Florida Population Growth: Past, Present and Future

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There are many "Floridas." There are the farms and small towns of north Florida, with families that have lived there for generations; the booming commercial and industrial areas of central Florida, creating new jobs and attracting young workers and their families from all over the United States; the retirement villages of southwest Florida, bringing thousands of snowbirds and retirees from northern states each year; and the enclaves of foreign-born residents in southeast Florida, bringing cultural diversity and a melting-pot ambiance to the region. Florida is not a single entity but rather a composite of many diverse parts, each with its own unique identity.

These parts are tied together by a common thread: rapid population growth. Florida has been one of the most rapidly growing states in the nation for many years and is expected to continue growing rapidly in the future. Although some parts of the state have grown more rapidly than others, no part has completely escaped the effects of rapid population growth. Population growth and demographic change have had an impact on virtually every aspect of life in Florida, and no social, political, environmental, or economic issue can be understood without a firm grasp of the state's population dynamics.

Historical Trends

In 1900 Florida was one of the smallest states east of the Mississippi River, with a population of barely half a million (**Table 1**). By 2000 its population had grown to almost 16 million, making it the fourth largest state in the nation. Growth rates during the twentieth century ranged between 20 and 80 percent per decade, far above the 10-20 percent growth rates experienced by the United States as a whole. Compared to other states, Florida's growth rates ranked among the top seven in every decade since 1920; in most decades, they ranked in the top four. In absolute numbers, Florida's growth during the 1990s trailed only California and Texas. Florida's rapid growth has continued since 2000, with an increase of more than 1.5 million persons in only four years.

One direct result of rapid population growth has been the steady increase in Florida's representation in the U.S. House of Representatives, which is determined by the number of residents counted in each decennial census. Florida had only 3 of 391 seats in 1900, but had 15 of 435 by 1970. Further population growth added four more seats during both the 1970s and 1980s and two more during the 1990s, for a current total of 25. The Florida delegation is now larger than those of all other states except California, New York, and Texas. Greater political clout at the national level is one clear result of Florida's rapid population growth.

The geographic distribution of Florida's population changed dramatically during the twentieth century. **Figure 1** shows a division of Florida into four regions: the North includes everything above Levy, Marion, and Volusia counties; the Southeast includes the eastern seaboard counties between Martin and Monroe; the Southwest includes the Gulf Coast and interior counties from Manatee, Hardee, and Highlands on the north to Collier on the south; and the Central region includes everything in between.

In 1900, almost two-thirds of Florida's residents lived in the northern region of the state, slightly more than one-fourth lived in the central region, and fewer than one in twelve lived in the two southern regions combined (**Table 2**). Duval was the largest county, with a population of 39,733. Miami-Dade County (which in 1900 included Broward, Palm Beach, and Martin counties) had fewer than 5,000 residents.

Since 1900 a tremendous southward shift has occurred. Fueled by agricultural and industrial growth, tourism, retiree migration, and an expanding transportation system, the populations of central and south Florida mushroomed while the population of north Florida lagged behind (**Table 3**). Between 1900 and 1980, growth rates averaged 90 percent per decade in the Southeast, 66 percent in the Southwest, 52 percent in the Central region, and only 24 percent in the North. These widely differing growth rates led to dramatic changes in the geographic distribution

of Florida's population. By 1980, 38 percent of the state's population lived in the Central region, 34 percent in the Southeast, 8 percent in the Southwest, and only 20 percent in the North.

Recent trends, however, indicate that the southward shift in Florida's population may have come to an end. During the 1970s the central region grew more rapidly than the southeast region for the first time in this century. During the 1980s the central region grew much more rapidly than the southeast region and the northern region grew almost as fast. During the 1990s all three regions grew at about the same rate. In percentage terms, the Southwest has been the fastest growing region during every decade since 1960, but its growth in absolute numbers has been the smallest of any region. By 2000, 39 percent of the state's population lived in the Central region, 33 percent in the Southeast, 10 percent in the Southwest, and 18 percent in the North. Although its absolute numbers will continue to grow, the Southeast region's share of state population is likely to decline slightly during the coming decades.

Florida's population center is the point where the state would exactly balance if each resident had an equal weight. Between 1830 and 1980 the state's population center shifted steadily toward the south and east (**Figure 2**). Since 1980, however, it has moved slightly to the east but no further south. In terms of the geographic distribution of its population, Florida has passed an important turning point in its history.

Components of Growth

What accounts for Florida's rapid population growth? There are only three components of growth: births, deaths and migration. A population grows through births and in-migration and declines through deaths and out-migration. The overall expansion or contraction of a state's population thus depends on its combination of births, deaths, in-migrants and out-migrants.

Births. **Figure 3** shows the annual number of births and deaths in Florida since 1950. The Baby Boom had a major impact on Florida's population, almost doubling the annual number of

births between 1950 and 1960. This increase was caused both by rapid population growth and by a substantial increase in the average number of births per woman. During the 1960s and early 1970s the average number of births per woman declined dramatically, but overall population growth kept the total number of births at 100,000-120,000 per year.

The annual number of births began rising again in the late 1970s, reaching almost 200,000 by 1990. This increase was caused by continued population growth, small increases in the average number of births per woman, and the aging of the Baby Boom generation, which greatly increased the number of women in their prime childbearing years. (This increase is sometimes called the "echo of the Baby Boom"). The annual number of births declined a bit in the early 1990s, but began rising again in the late 1990s. Births are likely to continue rising gradually during the coming years, reflecting continuing population growth. It is very unlikely, however, that Florida or the United States will ever again have a Baby Boom similar to the one experienced from 1946-1964.

Deaths. Deaths in Florida have followed a totally different pattern than births. Instead of fluctuating up and down, annual deaths have increased steadily from less than 27,000 in 1950 to almost 170,000 in 2003. There are two major reasons for this increase. One is the much larger population, which has grown more than six-fold since 1950. The other is population aging. Florida's older population has grown tremendously, both in absolute numbers and as a proportion of the total population. Since mortality rates are much higher for older people than younger people, an aging population adds substantially to the number of deaths. Deaths in Florida are projected to continue rising steadily in future years.

Natural Increase. The excess of births over deaths is called "natural increase." This is the growth that comes from within a population itself, independent of in- and out-migration. The natural increase of Florida's population rose steadily during the Baby Boom, reaching almost

70,000 by 1960. It then began falling rapidly, to less than 20,000 per year in the mid-1970s. The increase in births since then caused natural increase to rise again, reaching 64,000 in 1990. It fell again in the early 1990s and has fluctuated around 36,000-40,000 since that time. Our projections imply that it will continue to decline slowly during the coming decades, reaching zero in 20-25 years. After that time, deaths will outnumber births in Florida. Since 2000, deaths have outnumbered births in 25 counties in Florida.

   Migration. If natural increase is very small (or negative), it follows that population growth must depend primarily (or totally) on migration. Net migration is the difference between the number of people moving into an area and the number moving out. The net migration stream into Florida in recent decades has been huge, averaging more than 160,000 per year during the 1950s, 130,000 per year during the 1960s and 260,000-280,000 per year during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. In each of those five decades, Florida grew more by net migration than any other state except California.

   Figure 4 shows natural increase and net migration in Florida between 1950 and 2000. During the 1950s and 1960s net migration accounted for about three-quarters of Florida's population growth. During the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s it accounted for 85-90 percent. This proportion was higher in Florida than in any other state, not only because of the large migration flows into the state but also because of the low rate of natural increase. If current projections prove to be accurate, net migration will account for all of Florida's population growth within 20-25 years.

   It is clear that migration has been—and will continue to be—the most important cause of Florida's population growth. Most of these migrants come from other states in the United States. More than 1.1 million people moved to Florida from other states between 1955 and 1960, 1.2 million between 1965 and 1970, 1.8 million between 1975 and 1980, 2.1 million between 1985 and 1990, and 1.9 million between 1995 and 2000 (**Table 4**). The number of foreign immigrants

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increased steadily over this period—from 85,000 for 1955-1960 to 653,000 for 1995-2000. Foreign immigrants now account for 26 percent of all persons moving to Florida; in the 1950s, they accounted for only 7 percent.

Table 4 also shows that large numbers of people have moved out of Florida: 381,000 between 1955 and 1960; 641,000 between 1965 and 1970; 978,000 between 1975 and 1980; 1,059,000 between 1985 and 1990; and 1,254,000 between 1995 and 2000. (These numbers refer only to interstate migrants; data on persons leaving the United States are not available). This is not unusual. All states have lots of people moving in and out, responding to shifting employment and educational opportunities, job transfers, changes in personal preferences, changes in family status (e.g., marriage or divorce), and so forth. Migration out of rapidly growing states is often particularly high because those states have large numbers of especially migration-prone persons. It is not surprising, then, that more people left Florida between 1995 and 2000 than all but two other states (California and New York).

