"The state of the region's schools shows that the way the area is growing hurts residents of almost every city and suburb."

Center on Urban and Metropolitan Policy

Economic and Racial Segregation in Greater Miami's Elementary Schools:

Trends Shaping Metropolitan Growth

Myron Orfield, Anne Discher, and Tom Luce[1]

Findings

An analysis of race and poverty trends in Miami-area elementary schools between 1993 and 2001 reveals that:

- **The elementary school student population in the Miami metropolitan area is growing rapidly, but the growth is very unbalanced.** Regionwide, enrollment increased by 22 percent between 1993 and 2001. Miami-Dade County's elementary enrollment grew by 15 percent, while Broward County's enrollment grew by 35 percent. But some outlying communities in the region saw much faster growth—in some cases as high as 85 percent.
- **The region's two school districts became poorer over this period, and the degree of income segregation worsened.** The number of low-income students in the Miami region grew 33 percent between 1993 and 2001. By 2001, 51 percent of the region's total elementary students were eligible for free lunches, up from 47 percent in 1993. Poor students were also more likely to attend school with other poor students at the end of the period. The share of students who would have had to change schools to achieve an identical mix of poor and non-poor students in each building edged up two percentage points, to 51 percent.
- **As the region's schools became more diverse, racial segregation eased slightly but remained severe.** Miami-area students became a more diverse group between 1993 and 2001. Hispanic enrollment grew by 57 percent and black enrollment grew by 17 percent, while white enrollment decreased by 10 percent. Growth patterns contributed to lingering segregation. Approximately two-thirds of the growth in Hispanic enrollment was in Miami-Dade County schools, while nearly all of the growth in black enrollment took place in Broward County. The number of white students held steady in Broward and declined 29 percent in Miami-Dade.
- **The region's most dramatic social changes are taking place in the suburbs.** While still at alarming levels, poverty and segregation rates in the central city are stabilizing. The most dramatic social changes are taking place in inner suburban communities, which often must address growing need with dwindling fiscal resources.

The concentration of poor and minority students in a particular school can fuel the flight of middle-class families from the surrounding neighborhood. These changes contribute to a vicious cycle of sprawl and disinvestment from existing communities. To help reverse some of these patterns, state and local leaders should explore reforms in land use, taxes, and regional governance.

I. Introduction

As both a southern city and the nation's gateway to Latin America, Miami has long had a majority of children of color in its schools. Bolstered by its history and geography, along with good weather and a healthy economy, the Miami metropolitan area grew rapidly in the 1990s. By 2000, almost 3.9 million lived in the region's two counties, Miami-Dade and Broward. The region's school enrollment grew even faster, becoming poorer and more racially diverse in the process. Rapid, unbalanced growth—coupled with the end of decades-old desegregation plans in the region's school districts—is contributing to the segregation of the greater Miami schools by income and race. No part of the region is immune from its harmful effects. New children—mostly poor and Hispanic or black, many of them immigrants—have disproportionately enrolled in struggling, sometimes deteriorating schools in the region's older communities. At the same time, middle-class families of all races have retreated to new neighborhoods on the region's edge. These people find themselves contending with the overcrowded schools, strained budgets, and traffic congestion that often accompany rapid growth.

This report is intended to highlight the social changes underway in Miami-area schools and discuss their implications for metropolitan growth policies. As throughout the United States, patterns of school segregation are supported by incentives built into a wide variety of public policies. Transportation and infrastructure investment patterns subsidize sprawling development on the suburban fringe. The fragmented political nature of the metropolitan area makes thoughtful, efficient land-use planning—an important mechanism for assuring that all residents have access to jobs and affordable housing—nearly impossible. Tax policies encourage local governments to engage in wasteful competition for the most affluent citizens. The way the region responds to this increasing polarization represents a powerful portent for its future.

Analysis in this study centers on schools because they act as a kind of "canary in the coal mine"—an institution that tells a lot about both the current health and future well-being of the community surrounding it. This is true, first, because community stability depends greatly on the performance of schools. Deepening poverty and other socioeconomic changes appear in schools before they do in neighborhoods and in elementary schools before secondary schools. When the perceived quality of a school declines, it can set in motion a vicious cycle of middle-class flight and disinvestment.[2] Schools often experience this social change faster than neighborhoods do because families with no children in the public school system (empty nesters, the young, and families with children in private schools) will often remain in a neighborhood past the time when most families with school-aged children in public schools flee. This can ease the increase in overall poverty rates. But ultimately, in most cases, when schools in a community reach certain thresholds of poverty and segregation, middle-class households of all types (i.e., households with residential choices) will choose to live in other areas.

Table 1. Largest U.S. School Districts, 2001

Rank	School System	Total enrollment
1	New York City Public Schools	1,066,945
2	Los Angeles Unified	721,346
3	City of Chicago School District	435,261
4	**Miami-Dade County School District**	**368,356**
5	**Broward County School District**	**251,129**

