businesses aimed at serving the lucrative Latino market" (Lane, 2005). In addition to Hispanic-owned businesses, companies in general are targeting the Hispanic community (Raymond, 2001).

Partly in response to the increased Hispanic businesses, chambers of commerce specific to Hispanics have also been established across the state. In addition to the state's Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, there are localized chambers such as the Florida First Coast Hispanic Chamber of Commerce, Hispanic Chamber of Commerce of Metro Orlando, Treasure Coast Latin Chamber of Commerce, and Broward County Chamber of Commerce. While not as common, chambers of commerce specific to other racial groups are in operation as well. For example, there is the Asian-American Chamber of Commerce of South Florida and Korean-American Chamber of Commerce of Greater Miami.

Due to the increase in Spanish-speaking residents, businesses and organizations are in need of employees that can communicate with their clients. In 2005, the University of Puerto Rico and a hospital in Orlando established a partnership in which University medical students will serve as interns. It is believed that these interns will better serve the population with their knowledge of the Spanish language and culture. The director of Florida Hospital's family-medicine residency program stated, "We need people who understand our population" (The Associated Press, 2005).

Businesses in Northeast Florida are also recruiting bilingual employees. Locally, *Eco Latino*, a Spanish magazine, sponsored a number of bilingual job fairs and provides a bilingual employment guide on its Web site (*Eco Latino*, 2009).

INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

With the diversifying population comes change to our various institutions, faced both by the community at large and by the individual racial groups. These institutions include our economy, education, crime, and housing.

Socioeconomics

Decades of sociology show that people group in social classes based upon their race. Although some racial groups, particularly those of the majority, experience the higher end of the socioeconomic continuum, others, typically of the minority races, do not experience such success. The median household income for non-Hispanic whites residing in Duval County was $44,893 in 1999, while it was only $37,497 for Hispanic households and $29,919 for Blacks (U.S. Census Bureau). Likewise, 7.3 percent of non-Hispanic whites in the county had incomes below the poverty level in 1999. However, Hispanics and Blacks experienced much higher percentages at 13.9 percent and 22.4 percent respectively (U.S. Census Bureau).

Participation in free and reduced school lunch programs is another economic indicator used to gage the financial health of groups. In the fall of 2003, 32 percent of white students enrolled in Duval County public school were receiving free or reduced lunch due to their families' financial needs (Florida Department of Education, 2005). The percentages for other races were much higher; 68 percent of Black students, 64 percent of Hispanic students, and 63 percent of other minority students received free or reduced lunch the same year. While these figures indicate rather high percentages of students in financial need, it is important to keep in mind that they are not representative of the entire community as students coming from more affluent families are more likely to attend private schools.

In addition to these economic indicators, minorities also tend to experience lower homeowner rates than whites. For instance, whites in the Jacksonville Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA) had a homeowner rate of 73 percent in 2000 compared to only 50 percent for Hispanics and Blacks (Papademetriou and Ray, 2004).

In addition to accessing adequate housing, individuals from racial minority groups experience problems accessing adequate healthcare services. The 2008 National Health Interview Survey found that "Hispanic persons were considerably more likely than non-Hispanic white persons, non-Hispanic black persons, and non-Hispanic Asian persons to be uninsured at the time of interview, to have been uninsured for at least part of the past 12 months, and to have been uninsured for more than a year" (Cohen and Martinez, 2009, p. 3). In fact, more than 30 percent of the Hispanic survey respondents were uninsured at the time of the interview compared to 10.5 percent of the non-Hispanic white respondents, 16.2 percent of the non-Hispanic Black respondents, and 12.2 percent of the non-Hispanic Asian respondents (Cohen and Martinez, 2009).

Racial minorities do not always fare worse than whites socioeconomically, however. For instance, Asians tend to have a higher socioeconomic status than whites. Asians have a higher median household income, higher homeowner rate, and lower poverty rate than whites in Duval County. The median household income for Asians in 1999 was more than $50,000 and approximately $45,000 for whites the same year (U.S. Census Bureau). The 2000 homeowner rate for Asians in the Jacksonville MSA was 65 percent (Papademetriou and Ray, 2004). As a result of these socioeconomic advantages, Asians, as a group, do not experience much of the economic hardships that other minority races do.

Education

Education is another area in which we continue to see disparities between racial groups. Although some math (8th grade) and reading (4th grade) achievement gaps narrowed in 2007 between white and Black students, the 2007 reading achievement gap among white and Hispanic 4th and 8th graders and math achievement gap between 8th graders did not "measurably" change in comparison to 2005 (Planty et al., 2009). Furthermore, dropout rates between 1980 and 2007 declined among whites, Blacks, and Hispanics, while the status dropout rate (percentage of 16 to 24 year olds without a high school diploma or equivalent and not enrolled in school) for Hispanics has continued to exceed that of whites and Blacks over the same period (Planty et al., 2009). Additionally, Hispanics as well as Blacks lag behind their white peers when it comes to attending college. High school graduates from both of these racial groups have experienced lower rates of immediate college enrollment than their white counterparts fairly consistently since 1985 (Planty et al., 2009).