What are the major origins and destinations of Florida's migrants? **Table 5** shows the leading states of origin for the last four decades. New York was the leading state by a wide margin in each decade. Ohio, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Illinois, and Michigan were other large northern states to rank consistently among the top ten. Georgia was the only southern state to rank in the top ten in all four decades, and California was the only western state.

The destinations of Florida's out-migrants differ considerably from the origins of its in-migrants (**Table 6**). Georgia was the leading destination in all four time periods; California, Texas, Virginia, North Carolina, Alabama, and Tennessee also ranked consistently in the top ten. New York and Ohio were the only northern states to rank in the top ten in all four time periods. As is true for most states, a large proportion of the people leaving Florida are heading for other Sunbelt states.

Table 7 shows the age distribution of Florida's migrants for the last four decades. Contrary to popular belief, most persons moving to Florida are young rather than elderly. At least 44 percent of the in-migrants were younger than age 35 in all time periods; only 15-16 percent was age 65 and older. However, young persons also account for most of Florida's out-migrants. In each time period, more than half of the persons leaving the state were younger than age 35. The high proportion of migrants made up by young persons is a common finding in migration studies. Migration rates are high for young adults because they are not as closely bound to an area by job or family ties as older adults and they face longer life spans over which to reap the economic benefits of moving.

Although most Florida migrants are not elderly, Florida does receive far more elderly migrants than any other state. More than 286,000 persons age 65 and older moved to Florida between 1995 and 2000. This was three times the number of older persons moving to any other state (Arizona was second, with 95,000). Florida has long been the leading destination of elderly migrants in the United States and is likely to remain so in the coming decades.

Compared to other age groups, relatively few older people move out of Florida. Consequently, Florida's net migration stream has been skewed toward the older ages. For example, between 1995 and 2000 there were 84 out-migrants for every 100 in-migrants aged 25-34; for ages 55-64, there were only 34 out-migrants for every 100 in-migrants. This migration pattern is the major reason that Florida's population has aged so rapidly over the last 50 years.

Why do people move to Florida? The obvious answer is sun, surf, and sand. In many instances, however, that is not the correct answer. **Table 8** shows that climate has a relatively minor effect on migration for younger people. For people younger than age 55, employment (e.g., job transfer, taking a new job, or looking for work) is the major reason for moving to Florida. The impact of climate on migration increases steadily with age, however, and for persons age 55 and

above, it is the leading reason people give for moving to Florida. Family reasons (e.g., marriage, divorce, and proximity to parents or children) are important at every age.

To summarize, Florida's population growth is due primarily to migration. Job opportunities, the climate, and other amenities have attracted huge numbers of people to Florida; the development of home air conditioning undoubtedly played a role as well, especially in recent decades (84 percent of Florida's homes were air conditioned in 1980, a higher proportion than found in any other state). These migrants have had a major impact on the economy, culture, and natural environment in Florida and have radically altered many of the state's demographic and socioeconomic characteristics.

Changes in Demographic Characteristics

The make-up of Florida's population changed considerably during the twentieth century (**Table 9**). One change was the switch from a predominantly male to a predominantly female population. In 1900 there were 109 males for every 100 females in Florida. This is not unusual for a frontier area, which—in many ways—Florida was in 1900. By 2000 this ratio had reversed itself: 105 females for every 100 males. A similar change occurred for the United States as a whole, but the change was more pronounced in Florida because of its older age structure.

This change was caused primarily by the greater increase in the lifespan of females than males. In 1900, females outlived males by an average of three years (51 vs. 48); now, the difference is about six years (81 vs. 75). The numerical dominance of females is especially strong in the older age groups. In 2000, there were 131 women for every 100 men age 65 and above in Florida; above age 85, there were 199 women for every 100 men.

There has also been a major change in the racial composition of Florida's population. At the beginning of the twentieth century, 56 percent of Florida's population was white and 44 percent was black (persons of other races accounted for less than 1 percent). Although the number of

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blacks increased in every decade since 1900, the number of whites increased much more rapidly, causing a steady decline in blacks as a proportion of total population. By 1990, whites accounted for almost 85 percent of Florida's population; blacks, 14 percent; and persons of other races, less than 2 percent. This change was the direct result of migration: the vast majority of persons moving to Florida during the twentieth century were white. Since 1990, the proportion black has increased slightly and the proportion white has declined, indicating that this century-long demographic trend in has come to an end.

There were some changes in racial definitions and counting procedures in the 2000 Census that make it difficult to compare racial characteristics over time. In all previous censuses, people were required to list themselves as belonging to a single racial category (e.g., white, black, Asian, or American Indian). In 2000, however, they were allowed to list more than one category (e.g., black and white, white and Asian, or black and American Indian). About 2 percent of the population reported that they belonged to more than one racial category.

To complicate matters further, the U.S. Census Bureau considers "Hispanic" to be an ethnic (or ancestry) classification rather than a racial classification. Many Hispanics identified themselves as belonging to a racial category different from any of the categories listed on the census forms. Consequently, more than 7 percent of Florida's population was listed as belonging to a racial category other than white, black, Asian, Pacific Islander, or American Indian in 2000.

The Hispanic population has grown very rapidly in Florida. Data on Hispanics were not collected regularly until the 1970 Census, when Florida had about 450,000 Hispanics, accounting for 6.6 percent of its total population. By 2000, the state had almost 2.7 million Hispanics, accounting for one of every six residents. This proportion is likely to continue rising in future years, as a result of foreign immigration and the movement of Hispanics to Florida from other

states. Florida currently has more Hispanic residents than all but three other states (California, Texas, and New York).

Cubans account the largest proportion of Florida's Hispanic population (31 percent in 2000). In fact, Florida has more than twice as many residents of Cuban origin (833,000) than all other states combined (409,000). Cubans are very different than most Hispanic groups, with higher average incomes, higher educational levels, smaller households, lower birth rates, and a much older age structure. However, other Hispanic groups are growing rapidly in Florida and the proportion Cuban is declining (it was 43 percent in 1990 and 55 percent in 1980). Puerto Ricans accounted for 18 percent of Florida's Hispanic population in 2000 and Mexicans accounted for 14 percent. Nationally, Mexicans account for about 59 percent of the Hispanic population, Puerto Ricans account for about 10 percent, and Cubans account for less than 4 percent.

Perhaps the most important demographic trend in Florida during the last century was the shift in age structure. In 1900 the median age of Florida's population was 20.4, younger than for the United States as a whole (22.9). During the next fifty years falling birth rates and rising survival rates made both populations considerably older. By 1950 the median age had reached 30.9 for Florida and 30.2 for the United States. In both populations, 8 to 9 percent was age 65 and older.

After 1950 a tremendous shift occurred. The national population became younger while Florida's population became older. The median age of the United States population declined to 28.0 by 1970, while Florida's rose to 32.3. The United States population became younger because the Baby Boom produced millions of children during the 1950s and 1960s. Since Florida had its own Baby Boom, why did its median age rise instead of fall? Again, the answer lies with migration: the net migration stream into Florida during the 1950s and 1960s was so heavily weighted toward the older ages that it more than offset the impact of the Baby Boom.

Since 1970, declining birth rates and increasing longevity have produced older populations in both Florida and the United States. (In Florida, the in-migration of older persons also played a role). The median age for the United States in 2000 was 35.3; in Florida, it was 38.7. This is higher than any other state except West Virginia. In addition, 17.6 percent of Florida's population was age 65 and older, compared to 12.4 percent for the United States. This proportion was higher in Florida than any other state. More than 25 percent of the population is age 65 and older in twelve of the state's 67 counties; eight additional counties have between 20 and 25 percent age 65 and older.

Florida's age structure is one of its unique demographic features. It has an impact on child care, health care, public education, employment, housing demand, voter behavior, and many other important issues. Florida today foreshadows the United States age structure in 20-30 years. Florida's attempts to deal with an aging population will not only be critical to Florida's future, but will be instructive for the rest of the nation as well.

There have been some striking changes in the structure of households and families in recent years. A household is defined as all the people living in a particular housing unit (e.g., a house, apartment, or mobile home) at a particular point in time. It can consist of a single person or a number of people. A family household is one in which two or more household members are related by marriage, birth, or adoption.