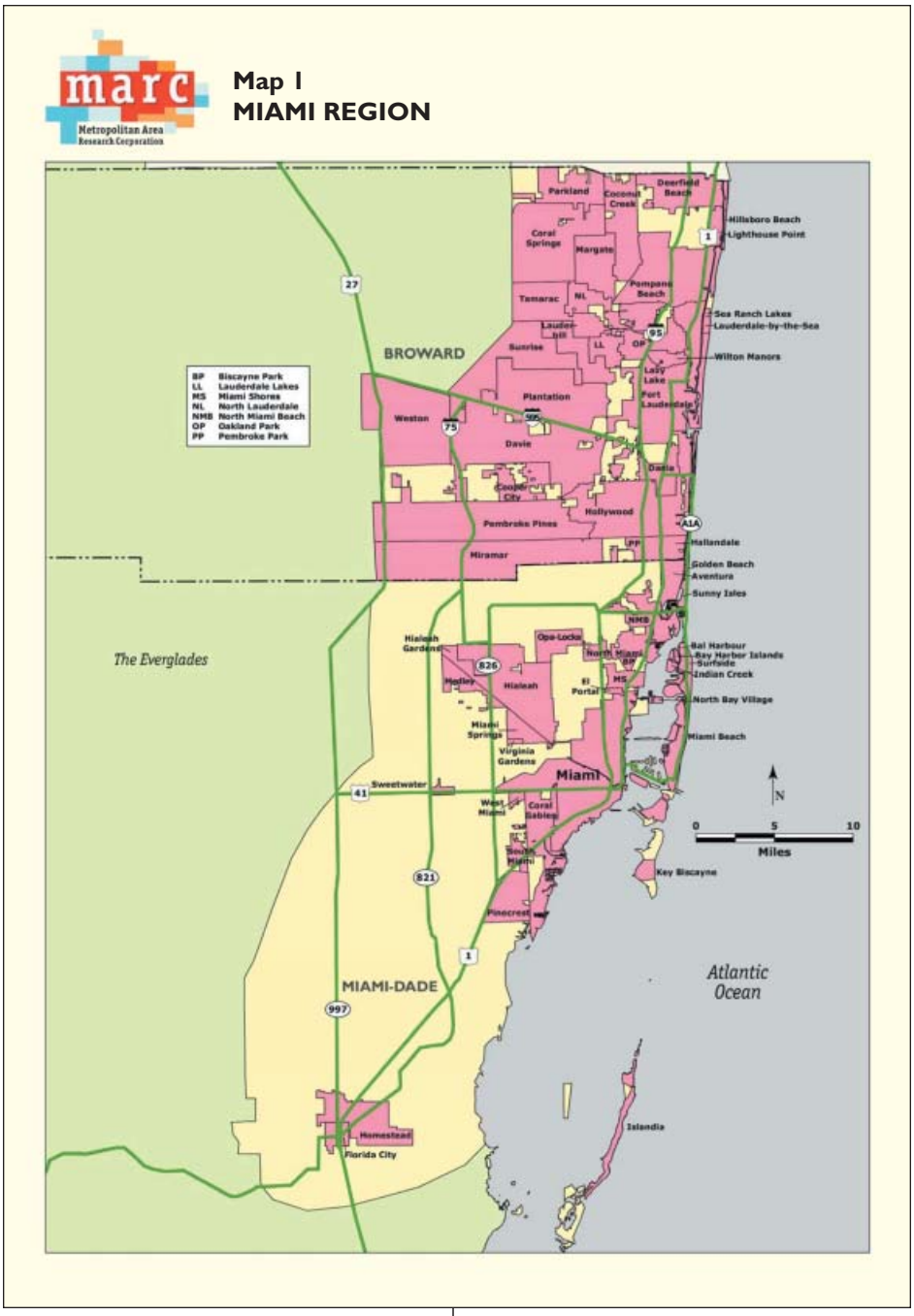
Source: National Center for Educational Statistics, Common Core of Data, Department of Education, 2002.

II. Methodology/Definitions

This report examines changes in the racial and economic composition of elementary schools in the Miami region between 1993 and 2002. The region—also referred to as "greater Miami"—is defined in this report as the U.S. Census Bureau's Miami Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area. The Miami CMSA includes Miami-Dade and Broward counties (Map 1).

Because Florida has established a single school district for each of its counties, greater Miami, unlike most comparably sized metropolitan areas, is home to only two school districts: Miami-Dade County and Broward County. They are the nation's fourth and fifth largest districts, behind only those of New York, Los Angeles and Chicago (Table 1).

For analysis, this report relies on data from the Common Core of Data, an annual, national database compiled by the National Center for Educational Statistics, a division of the U.S. Department of Education.[3] This survey uses data for two years, 1993 and 2001. The database provides information on individual schools, including total enrollment, the number of students eligible for free lunch and a breakdown of enrollment by racial or ethnic group. Because together they comprise the vast majority of students in the Miami region, this report focuses on black, Hispanic and white students.



The report uses eligibility for free lunch as a proxy for poverty. Free lunches are available to children of families whose household income is at or below 130 percent of the federal poverty line. In 2001, the maximum annual household income for an eligible family of three was $19,019.[4] This study defines high-poverty schools as those with free lunch eligibility rates that are at least 25 percent above the average rate for the region. In the Miami area, high-poverty schools in 2001 were those with at least 63 percent of its students eligible for free lunches.

Data at the elementary-school level are used for several reasons. First, they offer finer-grain analyses of neighborhood trends because there are more elementary schools than middle- or high-school buildings. In addition, there is some evidence that elementary-level free lunch eligibility data are more accurate than data from higher grades because eligible elementary students are more likely to enroll in the free-lunch program than older eligible students.

To assess broader patterns within school districts, school-level data were aggregated using geographic information system (GIS) software to assign each school building to the municipality or county unincorporated area where it is located.

Finally, this report makes use of dissimilarity indexes to measure the levels of racial and income segregation among area elementary students. These commonly used statistics measure the degree to which two groups are evenly distributed in a given geographic area. In this case, they can be interpreted as the percentage of one of the student groups that would have to change schools to achieve a perfectly integrated enrollment—for example, an equal mix of black and non-black students, or poor and non-poor students, in each building.[5]

III. Findings

A. The elementary school student population in the Miami metropolitan area is growing rapidly, but the growth is very unbalanced.

Between 1993 and 2001, the number of elementary school students in the Miami region grew by 22 percent, or over 56,000 students. By 2001, total elementary enrollment was 310,578 (Table 2). These trends reflect broader population changes in greater Miami. The region grew by 21 percent, or 683,798 people, in the 1990s. This was comparable to the growth rate in metropolitan San Antonio (20 percent) but slower than that of greater Atlanta, where population grew 39 percent. Of the two counties comprising greater Miami, Broward County, which makes

up the northern half of the region, added more residents and added them at a faster pace. It grew by approximately 367,000 residents or 29 percent. Miami-Dade County, the region's southern county, grew by 16 percent or 316,000 people.

Following a similar pattern, elementary student enrollment in Miami-Dade County grew more modestly than the region as a whole, 15 percent, from 1993 to 2001. By 2001, 185,635 elementary students were attending schools in the district. The district covers a wide range of communities, including the city of Miami; struggling inner suburbs like Opa-Locka and El Portal; fast-growing cities like Florida City, Homestead and Hialeah Gardens; and stable affluent places like Coral Gables and Key Biscayne. In 2001, the school district was home to 60 percent of the region's students, nearly three-fourths of the region's poor students, and 81 percent of the region's Hispanic students (Appendix Table 1).

The Broward County schools experienced more explosive student population growth than Miami-Dade County schools between 1993 and 2001. The county's enrollment grew 35 percent between 1993 and 2001. The district includes older communities experiencing growing social strain, like Fort Lauderdale and Lauderdale Lake, as well as fast-developing middle-class areas like Pembroke Pines and Parkland. Broward County schools, home to 40 percent of the region's students, enrolled 44 percent of the region's black students and 72 percent of the region's white students. In 2001, Broward County's elementary enrollment was 124,943.

Broward County includes some communities where elementary schools grew much more rapidly than the district's average. Enrollment within the city of Pembroke Pines, for example, more than doubled. Coconut Creek schools grew by 85 percent and enrollment at one elementary school in Weston doubled between 2000 and 2001.[6] This rate of growth causes significant strains. School officials in these areas often scramble to accommodate the burgeoning student population by bringing in portable classrooms, raising class sizes and shifting attendance boundaries—at times leaving parents uncertain about what school their children will attend from year to year.

