

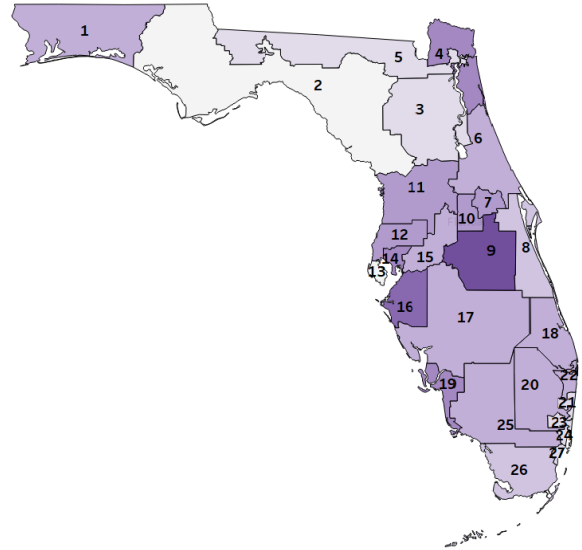
Redistricting 2020: The Prospects of Increasing Hispanic Legislative Representation in Florida

RESEARCH BRIEF

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Hispanics are driving population growth across the United States. This lead in population growth affords Latinos the opportunity to increase their political power by potentially increasing the number of legislative districts that can be represented by them. This report provides an overview of population changes in the state of Florida, showing how Hispanic population growth outpaces that of other groups in the state and across counties.



The addition of one congressional seat to the state's delegation improves the chances of increasing Hispanic congressional representation in Central Florida as well as in county legislatures (i.e., boards of commissioners) across the state. Puerto Ricans are a leading group driving this population growth, especially as they settle in Central Florida counties.

On April 26, 2021, the U.S. Census Bureau delivered to the president of the United States results from the 2020 decennial census to be used for apportionment. The apportionment results showed that the state of Florida's delegation in the U.S. House of Representatives will increase to 28 representatives for the next ten years beginning with the 118th Congress (2023-2025).ⁱⁱ Apportionment is the process by which the 435 seats in the U.S. House of Representatives are divided among the 50 states of the union. This is a constitutionally-mandated task based on the decennial enumeration the Census Bureau conducts.ⁱⁱⁱ The constitution guarantees each state one representative in the House of Representatives; the remaining 385 seats are then apportioned based on each state's total population.^{iv}

This increase of one representative in the state's congressional delegation was expected given the population increase Florida experienced between 2010 and 2020. Between decennial censuses, the state's population grew by 14.1%. This rate of growth earned Florida eighth place as the state with the largest population growth behind Utah, Idaho, Texas, North Dakota, Nevada, Colorado, and Washington but ahead of more than 40 other states (see Table 1). The rate of growth of the national population was 7.1%; therefore, Florida's growth was nearly twice as large as the national rate of growth. As a result of gaining one additional seat in the House of Representatives, Florida's congressional delegation will be the third largest in the country after California and Texas.

In 2010, Florida's apportionment population of 18,900,773, divided among 27 congressional districts, yielded districts with 700,029 persons per district.^v In 2020, the total reapportionment population of 21,570,527, divided among 28 congressional districts, would yield districts with a population of approximately 770,376 persons per district.^{vi} However, as of 2019, the last year for which detailed information at the congressio-

Table 1. Population Change by State, 2010 - 2020

State	2020 Apportionment Population	2010 Apportionment Population	Percent Change 2010 - 2020
Utah	3,275,252	2,770,765	18.2%
Idaho	1,841,377	1,573,499	17.0%
Texas	29,183,290	25,268,418	15.5%
North Dakota	779,702	675,905	15.4%
Nevada	3,108,462	2,709,432	14.7%
Colorado	5,782,171	5,044,930	14.6%
District of Columbia	691,533	604,598	14.4%
Washington	7,715,946	6,753,369	14.3%
Florida	21,570,527	18,900,773	14.1%
Arizona	7,158,923	6,412,700	11.6%
South Carolina	5,124,712	4,645,975	10.3%
Georgia	10,725,274	9,727,566	10.3%
Oregon	4,241,500	3,848,606	10.2%
Delaware	990,837	900,877	10.0%
North Carolina	10,453,948	9,565,781	9.3%
Montana	1,085,407	994,416	9.2%
Tennessee	6,916,897	6,375,431	8.5%
South Dakota	887,770	819,761	8.3%
Virginia	8,654,542	8,037,736	7.7%
Minnesota	5,709,752	5,314,879	7.4%
Massachusetts	7,033,469	6,559,644	7.2%
Nebraska	1,963,333	1,831,825	7.2%
Maryland	6,185,278	5,789,929	6.8%
Hawaii	1,460,137	1,366,862	6.8%
California	39,576,757	37,341,989	6.0%
New Jersey	9,294,493	8,807,501	5.5%
Oklahoma	3,963,516	3,764,882	5.3%
Alabama	5,030,053	4,802,982	4.7%
Iowa	3,192,406	3,053,787	4.5%
Indiana	6,790,280	6,501,582	4.4%
New Hampshire	1,379,089	1,321,445	4.4%
New York	20,215,751	19,421,055	4.1%
Rhode Island	1,098,163	1,055,247	4.1%
Kentucky	4,509,342	4,350,606	3.6%
Wisconsin	5,897,473	5,698,230	3.5%
Arkansas	3,013,756	2,926,229	3.0%
Kansas	2,940,865	2,863,813	2.7%
New Mexico	2,120,220	2,067,273	2.6%
Missouri	6,160,281	6,011,478	2.5%
Louisiana	4,661,468	4,553,962	2.4%
Maine	1,363,582	1,333,074	2.3%
Pennsylvania	13,011,844	12,734,905	2.2%
Vermont	643,503	630,337	2.1%
Ohio	11,808,848	11,568,495	2.1%
Alaska	736,081	721,523	2.0%
Michigan	10,084,442	9,911,626	1.7%
Wyoming	577,719	568,300	1.7%
Connecticut	3,608,298	3,581,628	0.7%
Illinois	12,822,739	12,864,380	-0.3%
Mississippi	2,963,914	2,978,240	-0.5%
West Virginia	1,795,045	1,859,815	-3.5%
U.S. Total	331,108,434	309,183,463	7.1%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 & 2020 Decennial Census Apportionment Results

nal district level was available from the Census Bureau, Florida’s population at the district level ranged between 720,777 and 931,872, a difference of more than 211,000. As a result, Florida will need to redraw its congressional district boundaries for all its 28 districts to have an equal number of persons in them,^{vii} a process known as redistricting.^{viii} With the increase in overall congressional representation and the growth rate of the Hispanic population, specifically Puerto Rican representation in Central Florida, it is feasible to expect an increase in Hispanic congressional representation.

Florida’s Population Changes

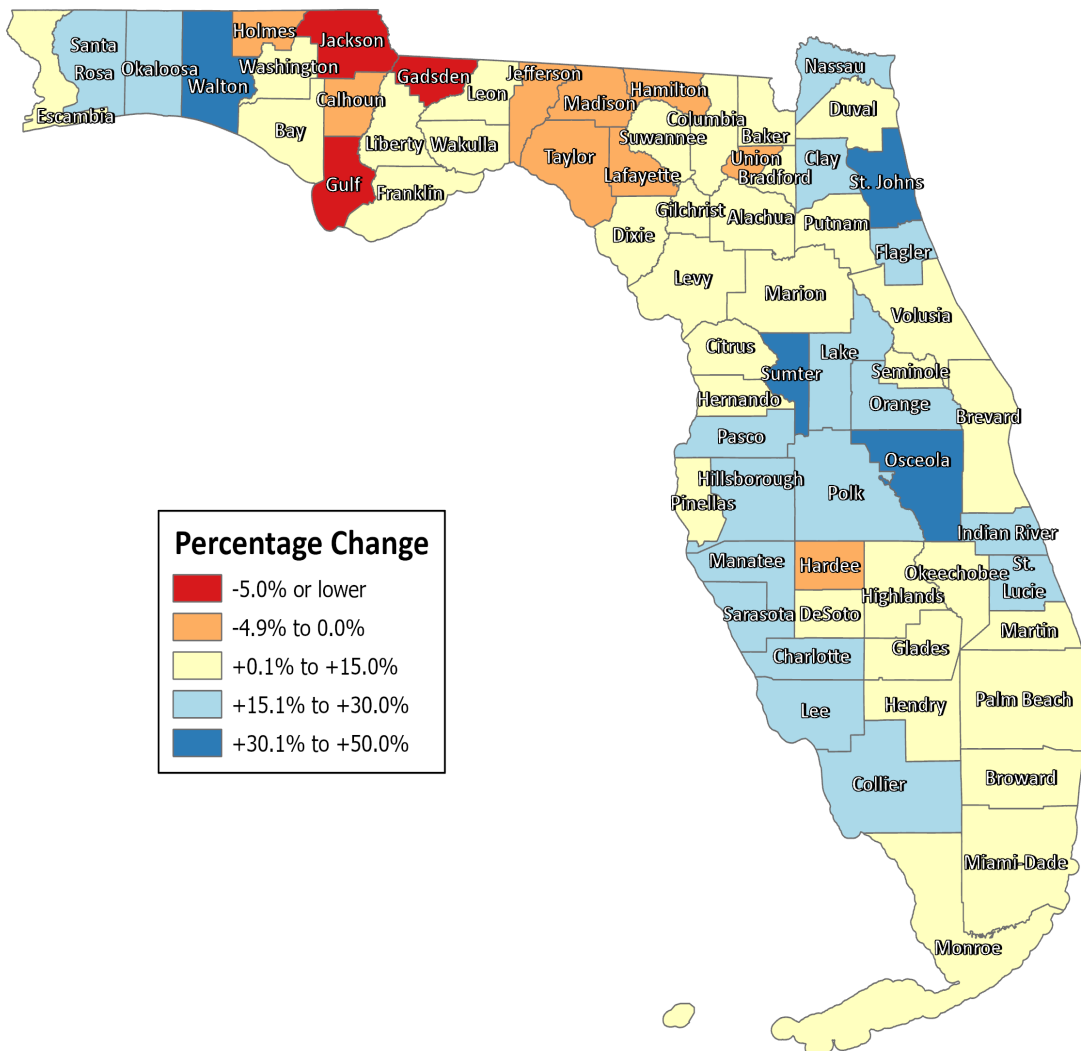
This brief focuses on Florida’s demographic changes at the county and congressional district levels that are likely to influence the congressional redistricting process in the state. However, the data for the ensuing analysis

are mostly from the one-year estimates of the American Community Survey conducted annually by the Census Bureau as well as its yearly (vintage) population estimates. These data are the most detailed population information the Census Bureau has available at the sub-state level before it releases the decennial population counts and characteristics.^{xi} Under normal circumstances, the Census Bureau would have released redistricting data based on the decennial census of the population at this point. However, the Census Bureau has announced that this redistricting data will not be available until September 2021, a six-month delay.^x

County-Level Changes

As noted, the state of Florida has had one of the fastest growing populations in the United States, and while most of the state has grown in population, this growth has not