As shown in **Table 10**, 85 percent of all households in the U.S. were family households in 1960; furthermore, 44 percent were married couples with children. By 2000, only 69 percent were family households and 24 percent were married couples with children. Other family households increased from 11 to 16 percent; these include both single parents and children living with grandparents or other relatives. The proportion of the population living in non-family households

more than doubled between 1960 and 2000. Most of these were persons living alone. Currently, more than one-fourth of all households in the U.S. have only a single resident.

These changes were caused by a number of factors, such as declining birth rates, declining marriage rates, and increasing divorce rates. Indirectly, they were affected by factors such as increasing educational levels and higher rates of female labor force participation. These changes have had a substantial impact on household incomes, childcare, consumer preferences, and many other aspects of modern life.   Clearly, the "Ozzie & Harriet" image of family life is no longer valid for most people in the United States (and never was completely valid).

Table 11 shows a similar breakdown for 2000 that includes Florida; the numbers for the U.S. are slightly different from those shown in Table 10 because they come from the 2000 Census rather than from a sample survey. Florida is fairly similar to the U.S., but has lower proportions of married couples with children and higher proportions of non-family households, primarily because of the state's age structure.

Comparing Florida with Other States

How does Florida's population compare to that of other states? As shown in **Table 12**, Florida's population grew by more than 3 million between 1990 and 2000, more than any other state except California and Texas. This represented a 23.5 percent increase, the seventh largest growth rate of any state. Florida had the highest proportion age 65+ of any state and its median age was second only to that of West Virginia. The proportion younger than age 15 was lower than all but two other states. Average household size (2.46) was lower in Florida than in all but six states, reflecting the large number of older persons living alone or with only one other person. Florida had the fifteenth largest proportion black (14.6 percent) and the seventh largest proportion Hispanic (16.8 percent) of any state.

Florida is a highly urbanized state, as 89 percent of its population lived in urban areas in 2000, compared to 79 percent nationally. Only 33 percent of Florida's residents in 2000 were born in the state, compared to 60 percent nationally. This was a lower proportion than in any state except Nevada, reflecting the high rate of migration into Florida. Almost 17 percent of Florida's residents were foreign born, more than in all but four other states. Cuba accounted for almost one-quarter of Florida's foreign-born population (653,000), followed by Mexico (190,000), Haiti (167,000), Colombia (157,000), and Jamaica (128,000).

Only 54 percent of Floridians age 16 and older were in the labor force in 2000, a lower proportion than all but three other states. This reflects the impact of retiree migration. Florida had lower proportions of high school and college graduates than the United States as a whole. This was also partially due to Florida's age structure, as older people have lower levels of educational attainment than younger people, on the average.

Florida's income levels in 1999 were a bit lower than for the United States as a whole. Per capita income ($21,557) was slightly lower than the national average, but still ranked 19th among all states. Median household income ($38,819) was considerably lower than the national average, ranking 34th among all states. The difference in rankings between median and per capita incomes reflects the relatively unequal distribution of income in Florida; in the early 2000s, Florida had the seventh most unequal distribution of income of all states. The proportion of families in poverty, however, was slightly lower in Florida than nationally (9.0 percent versus 9.2 percent).

Florida can thus be characterized as a large, rapidly growing state with relatively high proportions of blacks, Hispanics, older people, migrants from other states, and immigrants from abroad. It has relatively low proportions of children and labor force participants and a low average household size. Levels of educational attainment are somewhat lower in Florida than in most states but income and poverty levels are about the same as the national average.

Comparing Regional Characteristics

There are many differences in socioeconomic and demographic characteristics among the regions of Florida (**Table 13**). The northern region has the youngest population, with 20 percent younger than age 15 and only 12 percent age 65 and older. The northern region also has the largest proportion black. These two characteristics are directly related because the black population is considerably younger than the white population, both in Florida and the rest of the United States. The Southwest has by far the oldest population, with only 16 percent younger than age 15 and 27 percent age 65 and older. Not coincidentally, it also has the lowest proportion black. Age and race also affect household characteristics, helping explain why average household size is largest in the North and smallest in the Southwest.

The Southeast region has by far the largest Hispanic population, both in number and as a proportion of total population (33 percent). The proportion Hispanic is only 4 percent in the North and 11 percent in the Southwest and Central regions.

Almost half the residents in the northern region were born in Florida, compared to 32 percent for the central region, 28 percent for the Southeast, and 24 percent in the Southwest. These relatively low proportions reflect the impact of migration on the population of Florida, especially in the central and southern parts of the state. All four regions were similar in terms of educational characteristics. About 82 percent of the residents age 25+ in the North were high school graduates, compared to 81 percent in the Central and Southwest regions and 77 percent in the Southeast. The Southeast, however, had the highest proportion of college graduates and the Central region the lowest. The Southwest had the highest per capita income ($24,614), compared to $22,561 in the Southeast, $20,866 in the Central, and $19,511 in the North.

The Future

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The future of Florida's economy, social and political institutions, physical infrastructure, and natural environment is intimately tied to its population growth. Successful planning thus requires a realistic assessment of future population growth. **Figure 5** shows Florida's population growth for each decade since 1900 and projections through 2030. Percentage growth rates peaked at almost 80 percent in the 1950s and have been declining ever since (except for a small upturn in the 1970s). They are projected to continue declining slowly over the next three decades. Absolute population increases, however, have been around 3 million for each of the last three decades and are projected to remain high for the next three decades. In fact, the current decade is projected to have the largest absolute population increase of any decade in Florida's history (3.6 million). Although increases are projected to decline slowly thereafter, the population is expected to reach almost 26 million by 2030. Florida is expected to pass New York by around 2010 to become the nation's third largest state.

Table 14 shows Florida's projected population by age. The proportion age 65+ does not change much by 2010, but the proportion age 45-64 increases very rapidly, reflecting the aging of the Baby Boom generation. The first of the Baby Boomers turns 65 soon thereafter and the proportion age 65+ begins increasing rapidly, reaching 21 percent by 2020 and 26 percent by 2030.

The number of children (less than age 15) is expected to continue rising, albeit more slowly than the rest of the population. The number of college-age persons is projected to increase rapidly between 2000 and 2010, but grow more slowly thereafter. The proportion in the prime working ages (15-64) remains quite stable until 2010, at around 64 percent of the total population, but then starts falling rapidly, reaching 61 percent in 2020 and 58 percent in 2030.

The movement of the Baby Boom generation through the population's age structure over time has been likened to a pig being swallowed by a python: no matter where it is, its impact is visible and substantial. The huge number of babies born during the 1950s became the elementary

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school children of the 1960s, the high school and college students of the 1970s, and the middle-aged work force of the 1990s and the current decade. They will become the retirees of the second and third decades of the 21st century. Their influence has been felt (and will continue to be felt) throughout their lifetimes, affecting politics, education, health care, recreation, housing, the labor market, the Social Security system, and virtually every other facet of American life. The impact of that generation can scarcely be over-emphasized, in Florida or any other state.

The century-long decline in blacks as a proportion of Florida's total population has come to an end. This proportion has risen slightly in recent years and will most likely continue edging up slowly in the years to come. Florida's Hispanic population, on the other hand, will continue to soar. Given Florida's proximity to Latin America and the strong economic and cultural ties that have developed in recent decades (especially in southeast Florida), it is likely that large numbers of Hispanics will continue to move to Florida. Recent BEBR projections showed Hispanics accounting for 24 percent of Florida's population by 2030.

The geographic distribution of Florida's population will also continue to shift, albeit slowly. In percentage terms, the Southwest will be the most rapidly growing region. In absolute numbers, however, the Central region will experience the largest increases. The populations of the North and Southeast regions will continue to grow, but their proportions of Florida's population will decline slightly over time.

It is impossible to guarantee the accuracy of these projections, of course. Unexpected changes in mortality, fertility, and migration rates could affect the state's overall growth and the geographic distribution of that growth. It is a near certainty that Florida's population will continue to grow, however, and will continue to age and to become more ethnically diverse. The question is not whether those changes will occur, but how rapid their pace will be.

Conclusions

Florida is a unique state in many ways: its age structure, its racial and ethnic make-up, its subtropical climate, its fragile ecosystems, its vast regional differences, and even its geography (Pensacola, for example, is closer to Dallas, St. Louis, and Indianapolis than it is to Key West). Many of Florida's residents are recent migrants, having little connection to the state's history and institutions. Others are seasonal, spending only part of the year in the state. Florida is a mixture of distinct regions and diverse groups, each with its own background, characteristics, and interests.

A unifying theme is rapid population growth. Small towns have become large cities, isolated beaches have sprouted high-rise condominiums, swamps have become shopping malls, and country roads have become super highways. What are the implications of population growth and demographic change for the future of Florida?