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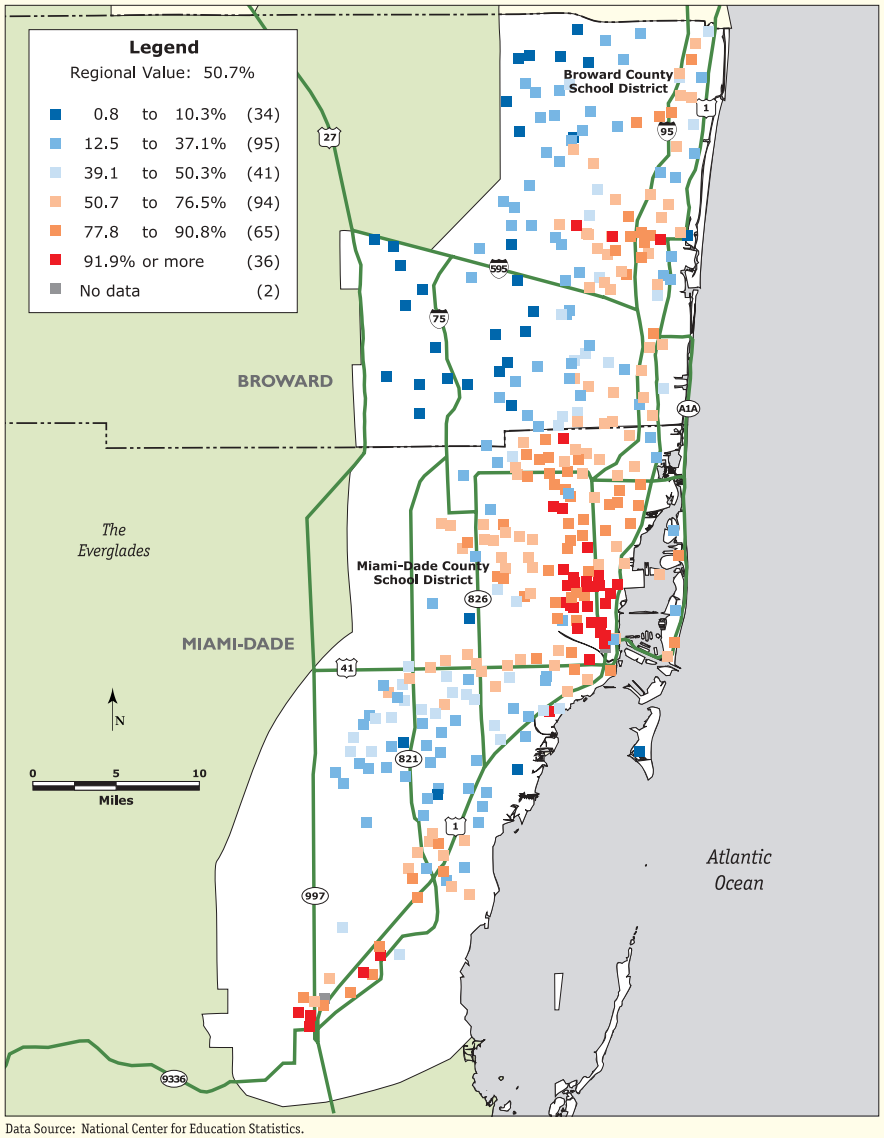
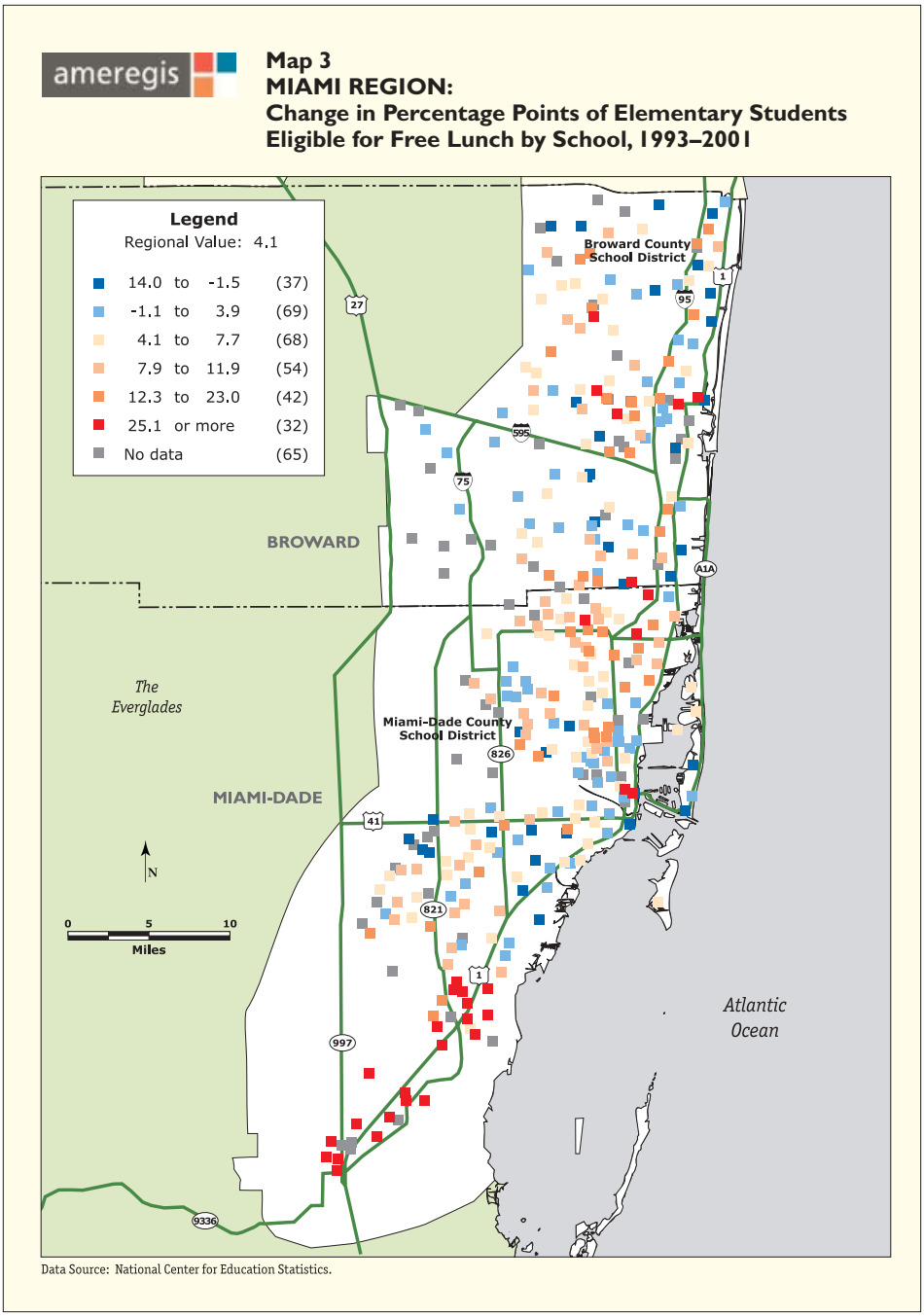
Map 2
MIAMI REGION:
Percentage of Elementary Students Eligible for Free Lunch by School, 2001



Data Source: National Center for Education Statistics.

