

The Song Remains the Same: The Resistance of Racial Attitudes and Perceptions to Change over Time

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Jacksonville Human Rights Commission



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Introduction

Jacksonville's race relations have been a major area of analysis for the Jacksonville Human Rights Commission and The Northeast Florida Center for Community Initiatives (CCI) at The University of North Florida (UNF) for the past several years. In 1998, the Human Rights Commission (then the Community Relations Commission) and CCI/UNF entered into a collaborative effort to address the issues in this community that are seen as impediments to local economic and social growth. The first wave of this study was completed in Spring 1999 and the latest study was completed in Spring 2005.

Throughout the research process, a variety of research strategies were employed, including a detailed examination of U.S. Census data from 1970 - 2000, public opinion surveys, and face-to-face interviews. The findings from these efforts are examined and presented in this report to better understand the trends that have emerged from all of the data collected to date. Quotes from the interview phases of the project have been included throughout this report to illuminate the study findings.

Combined, these techniques present a more comprehensive and better understanding of the racial and ethnic diversity dynamics in this growing Southern metropolis.¹ Before continuing, an important caveat is warranted. For most of the past three decades, conversations on race in Jacksonville have concerned mostly Black-White relations, in large part because of the limited representation of other racial or ethnic groups in this region. This has changed dramatically over the past five years, with the size of the Hispanic and Asian communities growing at much faster rates than those of Whites and

¹ *A Note on Language.* Throughout this paper, the results of the public opinion survey are discussed, frequently citing differences by race of respondents. In the initial screening process for this survey, if respondents indicated they were Black, interviewers asked if they preferred to be referred to as "Black" or "African American." The responses to this item were almost equally divided between "Black," "African American," and "does not matter." To that end, for consistency purposes the term "Black" is used throughout this paper when referring to "Blacks" or "African Americans."



Blacks. Due to the lack of timely and comprehensive information, however, as well as the limitations of the historical record, this analysis concentrates primarily on Black-White relations, with additional information on non-Black minorities where that information is available. It is also important to note that this report is also based on research that is on-going, with a special emphasis on the non-Black minority groups. Findings from this additional research will be reported as available.

Population Change

Jacksonville and the Jacksonville MSA

Since the Jacksonville/Duval County consolidation in 1968, Jacksonville has grown considerably. As can be seen in [Chart 1](#), in 1970 the overall population of Jacksonville was slightly less than 530,000. By 2000, the Census found that Jacksonville's population increased to over three-quarter million people. This represents a population increase of over 47 percent since 1970.

It is important to note that this tremendous growth represents only changes within the Jacksonville/Duval County borders. In early 1996, the Jacksonville metropolitan statistical area (MSA), which includes parts of the surrounding counties of St. Johns, Clay, Nassau, and Baker, topped the one million mark. By 2000, the Jacksonville MSA had grown to over 1.2 million people. In all, between 1970 and 2000, the greater Jacksonville area population had basically doubled in size.

Population Change and the Racial Makeup of Jacksonville

Over the past several decades, population growth within Jacksonville has varied significantly across racial groups. While population increased for all groups, minority racial groups increased at a much faster pace than Whites. In fact, the Black population in Jacksonville increased by 84 percent between 1970 and 2000. Between 1970 and

2000, the overall proportion of Blacks increased from 22 percent to 28 percent of the population in Duval County.

Even more dramatic is the increase in non-Black minorities during the past three decades. Between 1970 and 2000, non-Black minority groups increased over 1,000 percent (Chart 2). In 1970, minorities (other than Blacks) accounted for only one half of one percent of the population of Jacksonville (slightly over 3,000 persons). By the 2000 Census, the size of this group increased ten fold, to over four percent of the overall population. The 2000 Census also allowed persons to assign multiple races to themselves, and over 15 thousand persons in Duval County listed themselves as multi racial. When multiple race cases are combined with other non-Black minorities, approximately 50,000 persons, or 6.4 percent of the overall population, can be considered non-Black minority residents.

In all, therefore, between 1970 and 2000, the White population in Jacksonville during this period increased just over 25 percent in actual size, yet decreased from 77 percent of the population to just over 65 percent. By the 2000 Census, over one-third of the population of Jacksonville can be considered minority residents.

Despite overall population growth for the city, we find a number of areas within the community where the number of residents has declined, frequently by large proportions. Indeed, for all of the inner city areas (Census Tracts 1-29) -- as is true for many cities in the Northern U.S. -- we find declines in population throughout the entire period (see Map 1). As Jacksonville expanded between 1970 and 2000, residential patterns for residents shifted to the "newer" sections of the city. Areas to the East toward the Intracoastal waterway and South along the river experienced tremendous growth during the last several decades.

The late 1960s and early 1970s, by virtue of favorable Civil Rights litigation also opened doors for residents to broaden their option of neighborhoods in which to live.

