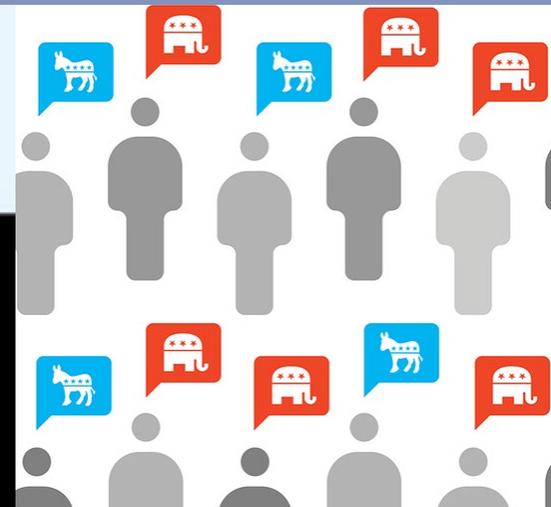


# Florida's Changing Electorate & Big Challenges Ahead for Supervisors



Dr. Susan A. MacManus, Distinguished Univ. Prof. Emerita @DrMacManus

David J. Bonanza, Anthony A. Cilluffo, Amy N. Benner, Research Assistants

**University of South Florida, Tampa**

Florida Supervisors of Election (FSE) Conference

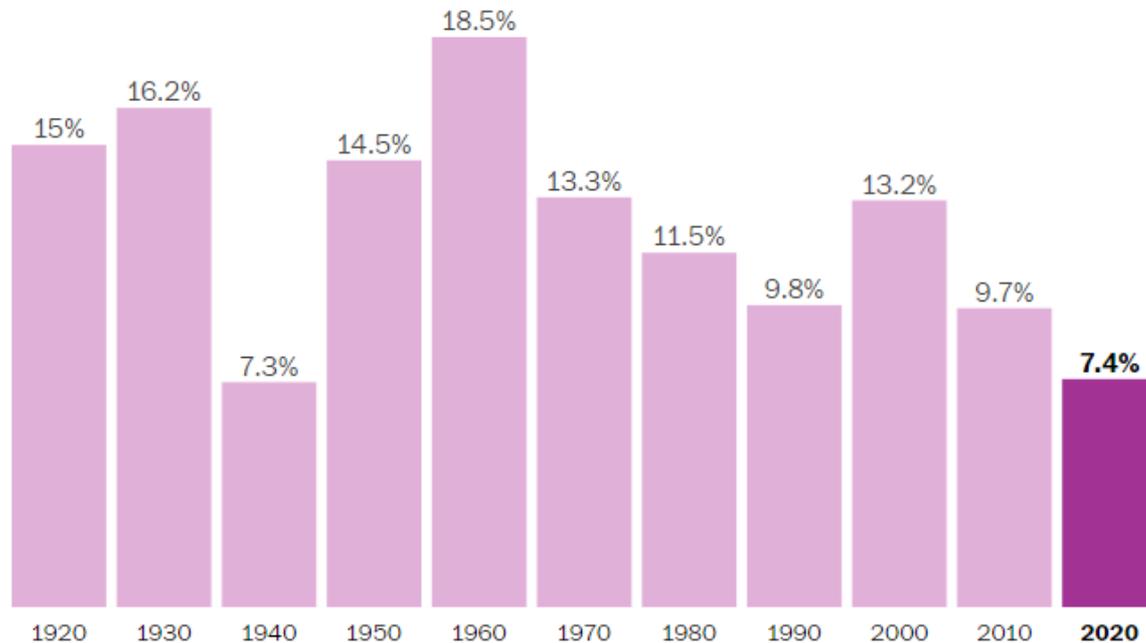
Marriott Waterside, Tampa, FL

June 17, 2021

**SLIDESHOW FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES ONLY**

# 2020 Census shows U.S. population grew at slowest pace since the 1930s

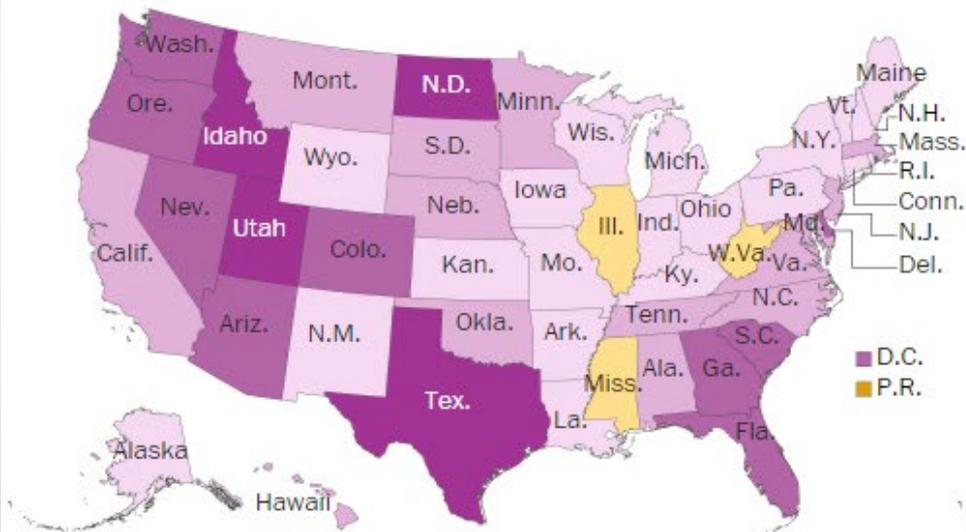
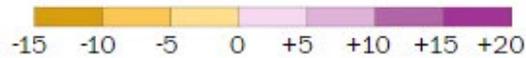
Percent increase in U.S. population since 1920



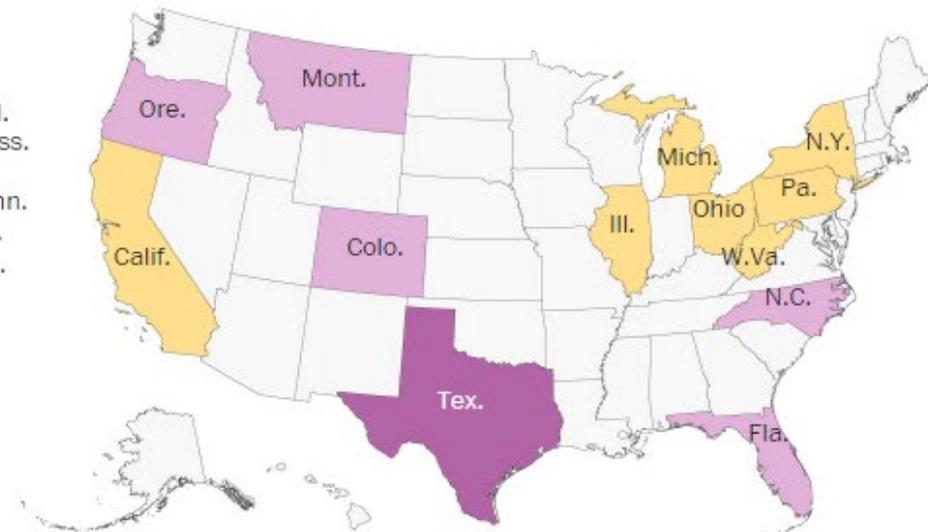
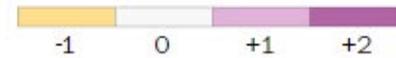


# Pop. Shifting South and West

Percent change in population, 2010-2020



Change in House seats, 2010-2020

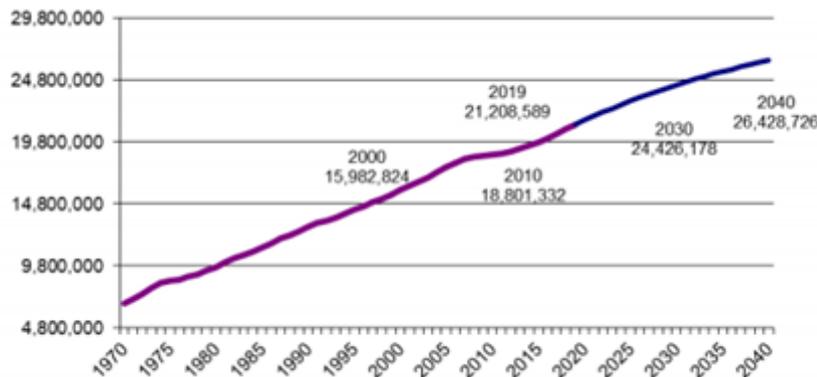
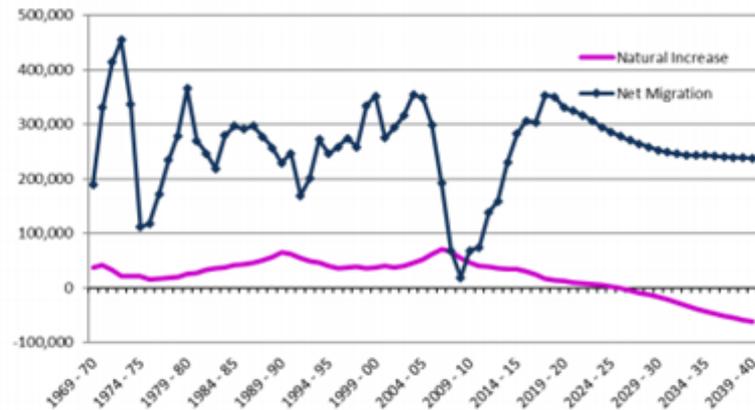


Washington Post; screen shot

# FL Demographics Constantly Change

## Florida's Population Growth...

Typically, most of Florida's population growth is from net migration. Starting in FY 2025-26, net migration is forecast to represent all of Florida's population growth.



Florida's population growth of 368,021 between April 1, 2018 and April 1, 2019 was the strongest annual increase since 2006, immediately prior to the collapse of the housing boom and the beginning of the Great Recession.

# FL Pop. +300,000 in Last Year Alone

## 10 Fastest Growing Cities in Florida – 2021 New Update w/ Top Picks

10. Winter Haven
9. West Melbourne
8. Winter Garden
7. Clermont
6. Ocoee
5. Bonita Springs
4. Fort Myers
3. Doral
2. St. Cloud
1. Parkland



<https://www.strategistico.com/fastest-growing-cities-in-florida/>

# Newest In-Migration!

## Florida Attracts More Northerners

Since the beginning of the pandemic, home sales in parts of the Sunshine State have more than doubled.



New York Times, Sept 9, 2020

## San Francisco residents and tech companies are moving to Florida at an unprecedented rate

Nearly 1,000 people, including major tech companies from Silicon Valley, are moving to Florida per day

CRBE Group; Local10.com

Forbes

ADVERTISEMENT



Jan 6, 2021, 01:35pm EST | 19,790 views

## Florida Is Fast Becoming The Second Home For Wall Street

## Jacksonville leads nation in professional 'in-migration' as Florida population, wealth swell

By John Haughey | The Center Square contributor | Jun 4, 2021

CONDO BLACKBOOK  
BY BLACKBOOK PROPERTIES

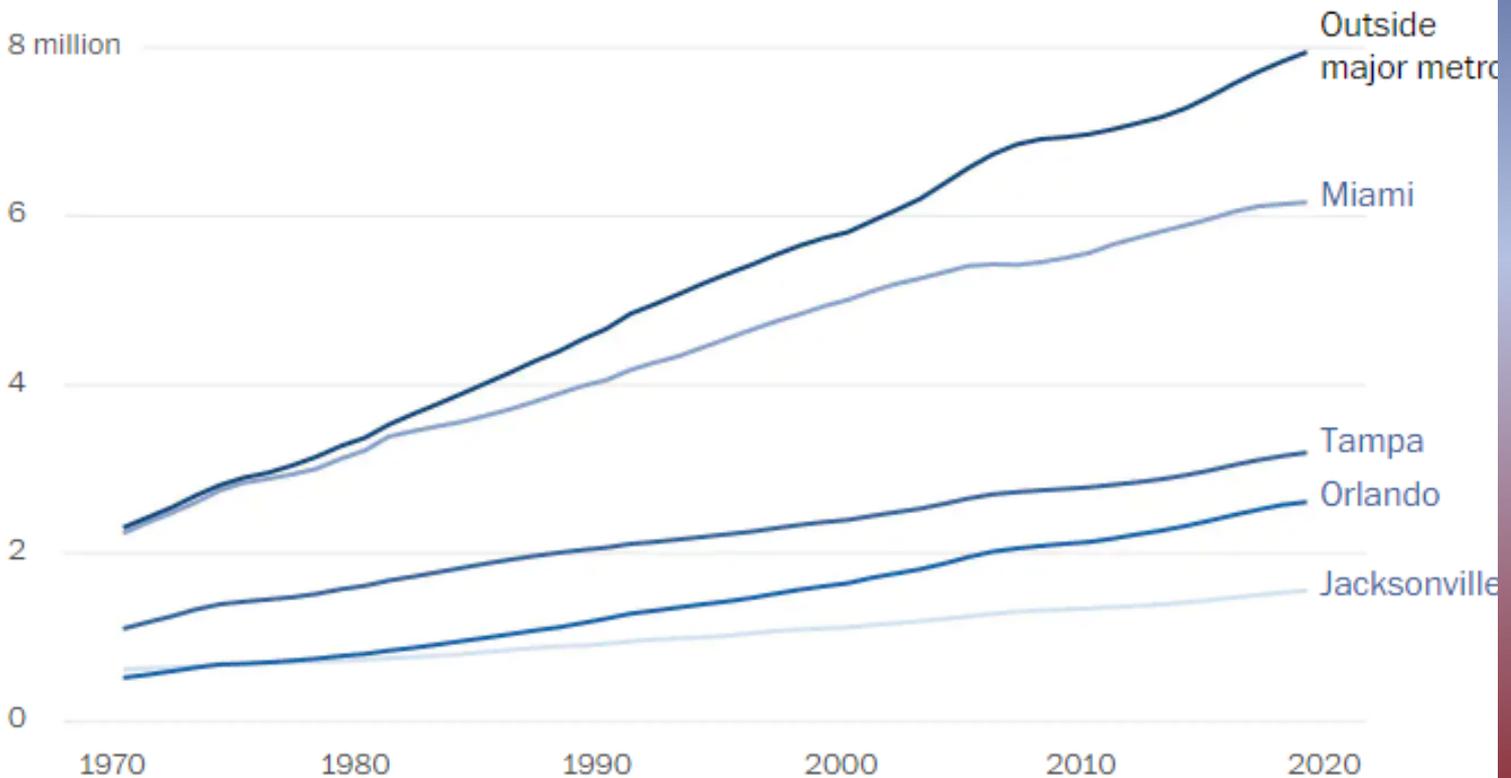
Search the blog

HOME TOPICS

## Power Moves: Big Business Finally Moving to Miami, South Florida

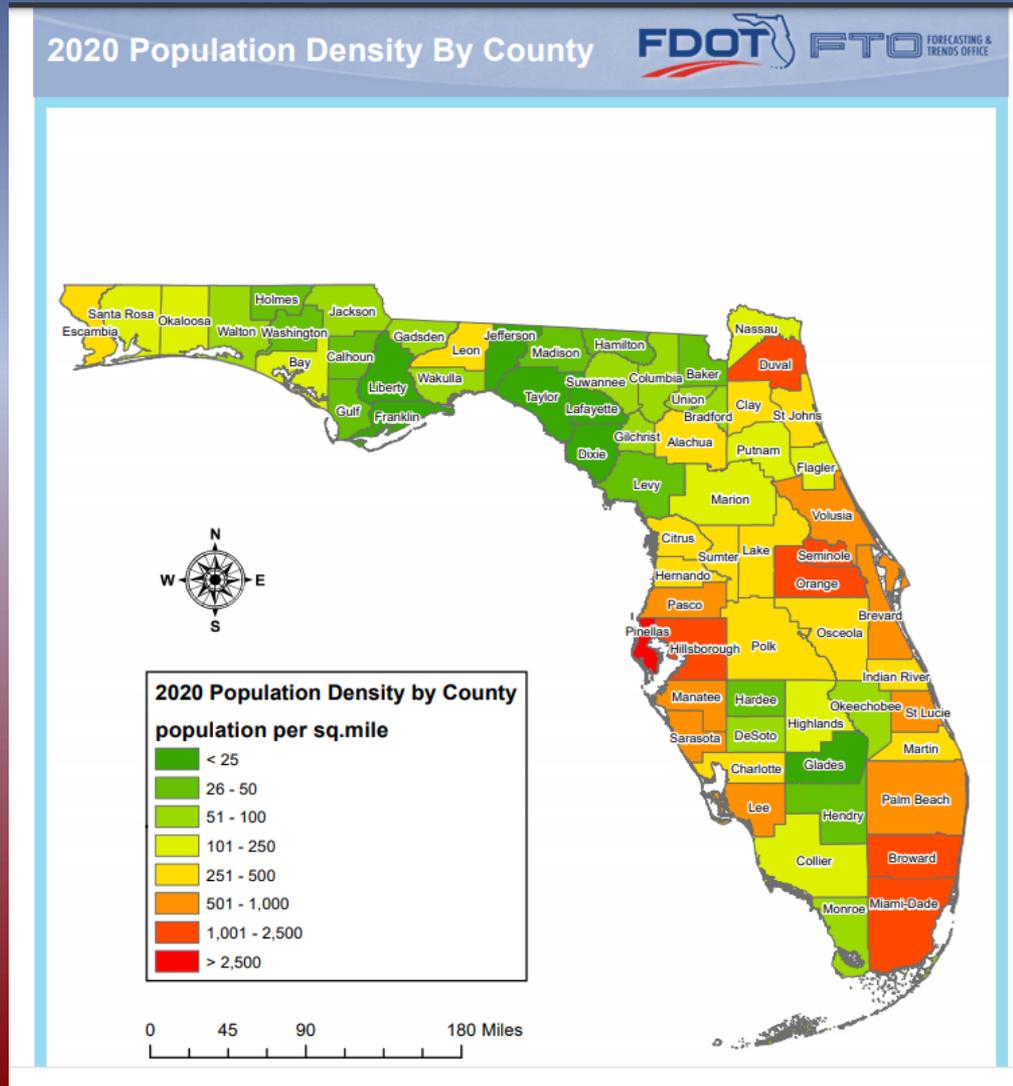
# Growth Rate Higher in Areas Outside Major Metros

**Population inside and outside major Florida metros**



Note: Metro areas defined using 2020 CBSA boundaries.  
Source: U.S. Census Bureau, OMB.

# Florida's Diverse Population Density: Shows Urban-Rural Divide

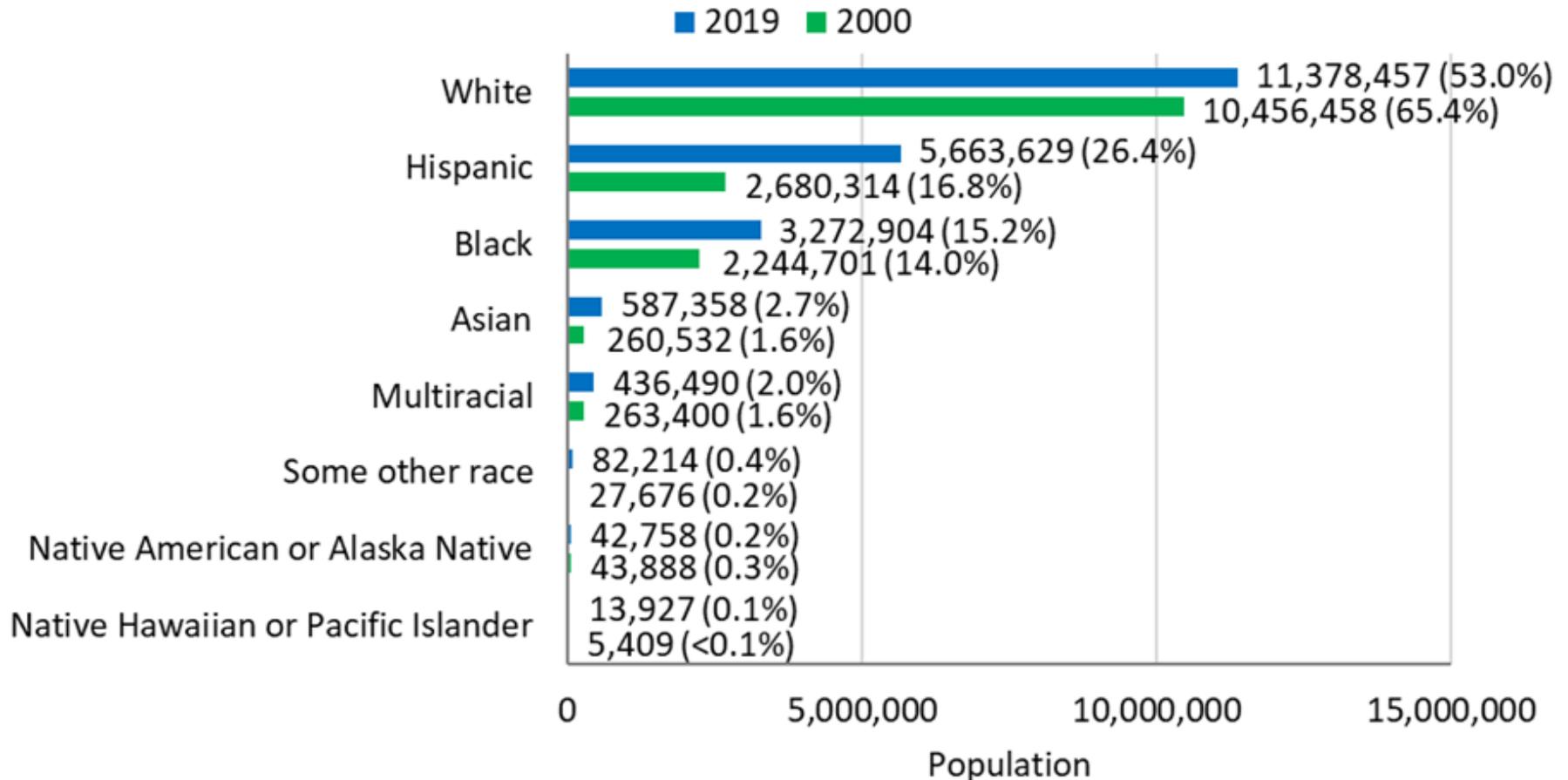


# Florida: Key Trends

- **Changes in voter makeup & candidacies**
- **More racially/ethnically diverse population**
- **Age shifts—declining birth rate**
- **Projected slowdown in population growth**
- **Generational schism deepening**
- **Widening urban-rural divide**
- **Changes in local economies**
- **Income gap widening**
- **More cybersecurity threats & breaches**
- **Increase in spread of misinformation**