I will mention four demographic trends I believe will have an impact on businesses and government agencies during the coming years. Perhaps the most important—both in Florida and the United States—is population aging. How will businesses deal with a decline in the proportion of the population in their prime working years? Will they offer incentives for workers to delay their retirements, or for retirees to return to the work place, at least on a part-time basis? Will they be able to meet their pension and healthcare obligations to their longer-living retirees? How will an aging population affect the demand for goods and services? Different age groups clearly have different demands for housing, schooling, food, beverages, clothing, reading materials, music, transportation, medical care, recreational activities, and many other things. Failing to respond to shifts in the age structure will lead to missed business opportunities and perhaps to costly mistakes.

How will the federal government deal with huge number of Baby Boomers who will soon be receiving Social Security checks rather than paying Social Security taxes? There will be no painless solution to this problem. Although economic growth and foreign immigration may help in the short run, solving the problem in the long run will require either higher taxes or reduced

benefits, or some combination of the two (e.g., raising the retirement age for all workers while reducing benefits for high-income retirees). What about Medicare? The impact of the Baby Boomers on the Medicare system may well be greater than their impact on the Social Security system. This will affect state governments as well as the federal government because—as their assets disappear—retirees become eligible for Medicaid, which is funded by both federal and state revenues. As a society, we have not yet faced up to these issues, but we won't be able to avoid them much longer. The economic and ethical implications of these issues are huge and will shape public policy for years to come.

A second trend is the shift in the racial and ethnic make-up of the population. After increasing for many decades, the white non-Hispanic population is now shrinking as a proportion of Florida's population. The number of Hispanics, Asians, and foreign-born residents is growing rapidly. Each racial/ethnic group—and their many subgroups—has its own unique combination of attitudes, beliefs, perspectives, and preferences. Successful businesses and government agencies must be able to alter their products and services to respond to these changes. So far, the most dramatic changes have occurred in South Florida, but they are spreading to other parts of the state as well.

A third trend is the shift in household and family structures. People are getting married at later ages and higher proportions are remaining unmarried. At current rates, about one of every two marriages will end in divorce and about half of all children will live in a single-parent household at some point before reaching the age of 18. Many children live part-time with one parent and part-time with the other; many live with their grandparents. Adult children are moving back in with their parents. More and more households are composed of blended families, unrelated adults, and persons living alone. These changes in living arrangements affect demands for household goods, childcare services, legal services, transportation, leisure activities, government

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programs, and many other things. Businesses and government agencies must figure out how to respond to these changes.

Finally, there is the issue of population growth itself. Population growth is a double-edged sword, creating both challenges and opportunities. A growing population expands the market for a wide variety of goods and services. This is good for business because it provides opportunities for existing businesses to expand and for new businesses to become established; risk is typically lower in a growing market than in a stable or declining market. Growth also raises the number of options available to consumers; for example, large towns offer a greater variety of housing types, restaurants, stores, clubs, museums, theatres, and recreational opportunities than small towns.

But growth brings congestion, pollution, and the loss of green space. It disrupts the prevailing local lifestyle and changes the nature of the community. It raises the demand for roads, schools, parks, police protectionl, and other publicly provided goods and services. It increases the number (and perhaps the intensity) of public and private disputes. Consider, for example, the issue of piping water from North Florida to Central or South Florida. Who owns the water? Who gets to decide how it is used? According to what criteria? Rapid population growth raises the stakes in public policy dilemmas like these.

Questions related to population growth and demographic change play an important role in many types of decision making, both in the public and private sectors. Sometimes the questions have relatively simple answers, such as when a business re-directs its marketing efforts toward a rapidly-growing segment of the population. Other times, the answers are exceedingly complex, such as when dealing with the impact of population growth on the use of water resources. And sometimes there are no clear-cut answers at all, but simply different perspectives regarding the costs and benefits of population growth.

Regardless of their complexity, these questions cannot be avoided. Population growth will continue whether we like it or not (at least, for the foreseeable future). The primary issue facing Florida in the coming years will be finding ways to deal with the challenges created by rapid population growth and demographic change. Our future quality of life as Floridians will depend on how successful we are at dealing with those challenges.

Table 1. Florida Population Growth, 1900-2004

Year	Population	Decade Change	Percent Change
1900	528,542	----------	--------
1910	752,619	224,077	42.4
1920	968,470	215,851	28.7
1930	1,468,211	499,741	51.6
1940	1,897,414	429,203	29.2
1950	2,771,305	873,891	46.1
1960	4,951,560	2,180,255	78.7
1970	6,791,418	1,839,858	37.2
1980	9,746,961	2,955,543	43.5
1990	12,937,926	3,190,965	32.7
2000	15,982,378	3,044,307	23.5
2004	17,516,732	1,534,354	9.6

Sources: 1) U.S. Census Bureau, *1990 Census of Population and Housing*, CPH-2-ll, April 1993. **2)** Bureau of Economic and Business Research, *Florida Population: Census Summary 2000*, May 2001. **3)** Bureau of Economic and Business Research, *Florida Estimates of Population: April 1, 2004*, February 2005.

Table 2. Distribution of Florida's Population by Region, 1900-2004
(thousands)

Year	North		Central		Southeast		Southwest	
	Number	**%**	**Number**	**%**	**Number**	**%**	**Number**	**%**
1900	349.6	66.1	140.2	26.5	23.0	4.3	15.8	3.0
1910	458.3	60.9	225.2	29.9	39.1	5.2	30.0	4.0
1920	520.5	53.7	308.2	31.8	86.1	8.9	53.7	5.5
1930	606.3	41.3	538.0	36.6	233.6	15.9	90.4	6.2
1940	723.5	38.1	662.4	34.9	407.9	21.5	103.6	5.5
1950	951.3	34.3	949.6	34.3	731.5	26.4	138.9	5.0
1960	1,302.8	26.3	1,801.4	36.4	1,562.0	31.5	285.4	5.8
1970	1,542.1	22.7	2,468.7	36.4	2,317.3	34.1	461.3	6.8
1980	1,926.8	19.8	3,660.6	37.6	3,348.0	34.4	810.9	8.3
1990	2,386.3	18.4	5,083.7	39.3	4,235.0	32.7	1,232.8	9.5
2000	2,900.9	18.2	6,250.4	39.1	5,213.9	32.6	1,617.2	10.1
2004	3,179.1	18.1	6,933.5	39.6	5,564.1	31.8	1,840.0	10.5

Sources: **1)** T. Stanton Dietrich, *The Urbanization of Florida's Population: An Historical Perspective of County Growth 1830-1970*, Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Florida, 1978. **2)** Bureau of Economic and Business Research, *Florida Population: Census Summary 2000*, May 2001. **3)** Bureau of Economic and Business Research, *Florida Estimates of Population: April 1, 2004*, February 2005.

Table 3. Population Growth Rates by Region, 1900-2004
(percent change per decade)

Decade	North	Central	Southeast	Southwest	Florida
1900-1910	31.1	60.6	70.2	90.4	42.4
1910-1920	13.6	36.9	120.3	78.7	28.7
1920-1930	16.5	74.5	171.3	68.3	51.6
1930-1940	19.3	23.1	74.6	14.7	29.2
1940-1950	31.5	43.4	79.3	34.0	46.1
1950-1960	36.9	89.7	113.5	105.5	78.7
1960-1970	18.4	37.0	48.4	61.6	37.1
1970-1980	24.9	48.3	44.5	75.8	43.6
1980-1990	23.9	38.9	26.5	52.0	32.7
1990-2000	21.6	22.9	23.1	31.2	23.5
2000-2004	9.6	10.9	6.7	13.8	9.6

Sources: 1) T. Stanton Dietrich, *The Urbanization of Florida's Population: An Historical Perspective of County Growth 1830-1970*, Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Florida, 1978. **2)** Bureau of Economic and Business Research, *Florida Population: Census Summary 2000*, May 2001. **3)** Bureau of Economic and Business Research, *Florida Estimates of Population: April 1, 2004*, February 2005.

Table 4. Florida's Migration Flows: 1955-1960, 1965-1970, 1975-1980, 1985-1990 and 1995-2000

Number of Interstate Migrants

	1955-1960	**1965-1970**	**1975-1980**	**1985-1990**	**1995-2000**
In	1,157,937	1,214,673	1,801,362	2,130,613	1,860,772
Out	381,141	641,168	978,135	1,058,931	1,253,749
Net	776,796	573,505	823,227	1,071,682	607,023

Number of Foreign Immigrants

1955-1960	**1965-1970**	**1975-1980**	**1985-1990**	**1995-2000**
85,302	184,526	238,831	389,868	652,606

Total Moving to Florida: In-Migrants plus Immigrants

1955-1960	**1965-1970**	**1975-1980**	**1985-1990**	**1995-2000**
1,243,239	1,399,199	2,040,193	2,520,481	2,513,378

Foreign Immigrants as Percentage of Persons Moving to Florida

1955-1960	**1965-1970**	**1975-1980**	**1985-1990**	**1995-2000**
6.9	13.2	11.7	15.5	26.0

Note: Data are not available for persons leaving Florida for other countries.