Significant numbers of Blacks were found in only a few Census Tracts in 1970, with the majority of Blacks residing in Tracts comprising the original city limits. By 2000, we find that Black residential patterns indicate that a number of Blacks reside in many areas of the city, although there remains a significant concentration of Blacks within the core city, and several areas (most notably along the St. Johns River, the newer “suburban” areas in the Southside, and the Beaches areas) inhabited overwhelmingly by White residents.

Socio-economic Indicators and Change

Income Change in Jacksonville 1970 - 2000

In addition to population growth, Jacksonville as a whole has seen an improvement economically. Overall, median income levels in Jacksonville have improved over the past three decades. In fact, there is a remarkable jump in the median household income for all years. When examining incomes adjusted for inflation (using the Consumer Price Index (CPI) from 2000),² the overall economic picture is less compelling. Indeed, adjusting for inflation, “real incomes” for Jacksonville residents dropped significantly between 1970 and 1980. During the decade of the 1970s, Jacksonville’s median household income dropped, in “real” terms, almost 20 percent. By the 2000 Census, however, Jacksonville’s median household income had fully recovered from the 1970s collapse, increasing to over \$40,000.

² The CPI was used to adjust the income levels comes from the 1991 Statistical Abstract of the United States, U.S. Department of Commerce. To adjust for the CPI, 1970 income was increased by a factor of 4.44, 1980 data were increased by 2.09, and 1990 data was adjusted by a factor of 1.32.



There is a marked disparity when comparing median household incomes for different races.³ Overall, 2000 Census median incomes for Whites were over \$44,700, whereas non-Black minority groups' incomes were slightly over \$40,000. For Blacks, however, median incomes reported in the 2000 Census came in at less than \$30,000, one-third less than White households that same year (see [Chart 4](#)).

Although some closure of this gap appears to have taken place over time, a significant disparity is evident across the Census years. In 1970, household income for Blacks, when adjusted for the CPI, was \$22,700, almost \$20,000 behind White household income of over \$42,100 – a gap of over 46 percent. By 1990, adjusted median household income for Blacks was \$23,445 – still 43.5 percent less than the median income earned by White residents. Note that while everyone experienced income decline by the 1980 Census, Black households gained ground on White households slightly during the 1980s. By 2000, the Black-White disparity had been reduced to 33 percent.

Income disparities are evident not only among different racial groups, but geographically, as well. As can be seen in [Map 2](#), the 2000 median household income for the majority of Census Tracts in Jacksonville was \$30,000 or more. However, a number of Census Tracts in the core city area had median household incomes below \$20,000, close to the poverty level for a family of four (\$17,603). Furthermore, in this same area, as well as a few Census Tracts just West of Downtown and on the Southside, we see Census Tracts with median household incomes less than \$30,000. All other Tracts had median household income levels of \$30,000 or over, with a large number of neighborhoods on the Eastside and Southside having median household incomes of \$50,000 or greater.

³ In this discussion we primarily examine Black-White differences in Economic measures. As stated above, median household incomes for non-Black minorities were 90 percent of White households, and poverty figures, where available, indicate that as of the 2000 Census non-Black minorities present figures similar to



When we examine the residential patterns for Blacks in relation to the median income of the areas, we find that in addition to Blacks being concentrated in the core areas, these areas are also the poorest sections of the city. Indeed, the majority of Blacks live in areas with median incomes of less than \$30,000, with few Black families living in areas with very high incomes.

Poverty Change in Jacksonville 1970 - 2000

Additional economic measures again show overall improvement for Jacksonville. The city, overall, has seen some significant improvements in the poverty levels as measured in these Decennial Census periods. Between 1970 and 1990, Jacksonville experienced a reduction of approximately 30 percent in the poverty level, from 14.1 percent of all families below the poverty line in 1970 to less than 10 percent by 1990. In the 2000 Census (citing figures for 1999) the poverty rate for Jacksonville increased 20 percent to 11.9 percent.

When comparing poverty for various racial groups, we generally find that all groups have shown reductions in these problems over the past 20 years. However, there are marked differences in these measures when comparing different groups. In 1970, the Black family poverty rate was 35 percent, almost four times the rate for Whites (see [Chart 5](#)). Although each group improved over the two decades, by 1990 the overall gap had widened. In fact, the Black poverty rate was over five times as high as White poverty levels in 1990. By 1990, one in four Black families was impoverished, while only one in 20 White families lived in poverty. Non-Black minority families experienced poverty levels at over twice the rate of Whites, and approximately half the rate for Blacks in both 1980 and 1990 (1970 data did not include this group).

Whites. With the dramatic increase in the estimates of the non-Black minority population since the 2000 Census, continued analysis is underway to better understand how this group is faring.