Figure 1. Total Population Change by County, 2010-2020



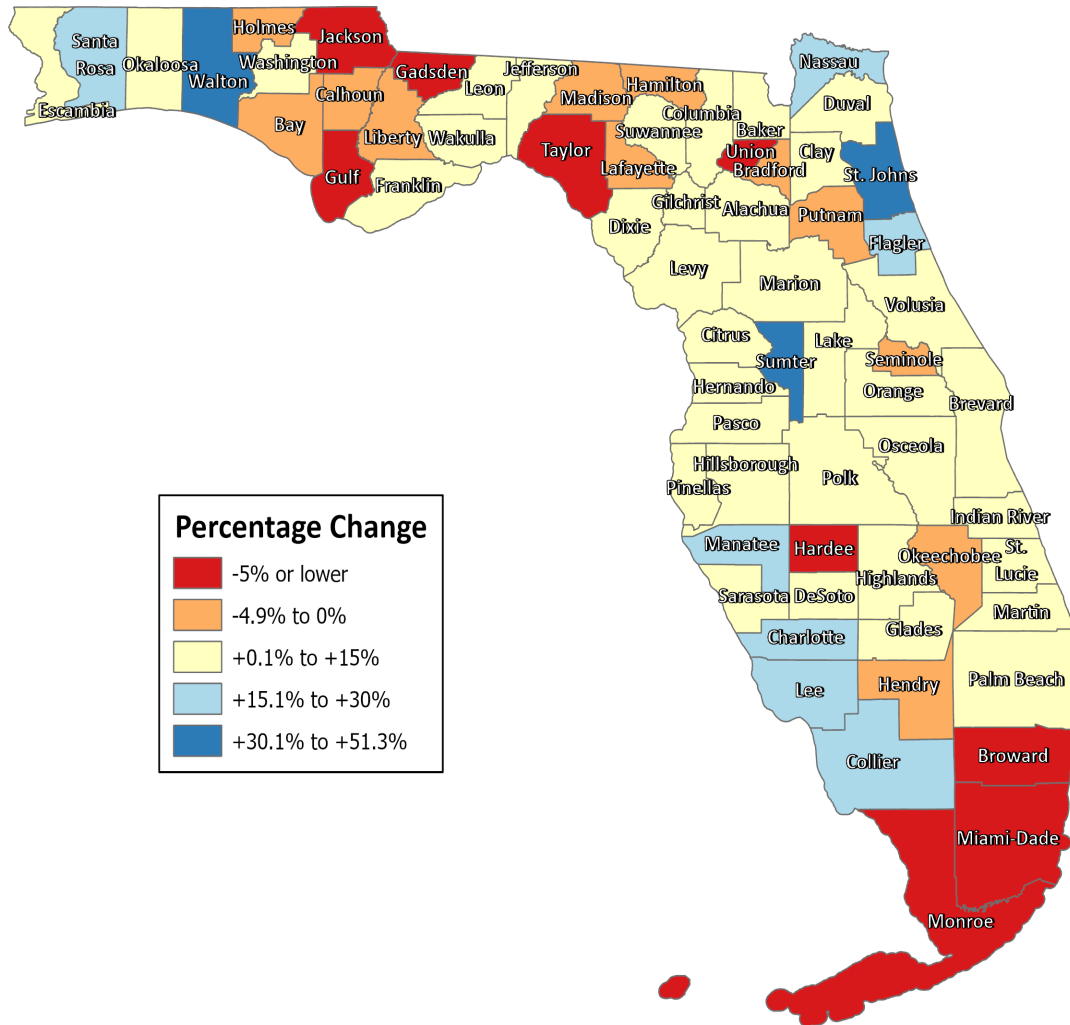
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, (Vintage) 2010 and 2020 Population Estimates

Table 2. Population Change by County in Florida, 2010-2020

County	Total Population	Non-Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White Alone	Non-Hispanic Black alone	Non-Hispanic American Indian and Alaska Native alone	Non-Hispanic Asian alone	Non-Hispanic Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	Non-Hispanic Two or More Races	Hispanic
Alachua	9.5%	6.8%	3.7%	9.2%	11.1%	22.2%	-4.7%	37.9%	39.6%
Baker	9.2%	8.1%	5.9%	14.9%	44.0%	49.6%	40.0%	49.2%	67.4%
Bay	1.2%	-0.9%	-2.6%	2.3%	3.6%	16.9%	51.0%	19.8%	44.0%
Bradford	0.2%	-0.9%	-1.4%	-2.7%	33.3%	16.3%	-40.0%	39.9%	28.9%
Brevard	11.8%	8.1%	5.7%	14.9%	10.8%	37.7%	3.7%	37.9%	54.0%
Broward	11.7%	2.5%	-12.2%	22.4%	8.2%	26.3%	21.6%	31.1%	39.1%
Calhoun	-4.0%	-4.8%	-4.2%	-12.8%	11.7%	50.7%	0.0%	3.3%	11.3%
Charlotte	21.8%	19.0%	18.0%	23.8%	50.7%	39.1%	71.9%	40.6%	67.1%
Citrus	8.4%	6.6%	5.4%	16.0%	27.4%	24.5%	90.3%	42.9%	44.8%
Clay	15.8%	12.1%	6.4%	45.3%	19.8%	21.4%	47.3%	51.3%	60.6%
Collier	21.8%	17.4%	15.1%	28.7%	19.3%	69.8%	55.1%	44.3%	34.5%
Columbia	7.5%	5.4%	3.2%	12.2%	4.6%	18.7%	33.3%	27.9%	48.4%
DeSoto	10.3%	7.1%	6.8%	4.7%	70.0%	11.2%	75.0%	49.2%	17.7%
Dixie	4.0%	2.9%	0.8%	16.3%	49.2%	36.5%	150.0%	36.9%	38.7%
Duval	11.7%	7.6%	1.3%	14.3%	4.1%	31.3%	6.8%	39.1%	61.2%
Escambia	8.2%	6.6%	4.3%	7.7%	-2.5%	28.1%	26.3%	36.2%	38.8%
Flagler	23.3%	20.1%	20.3%	10.1%	48.2%	36.1%	44.9%	55.4%	57.5%
Franklin	5.9%	4.4%	4.4%	-0.3%	25.0%	51.7%	50.0%	34.6%	35.7%
Gadsden	-5.3%	-6.9%	-8.9%	-6.1%	4.2%	15.5%	100.0%	9.6%	10.2%
Gilchrist	11.0%	9.3%	8.3%	12.0%	39.1%	71.2%	500.0%	47.3%	44.7%
Glades	10.3%	9.3%	7.4%	16.5%	3.8%	38.3%	600.0%	54.5%	13.8%
Gulf	-14.5%	-13.3%	-6.1%	-48.1%	30.0%	74.4%	33.3%	24.1%	-40.7%
Hamilton	-1.1%	-2.8%	-2.8%	-5.6%	41.4%	28.6%	-100.0%	49.1%	16.3%
Hardee	-3.3%	-5.5%	-6.1%	-5.4%	4.3%	-18.3%	137.5%	35.0%	-0.3%
Hendry	9.8%	-4.0%	-3.2%	-8.6%	-7.5%	19.2%	136.4%	21.9%	23.9%
Hernando	14.9%	8.5%	5.9%	29.3%	32.9%	46.4%	83.6%	57.9%	70.9%
Highlands	8.1%	3.1%	0.6%	17.2%	12.5%	11.1%	44.4%	32.5%	32.0%
Hillsborough	21.4%	13.5%	6.2%	25.2%	9.1%	54.9%	39.2%	51.5%	45.2%
Holmes	-1.3%	-2.2%	-4.2%	14.5%	31.3%	41.6%	8.0%	15.4%	40.1%
Indian River	17.5%	15.3%	13.6%	20.0%	34.5%	53.9%	36.2%	52.7%	34.9%
Jackson	-7.2%	-7.9%	-8.7%	-8.6%	9.2%	30.7%	129.2%	19.1%	8.3%
Jefferson	-1.4%	-2.1%	2.6%	-12.4%	89.3%	100.0%	0.0%	37.0%	16.5%
Lafayette	-3.7%	-6.1%	-3.5%	-23.6%	57.9%	100.0%	150.0%	43.3%	13.4%
Lake	26.1%	19.1%	14.5%	42.9%	20.7%	50.8%	55.2%	58.1%	76.5%
Lee	27.4%	20.3%	17.6%	31.9%	26.7%	56.2%	34.4%	60.5%	59.4%
Leon	7.1%	5.7%	0.1%	12.7%	6.5%	29.3%	3.8%	35.5%	29.8%
Levy	3.7%	1.8%	1.0%	-0.3%	52.2%	42.3%	71.4%	29.9%	26.5%
Liberty	0.1%	-0.7%	-3.2%	8.1%	2.6%	27.3%	100.0%	13.2%	12.5%
Madison	-2.8%	-4.3%	-3.9%	-6.8%	35.0%	78.3%	300.0%	39.3%	25.8%
Manatee	27.1%	24.3%	22.1%	27.4%	38.3%	73.5%	37.8%	68.1%	43.1%
Marion	12.7%	8.0%	5.0%	17.8%	24.6%	43.3%	30.7%	49.8%	51.0%
Martin	10.3%	7.9%	6.7%	8.5%	29.4%	53.4%	69.1%	51.8%	27.4%
Miami-Dade	8.0%	-3.8%	-5.8%	-4.0%	9.4%	11.1%	7.4%	17.0%	14.3%
Monroe	0.9%	-5.0%	-8.4%	26.1%	-1.2%	32.5%	80.0%	20.2%	23.2%
Nassau	23.9%	21.8%	21.6%	14.3%	21.8%	45.0%	37.5%	62.9%	85.4%
Okaloosa	17.8%	13.8%	10.6%	26.0%	24.8%	24.4%	6.9%	45.3%	72.2%
Okeechobee	5.7%	2.1%	-0.1%	14.4%	30.7%	1.4%	68.0%	33.6%	17.1%
Orange	22.3%	12.5%	3.5%	25.4%	17.4%	34.5%	19.2%	42.6%	48.6%
Osceola	42.8%	15.7%	4.7%	49.5%	29.7%	41.3%	42.8%	51.9%	74.9%
Palm Beach	13.9%	7.8%	0.8%	25.9%	7.6%	38.1%	28.1%	42.4%	39.7%
Pasco	22.5%	15.2%	9.6%	77.4%	28.3%	66.3%	37.8%	67.9%	77.1%
Pinellas	6.6%	4.0%	1.7%	9.8%	6.3%	26.1%	7.3%	36.7%	36.7%
Polk	23.5%	11.5%	6.5%	27.2%	16.6%	35.9%	28.7%	52.6%	78.8%
Putnam	0.8%	-0.8%	-1.6%	0.2%	16.8%	5.3%	89.2%	23.0%	16.8%
St. Johns	45.7%	41.8%	38.7%	38.2%	37.1%	139.1%	35.6%	103.7%	116.0%
St. Lucie	21.2%	15.9%	9.2%	32.4%	0.0%	45.7%	45.0%	54.2%	47.7%
Santa Rosa	23.7%	21.4%	19.1%	36.8%	8.4%	45.2%	45.5%	53.5%	72.6%
Sarasota	16.7%	14.5%	13.4%	10.0%	19.1%	65.9%	28.4%	53.9%	42.8%
Seminole	12.1%	4.4%	-2.0%	23.0%	-0.5%	48.1%	29.7%	43.0%	48.7%
Sumter	47.4%	47.4%	51.3%	5.4%	26.8%	114.6%	185.3%	69.9%	48.1%
Suwannee	6.0%	4.2%	3.1%	6.7%	15.2%	15.6%	81.8%	36.6%	24.9%
Taylor	-4.4%	-5.3%	-5.2%	-9.3%	7.4%	22.2%	100.0%	26.2%	19.9%
Union	-2.4%	-3.5%	-5.4%	-0.6%	1.7%	164.7%	150.0%	30.5%	19.2%
Volusia	13.6%	8.1%	5.4%	17.9%	15.7%	37.5%	38.6%	47.9%	56.9%
Wakulla	11.3%	10.4%	10.6%	4.6%	21.0%	36.5%	38.9%	40.2%	39.2%
Walton	38.8%	37.2%	37.1%	23.7%	4.9%	87.6%	70.7%	73.3%	67.1%
Washington	4.9%	3.7%	2.7%	2.3%	-1.0%	27.6%	514.3%	37.6%	42.9%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, (Vintage) 2010 and 2020 Population Estimates

Figure 2. Non-Hispanic White Population Change by County 2010-2020



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, (Vintage) 2010 and 2020 Population Estimates

