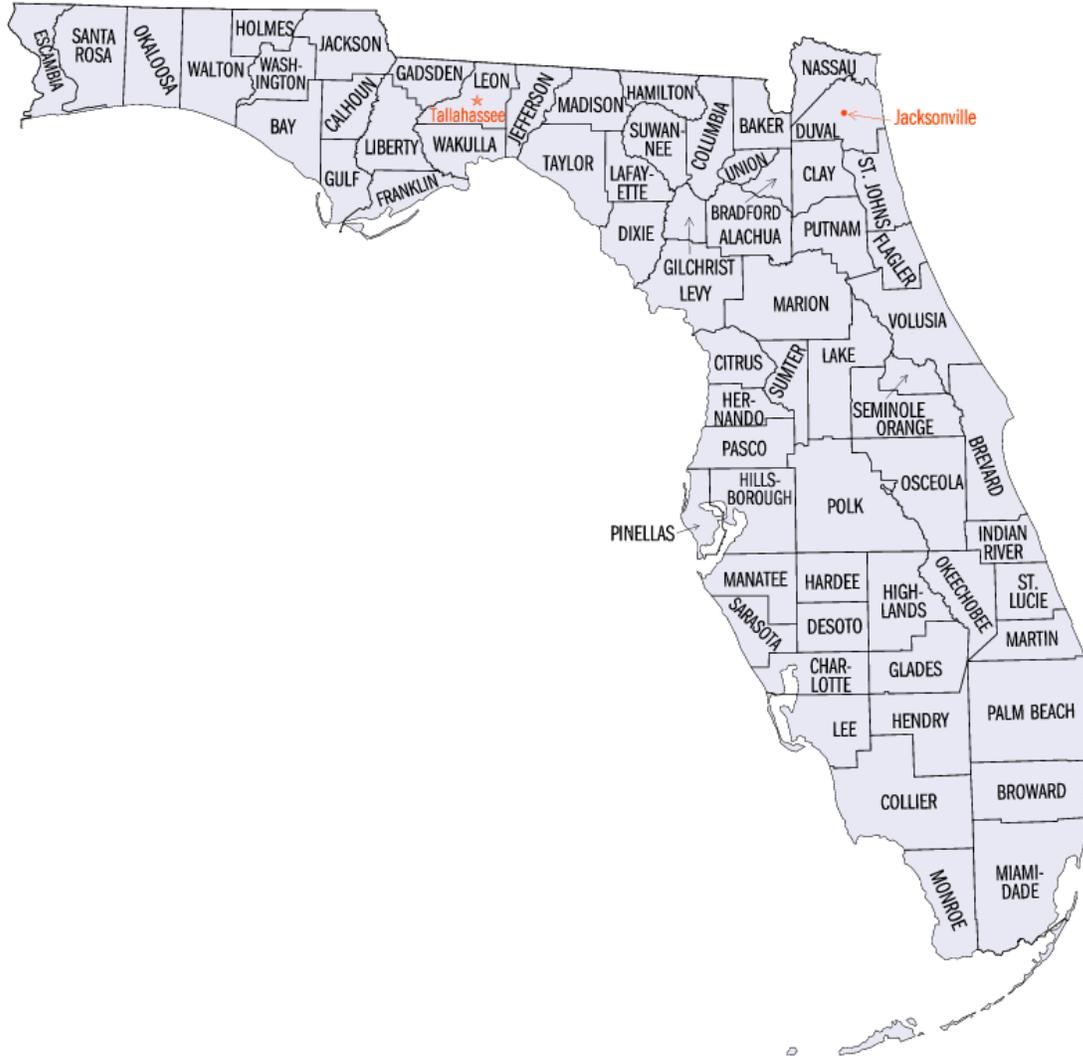


A Measure of Change:
Delineating the "Two Florida's"

Adam Harpool

Map of Florida Counties



Introduction

The remarkable levels of growth over the last fifty years in the state of Florida – taking the state from a 1950 population of 2,771,305 to a 2006 estimated population of 18,089,888, an increase in 56 years of 653%, or roughly 749 new residents each day over that time period – have not been evenly distributed throughout the state. As the vast, overwhelming majority of these new Floridians have come from regions outside of the Southern United States, and many others from outside of the country, their migration patterns have literally transformed the culture of the state of Florida to such an extent that it is often no longer considered a Southern state except on a purely geographical basis. Florida’s educational attainment and income levels now far surpass most of her sister states in the Deep South. With most of these new arrivals choosing to avoid the Northern areas of the state, what has emerged is *not* a pattern of “pockets of migration” seen in other high-growth Southern states such as North Carolina (Charlotte, Research Triangle) and Georgia (Atlanta), but rather a marked split between the Northern areas of the state and all other areas. *Historically* speaking, the Florida Panhandle was the most heavily populated region of the state, the heart of the state’s cotton plantation economy; up to and several decades after the Civil War, the brunt of the population and political power of the state of Florida rested in the Panhandle region and the area around Jacksonville – Tallahassee was chosen as the state capitol, in fact, partially as a compromise location between Pensacola and Jacksonville/St. Augustine, though today its location is highly inconvenient for most of Florida’s residents. High levels of migration have reversed the pattern today, with the Northern regions of the state being the least populated; the Panhandle now holds less than

eight percent of the state's population, and the Jacksonville metropolitan area is now the *smallest* of the state's four large metro areas, trailing behind Orlando, Tampa/St. Pete, and South Florida. Now, the Florida Peninsula holds the vast majority of the state's population, economic, and political influence. The result of this radical shift are two distinct Florida's sharing one state; one Florida that was largely carved out by visionaries such as Henry Flagler, Julia Tuttle, and Walt Disney; and another Florida that is a direct descendant of cotton plantations and the standard genteel Southern culture. The coexistence between the two radically different realms of the state is awkward at best and downright confrontational at worst.

The modern day existence of "two Florida's" is widely acknowledged and has been discussed in newspapers such as *The Miami Herald* and *The New York Times*. What is much less certain in an analysis of Florida, however, is exactly *where* the fictional line of demarcation exists between these two regions. Personal opinions, often highly polarized, abound on this issue. Many people from the urbanized South Florida region – Miami-Dade, Broward, and Palm Beach counties – argue that they alone should form a separate state from the rest of Florida, an arrangement that would group cities such as Naples in with Panama City Beach; this is certainly not a good fit. Still others argue that the Panhandle is one Florida, while the Peninsula is another, even though certain parts of the Peninsula are identical in many ways to areas of the Panhandle. Even others reject the entire notion of dividing the state of Florida, claiming that any such approach is arbitrary and based solely on personal opinions; they are quite misinformed, though, because anybody who has ever traveled across Florida *knows* that Miami and Pensacola have very little in common. Paradoxically, though nearly all Floridians would agree that there is a marked cultural

division present in the state, it would be nearly impossible to find two Floridians who would generate the same map, upon request, showing the boundaries of this division.

As a native-born Floridian – and like most other Floridians, originating from a family outside of the state – I have long been aware of this divide, and have for a long time contemplated exactly where we might create a hypothetical “southern line” in the state, if this is even possible, reasonable, and purposeful. Indeed, I do believe there is much information to be gleaned by analyzing the “great cultural divide” in the Sunshine State. Instead of concentrating solely on my own personal opinions and observations, I wanted to create a comprehensive approach that would integrate a wide variety of factors, including but not necessarily limited to:

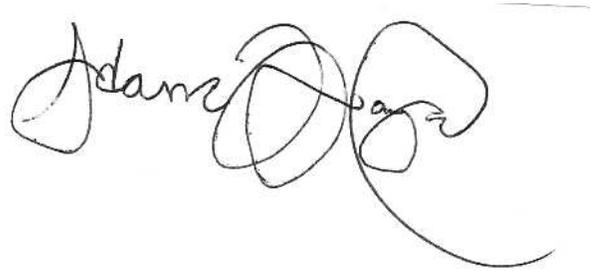
1. Population growth rates (low in Northern Florida, higher in Central/Southern Florida)
2. County populations (low in Northern Florida, much higher in Central/Southern Florida)
3. Religious affiliations (mostly Evangelical Protestant (Baptist especially) in Northern Florida, mostly non-Evangelical Protestant, and Catholic, in Central/Southern Florida. Extremely low Jewish populations in Northern Florida, with significantly higher Jewish populations in Central/Southern Florida.)
4. Ancestry (mostly “American” or “African American” in Northern Florida, with mostly European (German, Italian, etc.) and Hispanic ancestries in Central/Southern Florida)
5. Migration patterns (mostly from the South or long-time Florida families in Northern Florida, mostly from outside of the South – especially from the Northern states – in Central/Southern Florida)

6. Hispanic population (low in Northern Florida, significantly higher in Central/Southern Florida)
7. Linguistic influence (Southern accent common in Northern Florida, “standard American” accent predominant in Central/Southern Florida. Foreign accents and foreign languages heard rarely in Northern Florida, much more commonly in Central/Southern Florida)
8. Conservative Democrat/Dixiecrat legacy (conservative Democrats – registered as Democrats but vote Republican - still largely present in Northern Florida, while conservatives in Central/Southern Florida tend to vote *and* register Republican)
9. Confederate legacy (Confederate sentiments still relatively high across Northern Florida, rare to nonexistent in Central/Southern Florida)
10. Climate (average high temperature in Northern Florida *below* 70 degrees in coldest winter months (Jan. and Feb.), while average high temperature in Central/Southern Florida *at or above* 70 degrees during these months.)
11. Education and income (both higher in Central/Southern Florida)

On top of these and other factors, I also included (as minimally as possible) a *personal* analysis of these regions, from having visited them. A simple question that I asked myself in regard to these regions was: “Are the people here, by and large, likely to self-identify as Southerners? Do they act, on the whole, more like residents of Nashville, or residents of Chicago? Are they educated urbanites/suburbanites in general, or less educated ruralists?”

Any analysis of this nature, regardless of how detailed and meticulous it may be, is inherently subjective and can rapidly change as the result of shifting cultural patterns. In this report you will find *my* definitions – which you can take or reject – based on the

factors listed above, of the current “two Florida’s”, including a detailed explanation of all relevant factors and my personal observations. When warranted, I included a specific discussion of certain counties that I found particularly difficult to classify – namely, the counties of Alachua, Leon, Duval, St. Johns, Flagler, Lake, Marion, Sumter, Polk, and, as a region, the counties of the Southern Florida “Heartland” – Hardee, DeSoto, Highlands, Hendry, and Okeechobee. It is my hope that, if nothing else, you will learn more about your own state, and its great diversity, by reading the information contained in this report.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Adam O'Connell". The signature is written in a cursive style with large, overlapping loops and a long, sweeping tail that curves back towards the end of the name.

Overview: Where are the “two Florida’s?”

I would first like to present my analysis of the “two Florida’s” in a graphical format before delving into the details behind my formulations.

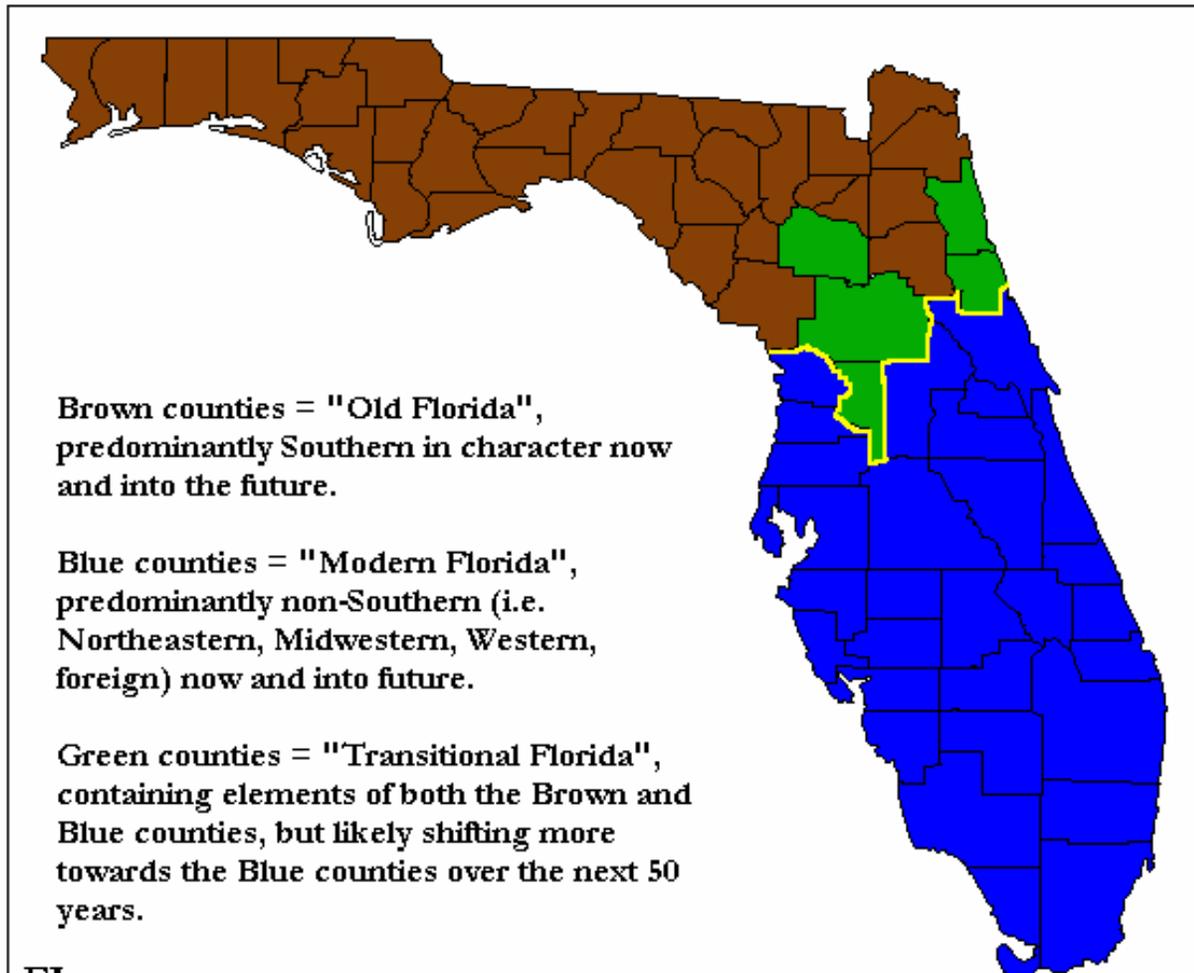


Figure 1: The “two Florida’s” division

And specifically:

“Old Florida”: 32 counties: Escambia, Santa Rosa, Okaloosa, Walton, Holmes, Washington, Bay, Jackson, Calhoun, Gulf, Gadsden, Liberty, Franklin, Leon, Wakulla, Jefferson, Madison, Taylor, Lafayette, Hamilton, Gilchrist, Dixie, Levy, Suwannee, Columbia, Baker, Union, Bradford, Putnam, Clay, Duval, Nassau.

