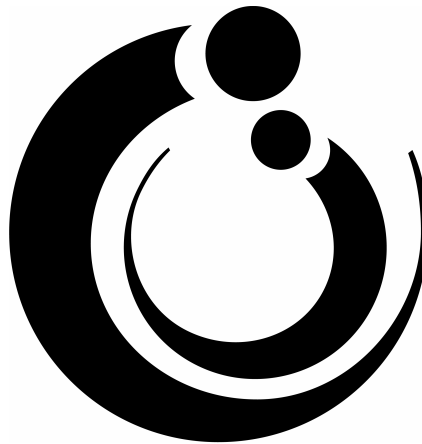


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***Temporary Migration in Florida: Some
Preliminary Results***

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Introduction

Decennial census data in the United States are based *de jure* rather than *de facto* residency rules; that is, people are counted according to their “usual” place of residence rather than the place in which they were physically located on census day. Population estimates and projections and other demographic statistics typically follow the same definitions. Each approach is useful for specific purposes, but there are many situations in which populations based on one concept are vastly different than populations based on the other. For example, Sarasota, Florida and Sun City, Arizona have much larger populations during the winter than their official estimates or counts would imply, while Traverse City, Michigan and Bar Harbor, Maine experience the same phenomenon during the summer.

Large differences between *de jure* and *de facto* populations are found in many other places as well. College towns tend to empty out during the summer and fill up again in the fall. Bedroom communities near large cities empty out during the day and fill up again at night. Resort communities like Aspen, Colorado and Destin, Florida have large numbers of temporary residents throughout the year; when one leaves, another takes his/her place. Many agricultural areas have large numbers of workers present only during the time of the local fruit or vegetable harvest. Large economic and financial centers have many business travelers visiting for a few days or a few weeks. At any given

time, an area may have far more (or fewer) people present than would be implied by *de jure* population statistics.

This focus on permanent residents means that very little is known about the size, distribution, timing, and characteristics of temporary residents who enter or leave an area for part of the year. Yet temporary residents are extremely important for many planning and decision-making purposes because they affect the demand for housing, roads, public transportation, fire and police protection, health care, water, electricity, restaurants, movie theaters, golf courses, and many other types of goods and services. We have conducted some surveys in Florida to try to improve our understanding of temporary residents and their demographic characteristics and mobility patterns. We looked not only at temporary residents coming to Florida, but also at permanent residents of Florida who make visits to other places. I will share some preliminary results from these surveys today.

The Survey

- Description of monthly survey (1000 per month, age 18+, RDD within a set of telephone banks—that is, area code + 3-digit prefix + first 2 digits of 4-digit suffix).
- Problem with data on mobility of permanent residents (an error in the logic of the sequence of questions caused a large number of respondents to be omitted from those answering several questions).

- We handled this problem by using two different samples, one for calendar year 1998 (for comparisons of permanent and temporary residents of Florida) and the other for the months of November and December of 1997 and 1998 (for the temporary migration of Florida residents).

Temporary Residents in Florida

Table 1. Permanent vs. temporary residents

- Definition of permanent residents: Usual place of residence, or the place a person lives and sleeps most of the time.
- This table shows the number of permanent and temporary residents in each month of the survey (1998).
- Implications: There were more than 750,000 temporary residents in Florida during the peak winter season (5% of 15 million). The number drops to less than 250,000 during the late summer. Note: This excludes people staying in hotels, motels, campgrounds, or any other places without a direct telephone number.

Table 2. Age

Not surprisingly, a higher proportion of temporary residents are in the older age groups (45.7% age 55+ for temporary residents, 32.1% for permanent). Surprisingly, temporary residents also have a higher proportion younger than 35. We will return to this point a little later.

Table 3. Race and Ethnicity

The race and ethnicity characteristics of the two groups are similar, with temporary residents having a somewhat lower percent white and lower percent Hispanic, compared to permanent residents. Most of the respondents listing themselves as “Other” were Hispanic.

Tables 4 and 5. Housing

Temporary residents are more likely to live in mobile homes, apartments, and townhouses than permanent residents, and much less likely to live in single family, detached houses. They are also less likely to own their homes in Florida than permanent residents.

Table 6. General Characteristics

On the average, temporary residents are slightly older than permanent residents, with slightly higher levels of education and considerably higher levels of income. The education and income results are not too surprising, but the age results are. Given the number of snowbirds in Florida, why are the mean ages of permanent and temporary residents so similar? The next table provides some clues.