Sources: 1) U.S. Census Bureau, *1960 Census of Population*, "Mobility for States and State Economic Areas", Subject Reports PC(2)-2B, September 1963. **2)** U.S. Census Bureau, *1970 Census of Population*, "Mobility for States and the Nation", Subject Reports PC(2)-2B, June 1973. **3)** U.S. Census Bureau, *1980 Census of Population*, "Geographic Mobility for States and the Nation", Subject Reports PC80-2-2A, September 1985. **4)** U.S. Census Bureau, Journey to Work and Migration Statistics Branch, 1990 Census Special Tabulation. **5)** U.S. Census Bureau, *2000 Census of Population and Housing*, PHC-T-22.

Table 5. Leading States of Origin of Florida In-Migrants:
1965-1970, 1975-1980, 1985-1990 and 1995-2000

	1965-1970			1975-1980	
Rank	**State**	**Number**		**State**	**Number**
1	New York	189,446		New York	364,450
2	Ohio	83,347		Ohio	135,219
3	Georgia	71,210		New Jersey	134,150
4	New Jersey	70,868		Pennsylvania	104,710
5	Illinois	69,653		Illinois	102,192
6	Michigan	67,813		Michigan	95,246
7	Pennsylvania	60,715		Georgia	75,596
8	California	53,247		Massachusetts	63,383
9	Alabama	43,067		California	60,531
10	Virginia	42,235		Virginia	57,794

	1985-1990			1995-2000	
Rank	**State**	**Number**		**State**	**Number**
1	New York	361,295		New York	308,230
2	New Jersey	150,954		New Jersey	118,905
3	Ohio	120,121		Georgia	99,225
4	Texas	114,454		California	94,265
5	Illinois	102,286		Pennsylvania	92,385
6	Michigan	99,552		Ohio	90,833
7	Pennsylvania	99,491		Illinois	86,354
8	California	94,940		Texas	77,072
9	Georgia	91,891		Virginia	75,955
10	Massachusetts	81,684		Michigan	74,949

Sources: 1) U.S. Census Bureau, *1970 Census of Population*, "Mobility for States and the Nation", Subject Reports PC(2)-2B, June 1973. **2)** U.S. Census Bureau, *1980 Census of Population*, "Geographic Mobility for States and the Nation", Subject Reports PC80-2-2A, September 1985. **3)** U.S. Census Bureau, Journey to Work and Migration Statistics Branch, 1990 Census Special Tabulation. **4)** U.S. Census Bureau, *2000 Census of Population and Housing*, PHC-T-22.

Table 6. Leading States of Destination of Florida Out-Migrants:
1965-1970, 1975-1980, 1985-1990 and 1995-2000.

	1965-1970			1975-1980	
Rank	**State**	**Number**		**State**	**Number**
1	Georgia	77,849		Georgia	103,782
2	California	57,655		Texas	81,402
3	New York	37,798		California	69,922
4	Texas	36,556		N. Carolina	51,749
5	Alabama	32,956		New York	49,452
6	Virginia	31,852		Alabama	46,682
7	N. Carolina	31,836		Virginia	42,971
8	Ohio	27,877		Tennessee	40,908
9	S. Carolina	22,303		Ohio	40,431
10	Tennessee	21,307		Illinois	30,741

	1985-1990			1995-2000	
Rank	**State**	**Number**		**State**	**Number**
1	Georgia	119,073		Georgia	157,423
2	California	71,766		N. Carolina	96,255
3	N. Carolina	67,399		Texas	80,538
4	New York	64,214		New York	70,218
5	Texas	55,878		California	65,211
6	Virginia	55,125		Virginia	57,700
7	Ohio	51,789		Tennessee	52,918
8	Alabama	44,215		Ohio	47,389
9	Pennsylvania	38,888		Alabama	45,656
10	Tennessee	38,082		Pennsylvania	44,123

Sources: 1) U.S. Census Bureau, *1970 Census of Population*, "Mobility for States and the Nation", Subject Reports PC(2)-2B, June 1973. **2)** U.S. Census Bureau, *1980 Census of Population,* "Geographic Mobility for States and the Nation", Subject Reports PC80-2-2A, September 1985. **3)** U.S. Census Bureau, Journey to Work and Migration Statistics Branch, 1990 Census Special Tabulation. **4)** U.S. Census Bureau, *2000 Census of Population and Housing*, PHC-T-22.

Table 7. Age Distribution of Florida's Interstate Migrants: 1965-1970, 1975-1980, 1985-1990 and 1995-2000

Age	1965-1970 Number	%	1975-1980 Number	%	1985-1990 Number	%	1995-2000 Number	%
In-Migrants								
5 - 14	218,795	18.0	239,280	13.3	262,841	12.3	236,331	12.7
15 - 24	232,531	19.1	337,385	18.7	331,356	15.6	247,330	13.3
25 - 34	187,576	15.4	336.456	18.7	465,005	21.8	341,058	18.3
35 - 44	130,365	10.7	190,474	10.6	318,539	15.0	304,420	16.4
45 – 54	110,127	9.1	157,447	8.7	198,523	9.3	220,410	11.8
55 - 64	139,182	11.5	253,586	14.1	238,556	11.2	224,415	12.1
65+	196,097	16.1	286,734	15.9	315,793	14.8	286,808	15.4
TOTAL	1,214,673	100.0	1,801,362	100.0	2,130,613	100.0	1,860,772	100.0
Out-Migrants								
5 - 14	148,338	23.1	239,280	17.1	152,895	14.4	186,197	14.9
15 - 24	162,680	25.4	241,873	24.7	199,876	18.9	206,029	16.4
25 - 34	146,557	22.9	273,021	27.9	305,472	28.8	285,478	22.8
35 - 44	78,812	12.3	116,616	11.9	167,649	15.8	232,765	18.6
45 - 54	43,352	6.8	62,654	6.4	78,200	7.4	129,794	10.4
55 - 64	24,670	3.8	46,161	4.7	50,712	4.8	76,118	6.1
65+	36,759	5.7	70,439	7.2	104,127	9.8	137,368	11.0
TOTAL	641,168	100.0	978,135	100.0	1,058,931	100.0	1,253,749	100.0
Net Migration								
5 - 14	70,457	12.3	71,909	8.7	109,946	10.3	50,134	8.3
15 - 24	69,851	12.2	95,512	11.6	131,480	12.3	41,301	6.8
25 - 34	41,019	7.2	63,435	7.7	159,533	14.9	55,580	9.2
35 - 44	51,553	9.0	73,858	9.0	150,890	14.1	71,655	11.8
45 - 54	66,775	11.6	94,793	11.5	120,323	11.2	90,616	14.9
55 – 64	114,512	20.0	207,425	25.2	187,844	17.5	148,297	24.4
65+	159,338	27.8	216,295	26.3	211,666	19.8	149,440	24.6
TOTAL	573,505	100.0	823,227	100.0	1,071,682	100.0	607,023	100.0

Sources: 1) U.S. Census Bureau, *1960 Census of Population*, "Mobility for States and State Economic Areas", Subject Reports PC(2)-2B, September 1963. **2)** U.S. Census Bureau, *1970 Census of Population*, "Mobility for States and the Nation", Subject Reports PC(2)-2B, June 1973. **3)** U.S. Census Bureau, *1980 Census of Population*, "Geographic Mobility for States and the Nation", Subject Reports PC80-2-2A, September 1985. **4)** U.S. Census Bureau, *1990 Census of Population*, Public Use Sample tapes. **5)** U.S. Census Bureau, *2000 Census of Population and Housing*, PHC-T-23.

Table 8. Primary Reason for Moving to Florida, by Age:
In-Migrants 2000-2002 (Percent Distribution)

Age	N	Work-Related	Climate	Family	College/Military	Other	Total
18-24	262	28.2	8.8	17.2	26.3	19.5	100.0
25-34	417	44.4	9.8	17.7	9.6	18.5	100.0
35-44	309	44.0	15.2	20.1	3.9	16.8	100.0
45-54	228	32.5	19.7	21.9	1.8	24.1	100.0
55-64	141	15.6	34.0	18.4	0.7	31.2	100.0
65+	138	2.2	40.6	31.9	1.4	23.9	100.0
Total	1495	33.1	17.4	20.1	8.6	20.9	100.0

Note: N = number of survey respondents

Source: Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Florida, unpublished data from Florida household surveys, 2000-2002.