Locally, Hispanics experience the highest dropout rate of any racial group in Duval County Public Schools. The Hispanic dropout rate during the 2007–08 school year was 4.0, compared to the overall District rate of 3.3 (Florida Department of Education, 2008).[1] Conversely, the dropout rates among Asian and American Indian students are comparatively lower than other racial groups as well as the overall county rate. The dropout rate for Asian students during the 2007–08 school year was 1.5, while the rate was 1.3 for American Indian students (Florida Department of Education, 2008).

According to the 2000 U.S. Census, in Duval County 14 percent of non-Hispanic white residents 25 and older lacked a high school diploma. On the other hand, more than one quarter of Black adult residents never graduated from high school, and more than one fifth of Hispanics lacked a diploma (U.S. Census Bureau).

Language barriers are another concern within the education system for many immigrants. Students speaking a language other than English typically experience more learning problems in American schools than those who speak English fluently. Duval County observed a 56 percent increase between

the 1999 and 2007 school years in the number of public school students learning English as their second language (Conner, 2009). Many of these students are Hispanics and Asian/Pacific Islanders. In the fall of 2003, 21 percent of the Hispanic students and 15 percent of the Asian/Pacific Islander students in Duval County spoke a foreign language (Florida Department of Education, 2005).

Victimization

Immigrants and persons of lower socioeconomic status are often victimized because of their lack of resources and power in society. In the fall of 2005, Jacksonville perpetrators targeted Hispanic day workers, invaded their homes and robbed them. Some victims were beaten and others were shot, with two resulting in death. "These people make excellent victims. If they rob them, they [the victims] won't report it because they are afraid [that their immigration status may be questioned]. . . . I think they've been getting robbed for a long time, but they haven't been reporting it," explained Jacksonville Sheriff John Rutherford in a news report (Weathersbee, 2004).

Persons are also victimized solely based on their race or ethnicity, as well. According to Hate Crime Statistics 2007, compiled by the FBI and law enforcement agencies, 7,624 criminal incidents motivated by a bias against a race, religion, disability, ethnicity, or sexual orientation were reported in the United States. Nearly 6,000 of those incidents were based on race or ethnicity/national origin. In Jacksonville, one hate crime incident, motivated by race, was reported for 2007 (Department of Justice and Federal Bureau of Investigation, 2008). While this figure appears to be relatively small for such a large city, it is important to note that these figures only represent reported crimes. Other sources arrive at higher numbers. For instance, using the National Crime Victimization Survey (NCVS), the Bureau of Justice Statistics found that only 44 percent of hate crimes are actually reported to law enforcement (Wolf Harlow, 2005).

Hate groups are sometimes an agent of hate crimes and at the very least promote negative attitudes toward others. While hate groups have traditionally targeted Blacks, such groups have also been known to target people based on their ethnicity or national origin, religion, disability, and sexual orientation. In 2008, Jacksonville was home to at least six active hate groups, including racist skinheads, white nationalists, neo-confederates, and black separatists (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2009).

Residential Patterns and Segregation.

Immigrants typically settle in the gateway cities in which they enter the United States, such as New York, Miami, Los Angeles, and Houston. Hispanics and Asians, in particular, tend to concentrate in certain areas, creating several "mini-melting pots" (Frey, 2001). However, immigrants are beginning to take up residence in cities that have experienced very little racial or ethnic diversity in the past. In fact, according to Papademetriou and Ray (2004), the "last decade of the 20th century was perhaps most remarkable for the dispersion of immigrants to states and, more precisely cities, where few migrants have settled since World War II" (p. 3).

Although Hispanics and Asians have typically lived in enclaves, they have historically been less residentially segregated from whites than Blacks (Logan, Stults, and Farely, 2004). An analysis of U.S. Census data of 13 Florida cities with populations over 100,000 found that Hispanics have been more successful at integrating with non-Hispanic whites in Florida than Blacks (Veiga, 2001).

The dissimilarity index is one of a number of measures used to gauge segregation among racial groups. Although using a single index cannot completely capture the level of integration, the dissimilarity index can be used to make comparisons across racial groups and Census years. The index

ranges from zero to 100, with zero indicating perfect integration and 100 indicating perfect segregation. Depending on the source, Jacksonville has a white/Black dissimilarity index of 50.4 to 55.8 based on the 2000 U.S. Census (Frey and Myers and Social Science Data Analysis Network; Lewis Mumford Center). The index is interpreted to read the percentage of individuals of a particular race needed to move to achieve perfect integration. A moderate score of 50.4 indicates that approximately 50 percent of Black residents would need to move to a different neighborhood in order for Jacksonville to achieve perfect integration. Integration increased over the past two decades, from 72.1 in 1980 to 59.9 in 1990 and 50.4 in 2000 (Lewis Mumford Center).