Table 3. Population Change by Ethnicity in Florida, 2010-2020

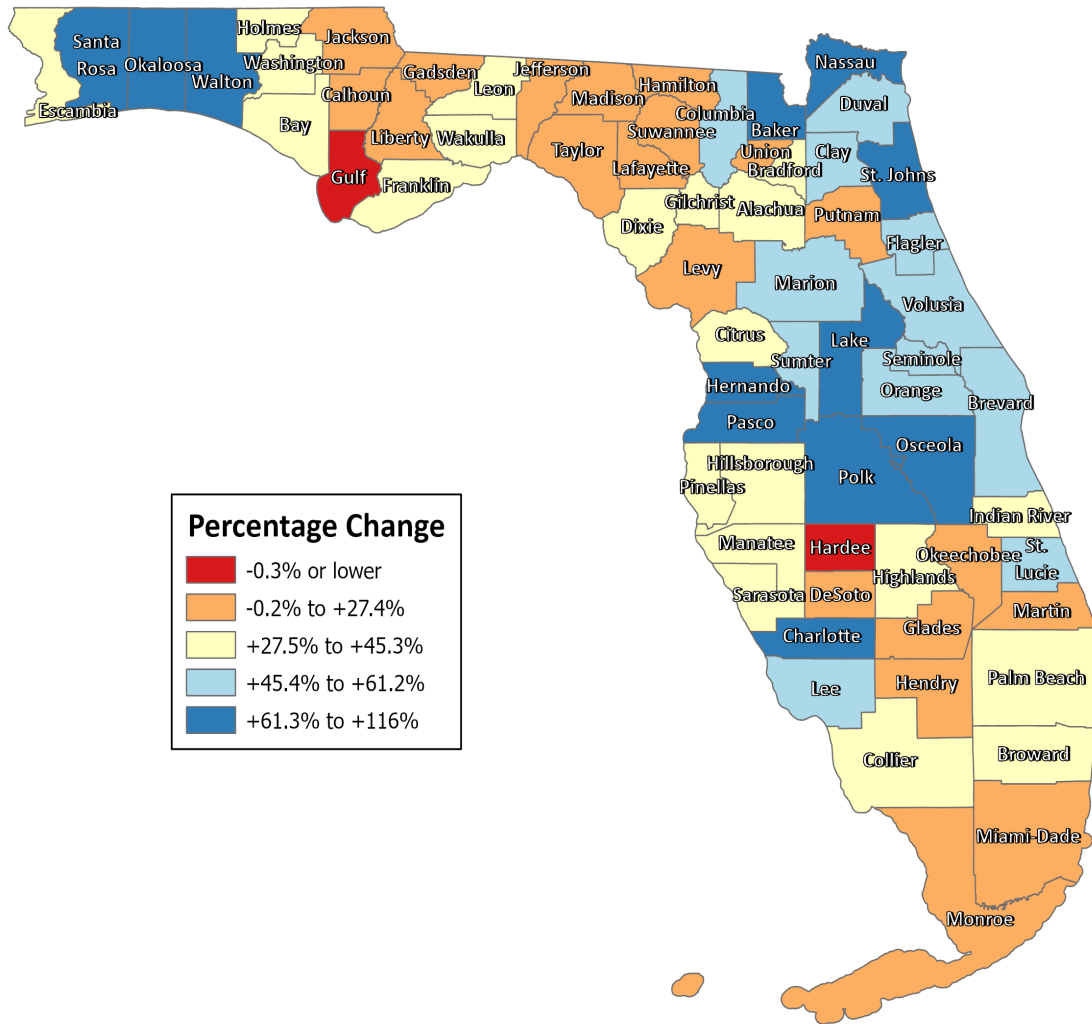
	2010	2020	Percent change	2010 Percentage of Population	2020 Percentage of Population
TOTAL POPULATION	18,846,143	21,733,312	15.3%		
NOT HISPANIC	14,595,595	15,983,575	9.5%	77.4%	73.5%
One Race:					
White	10,925,886	11,533,353	5.6%	58.0%	53.1%
Black or African American	2,885,984	3,376,297	17.0%	15.3%	15.5%
American Indian and Alaska Native	48,075	54,513	13.4%	0.3%	0.3%
Asian	459,842	627,182	36.4%	2.4%	2.9%
Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	11,151	14,270	28.0%	0.1%	0.1%
Two or More Races	264,657	377,960	42.8%	1.4%	1.7%
HISPANIC	4,250,548	5,749,737	35.3%	22.6%	26.5%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 and 2020 Annual Estimates of the Resident Population (SC-EST2020-ALLDATA6)

Table 4. Rate of Growth of the Population by Race and Ethnicity at the County Level, 2010-2020

County	Total Population	Total Population Growth	Non-Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White Alone	Non-Hispanic Black alone	Non-Hispanic American Indian and Alaska Native alone	Non-Hispanic Asian alone	Non-Hispanic Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	Non-Hispanic Two or More Races	Hispanic
Sumter	139,018	47.4%	47.4%	51.3%	5.4%	26.8%	114.6%	185.3%	69.9%	48.1%
St. Johns	278,715	45.7%	41.8%	38.7%	38.2%	37.1%	139.1%	35.6%	103.7%	116.0%
Osceola	385,315	42.8%	15.7%	4.7%	49.5%	29.7%	41.3%	42.8%	51.9%	74.9%
Walton	76,648	38.8%	37.2%	37.1%	23.7%	4.9%	87.6%	70.7%	73.3%	67.1%
Lee	790,767	27.4%	20.3%	17.6%	31.9%	26.7%	56.2%	34.4%	60.5%	59.4%
Manatee	411,219	27.1%	24.3%	22.1%	27.4%	38.3%	73.5%	37.8%	68.1%	43.1%
Lake	375,492	26.1%	19.1%	14.5%	42.9%	20.7%	50.8%	55.2%	58.1%	76.5%
Nassau	91,113	23.9%	21.8%	21.6%	14.3%	21.8%	45.0%	37.5%	62.9%	85.4%
Santa Rosa	189,139	23.7%	21.4%	19.1%	36.8%	8.4%	45.2%	45.5%	53.5%	72.6%
Polk	744,552	23.5%	11.5%	6.5%	27.2%	16.6%	35.9%	28.7%	52.6%	78.8%
Flagler	118,451	23.3%	20.1%	20.3%	10.1%	48.2%	36.1%	44.9%	55.4%	57.5%
Pasco	570,412	22.5%	15.2%	9.6%	77.4%	28.3%	66.3%	37.8%	67.9%	77.1%
Orange	1,404,396	22.3%	12.5%	3.5%	25.4%	17.4%	34.5%	19.2%	42.6%	48.6%
Collier	392,973	21.8%	17.4%	15.1%	28.7%	19.3%	69.8%	55.1%	44.3%	34.5%
Charlotte	194,711	21.8%	19.0%	18.0%	23.8%	50.7%	39.1%	71.9%	40.6%	67.1%
Hillsborough	1,497,957	21.4%	13.5%	6.2%	25.2%	9.1%	54.9%	39.2%	51.5%	45.2%
St. Lucie	337,186	21.2%	15.9%	9.2%	32.4%	0.0%	45.7%	45.0%	54.2%	47.7%
Okaloosa	212,820	17.8%	13.8%	10.6%	26.0%	24.8%	24.4%	6.9%	45.3%	72.2%
Indian River	162,518	17.5%	15.3%	13.6%	20.0%	34.5%	53.9%	36.2%	52.7%	34.9%
Sarasota	443,465	16.7%	14.5%	13.4%	10.0%	19.1%	65.9%	28.4%	53.9%	42.8%
Clay	221,770	15.8%	12.1%	6.4%	45.3%	19.8%	21.4%	47.3%	51.3%	60.6%
Hernando	198,792	14.9%	8.5%	5.9%	29.3%	32.9%	46.4%	83.6%	57.9%	70.9%
Palm Beach	1,507,600	13.9%	7.8%	0.8%	25.9%	7.6%	38.1%	28.1%	42.4%	39.7%
Volusia	561,497	13.6%	8.1%	5.4%	17.9%	15.7%	37.5%	38.6%	47.9%	56.9%
Marion	373,513	12.7%	8.0%	5.0%	17.8%	24.6%	43.3%	30.7%	49.8%	51.0%
Seminole	474,171	12.1%	4.4%	-2.0%	23.0%	-0.5%	48.1%	29.7%	43.0%	48.7%
Brevard	608,459	11.8%	8.1%	5.7%	14.9%	10.8%	37.7%	3.7%	37.9%	54.0%
Broward	1,958,105	11.7%	2.5%	-12.2%	22.4%	8.2%	26.3%	21.6%	31.1%	39.1%
Duval	966,728	11.7%	7.6%	1.3%	14.3%	4.1%	31.3%	6.8%	39.1%	61.2%
Wakulla	34,319	11.3%	10.4%	10.6%	4.6%	21.0%	36.5%	38.9%	40.2%	39.2%
Gilchrist	18,885	11.0%	9.3%	8.3%	12.0%	39.1%	71.2%	500.0%	47.3%	44.7%
Martin	162,088	10.3%	7.9%	6.7%	8.5%	29.4%	53.4%	69.1%	51.8%	27.4%
DeSoto	38,520	10.3%	7.1%	6.8%	4.7%	70.0%	11.2%	75.0%	49.2%	17.7%
Glades	14,198	10.3%	9.3%	7.4%	16.5%	3.8%	38.3%	600.0%	54.5%	13.8%
Hendry	42,813	9.8%	-4.0%	-3.2%	-8.6%	-7.5%	19.2%	136.4%	21.9%	23.9%
Alachua	271,218	9.5%	6.8%	3.7%	9.2%	11.1%	22.2%	-4.7%	37.9%	39.6%
Baker	29,566	9.2%	8.1%	5.9%	14.9%	44.0%	49.6%	40.0%	49.2%	67.4%
Citrus	153,010	8.4%	6.6%	5.4%	16.0%	27.4%	24.5%	90.3%	42.9%	44.8%
Escambia	322,364	8.2%	6.6%	4.3%	7.7%	-2.5%	28.1%	26.3%	36.2%	38.8%
Highlands	106,639	8.1%	3.1%	0.6%	17.2%	12.5%	11.1%	44.4%	32.5%	32.0%
Miami-Dade	2,707,303	8.0%	-3.8%	-5.8%	-4.0%	9.4%	11.1%	7.4%	17.0%	14.3%
Columbia	72,654	7.5%	5.4%	3.2%	12.2%	4.6%	18.7%	33.3%	27.9%	48.4%
Leon	295,460	7.1%	5.7%	0.1%	12.7%	6.5%	29.3%	3.8%	35.5%	29.8%
Pinellas	976,802	6.6%	4.0%	1.7%	9.8%	6.3%	26.1%	7.3%	36.7%	36.7%
Suwannee	44,851	6.0%	4.2%	3.1%	6.7%	15.2%	15.6%	81.8%	36.6%	24.9%
Franklin	12,201	5.9%	4.4%	4.4%	-0.3%	25.0%	51.7%	50.0%	34.6%	35.7%
Okeechobee	42,297	5.7%	2.1%	-0.1%	14.4%	30.7%	1.4%	68.0%	33.6%	17.1%
Washington	25,932	4.9%	3.7%	2.7%	2.3%	-1.0%	27.6%	514.3%	37.6%	42.9%
Dixie	17,057	4.0%	2.9%	0.8%	16.3%	49.2%	36.5%	150.0%	36.9%	38.7%
Levy	42,214	3.7%	1.8%	1.0%	-0.3%	52.2%	42.3%	71.4%	29.9%	26.5%
Bay	171,322	1.2%	-0.9%	-2.6%	2.3%	3.6%	16.9%	51.0%	19.8%	44.0%
Monroe	73,900	0.9%	-5.0%	-8.4%	26.1%	-1.2%	32.5%	80.0%	20.2%	23.2%
Putnam	74,815	0.8%	-0.8%	-1.6%	0.2%	16.8%	5.3%	89.2%	23.0%	16.8%
Bradford	28,593	0.2%	-0.9%	-1.4%	-2.7%	33.3%	16.3%	-40.0%	39.9%	28.9%
Liberty	8,364	0.1%	-0.7%	-3.2%	8.1%	2.6%	27.3%	100.0%	13.2%	12.5%
Hamilton	14,521	-1.1%	-2.8%	-2.8%	-5.6%	41.4%	28.6%	-100.0%	49.1%	16.3%
Holmes	19,594	-1.3%	-2.2%	-4.2%	14.5%	31.3%	41.6%	8.0%	15.4%	40.1%
Jefferson	14,543	-1.4%	-2.1%	2.6%	-12.4%	89.3%	100.0%	0.0%	37.0%	16.5%
Union	15,182	-2.4%	-3.5%	-5.4%	-0.6%	1.7%	164.7%	150.0%	30.5%	19.2%
Madison	18,707	-2.8%	-4.3%	-3.9%	-6.8%	35.0%	78.3%	300.0%	39.3%	25.8%
Hardee	26,822	-3.3%	-5.5%	-6.1%	-5.4%	4.3%	-18.3%	137.5%	35.0%	-0.3%
Lafayette	8,482	-3.7%	-6.1%	-3.5%	-23.6%	57.9%	100.0%	150.0%	43.3%	13.4%
Calhoun	14,078	-4.0%	-4.8%	-4.2%	-12.8%	11.7%	50.7%	0.0%	3.3%	11.3%
Taylor	21,600	-4.4%	-5.3%	-5.2%	-9.3%	7.4%	22.2%	100.0%	26.2%	19.9%
Gadsden	45,277	-5.3%	-6.9%	-8.9%	-6.1%	4.2%	15.5%	100.0%	9.6%	10.2%
Jackson	46,085	-7.2%	-7.9%	-8.7%	-8.6%	9.2%	30.7%	129.2%	19.1%	8.3%
Gulf	13,534	-14.5%	-13.3%	-6.1%	-48.1%	30.0%	74.4%	33.3%	24.1%	-40.7%

Figure 3. Hispanic Population Change by County, 2010-2020



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, (Vintage) 2010 and 2020 Population Estimates

been evenly distributed. Population estimates between 2010 and 2020 show that 55 of Florida’s 67 counties increased their population while 12 counties declined in population (see Table 2). Of the 55 counties that had an increase in population, 22 counties increased at a greater rate of growth than the state overall (14%).^{xi} An additional 21 counties grew between 7% and 14% and 12 counties had growth rates of up to 7%.