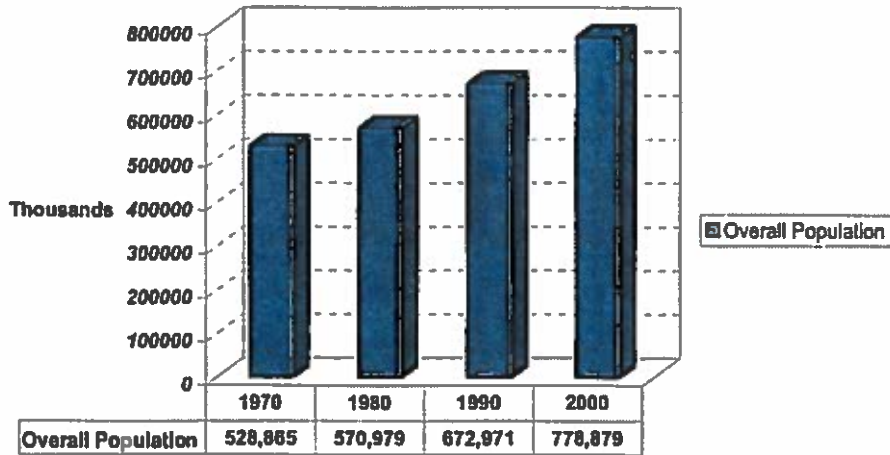
By the 2000 Census, minority poverty rates had decreased, with Black rates slightly over 22 percent and non-Black minority rates approximately 12 percent, while White poverty rates increased to 7.6 percent. Census data for persons indicating multiple races showed poverty rates of 14.5 percent.

Like median income, poverty rates vary across the city by Census Tracts. As can be seen in [Map 3](#), while a number of areas experienced poverty rates below ten percent (below the city rate), extremely high poverty among families in Jacksonville in 2000 was concentrated primarily in Census Tracts from the original portion of the core city. Several of these core Census Tracts had poverty rates at 30 percent or greater of households.

Again, when the residential patterns of Blacks are examined in regard to poverty areas, we find that those areas which have the highest rates of poverty also are those with the highest concentration of Blacks. Areas with poverty rates lower or (in the case of many other Census Tracts) much lower rates of poverty have a lower proportion of Black residents than high poverty areas.



**Chart 1: Population Change
Jacksonville, 1970 - 2000**



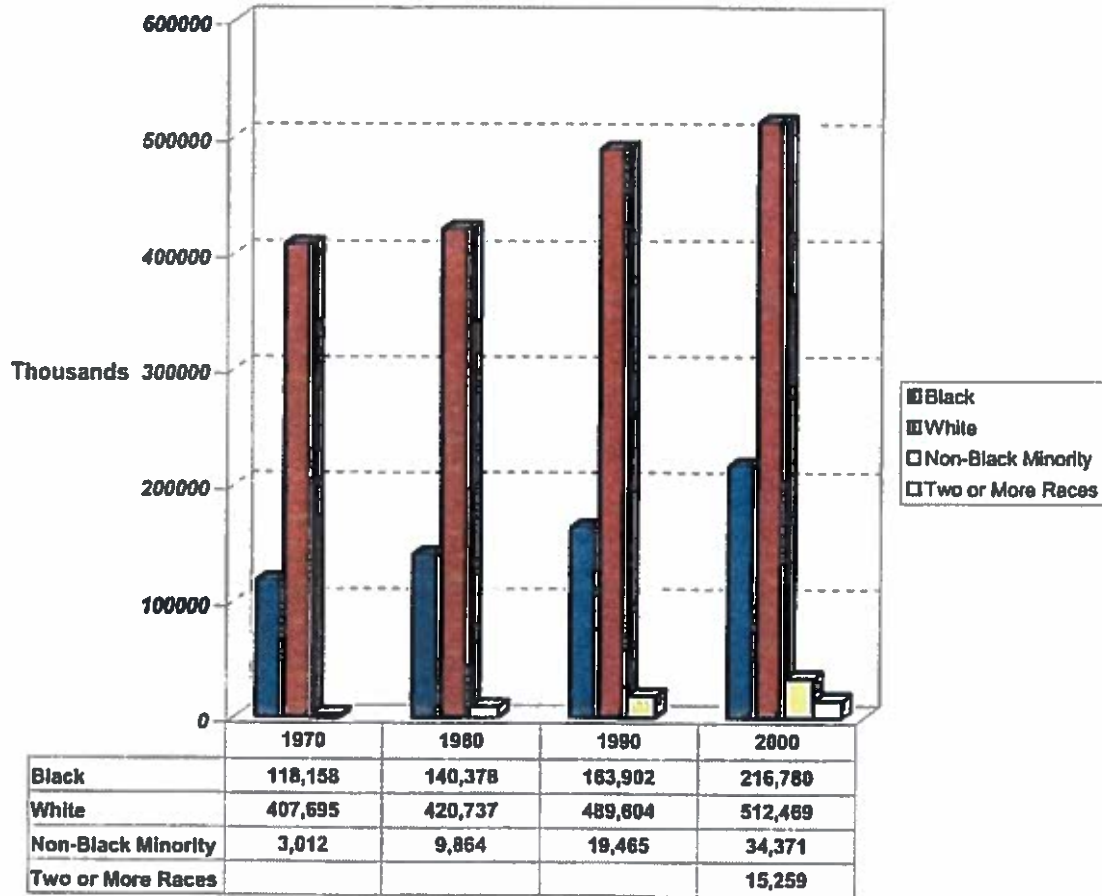
Source: U.S. Census Bureau⁴

Population Change: 1970-2000 = 47.3%, 1980-2000 = 36.4%, 1990-2000 = 15.7%

⁴Population reflects only the City of Jacksonville and not the Metropolitan Statistical Area (MSA).