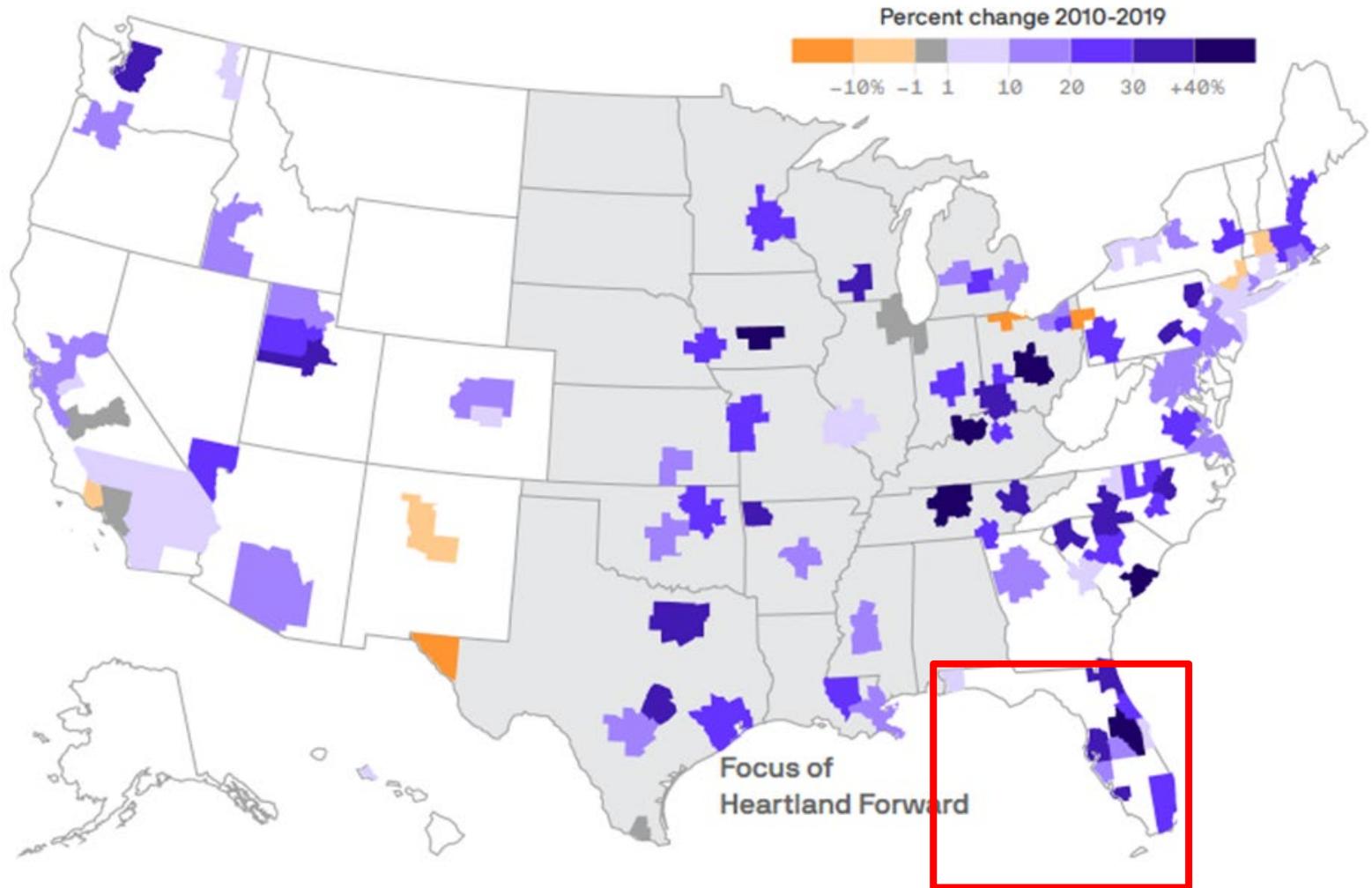
# State Growing More Diverse

Florida Resident Population by Race and Ethnicity

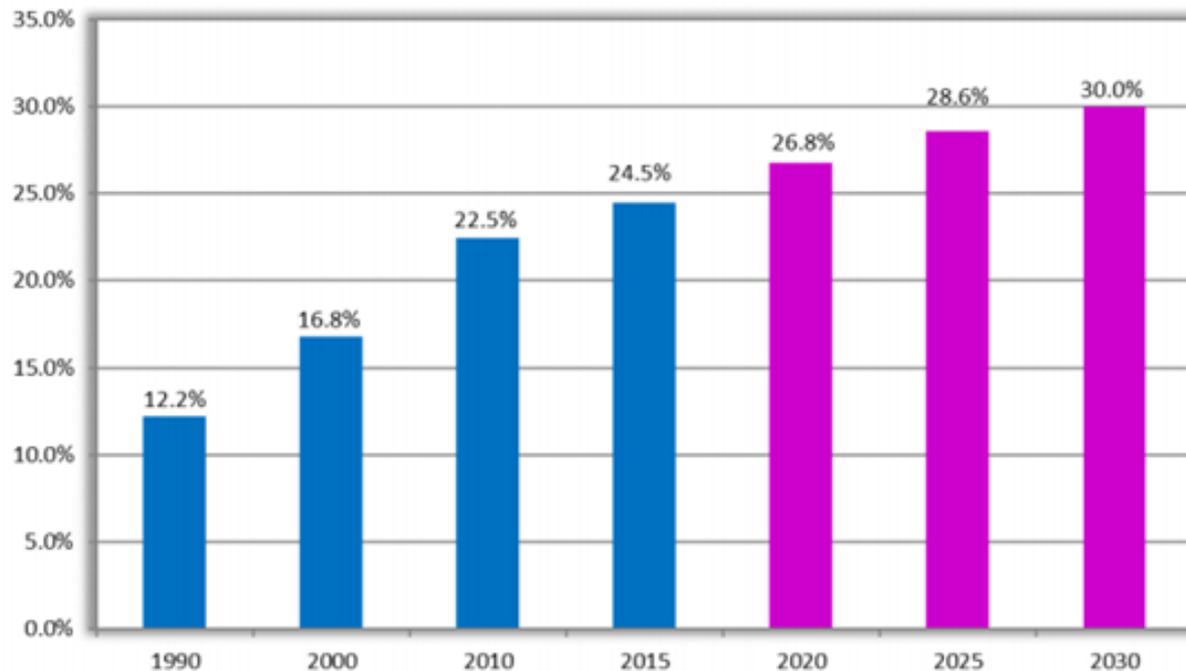


# Percent change in foreign-born populations

2010-2019 by metro area

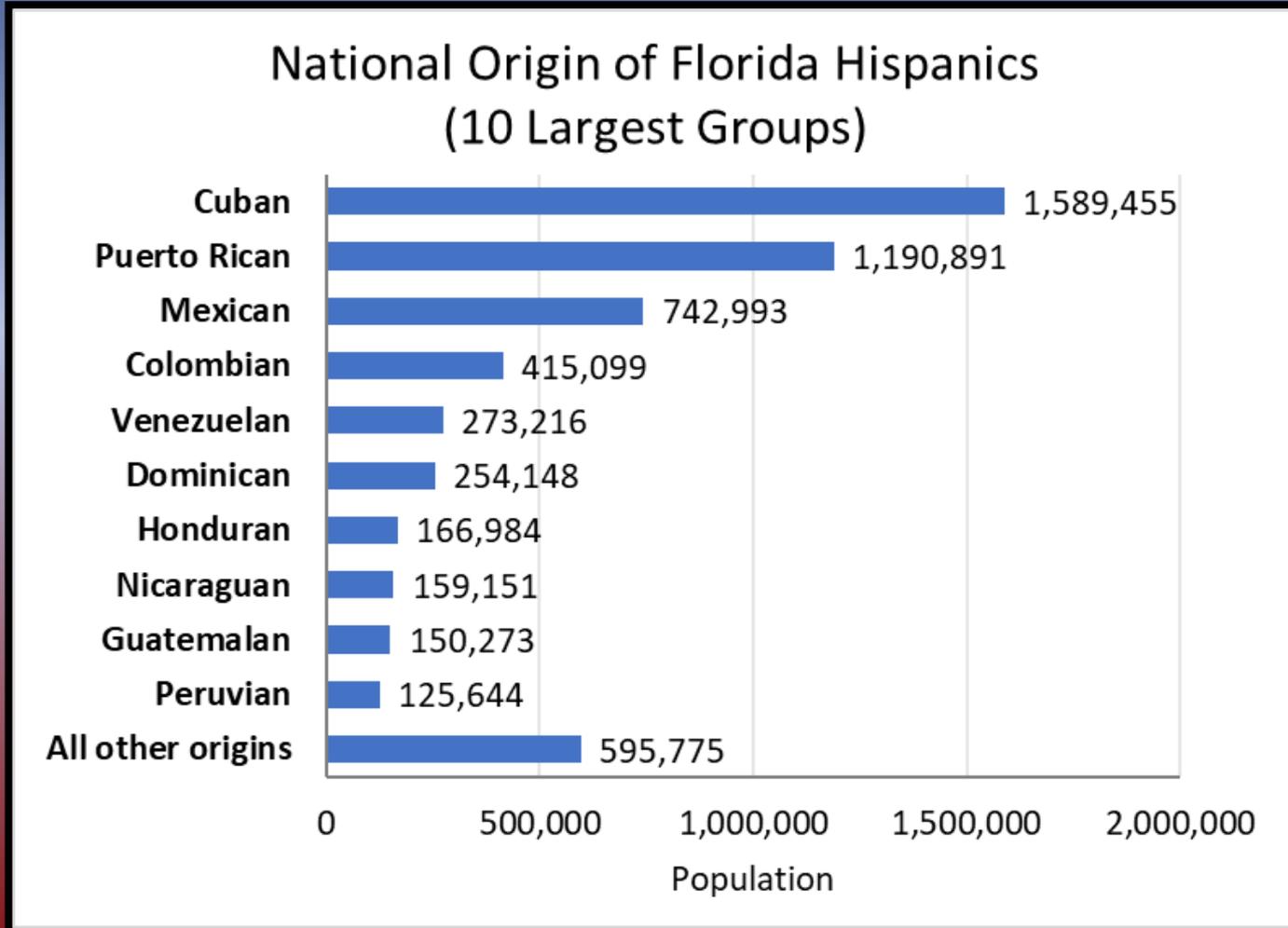


# Florida's Hispanic Population...



- Based on the 2010 Census, Hispanics represented about 22.5 percent of Florida's population.
- By 2030, Hispanics are forecast to represent 30.0 percent of Florida's population.

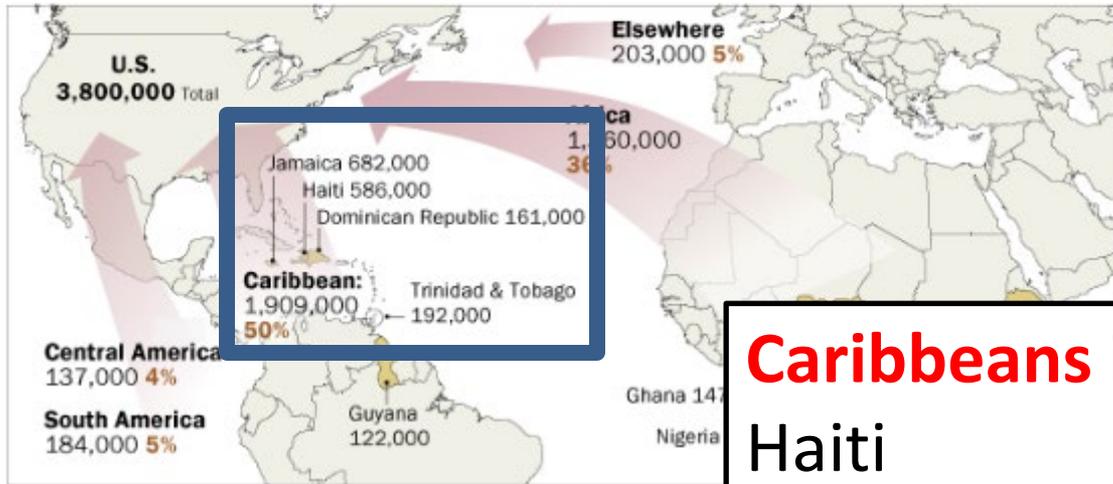
# No Single National Group Dominates Florida Hispanics



# Diversity Among Florida Blacks (18% foreign born; 92% Caribbean)

## Jamaica, Haiti, Nigeria Top Birthplaces for Black Immigrants in 2013

Population and percent of U.S. foreign-born blacks by birth region and birth countries that contributed at least 100,000 black immigrants



Note: Foreign-born blacks include single-race blacks and mixed-race blacks, regardless of race in the country of birth. North African and sub-Saharan African countries as defined by IPUMS.

Source: Pew Research Center tabulations of the 2013 American Community Survey

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

**Caribbeans in South FL are from:**

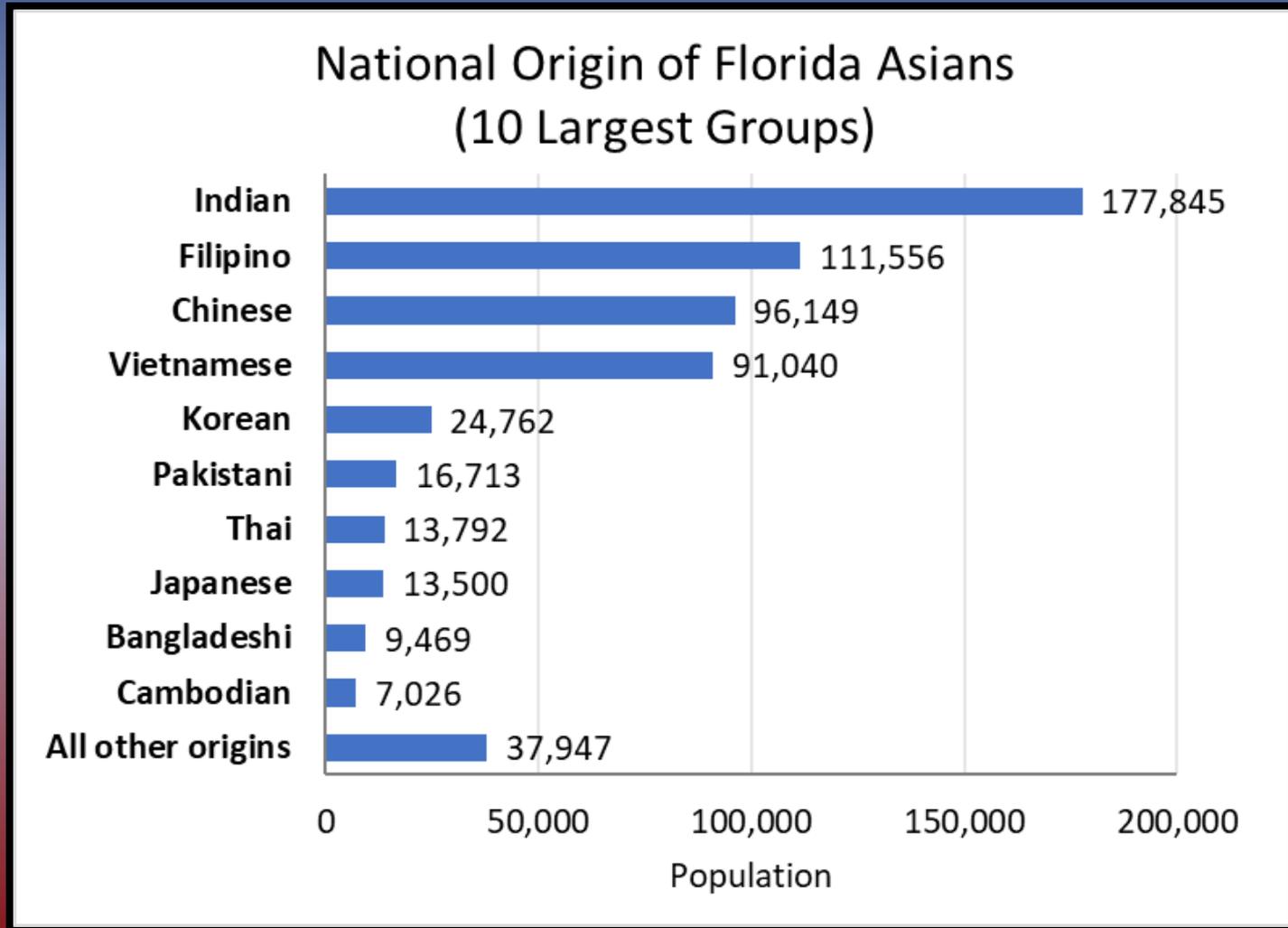
Haiti

Jamaica

Trinidad & Tobago

Dominican Republic

# Diversity Among Florida Asians



Note: Chinese excludes Taiwanese.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau 2019 American Community Survey 1-year file (Table B02015).

# FL Race/Ethnic Demographic Projections 2020-40; Whites will be minority by 2040

- **White non-Hispanic: -6%**
- **Hispanic population: +5%**
- **Black population: +1%**



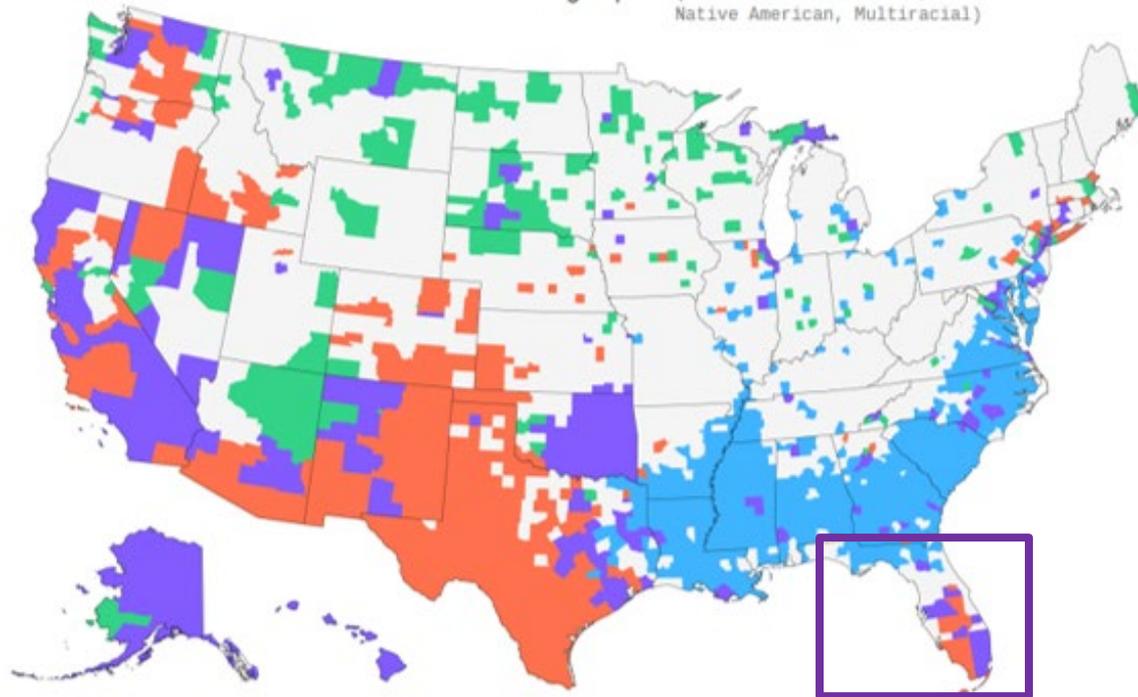
# More FL Counties Will Be Multi-Racial/Ethnic

## America's sweeping tide of diversity

Where racial/ethnic minority groups are more represented

Share of population is higher than national average

- Hispanic
- Black
- More than one group
- Other (Asian/Pacific Islander, Native American, Multiracial)



# Challenges: Political

- **Declining trust in elected officials**
- **Changing media reliance patterns—big generational divide**
- **Continued partisan polarization**
- **Growing ideological & cultural divide**
- **More activism at local level**
- **Upcoming redistricting—all levels**

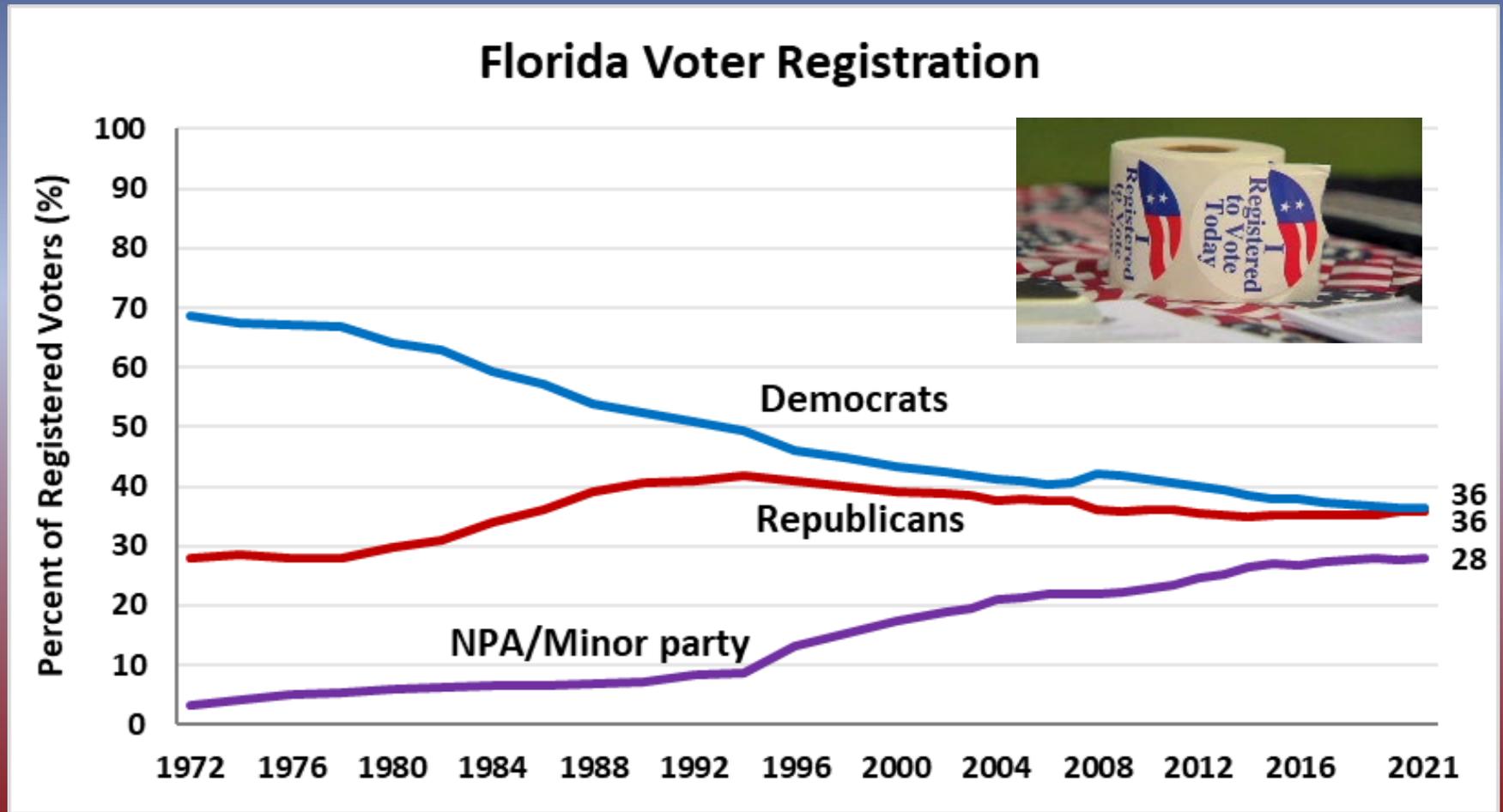
# Florida: Demographic Shifts Affecting Politics