Most of the growth took place in counties along Interstate Highway 4 (I-4) and in counties adjacent to those along the I-4 corridor.^{xii} These fast-growing counties were also among those that grew their populations not only proportionately but in absolute number of people. Orange and Hillsborough counties grew by more than 200,000 people while Lee, Polk, and Osceola counties grew by more than 100,000 people.^{xiii} Counties that saw large population increases were also the most populous counties in the state: Miami-Dade (210,000), Broward (210,000), and

Palm Beach (187,000), which are located on the south-east coast of the state. On the other hand, virtually all the counties that experienced a decrease in population between 2010 and 2020 are located in the north of the state with many along the Florida Panhandle, which borders the states of Georgia and Alabama.^{xiv} However, one county with declining population was located in the central region of the state.^{xv}

Between 2010 and 2020, Florida’s population grew across all ethnic and racial groups, although this growth varied by social group. The fastest growing segments of the state’s population were non-Hispanics who identified with more than one race (43%), followed by Hispanics (35%) and non-Hispanic Asians (36%) (see Table 3).^{xvi} Of these groups, Hispanics had the largest effect on population growth as they were the group with one of the largest shares of the population (26%). By comparison, non-Hispanic whites, the largest group in the state (53%),

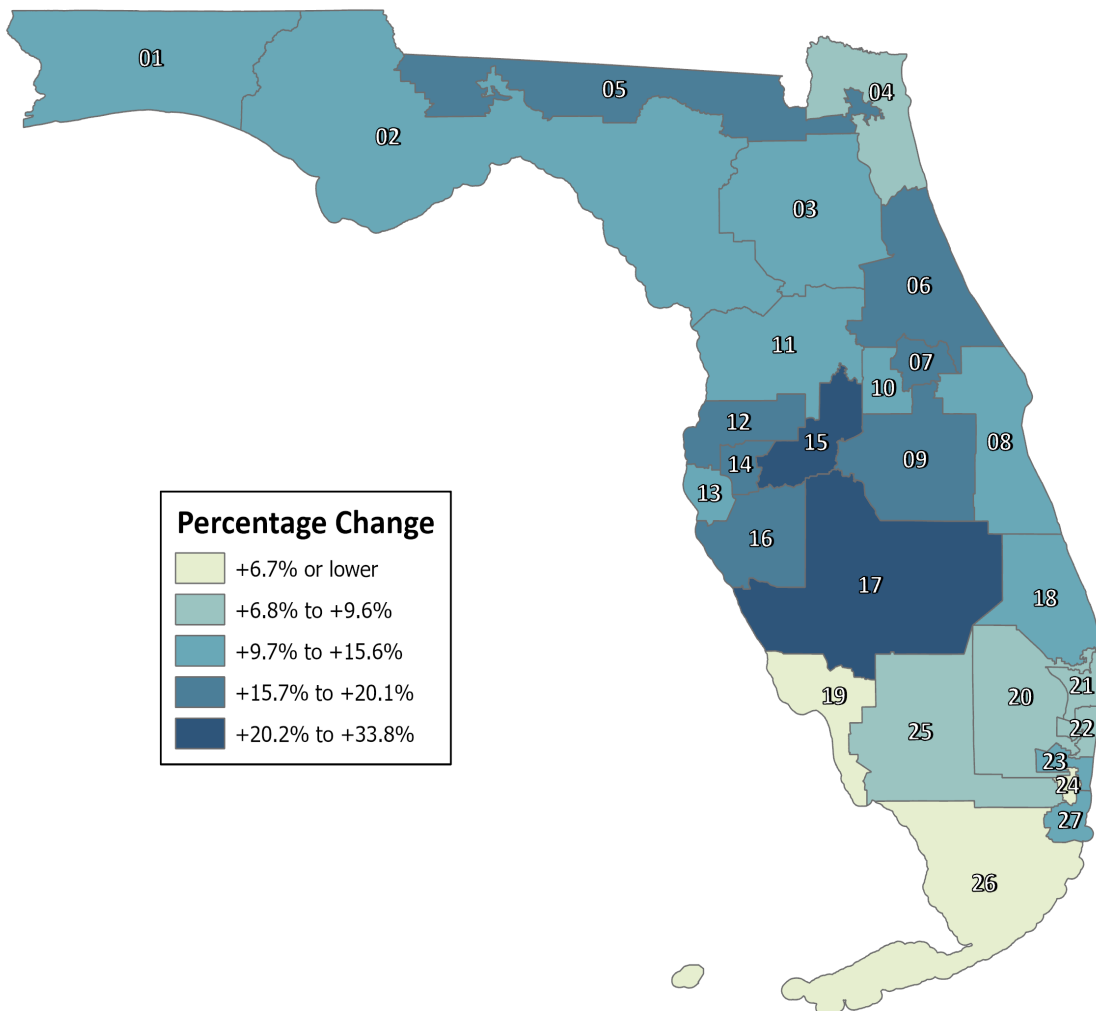
grew by less than 6% and non-Hispanic blacks, the third largest group in the state, grew by 17%.

As with the distribution of the population by county, not all ethnoracial groups were evenly distributed across the counties and neither were their growth. For instance, the non-Hispanic white population grew in 46 counties but declined in 21 counties. In the nine counties in which the non-Hispanic white population grew, it did so at rates higher than the statewide rate of growth (15.3%)^{xvii} (see Table 4). Within 18 counties, this population also grew at a rate that was between the overall growth rate and the statewide rate of growth for non-Hispanic whites (5.6%); in 19 counties, the rate was up to 5.6%. On the other hand, in 12 of the 21 counties that saw a decline, the non-Hispanic white population declined by up to 5% and between 5% and 12% in the remaining nine counties. In contrast, Hispanics grew in 65 of Florida's 67 counties

while they declined in two counties.^{xviii} Moreover, this population grew at rates greater than its statewide rate of growth (35%) in 40 counties and between 15% (the state population's overall rate of growth) and 35% in the remaining 18 counties. In seven counties, the Hispanic population grew at lower rates of growth (between 8% and 14%) while in 51 counties, the non-Hispanic black population grew. Furthermore, in 25 counties, the growth rates of the Hispanic and non-Hispanic black populations were higher than their overall statewide growth (17%). For non-Hispanic blacks, growth between 15% and 17% occurred in three counties while growth at lower rates took place in 23 counties. However, in 16 counties, the non-Hispanic black population declined between 0.3% and 48.1%.

Overall, between 2010 and 2020, Florida's Hispanic population grew in more counties and at greater rates of

Figure 4. Total Population Change by Congressional District, 2010-2019



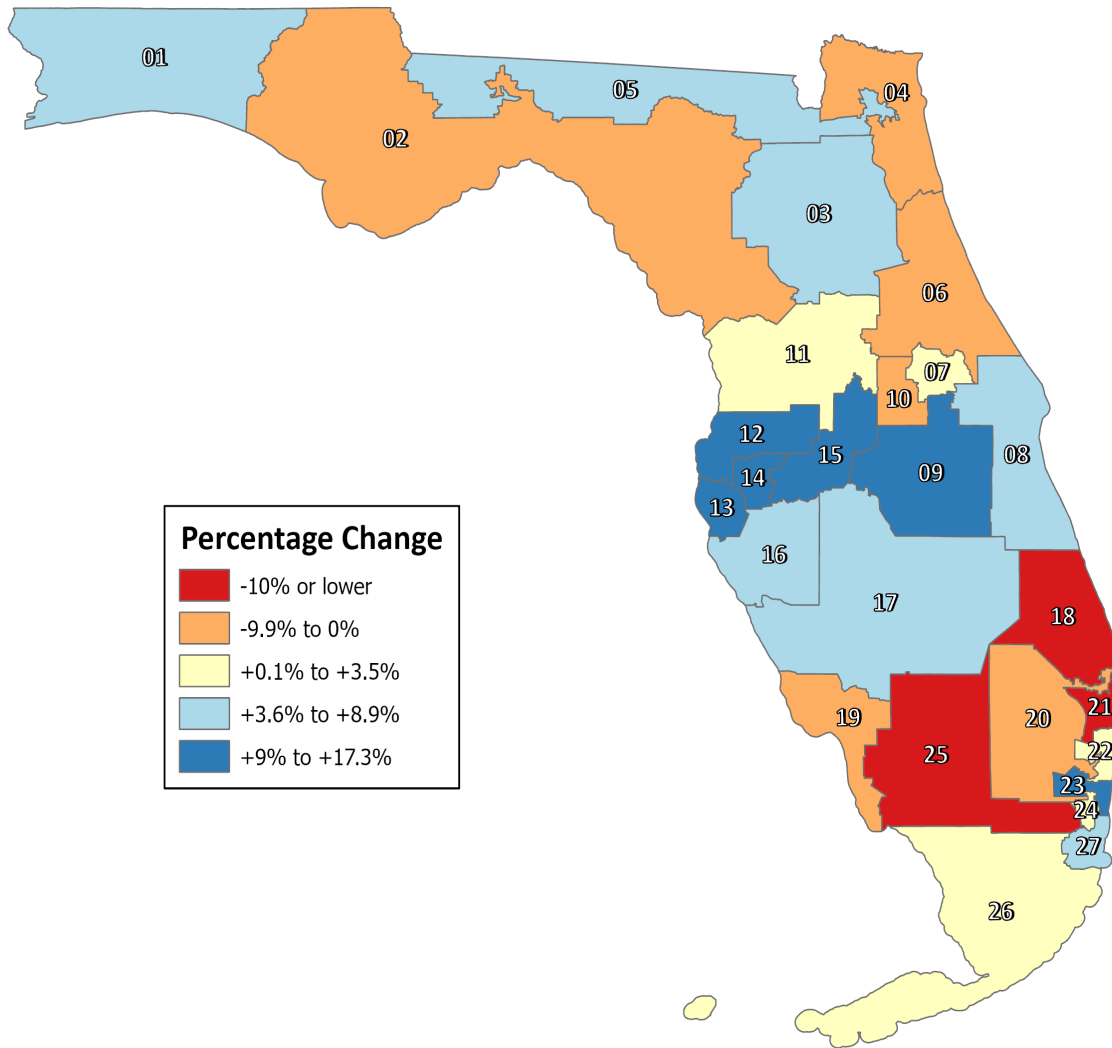
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Decennial 116th Congressional District Summary File (Table P5); 2019 American Community Survey, 1-year estimates (Table B03002)

Table 5. Population Change by Congressional District in Florida by Race/Ethnicity, 2010-2019

District Number	District's Representative	District's Population 2019	Total Population Change 2010-2019	Non-Hispanic Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White alone	Non-Hispanic Black	Non-Hispanic American Indian and Alaska Native alone	Non-Hispanic Asian alone	Non-Hispanic Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone	Non-Hispanic Some other race alone	Non-Hispanic Two or more races	Hispanic
1	Gaetz	798,305	14.6%	12.5%	11.0%	6.7%	-52.4%	10.6%	-21.5%	129.7%	96.7%	53.1%
2	Dunn	720,777	3.5%	2.3%	0.3%	4.4%	-60.5%	44.1%	277.5%	231.2%	34.1%	25.0%
3	Cammack	758,939	9.0%	5.1%	2.0%	9.4%	-7.6%	15.9%	251.4%	94.6%	52.6%	52.7%
4	Rutherford	836,235	20.1%	17.6%	13.3%	28.1%	39.9%	37.0%	2.9%	170.1%	79.3%	53.7%
5	Lawson	742,643	6.6%	3.2%	-1.9%	6.5%	4.3%	5.7%	-56.9%	9.5%	35.3%	54.3%
6	Waltz	790,455	13.5%	9.8%	6.8%	22.3%	-33.8%	39.7%	252.2%	-11.6%	59.0%	45.7%
7	Murphy	814,980	17.0%	8.0%	0.7%	28.1%	1.7%	55.4%	75.5%	136.3%	35.8%	52.0%
8	Posey	780,036	12.0%	8.5%	6.2%	3.5%	-41.5%	32.3%	35.7%	260.2%	84.3%	48.0%
9	Soto	931,872	33.8%	14.8%	7.6%	33.8%	38.2%	36.3%	167.0%	65.8%	38.5%	69.5%
10	Dennings	811,634	16.6%	9.8%	-1.8%	22.2%	-72.5%	18.7%	-100.0%	80.3%	49.4%	37.7%
11	Webster	813,112	16.8%	12.9%	10.5%	21.9%	58.1%	44.8%	14.6%	128.3%	59.5%	57.0%
12	Billirakis	811,308	16.5%	11.5%	6.7%	60.5%	21.3%	59.8%	11.4%	-11.3%	79.8%	61.0%
13	Crist	731,658	5.1%	2.3%	0.5%	0.4%	-12.5%	14.3%	-50.5%	61.4%	66.9%	35.4%
14	Castor	831,508	19.4%	10.1%	5.3%	12.9%	-68.1%	34.3%	21.6%	73.5%	57.6%	44.3%
15	Franklin	801,294	15.1%	7.7%	3.5%	14.1%	51.0%	43.8%	113.2%	200.3%	17.6%	47.1%
16	Buchanan	873,875	25.5%	22.0%	17.3%	50.0%	-2.3%	64.7%	-100.0%	144.7%	55.0%	44.8%
17	Steube	804,754	15.6%	12.2%	10.4%	20.9%	18.2%	30.9%	43.1%	-10.6%	60.7%	35.4%
18	Mast	795,742	14.3%	10.0%	6.0%	17.2%	10.9%	46.9%	-1.3%	100.6%	90.6%	39.8%
19	Donalds	833,013	19.6%	15.8%	13.8%	27.7%	-15.6%	71.5%	326.5%	-25.0%	13.3%	37.0%
20	Vacant*	802,463	15.2%	9.1%	-11.2%	16.9%	-9.6%	13.8%	-61.9%	11.5%	24.5%	36.3%
21	Frankel	786,566	13.0%	5.8%	-1.9%	30.5%	-3.0%	28.1%	-100.0%	36.6%	69.2%	41.2%
22	Deutch	760,953	9.3%	2.2%	-3.8%	22.0%	-3.0%	31.3%	115.0%	30.2%	19.9%	41.8%
23	Wasserman Schultz	762,858	9.6%	-2.3%	-15.4%	26.2%	40.7%	46.2%	110.0%	-1.8%	64.7%	33.7%
24	Wilson	754,731	8.4%	-3.0%	-13.3%	-0.2%	25.8%	-15.7%	375.1%	28.9%	-14.7%	29.1%
25	Diaz-Balart	796,422	14.4%	7.6%	8.9%	0.5%	-51.4%	26.6%	-100.0%	-38.9%	5.4%	16.7%
26	Gimenez	780,951	12.2%	-3.5%	-5.9%	1.1%	-52.5%	-3.5%	-100.0%	107.5%	-30.6%	19.6%
27	Salazar	750,653	7.8%	0.6%	-6.4%	20.3%	-23.3%	38.3%	-66.0%	19.8%	26.2%	11.1%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Decennial 116th Congressional District Summary File (Table P5); 2019 American Community Survey, 1-year estimates (Table B03002)