Dissimilarity indices for other races compared with whites in Jacksonville have fared much better. For instance, the dissimilarity index for whites/Asians has decreased from 37.2 in 1980 to 29.6 in 2000. During the same time period, the dissimilarity index for whites/Hispanics decreased from 23.4 to 22.0 (Lewis Mumford Center).

An examination of the residential patterns indicates that the majority of Hispanics live south and east of the St. Johns River and in the southwest area of the city, where a number of tracts have between 10 and 14 percent of the population of Hispanic origin (ESRI Business Analyst, 2008). (See map 2 in the online version of this article, http://www.unf.edu/coas/cci under Publications.) These percentages are higher than that of the city in general, which is estimated at 5.2 percent in 2005. A very small percentage (zero to three) of Hispanics live in the extreme north and west areas of town, as well as the city core and northwest quadrant. Also, more Hispanics live near Naval Station Mayport and Naval Air Station Jacksonville (ESRI Business Analyst, 2008).

The residential patterns of Asians is similar to that of Hispanics in that a very small percentage (0 to 3 percent) reside in the extreme north and west areas of the city, as well as the city core and northwest quadrant (ESRI Business Analyst, 2008). However, the tracts with 0 to 3 percent Asian population cover larger areas than those of the Hispanic population, partly because there is a smaller percentage of Asians in the city than Hispanics. Furthermore, these areas may be more representative of the Asian population of the city as it is estimated that Asians represent 3.3 percent of the city's entire population in 2005. Like Hispanics, Asians also appear to concentrate in the southeastern part of town more than other areas (ESRI Business Analyst, 2008). (See map 3 in the online version of this article, http://www.unf.edu/coas/cci under Publications.)

CONCLUSIONS

There is no question that Duval County's population is becoming more racially and ethnically diverse. The percentage of non-Hispanic whites has continually decreased over the past decades, while the percentage of minorities, especially non-Black minorities, has risen.

With the ever-increasing diversity of our city comes the potential for racial segregation, discrimination, and conflict. While American institutions have made some progress to accommodate people of other races and ethnicities, particularly those who do not speak English, more must be done. Jacksonville has adapted to the changing demographics, such as creating an International Affairs Unit within the Jacksonville Sheriff's Office to assist non-English-speaking citizens with translation and safety issues (Coleman, 2009). However, it is only a three-member unit. In fact, just recently, a complaint was filed with the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development against Jacksonville Housing Authority for failure to translate documents into Spanish (Conner, 2009).

Concern has also been raised by community leaders and commission members regarding what is perceived as increasing tension between Blacks and non-Black minorities (sometimes referred to as Browns). It has been reported that the presumed alliance between these two groups has become

increasingly strained in recent years. It is believed that "many Blacks resent what is seen as Hispanics leapfrogging them up the socioeconomic ladder, and some complain of the skin-color prejudices that are particularly strong in some Hispanic countries, notably Mexico" (Buchanan, 2005: p. 1). This conflict continues to mount as legal and illegal Hispanic immigrants take residence in U.S. neighborhoods, many times predominately Black neighborhoods. Some communities document problems in the form of violence, such as fights on school campuses between Blacks and non-Black minorities (Buchanan, 2005).

Consequently, it is imperative that we, as a community, understand the changing population around us to reduce potential problems. While Jacksonville does not appear to experience conflict to the same extent as larger cities, clear challenges lay ahead. Cities of similar size as Jacksonville, such as Charlotte, Memphis, Louisville, and Ft. Worth, may observe similar trends. Ways to thwart such problems include giving a voice to all groups of people and eliminating barriers to access to services. Frustrations can run high when it is perceived that a particular group is not getting its voice heard. For instance, a Black woman participating in a forum for the most recent race relations study voiced such frustration, stating,

> The mayor has a Hispanic American advisory board . . . wanting to make sure that as the influx of Hispanic Americans comes to Jacksonville that we're prepared . . . that the needs of that population of people are met. I'm not mad at them. Of all these years, how come there was never . . . any concern with creating the same environment for the African American population? How come there's never been . . . a Mayor's African American advisory board?"

NOTES

The Northeast Florida Center for Community Initiatives at the University of North Florida is an Applied Sociological research center dedicated to providing high-quality research and evaluation support to community, local, state, and federal programs affecting community life in Northeast Florida. You can find us on the web at http://www.unf.edu/coas/cci/.

1. "Florida's dropout rate is a *single-year* indicator that compares the number of dropouts in grades 9–12 to the total 9–12 students enrolled at anytime during a single year" (Florida Department of Education, 2008, p. 1).

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