## Complex Demographics

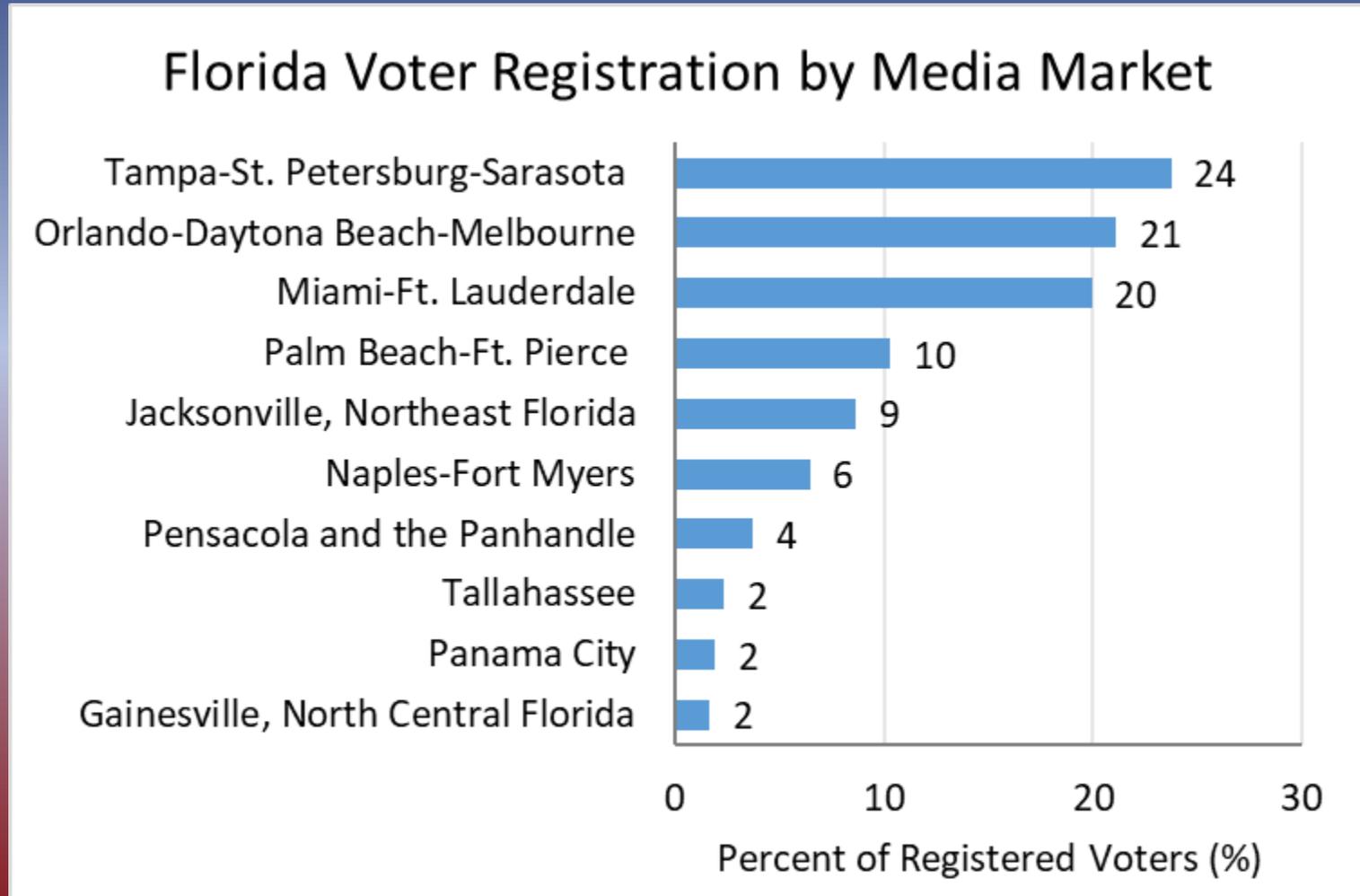
- Party registration & competitiveness
- Race/Ethnic diversity
- Age diversity
- Geographical location differences:  
city, suburb, rural areas



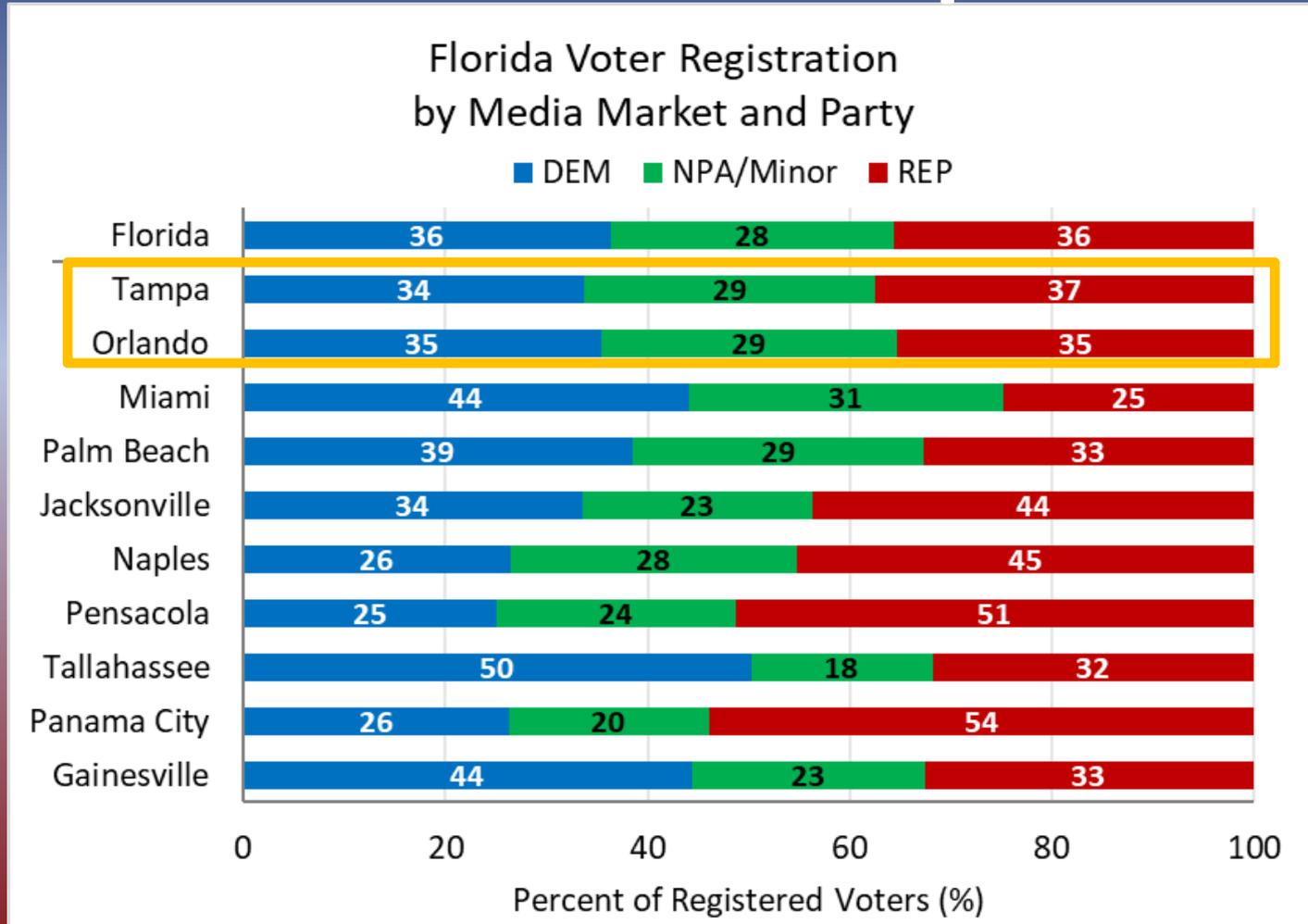
# Florida Party Registration Trend: 1972- 2021



# 45% of State's Registered Voters Live in the I-4 Corridor



# I-4 Media Markets (Tampa; Orlando) Most Partisan Competitive



# Florida's Least Partisan Competitive Media Markets

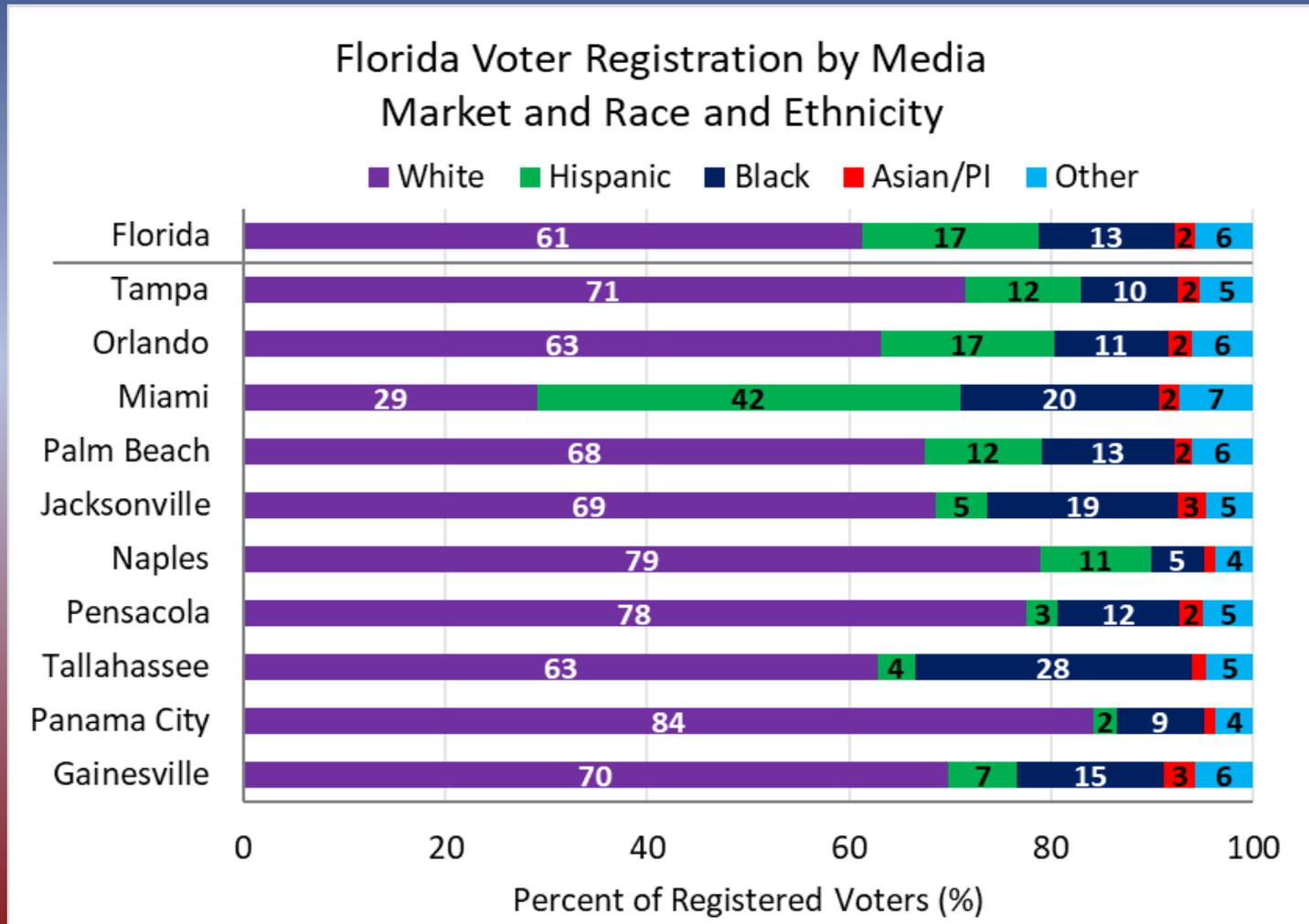
## Most Democrat-Dominated

<b>Tallahassee</b>	<b>50%</b>
<b>Gainesville-North Central</b>	<b>44%</b>
<b>Miami-Ft. Lauderdale</b>	<b>44%</b>

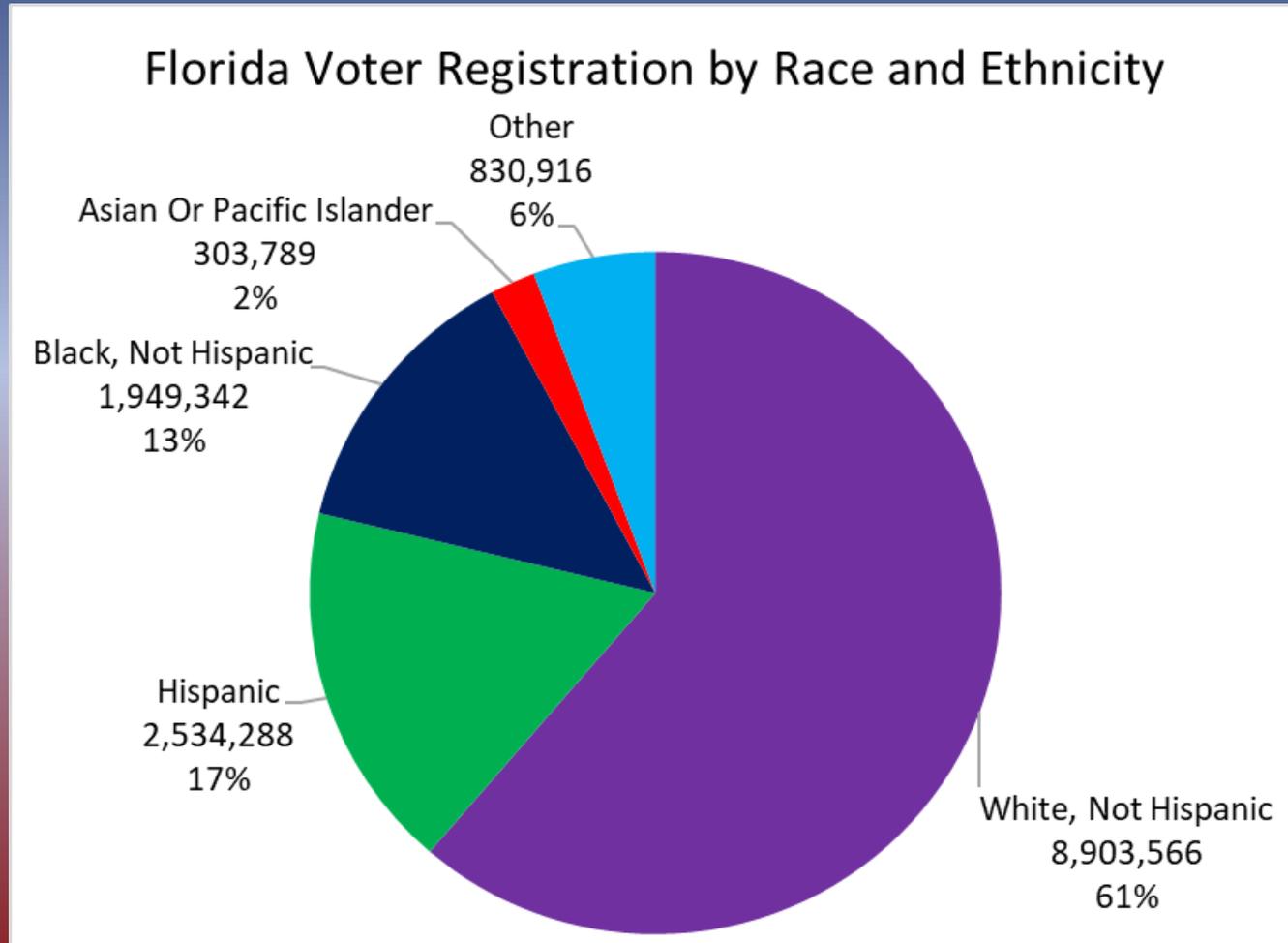
## Most Republican-Dominated

<b>Panama City</b>	<b>54%</b>
<b>Pensacola</b>	<b>51%</b>
<b>Naples-Ft. Myers</b>	<b>45%</b>