**Chart 2: Population Change by Race
Jacksonville, 1970 - 2000**



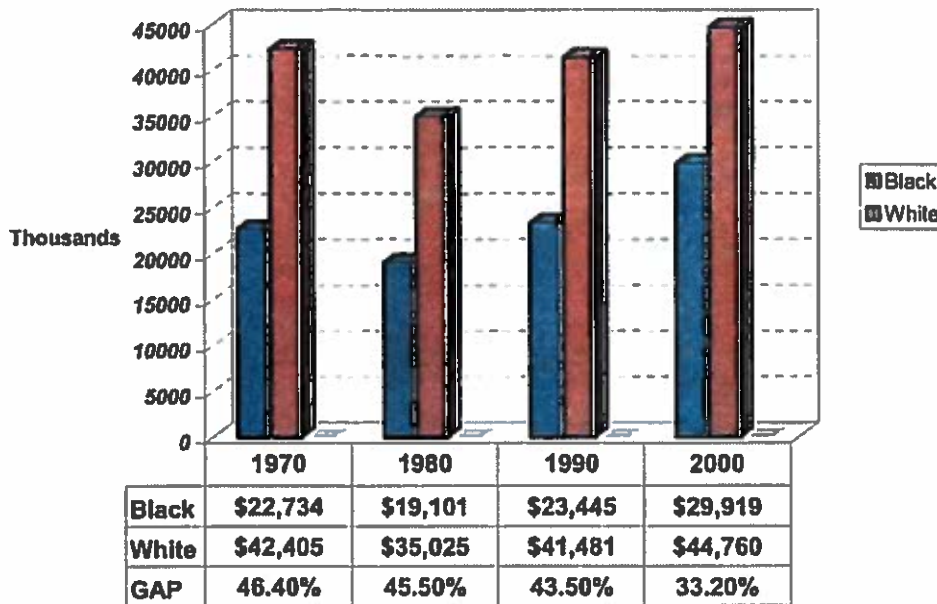
Source: U.S. Census Bureau
Population Change 1970 – 2000:

Black = 83.5%

White = 25.7%

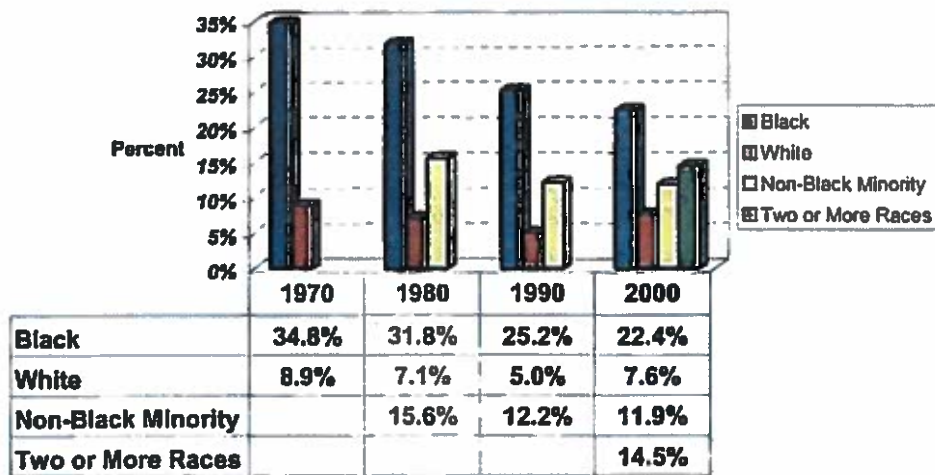
Non-Black Minority = 1,041.1%

**Chart 3: Income Change by Race
Jacksonville, 1970 - 2000**



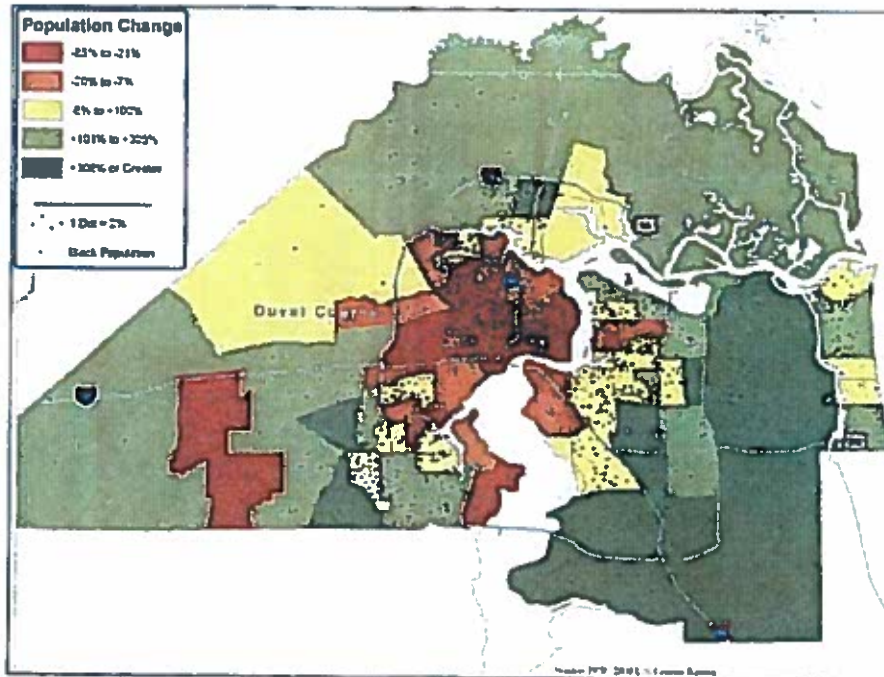
Source: U.S. Census Bureau

**Chart 4: Percent Poverty by Race
Jacksonville, 1970 - 2000**

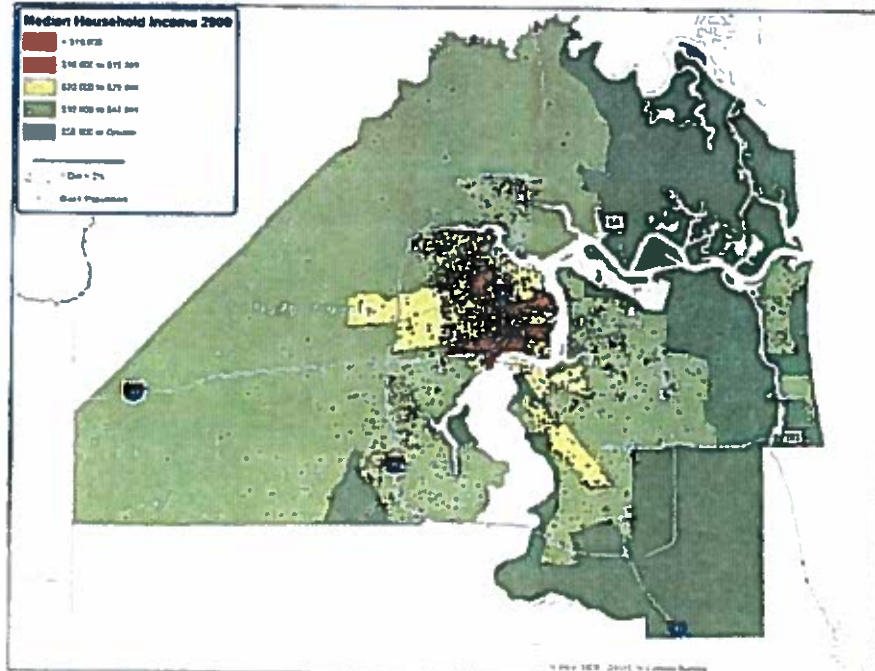


Source: U.S. Census Bureau

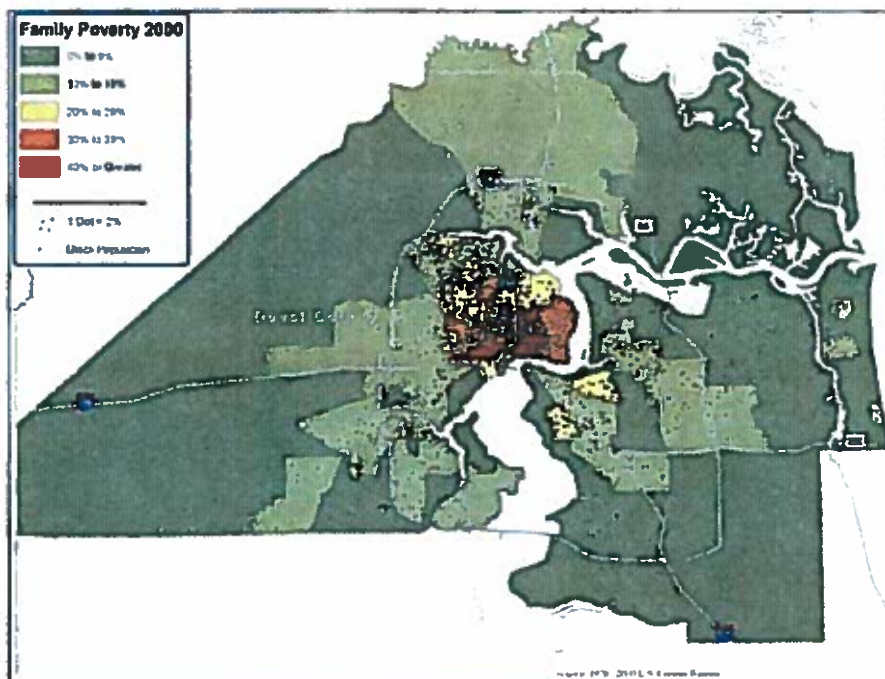
**Map 1: Percent Population Change from 1970 to 2000
by Percent Black Population 2000, Jacksonville, Florida**