Figure 5. Non-Hispanic White Population Change by Congressional District, 2010 - 2019



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Decennial 116th Congressional District Summary File (Table P5); 2019 American Community Survey, 1-year estimates (Table B03002)

growth than non-Hispanic whites. The non-Hispanic black population grew at rates that were between those of the Hispanic and non-Hispanic white populations. Non-Hispanic Asians and non-Hispanic multiracial Floridians showed growth patterns similar to Hispanics, growing in 66 counties (Asians) or all 67 counties (multiracial).

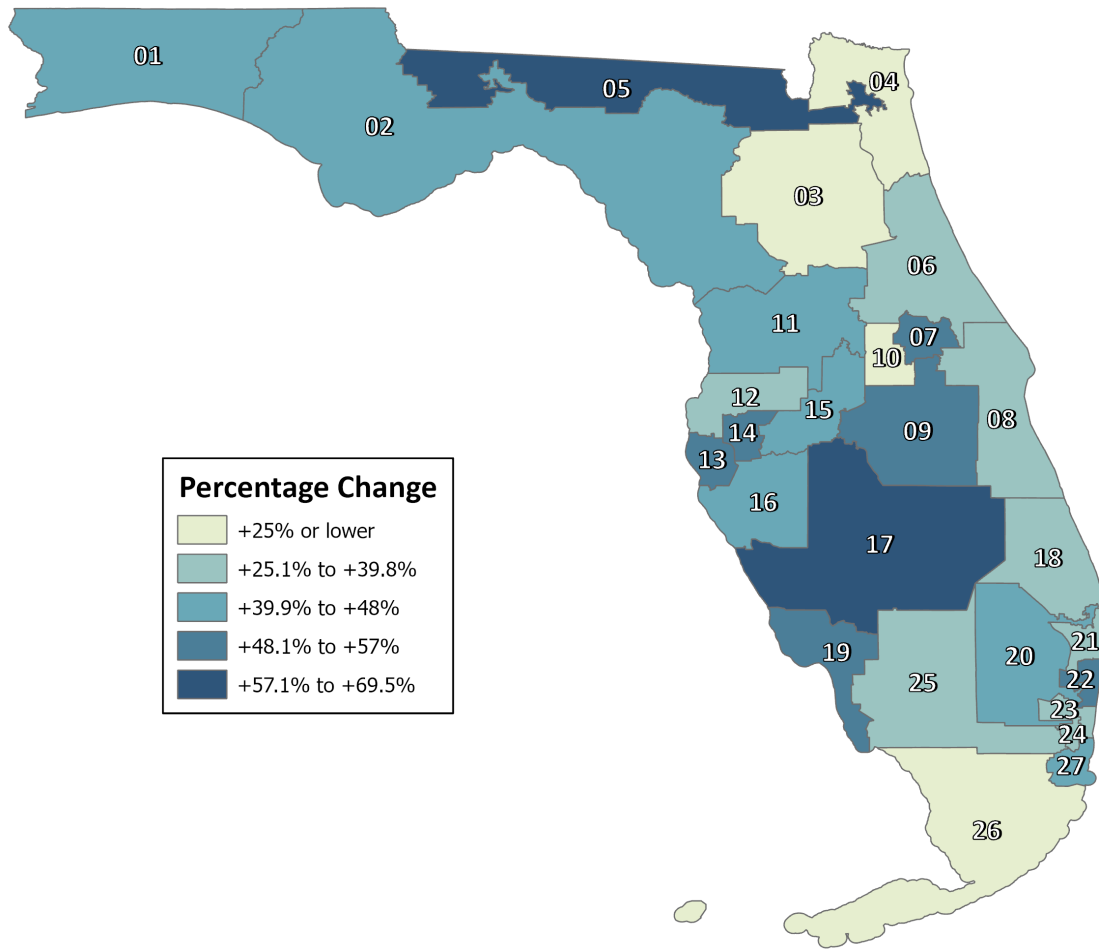
Population Changes at the Congressional District Level

The population grew in all 27 congressional districts between 2010 and 2019,^{xix} even if the rate of growth varied between 33% (by 235,500 persons—District 9) and 3.5% (by 24,400 persons—District 2) (see Table 5). But as was the case at the county level, most of the population growth at the congressional district level took place in Central Florida, along the I-4 corridor and adjacent districts (9th, 16th, 14th, 7th, 11th, 10th, 12th, 17th, and 15th districts).

Consistently driving the population growth in these Central Florida districts and other congressional districts across the state was the growth in the Hispanic population. In 22 of the 27 districts, the Hispanic population grew at rates greater than its statewide growth rate (33.2%) in 22 of 27 districts, and grew above the overall statewide growth rate (14%) in four additional districts. Districts in which population growth was slowest (25th, 26th, and 27th districts) were also districts in which Hispanics made up over 70% of the population.

Non-Hispanic blacks had similar population growth profiles at the congressional district level as Hispanics, growing at rates greater than their statewide growth rate (17.5%) in 14 districts and at growth rates greater than the overall state population growth in three additional districts. The non-Hispanic black population grew at a lower rate in 10 other districts, including one in which its population

Figure 6. Hispanic Population Change by Congressional District, 2010-2019



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Decennial 116th Congressional District Summary File (Table P5); 2019 American Community Survey, 1-year estimates (Table B03002)

decreased, which happened to be a district with plurality non-Hispanic black population.

In contrast with Hispanics and non-Hispanic blacks, the non-Hispanic white population increased in 18 congressional districts and decreased in nine districts. In districts in which the non-Hispanic white population grew, they did so at rates greater than the statewide rate of growth (11.9%) in three of those districts and they exceeded the state’s overall population growth rate (14%) in one district. Non-Hispanic whites saw their steepest population decline in districts in which they were in the numerical minority (20th, 23rd, and 24th districts).

As noted above, redistricting will entail a readjustment to the boundaries of legislative districts for all of them to have equal populations. Given how Hispanic growth has driven population growth at the state, county, and

congressional levels, it is expected that redistricting will reflect this growth.

A Note on Florida’s Hispanic Population

As noted above, Hispanics represent the second largest population group in the state (26.4%), and the second fastest growing group in Florida (33.2%). However, the more than 5,663,860 people who were classified as Hispanic, Latino, or of Spanish origin in 2019 do not constitute a homogeneous group despite the similarities they may share; rather, this population is very diverse. One salient issue of difference is national origin. The Hispanic population in Florida has varied in national origin over the decades as Hispanics have migrated from Latin America, the Caribbean, and elsewhere in the United States to make the state their home.

Traditionally, Cubans have been the most prominent

Table 6. Hispanic Population in Florida by Specific Origin, 2019

Total Population	21,477,737	
Not Hispanic or Latino	15,814,108	73.6%
Hispanic or Latino:	5,663,629	26.4%
		Percent of Hispanic Population
Mexican	742,993	13.1%
Puerto Rican	1,190,891	21.0%
Cuban	1,589,455	28.1%
Dominican (Dominican Republic)	254,148	4.5%
Central American:	614,522	10.9%
Costa Rican	27,365	0.5%
Guatemalan	150,273	2.7%
Honduran	166,984	2.9%
Nicaraguan	159,151	2.8%
Panamanian	30,087	0.5%
Salvadoran	78,578	1.4%
Other Central American	2,084	0.0%
South American:	1,032,376	18.2%
Argentinean	72,482	1.3%
Bolivian	16,448	0.3%
Chilean	26,588	0.5%
Colombian	415,099	7.3%
Ecuadorian	80,318	1.4%
Paraguayan	4,138	0.1%
Peruvian	125,644	2.2%
Uruguayan	17,121	0.3%
Venezuelan	273,216	4.8%
Other South American	1,322	0.0%
Other Hispanic or Latino:	239,244	4.2%
Spaniard	67,046	1.2%
Spanish	18,499	0.3%
Spanish American	423	0.0%
All other Hispanic or Latino	153,276	2.7%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2019 American Community Survey, 1-yr estimates (Table B03001)

group in Florida in terms of their population numbers and salience politically, economically, and culturally. In 2019, the Cuban population represented 28% of the Hispanic population within the state—the single largest Hispanic national origin group—followed by Puerto Ricans (21%), Mexicans (13%), Colombians (7%), Venezuelans (4.8%), and Dominicans (4.5%) (see Table 6). Therefore, no single national origin group comes close to representing the overall majority of the state’s Hispanic population.^{xx} However, at scales below the state (e.g., county, congressional district), there are distinct patterns of popula-

tion settlement in which specific national origin Hispanic groups appear to predominate.

For instance, in 2019, there were three counties in which Hispanics represented the majority of the county’s population: Miami-Dade (68.5%), Osceola (54.1%), and Hendry (53.7%) (see Table 7). In turn, in each of these counties, there was a single Hispanic national origin group that made up the majority of Hispanics: Cubans (53%) in Miami-Dade, Puerto Ricans (59.5%) in Osceola, and Mexicans (60.7%) in Hendry. Mexicans represented