B. Elementary students in the region's two school districts got poorer over this period, and the degree of income segregation worsened.

The number of low-income students in the greater Miami area increased 33 percent from 1993 to 2001—an increase of nearly 39,000 students. That's a considerably faster rate of



Data Source: National Center for Education Statistics.

change than the 22 percent increase in total enrollment. Miami-Dade County experienced the greater absolute growth in poor students (24,630 students) while the larger percentage gain (48 percent) occurred in Broward County (Map 3).

Throughout the region, many poor schools got poorer, and many schools in the western portions of both counties saw an influx of low-income students, although most of these continued to have relatively low poverty levels. By 2001, 51 percent of the region's total elementary students were eligible for free lunches, up from 47 percent in 1993.

In 2001, poor schools were clustered in the cities of Miami and Fort Lauderdale and many adjacent communities, including Hialeah, Opa-Locka and North Miami Beach near Miami; and Dania, Oakland Park, Lauderdale Lakes and Lauderhill just outside Fort Lauderdale (Map 2). Not only did the Miami-Dade school district have the most low-income students, it also had the highest concentration of extremely poor schools. There were 38 schools where 90 percent or more of the students were eligible for free meals. Of those 38 schools, 35 were located in Miami-Dade, and 17 were located in the city of Miami. Just three were located in Broward County; one each in Fort Lauderdale, Lauderhill and unincorporated Broward County.

The maps show the concentration of low-income schools in the city of Miami and other older communities along the Atlantic Ocean. Dissimilarity

Table 2. Elementary enrollment by district, 1993 and 2001

	1993	2001	Absolute Change	Percent Change
Broward County	92,391	124,943	32,552	35
Miami-Dade County	161,978	185,635	23,657	15
Region	254,369	310,578	56,209	22

Source: National Center for Educational Statistics, Common Core of Data, Department of Education, 2002.

indexes confirm that poor students are increasingly attending school with other poor students. In 2001, 51 percent of the region's poor elementary students would have had to change schools in order to achieve an identical mix of poor and non-poor students in each one. The degree of income segregation among students is edging up; in 1993 just 49 percent of poor students would have had to move.

These trends are troubling because the negative effects of concentrated poverty—everything from high crime and poor health—don't stop at the school door. They discourage investment in poor neighborhoods, place a significant burden on city resources, and dramatically limit the opportunities of residents. Ultimately people living there, isolated from educational, employment and social opportunities, find it difficult to participate fully in the metropolitan economy.

C. As the region's schools became more diverse, racial segregation eased slightly but remains severe. Schools in the Miami area enrolled growing numbers of students of color between 1993 and 2001. Hispanic enrollment in the region grew by 57 percent and black enrollment grew by 17 percent in this period, while white enrollment declined by 10 percent.

The changes taking place in the Miami region are strongly shaped by its exceptional role as a destination for immigrants. In fact, the area tops a recent list of "melting pot metros" and is attracting large numbers of new arrivals from Latin America.[7] At the

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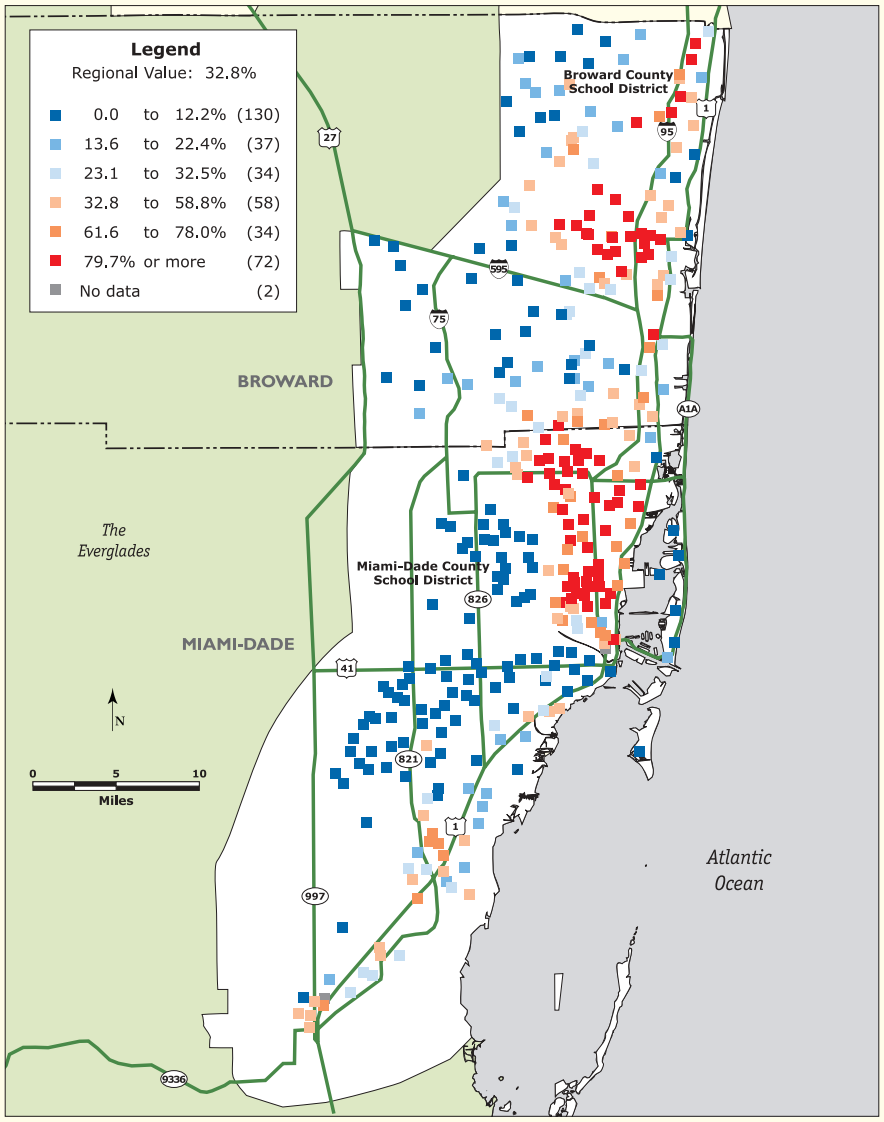
Map 4
MIAMI REGION:
Percentage of Black Elementary Students by School, 2001