“Modern Florida”: 30 Counties: Citrus, Lake, Volusia, Orange, Seminole, Brevard, Hernando, Pasco, Pinellas, Hillsborough, Polk, Osceola, Manatee, Sarasota, Charlotte, Lee, Hardee, DeSoto, Highlands, Glades, Okeechobee, Hendry, Indian River, St. Lucie, Martin, Collier, Monroe, Palm Beach, Broward, Miami-Dade.

“Transitional Florida”: 5 Counties: Alachua, Marion, Sumter, St. Johns, Flagler.

As far as cities:

“Old Florida” cities: Pensacola, Destin, Panama City/Panama City Beach, Tallahassee, Lake City, Jacksonville, Palatka.

“Modern Florida” cities: Daytona Beach, Tampa, St. Petersburg, Sarasota, Fort Myers, Cape Coral, Orlando, Lakeland, Naples, Vero Beach, Port St. Lucie, Titusville, West Palm Beach, Fort Lauderdale, Miami, Key West.

“Transitional Florida” cities: Gainesville, Ocala, St. Augustine, Palm Coast, The Villages.

Though “Old Florida” has two more counties, as of 2005 Census estimates the 30 counties of “Modern Florida” hold the vast majority of the state’s population, as shown in the following tables:

Figure 2: Populations of “Old Florida” Counties (2)

County	Population
Baker	24,343
Bay	160,643
Bradford	28,068
Calhoun	13,706
Clay	168,319
Columbia	61,835
Dixie	15,475
Duval	853,353
Escambia	310,277
Franklin	10,779
Gadsden	47,280
Gilchrist	16,414
Gulf	16,348
Hamilton	14,410
Holmes	19,127

Jackson	49,220
Jefferson	14,100
Lafayette	7,615
Leon	267,852
Levy	38,306
Liberty	7,412
Madison	19,682
Nassau	66,796
Okaloosa	189,200
Putnam	73,829
Santa Rosa	137,531
Suwannee	38,503
Taylor	21,145
Union	14,871
Wakulla	26,411
Walton	52,392
Washington	22,765
TOTAL:	2,808,007
PERCENT OF FLORIDA:	16%
AVERAGE COUNTY SIZE:	87,750

Figure 3: Population of “Modern Florida” Counties (2)

County	Population
Brevard	530,678
Broward	1,755,930
Charlotte	160,454
Citrus	131,728
Collier	318,560
DeSoto	34,720
Glades	10,932
Hardee	28,164
Hendry	39,189
Hernando	148,425
Highlands	93,625
Hillsborough	1,131,582
Indian River	129,859
Lake	260,440
Lee	537,180
Manatee	302,002
Martin	140,292
Miami-Dade	2,412,682
Monroe	81,433
Okeechobee	38,491
Orange	1,042,035
Osceola	236,011
Palm Beach	1,270,641
Pasco	398,464
Pinellas	949,760

Polk	538,220
Sarasota	364,954
Seminole	412,180
St. Lucie	232,497
Volusia	493,144
TOTAL:	14,224,272
PERCENT OF FLORIDA:	80%
AVERAGE COUNTY SIZE:	474,142

The remaining roughly four percent of Florida is made up by the “Transitional” counties, effectively the “border counties” between Northern and Central/Southern Florida. These five counties – Alachua, Marion, Sumter, St. Johns, and Flagler- currently exhibit characteristics of both “Old” and “Modern” Florida, though for reasons that I will discuss shortly, are already much closer in terms of culture to “Modern Florida” and will likely become part of the region over the next fifty years.

There are *fundamental cultural differences* between “Old Florida” and the combined areas of “Transitional Florida” plus “Modern” Florida. For just one of many potential comparisons, observe what would have happened in the 2000 election had “Modern Florida” and “Transitional Florida” been one state, with “Old Florida” forming another one (Democratic counties blue, Republican counties Red):

Figure 4: Hypothetical 2000 election, Modern Florida (10)

Vote of "Modern Florida" (2000)	Bush	Gore
Alachua	34,062	47,300
Brevard	115,185	97,318
Broward	177,279	386,518
Charlotte	35,419	29,641
Citrus	29,744	25,501
Collier	60,426	29,905
Desoto	4,256	3,322
Flagler	13,891	12,608
Glades	1,840	1,440
Hardee	3,764	2,341
Hendry	4,743	3,239

Hernando	30,646	32,644
Highlands	20,196	14,152
Hillsborough	180,713	169,529
Indian River	28,627	19,769
Lake	49,963	36,555
Lee	106,123	73,530
Manatee	57,948	49,169
Marion	55,135	44,648
Martin	33,864	26,619
Miami-Dade	289,456	328,702
Monroe	16,059	16,483
Okeechobee	5,058	4,588
Orange	134,476	140,115
Osceola	26,216	28,177
Palm Beach	152,846	268,945
Pasco	68,581	69,564
Pinellas	184,884	200,212
Polk	90,101	74,977
Sarasota	83,100	72,854
Seminole	75,293	58,888
St. Johns	39,497	19,482
St. Lucie	41,559	34,705
Sumter	12,126	9,634
Volusia	97,063	82,214

Totals: **2,360,139** **2,515,288**
48.41% **51.59%**

Gore wins "Modern and Transitional Florida" by **155,149 votes**, a tiny margin of **3%**

All of Florida Totals: **2,909,176** **2,907,451**

Bush wins *all of* Florida by 1,725 votes, a margin of **less than .01%**

In this hypothetical election, Al Gore would have carried “Modern Florida” (Bush would have decisively won Old Florida) and its electoral votes – perhaps changing the course of history! The 2004 hypothetical results are also interesting.

Figure 5: Hypothetical 2004 election results, Modern Florida (10)

Vote of "Modern Florida" (2004)	Bush	Kerry
Alachua	47,762	62,504
Brevard	153,068	110,309
Broward	244,674	453,873
Charlotte	44,428	34,256
Citrus	39,500	29,277
Collier	83,631	43,892
Desoto	5,524	3,913
Flagler	19,633	18,578
Glades	2,443	1,718
Hardee	5,049	2,149
Hendry	5,757	3,960
Hernando	42,635	37,187
Highlands	25,878	15,347
Hillsborough	245,576	214,132
Indian River	36,938	23,956
Lake	74,389	48,221
Lee	144,176	93,860
Manatee	81,318	61,262
Marion	81,283	57,271
Martin	41,362	30,208
Miami-Dade	361,095	409,732
Monroe	19,467	19,654
Okeechobee	6,978	5,153
Orange	192,539	193,354
Osceola	43,117	38,633
Palm Beach	212,688	328,687
Pasco	103,230	84,749
Pinellas	225,686	225,460
Polk	123,559	86,009
Sarasota	104,692	88,442
Seminole	108,172	76,971
St. Johns	59,196	26,399
St. Lucie	47,592	51,835
Sumter	19,800	11,584
Volusia	111,924	115,519
Totals:	3,164,759	3,108,054
	50.45%	49.55%

Bush wins "Modern and Transitional Florida" by **56,705 votes**, a tiny margin of **.9%**

All of Florida Totals:

3,964,522 **3,583,544**
52% **47%**

Bush wins *all of Florida* by **380,978 votes**, a much, much larger margin of **5%**

While George W. Bush would have still won “Modern Florida” in the ‘04 election, he would have done so by an extremely thin margin of less than one percent, while he carried the entire state of Florida by a comfortable margin of five percent; it is clear where the difference lies. Bush carried the counties of “Old Florida” (total of 1,275,253 votes) by a huge margin of 62.7 percent to Kerry’s 37.3 percent (10). While most of Florida truly is politically split, the counties of Old Florida, collectively, give the state its slight bend towards Republicans in national elections (less important state elections are a different matter).

Most of the state’s population growth is occurring, and has long occurred, in “Modern Florida” – for example:

Figure 6: Florida’s Top 5 Growing and Bottom 5 Growing Counties, 2000 – 2003 (7)

TOP 5

1. Flagler (24.8%) – **Transitional/Modern Florida**
2. Osceola (19.3%) – **Modern Florida**
3. Lake (16.8%) – **Modern Florida**
4. St. Johns (16.0%) – **Transitional/Modern Florida**
5. Gulf (14.4%) – **Old Florida**

BOTTOM 5

63. Gadsden (0.1%) – **Old Florida**
64. Jackson (-0.5% loss) – **Old Florida**
65. Calhoun (-0.7% loss) – **Old Florida**
66. Monroe (-0.8% loss) – **Modern Florida** (note: Monroe County constitutes the Florida Keys island chain, and the lack of growth there is highly related to a simple lack of available land, not other forces.)
67. Franklin (-9.5% loss) – **Old Florida**

As these figures show, Modern Florida on a whole tends to be the region of choice for migrants and retirees entering Florida, while Old Florida either fails to gain significant population or actually loses it. Population numbers reflect this; of the four metropolitan

areas in Florida that currently have one million or more residents, only one – Jacksonville – is found in Old Florida, while the other three – Orlando, Tampa Bay, and South Florida – are in Modern Florida. Jacksonville is also the smallest major MSA:

Figure 7: Population of Florida’s 4 largest Metropolitan Statistical Areas (MSAs) (2)

Metro	MSA Population	Percent of Florida
1. South Florida (Modern)	5,422,200	30%
2. Tampa Bay (Modern)	2,589,637	14%
3. Orlando (Modern)	1,861,707	10%
4. Jacksonville (Old)	1,277,763	7%

The growth rates of these metros are also indicative of their positioning, with the Old Florida city of Jacksonville, historically, having seen the slowest growth. In fact, until 1940 Duval County was the largest county in Florida, but it then fell behind Dade County and other large Floridian counties in the subsequent decades; today, Old Florida Duval County ranks behind Miami-Dade County, Broward County, Palm Beach County, Hillsborough County, Pinellas County, and Orange County – all of them Modern Florida counties – in population (1).

This is just a brief overview: I would now like provide a detailed analysis of the factors used in differentiating between “Modern Florida” and “Old Florida.” Afterwards, I will provide an analysis of the counties of “Transitional Florida” that did not seem to fit comfortably into either one of my definitions, as well as two areas of Modern Florida – namely, Polk County and the Southern Heartland – for which I maintain certain strong reservations regarding regional identity.

Modern Florida and Old Florida: Two Distinct Regions

*As defined earlier in this paper, **Old Florida, entirely in the Northern region of the state, consists of the following thirty-two counties:** Escambia, Santa Rosa, Okaloosa, Walton, Holmes, Washington, Bay, Jackson, Calhoun, Gulf, Gadsden, Liberty, Franklin, Leon, Wakulla, Jefferson, Madison, Taylor, Lafayette, Hamilton, Gilchrist, Dixie, Levy, Suwannee, Columbia, Baker, Union, Bradford, Putnam, Clay, Duval, Nassau. **Modern Florida, in Central and Southern regions of the state, consists of the following thirty counties:** Citrus, Lake, Volusia, Orange, Seminole, Brevard, Hernando, Pasco, Pinellas, Hillsborough, Polk, Osceola, Manatee, Sarasota, Charlotte, Lee, Hardee, DeSoto, Highlands, Glades, Okeechobee, Hendry, Indian River, St. Lucie, Martin, Collier, Monroe, Palm Beach, Broward, Miami-Dade. A map can be found on page eight.*

While exact definitions regarding the location of the split in Florida's culture will always be somewhat vague, I have attempted to take into account as many factors as possible – along with my own personal, subjective experiences – in delineating Florida's two regions. Most Floridians will tend to agree that the “split” is somewhere in the Central region of the state, but do not care to determine exactly where. In my definition, “Old Florida” and its intricately related Southern culture largely ends at a line that, on the Gulf Coast, starts at the northern border of Citrus County, dives south to follow the eastern borders of Citrus, Hernando, and Pasco counties (sometimes referred to, collectively, as the southernmost counties of the Nature Coast region, though they are increasingly becoming exurbs of the Tampa Bay area), counties *south* of Sumter County (Sumter is not included as a “Modern Florida” county per se, but rather a Transitional one), and then *north* of Lake County (Orlando suburbs), which is included, *south* of Marion County (Ocala), which is excluded, and then extending to follow the northern border of Volusia County (Daytona Beach), which is included. Let's begin to look at the individual factors in my consideration:

1. Population growth rates and county populations

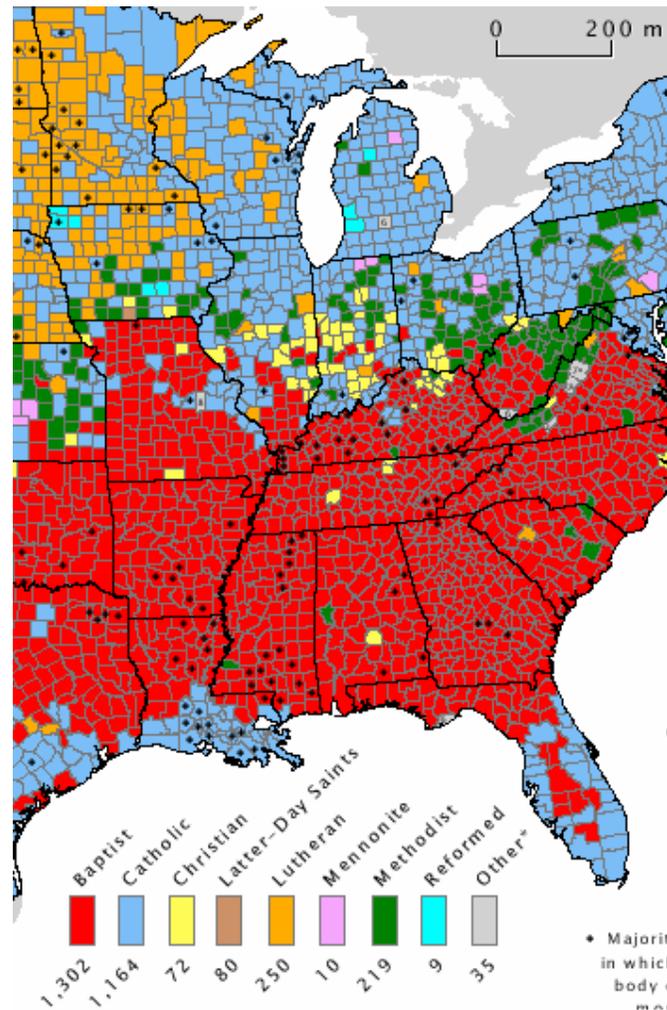
Population growth rates are almost always relatively lower in Old Florida and higher in Modern Florida; thus, Modern Florida now holds 80% of Florida's population, while Old Florida only holds 16% (2). Growth rates and population were one of the principal reasons why I believe that Levy County is definitely, soundly a county of Old Florida, while Citrus County, just to the south, is clearly one of Modern Florida. In 1950, Levy County had a population of 10,637, which increased to only 34,450 by 2000; however, historically smaller Citrus County, population of 6,111 in 1950, had absolutely exploded to have a population of 118,065 in 2000 (1). Similarly, Lake County, which I would include in Modern Florida, increased from a 1950 population of 36,340 to a 2000 population of 210,527; bordering Sumter County, which is Transitional and not quite "Modern Florida", increased from 11,330 to 53,345, also a large increase, at least in terms of percentages, but not of the same magnitude. Putnam County, an Old Florida county, went from 23,615 to 70,423 (an increase of about three times) while its Modern neighbor to the south, Volusia County, went from 74,229 to 443,343 over the same time period (an increase of about six times.) Interestingly, Flagler County also borders Volusia; though for the vast majority of its history Flagler's growth was clearly more in line with Old Florida (only increasing from a 1930 population of 2,466 to a 1970 population of 4,454), over the last 35 years Flagler has increased its population from 4,454 to around 80,000 today, and this rapid growth reveals that it is clearly becoming more of a Modern county (1); Flagler is thus considered as "Transitional" in this paper, though in another decade both Flagler and St. Johns Counties will likely be no different from the other Atlantic counties of Modern Florida. However, Southern culture will likely remain dominant – even if only marginally so – across Duval County (Jacksonville) for many years to come. While the rest of Florida was booming in the 50's and 60's, several

counties of Old Florida, especially in the Panhandle, actually lost population; for one example, Calhoun County went from a 1950 population of 7,922 to a 1970 population of 7,624, a loss of about 300 residents. In the same time period, Broward County went from a 1950 population of 83,933 to a 1970 population of 620,100, an incredible increase of around 738% (largely driven by disgruntled residents fleeing a radically evolving Dade County.) (1) While there have most certainly been pockets of growth in Old Florida – i.e., Tallahassee – and pockets of stagnation in Modern Florida – i.e., the Heartland region – these areas are the exceptions in their respective regions, not the norm. The average population of the counties of Old Florida is now 87,750 compared to an average county size of 474,142 in Modern Florida, a full 5.4 times larger. While about 66 percent of the Old Florida counties have populations of less than 50,000, only 16.7 percent of Modern Florida counties are this small. A full 77 percent of Modern Florida counties have populations at or greater than 100,000, while only 21 percent of Old Florida counties reach the 100,000 mark or higher (2).

2. Religious affiliations

Historically, with the exception of coastal Louisiana and certain regions of the Border States, the South has been a heavily Protestant region, and more specifically, a heavily Baptist and Evangelical region, with a relatively small minority of members of other faiths and affiliations. Migration largely altered that picture in Florida, as the figure below indicates.

Figure 8: Largest single religious affiliations in Florida counties and other eastern states (3)

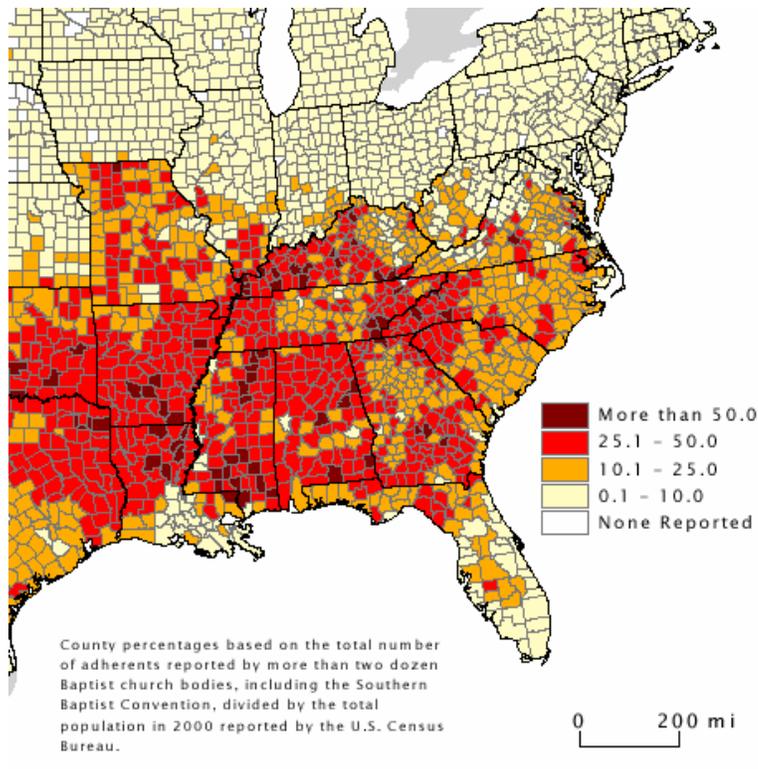


There is clearly a large correlation between the counties of Modern Florida and the counties of Florida that are not predominantly Baptist in nature, though the fit is not (yet) a perfect one. The counties of Modern Florida that are still predominantly Baptist, such as Lake County, are included because of the many other factors used in consideration, and often simply because of their location. To continue with that example, Lake County sits directly adjacent to Orange County and has experienced enormous amounts of growth along the Florida Turnpike and other major arteries leading into the central Orlando area (Lake County is included in the Orlando MSA.) The split between adherents of the SBC and

Catholics is shrinking steadily; from 1990-2000, Catholics increased at a rate of 105.9% in Lake County, while SBC members only increased by 26.7%. As of 2000 in Lake County, Catholics numbered 19,248 and SBC members were at 25,592, a small gap that has undoubtedly shrank since then, perhaps even to the point of closing or reversing (no mid-decade data is available in this regard, however.) Over the same period in Sumter County, Catholics increased by 25.8% while SBC members increased by only 13%. The same trend is present in Transitional Alachua County; from 1990-2000 Catholics increased there by about 2.5%, Methodists increased by 11.7%, and SBC members actually decreased by .7% (3). The other exception areas – namely, Polk County and most of the Florida Heartland – are covered later.

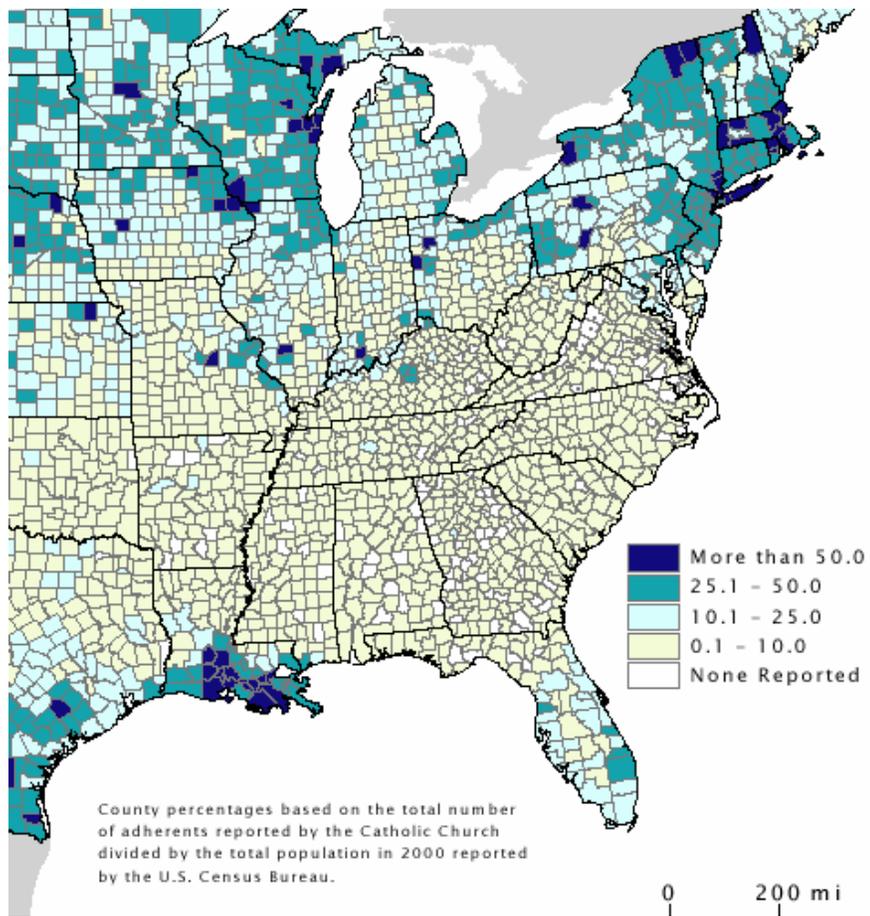
This data can be analyzed from other perspectives; for example, as the strength of Baptists:

Figure 9: Baptist percentages in Florida and other eastern states (3)



Or from yet another perspective, the strength of Catholics, usually the largest non-Baptist group present in the state:

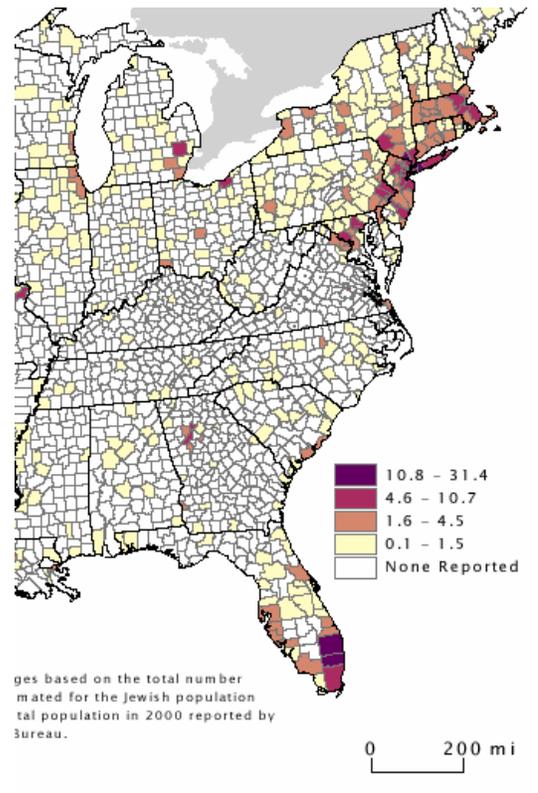
Figure 10: Catholic percentages in Florida and other eastern states (3)



The fit – though slightly imperfect (at the moment) – rests the same throughout these examples.

Another interesting religious measure often used in differentiating regions of Florida – and more often, in differentiating the state of Florida from the rest of the South – regards the number of members of the Jewish faith.

Figure 11: Jewish percentages in Florida and other eastern states (3)



Again, there is a large amount of fidelity in this example, as the heavily Jewish counties in Florida are *all* located in Modern Florida. The example is particularly poignant in the counties of South Florida, where Jews actually outnumber Baptists, a pattern that is seen nowhere else in the South.