Map 2: 2000 Median Household Income by Black Residential Patterns, Jacksonville, Florida



Map 3: 2000 Family Poverty Rates by Black Residential Patterns, Jacksonville, Florida



Telephone Public Opinion Survey

Between 1998 and 2004, CCI conducted a series of Public Opinion Surveys in Jacksonville to assess the perceptions of residents. The survey uncovered a number of issues facing the community, most importantly the finding that Whites and Non-Whites, particularly Blacks, see the world in very different ways.

Rating: Quality of Race Relations in Jacksonville

The majority of Jacksonville respondents across all of the racial groups consider race relations to be somewhat or very important. However, Blacks have generally reported race relations to be more important than Whites and non-Black minorities. Although the proportion varied over the past five years, approximately eight out of ten Whites



indicated they believed race relations to be an important issue. Approximately 90 percent of Blacks and 85 percent of non-Black minorities rated race relations as important.

"It's changing, but not at the rate that we would like to see." – White Male

Although most respondents believe race relations is an important issue, sentiment is less clear about the current state of affairs in the community. Less than half of all 2003 respondents believed race relations improved during the past five years. Whites have typically been more optimistic than Blacks and non-Black minorities, however, the gap between the racial groups was only five percent in 2003 (see [Table 1](#)). White and non-Black minority respondents were more optimistic in 2003 than they were in 1998, while Blacks' perceptions have remained extremely constant.

"A lot of overt racism still exists, and a lot of unintentional, unconscious racism happens each and every day in many ways..." – White Male

"The community does not recognize non-Black minorities—just Black and White." – Black Male

Interestingly, although approximately 40 percent of Blacks and non-Black minorities believe race relations have gotten better over the past five years, a small percentage of these respondents rate current race relations as good or very good. Furthermore, as seen in [Table 2](#), these figures differ greatly with the perceptions of White respondents. While almost half of the Whites believed race relations at the present time to be good or very good, only about one out of five (21 percent) Blacks and one out of three (32 percent) non-Black minorities felt accordingly.

Table 1

Percent of “better” responses to status of race relations over the past five years by race (1998–2003).

Survey Year	Race Percentages and Gaps				
	White	Black	B/W Gap	Non-Black Minority	N-B/W Gap
1998	41%	40%	1%	38%	3%
1999	51%	40%	11%	50%	1%
2000	50%	41%	9%	30%	20%
2002	44%	43%	1%	49%	5%
2003	45%	40%	5%	43%	2%

Source: Jacksonville Survey, 1998-2003.

Table 2

Percent of “good to very good” responses to status of current race relations by race (2003).

Survey Year	Race Percentages and Gaps				
	White	Black	B/W Gap	Non-Black Minority	N-B/W Gap
2003	49%	21%	28%	32%	17%

Source: Jacksonville Survey, 2003.

“I am not real optimistic in the short term, but conditionally optimistic in the long term. It won’t come real soon, but I’m optimistic.” – Black Female

“Race relations issues get lost in the babble of homeland security, terrorism and the Super Bowl.” – White Female

Again, Whites had more favorable ratings than Blacks concerning the future of race relations in Jacksonville. Sixty-one percent of Whites believed race relations will be better or much better in the next five years, whereas 55 percent of Blacks felt the same. However, non-Black minorities were most optimistic of all, with more than two thirds of non-Black minorities envisioning improved race relations. When comparing results



from 1998 with those from 2003, the optimism of all three racial groups has declined. Results are presented in Table 3.

"My experience is that the best thing we can do is to encourage greater understanding." – White Male

Table 3

Percent of "better to much better" responses to status of race relations over the next five years by race (1998–2003).

Survey Year	Race Percentages and Gaps				
	White	Black	B/W Gap	Non-Black Minority	N-B/W Gap
1998	63%	57%	6%	79%	16%
1999	67%	46%	21%	73%	6%
2000	69%	70%	1%	76%	7%
2002	56%	57%	1%	53%	3%
2003	61%	55%	6%	68%	7%

Source: Jacksonville Survey, 1998-2003.

Rating: Perceptions of the Treatment of Minorities

Overall, Whites and Blacks have differed dramatically in their perceptions of how Blacks are treated in Jacksonville compared to Whites. Whites and non-Black minorities expressed much more optimism that everyone receives equal treatment, while most Blacks disagreed.