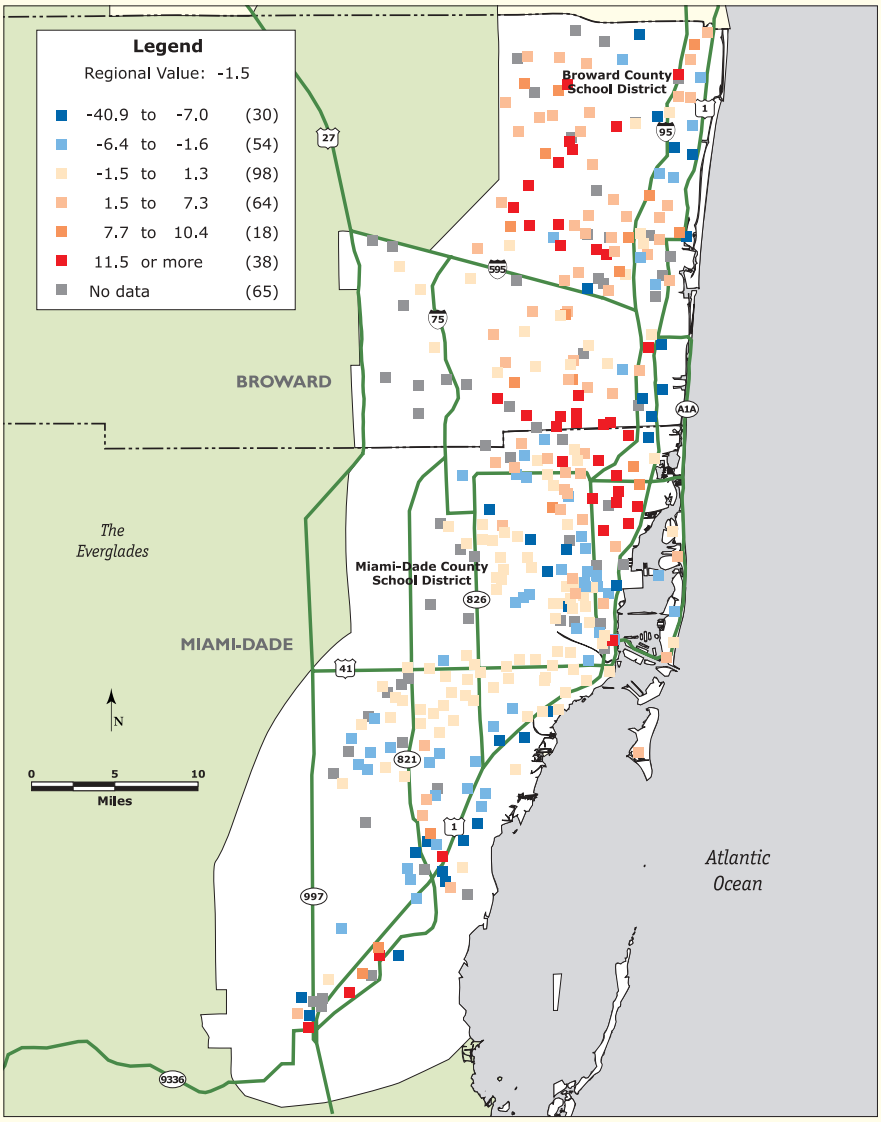
Data Source: National Center for Education Statistics.

Table 3. Share of enrollment and segregation of free-lunch eligible students, 1993 and 2001

	Percent of all students		Dissimilarity index (Percent required to move to achieve parity)	
Free-lunch eligible students	1993	2001	1993	2001
Broward County	33	36	46	51
Miami-Dade County	55	61	47	47
Miami region	47	51	49	51

Source: Nation Center for Educational Statistics, Common Core of Data; dissimilarity calculations by the authors

Map 5
MIAMI REGION:
Change in Percentage Points of Black Elementary Students by School, 1993–2001



Data Source: National Center for Education Statistics.

same time, as immigrants come to the region, especially to Miami-Dade County, many native-born residents are leaving, some heading north toward Broward County. They move in search of bigger, newer houses and less congestion and crime, and, when pushed, many will admit to escaping the powerful and growing Latin influence in Miami-Dade.[8]

Regionwide, Hispanic enrollment grew at over 2.5 times the rate of total enrollment from 1993 to 2001—57 percent versus 22 percent. These figures reflect the phenomenal increase in Latinos coming to the Miami region, largely from Central and South America and the Caribbean.[9] Nearly two-thirds of growth in Hispanic enrollment from 1993 to 2001 (or 31,214 students) occurred in Miami-Dade County. In fact, Hispanic students accounted for virtually all the new students in that district over those eight years. By 2001, the majority of Miami-Dade County's elementary student population—57 percent—was Hispanic, up from 46 percent in 1993. The share of Hispanic students in Broward County also grew significantly—doubling from 10 percent in 1993 to 20 percent in 2001—although their numbers remained far below those in Miami-Dade.

While black enrollment in the Miami region grew by 17 percent during this time period, nearly all of those new students enrolled in Broward County schools. In fact, the number of black students enrolled in Broward County rose 48 percent from 1993 and to 2001, and by 2001 black students represented 36 percent of students in the district, up from 33 percent in 1993. The number of black students in the Miami-Dade County district remained virtually unchanged from 1993 to 2001, and the share of black students in the district fell one percentage point, from 34 percent to 33 percent.

Maps 4 through 7 show the location and shift of Hispanic and black elementary school students in the Miami region. In 2001, Hispanic students were concentrated primarily in the southern area, including the south side of Miami, Hialeah, West Miami, Sweetwater, and adjacent unincorporated Miami-Dade County (Map 6). As Miami's Hispanic community has expanded, the region's established black community, traditionally centered in the neighborhoods of north Miami, has been moving north into inner suburbs of Miami-Dade County and, increasingly, beyond them into Broward County (Map 4 and 5).[10]

The changes are particularly evident within Miami proper. In 1993, 46 percent of students in the city's public schools were black and 51 percent were Hispanic. By 2001, Hispanics

had solidified their majority: 36 percent of students were black and 61 percent were Hispanic (Map 7). This mirrored the larger demographic shifts afoot in the city. The number of black residents in the city of Miami dropped by over 17,000 during the 1990s, and blacks represented just 23 percent of the city's population in 2000, down from 27 percent in 1990.[11]

Although the region remains racially divided, overall levels of racial segregation in schools have dipped slightly. In 2001, for example, 55 percent of Hispanics would have had to change schools to achieve an identical mix of Hispanic and non-Hispanic students, down from 62 percent in 1993 (Table 4). Despite this drop, many Latinos continue to attend racially isolated schools. In 2001, nearly one in three Latino students attended a school with a Hispanic enrollment of 90 percent or greater, and half attended schools where 90 percent or more of students were either Latino or black.