Table 9. Distribution of Florida Population by Age, Sex and Race, 1900-2000

	1900	1910	1920	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
					Percent						
Male	52.1	52.4	51.1	50.2	49.7	49.3	49.2	48.2	48.0	48.4	48.8
Female	47.9	47.6	48.9	49.8	50.3	50.7	50.8	51.8	52.0	51.6	51.2
White	56.3	58.9	65.9	70.5	72.8	78.2	82.1	84.3	85.4	84.8	78.0*
Black	43.7	41.0	34.0	29.4	27.1	21.7	17.8	15.3	13.8	13.7	14.6*
Other	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.4	0.8	1.5	7.4
Hispanic	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	6.6	8.8	12.2	16.8
<Age 15	38.6	35.7	33.4	29.8	25.1	26.2	29.6	25.8	19.3	18.8	19.0
Age 65+	2.6	2.8	4.2	4.8	6.9	8.6	11.2	14.6	17.3	18.2	17.6
					Years						
Median Age	20.4	21.9	23.9	25.8	28.9	30.9	31.2	32.2	34.7	36.4	38.7

Sources: 1) T. Stanton Dietrich, *The Urbanization of Florida's Population: An Historical Perspective of County Growth 1830-1970*, Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Florida, 1978. **2)** U.S. Census Bureau, *1980 Census of Population*, PC80-1-B11, August 1982. **3)** U.S. Census Bureau, *1990 Census of Population and Housing*, STF1-A (adjusted). **4)** U.S. Census Bureau, *2000 Census of Population and Housing*, Summary File 1.

* This is the proportion of the population who reported that they belonged to a single racial category; including those who reported belonging to two or more categories raises the proportions to 79.7 for whites and 15.5 for blacks.

Table 10. Percent Distribution of Households, United States, 1960-2000

	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000
Families	85.0	81.1	73.8	70.9	68.8
Married couples, with kids <18	44.2	40.3	30.9	26.3	24.1
Married couples, no kids <18	30.3	30.3	29.9	29.8	28.7
Other	10.8	10.6	12.9	14.8	16.0
Non-family households	14.9	18.8	26.3	29.1	31.2
Men alone	4.3	5.6	8.6	9.7	10.7
Women alone	8.7	11.5	14.0	14.9	14.8
Other	1.7	1.7	3.6	4.6	5.7
Households (millions)	52,799	63,401	80,776	93,347	104,705

Sources: US Census Bureau, *Current Population Reports*, P23-181 and P20-537.

**Table 11. Percent Distribution of Households by Type,
Florida and the United States, 2000**

Type	Florida	US
Families	66.5	68.1
Married couples	50.4	51.7
With kids <18	19.2	23.5
Female heads	12.0	12.2
With kids <18	6.9	7.2
Male heads	4.1	4.2
With kids <18	2.0	2.1
Non-Family households	33.5	31.9
One person	26.6	25.8
2 or more	6.9	6.1
Households (millions)	6.34	105.48

Source: US Census Bureau: *Census 2000 Brief* C2KBR 101-8, Sept 2001; and 2000
Census of Population and Housing, *Profiles of General Demographic Characteristics*,
Table DP-1, May 2001.

**Table 12. Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics,
Florida and the United States, 2000**

Characteristic	Florida	Rank	U.S.
Population size, 2000	15,982,378	4	281,421,906
Population growth 1990-2000 (number)	3,044,307	3	32,712,033
Population growth 1990-2000 (percent)	23.5	7	13.2
Median age, 2000	38.7	2	35.3
Percent younger than age 15, 2000	19.0	49	21.4
Percent age 65+, 2000	17.6	1	12.4
Average household size, 2000	2.46	44	2.59
Percent black, 2000*	14.6	15	12.3
Percent Hispanic, 2000	16.8	7	12.5
Percent urban, 2000	89.3	8	79.0
Percent born in same state, 2000	32.7	50	60.0
Percent foreign born, 2000	16.7	5	11.1
Percent in labor force (age 16+), 2000	54.2	48	59.1
Percent high school graduates (age 25+), 2000	79.9	35	80.4
Percent college graduates (age 25+), 2000	22.3	32	24.4
Per capita income, 1999	$21,557	19	$21,587
Median household income, 1999	$38,819	34	$41,994
Percent of families in poverty, 1999	9.0	19	9.2

* Black only; excludes multiple race responses.

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, *2000 Census of Population and Housing*, CPH-1-1, CPH-5-1, and Summary File 1.

**Table 13. Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics,
Regions in Florida, 2000**

Characteristic	North	Central	Southeast	Southwest
Percent younger than age 15, 2000	20.1	18.8	19.5	16.0
Percent age 65+, 2000	12.1	18.4	16.7	26.9
Percent black, 2000*	19.7	11.3	18.3	6.4
Average household size, 2000	2.49	2.41	2.57	2.30
Percent Hispanic, 2000	3.7	10.7	33.1	11.1
Percent urban, 2000	74.3	88.8	98.9	87.1
Percent foreign born, 2000	4.7	9.3	34.1	11.0
Percent born in Florida, 2000	47.3	32.2	28.0	23.8
Percent high school grads (age 25+), 2000	81.9	81.2	76.6	81.4
Percent college grads (age 25+), 2000	22.4	20.9	24.1	22.0
Per capita income, 1999	$19,511	$20,866	$22,561	$24,614

* Black only; excludes multiple race responses.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, *2000 Census of Population and Housing*, Summary Tape Files 1A and 3A.

Table 14. Florida's Population by Age in 1980, 1990 and 2000, with Projections for 2010, 2020 and 2030

Age	1980 Number	%	1990 Number	%	2000 Number	%
<15	1,876,774	19.3	2,428,671	18.8	3,034,565	19.0
15-24	1,622,767	16.7	1,682,627	13.0	1,942,377	12.2
25-44	2,450,189	25.1	3,920,704	30.3	4,569,347	28.6
45-64	2,109,021	21.6	2,549,998	19.7	3,628,492	22.7
65+	1,687,573	17.3	2,355,926	18.2	2,807,597	17.6
Total	9,746,324	100.0	12,937,926	100.0	15,982,378	100.0

Age	2010 Number	%	2020 Number	%	2030 Number	%
<15	3,499,411	17.8	3,939,028	17.2	4,216,987	16.3
15-24	2,512,566	12.8	2,654,950	11.6	2,972,874	11.5
25-44	4,880,825	24.8	5,480,282	23.9	5,914,926	22.8
45-64	5,264,681	26.8	5,924,951	25.9	6,006,404	23.2
65+	3,497,580	17.8	4,894,929	21.4	6,787,285	26.2
Total	19,655,063	100.0	22,894,140	100.0	25,898,476	100.0

Note: Numbers for 1980 and 1990 are based on the Census Bureau's modified census counts, which may differ slightly from the numbers shown in other publications.