Table 7. Distribution of Florida's Hispanic Population by County, 2019

County	Hispanic	Percent Hispanic	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Dominican (Dominican Republic)	Central American	South American	Other Hispanic or Latino
Alachua	26,242	9.9%	14.0%	26.9%	22.5%	1.6%	9.9%	18.8%	6.3%
Baker	721	2.6%	18.4%	20.7%	19.4%	12.5%	2.6%	0.0%	26.4%
Bay	11,815	6.5%	36.6%	28.3%	10.4%	0.9%	10.6%	7.2%	5.9%
Bradford	1,137	4.2%	30.6%	27.1%	30.3%	0.0%	0.2%	7.5%	4.3%
Brevard	60,266	10.3%	17.0%	37.9%	13.3%	3.4%	9.7%	10.8%	7.9%
Broward	574,289	29.8%	6.4%	15.4%	20.7%	6.7%	12.0%	34.7%	4.1%
Calhoun	826	5.8%	38.4%	19.7%	14.3%	6.2%	7.1%	1.6%	12.7%
Charlotte	13,189	7.3%	20.7%	29.2%	17.2%	5.4%	9.2%	10.1%	8.2%
Citrus	8,263	5.7%	21.7%	38.6%	13.9%	3.2%	8.2%	6.4%	8.0%
Clay	21,002	9.9%	20.1%	38.9%	15.2%	4.4%	6.9%	9.5%	5.1%
Collier	103,692	27.9%	39.5%	6.3%	26.0%	1.4%	10.7%	13.0%	3.0%
Columbia	4,407	6.3%	22.3%	35.5%	17.1%	3.6%	7.2%	10.9%	3.5%
DeSoto	11,649	31.6%	86.7%	2.7%	3.9%	0.2%	3.4%	1.4%	1.7%
Dixie	674	4.1%	40.8%	17.1%	21.8%	3.1%	11.3%	1.5%	4.5%
Duval	91,153	9.7%	19.7%	30.1%	12.5%	4.3%	11.8%	14.5%	7.1%
Escambia	17,808	5.7%	41.3%	21.0%	7.6%	1.0%	9.9%	6.5%	12.9%
Flagler	11,448	10.4%	12.5%	52.7%	9.0%	3.1%	4.8%	11.5%	6.5%
Franklin	644	5.5%	29.7%	29.3%	5.6%	0.2%	23.8%	5.9%	5.6%
Gadsden	4,778	10.4%	67.0%	3.5%	4.9%	0.6%	16.8%	3.7%	3.5%
Gilchrist	1,049	5.8%	40.9%	11.3%	12.8%	2.2%	19.9%	3.4%	9.4%
Glades	2,873	21.3%	58.9%	7.0%	12.7%	1.6%	17.2%	1.2%	1.4%
Gulf	687	4.4%	37.1%	22.7%	18.8%	4.8%	6.6%	6.4%	3.6%
Hamilton	1,351	9.4%	40.7%	16.1%	13.5%	0.2%	17.2%	5.3%	7.0%
Hardee	11,828	43.6%	82.7%	6.9%	3.1%	1.6%	4.7%	0.3%	0.8%
Hendry	21,888	53.7%	60.7%	5.7%	16.9%	0.5%	10.2%	0.5%	5.6%
Hernando	25,178	13.5%	8.2%	56.2%	11.6%	3.8%	5.6%	10.5%	4.1%
Highlands	20,775	20.1%	37.9%	28.2%	16.0%	5.1%	4.5%	6.1%	2.3%
Hillsborough	407,736	28.7%	19.3%	29.1%	24.0%	4.9%	6.4%	11.0%	5.3%
Holmes	546	2.8%	45.4%	22.0%	5.3%	7.7%	8.1%	3.5%	8.1%
Indian River	19,063	12.4%	45.0%	14.0%	11.8%	0.4%	11.4%	14.3%	3.1%
Jackson	2,328	4.9%	35.6%	27.3%	11.6%	1.1%	14.6%	5.0%	4.9%
Jefferson	584	4.1%	24.8%	36.3%	22.8%	0.0%	6.3%	4.3%	5.5%
Lafayette	1,360	15.7%	35.9%	10.9%	41.8%	0.0%	8.5%	1.8%	1.3%
Lake	53,938	15.6%	23.1%	39.5%	8.1%	7.2%	4.6%	14.1%	3.4%
Lee	157,681	21.4%	28.0%	20.3%	22.9%	3.6%	12.5%	10.3%	2.5%
Leon	18,570	6.4%	19.0%	21.4%	18.0%	3.2%	13.9%	13.7%	10.8%
Levy	3,388	8.4%	37.9%	36.1%	7.9%	0.3%	11.2%	2.4%	4.3%
Liberty	392	4.7%	40.8%	11.7%	16.6%	11.0%	10.7%	0.0%	9.2%
Madison	1,018	5.5%	22.5%	16.1%	12.6%	4.9%	6.8%	27.6%	9.5%
Manatee	63,038	16.4%	48.7%	15.9%	8.8%	1.2%	11.1%	11.3%	3.0%
Marion	46,675	13.2%	22.6%	45.6%	8.3%	2.6%	7.5%	10.1%	3.3%
Martin	21,667	13.6%	30.1%	18.7%	10.4%	1.9%	26.3%	9.6%	2.9%
Miami-Dade	1,848,925	68.5%	3.3%	5.3%	53.1%	3.7%	13.2%	18.7%	2.7%
Monroe	18,439	24.3%	13.9%	8.7%	50.5%	1.9%	12.1%	6.8%	6.2%
Nassau	3,579	4.3%	38.6%	26.9%	8.5%	1.5%	7.8%	9.9%	6.9%
Okaloosa	18,873	9.3%	30.9%	28.5%	4.7%	2.5%	16.7%	8.3%	8.3%
Okeechobee	10,497	25.5%	76.8%	5.3%	8.2%	0.3%	6.7%	1.5%	1.1%
Orange	427,125	31.6%	10.2%	46.8%	9.0%	5.8%	6.7%	18.2%	3.3%
Osceola	190,439	54.1%	5.0%	59.5%	4.7%	8.5%	4.2%	14.5%	3.7%
Palm Beach	327,940	22.4%	17.1%	14.8%	18.0%	4.7%	18.3%	22.6%	4.5%
Pasco	79,843	15.2%	18.4%	40.7%	13.4%	4.3%	5.7%	13.4%	4.1%
Pinellas	93,587	9.7%	22.6%	29.9%	14.0%	3.3%	6.2%	18.0%	5.9%
Polk	154,628	22.5%	33.5%	41.3%	7.3%	3.4%	4.6%	6.6%	3.3%
Putnam	7,319	10.0%	51.2%	33.6%	5.0%	0.5%	4.2%	3.5%	2.1%
St. Johns	17,012	7.0%	17.5%	34.5%	14.5%	1.7%	5.5%	13.2%	13.0%
St. Lucie	59,355	19.0%	27.8%	27.8%	11.8%	6.2%	10.1%	13.3%	2.9%
Santa Rosa	9,730	5.6%	33.7%	22.8%	8.4%	1.0%	10.9%	10.9%	12.3%
Sarasota	38,526	9.2%	30.6%	18.3%	16.8%	2.6%	7.4%	19.1%	5.2%
Seminole	98,697	21.4%	8.2%	46.9%	9.6%	6.6%	5.8%	19.8%	3.1%
Sumter	7,178	5.7%	43.1%	28.1%	12.2%	1.5%	3.7%	6.8%	4.5%
Suwannee	4,103	9.3%	46.4%	8.7%	11.0%	0.8%	27.4%	2.9%	2.8%
Taylor	1,410	6.4%	34.2%	28.0%	13.9%	2.9%	12.6%	0.4%	7.9%
Union	862	5.6%	25.2%	28.9%	18.7%	0.0%	17.2%	3.5%	6.6%
Volusia	74,629	13.9%	18.7%	50.3%	7.2%	3.5%	3.7%	10.3%	6.4%
Wakulla	1,205	3.7%	19.8%	42.9%	13.6%	1.7%	6.7%	3.6%	11.7%
Walton	4,252	6.2%	53.4%	13.3%	14.7%	0.1%	11.9%	3.4%	3.3%
Washington	915	3.7%	25.7%	39.3%	18.9%	1.7%	3.0%	1.1%	10.3%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2019 American Community Survey, 5-yr estimates (Table B03001)

the overwhelming majority (more than 80%) in Hardee (43.6%) and DeSoto (31.6%), which had the highest proportion of Hispanics. In fact, the Mexican-origin population was the majority of the Hispanic population in seven counties across the state^{xxi} and represented the plurality in 28 other counties.^{xxii} Similarly, Puerto Ricans represented the majority in four counties^{xxiii} and the plurality in 21 other counties.^{xxiv} Cubans, in contrast, were the majority Hispanic population in two counties (Miami-Dade and Monroe) and the plurality in another (Lafayette). Meanwhile, South Americans were the plurality in three counties (Broward, Madison, and Palm Beach) and Other Hispanics were the plurality in one county (Baker). In terms of a pattern for this distribution and the prevalence of either Mexicans or Puerto Ricans as either the majority or plurality of the Hispanic population in a given county, it appears that Mexicans are more prevalent in counties where the Hispanic population is relatively small, whereas Puerto Ricans tend to be prevalent as the leading Hispanic national origin group in counties with relatively greater proportions of Hispanics.^{xxv}

At another scale—the congressional district—the pattern of Hispanic national origin group settlement was different from what appears at the county level. Hispanics are the majority in three congressional districts (25th, 26th, and 27th) (see Table 8). In these three districts, in which Hispanics represented more than 70% of the districts' population, the Cuban population was the majority (greater than 50%). In three other districts (9th, 23rd, and 24th) in which Hispanics represented a large plurality of the population (around 40%), Puerto Ricans were the majority population in one district (9th), Cubans were the plurality in another (24th), and South Americans were the plurality in the third district (23rd). In congressional districts in which Hispanics represented less than one-third of the population, Cubans were the plurality group in one congressional district (14th), Puerto Ricans were the plurality group in 11 districts;^{xxvi} Mexicans were the plurality in 6 districts;^{xxvii} and South Americans were the plurality in one district (22nd).

The growth of the different Hispanic national origin groups in Florida has not been uniform either. Venezu-

elans were the fastest growing Hispanic national origin group, more than doubling (137%) their numbers in the state between 2010 and 2019, followed by those who did not specify a national origin (i.e., Other Hispanic or Latino: 68%), Bolivians (67%), and Guatemalans (64%) (see Table 8). However, in terms of total number of people, Puerto Ricans grew the most (326,000) between 2010 and 2019, followed by Cubans (324,000), Venezuelans (158,000), and Mexicans (125,000).

Another characteristic of the Hispanic population in the state pertinent to the redistricting process is the proportion of people who are eligible to register to vote because they are citizens of the United States and 18 years of age or older. In 2019, this proportion was 57%, which is notably lower than Florida's overall population (72.2%). The difference between the Hispanic citizen voting-age population (CVAP) and that of the overall population stems from two factors: the higher percentage of youth in its midst and the lower proportion of citizens.

Nearly one-quarter (24%) of Hispanics in Florida were minors compared to 19.7% of Florida's overall population. Moreover, of the adult population, 60% of the state population was born in the United States and are, therefore, U.S. citizens compared to 32% of Hispanics. Among the 20% of foreign-born persons in the overall population, 12% were naturalized citizens while 8% were not citizens. Therefore, the 60% of adults who were native-born citizens and the 12% of adults who were naturalized citizens bring the total CVAP to 72%. The comparable proportions among 44% of Hispanic adults who were born outside the United States show that 25% were naturalized citizens while 19% were not citizens. Correspondingly, 32% of adult Hispanic U.S.-born citizens and 25% of adult Hispanic naturalized citizens bring their CVAP to 57%.

The CVAP, and, therefore, the eligibility to register to vote, varies by national origin group. Puerto Ricans, as born U.S. citizens, exhibited the highest CVAP at 70%, which is close to the statewide average.^{xxviii} Spaniards had a CVAP of 65% and Cubans and Dominicans had a CVAP of 55%. Collectively, the voting eligibility was 48%

for South Americans, 39% for Central Americans, and 34% for Mexicans.

Increasing Hispanic Legislative Representation

These distinct patterns of Hispanic population distribution, whether at the county level or the congressional district level, indicate how Hispanic representation may be increased in the upcoming redistricting process. Presently, Florida's congressional delegation includes four Hispanic members of the House of Representatives (Soto, Díaz-Balart, Giménez, and Salazar) and one Hispanic senator (Rubio). If ethnicity were the only or the most salient criterion for redistricting, then potentially up to seven representatives in the state delegation might be Hispanic given their numbers in the state's population.^{xxix} That is, as the state's Hispanic population in 2020 was 5,663,860, and each congressional district is to have 770,376 persons, seven Hispanic representatives might be elected if districts are drawn in a manner that discretionarily distributes the state's Hispanic population. Still, as has been noted, the Hispanic population in the state is not evenly distributed and existing districts have tended to concentrate Hispanics in a few of them. Districts with overwhelming majority Hispanic populations already result in Hispanic descriptive representation (i.e., the election of a Hispanic representative), but so may districts with a large plurality of Hispanics, such as the 9th district. A redistricting process that takes into account a large plurality of Hispanics in a legislative district, but not necessarily an overwhelming majority, may still yield Hispanic political representation.

Considering the above-average population growth in counties and congressional districts along the I-4 corridor, the possibility of creating a district that may result in the election of a Hispanic representative is feasible. Moreover, considering that a large growth of the Hispanic population in Central Florida has stemmed from growth in the Puerto Rican population, drawing a district to accommodate the increase in the state's congressional delegation with a large plurality or simple majority of Hispanics may result in the election of another Hispanic member of Congress and increase its state congressional representation from four to five.

Another institution for potential growth in Hispanic representation is the county board of commissioners. Florida's 67 counties are each governed by a board of commissioners. In most cases (85%), these county boards of commissioners are made up of five elected commissioners. However, six counties have seven commissioners, and one county has six commissioners. Furthermore, some of the largest counties have even more commissioners: Duval (19), Miami-Dade (13), and Broward (9). In total, these commissions have some 374 commissioners.

More than 80% of county commissioners are non-Hispanic whites, about 13% are non-Hispanic blacks, and less than 5% are Hispanics. This is in a state in which Hispanics represent more than one-quarter of the population. Admittedly, and as it has been noted throughout this brief, the Hispanic population is not distributed evenly throughout the state or throughout the different counties (see Appendix B). The county population of Hispanic origin in 2020 ranged between less than 3% (Baker and Gulf counties) and 68% (Miami-Dade). But even in counties in which the Hispanic population constitutes a sizable portion of the population, Hispanics are still underrepresented on county boards of commissioners. For instance, in counties with five commissioners, a social group representing 20% of the CVAP might see one representative on the board of commissioners. But this would result to the extent that such 20% of the population was concentrated in a specific area in which they represented either the majority of voters or a large plurality, as would be the case if the board of commissioners were divided into discrete geographical districts. However, if commissioners are elected at-large, in which all the voters in the county can vote for all the candidates running for commissioner, then the social group in question may never muster enough votes to elect a candidate of their preference. This is often the case in Florida in which most of the county boards of commissioners are not elected at the district-level; rather, they are elected at-large. More than half (56%) of counties in the state elect their boards of commissioners on an at-large basis. Moreover, six counties conduct elections through a mixed system in which most commissioners are elected in district-level elections, and some are elected at-large. Only

23 of Florida's counties exclusively elect commissioners in district-level elections.