Although black students, too, saw a very slight improvement in segregation compared to 1993, they remained the most segregated of any racial group in the Miami region in 2001. That year, 64 percent of students would have had to change schools to achieve an identical mix of black and non-black students, compared with 55 percent of Hispanic students and 59 percent of white students. More than one in four (29 percent) black students attended a school where more than 90 percent of students were black, and two-thirds attended a school with a total combined black and Latino enrollment of 90 percent or higher.

As children of color have made up larger and larger shares of the region's total enrollment, the number of white students has decreased. Regionwide, there were 8,180 fewer white elementary students in 2001 than in 1993. About 8,050 of those students left Miami-Dade County. While the number of white students in Broward County held steady, the school district grew, transitioning from a majority-white student body (56 percent) in 1993 to one that was more diverse (41 percent white) in 2001. In the region as a whole, white students made up 23 percent of total elementary school enrollment in 2001, down from 31 percent in 1993. Despite these shifts, there continued to be areas with considerable white enrollment. White students remained highly concentrated on the region's relatively affluent edge, in western and southern Broward County, in cities such as Pembroke Pines, Sunrise and Coral Springs; and to a lesser degree in and around Pinecrest, South Miami and Coral Gables in Miami-Dade County.

Overall, this study revealed higher levels of racial segregation than eco-

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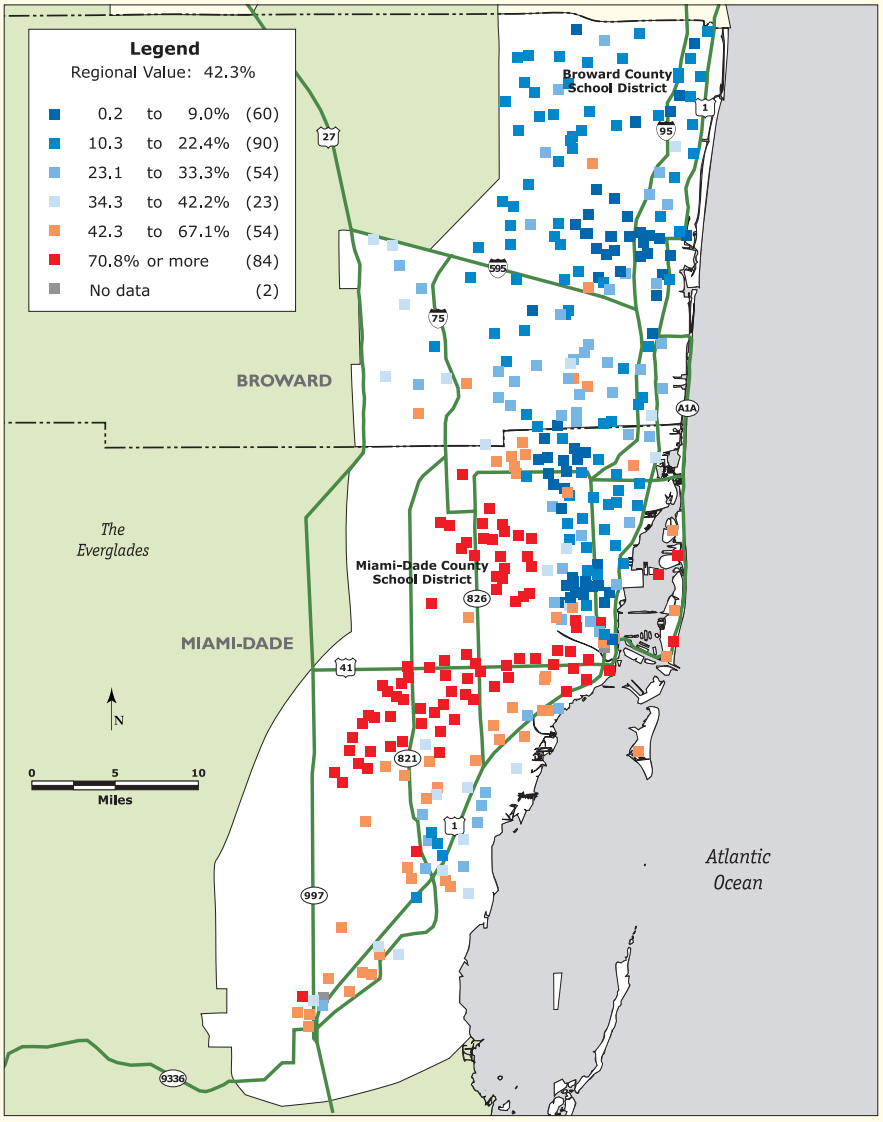
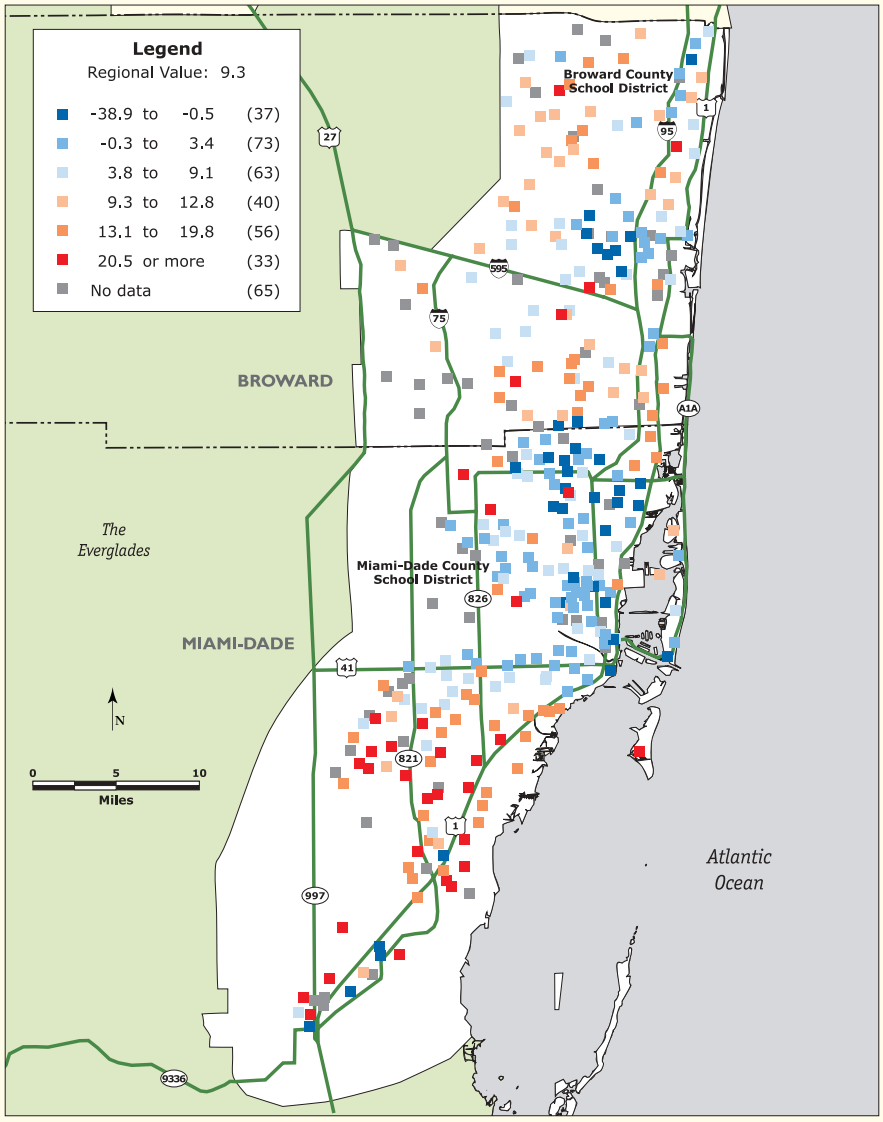
Map 6
MIAMI REGION:
Percentage of Hispanic Elementary Students by School, 2001