Analyzing the exact number of Evangelicals – a very distinctly Southern phenomenon – provides one final way to look at Florida’s deep religious split. Florida is less Evangelical in general than its neighbors in the Deep South – in fact, Florida is the least evangelical state of the South unless one includes Maryland and Delaware – but it is still heavily Evangelical relative to nearly all non-Southern states. Florida’s Evangelicalism is highly concentrated in Old Florida. For example, the top 10 counties by percent in evangelical sects:

Figure 12: Top 10 Evangelical counties in Florida (3)

1	Holmes (Old)	48.87%
2	Hardee (Modern)	46.83%
3	Lafayette (Old)	46.57%
4	Suwannee (Old)	41.4%
5	Taylor (Old)	40.46%
6	Gilchrist (Old)	39.84%
7	Bradford (Old)	38.17%
8	Dixie (Old)	37.85%
9	Gulf (Old)	37.8%
10	Nassau (Old)	35.73%

Not surprisingly, 90 percent of Florida’s top 10 Evangelical counties are in the Old region of the state. As for the bottom 10 Evangelical counties:

Figure 13: Bottom 10 Evangelical counties in Florida (3)

58	Pasco (Modern)	9.45%
59	Palm Beach (Modern)	9.15%
60	Collier (Modern)	8.25%
61	St. Lucie (Modern)	8.03%
62	Broward (Modern)	7.78%
63	Flagler (Transitional)	7.56%
64	Monroe (Modern)	7.43%
65	Charlotte (Modern)	7.42%

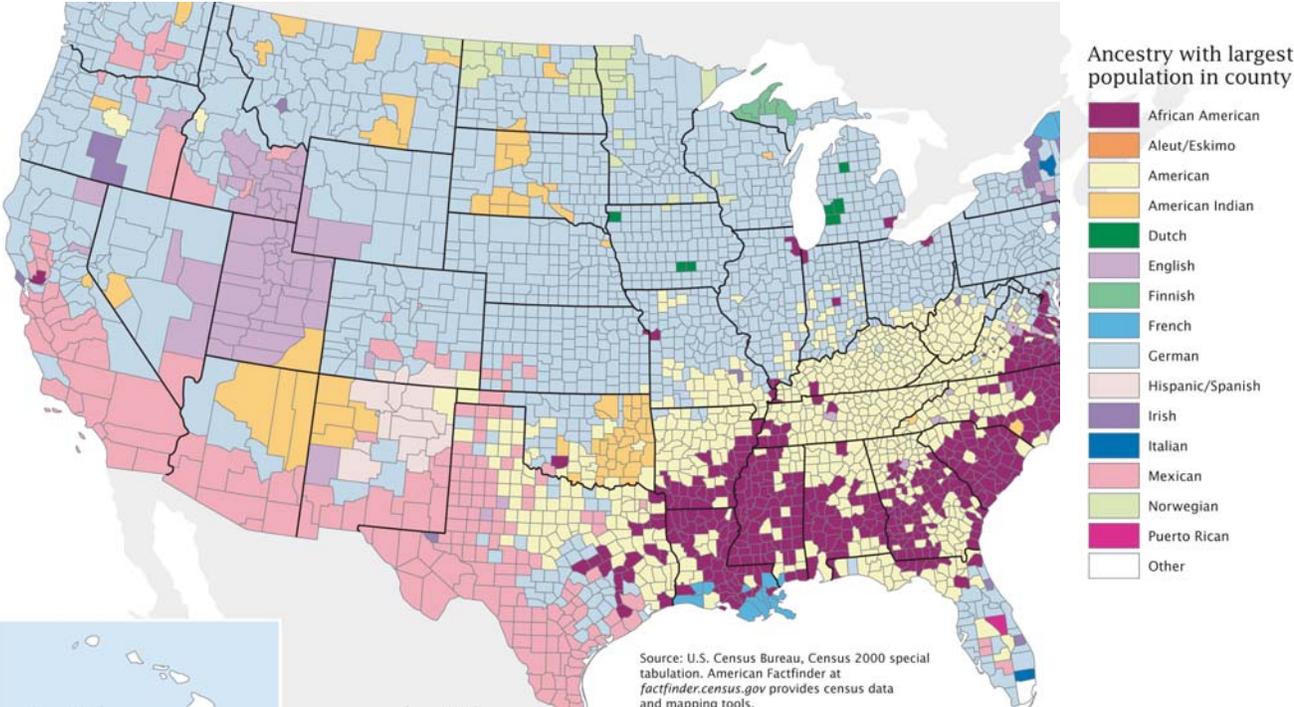
66	Miami-Dade (Modern)	7.01%
67	Martin (Modern)	6.99%

This is the pattern to be expected, and the observation here is clear; the so-called “Bible Belt” does not extend into most of peninsular Florida, but it is most certainly part of the cultural scene in Old Florida.

3. *Ancestry and Hispanic Populations*

Here again, the differences between Old Florida and Modern Florida are essentially the same differences between contemporary Florida and the rest of the South. In the South, by and large the largest self-reported ancestry, among whites, is the somewhat vague term “American”, with many counties seeing African Americans reporting as the plurality ancestry, reflecting the legacy of slavery. This is the pattern by and large of Old Florida, but Modern Florida is different.

Figure 14: *Floridian ancestries (2)*



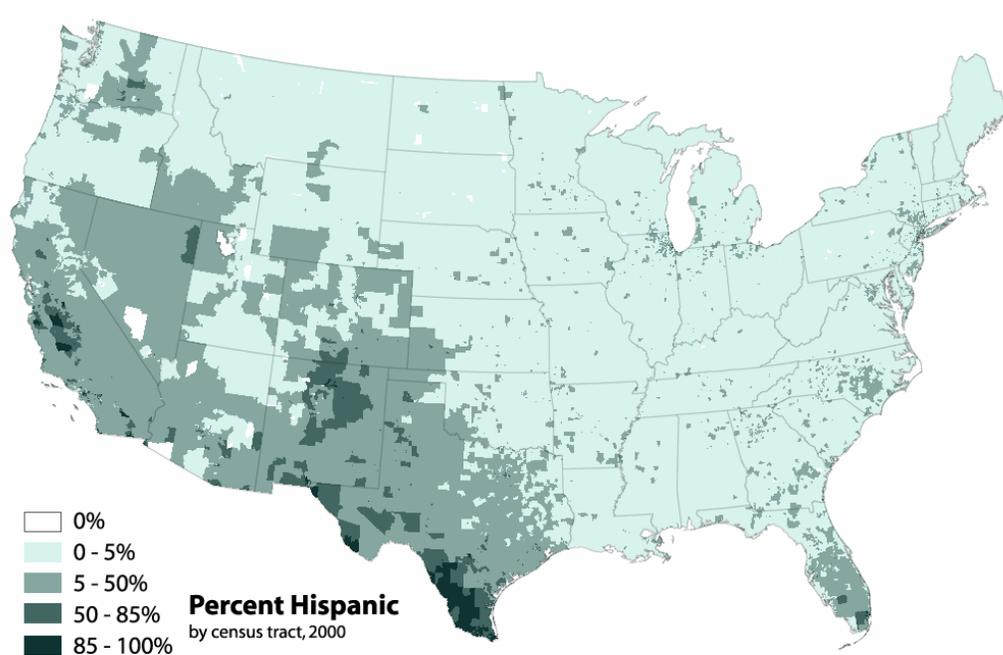
If you begin to match the counties from this map to the counties from the religious maps that don't fit the traditional mold, you should start to see clear patterns emerging regarding Modern Florida, and especially regarding the "transitional counties". Most notably, the self-reported "American ancestry" (which usually means ancestry of some British origin) drops off in Transitional Florida and is not the plurality in most of Modern Florida, providing the major difference. Instead, Floridians tend to report German ancestry (the largest ancestral group in the US and in Florida), a trend common among Midwesterners, Westerners, and Easterners, though rare in most of the South. The pattern is simple, though riddled with exceptions:

Figure 15: Sample ancestries in Modern, Transitional, and Old Florida (2,7)

City	German ancestry %	"American" ancestry %
Lake City (Old)	7.30%	<u>11.90%</u>
Panama City (Old)	9.80%	<u>12.90%</u>
Gainesville (Transitional)	<u>12.60%</u>	5.60%
Ocala (Transitional)	<u>13.10%</u>	6.70%
Orlando (Modern)	<u>9.80%</u>	6.70%
St. Petersburg (Modern)	<u>14.60%</u>	5.70%

Florida's Hispanic population also largely, but not perfectly, follows the division between Modern and Old Florida with the vast majority of Hispanics living in Modern Florida, as the figure below indicates.

Figure 16: Hispanic population in the USA (2)



On a county basis, the split can sometimes be observed in different instances along the borders between the two Florida's. For just a few examples, in bordering counties:

Figure 17: Hispanic populations along the Modern/Old Florida border (2)

County	Percent Hispanic
Alachua(Transitional)	5.73%
Columbia (Old)	2.74%
Putnam (Old)	7.40%
Volusia (Modern)	9.10%

Though far from being a “perfect” transition, along the barriers of Old and Modern Florida there is indeed a gradual increase in the overall percentage of Hispanic residents.

4. Migration patterns

Patterns of migration are of a paramount importance in delineating Modern and Old Florida, as many parts of Florida were very sparsely populated up until the mass migration of the 1950's forward. The vast majority of that migration happened in Modern Florida, and as

a result the center of population in Florida was shifted from the north to the central areas of the state (it is currently located in Polk County.) Furthermore, Old Florida migrants have tended to come from the Southern United States, whereas migrants arriving in Modern Florida were more likely to arrive from elsewhere. An analysis of several cities in different regions of Florida makes this clear.

Figure 18: Immigrant origins in several Florida cities (7)

*Note: In this data, “North” refers to the combined total of Northeastern and Midwestern migrants.

City	Regions of Birth, US-born citizen immigrants
Pensacola (Old)	North: 9,057 <u>South: 16,988</u> West: 2,316
Panama City (Old)	North: 6,120 <u>South: 10,185</u> West: 1,617
Jacksonville (Old)	North: 137,828 <u>South: 156,028</u> West: 22,617
Lake City (Old)	North: 1,551 <u>South: 1,680</u> West: 188
Palatka (Old)	North: 1,158 <u>South: 1,552</u> West: 75
<hr/>	
Gainesville (Transitional)	<u>North: 22,783</u> South: 13,902 West: 3,382
Ocala (Transitional)	<u>North: 14,075</u> South: 6,581 West: 1,042
Palm Coast (Transitional)	<u>North: 18,958</u> South: 4,039 West: 760
The Villages (Transitional)	<u>North: 6,459</u>

	South: 1,179 West: 72
St. Augustine (Transitional)	<u>North: 3,351</u> South: 2,270 West: 423
<hr/>	
Orlando (Modern)	<u>North: 49,769</u> South: 28,281 West: 5,556
St. Petersburg (Modern)	<u>North: 89,663</u> South: 36,260 West: 6,064
Tampa (Modern)	<u>North: 65,876</u> South: 44,718 West: 7,300
Lakeland (Modern)	<u>North: 24,379</u> South: 12,789 West: 1,606
Naples (Modern)	<u>North: 13,342</u> South: 2,479 West: 528
West Palm Beach (Modern)	<u>North: 22,970</u> South: 8,804 West: 1,364
Coral Springs (Modern)	<u>North: 51,263</u> South: 7,711 West: 2,543
Miami (Modern) (note: Miami is unique as a majority of its residents were born outside of the USA)	<u>North: 23,150</u> South: 15,409 West: 2,454

Here, the pattern is almost perfect (Tallahassee, a notable exception by a marginal number of residents, is discussed later in this report.) While the counties of Old Florida received the majority of their new arrivals from the South, further enforcing the already established culture in these regions, the relatively sparsely populated counties of Transitional

and Modern Florida received most of their new arrivals from outside of the South, completely altering the cultural norms (7.)

Many traditionalists who dislike the idea of “splitting” up the state of Florida culturally often point to other Southern areas that are receiving mass influxes of population and ask: is Florida really any different from these other areas? The answer, for the moment at least, is a resounding *yes*.

Figure 19: Immigration in other rapidly expanding Southern metro areas (7)

City	Regions of Birth, US-born citizens
Atlanta	North: 56,056 <u>South: 76,404</u> West: 9,736
Charlotte	North: 105,805 <u>South: 106,251</u> West: 13,761
Nashville	North: 77,058 <u>South: 93,214</u> West: 16,793

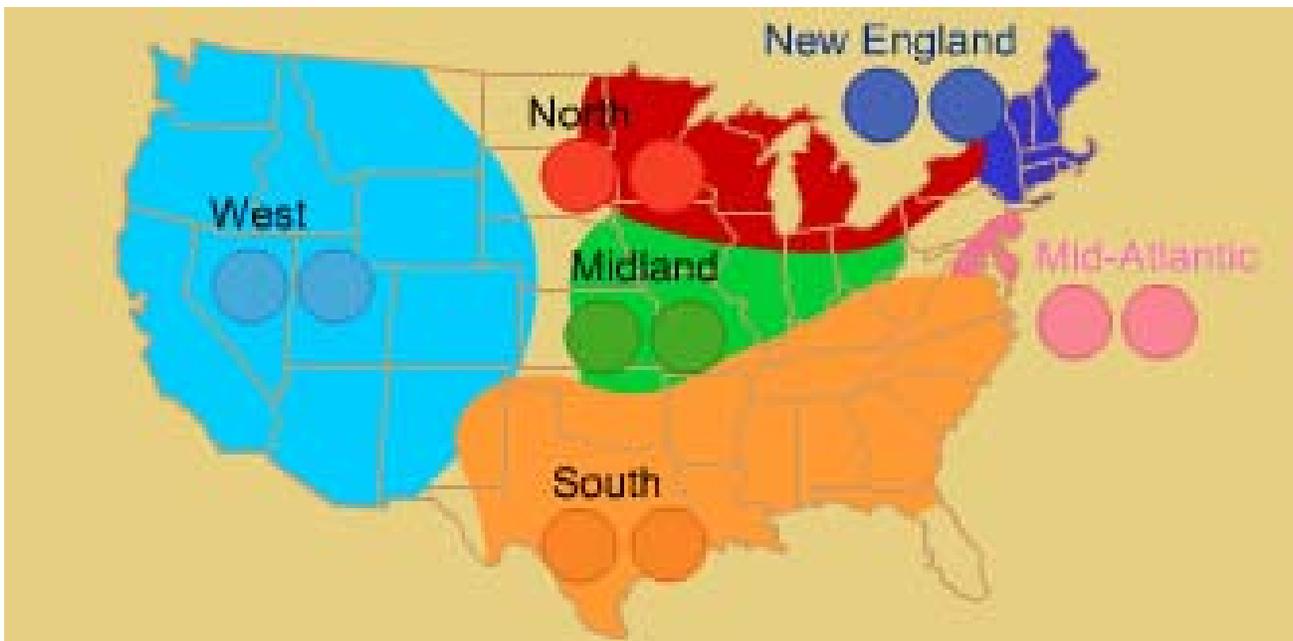
It is true that in some suburban areas of cities such as Atlanta (Marietta, Sandy Springs, Roswell), Charlotte (Matthews), and Nashville (Franklin), newly arrived residents from outside of the South have outnumbered native-born and raised Southerners and Southern transplants. The key difference is that in Florida, this is *widespread* across much of the state, whereas in other Southern states, the immigration has been much more localized – what I call “pockets of migration.” In Georgia, the culture is purely Southern, and little else, outside of Atlanta; many non-Atlanta based Georgia natives often joke that Atlanta is the “southernmost northern city” in the country, and Cary, North Carolina is sometimes referred to as a “containment area for relocated Yankees.” That being said, if any one state does seem to possess the potential to emulate Florida’s growth pattern, it would be North

Carolina, especially given the state’s high educational attainment, (relatively) high incomes, superb higher educational system, and great natural beauty – but North Carolina is still far, far from the point of being a “second Florida” outside of a few areas, and only time will reveal the direction in which future developments will lead the Tar Heel State.