# Racial/Ethnic Makeup of Media Markets Varies a Lot

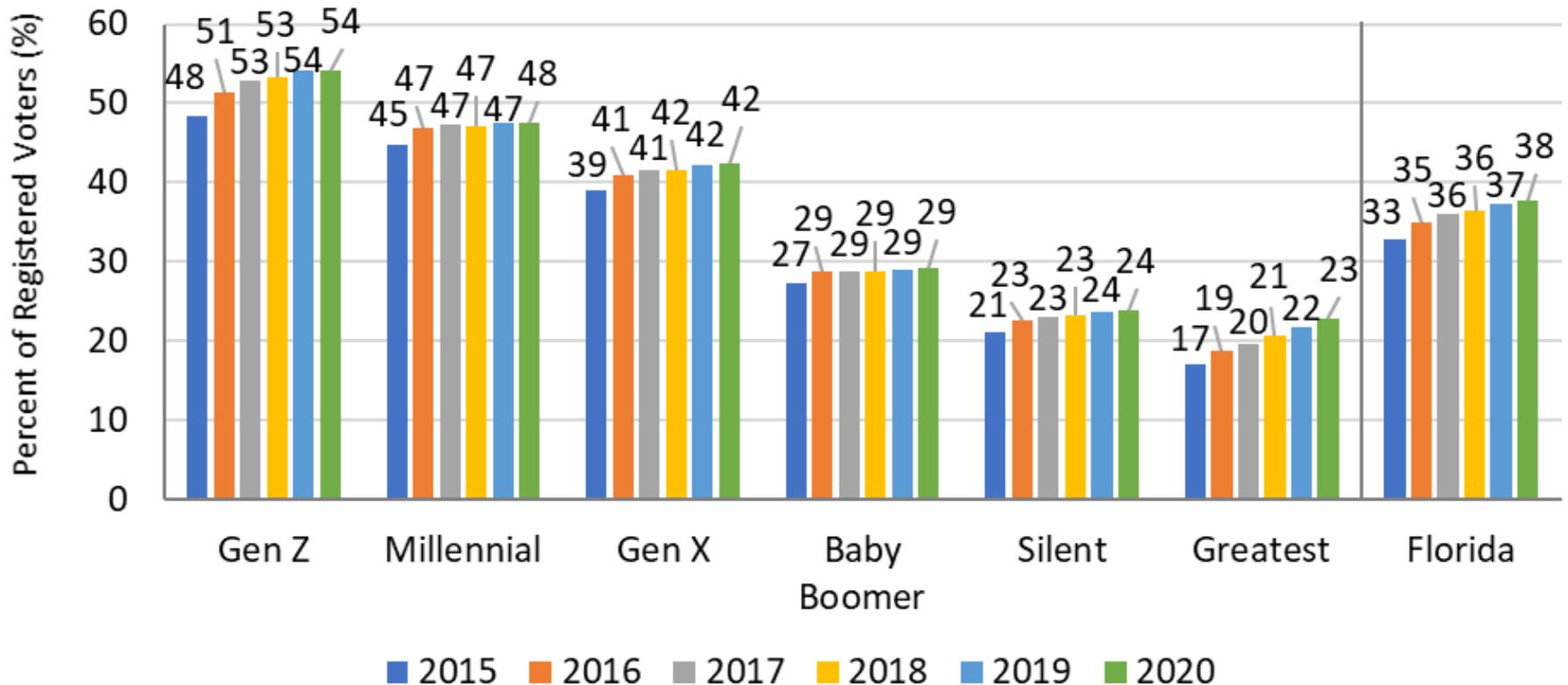


# Over One-Third of Registered Voters are Non-White

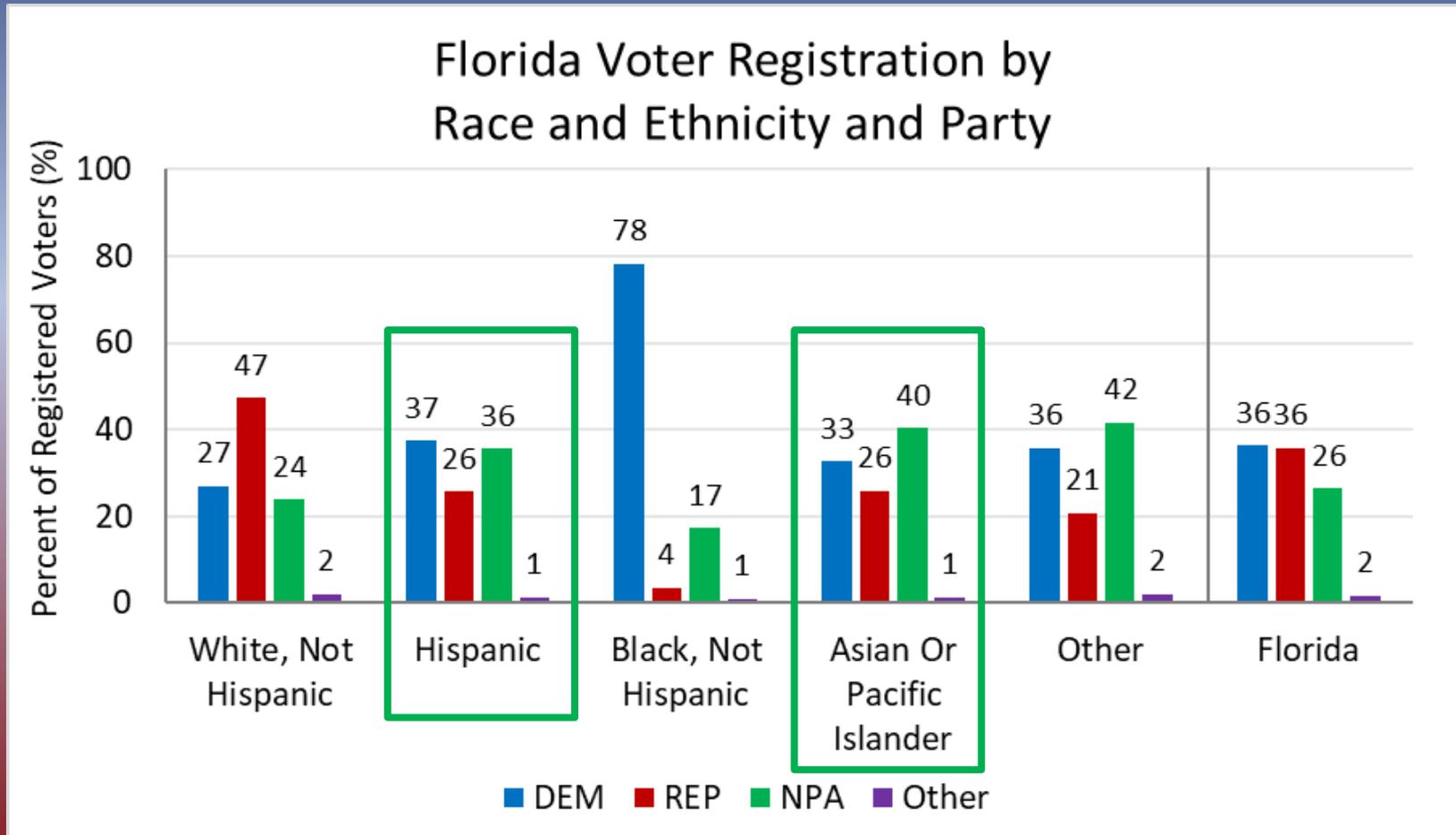


# Share of Nonwhite Registrants Up for Every Generation Since 2015

Florida Voter Registration Share Nonwhite  
By Generation Trend, 2015-2020

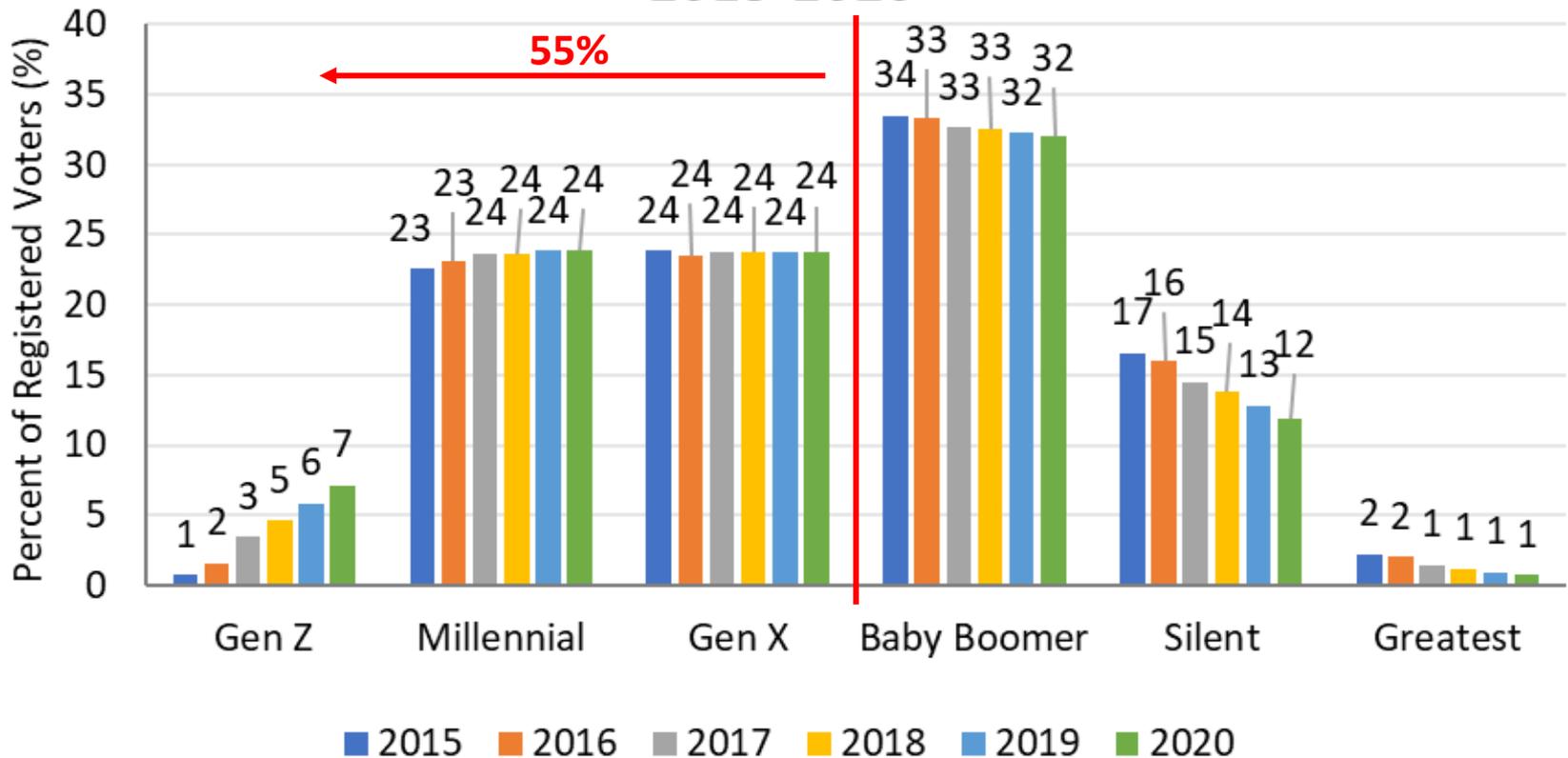


# FL Hispanics, Asians More Diverse than Blacks in Registration Patterns



# Generational Replacement Changing Political Dynamics of FL

Florida Voter Registration by Generation,  
2015-2020



# Living Generations: Major Life Events, Presidents

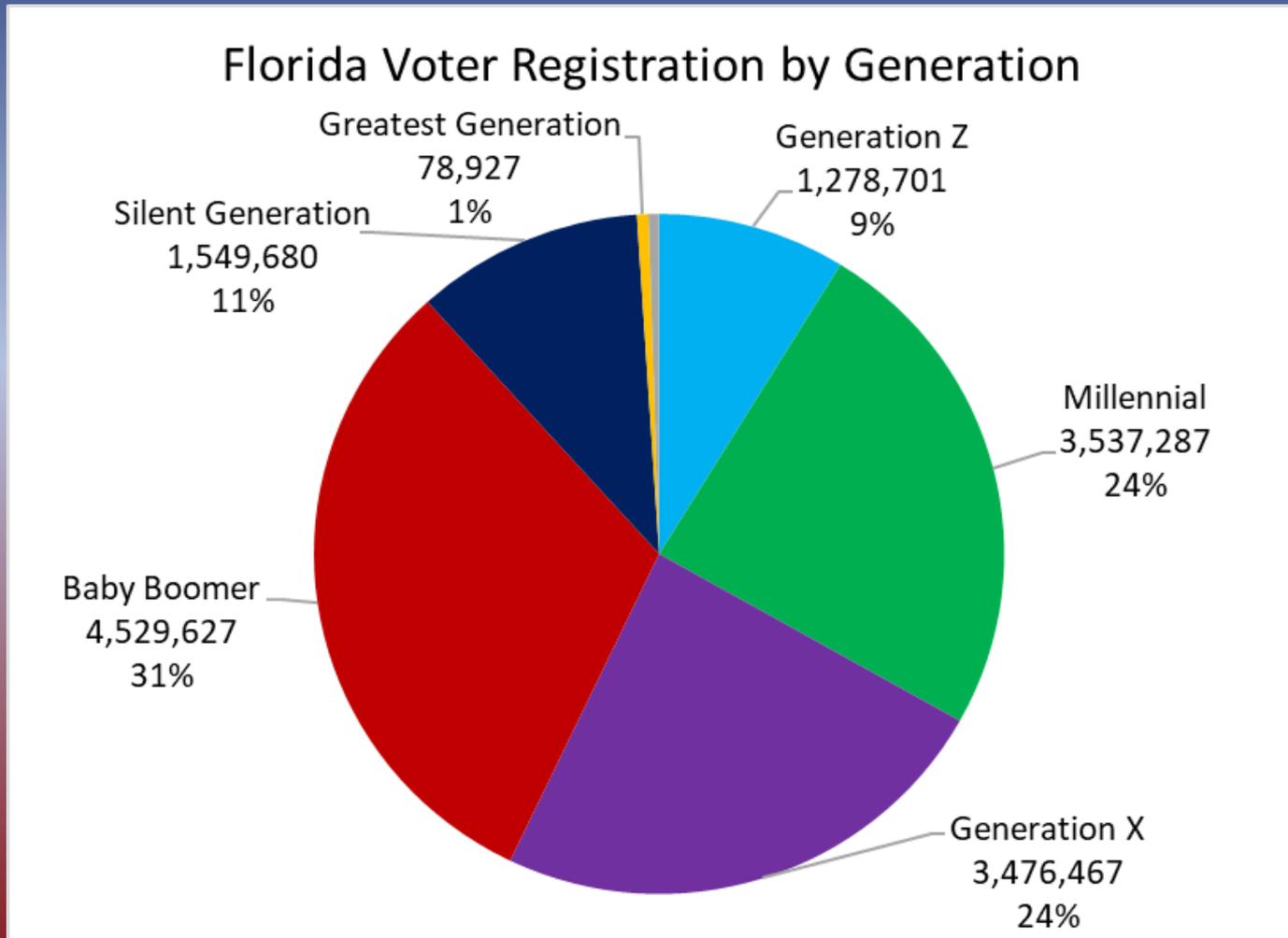
Generation	Born	Age in 2020	Major Events	Presidents*
Greatest Generation	Before 1928	93+	Great Depression, New Deal, World War II	FD Roosevelt (D)
Silent Generation	1928-1945	75-92	Postwar Happiness, Era of Conformity, Korean War	Truman (D); Eisenhower (R)
Baby Boomer	1946-1964	56-74	Civil Rights Movement, 60s Youth Culture—Save the World Activism, Drugs, Free Love, Vietnam War	Kennedy (D); Johnson (D); Nixon (R); Ford (R); Carter (D)
Generation X	1965-1980	40-55	MTV, 24-Hour News, Latch-Key Kids, Transition to Computers, AIDS	Reagan (R); GHW Bush (R); Clinton (D)
Millennial	1981-1996	24-39	9/11, Social Media, Iraq and Afghanistan Conflicts, Great Recession, BP Oil Spill, Cyber-Security Concerns	GW Bush (R); Obama (D)
Generation Z	After 1996	23 and younger**	Brexit, #BlackLivesMatter, #MeToo, #NeverAgain (Parkland School Shooting), Cancel Culture, COVID-19, George Floyd Protests	Obama (D); Trump (R)

\*President at the time a member of the generation turned 18 years of age.

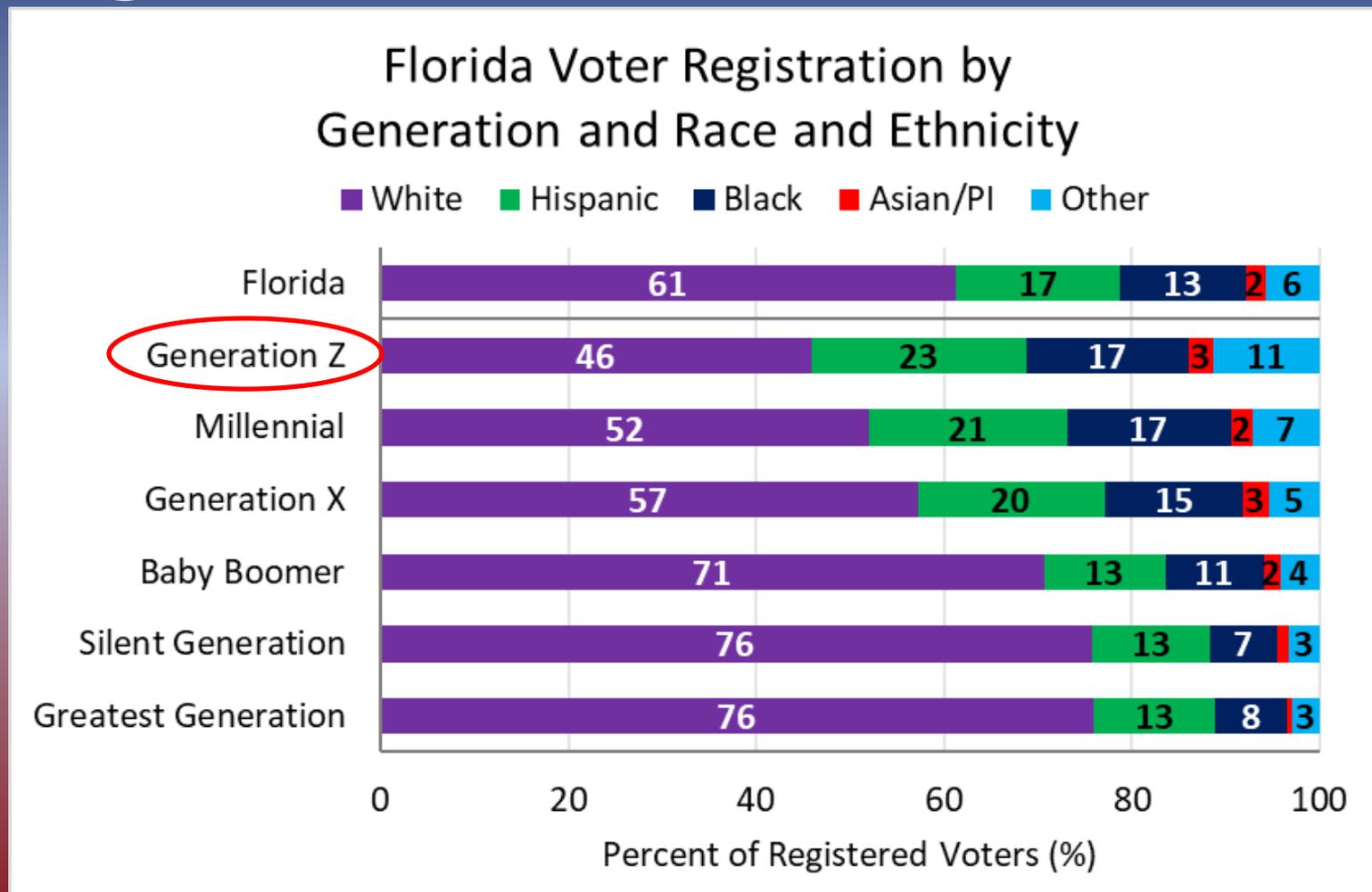
\*\*The youngest member of Generation Z are children. No chronological endpoint has been set for this group.

Source: Generation birth years and ages from Dimock (2019). Major events and presidents from MacManus et al analysis.

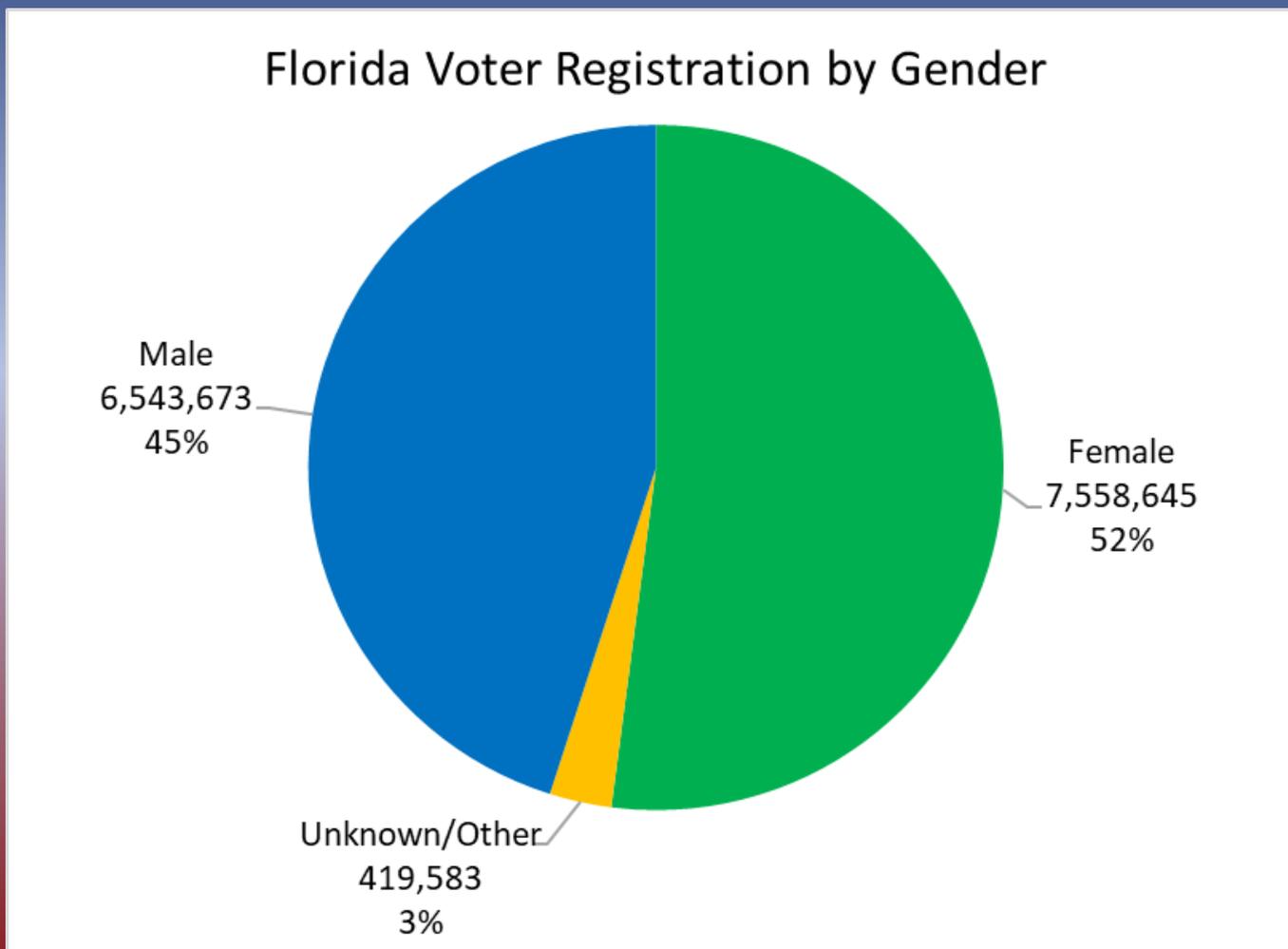
# Millennials and Gen Z Are One-Third of Registered Voters



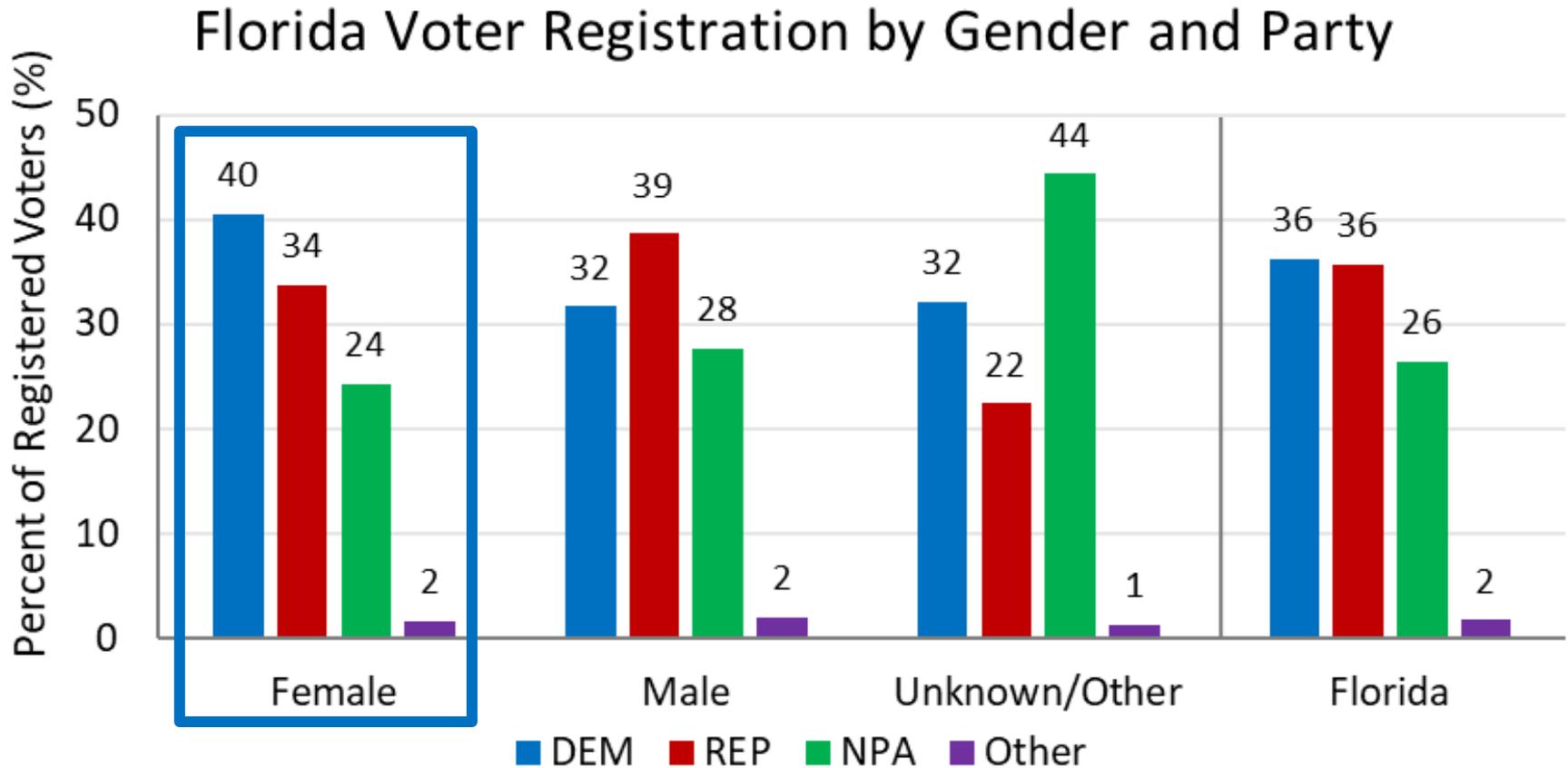
# Florida: Majority of Gen Z Registered Voters are Nonwhite



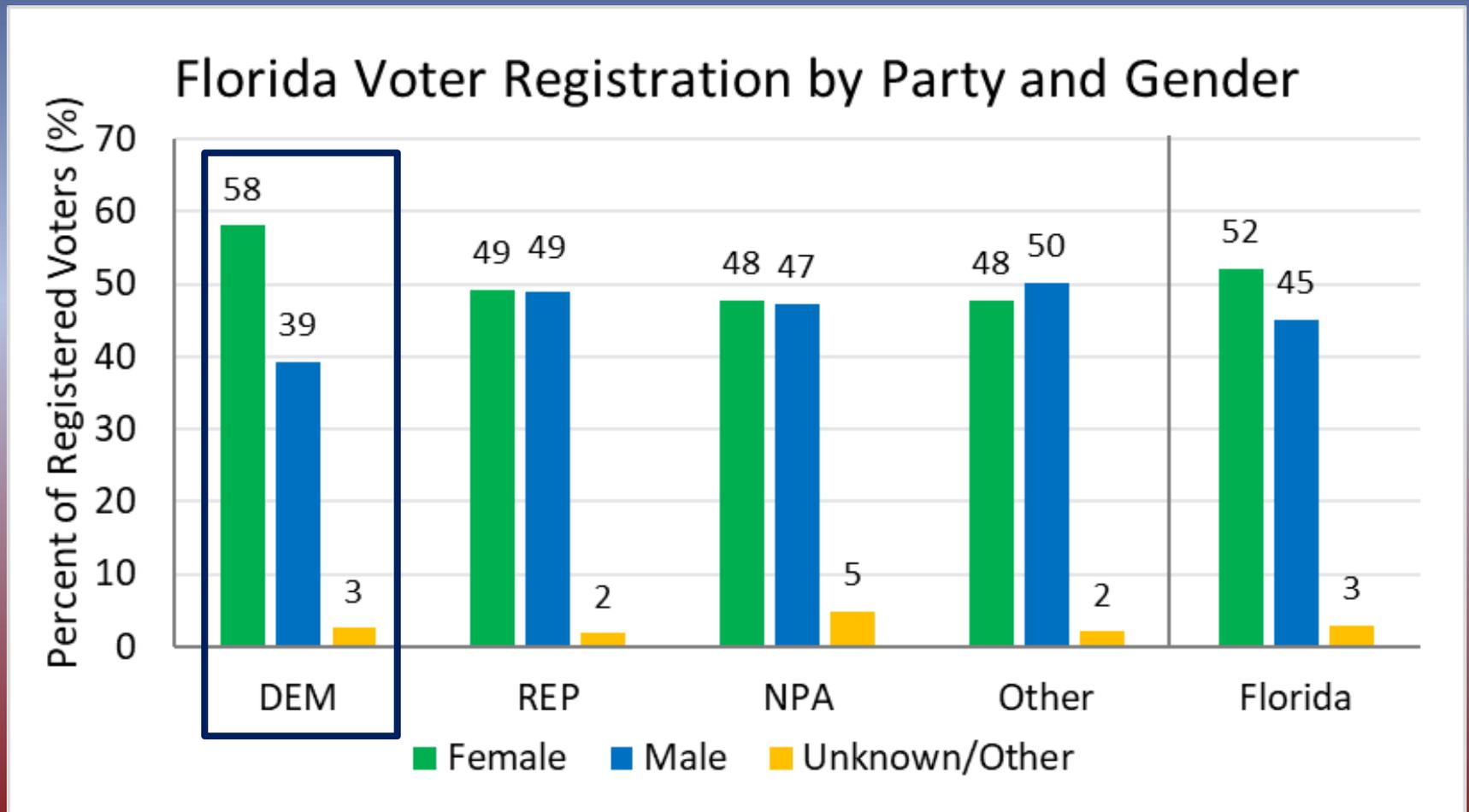
# Women are Majority of Florida's Registered Voters