Data Source: National Center for Education Statistics.



Data Source: National Center for Education Statistics.

nomic isolation in the Miami region. For example, some of the schools with primarily Hispanic enrollments in southern Miami-Dade County (they appear in red on Map 6) had relatively few students eligible for free lunches in 2001 (in blue on Map 2). But the link between race and income remains. In fact, 65 percent of black elementary students attended high-poverty schools in 2001, as did 38 percent of the region's Hispanic students. In comparison, only 8 percent of white students attended these schools.[12]

D. The region's most dramatic social changes are taking place in suburban schools.

Many people have traditionally divided metropolitan areas into two distinct parts: the struggling city and its wealthy, stable suburbs. The idea that social strife stops neatly at the city's borders is increasingly out of date, as social strain sweeps into many of the region's older suburbs.[13]

Although the city of Miami does indeed have alarming levels of poverty and racial segregation in its schools, city schools at least appeared to not get much worse from 1993 to 2001. The city's average school poverty rate in 2001, 78 percent (compared with an average of 66 percent among central cities in the nation's 25 largest metropolitan areas in 1997), was actually one percentage point lower than in 1993. Likewise, the city's overall elementary minority rate held nearly steady, rising from 96 percent to 97 percent.

As in many other U.S. metropolitan areas, the Miami region's most dramatic social changes are actually taking place in the suburbs. The average poverty rate in schools in the Broward County city of Lauderhill, for example, increased 20 percentage points—from 51 percent to 71 percent—between 1993 and 2001. The average poverty rate in North Miami Beach schools rose over 17 points—from 61 percent to 79 percent.

In 2001 schools in North Miami Beach, North Miami, Opa-Locka, Homestead and Florida City actually averaged higher poverty rates than the 78 percent rate within Miami proper. The average poverty rates in three of them exceeded 90 percent. Racial trends follow similar patterns. There were five suburban places—Florida City, Opa-Locka, Homestead, North Miami and North Miami Beach—with minority enrollments equal to or higher than that of Miami. Schools in another seven suburban cities had average black and Hispanic enrollments of more than 90 percent.

Although places like these often retain vibrant, active neighborhoods, they also frequently strain to cover the costs of social change with low and

Table 4. Share of enrollment and segregation of Hispanic, black and white students, 1993 and 2001

	Percent of all students		Dissimilarity index (Percent required to move to achieve parity)*	
Black students	**1993**	**2001**	**1993**	**2001**
Broward County	33	36	57	58
Miami-Dade County	35	31	68	69
Miami region	34	33	65	64
Hispanic students	**1993**	**2001**	**1993**	**2001**
Broward County	10	20	27	29
Miami-Dade County	46	57	53	56
Miami region	33	42	62	55
White students	**1993**	**2001**	**1993**	**2001**
Broward County	56	41	49	46
Miami-Dade County	17	11	52	50
Miami region	31	23	60	59

** Although segregation increased in each of the two counties when measured separately, the overall regional index declined because the way the two separate county indexes combine to create the regional index changed during the period. The number of students increased more quickly in Broward County than in Miami-Dade, increasing the relative impact of Broward County's lower segregation rate on the overall regional index.*

Source: Nation Center for Educational Statistics, Common Core of Data. Dissimilarity calculations by the authors.

slow-growing property tax bases. Their commercial districts cannot attract new, big businesses that could easily build on greenfield sites, yet these aging suburbs also lack the cultural amenities, gentrifying neighborhoods and downtown tax base that help central cities survive despite their problems. As a result, these communities often become poorer faster than even the cities they surround.

IV. The Future of Schools—and the Miami Region

This survey shows that current growth patterns in the Miami region—rapid development in outlying communities, coupled with concentrations of low-income households and people of color in older communities—harm the entire Miami metropolitan area. In the cities of Miami and Fort Lauderdale, and, increasingly, in close-in suburbs like North Miami, Opa-Locka and Lauderhill, the effects of rapid student growth elsewhere are damaging, leaving poor students—disproportionately children of color—concentrated in schools of extreme poverty. Such schools often suffer from risk factors—everything from inexperienced teachers to unstable enrollment—that lower educational achievement among students and diminish their prospects for the future.[14]

This pattern also has serious implications in fast-growing communities at the region's edge—from Parkland and Coral Springs in north Broward County to central Miami-Dade—where the middle class is streaming into increasingly overcrowded, underfunded schools. To cover the costs of new schools, roads, parks and sewers needed by new residents, local governments compete against neighboring communities for the tax base, attempting to lure high-end developments that contribute more in tax revenue than they cost in public services. The resulting large single-family homes, shopping centers and office parks are devouring some of south Florida's most productive agricultural land and causing serious traffic congestion. The side effects of the sprawling development—pollution and heavy water use—are harming the natural environment, including Everglades National Park; one of the nation's most unique and sensitive habitats.

In recent years, driven by growing alarm among parents, educators and the broader public, policymakers across the country have focused on improving the academic performance of students. Particular attention has been given toward the inner-city and some suburban schools where dismal academic achievement has doomed students' future prospects.

Solutions coming out of school boardrooms, state legislatures,

Congress and the White House have generally focused on the classroom: improving the quality of instruction; increasing the time students spend on reading, writing and math; and mandating standardized testing to make schools more accountable. But decades of evidence suggests that simply remediating struggling students without changing the underlying patterns of regional growth that trap many of them in underperforming schools of concentrated poverty will likely to yield limited academic progress.