5. *Linguistic influence*

In terms of linguistics, most of Transitional and Modern Florida are notable for a relative lack of the traditional Southern accent, while this accent is still widely heard across most of Old Florida. Again, this greatly differentiates Transitional and Modern Florida from other regions of the South, such as Georgia, where the Southern accent is still widely heard outside of a few cities like Atlanta; most linguistic maps show the “northern border” of the Southern accent as a fluctuating line going through the states of Missouri, Kentucky, West Virginia, and Virginia. On these maps, much of Peninsular Florida is often excluded from the Southern accent region, as in the following figure.

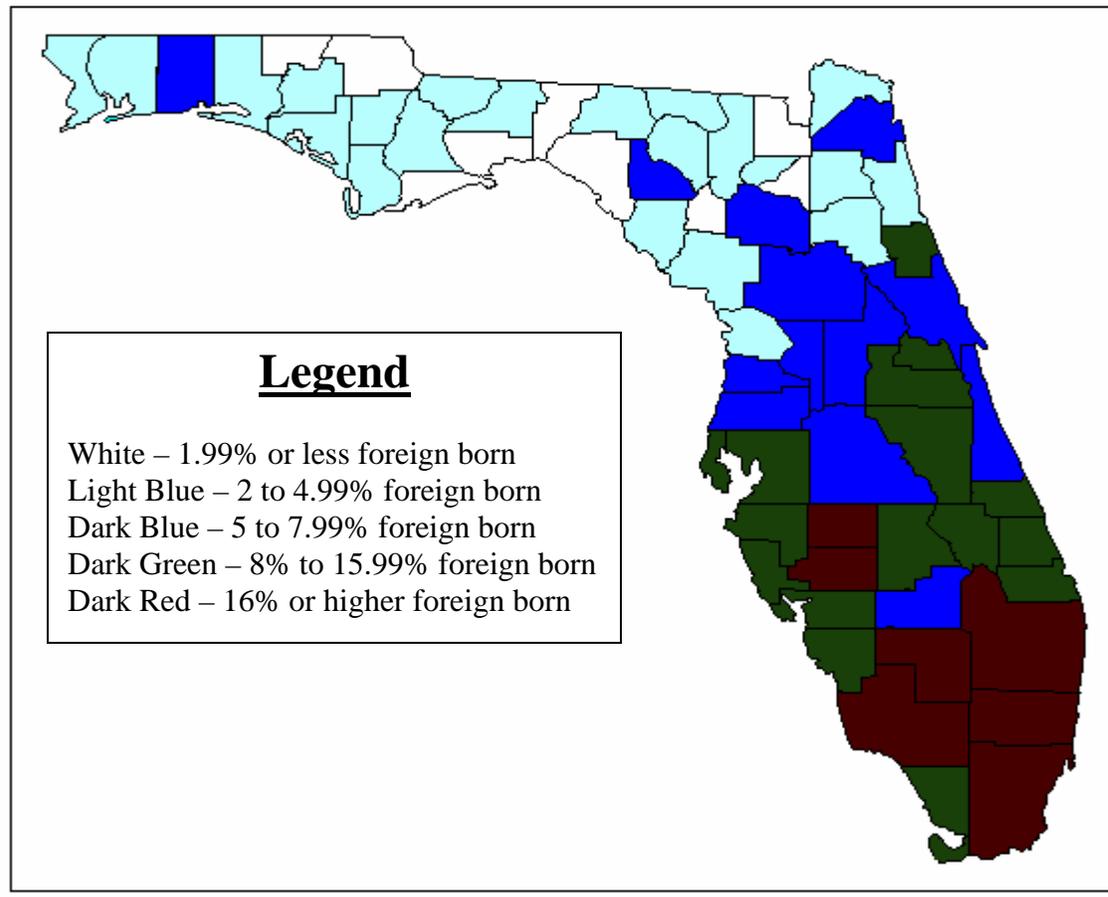
Figure 20: *Extent of Southern accent, and other American English accents (14)*



In this PBS map, the cut-off point for the dominance of the Southern accent in Florida correlates nearly perfectly to the Old/Transitional division. Of course, several of the exact barriers on this map could easily be disputed, and any linguistic map varies depending upon exactly which criteria are being measured. But one thing that most linguistic maps make clear is that the spread of Southern American English stops somewhere in the Florida Peninsula, while it extends into the Panhandle and other portions of Old Florida. One of the strongest reasons behind my inclusion of Leon County as a county of Old Florida relates to the accent; native and well-traveled Floridians know, beyond any doubt and without the need for maps, that the Southern accent is heard far, far more often in Tallahassee, a city of the Panhandle, than in similarly sized areas of Transitional Florida such as Gainesville and Ocala. The majority of linguistic maps created reflect this boundary.

Another compelling argument, somewhat related to linguistics, would revolve around the amount of foreign born residents residing in each county. Certainly, many foreign born residents living in the United States speak English with an impeccable American accent, but the majority of the foreign accents heard in the country will most certainly be heard among non native-born speakers, or among native-born speakers that grew up in non-native families. Even more importantly, looking at the percentages of residents that are foreign born can give us an excellent barometer of the international diversity in different counties. The figure on the next page breaks down Florida's foreign born residents, in terms of percentages, in each of the state's counties.

Figure 21: Florida foreign-born percentages, by county (2)



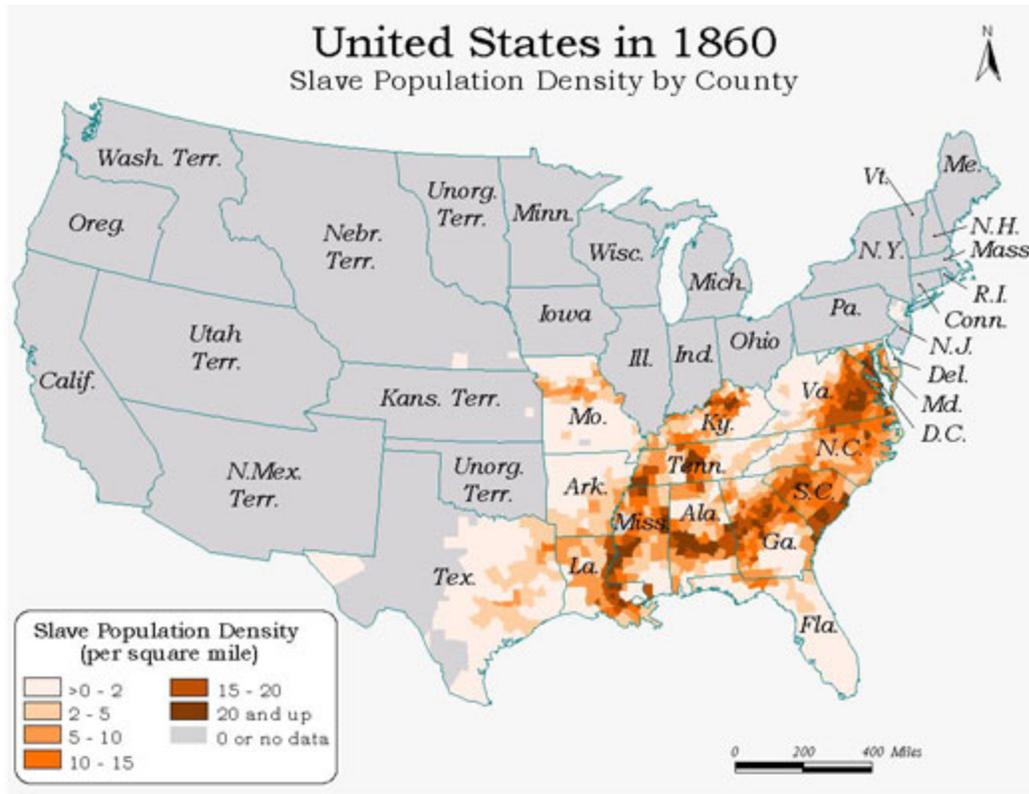
As this map indicates, the overwhelming majority of Florida's foreign born population is located in the counties of Modern and Transitional Florida, and the linguistic influence of this demographic introduces an exciting, diverse array of accents into these counties – nowhere more strongly than in Florida's largest and most heavily foreign county, Miami-Dade, in which a full 50.9 percent of the population is foreign born and an astonishing 67.9 percent of the population speak a language other than English at home. Notice also that Polk County and the counties of the Southern Florida Heartland are *not* out of line with Modern Florida in this measure.

6. *Dixiecrat and Confederate legacies*

Personal observations and opinions aside, it is often extremely difficult to *quantitatively*, accurately measure the amount of “Old Dixie” sentiments that exist in different counties. However, the history of Florida can help us realize the differences that existed between Florida and the rest of the Southern United States, even as far back as the Civil War.

In 1860 Florida was sparsely populated with only 140,424 residents, compared to Southern states such as Georgia (1,057,286 residents), Alabama (964,201 residents), South Carolina (703,708 residents) and Mississippi (791,305 residents) (1.) Florida, a Deep South state of cotton plantations (more on cotton shortly), was indeed slave heavy – about 43% of the population was composed of slaves in 1860, compared to roughly the same percent in Georgia, 55 percent in Mississippi, and 45 percent in Alabama. However, it is extremely important to recognize that the counties of Northern Florida were, by and large, the most populous counties of the state at this time (many of the current counties of Central and Southern Florida didn’t even exist until decades after the Civil War, and the city of Miami wasn’t incorporated until 1896.) Miami-Dade County, today the state’s largest county, had a population of 83 in 1860; Orange County had a population of 987; and Hillsborough, 2,981 residents. The two Panhandle counties of Jackson (10,209) and Leon (12,343) were the state’s largest (1.) Slaves, obviously, were to be found almost entirely in the northern parts of the state; they were extremely rare in Central and Southern Florida

Figure 22: Slave densities, 1860 (13)



Did the relative absence of slaves across most of Central and Southern Florida have any impact on Confederate/Southern sentiments in these regions? Absolutely. In a section of the book *City on the Edge: The Transformation of Miami* entitled “Shallow Dixie”, Alejandro Portes and Alex Stepick provide an excellent analysis of this subject:

“The newly independent republic [of Florida] then joined and fought along with the rest of the Old South, and was defeated with it. But unlike in Georgia or Alabama, plantation society did not return to the peninsula [of Florida.] For Florida, the end of the Civil War also spelled the end of that peculiar order. Because it had been merely an outpost of the Spanish empire, Florida had escaped the destiny of a Caribbean sugar colony. And because it had remained in Spanish hands well into the nineteenth century, it also managed to escape the “curse of cotton.” Despite dominance in state government of the young planter class, that coterie never succeeded in consolidating its hold on the territory as a whole. The sparsely settled lands left in the wake of the Seminole Wars encouraged a more democratic frontier style of life. South and east of the cotton-growing counties, where slaves were few, sentiment for the Union remained strong throughout the war. Unlike its Dixie neighbors, then, Florida escaped the unenviable fate of a one-crop economy, tenancy, and sharecropping, and demagogic rural bosses...neither Spanish nor southern, not yet firmly under Yankee rule, the state developed an amorphous political system.”

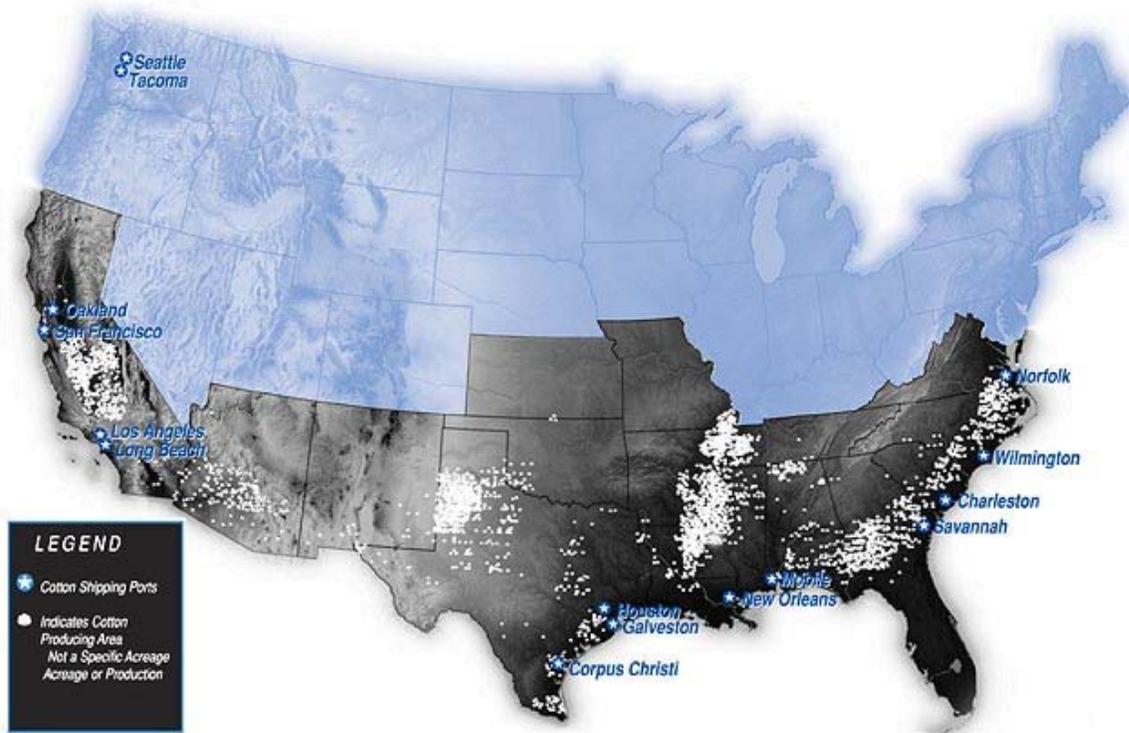
Since Confederate sentiments didn't strongly establish before or during the Civil War in most of Central and Southern Florida, it is hardly surprising that they failed to materialize afterward, when the state received large influxes of Northern immigrants. Today, the only vestiges of the Confederate legacy in Florida are present in the cotton counties of Old Florida, most especially those of the Panhandle. And let us consider the influence of cotton as another quantitative measure. In the South, the extent of a state's dependence on cotton has always largely somewhat to the level of the state's general "Southern-ness", as the following table shows:

Figure 23: Cotton farm percentages, Confederate and Border States (18)

Ratio of cotton farms to all farms in states of the Confederacy plus Border States	
1. Mississippi	82.9%
2. Alabama	80.4%
3. Texas	70.5%
4. South Carolina	70.0%
5. Louisiana	69.6%
6. Arkansas	69.2%
7. Georgia	67.4%
8. Oklahoma	42.3%
9. North Carolina	27.6%
10. Tennessee	27.3%
11. Florida	9.5%
12. Virginia	2.0%
13. Missouri	Approximately 1%
13. Other Border States (Kentucky, West Virginia, Maryland, Delaware)	Less than 1%

Here too, however, the existence of the “Two Florida” division is very important:

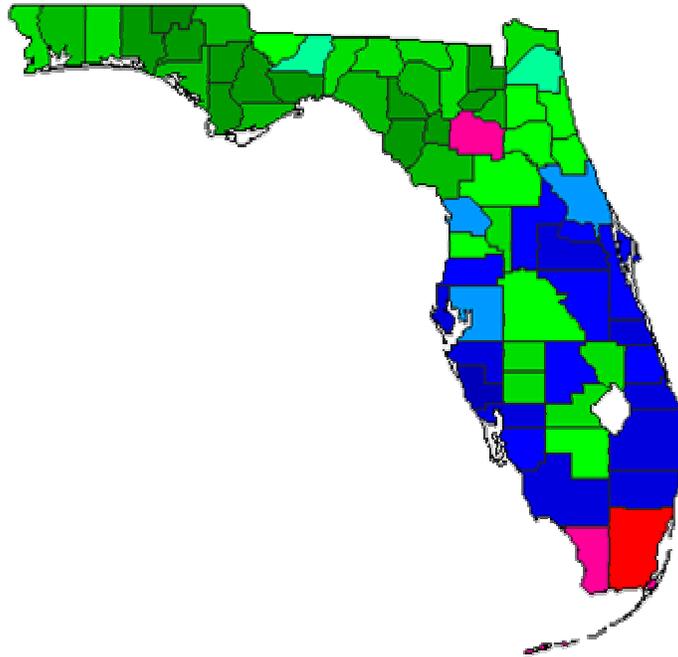
Figure 24: Cotton growing areas of the USA (15)



Notice that cotton production in Florida is (and always has been) concentrated in the counties of the Panhandle, while being virtually nonexistent in the rest of the state. If there is perhaps a “core” historical reason for the Two Florida’s division, this may very well be it. Note that Portes and Stepick, in the paragraph cited earlier, carefully remarked that the peninsula of Florida, not the entire state, escaped the “curse of cotton.” When one considers the poverty in the cotton heavy areas of Florida compared with the booming services-dominated economy in our cities, one can easily understand why those counties of Old Florida suffered the fate that has befallen so many in the rural South.

This “cotton Confederate” legacy is also reflected in the Dixiecrat tendencies of that region of the state, as revealed by the results of the 1968 Presidential election.

Figure 25: 1968 Presidential election in Florida, popular vote by county (16)



Color Key	Presidential Candidate	VP Candidate	Popular Vote		Electoral Vote	
■	Richard Nixon	Spiro Agnew	Republican	886,804	40.53%	14
■	Hubert Humphrey	Edmund Muskie	Democrat	676,794	30.93%	0
■	George Wallace	Curtis LeMay	G. Wallace Pty	624,207	28.53%	0

The majority of the counties carried by Wallace in Florida were in Old Florida, and several of the counties of Modern Florida that went for Wallace, such as Hernando, Lake, and Flagler, have since seen tremendous population growth and are now nothing like they were in the 1960's. Wallace's segregationist ideology and politics appealed deeply to residents of the highly Southern counties of Old Florida, but not to the residents of Modern Florida who soundly rejected him. It is important to note that while Wallace carried Leon County, similarly sized Alachua County opted for the Democrat in this election – this is another one of the varied reasons behind my decision to maintain Leon County as a county

of Old Florida, with Alachua as more transitional in nature. Even 40 years ago, Gainesville – somewhat physically separated from the dominant Southern influences of the Panhandle – had developed a political culture somewhat out of line with the rest of Northern Florida. Notice also that while Tallahassee falls squarely in the cotton growing area of the state, Gainesville does not.

The Dixiecrat, conservative Democrat legacy – a Southern phenomenon, and more distinctly, one of the Deep cotton South – is present, for the most part, in Old Florida. 22 of the 30 counties in Florida that voted for Bush in the 2004 election despite having more registered Democrats than Republicans are found in Old Florida – Polk County and the South Florida Heartland count for most of the rest (9, 11.) Clearly, a majority of the counties of Old Florida – and most especially the rural ones – exhibit a voting pattern indicative of a Dixiecrat legacy. These 30 counties are summarized in Figure 26.

Figure 26: Votes of counties supporting Bush (2004) in Florida with more registered Dems. than Reps.

(9,11)

County Name	Percent Registered Democrats	Percent voted for Bush
Baker (Old)	69%	78%
Bradford (Old)	61%	70%
Calhoun (Old)	82%	63%
Columbia (Old)	57%	67%
DeSoto (Modern)	59%	58%
Dixie (Old)	77%	69%
Duval (Old)	46%	58%
Franklin (Old)	77%	59%
Gilchrist (Old)	59%	70%
Glades (Modern)	65%	58%
Gulf (Old)	67%	66%
Hamilton (Old)	79%	55%
Hardee (Modern)	64%	70%
Hendry (Modern)	57%	70%
Hillsborough (Modern)	42%	53%
Holmes (Old)	73%	77%
Jackson (Old)	72%	61%
Lafayette (Old)	83%	74%
Levy (Old)	60%	63%

Liberty (Old)	88%	64%
Madison (Old)	80%	50%
Okeechobee(Modern)	58%	57%
Osceola (Modern)	40%	53%
Polk (Modern)	43%	59%
Putnam (Old)	58%	59%
Suwannee (Old)	64%	71%
Taylor (Old)	76%	64%
Union (Old)	75%	73%
Wakulla (Old)	67%	58%
Washington (Old)	67%	71%

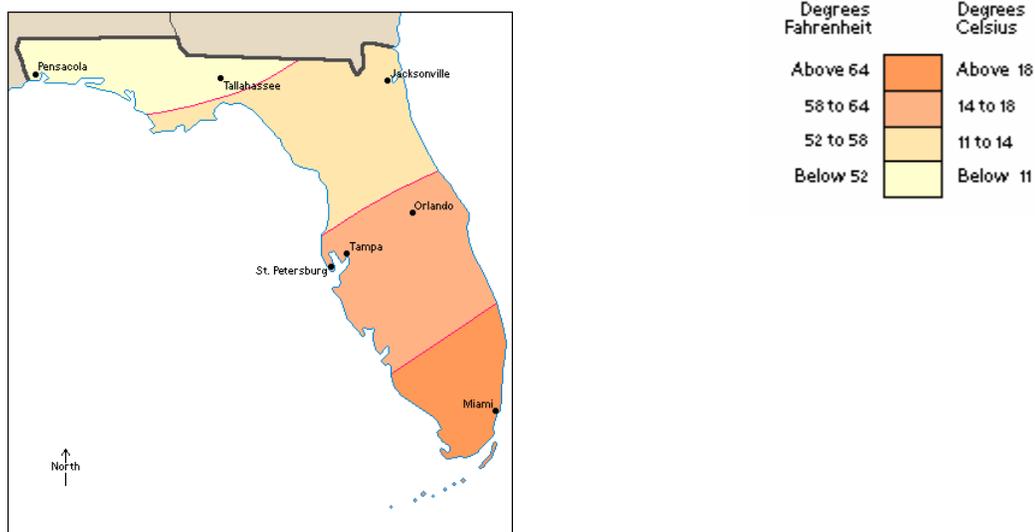
These numbers reveal that, with the exception of the Southern Florida Heartland region, the Dixiecrat tradition is alive and well in Old Florida, but relatively nonexistent in Modern Florida. The three Modern Florida counties outside of the Heartland that voted for Bush despite having more registered Democrats – Hillsborough, Osceola, and Polk – are fundamentally different from the Dixiecrat counties of the north in that, while Democrats do indeed *outnumber* registered Republicans (forming a plurality), they are *not* a majority of registered voters; Democrats are 42% in Hillsborough, 43% in Polk, and only 40% in Osceola. Not coincidentally, all of these counties are situated in the infamous “I-4 swing corridor” and contain a relatively large number of non-party affiliated (NPA) voters; for example, while throughout Florida NPA voters account for about 18.3 percent of voter registrations, they are at 20.3 percent in Hillsborough and 23.1 percent in Osceola (9.) Clearly, these counties are not in the same league, in terms of their voting patterns, as Old Florida Panhandle counties such as Liberty, in which 64 percent of voters opted for Bush despite an overwhelming Democrat majority of 88 percent in the county. Yet again, we can see a pattern emerging that justifies drawing the “southern line” along the boundary of Levy and Citrus counties; while both Levy and Citrus counties went for Bush (63% in Levy, 57% in Citrus), Democrats are a full 60% of registered voters in the Old Florida county of Levy,

while they are only 38% of the voters in Modern Florida Citrus County (9.) On the other side of the border, Old Florida Putnam County voted for Bush at 59%, despite having a DNC majority of 58%; Transitional Flagler County, located just to the east, narrowly voted for Bush at 51%, and Democrats are only 38% of the county’s registered voters. Flagler is interesting and shows the transformative power of immigration; while clearly a Dixiecrat stronghold in the 1964 election, that legacy now appears largely dead in the county. Not coincidentally, it has been one of the state’s fastest growing counties recently.

7. *Climate*

The second-to-last factor that I would like to discuss regarding the Old/Modern division relates to climate. Florida’s climate in the summer months, hellishly, boiling hot throughout the entire state, does not interest us. Even though most Americans would regard Florida’s year-round climate as extremely warm to hot in all seasons, it is interesting to note that most of the development in Florida has occurred in the parts of the state where the average high temperatures in the coldest months of the year – namely, December, January, and February – stay at or above 70 degrees, and the average temperature never drops below the 58-62 degree range in these months. Figure 27 divides the state into four broad regions based on January temperature.

Figure 27: *January climate regions in Florida by average temperature (17)*



Clearly the region in the far northwest is the region most commonly associated with Old Florida, just as the bottom two regions – containing Orlando, Tampa Bay, and South Florida – are clearly associated with Modern Florida. The transition happens in the area containing Jacksonville, Gainesville, Ocala and several other cities. Of course, this is an arbitrary measure in terms of placing cities into regions and can only be used as an extremely general delimiter between regions (and if global warming does indeed take place, this may all soon be irrelevant!) Below are the data for individual cities in this region during their *coldest* month of the year.

Figure 28: Climate data, coldest month of year, cities in 52-58 degree Jan. range (10)

City	January Average High	January Average Temperature
Apalachicola (Old)	61	53
Lake City (Old)	67	55
Jacksonville (Old)	65	54
Gainesville (Transitional)	67	55
St. Augustine (Transitional)	68	57
Ocala (Transitional)	70	58
Bushnell (Transitional)	70.8	58.3

Beyond any doubt, Gainesville – often pertinently referred to as the “southernmost deciduous city in the US” and by many locals as the “end of the South” – marks the defining point south of which, in winter, Florida’s climate largely begins to behave in a manner largely unseen in the rest of the continental USA, with average high temperatures below the 70’s not seen in a normal year. Numerous climate maps reference this transition, such as this one from *Sunset’s Garden*.

Figure 29: Florida climate zones, *Sunset's Garden* (12)



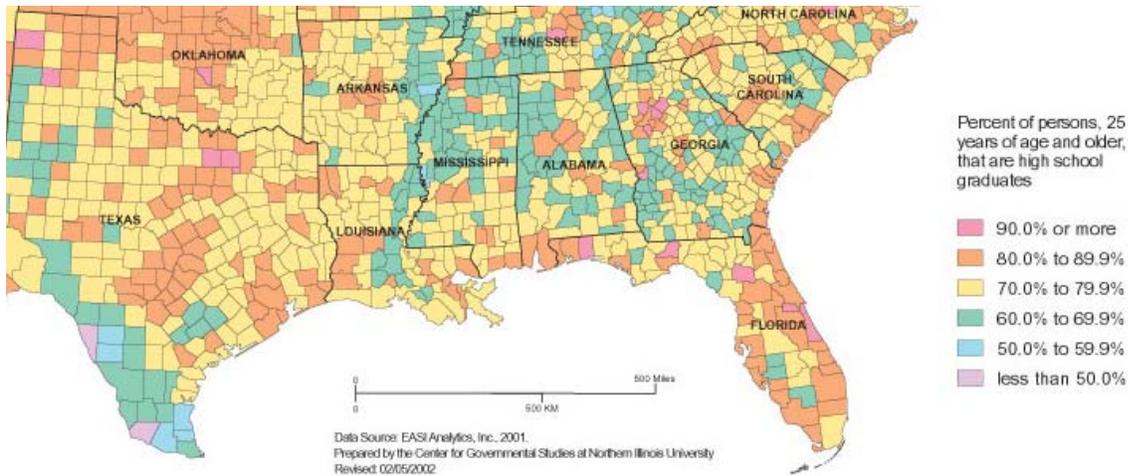
Considering the widespread intolerance of many Floridians for cold weather – and the desire of many newly arrived residents to avoid winter frost to the maximum extent possible – it should come as no surprise that the vast majority of Florida’s growth has occurred, and will always occur, from Gainesville and St. Augustine to the south, the very border between Modern and Old Florida.