Sources: 1) U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1980 Census of Population*, PC80-1-B11, August 1982, Table 20. **2)** U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1990 Census of Population and Housing*, STF1A (adjusted). **3)** U.S. Bureau of the Census, *2000 Census of Population and Housing*, Summary File 1. **4)** Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Florida, unpublished data.
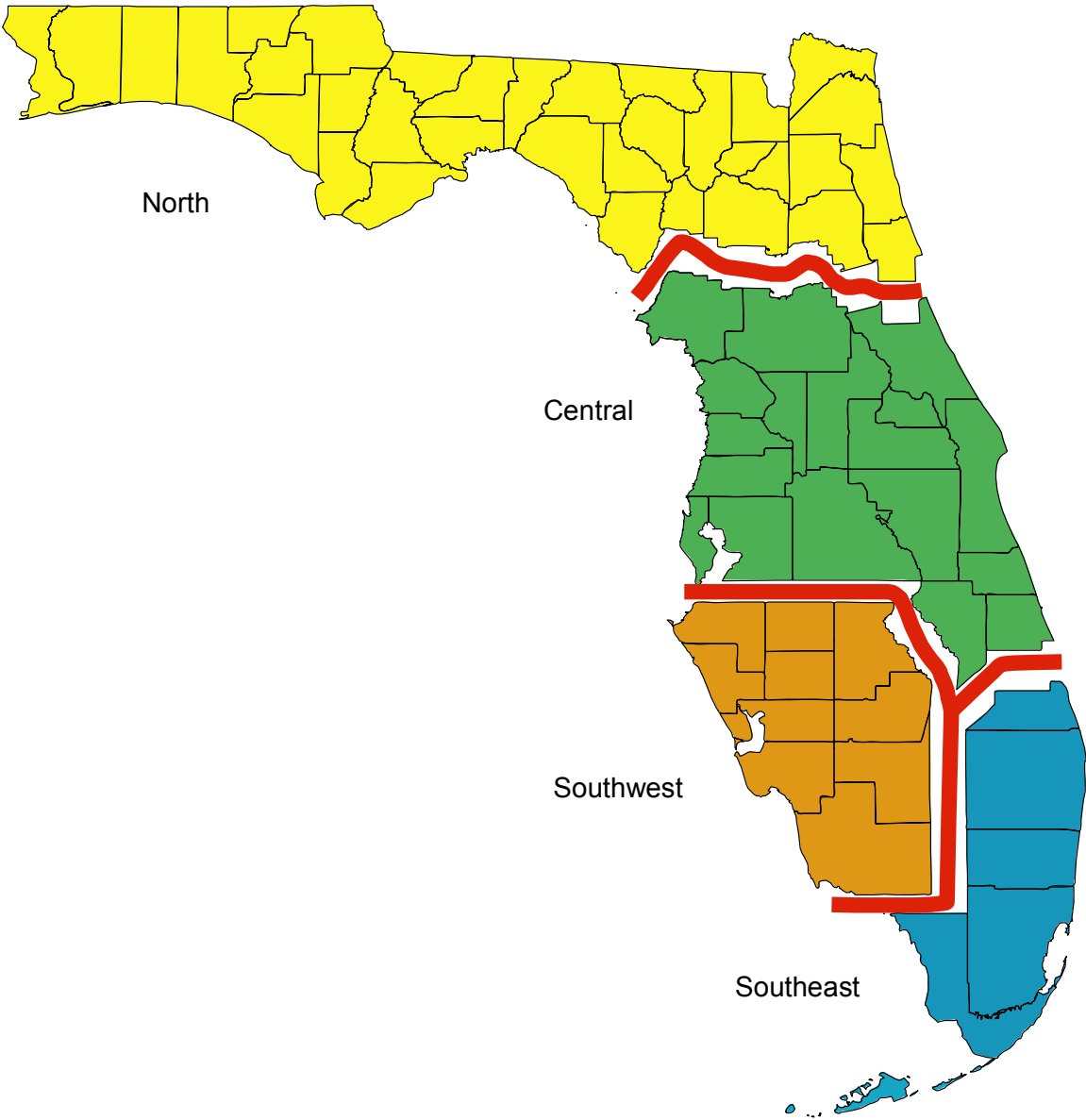
Figure 1. Map of Florida and Its Regions

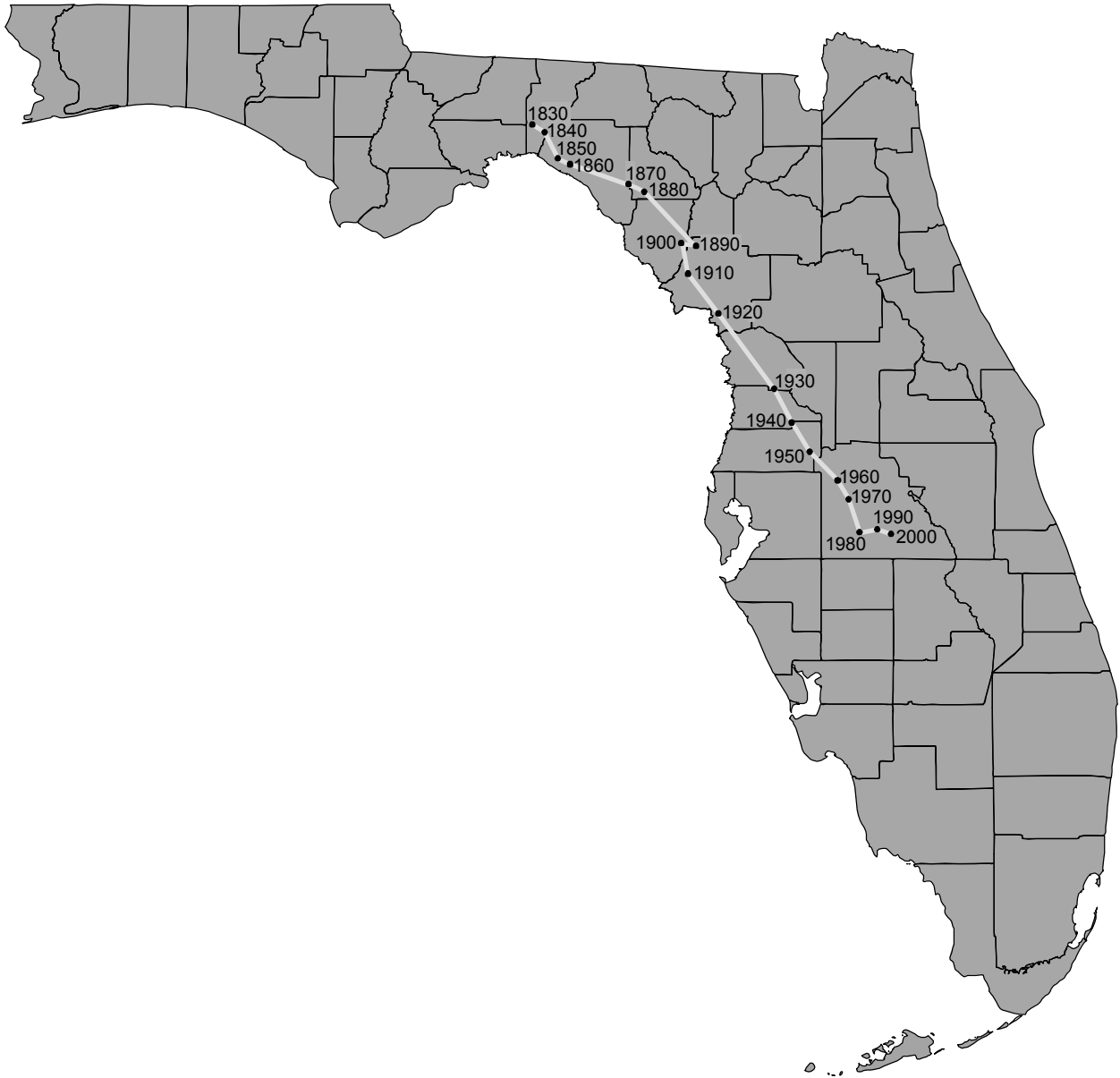Figure 2. Florida's Shifting Population Center, 1830-2000