# Women More Ds; Men More Rs

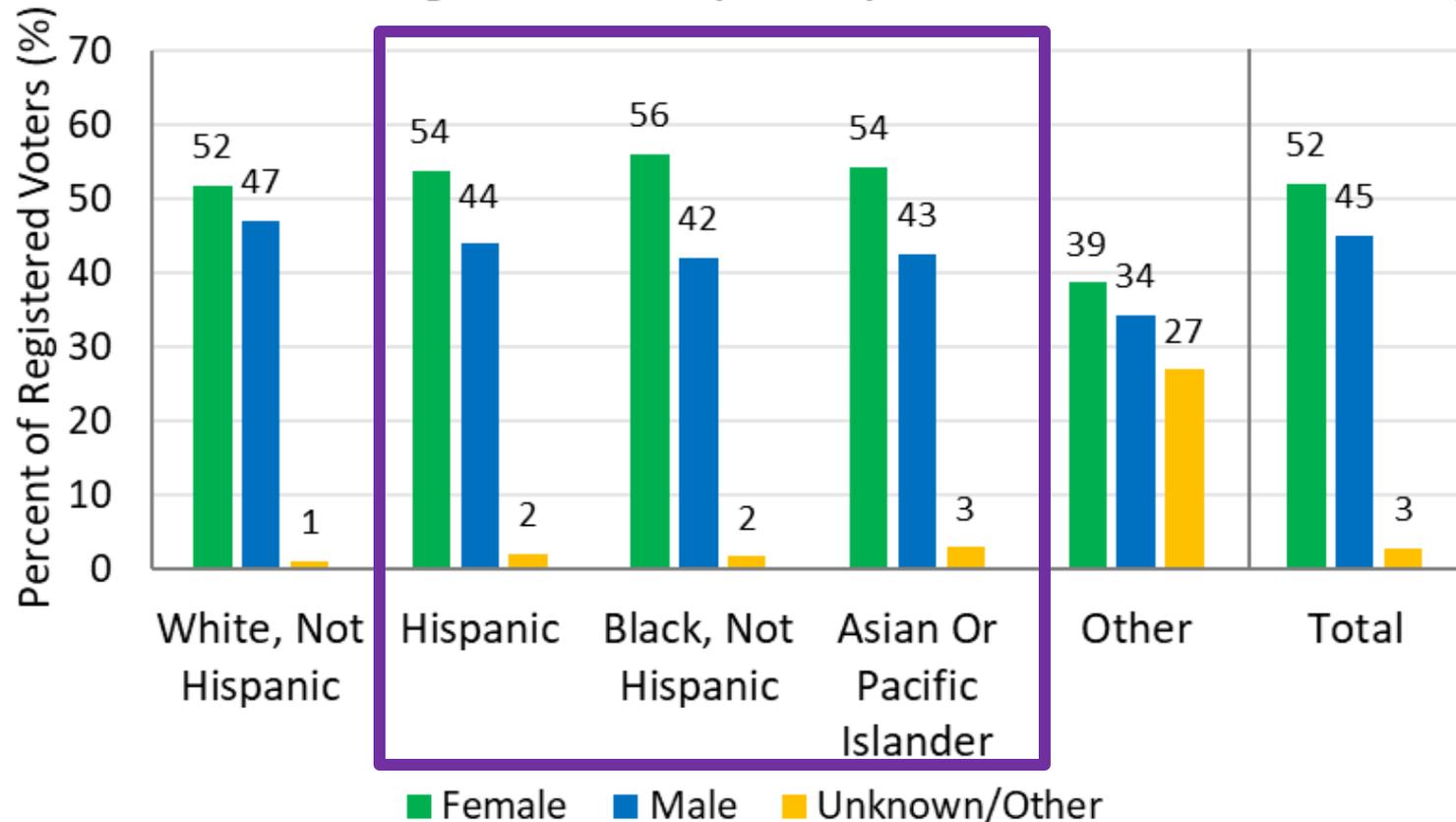


# Women Make Up a Much Larger Share of Registered Democrats

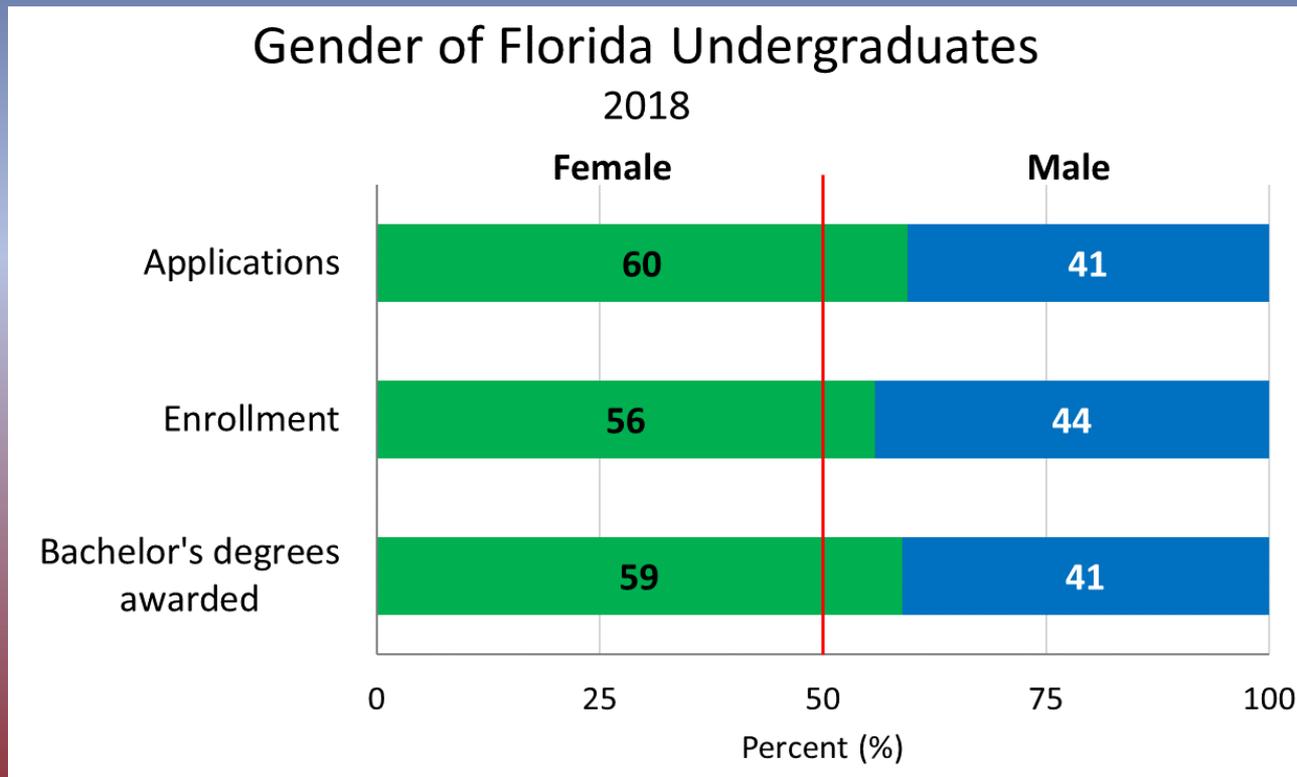


# Gender Gap Widest Among Racial And Ethnic Minorities

Florida Voter Registration by Party and Race and Ethnicity



# Women Majority of FL Undergrad Applicants, Students, and Grads



Note: Applications and enrollment as of Fall 2018. Bachelor's degrees awarded as of 2017-2018 academic year.

Source: State University System of Florida.

# More FL Women of Color Ran in 2020 Primaries—46%

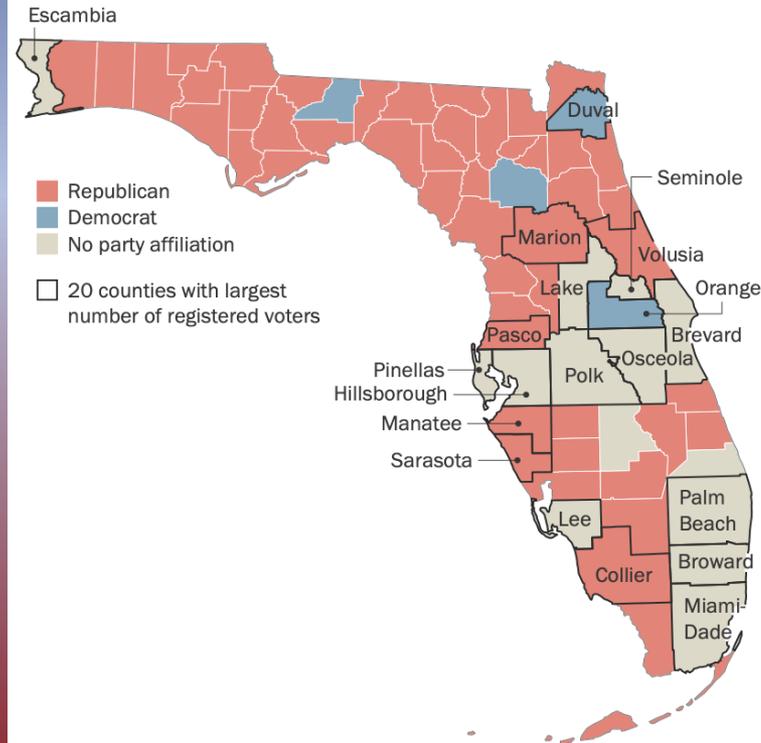
Women Candidates in Florida <b>Primary</b> Election					
Race and Ethnicity	Congress	State Senate	State House	Total	%
White	19	14	61	94	53%
Black	12	7	29	48	27%
Hispanic/Latina	4	4	16	24	14%
Middle Eastern/ North African	2	1	3	6	3%
Asian/Pacific Islander	1	0	1	2	1%
Multi-racial	1	0	1	2	1%
Unknown	1	0	0	1	1%
<b>Total</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>111</b>	<b>177</b>	<b>100%</b>

Source: Susan A. MacManus and Amy N. Benner analysis of data from Florida Division of Elections, Center for American Women and Politics. 2020.

# NPAs on Rise in Big Metro Areas

## In most Florida counties, Republican registered voter gains have outpaced Democratic gains since 2016

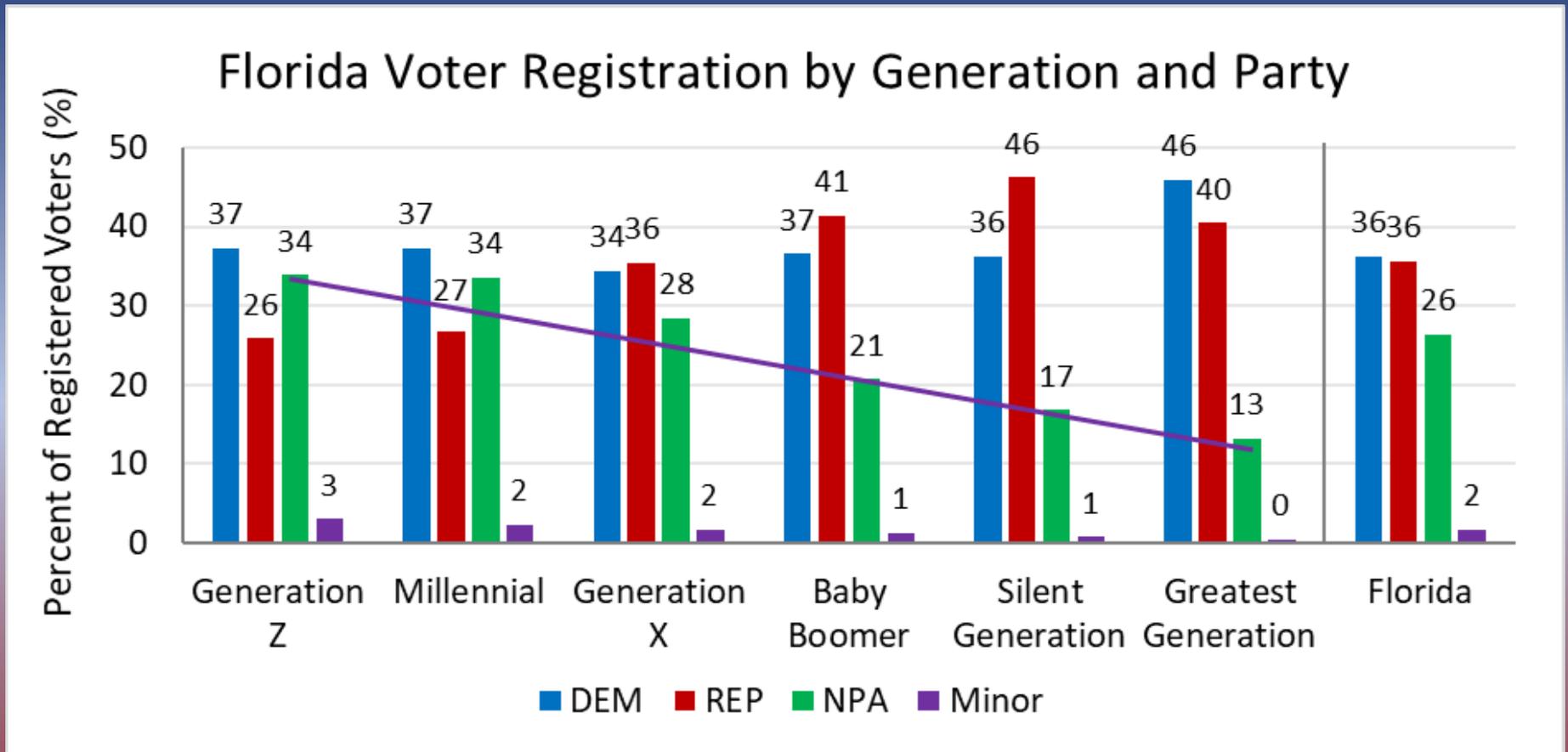
Party affiliation with largest increase in number of registered voters, 2016-2020



Note: For 2016 and 2020, data reflects book-closing numbers prior to the November presidential election. Data shows active registered voters. Labeled counties have the 20 largest registered voter populations in the state.

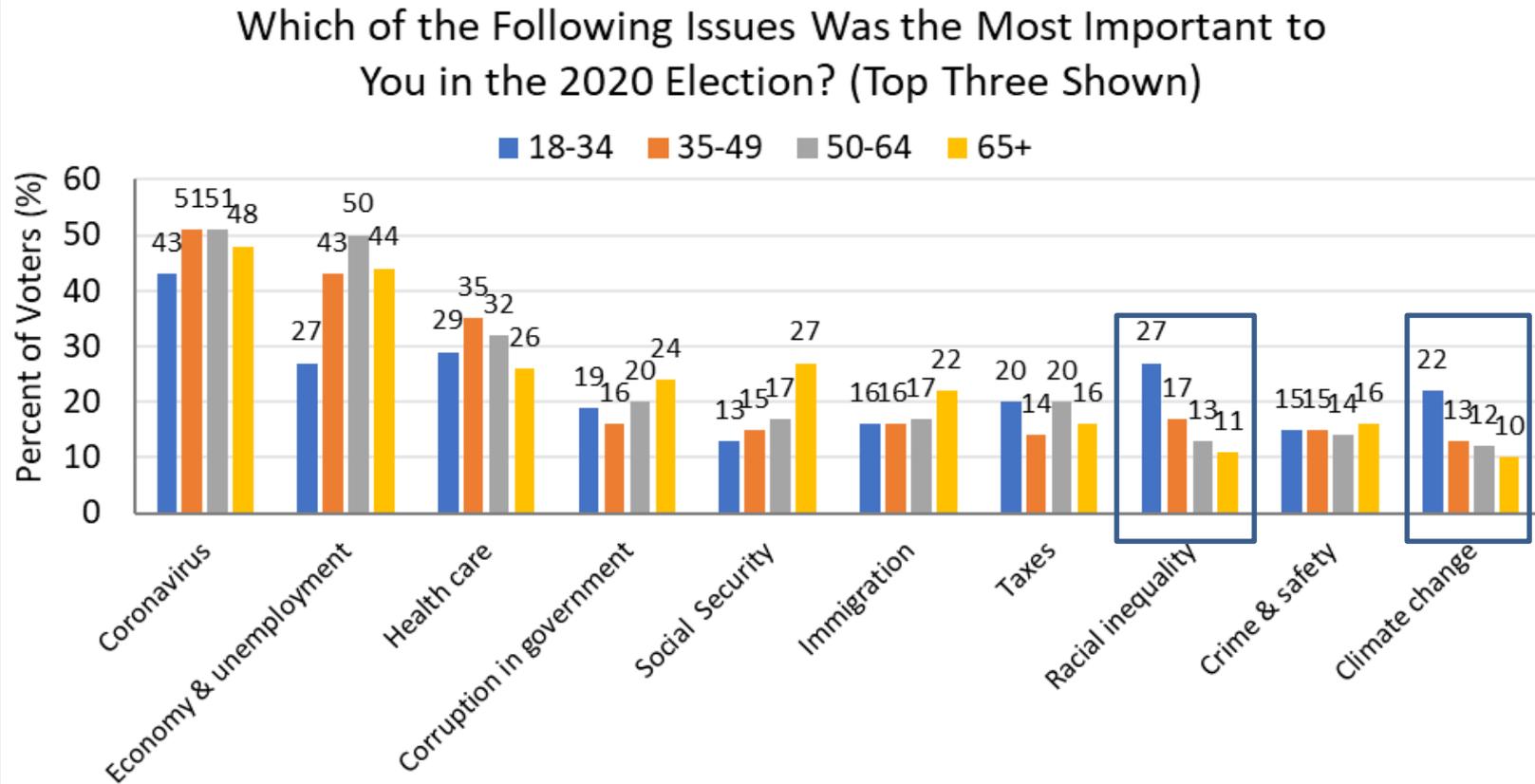
Source: Pew Research Center analysis of Florida Division of Elections data.

# Younger Voters More Likely to be NPA



Key: Generation Z (born after 1996); Millennial (1981-1996); Generation X (1965-1980); Baby Boomer (1946-1964); Silent Generation (1928-1945); Greatest Generation (before 1928)

# Racial Inequality & Climate Change More Impt. to Younger Voters



Seven Letter Insight, "2020 Voter Priorities Survey," conducted Nov. 10-19, 2020. Data are national, not Florida specific.