When asked about perceptions of equal treatment overall, White and non-Black minority respondents were generally positive, with over 70 percent of Whites and two-thirds of non-Black minorities suggesting Blacks were treated equally (see Table 4). Additionally, the proportion of these positive responses increased over the past five years. The vast majority of Blacks, however, believed they were not treated equally, with positive responses recorded from approximately one-third of Black respondents in the 2003 survey year. Unlike White and non-Black minority respondents, the



percentage of Blacks perceiving equal treatment overall has decreased over the survey years.

A similar response set was seen when respondents were asked about how Blacks were treated at work. Three out of four White respondents believed that Blacks were treated equally or better on the job. Although varying across the survey period, the majority of non-Black minorities also indicated that Blacks were treated the same or better on the job. In stark contrast, however, less than half of the Black respondents believed they were treated equally at work.

This disparity in perceptions between Whites and Blacks was also evident when respondents were asked about how Blacks were treated in stores. Over two-thirds of White respondents, and over half of non-Black minority respondents, believed that Blacks were treated the same as Whites in stores. In contrast, less than 45 percent of Black respondents believed they were treated equally.

“Whites don’t realize that profiling and stereotyping and treating African-American males as though they have no value is still part of the system.” – White Male

Respondents were also asked a series of questions concerning how Blacks were treated by police and police-community relations. As with the questions concerning the overall treatment of Blacks, Whites and Blacks viewed police issues from dramatically different perspectives. In all, approximately two-thirds of Black respondents believed that police treated Blacks worse than Whites. In contrast, less than one-third of White respondents believed Blacks were treated worse, and only about 40 percent of non-Black minority members believed Blacks were treated worse. Results can be found in [Table 5](#).

Table 4

Percent of “same or better” responses to how Blacks are treated overall compared to Whites by race (1998–2003).

Survey Year	Race Percentages and Gaps				
	White	Black	B/W Gap	Non-Black Minority	N-B/W Gap
1998	68%	40%	28%	53%	15%
1999	68%	39%	29%	65%	7%
2000	69%	46%	23%	60%	9%
2002	73%	41%	32%	67%	6%
2003	73%	33%	40%	64%	9%

Source: Jacksonville Survey, 1998-2003.

Table 5

Percent of “worse” responses to how Blacks are treated by police compared to Whites by race (1998–2003).

Survey Year	Race Percentages and Gaps				
	White	Black	B/W Gap	Non-Black Minority	N-B/W Gap
1998	24%	65%	41%	38%	14%
1999	29%	65%	36%	46%	27%
2000	28%	60%	32%	31%	3%
2002	29%	70%	41%	39%	10%
2003	32%	69%	37%	40%	8%

Source: Jacksonville Survey, 1998-2003.

As with the questions regarding the treatment of Blacks, quite different perceptions were found between the racial groups when asked how non-Black minorities were treated (compared to Whites). Overall, the vast majority of Whites believed that non-Black minority group members were treated the same as Whites (see Table 6). More than half of non-Black minority members also tended to agree that they were treated equally. Interestingly however, Blacks were less likely to believe non-Black minority groups were treated equally.

Table 6

Percent of “same or better” responses to how non-Black minorities are treated compared to Whites (1998–2003).

Survey Year	Race Percentages and Gaps				
	White	Black	B/W Gap	Non-Black Minority	N-B/W Gap
1998	66%	58%	8%	48%	18%
1999	66%	47%	19%	69%	3%
2000	65%	56%	9%	62%	3%
2002	71%	53%	18%	67%	4%
2003	71%	45%	26%	56%	15%

Source: Jacksonville Survey, 1998-2003.

Rating: Perceptions of Employment, Housing, and Educational Opportunities

When asked about equal opportunities for all citizens, dramatic differences between Black and White perceptions continued, and in most cases the gaps between White and Black perceptions have increased over the survey years. For example, throughout the past five survey years, approximately 80 percent of Whites believed that Blacks had equal opportunities for good jobs (see Table 7). Less than half of the Black respondents (except in 2000), on the other hand, believed that they had equal opportunity. By 2003, the proportion of Blacks believing they had equal employment opportunity dropped to below 40 percent. Non-Black minorities experienced a drop in the percentages as well. While a large majority of non-Black respondents had agreed that Blacks have job opportunities equal or better than Whites in earlier surveys, less than 60 percent had this perception in the 2003 survey.

As seen in Table 8, Whites and Blacks also differed on perceptions of housing opportunity. More than three out of four White respondents indicated that they believed Blacks could live in any area of the city they chose and less than 60 percent of Blacks agreed. Again, the perceptions of non-Black minorities fell between those of Whites and Blacks.

Table 7

Percent of “same or better” responses to opportunities for Blacks getting good jobs compared to Whites by race (1998–2003).

Race Percentages and Gaps					
Survey Year	White	Black	B/W Gap	Non-Black Minority	N-B/W Gap
1998	79%	44%	35%	68%	11%
1999	80%	39%	41%	77%	3%
2000	80%	54%	26%	79%	1%
2002	81%	42%	39%	75%	6%
2003	77%	39%	38%	59%	18%

Source: Jacksonville Survey, 1998-2003.