8. *Education and Income*

In the last section pertaining to the criteria for division, I would like to touch on the differences in education and income between Old and Modern Florida. The differences here

are incredibly simple; on a whole (but with some notable exceptions), the counties of Modern Florida tend to be more affluent and better educated than those of Old Florida. Let's look at education first, starting with percentages that have completed high school (among residents ages 25 and older):

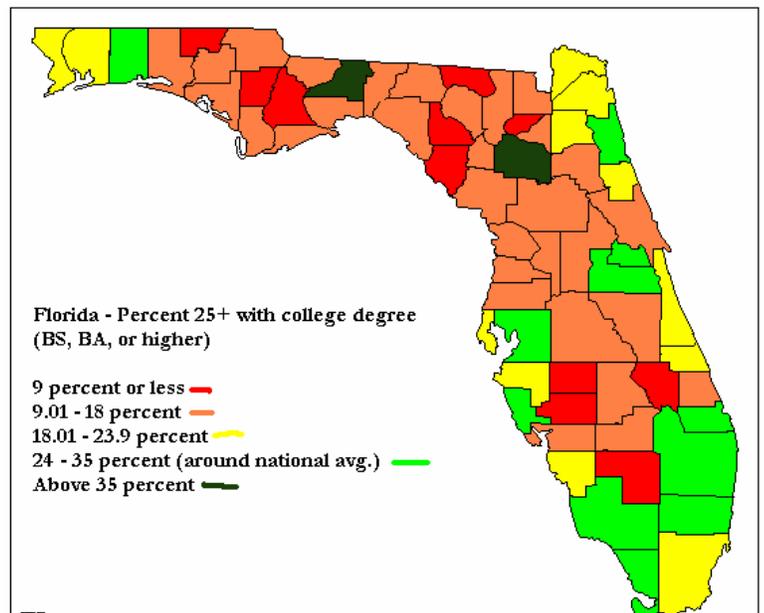
Figure 30: High school graduates aged 25 and older, Southern USA (2)



The majority of the lower educated counties in Florida are in Old Florida, though it is interesting to note that overall, when compared to neighboring states in the Deep South, Florida's rural counties fare relatively well.

A similar picture is yielded by looking at percentages of residents aged 25 and over that have obtained at least a BS or BA degree:

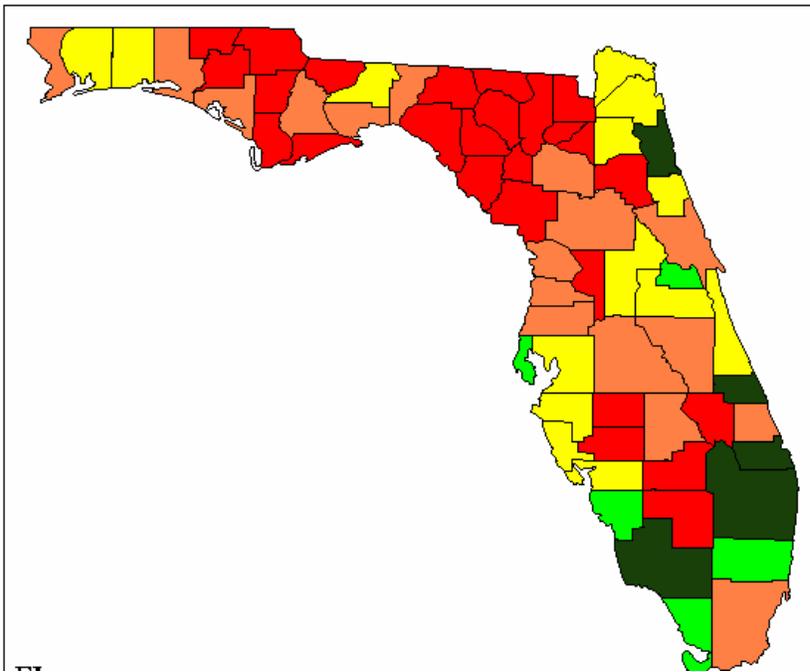
Figure 31: College grads, age 25+ (2)



Here however, reflecting a national trend, the picture becomes more of a rural-urban” split (most college grads, for obvious reasons, choose not to locate in rural areas), but Modern and Transitional Florida still contain all but two of the Florida counties that are roughly at or above the national average for college graduates. It is hardly surprising that the two exceptions are Leon and Okaloosa counties, two of the most economically and culturally developed counties of Old Florida. Most of the state’s extremely low education (less than 9 percent college graduates) counties are in Old Florida; the only of these in Modern Florida are located in the Heartland region.

In terms of income:

Figure 32: Florida counties by per capita income (2)



Here, red counties are in the lowest income range, light brown are medium, light yellow marginally below average, green roughly average, and dark green well above average in terms of per capita income. Here, *all*

of the Florida counties that are at or above the national average for per capita income are located in Modern and Transitional Florida; likewise, a majority of the severely economically depressed counties are located in Old Florida. Some figures reveal this more clearly; in year 2000, the per capita income for the United States was \$21,587 (the following numbers are

not weighted by population and thus do not reflect actual aggregate per capita incomes, but rather an average of the numbers for the entire county.)

Figure 33: Non-population-aggregated per capita averages, Florida regions (2)

Average per capita among Modern counties	\$18,959
Average per capita among Top 10 Modern counties	\$26,883
Average per capita among Old counties	\$17,017
Average per capita among Top 10 Old counties	\$19,887

Florida’s overall per capita income is \$21,557, nearly precisely on the national average. If we round down and use \$21,000 as the national average figure, only *two* counties of Old Florida are at or above the national per capita income: Nassau (\$22,836) and Leon (\$21,024). A full 14 counties of Modern Florida are at or above the national average per capita income level. In addition, let us look at the top 10 counties by per capita income in Florida – the pattern that emerges is to be expected:

Figure 34: Top 10 Florida counties, per capita income (2)

Modern	Collier County	\$31,195
Modern	Martin County	\$29,584
Modern	Palm Beach County	\$28,801
Transitional	St. Johns County	\$28,674
Modern	Sarasota County	\$28,326
Modern	Indian River County	\$27,227
Modern	Monroe County	\$26,102
Modern	Seminole County	\$24,591
Modern	Lee County	\$24,542
Modern	Pinellas County	\$23,497

All of Florida’s top 10 counties by per capita income are in Modern or Transitional Florida, a revelation that should be treated as nothing short of proof that economic policies in Old Florida have failed. As a final concretization, let us examine the bottom ten:

Figure 35: Bottom 10 Florida counties, per capita income (2)

Old	Gilchrist County	\$13,985
Old	Jackson County	\$13,905
Modern	Hendry County	\$13,663
Old	Dixie County	\$13,559
Old	Lafayette County	\$13,087
Old	Madison County	\$12,511
Modern	Hardee County	\$12,445
Old	Calhoun County	\$12,379
Old	Union County	\$12,333
Old	Hamilton County	\$10,562

Only two of the bottom ten counties are in Modern Florida, and, not surprisingly, they are counties of the South Florida Heartland region, yet another abnormality of this area.

From another perspective, one could analyze poverty rates. Here are the 15 counties in Florida with the lowest poverty rates of the state; a large majority of them are in Modern and Transitional Florida:

Figure 36: 15 Florida counties with lowest poverty rates (2)

County	Poverty rate	Location
Clay	7.7%	Old
Sarasota	8.7%	Modern
St. Johns	9.4%	Transitional
Charlotte	9.5%	Modern
Nassau	9.7%	Old
Seminole	9.8%	Modern
Martin	10.1%	Modern
Flagler	10.5%	Transitional
Okaloosa	10.5%	Old
Collier	11.2%	Modern
Indian River	11.2%	Modern
Brevard	11.3%	Modern
Lee	11.5%	Modern
Monroe	11.5%	Modern
Palm Beach	11.5%	Modern

On the other end of the spectrum, the vast majority of Florida's 15 poorest counties by poverty rate are in Old Florida; only 3 are in Modern Florida and they are, not surprisingly, all counties of the Southern Florida Heartland region.

Figure 37: 15 Florida counties with highest poverty rates (2)

County	Poverty rate	Location
Hardee	27.8%	Modern
Hamilton	26.2%	Old
Gadsden	25.9%	Old
Holmes	24.7%	Old
Lafayette	24.1%	Old
Dixie	23.9%	Old
De Soto	23.4%	Modern
Union	23.2%	Old
Madison	23.2%	Old
Calhoun	23%	Old
Hendry	22.8%	Modern
Washington	22.5%	Old
Liberty	22.3%	Old
Bradford	22.2%	Old
Putnam	22.1%	Old

Transitional Florida and Several “Troublesome” Counties

As I stated in the very beginning of this report, analyses such as mine will always be, to a certain extent, subjective in their nature. I am a native Floridian and have studied the divisions and demographics of the state for years, but even in thoroughly analyzing the necessary facts that underlay cultural identities, I could not arrive at firmly classifying five counties of Florida in the North Central/Central and First Coast regions. In this section of the report I would like to individually discuss my considerations of these five Transitional counties – Alachua, Marion, Sumter, St. Johns, and Flagler – that collectively form the region in which Old Florida transitions into Modern Florida. I will also briefly discuss some other “troublesome counties” that I included as either Old Florida or Modern Florida counties only with relatively strong reservations. These are the Old Florida county of Leon and the Modern Florida counties of Polk, Lake, and those of the Southern Florida Heartland – Hardee, DeSoto, Glades, Highlands, Hendry, and Okeechobee.

A. Alachua County

Alachua County is quixotic; it is for Florida what Austin is for Texas, a county that clearly defies its region. Alachua, however, did not meet several of the criteria to be considered as a county of Modern Florida; it has a relatively large Baptist population and was a large slaveholding county at one time. It has relatively low incomes and high poverty when compared to most of Modern and Transitional Florida. The county experienced a moderate “boom” *somewhat* like the counties of Modern Florida in terms of population, going from a 1950 population of 57,026 to a 1970 population of 104,764, but more recently its population growth, at 2.6%, is among the lowest in the state and seems incredibly slow when compared to neighboring Marion County, growing at 8.3%, and other Transitional counties (1,8.) Self-

reported “American” ancestries are a minority across the county, quite unlike the counties of Old Florida, but the city of Gainesville’s large African American population, at roughly a quarter of the population, is a remnant of the city’s ante-bellum past, out of line somewhat with most of Modern Florida. Gainesville has a Confederate monument, though many are surprised to discover this and it is virtually never mentioned in tourist information, a sort of “dirty little secret” among locals and short-term college student residents. The city itself even *looks* like both regions; older neighborhoods in the eastern part of the city, with large oak trees, gracious lawns, and shotgun houses in many of the poorer areas, are distinctly Southern in their appearance, while the western portions of the city and county – where virtually all of the new growth is occurring – are no different at all from the undifferentiated hodgepodge of suburban sprawl that defines much of Central Florida. Though included in Peninsular Florida and not included in with “the South” on most linguistic maps, it is definitely not a “rarity” to hear a Southern accent in Gainesville, especially if speaking with native-born and raised residents; but again, linguistically Gainesville fits in more closely with Orlando and Tampa than with Tallahassee and Pensacola. The biggest cultural factor in Alachua County is the University of Florida; its nearly 50,000 students and large, diversified faculty have served as the impetus for much of the region’s growth, and, unfortunately, most maps of the region – such as the ancestry and religious maps that I used – do *not* include UF students in their calculations, giving a somewhat inaccurate portrayal of the city. On the other hand, most students are transitory residents and many do not readily identify with the city or county, instead preferring their home cities and regions. Regardless, their perennial presence in the area leaves an indelible mark on this otherwise largely Southern county, and it is by and large the imprint of Modern Florida, its large cities – Miami, Tampa, Orlando – generating the majority of UF’s student body. Traveling southbound on Interstate 75,

Alachua County is clearly the first place in Florida in which many elements of Modern Florida culture can first be felt, seeing as Columbia and Hamilton counties are indistinguishable from counties of southern Georgia. Thus, while I felt it inappropriate and inaccurate to cast the county as Modern – I have occasionally heard “damn Yankee” snipes from some of the long-time locals, after all! – the county’s diverse population and culture make it undeniably transitional in nature.

B. Marion County

Up until 1990, Marion County had fewer residents than Alachua County; now, it outnumbers Alachua County by a wide margin, some 60,500 residents. And growth, along with its resulting changes, formed the basis of my decision to include this conservative county – one that once voted for George Wallace – as one of Transitional Florida. Its relatively close proximity to areas such as Orlando also formed a part of my decision, although none of the urbanized areas in Marion County would be close enough to Orange County for a truly “comfortable” commute. Indeed, arguments are often started over whether or not Marion County is situated in North Central Florida, or Central Florida; it exhibits characteristics of both regions, though it is *officially* in the more Southern-oriented North Central Florida region, as the southernmost county.