The evidence suggests that the concentration of poor students is a problem that requires coordinated, regional strategies among all levels of government, and a focus not just on school curriculum and testing, but on broader, regional policies that change the distribution of opportunity within the region. There are at least three areas of regional reform that can ease the growing social polarization in greater Miami:

1. **Regional land-use planning** helps communities coordinate investments in roads, highways, sewers and utilities and use land more efficiently. It can be used to ensure that all communities, particularly those with new jobs and good schools, strengthen their commitment to affordable housing. That helps reduce the consequences of concentrated poverty on core communities and provides people with real choices about where they live.

2. **Regional tax reforms** can narrow the fiscal gap between rich and poor places and decrease the incentives for local governments to engage in wasteful competition for tax base. They also offer struggling communities the resources they need for revitalization efforts and reduce the incentives for the middle-class families living there to pull up stakes and move.

3. **Accountable metropolitan governance** gives all communities a voice in regional decision-making. Although the region is home to one of the oldest consolidated governments in the country, Miami-Dade County, there is still great room for improved cooperation among local governments. Miami-Dade's current "two-tiered" organization leaves many important functions, including land-use planning, exclusively in the hands of the county's 30 individual municipalities. Broward County has no consolidated government. And there is no coordination of land-use or transportation planning between Miami-Dade and Broward counties, despite the high degree of economic and social interconnection between them.

No community within a metropolitan area is an island. For better or worse, the well being of different parts of metropolitan areas are linked. When social and economic disparities within the region are minimized, all parts of the region benefit.[15] Indeed, the state of the region's schools shows that the way the metropolitan area is growing hurts residents of almost every city and suburb, leading to concentrated poverty and abandoned public facilities in central cities and at-risk suburbs, and overcrowded schools and strained budgets on the urban fringe.

Appendix Table 1.
Elementary Enrollment By Free-Lunch Eligibility and Race, Miami-Dade and Broward Counties, 1993 and 2001

	Enrollment 1993	Enrollment 2001	Enrollment Change	Enrollment % Change	Share of Regional Total 1993	Share of Regional Total 2001	Share of Change 1993–2001	% of District Total 1993	% of District Total 2001	% Change
Total Enrollment										
Broward County	92,391	124,943	32,552	35	36	40	58			
Miami-Dade County	161,978	185,635	23,657	15	64	60	42			
Total	254,369	310,578	56,209	22	100	100	100			
Free-Lunch Eligible										
Broward County	30,132	44,447	14,315	48	25	28	37	33	36	3
Miami-Dade County	88,355	112,985	24,630	28	75	72	63	55	61	6
Total	118,487	157,432	38,945	33	100	100	100	47	51	4
Hispanic										
Broward County	8,992	25,263	16,271	181	11	19	34	10	20	10
Miami-Dade County	75,037	106,251	31,214	42	89	81	66	46	57	11
Total	84,029	131,514	47,485	57	100	100	100	33	42	9
Black										
Broward County	30,083	44,508	14,425	48	34	44	99	33	36	3
Miami-Dade County	57,143	57,286	143	0	66	56	1	35	31	-4
Total	87,226	101,794	14,568	17	100	100	100	34	33	-2
White										
Broward County	51,745	51,616	-129	0	65	72	2	56	41	-15
Miami-Dade County	27,838	19,787	-8,051	-29	35	28	98	17	11	-7
Total	79,583	71,403	-8,180	-10	100	100	100	31	23	-8

Source: National Center For Educational Statistics, Common Core Of Data

Endnotes

1. Myron Orfield is the president of Ameregis, a research and GIS firm in Minneapolis. Anne Discher is a research associate with the firm; Tom Luce is its research director.
2. See James S. Coleman and others, "Equality of Educational Opportunity," (U.S. Department of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, National Center for Educational Statistics, Washington, D.C.,1966); Gary Burtless, ed., *Does Money Matter? The Effect of School Resources on Student Achievement and Adult Success* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1996); and James Traub, "What No School Can Do." *New York Times Magazine,* January 16, 2000, p. 14.
3. The Common Core of Data can be found at **http://nces.ed.gov/ccd/**.
4. "The 2001 HHS Poverty Guidelines," available at **aspe.hhs.gov/poverty/01poverty.htm** (July 2003).
5. For more information on school and residential segregation in U.S. metropolitan areas, see John R. Logan, "Choosing Segregation: Racial Imbalance in American Public Schools, 1990-2000" (Albany: University at Albany, Lewis Mumford Center for Comparative Urban and Regional Research, 2002).
6. Daniel de Vise, "Faulty Growth Projections Test, Tax Schools In West." *Miami Herald,* December 17 2001, p. A1.
7. "Melting pot metros" are those with lower than average concentrations of whites and greater than average concentrations of at least two minority groups. See William H. Frey and Ross C. DeVol, "America's Demography in the New Century: Aging Baby Boomers and New Immigrants as Major Players" (Santa Monica, CA: Milken Institute, 2000). For additional information on growing suburban diversity, see William H. Frey, "Melting Pot Suburbs: A Census 2000 Study of Suburban Diversity," (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2001).
8. William Booth, "A White Migration North From Miami," *The Washington Post,* November 11, 1998, p. A1.
9. U.S. Census Bureau, Supplementary Survey, 2000, table P039.
10. Andres Viglucci, "Miami neighborhoods win, lose in 2000 Census counts," *The Miami Herald,* April 8, 2001; and Andres Viglucci, "Dade blacks exiting inner city," *The Miami Herald,* April 22, 2001.
11. U.S. Census Bureau, 2000.
12. Data from National Center for Educational Statistics; calculations by the authors.
13. Myron Orfield, *American Metropolitics: The New Suburban Reality* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 2002.
14. Gary Orfield and John T. Yun, *Resegregation in American Schools* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1999).
15. A growing body of research shows the interdependence of different parts of metropolitan areas. Larry C. Ledebur and William R. Barnes, for example, found that median household incomes of central cities and their suburbs move up and down together in most regions and that the strength of this relationship appears to be increasing. They also found that metropolitan areas with the smallest gap between city and suburban incomes had greater regional job growth. See Ledebur and Barnes, "All In It Together: Cities, Suburbs and Local Economic Regions," (Washington D.C.: National League of Cities, 1993); and Barnes and Ledebur, "City Distress, Metropolitan Disparities, and Economic Growth," (Washington D.C.: National League of Cities, 1992). Richard Voith found that in large metropolitan areas, income growth in central cities results in income growth and house-value appreciation in the suburbs. See Voith, "Do Suburbs Need Cities?" *Journal of Regional Science* 38 (8) (1998): 445-464.

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