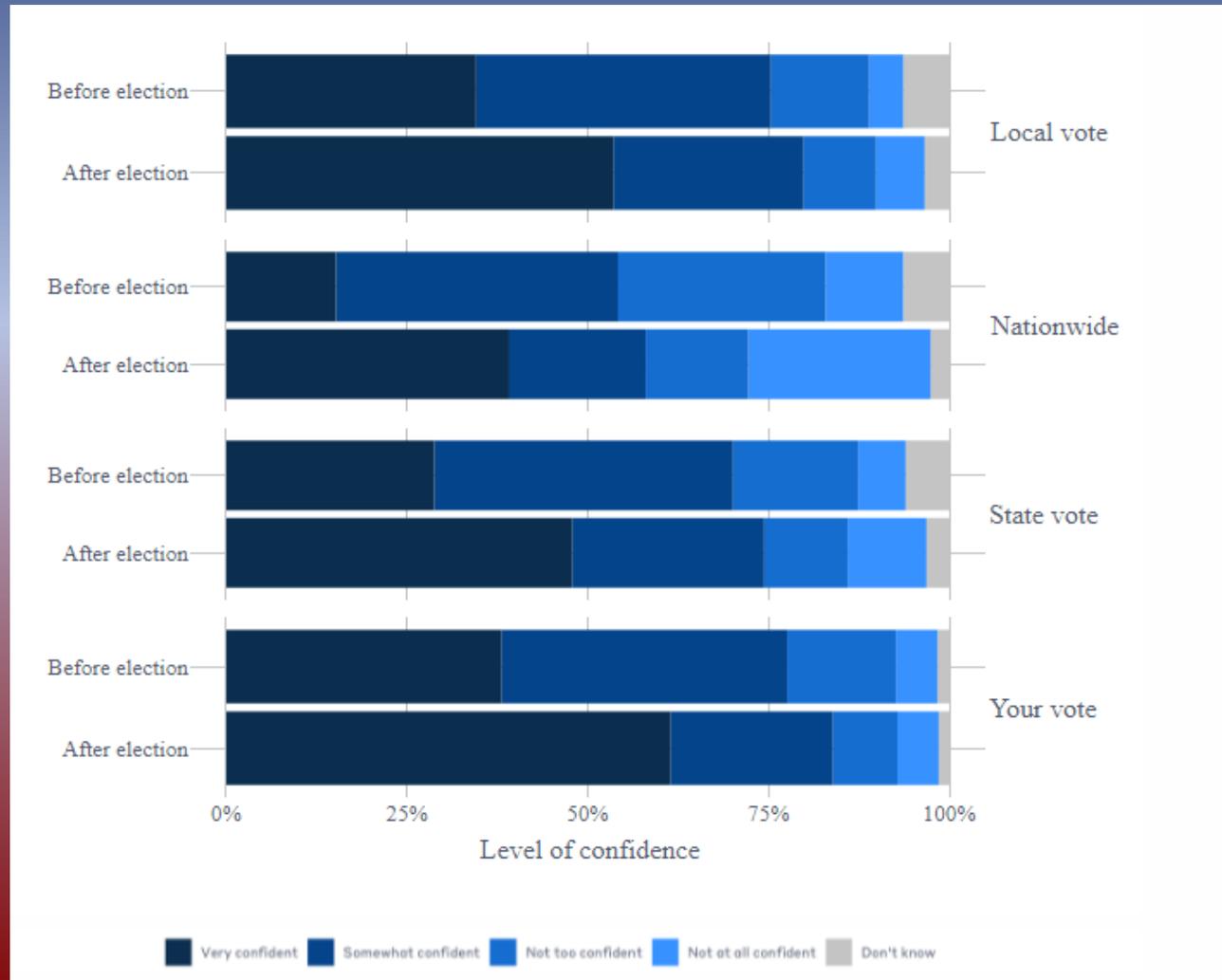
# BIG DIVIDES:

## How Voters Framed Vote Choice

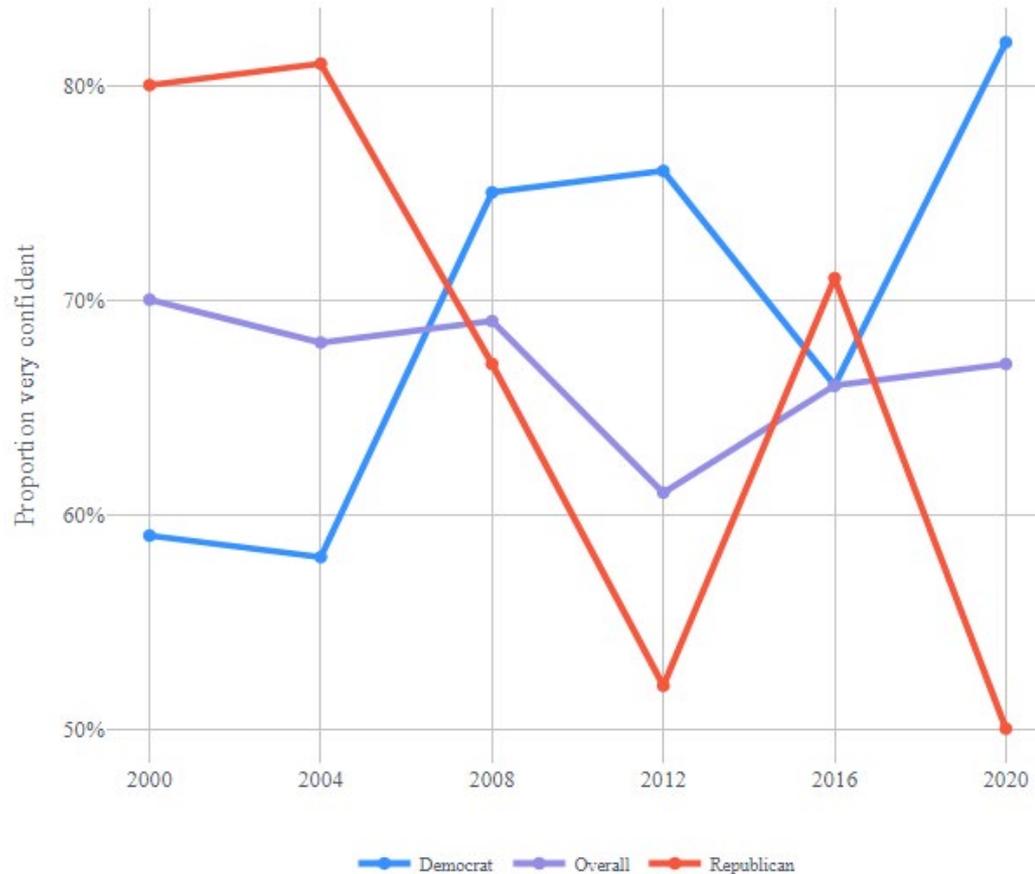
- **Chaos v. Calm**
- **Lockdown v. Jobs**
- **Democracy v. Socialism**
- **Divisiveness v. Unity**
- **Lawlessness v. Safety/Security**
- **Racism v. Inclusiveness**
- **Widening v. Narrowing of Income Gap**



# Voter Confidence in 2020 Election Increased After the Election



# Confidence Vote Counted Differs Sharply by Party

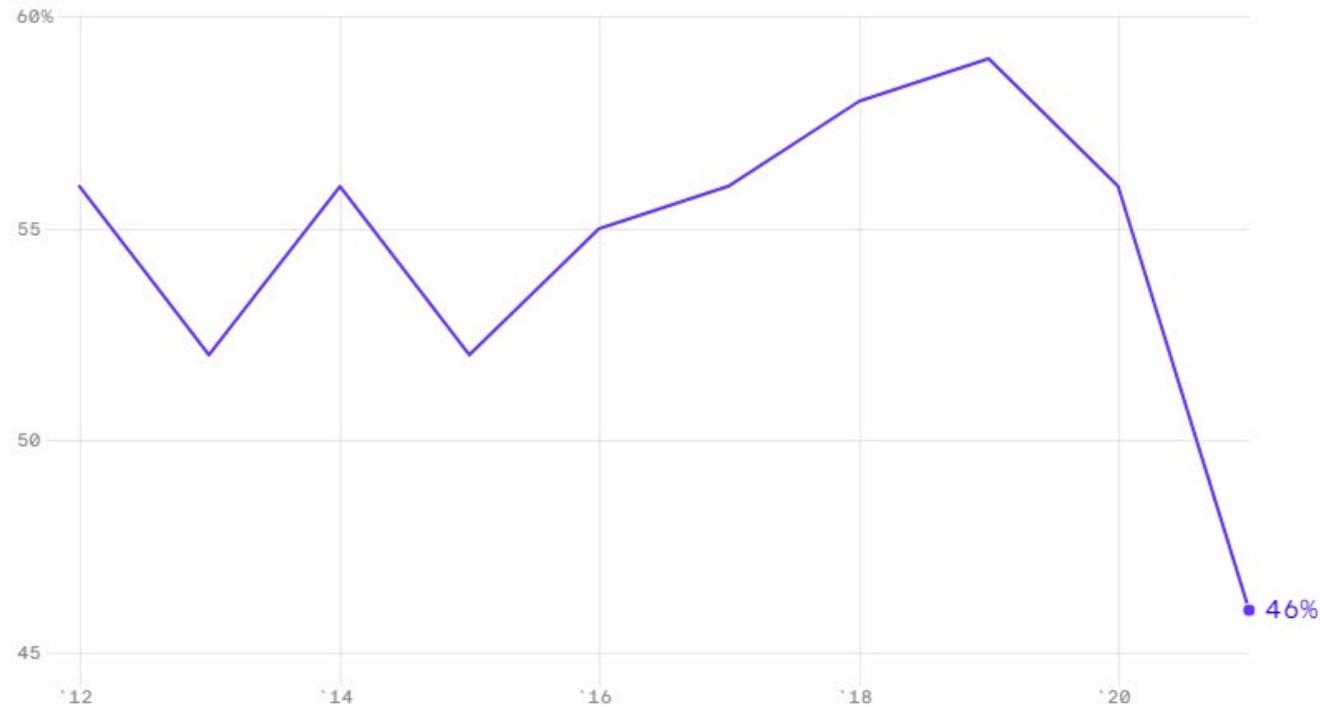


*Note: Data from 2008-2020 are from the Survey of the Performance of American Elections*

# Americans' Media Distrust at Record Low

Percentage of Americans who trust traditional media

2012 to 2021



Source: Edelman; Chart: Axios Visuals

# Public's Trust in Government to DO THE RIGHT THING is Low

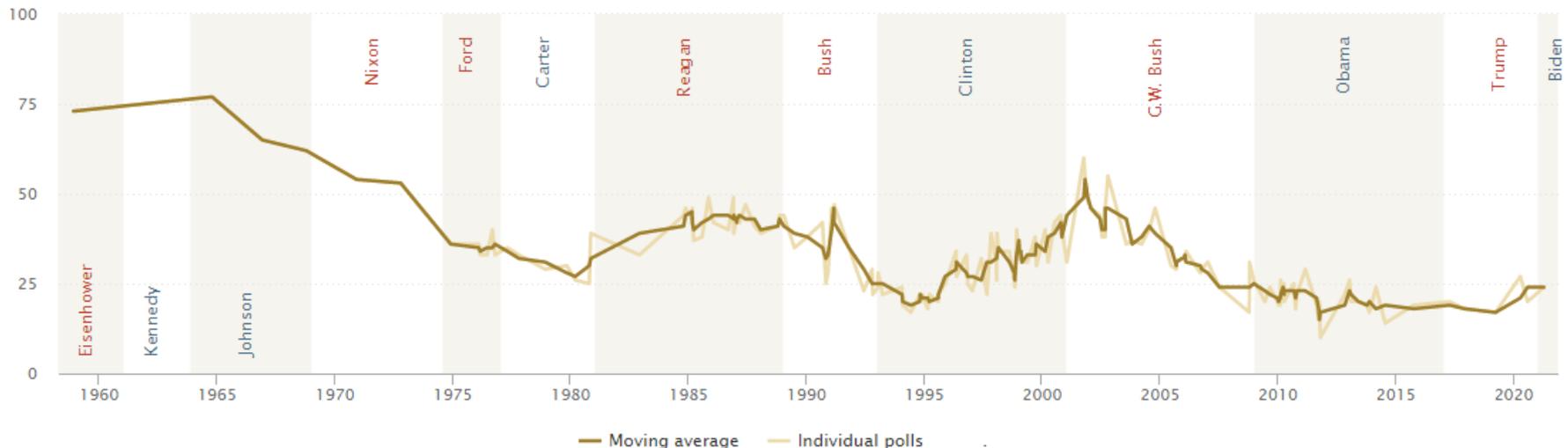
## Public Trust in Government: 1958-2021

Public trust in government [remains low](#). Only about one-quarter of Americans say they can trust the government in Washington to do what is right “just about always” (2%) or “most of the time” (22%).

### Public trust in government near historic lows

Chart Data Share

CLICK AND DRAG IN THE PLOT AREA TO ZOOM IN

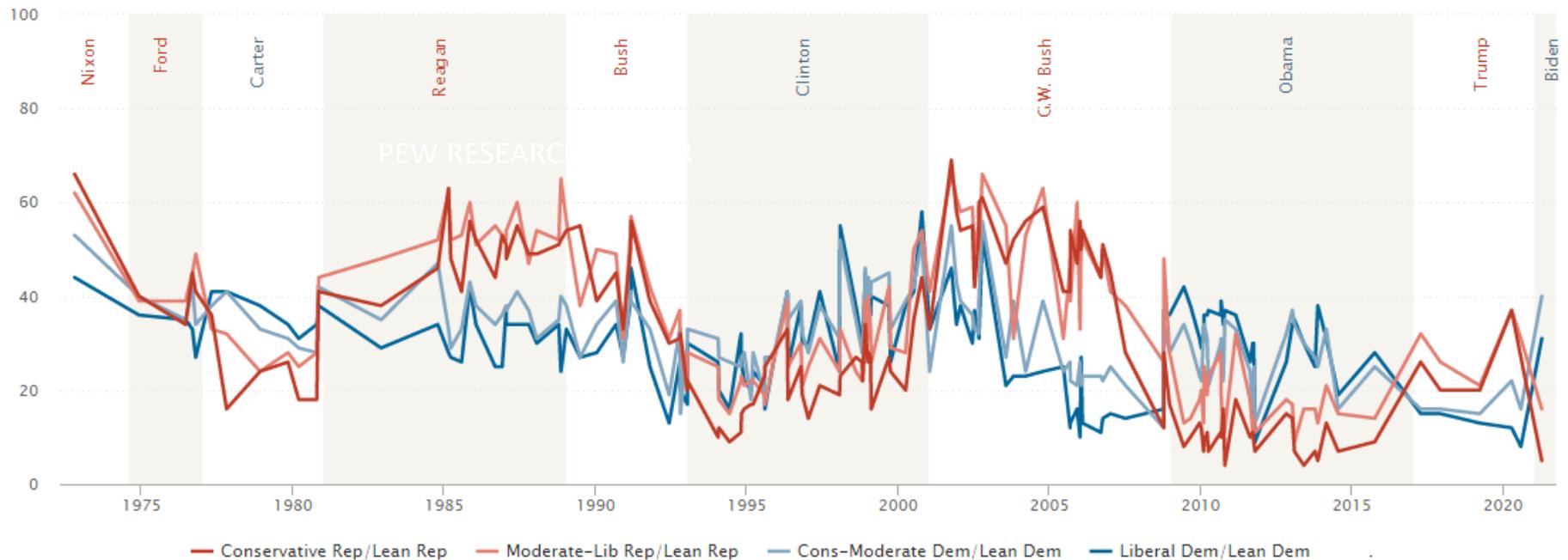


# Strong Partisan & Ideological Pattern to Trust in Government

Trust in government by party and ideology

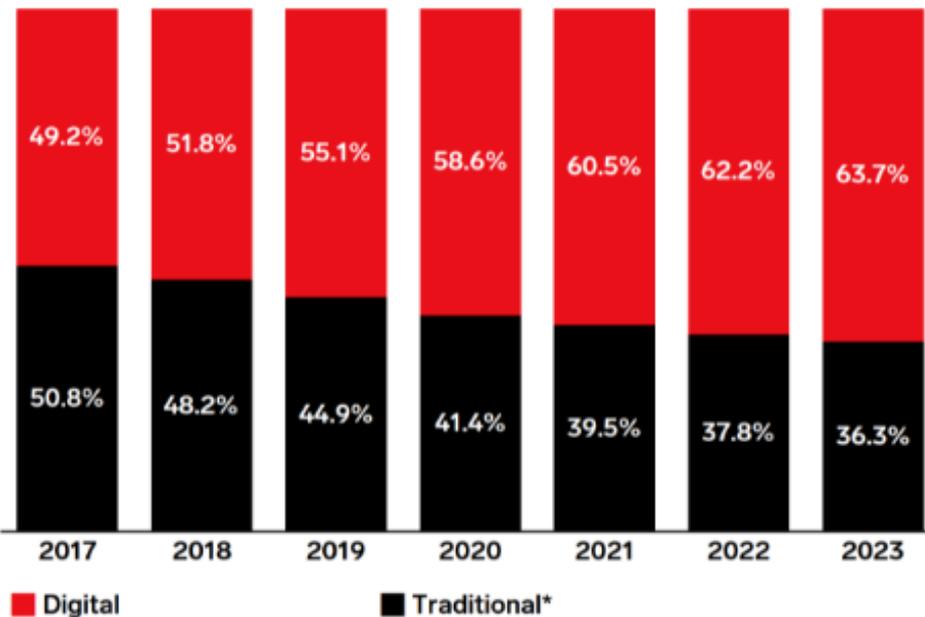
[Chart](#) [Data](#) [Share](#) [Embed](#)

CLICK AND DRAG IN THE PLOT AREA TO ZOOM IN



# Media Reliance Patterns Shifting

**Traditional\* vs. Digital Media: Share of Average Time Spent in the US, 2017-2023**  
% of total



Note: ages 18+; time spent with each medium includes all time spent with that medium, regardless of multitasking; \*includes time spent on TV, newspapers, magazines, and radio  
Source: eMarketer, April 2021

T11503

eMarketer | InsiderIntelligence.com

**Traditional (2021) 5:13 minutes**

- TV
- Radio
- Print (newspapers; magazines)
- Other

**Digital (2021) 7:59 minutes**

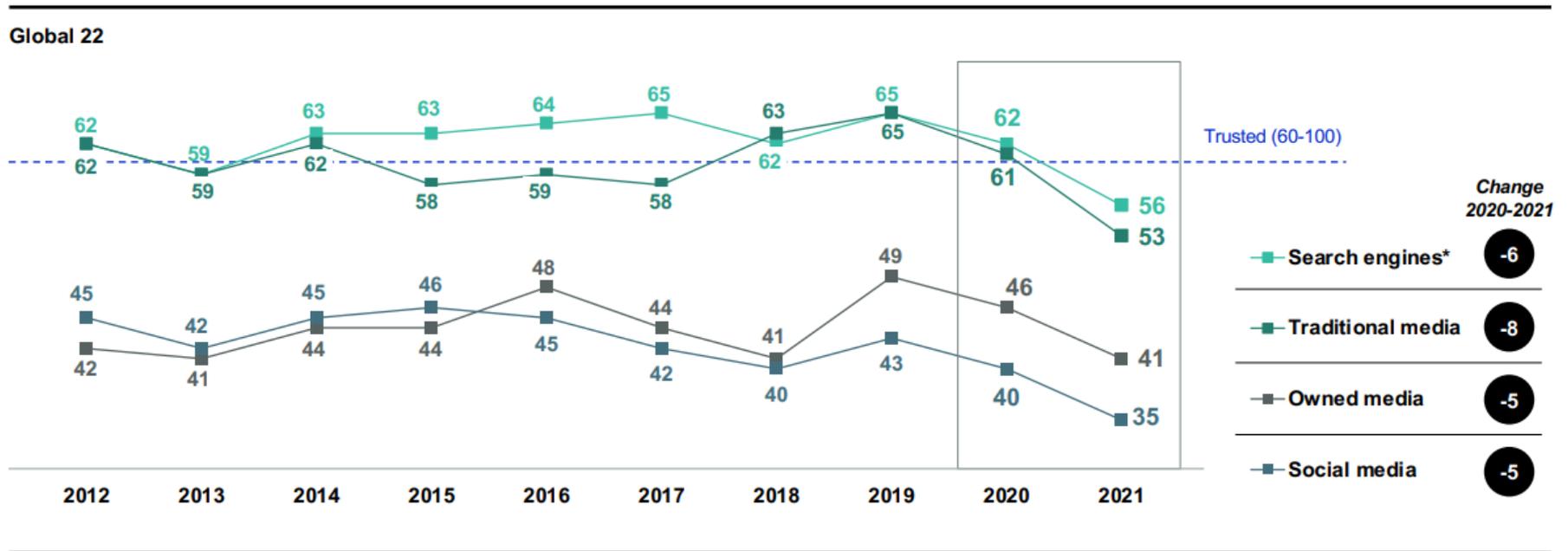
- Mobile
- Desktop/laptop
- Other connected devices

**Total (2021) 13.12 minutes/day**

# Distrust of Media a Global Pattern

## TRUST IN ALL INFORMATION SOURCES AT RECORD LOWS

Percent trust in each source for general news and information



2021 Edelman Trust Barometer. COM\_MCL. When looking for general news and information, how much would you trust each type of source for general news and information? 9-point scale; top 4 box, trust. Question asked of half of the sample. General population, 22-mkt avg.  
 \*From 2012-2015, "Online Search Engines" were included as a media type. In 2016, this was changed to "Search Engines."

# Distrust of News High & Slipping— Worldwide

## PROPORTION THAT TRUST EACH MOST OF THE TIME

All markets



Q6\_1/2/3/4. Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements: I think you can trust most news/the news I use/news in search/news in social media most of the time.

Base: Total sample: All markets = 80,155.

# Communicating With Constituents Means Knowing Who Uses What

## Use of online platforms, apps varies – sometimes widely – by demographic group

% of U.S. adults in each demographic group who say they ever use ...



	YouTube	Facebook	Instagram	Pinterest	LinkedIn	Snapchat	Twitter	WhatsApp	TikTok	Reddit	Nextdoor
Total	81	69	40	31	28	25	23	23	21	18	13
Men	82	61	36	16	31	22	25	26	17	23	10
Women	80	77	44	46	26	28	22	21	24	12	16
White	79	67	35	34	29	23	22	16	18	17	15
Black	84	74	49	35	27	26	29	23	30	17	10
Hispanic	85	72	52	18	19	31	23	46	31	14	8
Ages 18-29	95	70	71	32	30	65	42	24	48	36	5
30-49	91	77	48	34	36	24	27	30	22	22	17
50-64	83	73	29	38	33	12	18	23	14	10	16
65+	49	50	13	18	11	2	7	10	4	3	8
<\$30K	75	70	35	21	12	25	12	23	22	10	6
\$30K-\$49,999	83	76	45	33	21	27	29	20	29	17	11
\$50K-\$74,999	79	61	39	29	21	29	22	19	20	20	12
\$75K+	90	70	47	40	50	28	34	29	20	26	20
HS or less	70	64	30	22	10	21	14	20	21	9	4
Some college	86	71	44	36	28	32	26	16	24	20	12
College+	89	73	49	37	51	23	33	33	19	26	24
Urban	84	70	45	30	30	28	27	28	24	18	17
Suburban	81	70	41	32	33	25	23	23	20	21	14
Rural	74	67	25	34	15	18	18	9	16	10	2

Note: White and Black adults include those who report being only one race and are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race. Not all numerical differences between groups shown are statistically significant (e.g., there are no statistically significant differences between the shares of White, Black or Hispanic Americans who say they use Facebook). Respondents who did not give an answer are not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 25-Feb. 8, 2021.