Figure 3. Births and Deaths in Florida

Figure 4. Natural Increase and Net Migration in Florida
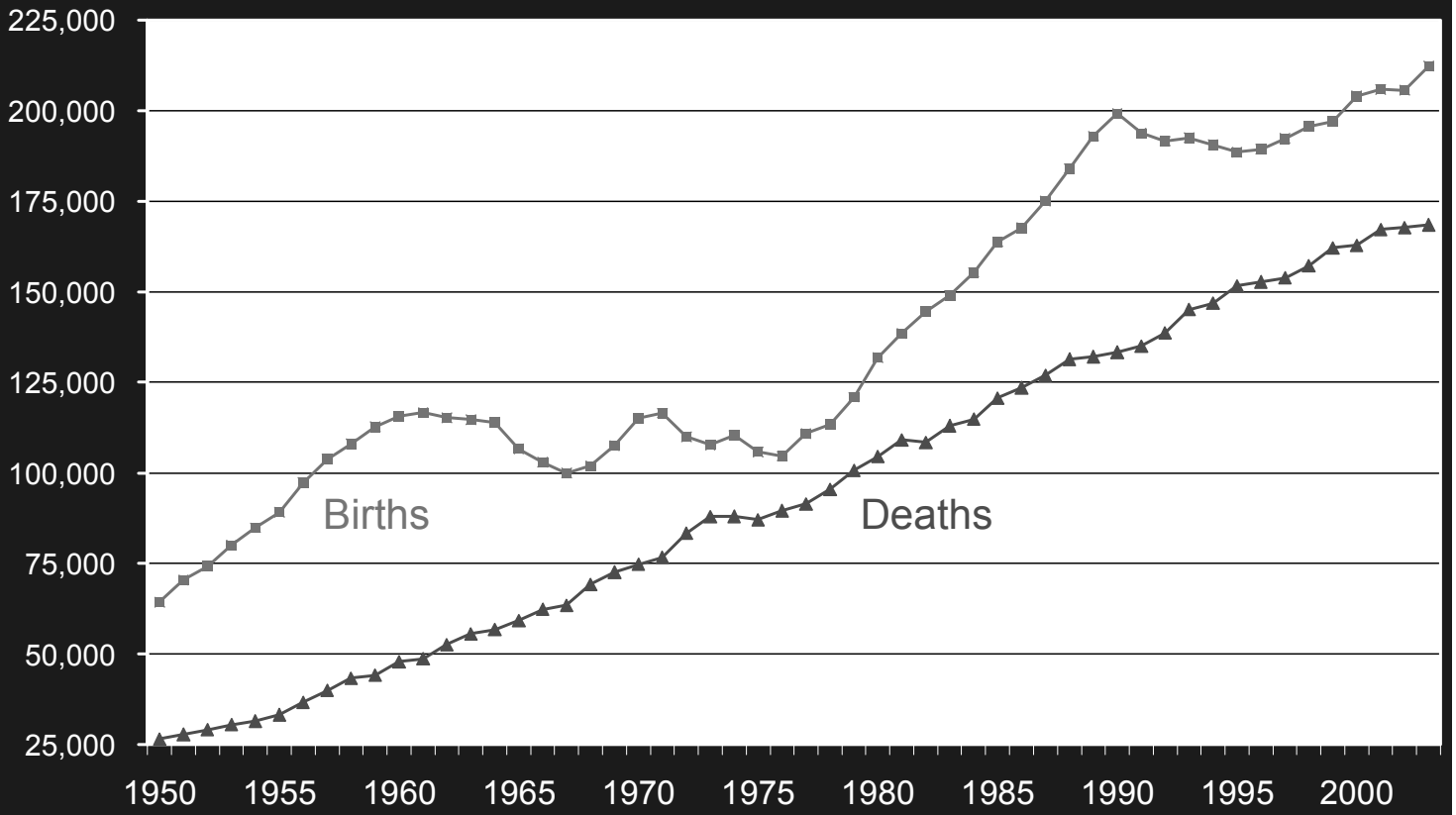
Net Migration and Natural Increase
in Florida,1950-2000
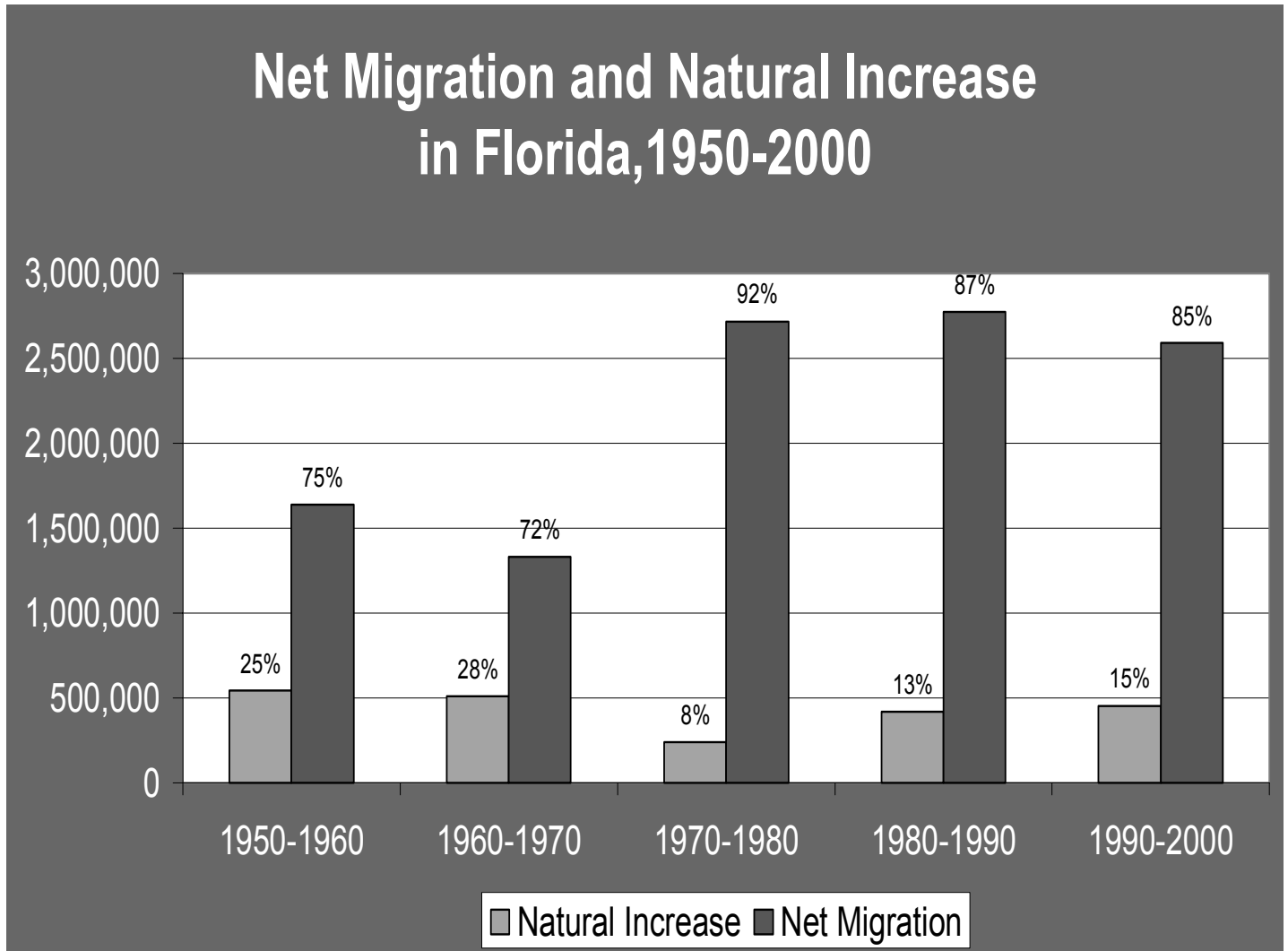

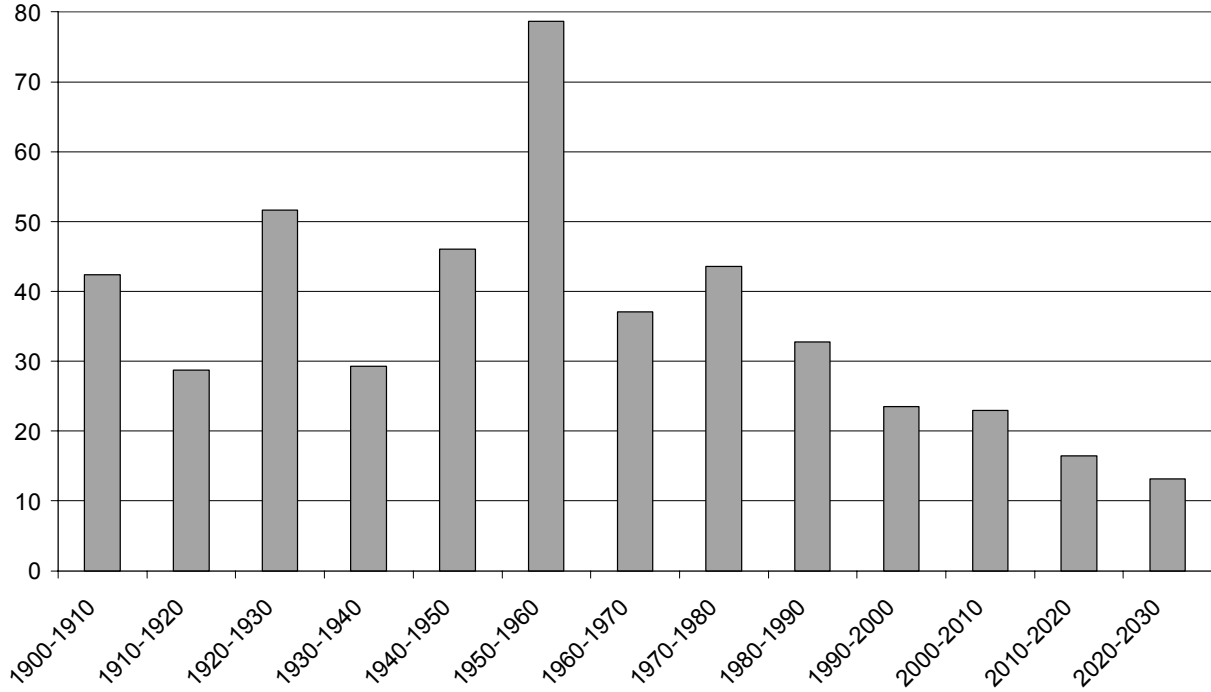Legend: Natural Increase, Net Migration

Figure 5. Past and Projected Population Change in Florida

Percentage Change in Florida's Population by Decade

Numerical Change in Florida's Population by Decade