Hispanics' share of the county population is lower than 20% in 49 counties; it is greater than 20% but lower than 40% in another 14 counties. Hispanics exceed 40% of the county's population in four counties, yet, there are commissioners of Hispanic origin in only 10 county boards of commissioners.^{xxx} There are 10 counties in which the Hispanic population was greater than 20% of the county's population, but no commissioner was Hispanic.^{xxxi} Of these 10 counties, seven had at-large election systems but, correspondingly, three of the counties had district-level or mixed election systems.^{xxxii} Moreover, of the 10 counties that had Hispanic representation on their boards of commissioners, Hispanics were still underrepresented in three of those counties based on their share of the county's population.^{xxxiii} District-level election systems increase Hispanic representation on county boards of commissioners. However, to assure a representative allocation of commission seats on a board of commissioners, district-level boundaries need to be carefully considered.

Table 8. Population Change by Congressional District in Florida by Hispanic Specific Origin, 2010 -2019

District Number	Representative	2019 Total Population	2019 Hispanic or Latino Population	Percent Hispanic or Latino	Mexican	Puerto Rican	Cuban	Dominican (Dominican Republic)	Central American	South American	Other Hispanic or Latino
1	Gaetz	771,279	50,817	6.6%	37.0%	23.5%	7.2%	1.5%	12.8%	7.7%	10.3%
2	Dunn	722,465	48,335	6.7%	34.6%	25.8%	12.9%	1.9%	11.3%	6.9%	6.5%
3	Cammack	738,669	74,369	10.1%	20.9%	34.4%	15.8%	2.9%	8.1%	13.1%	4.8%
4	Rutherford	800,945	68,161	8.5%	20.3%	28.5%	13.5%	3.0%	9.7%	16.6%	8.4%
5	Lawson	731,618	62,139	8.5%	22.9%	29.4%	12.3%	4.4%	13.8%	10.0%	7.2%
6	Waltz	767,325	98,991	12.9%	20.4%	48.0%	7.1%	3.5%	3.9%	10.7%	6.3%
7	Murphy	768,317	197,193	25.7%	7.6%	49.6%	10.9%	6.2%	5.5%	17.0%	3.1%
8	Posey	754,594	82,763	11.0%	22.9%	33.3%	12.8%	3.0%	9.7%	11.7%	6.5%
9	Soto	869,762	361,915	41.6%	10.9%	55.9%	5.8%	6.4%	4.3%	13.4%	3.3%
10	Dennings	823,865	233,746	28.4%	13.9%	40.6%	7.9%	5.9%	8.2%	19.8%	3.7%
11	Webster	772,901	82,385	10.7%	20.8%	46.1%	10.7%	3.0%	6.0%	8.7%	4.7%
12	Bilirakis	772,330	100,954	13.1%	17.8%	39.0%	12.8%	4.2%	6.1%	15.7%	4.4%
13	Crist	729,991	74,756	10.2%	24.2%	29.1%	15.3%	3.3%	5.8%	16.4%	6.0%
14	Castor	788,251	243,497	30.9%	9.6%	27.9%	32.1%	5.0%	6.9%	12.8%	5.8%
15	Franklin	789,855	182,957	23.2%	26.3%	37.2%	11.6%	5.9%	4.8%	10.1%	4.1%
16	Buchanan	831,418	147,203	17.7%	43.8%	19.1%	11.0%	2.8%	8.8%	11.3%	3.3%
17	Steube	773,684	122,980	15.9%	47.8%	20.0%	13.1%	3.3%	6.1%	6.1%	3.6%
18	Mast	771,253	128,653	16.7%	23.6%	23.2%	13.6%	4.5%	14.4%	16.3%	4.4%
19	Donalds	813,477	165,866	20.4%	30.1%	17.5%	21.9%	2.7%	12.8%	12.2%	2.8%
20	Vacant*	788,175	194,710	24.7%	13.1%	14.8%	20.7%	6.3%	17.8%	23.7%	3.6%
21	Frankel	772,206	187,102	24.2%	16.3%	14.6%	18.1%	4.9%	18.7%	23.0%	4.4%
22	Deutch	755,091	169,478	22.4%	10.4%	16.9%	14.7%	5.5%	14.1%	34.6%	3.9%
23	Wasserman Schultz	760,118	296,305	39.0%	3.7%	13.2%	22.5%	5.8%	8.3%	41.7%	4.8%
24	Wilson	746,402	301,430	40.4%	2.8%	9.4%	34.7%	8.5%	20.0%	21.7%	2.9%
25	Diaz-Balart	771,549	583,334	75.6%	8.4%	3.8%	57.4%	2.8%	9.8%	15.9%	2.0%
26	Gimenez	768,910	545,389	70.9%	6.5%	6.3%	53.8%	3.5%	11.6%	16.0%	2.3%
27	Salazar	747,186	541,256	72.4%	2.7%	4.5%	52.8%	2.5%	14.8%	18.8%	3.7%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2019 American Community Survey, 5-Year Estimates (TableID: B03001)

Notes

ⁱ With the research assistance of Damayra Figueroa-Lazu and Jorge Soldevila-Irizarry.

ⁱⁱ <https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial/2020/data/apportionment/apportionment-2020-table01.pdf> (downloaded on May 24, 2021).

ⁱⁱⁱ Article I, Section 2 of the United States Constitution states: “Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers,”

^{iv} Section 2 of the Fourteenth amendment Amendment states: “Representatives shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed.”

^v The state’s total (apportionment) population was 18,900,773 in 2010. This total population was made up of its resident population (18,801,310 persons) and its overseas population (99,463 persons). Apportionment is calculated on the basis of the state’s total (apportionment) population. A 2010 resident population of 18,801,310, divided among 27 congressional districts, yielded districts with a population of approximately 696,345 persons per district. This total number of residents per congressional district is what the Census Bureau reports in some of its population products, such as in the estimates based on the American Community Survey used in this report.

^{vi} The 2020 resident population of Florida was 21,538,187 persons; an additional 32,340 persons were overseas, but were included in the total population for apportionment purposes. A resident population of 21,538,187 divided among 28 congressional districts, will yield districts with a population of approximately 769,221 persons per district. Statistics released by the U.S. Census Bureau at the congressional district level are likely then to show a per-district population of approximately 769,221 persons.

^{vii} From a numerical perspective, districts with fewer residents are thought of as having greater political power, as it takes fewer voters to elect a representative that has the same voting power in the legislature as residents of districts with more residents. Adherence to the one-person, one-vote principle [Reynold V.v. Sims (1964); Baker V.v. Carr (1962)] prevents deviation from numerical equality in population for congressional districts [Wesberry V.v. Sanders (1964)].

^{viii} Redistricting is a process that takes place in all legislative bodies that divide political representation in geographically defined districts, such as state legislatures as well asand municipal councils.

^{ix} The Census Bureau recently released (vintage) population estimates for 2020, but only at the state and county levels. We will use these 2020 data at those levels of geographyscales in the analysis herein. However, the Census Bureau has not released 2020 vintage population estimates at the congressional district level. The only vintage population estimates presently available at the congressional district level are for 2019. We will use these 2019 data at the congressional district level in the pertinent analysis.

^x See <https://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2021/statement-redistricting-data-timeline.html>, downloaded on May 24, 2021.

^{xi} An analysis using American Community Survey data as well as population estimates between 2010 and 2019 gave the impression that Florida had gained population on the order of 14%. However, as the apportionment data showed, the state’s population actually increased by 14.7%. Therefore, county-level data for 2020 may likely be somewhat different from 2019 estimates. Nevertheless, the expectation is that the most notable demographic trends between the 2010 and 2020 enumerations will be consistent with those estimates observed between 2010 and 2019.

^{xii} The counties along I-4 courses are Hillsborough, Polk, Osceola, Orange, Seminole, and Volusia. It crosses Florida from Tampa in the west to near Daytona Beach in the northeast of the state. Hillsborough (21%), Polk (23%), Osceola (42%), and Orange (22%) counties were among the 15 fastest growing counties in the state. Adjacent to these counties along I-4 are also the fastest-growing counties, such as Sumter (47%), Manatee (27%), Lake (26%), Flagler (23%), Pasco (22%), and Indian River (17).

^{xiii} Pasco and Duval counties also grew by more than 100,000 persons.

^{xiv} Holmes, Hamilton, Union, Jefferson, Calhoun, Madison, Lafayette, Gadsden, Taylor, Jackson, and Gulf counties.

^{xv} Hardee county.

^{xvi} As noted above, the enumeration count in 2020 indicated that Florida’s population grew by 14.1%. However, population estimates for 2020—a different measure produced by the Census Bureau using different calculations from the decennial enumeration—indicates that Florida’s population grew by 15.3%. Reapportionment and redistricting make use of actual population counts from the decennial enumeration. However, as the Census Bureau has yet to produce these data at the sub-state level, we must rely on population estimates and American Community Survey data to discern population changes on the eve of redistricting.

^{xvii} Inconsistencies in the rate of population growth presented in this analysis derives from the different data products available for different components of the analysis. All data products have the same provenance: the Census Bureau. However, the data for the different products may differ based on the method

to collect it. The population data to be used for reapportionment and redistricting sources will be the population data compiled using the 2020 decennial census. These numbers were released in April 2021, but only at the state level. Using data from the 2010 and 2020 decennial census, we observe a population increase of 14.1%. However, using a different data product—the annual estimates of the resident population—we observe a population increase of 15.3%. Because decennial census data on race and ethnicity for scales below the state level have yet to be released, we must rely on other data products for the year 2019 or 2020 that may provide us with an approximation of conditions in 2020 in anticipation of the redistricting process.

^{xviii} Hardee and Gulf counties.

^{xix} The Census Bureau has not released 2020 population estimates at the congressional district level as of the date of this analysis. We therefore rely on data from the American Community Surveys for 2010 and 2019. This Census Bureau product shows a statewide population growth of 14%.

^{xx} From a slightly different angle, those of Caribbean origin represent more than 53% of Hispanics, South Americans represent 18.2%, Central Americans represent nearly 11%, and North Americans (i.e., Mexican) represent 13%.

^{xxi} DeSoto, Glades, Hardee, Hendry, Okeechobee, Putnam, and Walton.

^{xxii} Bay, Bradford, Calhoun, Collier, Dixie, Escambia, Franklin, Gadsden, Gilchrist, Gulf, Hamilton, Highlands, Holmes, Indian, Jackson, Lee, Levy, Liberty, Manatee, Martin, Nassau, Okaloosa, St. Lucie, Santa Rosa, Sarasota, Sumter, Suwannee, and Taylor.

^{xxiii} Flagler, Hernando, Osceola, and Volusia.

^{xxiv} Alachua, Brevard, Charlotte, Citrus, Clay, Columbia, Duval, Hillsborough, Jefferson, Lake, Marion, Orange, Pasco, Pinellas, Polk, St. Johns, St. Lucie, Seminole, Union, Wakulla, and Washington.

^{xxv} Mexicans were the largest Hispanic group in 21 counties (60%) in which the Hispanic population was less than 9.5%, and in 14 counties (40%) they were the largest Hispanic group in 14 counties (40%) in which the Hispanic population was greater than 9.5%. Puerto Ricans were the largest Hispanic group in 8 counties (32%) in which Hispanics represented less than 9.5% of the county's population, and they were the largest Hispanic group in 17 counties (68%) in which Hispanics represented more than 9.5% of the county's population.

^{xxvi} The 3rd, 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, and 15th districts.

^{xxvii} The 1st, 2nd, 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th districts.

^{xxviii} CVAP data for the Hispanic national origin group are from the 2015, 5-year estimate of the American Community Survey, the most recent year for which such detailed data are available. CVAP has been calculated based on data from Table B05003 (sex by age by nativity and citizenship status) from the 2015 American Community Survey, 5-Year Estimates for Selected Population.

^{xxix} In fact, race and ethnicity cannot be sole or leading factors in drawing legislative districts. Race and ethnicity may nevertheless be criteria to use in redistricting, albeit subject to administrative and judicial scrutiny, which must adhere to a number of guidelines, such as the Gingles factors and the Senate Report factors.

^{xxx} Collier, Hardee, Hendry, Miami-Dade, Monroe, Orange, Osceola, Pasco, Polk, and Union counties.

^{xxxi} Broward, DeSoto, Glades, Highlands, Hillsborough, Lee, Okeechobee, Palm Beach, St. Lucie, and Seminole counties.