C. Sumter and Lake Counties

Though Sumter and Lake Counties might seem largely identical with a superficial analysis, Lake County’s patterns of growth qualify it, under my calculations, to be considered a firmly Modern Florida County of the Central Florida region, while Sumter County is still lagging a bit behind. Lake County’s close proximity to Orlando – Clermont is about 26 miles west of downtown Orlando – has caused it to become largely a bedroom community of urbanized Orange County; Lake County is now a part of the Orlando MSA (2), and it

would be foolish, in my estimates, to include a county this economically and culturally attached to Orlando as anything other than Modern Florida. Lake County's median family income is now at \$42,577, while in Sumter County it is only \$36,999 (2.) Between 2000 and 2003 Lake County grew at an astonishing 16.8% -- the third most rapid in the state -- while Sumter County grew significantly slower, at 10.4% (though still rapid and among the top rates in Florida, revealing Sumter's Transitional nature) (9.) Lake County is expected to reach 458,388 residents by 2030, while Sumter will only reach 130,286. Sumter County is wedged at a position that makes its centers of population too far from either Tampa or Orlando for a *comfortable* daily commute, especially given rapidly increasing congestion on Central Florida roadways; The Villages is located about 65-70 miles northwest of Downtown Orlando, and an even more formidable 90 miles northeast of Downtown Tampa. However, the Villages has grown enormously, spilling over into neighboring Marion and Lake Counties and becoming one of Florida's most successful planned retirement communities. Over the coming years, it is certain that Sumter County will assimilate rapidly into Central Florida, as the vast majority of new residents in the area will be Northern and other "snowbird" migrants.

D. St. Johns and Flagler Counties

Again, growth has been the "magic wand" that has transformed these two traditionally Southern, Old Florida Counties into mixes of Old Florida and Modern Florida -- but it is important to note here that it is a growth that occurred *after* Central and Southern Florida boomed during the 50's, 60's and 70's; these areas are now cheaper, less congested, and increasingly appealing to residents fed up with the stress of Central Florida life, but their tranquil days are probably about to come to an abrupt end. A look at growth from the 50's to the end of the 80's, and then projected future growth, reveals this; growth is essentially

going to “flip flop” and these two counties will actually grow at a faster rate per capita than Central and South Florida’s cores, though absolute population gains will be lower:

Figure 38: 15 The flip-flop of Floridian growth into Transitional areas (2,5)

County	1950 Pop	1980 Pop	% Change
Orange	114,950	470,865	310%
Pinellas	159,249	728,531	357%
Broward	83,933	1,018,257	1113%
<i>Flagler</i>	<i>3,367</i>	<i>10,913</i>	<i>224%</i>
<i>St. Johns</i>	<i>24,998</i>	<i>51,303</i>	<i>105%</i>
<u>Flagler and St. Johns historically slower growth</u>			
County	2000 pop	2030 est. pop	% Change
Orange	896,344	1,682,942	88%
Pinellas	921,482	1,089,280	18%
Broward	1,623,018	2,488,332	53%
<i>Flagler</i>	<i>49,832</i>	<i>162,163</i>	<i>225%</i>
<i>St. Johns</i>	<i>123,135</i>	<i>287,456</i>	<i>133%</i>

Of all of the counties of Transitional Florida, these are the two that I believe already are and will become the most similar to counties of Modern Florida (many Alachua County officials maintain a bitter hatred of growth and Marion County officials aren’t much better; I really do not know about Sumter County): rapid growth, mostly from outside the South, that serves not to just “shift” the local demographics but rather rewrite them. Flagler County, in some definitions the single fastest growing county in the nation, is the best example of this. In 1970 the county numbered just 4,454 residents but by 2020 – just 50 years later – Flagler is expected to reach 128,100 residents, an increase of an incredible 2,876 percent during that time period, growth that makes even the change in South Florida seem tame percentage-wise – in linear terms, about 7 new residents each and every day over this 50 year period (2,5.) St. Johns has also grown rapidly, from a 1970 population of 30,727 to a current population of 152,473 and an estimated 2020 population of 236,967 (2,5.) Continued growth in both of these counties will continue to fully integrate them into Modern Florida, meaning that, on

Florida's Atlantic seaboard, only Duval and Nassau counties will (likely) remain firmly in Old Florida.

E. Leon County

In some ways, Leon County is more a geographic anomaly than Alachua County; it is undoubtedly the one county of the Florida Panhandle that exhibits the most characteristics of Modern Florida. Tallahassee's status as the state's capitol has been instrumental in this growth. For example:

Figure 39: Regions of origins, US-born arrivals in Tallahassee (7)

City	Regions of Birth, US-born citizens
Tallahassee	<u>North: 29,713</u> South: 28,511 West: 3,750

Tallahassee's marginal majority of Northern migrants over Southern ones makes it incredibly unusual for a city of the Panhandle; not even popular Panhandle beach enclaves such as Destin and Fort Walton Beach exhibit this pattern. However, the key point with Tallahassee is the *nature and size* of the split. It is simply not on the same magnitude of areas in Transitional and Modern Florida. By comparison:

Figure 40: Sample Northern majorities in Transitional and Modern Florida (7)

Gainesville (Transitional)	<u>North: 22,783</u> South: 13,902 West: 3,382
St. Petersburg (Modern)	<u>North: 89,663</u> South: 36,260 West: 6,064

As a percentage of total migrants, Northerners count for 57 percent in Gainesville, 68 percent in St. Petersburg, but only 48 percent in Tallahassee – a plurality, but not a majority, albeit an extremely large plurality that may likely change soon! There is a more

stark difference, however; Southern migrants count for 35 percent of the total in Gainesville, 27 percent in St. Petersburg, but a much more pronounced 46 percent in Tallahassee. Based on personal experiences and projections, I do not believe that this balance will shift drastically in Tallahassee over the coming years. The key variable that we must consider is geographical location.

Figure 41: Distances from Tallahassee to several cities

City	Distance from Tallahassee (one-way)
Pensacola	197 miles
Columbus, GA	181 miles
Montgomery, AL	210 miles
St. Augustine	204 miles
Tampa	276 miles
Orlando	257 miles
Naples	433 miles
Miami	481 miles

Geographically, Tallahassee’s location places it far closer to most of Old Florida – and other Southern states, such as Georgia and Alabama – than to most of the large cities of Modern Florida; Leon County, of course, actually borders two counties of southern Georgia and many residents of Tallahassee regularly drive to nearby Thomasville, GA for the cheaper gasoline and shopping. Closer to Atlanta than Miami by far, it would have been extremely inconsistent, on a geographic basis, to include Tallahassee as a city of either Modern or Transitional Florida. It is my belief that Tallahassee will *always* see larger amounts of Southern immigration than cities further south and east; many retirees from Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina, desiring to live in Florida and yet offended by the “Yankee” culture of cities such as Orlando and Miami, have always and likely will always find Tallahassee to be a good fit, still warm enough for their liking but not by any means a “foreign culture”. These patterns will only serve to reinforce the already existing regional patterns of migration across Florida. The inclusion of Tallahassee in most linguistic maps

with the South – while Transitional cities such as Gainesville and Ocala are usually excluded – adequately summarizes the nature of the city and county.

F. Polk County and the South Florida Heartland

Just as Tallahassee seems to be *somewhat*, but not entirely, out of place in the Panhandle, so does Polk County seem somewhat, but not entirely, out of place in Central Florida. The county failed to meet several of the criteria for inclusion in modern Florida – predominantly Baptist, large percentages claiming “American” ancestry, and so forth. In other areas, however, it was much more a county of Modern Florida – notably, in Hispanic percentages (about 9.5 percent), foreign born percentages, and simple geographic proximity. The vestiges of Old South culture that are persistently present in Polk are largely related to the agricultural nature of large portions of the county, just as in much of the Southern Florida Heartland region. Given all of the factors, my final decision was to include Polk as a county of Modern Florida, not of Transitional or Old Florida. In terms of migration patterns, one of the most important deciding factors, Polk is decidedly Modern.

Figure 42: Migration regions, Polk County (7)

Lakeland	<u>North: 24,379</u> South: 12,789 West: 1,606
Winter Haven	<u>North: 8,154</u> South: 4,607 West: 442
Haines City	<u>North: 2,998</u> South: 2,108 West: 258

More important to me was the imminent population growth in Polk County, which simply will not be able to isolate itself culturally from the rest of booming Central Florida. Located on Interstate 4 between Orlando and the Tampa Bay area, Polk is poised to see Modern Florida levels of growth in the coming decades.

Figure 43: Projected population growth in Polk County (5)

Year	Population
2005	538,220
2010	587,621
2015	631,895
2020	675,627
2025	717,488
2030	756,765
2035	802,239
2040	847,712

Since past patterns of regional immigration are likely to continue, the vast majority of new arrivals in Polk will likely come from outside of Florida and outside of the Southern USA, even further diluting the vestiges of Old Florida present in the county. From 1990-2000, Catholics increased by 48.6% in Polk, while SBC members increased by only .9%; furthermore, several cities in Polk, such as Lakeland, also show the large amounts of German ancestry that are common in Modern, not Old, Florida. Just as Tallahassee's location in the Panhandle and its intimate geographic proximity to the rest of the South will constantly reinforce the Southern elements present in the city, Polk's location in Central Florida, between Tampa and Orlando, will firmly keep the area in Modern Florida culturally.

The counties of the South Florida Heartland – namely, Hardee, DeSoto, Highlands, Okeechobee, Glades, and Hendry – are largely in the same situation as Polk County. These inland, beach-less counties have not seem the same type of transformative growth as the other counties of Modern Florida but are expected to grow significantly as developable land in Central and South Florida becomes increasingly rare and skyrockets in price. The points I would make for the inclusion of these counties in Modern Florida are essentially identical to those for Polk County; already existing Modern elements, combined with location and future population growth, will cement their place in the high-growth region of the state. They may

not fit the Modern mold perfectly, but I believe that they are far closer, in many aspects, to cities such as Orlando and Miami than ones such as Panama City and Lake City.

Conclusion: Where goes Florida?

The division that I have attempted to present here is nothing new to most residents of Florida, and – for the good and for the bad – it will almost certainly continue into the future. The recently published *Florida 2060* report that meticulously details projections for growth in this state over the next 50 years shows that the Old Florida counties of North Florida will *still* remain largely rural in nature in the year 2060. This may have been surprising to some but, all things considered, it should be expected. Why, though?

Consider the following numbers from a 1980's study in which residents were asked to give the *geographic* region – not cultural, but geographic region – in which they lived. Of those choosing the term “South” (other choices were East, West, Midwest, and “other”) to describe their region, a ranked list follows:

Figure 44: Definition of the South by residents (6)

More than 75% believe they are primarily in “the South”

1. Louisiana – 97.49%
2. Mississippi – 96%
3. Alabama – 93.85%
- 4. Florida – 88.09%**
5. Georgia – 87.5%
6. Tennessee – 82.11%

More than 50% believe they are primarily in “the South”

1. Arkansas – 72.73%
2. South Carolina – 72.53%
3. Texas – 71.18%
4. North Carolina – 60%

Less than half believe they are primarily in “the South”

1. Kentucky – 47.86%
2. Virginia – 24.5%
3. Oklahoma – 15.46%
4. West Virginia – 14.94%

Less than 10% believe they are primarily in “the South”

1. Missouri – 4.10%
2. Maryland – 1.94%
3. Delaware – 0%

Confounding matters even further, a more recent study by UNC-Chapel Hill found only half of Floridians describing *themselves* as “Southerners”, regardless of what region they believe the state to be in. This ultimately leads to the realization that *Florida is the only North-South “Border State” that lies squarely in the Deep South*. It is one of the most culturally and economically divided states in the country, and will likely remain so well into the future. And it is my firm belief that current and future Floridians will be able to better appreciate their own state if they understand the sheer magnitude and importance of this cultural divide.

This being recognized and established, it must be stated that *all* facets of this division are not inherently negative; that one county has one religious and ethnic composition while another county differs significantly means nothing to us ultimately. That Southern accents are widespread in one county and largely absent in another means nothing in and of itself. From many cultural viewpoints, there is nothing “wrong” with either of the two Florida’s. They are as different as night and day in many elements, and they will appeal to different spectrums of the population. However, the differences in educational attainment, income, and growth are troubling and must be addressed by the political leaders of Old Florida counties to produce more equity in the distribution of Florida’s overall wealth and improvement. Here, each Florida will face its own set of unique problems going forward, outlined below.

Problems for Old Florida

The biggest problem counties of Old Florida will face in the coming decades is *ensuring economic and educational development*. The average Old Florida county is rural, well below national income and educational attainment levels, stagnant in growth, and largely viewed as a “backwater” by developers, who will almost always choose Modern or Transitional Florida for new projects. I am quite familiar with the politics of Old Florida, and it is a politics that rejects growth, change, and development on the basis of “preservation of quality of life” – even though children in this region of Florida are arguably far worse off, educationally and otherwise, than children further south in the state. As proof of that “biased” claim, I submit my own experiences growing up in that region in addition to every single figure in this report. To ensure a better quality of life for their citizens, politicians in Old Florida must embrace growth – *wise growth* – over the next 30 years; otherwise, these counties – especially the counties of the rural Panhandle – will continue to lead the state of Florida in terms of poverty, high-school dropouts, and a myriad of other dubious measures.

Problems for Modern and Transitional Florida

Without question, the biggest problem that will face Modern Florida counties over the next few decades is *wisely managing growth*. The counties of Modern Florida already hold 80 percent of the state’s population, and they will be burdened with millions more new arrivals in the coming years. Contrary to Old Florida, these counties will have no problem attracting growth; in fact, they will be burdened by too much of it! Politicians in Modern Florida need to take proactive steps to circumvent suburban sprawl and reinvest in neglected inner city areas; they should also fully respect Florida’s regulations regarding concurrency and projects of regional impact to avoid straining limited resources and services, such as fire protection and utilities.

The counties of Transitional Florida – Alachua, Marion, Sumter, St. Johns, and Flagler – have perhaps the biggest challenge of all: the hard face of reality, the fact that they will be decreasingly rural havens and increasingly urban and suburban centers. Some simple number should make this patently clear:

Figure 45: Population growth in Transitional Florida (5)

County	2000 pop.	Estimated 2030 pop.	% Increase
Alachua	217,955	320,506	47%
Marion	258,916	478,313	85%
Sumter	53,345	130,286	144%
St. Johns	123,315	287,456	133%
Flagler	49,832	162,163	225%

NIMBY, anti-growth politics in these counties will do little to change the coming reality. Instead, politicians in Transitional Florida need to embrace reality and work to create New Urbanist type developments, while protecting remaining agricultural lands and focusing on improving existing services and infrastructure.

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