Table 8

Percent of “same or better” responses to opportunities for Blacks living in any area they choose compared to Whites by race (1998–2003).

Race Percentages and Gaps					
Survey Year	White	Black	B/W Gap	Non-Black Minority	N-B/W Gap
1998	77%	59%	18%	68%	9%
1999	77%	60%	17%	54%	23%
2000	75%	57%	18%	74%	1%
2002	78%	61%	17%	69%	9%
2003	78%	57%	21%	67%	11%

Source: Jacksonville Survey, 1998-2003.

Similar differences emerged in perceptions of educational opportunities for Blacks compared to Whites. Indeed, Whites overwhelmingly believed that Black children had an equal opportunity for getting a good education in Jacksonville (see [Table 9](#)) and that Black high school graduates were equal with regard to opportunities for going to college. Blacks, however, were significantly less likely to express this perspective. Overall, less than 60 percent of Black respondents believed Black children had an equal chance at getting a good education, and only about half believed their children had an



equal chance of going to college. For both of these questions, non-Black minority group members responded similarly to Whites.

Table 9

Percent of "same or better" responses to opportunities for Black children getting a good education compared to Whites by race (1998–2003).

Survey Year	Race Percentages and Gaps				
	White	Black	B/W Gap	Non-Black Minority	N-B/W Gap
1998	79%	52%	27%	75%	4%
1999	79%	51%	28%	74%	5%
2000	79%	60%	19%	76%	3%
2002	79%	61%	18%	69%	10%
2003	77%	56%	21%	72%	5%

Source: Jacksonville Survey, 1998-2003.

Rating: Perceptions of the Media

Disparities in the perceptions of the racial groups continued with questions regarding the media. The majority of Whites and non-Black minorities have consistently agreed or strongly agreed that the media provides fair coverage of minorities, while only 40 percent of Blacks believed the same (see Table 10).

Table 10

Percent of "strongly agree or agree" responses to the media provides fair coverage of minorities by race (1998–2003).

Survey Year	Race Percentages and Gaps				
	White	Black	B/W Gap	Non-Black Minority	N-B/W Gap
1998	79%	44%	35%	61%	18%
1999	76%	38%	38%	62%	14%
2000	77%	42%	35%	72%	5%
2002	73%	41%	32%	55%	18%
2003	76%	40%	36%	60%	16%

Source: Jacksonville Survey, 1998-2003.



Conclusion

Over the past 30 years, Jacksonville has experienced significant social, economic, and racial change. As is clear in this report, however, the city has not grown equally, nor have all citizens of the city fared equally. The “empirical reality” of this community is that how one experiences life is strongly correlated with one’s race. In basically all areas examined, Blacks in Jacksonville remain significantly behind Whites. While narrowing the margin some, Blacks still earn significantly less on average than Whites. Black poverty rates are still three times higher than Whites, and twice the level of non-Black minorities. While the city overall has grown dramatically in the past three decades, historically Black neighborhoods in Jacksonville have seen dramatic population decreases. These historically Black neighborhoods also continue to experience low levels of income and high levels of poverty. Similarly divergent “realities” are found when we examine differences between Blacks and Whites with regard to health issues, employment status, presence in corporate boardrooms, and a number of other “social arenas.”

This difference in “empirical reality” is also manifest in how different races perceive life. Overall, Blacks and Whites in Jacksonville view life from vastly different perspectives, concerning a wide range of quality of life issues. Indeed, these differences in perception suggest two quite divergent “realities” for the majority and minority populations of the community. Whereas most Whites perceive Blacks as receiving equal treatment compared to Whites on a wide variety of fronts, the vast majority of Blacks see significant unequal treatment compared to Whites. These findings were also confirmed in extensive qualitative interviews with community leaders in 1998 and 2004. In addition, these findings mirror a number of studies from non-Black cities and the country in general.



What is particularly striking about these findings is the resilience and strength of the differing opinions over time, particularly in light of efforts by the Jacksonville Human Rights Commission to foster improved race relations in our community. After the initial findings from 1999 were reported, the Commission began several efforts at improving the dialogue between racial groups, including establishing a “Study Circles” program in 1999 (see <http://www.studycircles.org/> for a discussion of Study Circles) and a high profile Race Summit in 2003.

“As the city slowly ‘grows up,’ it’s forced to deal with racial issues.” – Black Female

As Jacksonville, Florida continues to grow, it is imperative that the city continues to address the issues of race relations and diversity. The need for action will become even more important as the number and proportion of non-Black minority groups, particularly those of Hispanic and Asian origin, grows. Such efforts to address race relations and diversity must be taken on by the entire community, including Business, Government, Religious, and Community stakeholders. Only through united, and successful, action at the local level can Jacksonville move forward into the global stage.

“...I feel a sense that Jacksonville is a city of destiny and that the people who mean well, who really are real people who are touched by human needs and who are honest enough to face the realities of our – racial and religious and educational (problems) – have made the decision. ‘We’re going to fix this.’” - Black male