^{xxxii} Broward, Hillsborough and Palm Beach.

^{xxxiii} Hardee, Hendry and Miami-Dade.

Appendix A. Proportion of Florida's Congressional District Population by Race/Ethnicity, 2019

District Number	District's Representative	Total Population	Not Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White alone	Non-Hispanic Black or African American alone	Non-Hispanic American Indian and Alaska Native alone	Non-Hispanic Asian alone	Non-Hispanic Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander alone	Non-Hispanic Some other race alone	Non-Hispanic Two or more races	Hispanic
1	Gaetz	798,305	93.1%	72.7%	12.7%	0.3%	2.3%	0.1%	0.3%	4.7%	6.9%
2	Dunn	720,777	93.4%	75.9%	12.5%	0.2%	2.0%	0.2%	0.4%	2.3%	6.6%
3	Cammack	758,939	88.6%	65.9%	16.0%	0.3%	3.3%	0.2%	0.3%	2.6%	11.4%
4	Rutherford	836,235	91.3%	73.2%	9.6%	0.3%	4.6%	0.1%	0.5%	3.0%	8.7%
5	Lawson	742,643	90.3%	38.7%	46.4%	0.3%	2.3%	0.0%	0.2%	2.4%	9.7%
6	Waltz	790,455	86.6%	71.8%	10.6%	0.2%	1.8%	0.1%	0.1%	2.0%	13.4%
7	Murphy	814,980	73.3%	54.8%	10.4%	0.2%	5.1%	0.1%	0.6%	2.1%	26.7%
8	Posey	780,036	88.2%	73.4%	8.7%	0.2%	2.2%	0.1%	0.6%	3.0%	11.8%
9	Soto	931,872	56.0%	39.2%	11.4%	0.2%	2.9%	0.1%	0.4%	1.7%	44.0%
10	Dennings	811,634	71.5%	34.4%	28.1%	0.1%	5.2%	0.0%	1.1%	2.7%	28.5%
11	Webster	813,112	88.2%	77.1%	7.2%	0.4%	1.4%	0.0%	0.3%	1.7%	11.8%
12	Bilirakis	811,308	86.0%	75.0%	5.2%	0.2%	3.0%	0.0%	0.1%	2.3%	14.0%
13	Crist	731,658	89.2%	70.8%	11.7%	0.2%	3.4%	0.0%	0.3%	2.8%	10.8%
14	Castor	831,508	67.1%	42.9%	17.0%	0.1%	4.3%	0.1%	0.4%	2.5%	32.9%
15	Franklin	801,294	76.2%	56.7%	13.3%	0.4%	3.1%	0.1%	0.7%	1.9%	23.8%
16	Buchanan	873,875	82.3%	68.6%	9.3%	0.2%	2.2%	0.0%	0.4%	1.7%	17.7%
17	Steube	804,754	83.2%	72.6%	7.3%	0.3%	1.3%	0.0%	0.1%	1.6%	16.8%
18	Mast	795,742	82.5%	65.2%	12.0%	0.2%	2.3%	0.0%	0.4%	2.3%	17.5%
19	Donalds	833,013	79.5%	68.7%	7.5%	0.1%	1.9%	0.1%	0.1%	1.0%	20.5%
20	Hastings*	802,463	73.2%	16.4%	51.8%	0.1%	2.5%	0.0%	0.4%	2.0%	26.8%
21	Frankel	786,566	74.6%	53.8%	15.6%	0.1%	2.7%	0.0%	0.4%	1.9%	25.4%
22	Deutch	760,953	76.8%	56.4%	14.4%	0.1%	3.4%	0.1%	0.7%	1.7%	23.2%
23	Wasserman Schultz	762,858	59.9%	37.8%	14.3%	0.3%	4.8%	0.1%	0.4%	2.3%	40.1%
24	Wilson	754,731	57.6%	10.2%	44.7%	0.2%	1.1%	0.1%	0.3%	1.1%	42.4%
25	Diaz-Balart	796,422	24.0%	19.1%	3.4%	0.1%	1.1%	0.0%	0.1%	0.4%	76.0%
26	Gimenez	780,951	27.6%	15.3%	10.0%	0.0%	1.3%	0.0%	0.4%	0.5%	72.4%
27	Salazar	750,653	29.2%	21.2%	4.6%	0.0%	2.3%	0.0%	0.2%	0.9%	70.8%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2019 American Community Survey, 1-Year Estimates (TableID:B03002)

Appendix B. Proportion of Florida's County Population by Race/Ethnicity, 2020

County	Total Population	Non-Hispanic	Non-Hispanic White Alone	Non-Hispanic Black alone	Non-Hispanic American Indian and Alaska Native alone	Non-Hispanic Asian alone	Non-Hispanic Native Hawaiian and Other Pacific Islander	Non-Hispanic Two or More Races	Hispanic
Alachua	271,218	89.3%	60.5%	20.0%	0.2%	6.0%	0.1%	2.5%	10.7%
Baker	29,566	97.1%	80.1%	14.1%	0.4%	0.7%	0.0%	1.8%	2.9%
Bay	171,322	93.1%	76.3%	10.7%	0.6%	2.3%	0.1%	3.0%	6.9%
Bradford	28,593	95.3%	72.6%	19.9%	0.4%	0.6%	0.0%	1.8%	4.7%
Brevard	608,459	88.8%	73.4%	10.0%	0.3%	2.6%	0.1%	2.4%	11.2%
Broward	1,958,105	68.6%	34.3%	28.6%	0.2%	3.7%	0.1%	1.7%	31.4%
Calhoun	14,078	93.9%	77.5%	12.3%	1.2%	0.8%	0.1%	2.2%	6.1%
Charlotte	194,711	92.0%	83.4%	5.5%	0.3%	1.4%	0.1%	1.4%	8.0%
Citrus	153,010	93.7%	87.2%	2.9%	0.4%	1.7%	0.0%	1.6%	6.3%
Clay	221,770	89.3%	70.9%	12.0%	0.4%	3.0%	0.1%	2.9%	10.7%
Collier	392,973	71.4%	62.1%	6.6%	0.2%	1.5%	0.0%	0.9%	28.6%
Columbia	72,654	93.3%	71.8%	18.1%	0.5%	1.0%	0.1%	1.8%	6.7%
DeSoto	38,520	68.1%	54.4%	11.8%	0.3%	0.5%	0.0%	1.0%	31.9%
Dixie	17,057	95.8%	83.9%	9.3%	0.6%	0.4%	0.0%	1.6%	4.2%
Duval	966,728	89.0%	51.4%	29.7%	0.3%	4.9%	0.1%	2.6%	11.0%
Escambia	322,364	93.9%	63.9%	22.6%	0.7%	3.2%	0.2%	3.3%	6.1%
Flagler	118,451	88.9%	74.4%	9.9%	0.3%	2.4%	0.1%	1.9%	11.1%
Franklin	12,201	94.1%	78.4%	12.8%	0.5%	0.4%	0.0%	2.0%	5.9%
Gadsden	45,277	89.1%	32.4%	54.9%	0.2%	0.6%	0.0%	0.9%	10.9%
Gilchrist	18,885	93.6%	85.8%	5.3%	0.5%	0.5%	0.0%	1.5%	6.4%
Glades	14,198	78.2%	60.1%	12.7%	3.8%	0.5%	0.1%	1.1%	21.8%
Gulf	13,534	97.1%	82.4%	11.2%	0.6%	0.6%	0.0%	2.3%	2.9%
Hamilton	14,521	89.6%	54.2%	32.4%	0.7%	0.6%	0.0%	1.7%	10.4%
Hardee	26,822	55.7%	46.5%	6.7%	0.4%	0.9%	0.1%	1.2%	44.3%
Hendry	42,813	44.3%	30.7%	10.8%	1.3%	0.8%	0.1%	0.7%	55.7%
Hernando	198,792	84.6%	75.7%	5.4%	0.3%	1.4%	0.1%	1.8%	15.4%
Highlands	106,639	78.7%	65.8%	9.7%	0.4%	1.5%	0.0%	1.4%	21.3%
Hillsborough	1,497,957	70.1%	47.1%	16.2%	0.2%	4.4%	0.1%	2.1%	29.9%
Holmes	19,594	96.8%	86.2%	6.7%	1.0%	0.6%	0.1%	2.1%	3.2%
Indian River	162,518	87.1%	74.9%	9.0%	0.2%	1.6%	0.0%	1.4%	12.9%
Jackson	46,085	94.9%	65.6%	25.9%	0.7%	0.6%	0.1%	1.9%	5.1%
Jefferson	14,543	95.6%	61.2%	31.9%	0.4%	0.7%	0.0%	1.5%	4.4%
Lafayette	8,482	85.7%	71.3%	12.2%	0.4%	0.3%	0.1%	1.5%	14.3%
Lake	375,492	82.9%	67.8%	10.7%	0.3%	2.2%	0.1%	1.7%	17.1%
Lee	790,767	77.0%	65.7%	8.1%	0.2%	1.7%	0.0%	1.4%	23.0%
Leon	295,460	93.2%	55.5%	31.7%	0.3%	3.5%	0.0%	2.2%	6.8%
Levy	42,214	90.9%	78.8%	8.9%	0.5%	0.9%	0.1%	1.8%	9.1%
Liberty	8,364	93.0%	71.3%	18.9%	0.9%	0.3%	0.0%	1.4%	7.0%
Madison	18,707	93.8%	54.4%	37.0%	0.6%	0.4%	0.0%	1.4%	6.2%
Manatee	411,219	83.2%	70.6%	8.5%	0.2%	2.3%	0.1%	1.6%	16.8%
Marion	373,513	85.3%	69.0%	12.5%	0.3%	1.7%	0.1%	1.7%	14.7%
Martin	162,088	85.9%	77.8%	5.0%	0.2%	1.5%	0.1%	1.3%	14.1%
Miami-Dade	2,707,303	31.1%	13.5%	15.3%	0.1%	1.5%	0.0%	0.7%	68.9%
Monroe	73,900	74.5%	64.6%	6.6%	0.3%	1.4%	0.1%	1.4%	25.5%
Nassau	91,113	95.1%	86.2%	5.8%	0.3%	1.0%	0.1%	1.6%	4.9%
Okaloosa	212,820	90.0%	72.6%	9.7%	0.5%	3.1%	0.2%	4.0%	10.0%
Okeechobee	42,297	73.5%	62.1%	8.4%	0.9%	0.9%	0.1%	1.1%	26.5%
Orange	1,404,396	67.1%	39.1%	20.2%	0.2%	5.5%	0.1%	1.9%	32.9%
Osceola	385,315	44.0%	29.6%	9.8%	0.2%	2.8%	0.1%	1.5%	56.0%
Palm Beach	1,507,600	76.6%	53.3%	18.8%	0.2%	2.9%	0.0%	1.4%	23.4%
Pasco	570,412	82.9%	71.6%	6.0%	0.3%	2.9%	0.1%	2.0%	17.1%
Pinellas	976,802	89.7%	73.5%	10.4%	0.2%	3.5%	0.1%	2.0%	10.3%
Polk	744,552	74.3%	55.7%	14.7%	0.3%	1.8%	0.1%	1.7%	25.7%
Putnam	74,815	89.6%	71.0%	15.8%	0.4%	0.6%	0.1%	1.6%	10.4%
St. Johns	278,715	92.1%	81.3%	5.2%	0.2%	3.4%	0.1%	1.9%	7.9%
St. Lucie	337,186	79.7%	55.2%	20.5%	0.2%	1.9%	0.1%	1.9%	20.3%
Santa Rosa	189,139	93.9%	81.7%	6.2%	0.7%	2.1%	0.2%	3.1%	6.1%
Sarasota	443,465	90.3%	82.5%	4.3%	0.2%	1.8%	0.0%	1.4%	9.7%
Seminole	474,171	77.1%	58.1%	11.6%	0.2%	5.0%	0.1%	2.2%	22.9%
Sumter	139,018	94.0%	85.2%	6.6%	0.3%	1.0%	0.1%	0.9%	6.0%
Suwannee	44,851	89.8%	75.2%	12.0%	0.4%	0.6%	0.0%	1.5%	10.2%
Taylor	21,600	95.7%	72.5%	19.4%	0.9%	0.9%	0.0%	2.0%	4.3%
Union	15,182	94.2%	69.5%	22.2%	0.4%	0.6%	0.0%	1.5%	5.8%
Volusia	561,497	84.5%	70.1%	10.5%	0.3%	1.9%	0.0%	1.8%	15.5%
Wakulla	34,319	95.9%	79.0%	13.4%	0.7%	0.7%	0.1%	2.0%	4.1%
Walton	76,648	93.6%	84.1%	5.1%	0.6%	1.2%	0.1%	2.4%	6.4%
Washington	25,932	95.9%	77.2%	14.2%	1.1%	0.7%	0.3%	2.4%	4.1%

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, (Vintage) 2020 Population Estimates

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