"Social Media Use in 2021"

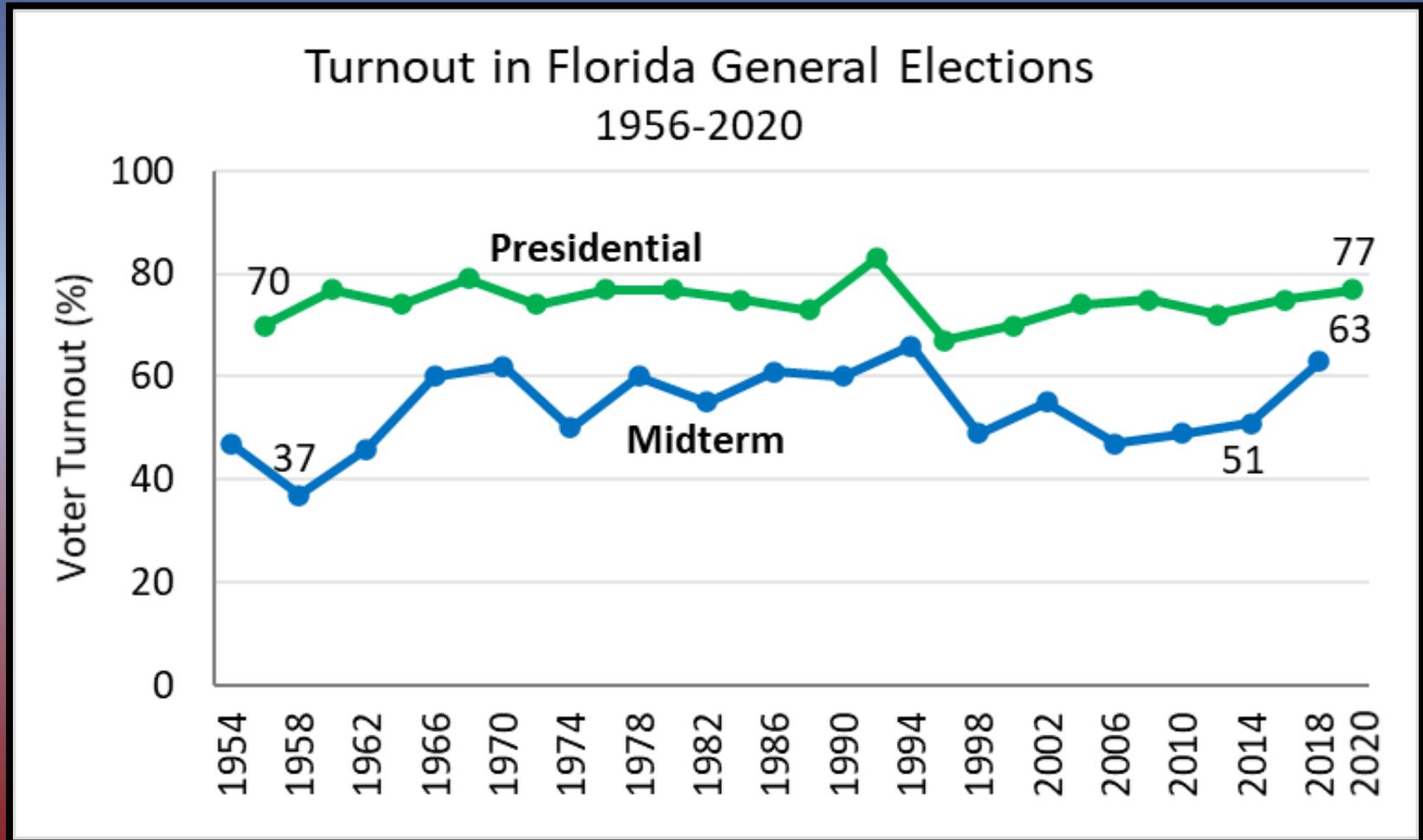
# Major Partisan Offices Up in 2022

- **U.S. Senate (Rubio)**
- **U.S. House (all districts; will have 1 more seat)**
- **Governor & Lt. Governor**
- **Attorney General**
- **Chief Financial Officer (CFO)**
- **Commissioner of Agri. & Consumer Services**
- **State Senate (all 40 districts)**
- **State House (all 120 districts)**
- **County offices (commission; constitutional officers)**

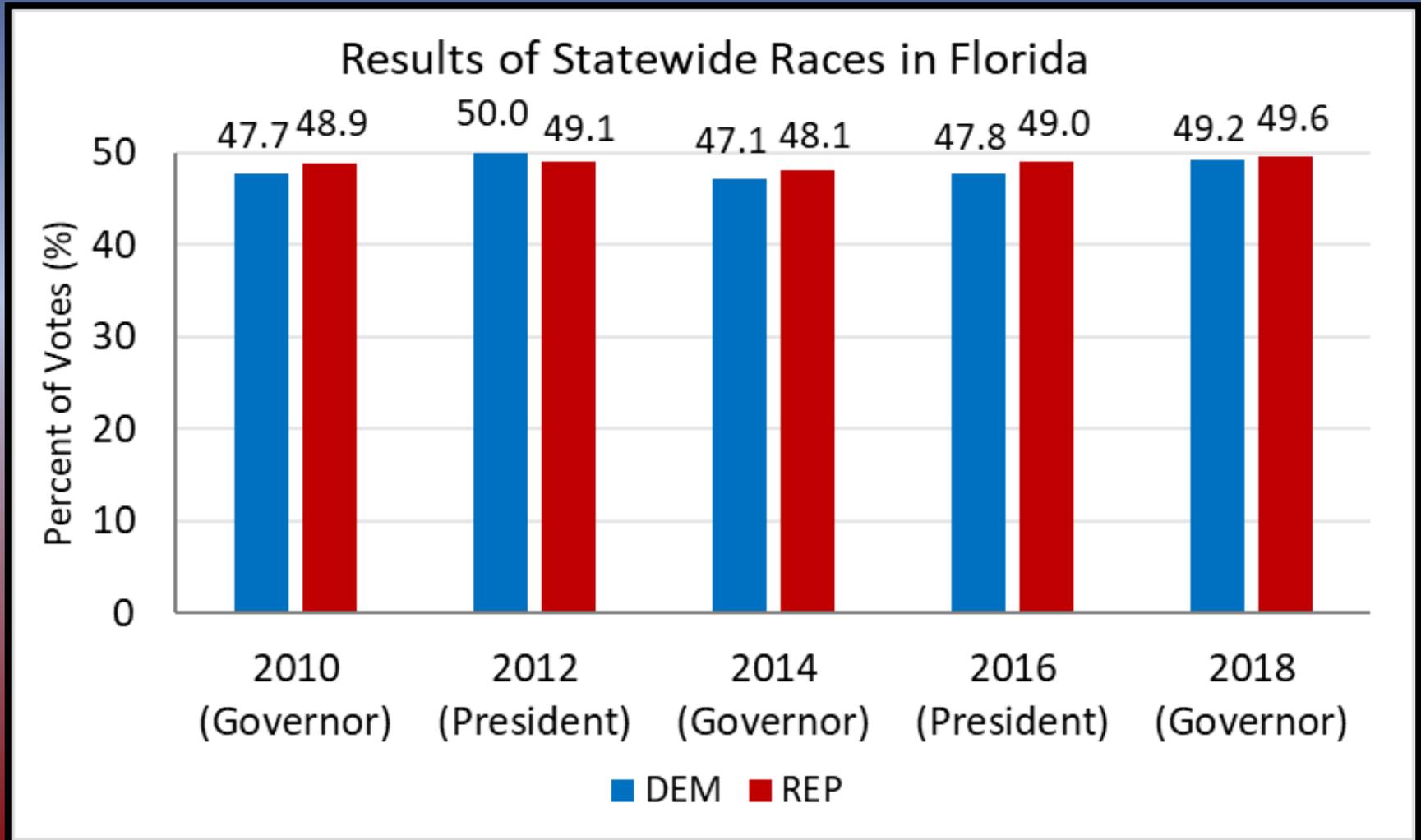
# Redistricting Will Dominate 2022 Legislative Session

- **Redistricting**: re-drawing boundaries of congressional, legislative, & local districts
- **Sept. 30, 2021**: Census redistricting data: population by race, Hispanic origin, gender, & housing at different geographical levels (down to block level)
- **2022**: 28 congressional & 160 state legislative districts must be redrawn; racism run from new districts
- Highly likely maps will be **contested in courts**

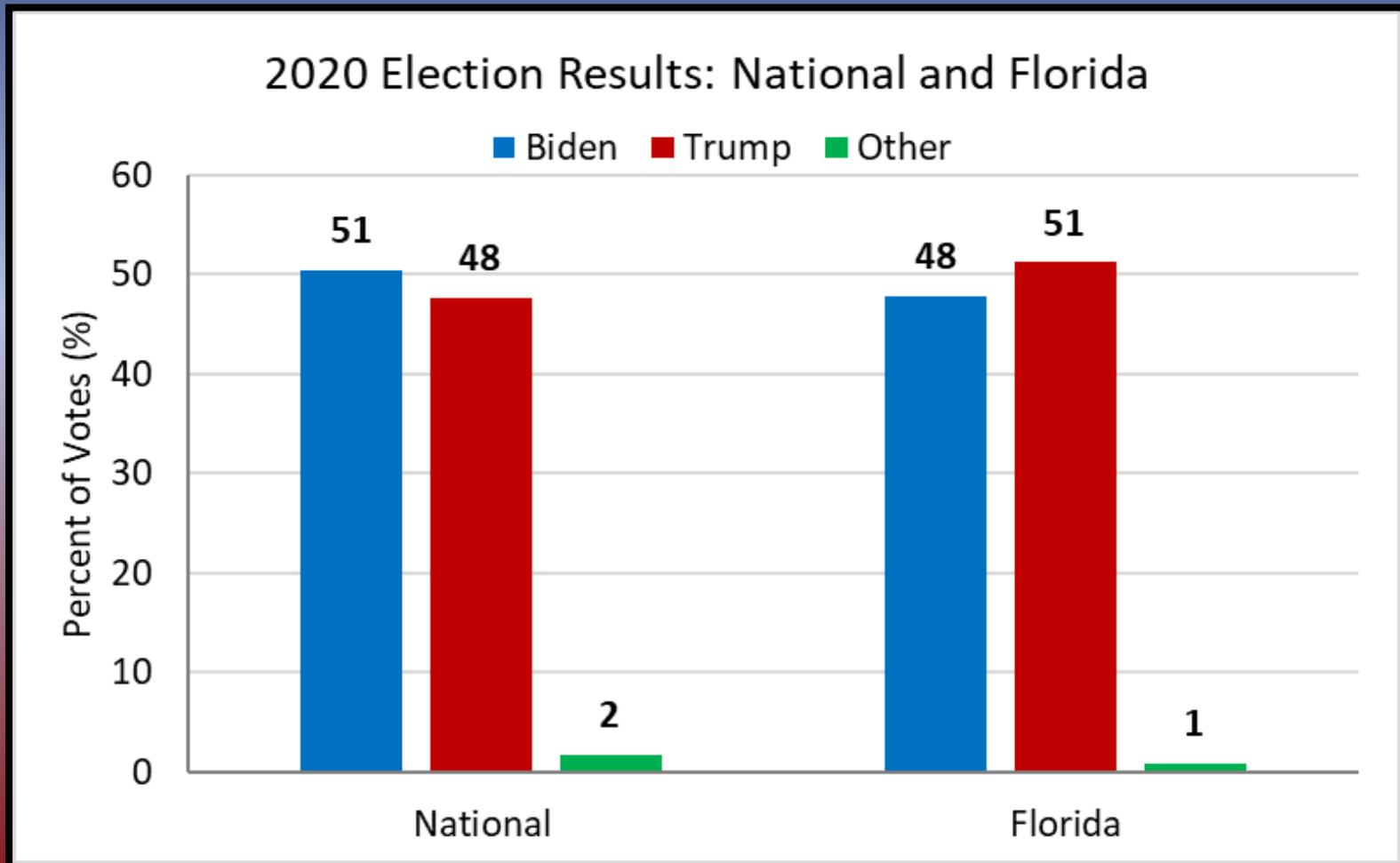
# 2020 Turnout Highest Since 1992



# Statewide Races: Margin-of-Victory 1% or Less



# Florida Result Much Different From National Results



# Has Florida Lost Its Swing State Status?



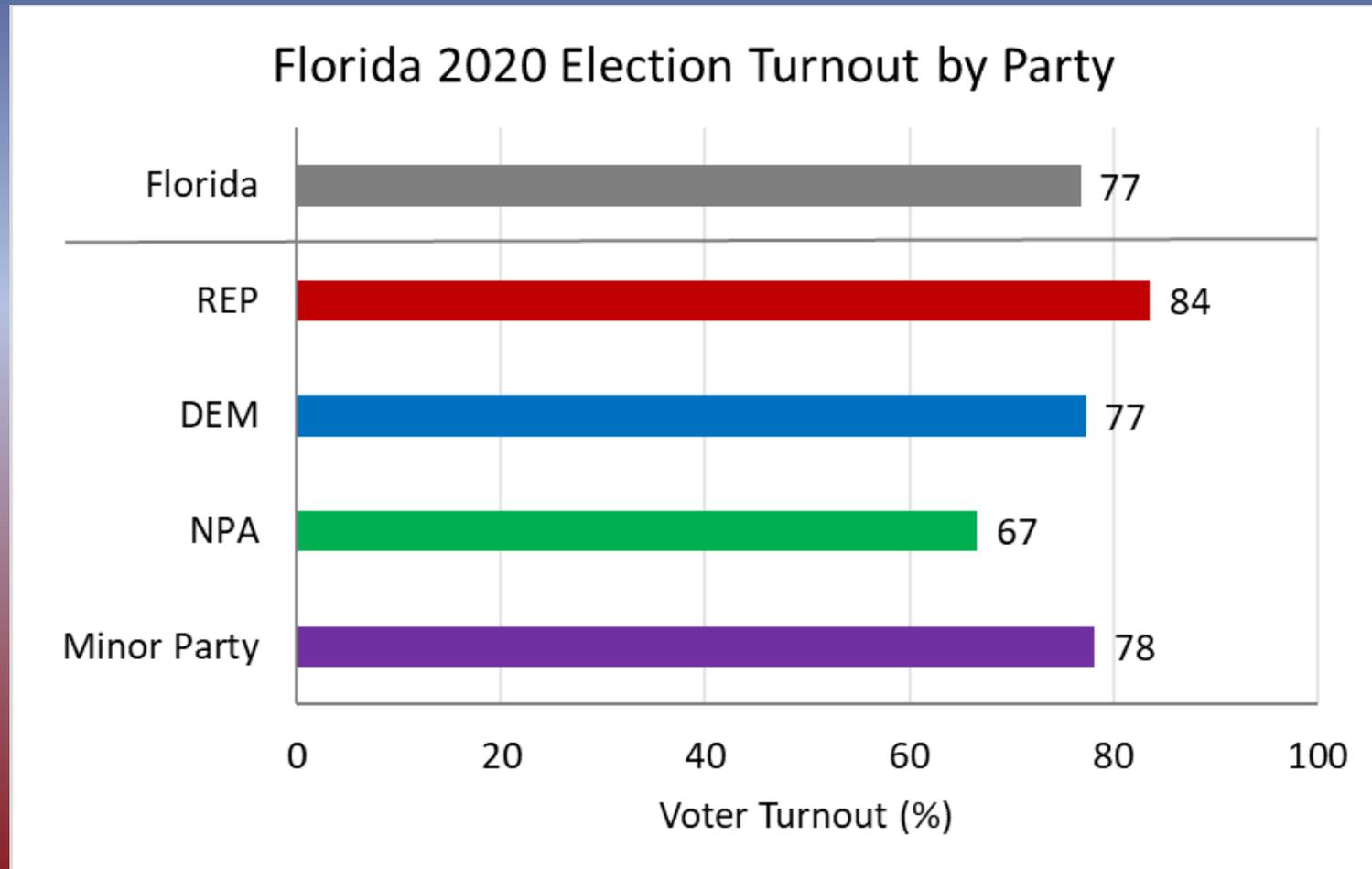
**YES!** Won by 3%; past 5 elections margin was 1%

- Major Republican gains in congressional and state legislative offices

**NO!** Democrats just ran a very bad campaign

- Over-reliance on bad polling
- Too much money spent on repetitive TV ads, down ballot races that were long shots
- Failure to respond to socialism label
- Ground game too little, too late

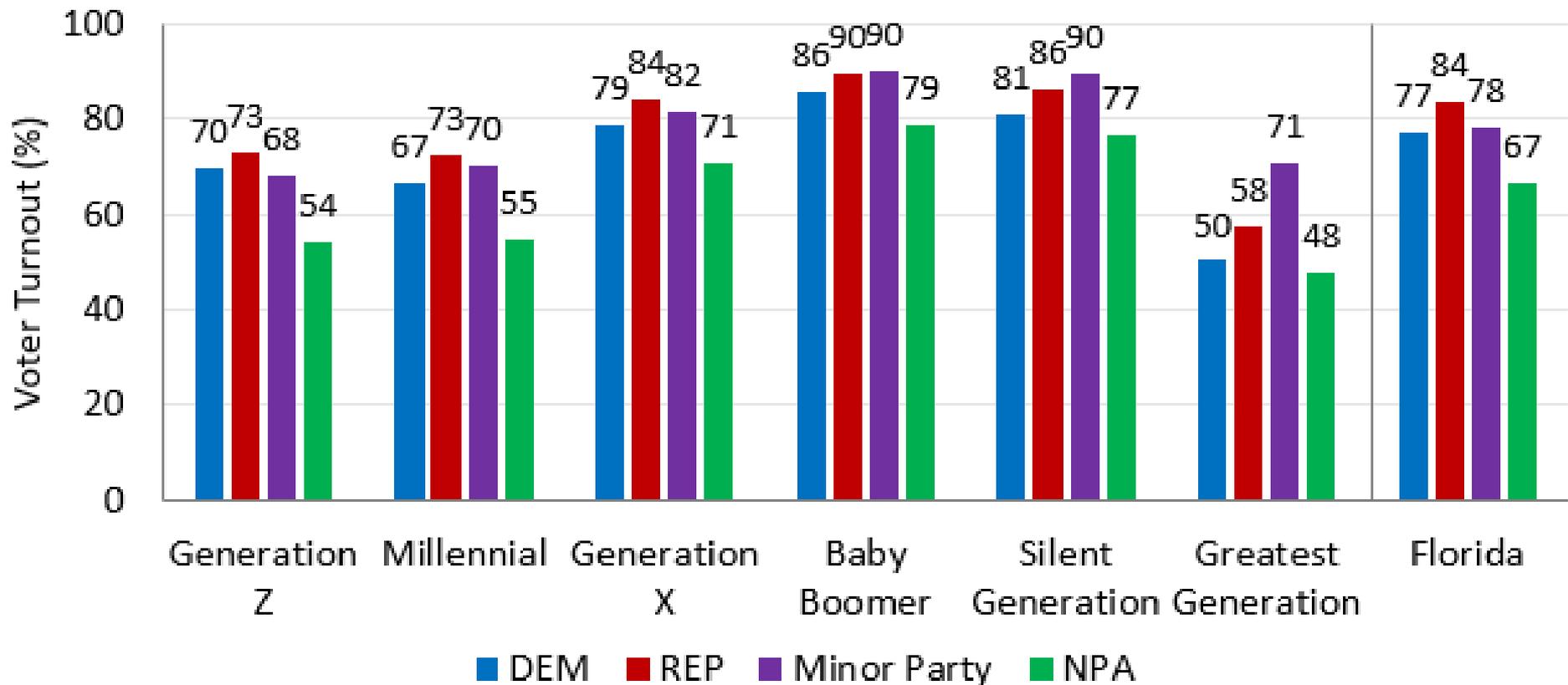
# Republicans Had Higher Turnout Than Democrats



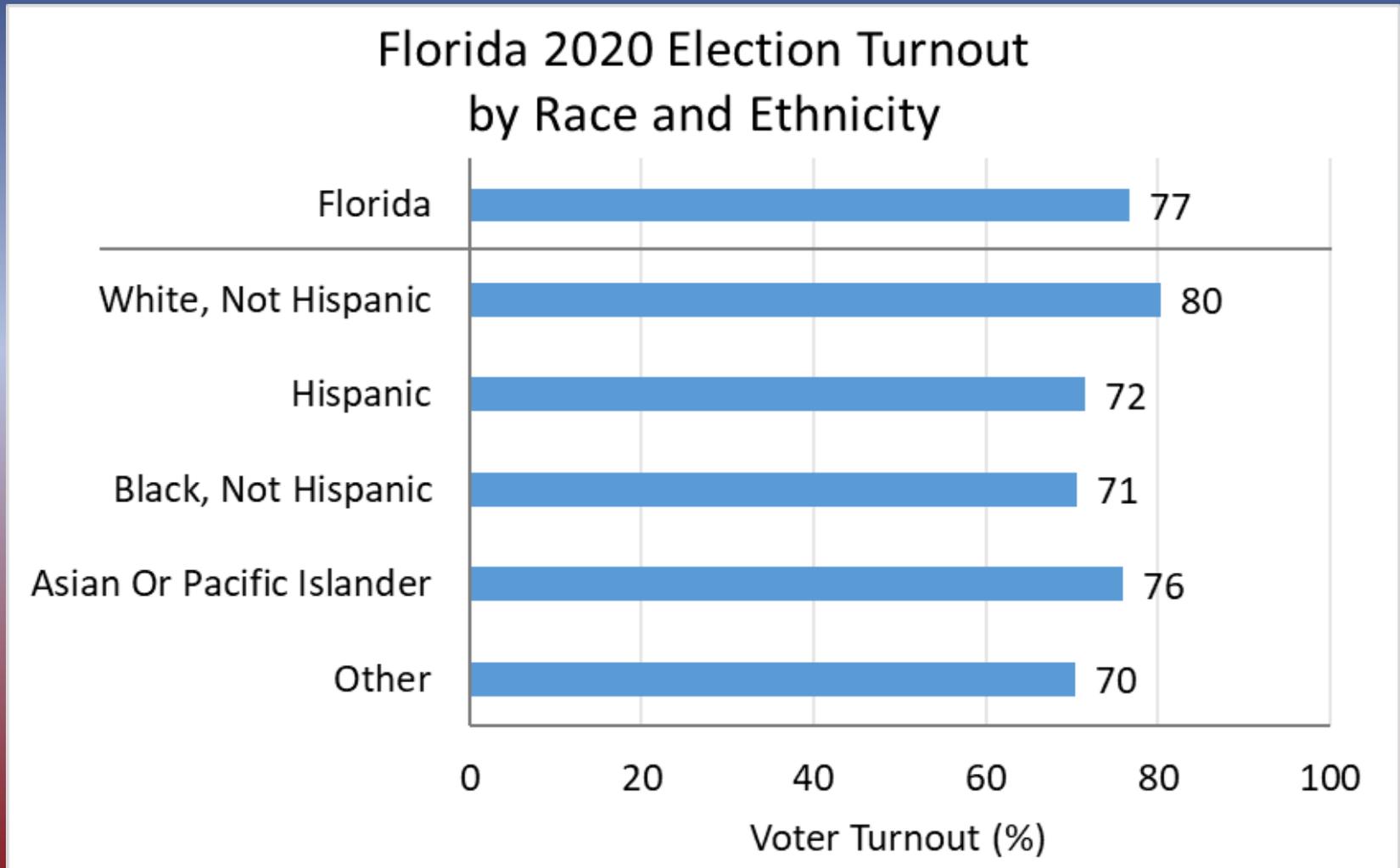
Graphic created by MacManus; calculated from Florida Division of Elections, Florida Voter Registration System data. Turnout figures differ from official figures due to differences in how counties report individual voter history to the state Division of Elections.

# 2020: GOP Turnout Rate Higher Than Dems—ALL Generations

Florida 2020 Election Turnout by Generation and Party

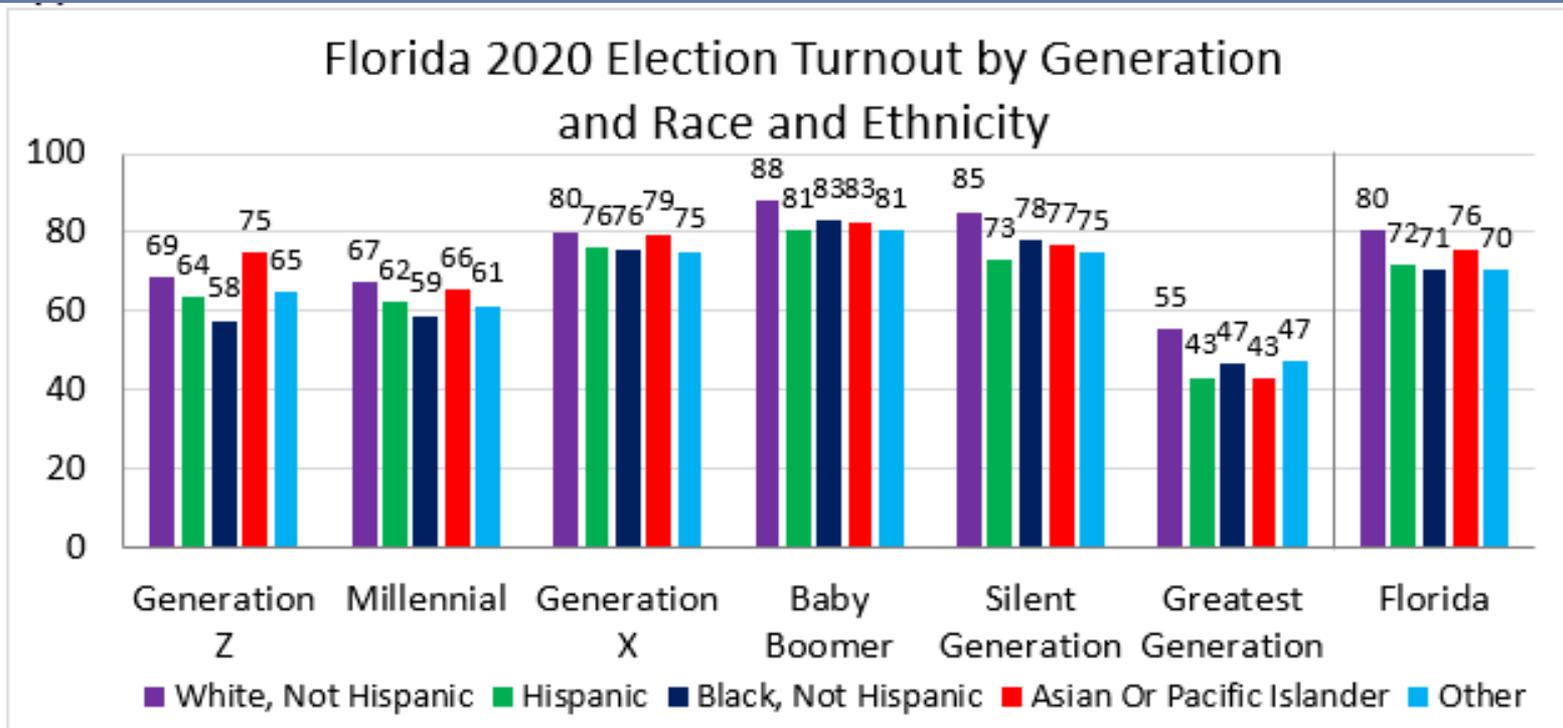


# Turnout Highest Among Whites



Graphic created by MacManus; calculated from Florida Division of Elections, Florida Voter Registration System data. Turnout figures differ from official figures due to differences in how counties report individual voter history to the state Division of Elections.

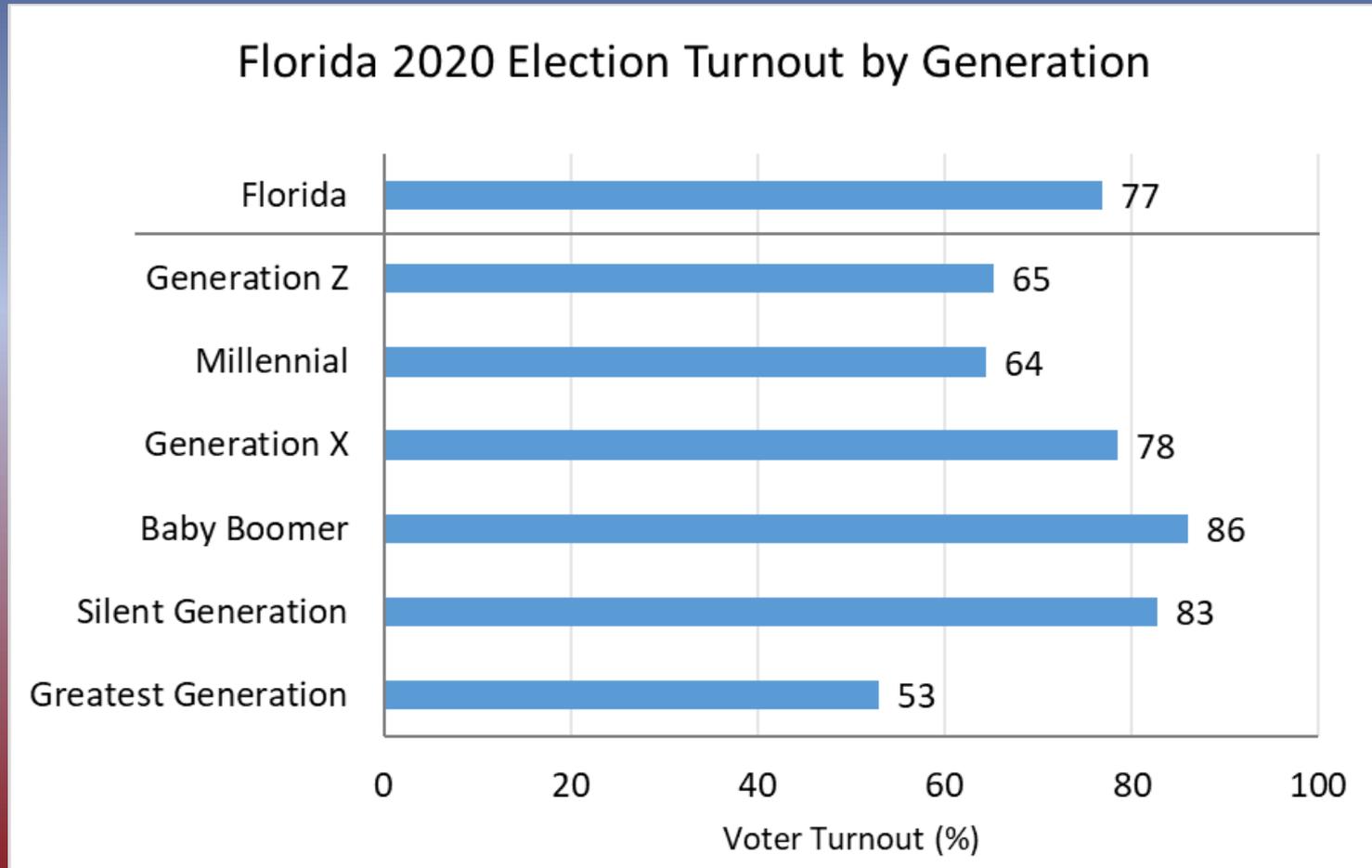
# Asian & Hispanic Turnout Rates Higher than Black Turnout Among Younger Generations, Opposite for Older Generations



Note: See text and Table 8-1 for generation age definitions. Turnout figures differ from official figures due to differences in how counties report individual voter history to the state Division of Elections.

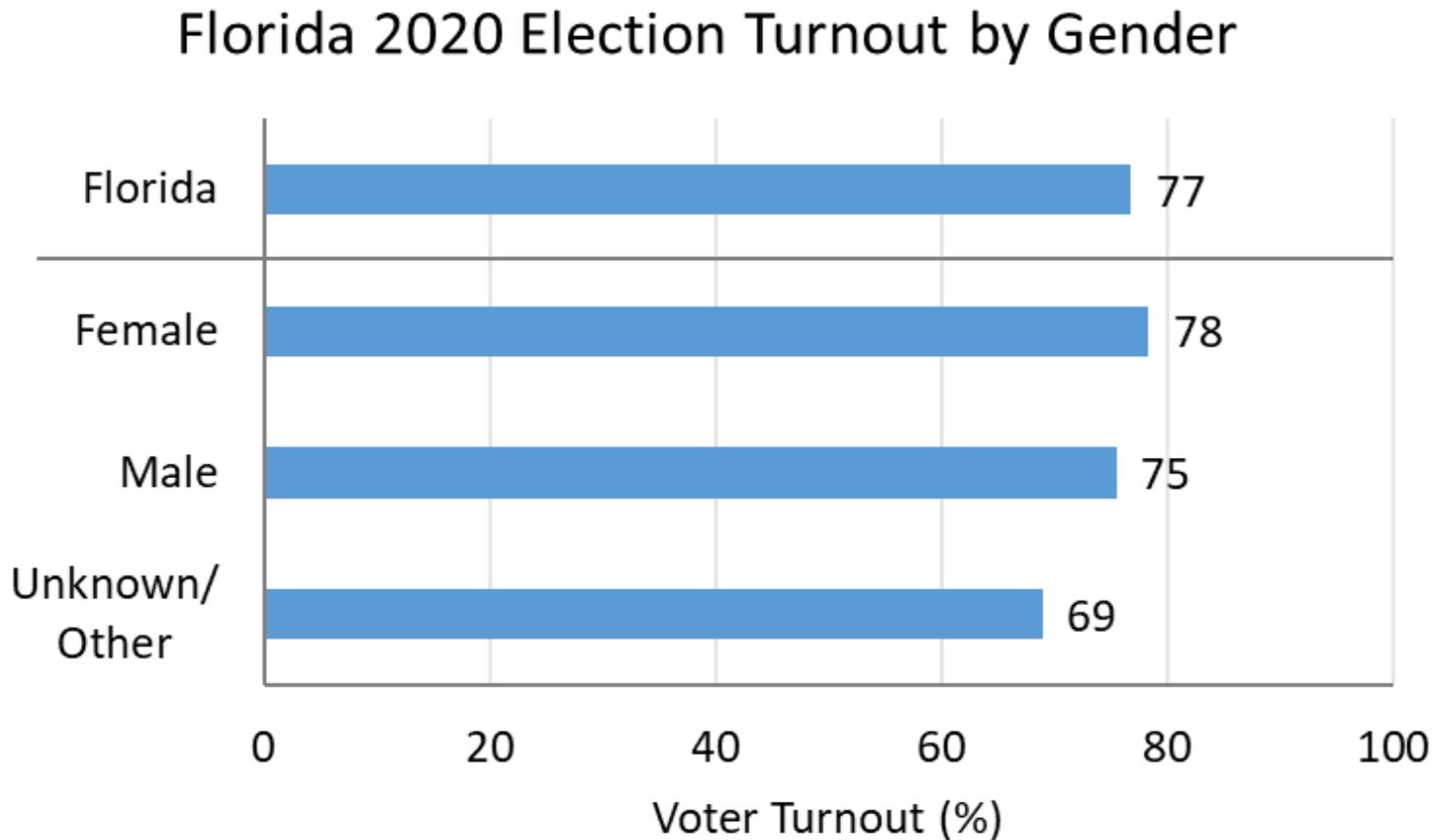
Source: Authors' analysis of Florida

# Unexpectedly Low Young Voter Turnout Helped Trump; Hurt Biden



Graphic created by MacManus; calculated from Florida Division of Elections, Florida Voter Registration System data. Turnout figures differ from official figures due to differences in how counties report individual voter history to the state Division of Elections.

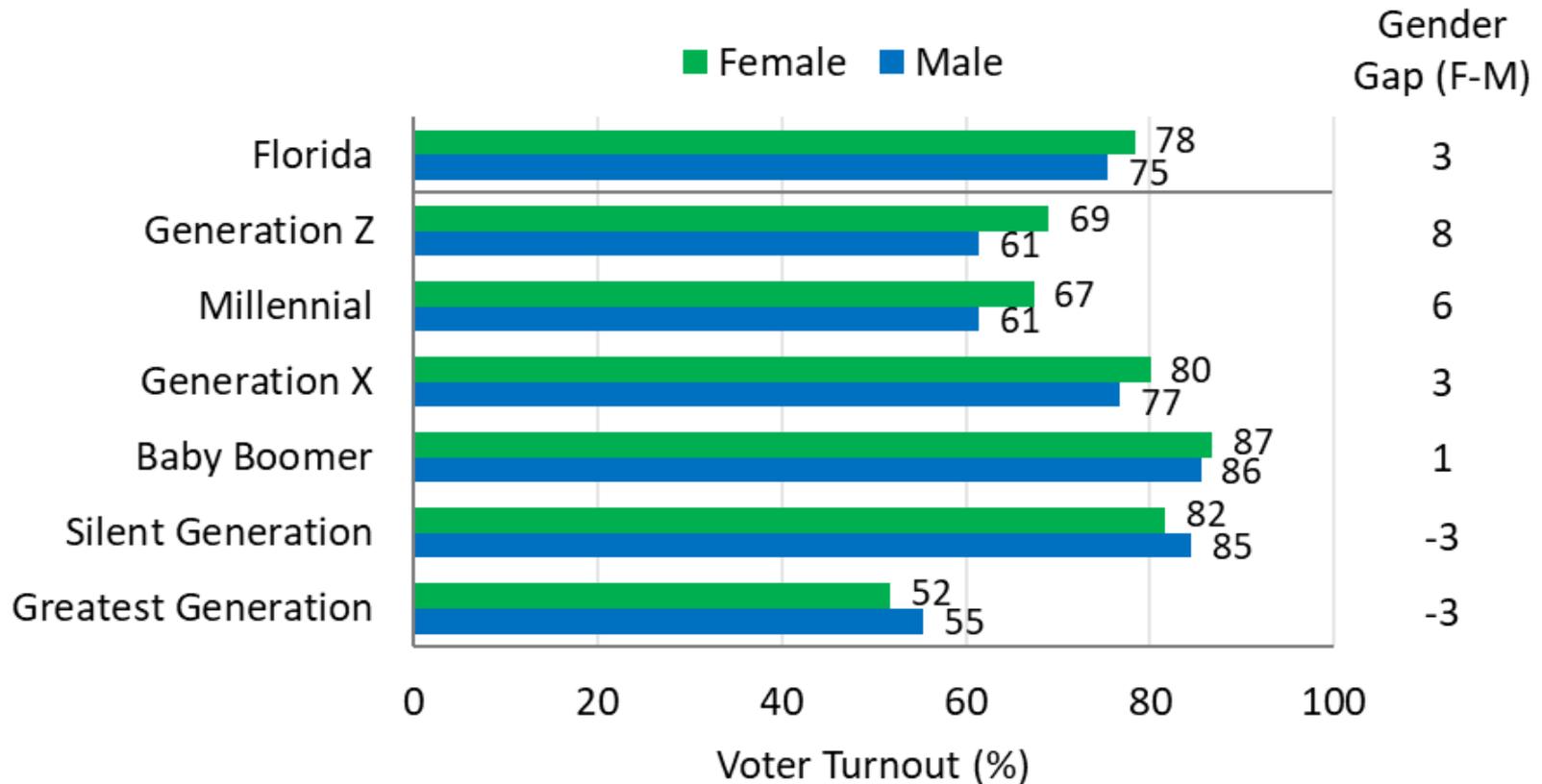
# Women Had Higher Turnout Than Men



Graphic created by MacManus; calculated from Florida Division of Elections, Florida Voter Registration System data. Turnout figures differ from official figures due to differences in how counties report individual voter history to the state Division of Elections.

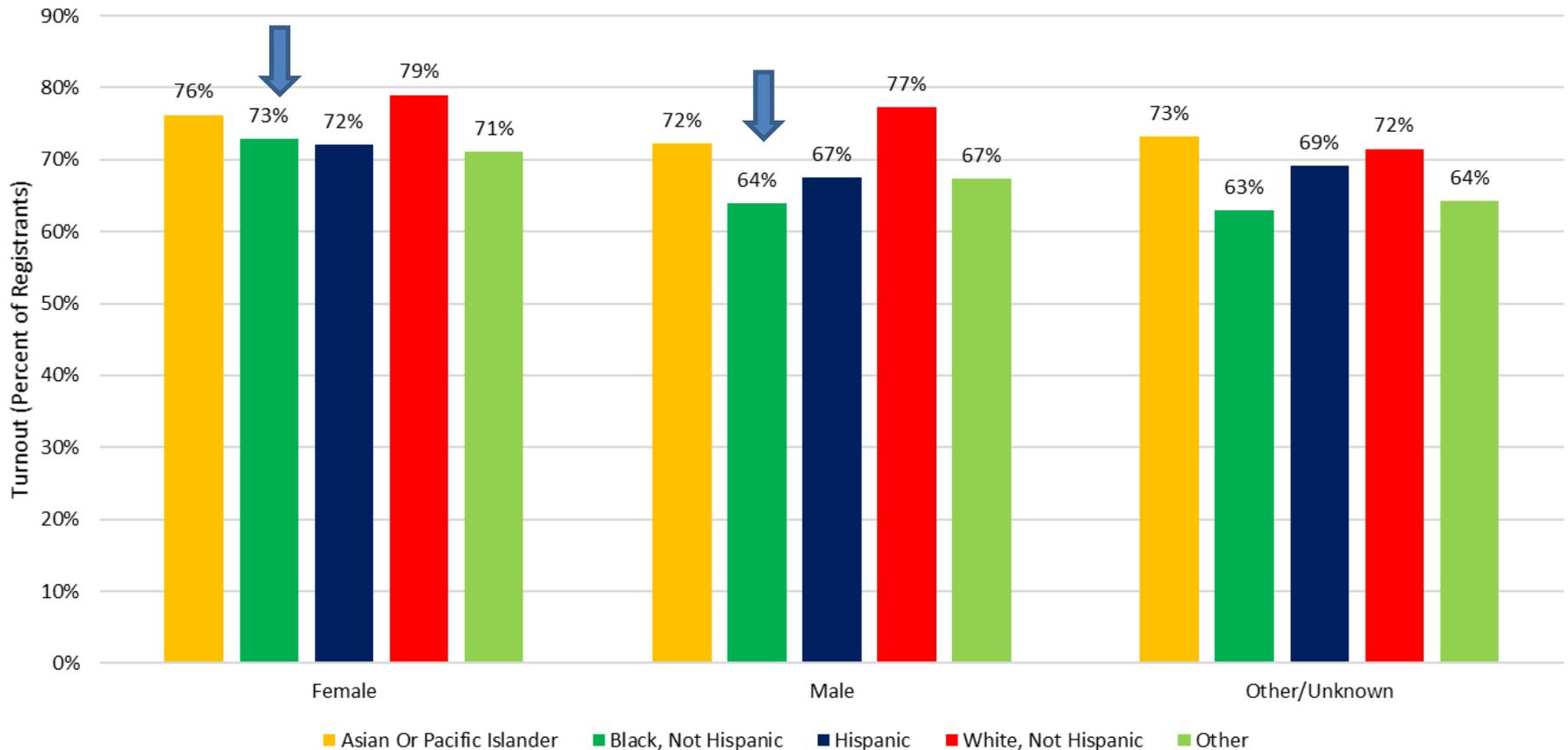
# Gender Gap Turnout Widening Among Youngest Generations

Florida 2020 Election Turnout by Generation and Gender



# Turnout Gender Gap Widest Among Black Voters

Turnout by Gender and Race/Ethnicity in the Florida 2020 General Election



# Lessons from 2020 Elections Relevant to Local Politics

- Need for **constant demographic, political updates** at *micro-level*
- **Don't use broad categories or stereotypes** to devise effective GOTV and ads
- **Bad polling** affects voters *and candidates*
- **Grassroots knowledge** of the socioeconomic & political makeup of an area is essential
- **In-person contact** most effective way to engage a voter/potential voter
- Most **money no guarantee** of victory

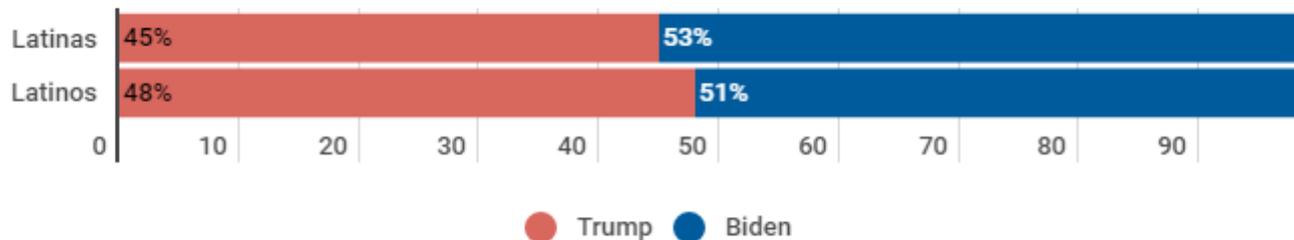
# Minority Vote for Trump Up in 2020; White Vote Down

	White Men	White Women	Black Men	Black Women	Hispanic Men	Hispanic Women
<b>2020</b>						
<i>Share of Voters</i>	28	34	6	9	9	10
Biden	34	40	86	91	51	53
Trump	64	59	13	7	48	45
<b>2016</b>						
<i>Share of Voters</i>	29	33	6	8	8	10
Clinton	28	36	81	87	60	63
Trump	67	60	10	6	36	34

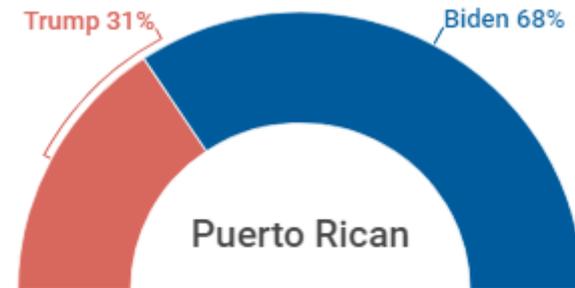
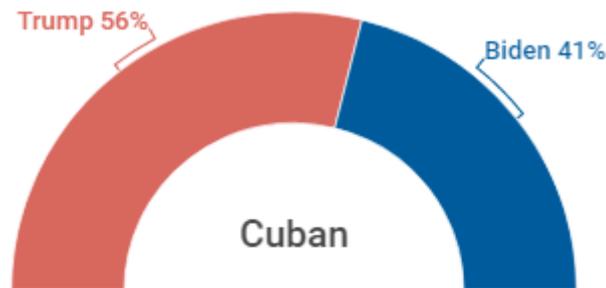
Source: CNN Florida Exit Poll.

# Comparison: Cuban & Puerto Rican Voters

## Florida



Cuban-Americans made up 6% of all Florida voters, and Puerto Ricans 5%.



# News Saturation Events

## Constantly Changed Voters' Focus

- January/Feb. **Impeachment** trial; defeat—Feb. 5
- March **COVID-19** hits U.S. full force; March 9 Dow Jones biggest single day drop ever; March 11 CDC declares coronavirus a pandemic
- Feb.-June **Presidential preference primaries and caucuses**; Biden—big win SC Feb 29; June clinches Dem pres. nomination; FL primary March 17 BUT **first Dem. debate in Miami June 26-27, 2019 (25 candidates!)**

# Events Continued to “Defy Prediction”

- April– **Protests against Coronavirus restrictions begin in states**; claim rules kill jobs & violate personal freedoms
- May-early July: **Black Lives Matter protests**; sparked by **deaths of George Floyd (May 25)**, Breonna Taylor, others; monuments destroyed; violence & riots spread



# News Saturation Events

## Constantly Changed Voters' Focus

August: BLM protests following shooting of Jacob Blake; **Kenosha, WI**;

Aug 28: **March on Washington** (Sharpton; George Floyd family)

Sept. 18 **Death of Supreme Court Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg**; heated **confirmation hearings** (Amy Coney Barrett) follow; confirmed Oct. 26 by 52-48 vote

# News Saturation Events

## Constantly Changed Voters' Focus

### VIRTUAL POL. EVENTS: August-October

- **Dem Natl Convention** (Aug 17-20); Kamala Harris picked as Biden running mate (Aug 11)
- **Republican Natl Convention** (Aug 24-25); racial/ethnic diversity among speakers
- **First presidential debate**; focus on Trump (9/29)
- **Vice presidential debate**; focus on Harris as potential president (Oct 7)
- **Competing TV “town halls” —ABC, NBC** (Oct. 15)
- **Second presidential debate** (Oct 22)

# Election-Related Challenges

- More media attention & scrutiny
- Greater need to educate public about changes in the registration and voting procedures.
- More requests to explain proposed amendments, esp. voting-related if make ballot
- Greater likelihood of litigation; more pressure to better train staff, poll workers
- Redistricting & precinct changes
- Growing activism at local level; greater potential for unrest, partisan combativeness
- More worries about cybersecurity breaches

# Best Wishes for a Great 2022 Election—

You have the toughest job in politics...and the most important!