Table 7. Months Spent in Florida by Temporary Residents

45% of the respondents who said they were not permanent residents of Florida reported that they spent more than half the previous year in Florida. Of those spending more than half the year, the large majority indicated that they spent the *entire* year in the state. This is clearly not consistent with the Census Bureau’s guidelines regarding place of permanent residence. What’s going on

here? In an attempt to clarify this issue, we divided temporary residents into those spending 6 months or less in Florida and those spending more than 6 months. Making this distinction helped clarify a number of the results reported earlier.

Table 8. Age by Length of Stay

The results by age now make more sense. Of the temporary residents staying 6 months or less, 62% are above age 55. Of those staying more than 6 months, 62% are less than age 35 and only 20% are above age 55.

Table 9. Race and Ethnicity by Length of Stay

Dividing by length of stay also makes a difference in the race and ethnicity data. Of those staying less than 6 months, 86% are white and 94% are non-Hispanic. Of those staying more than 6 months, only 69% are white and almost 10% are Hispanic.

The distinction is important for a number of other characteristics as well:

Table 10. Reasons for Visiting Florida by Length of Stay

Table 11. Employment Status by Length of Stay

Table 12. Location of Other Residence

Table 13. General Characteristics by Length of Stay

Housing characteristics also vary. Those staying less than 6 months have a relatively high proportion in mobile homes and a relatively low proportion in single family units. Those staying more than 6 months have a relatively high proportion in apartments. Almost three-quarters of short-term temporary

residents own their homes in Florida, compared to only 40% of long-term temporary residents.

Table 14. Type of Housing by Length of Stay

Table 15. Housing Tenure by Length of Stay

The profile of temporary residents in Florida is now considerably clearer than before. There are two basic types. Those staying less than 6 months tend to be older, white, non-Hispanic, and not employed. Most come from the Northeast or Midwest, and they come to Florida primarily during the winter (not shown here) and because of the climate. They have higher incomes than permanent residents and much higher incomes than temporary residents staying longer than 6 months. They often live in mobile homes and apartments. The traditional image of the snowbird fits this group very well.

The second group is very different from the first. They are younger and have more racial and ethnic minorities. They are more likely to be employed and they come to Florida for a variety of reasons, including employment, college, and military service as well as climate. Their incomes are lower than those of permanent residents and much lower than the other group of temporary residents. They are more likely to live in apartments than permanent residents and short-term temporary residents, and are much more likely to rent than own their homes.

Why do people who spend much (or all) of the year in Florida report that they are only temporary residents of the state? Of those spending more than 11

of the previous 12 months in Florida, 44% had moved into the state within the previous 2 years and 81% had moved within the previous 5 years. They don't think of themselves as Floridians, even though they are year-round residents. This illustrates the subjectivity of Census-type residency definitions.

Mobility of Permanent Residents

Most studies of temporary migration have focused on areas of destination rather than areas of origin. Yet every in-migrant to one area is an out-migrant from another area. The second part of our project focused on the movements of people who reported that they were permanent residents of Florida. We asked them if they had spent more than one month at some location other than their place of usual residence during the previous 12 months. Here are some of the results.

Table 16. Mobility Status of Florida Residents

Almost 20% of Florida residents reported that they had spent more than one month away from their place of usual residence during the past year. The vast majority of these went to a place outside of Florida. Based on Florida's population size of about 15 million, this implies that about 2.5 million people left the state for more than a month.

Table 17. Age by Mobility

Those leaving the state for more than a month are considerably older than non-movers, whereas those moving within the state are considerably younger.

Almost half of those leaving the state were age 55+, compared to only 24% of those moving within the state.

Table 18. Race and Ethnicity by Mobility

Those leaving the state had a considerably higher proportion white and non-Hispanic than non-movers and in-state movers.

Table 19. Housing by Mobility Status

The housing of Floridians leaving the state was similar to that of non-movers (a lower proportion living in SF-detached units, but slightly higher proportions in the other categories). For in-state movers, however, housing characteristics were quite different, with a substantially lower proportion in single family units and a higher proportion in apartments.

Table 20. Housing Tenure by Mobility Status

Out-of-state movers were somewhat more likely to own their homes in Florida than non-movers, but in-state movers were much less likely to own their homes.

Table 21. Characteristics by Mobility Status

On average, Florida residents leaving the state were older than non-movers, and those moving within the state were younger. Average income was considerably higher for out-of-state movers than non-movers, whereas the average income of in-state movers was considerably lower. Out-of-state movers also had a somewhat higher educational level than either of the other 2 groups.

Conclusions

We have drawn several conclusions from this analysis of survey data:

1) A lot of temporary residents spend a substantial part of the year in Florida.

Besides the hordes of tourists, there are at least 750,000 during the peak winter season. Many are stereotypical snowbirds, but many others defy easy generalization, coming for a variety of reasons and staying for a variety of lengths of time. A substantial number spend the entire year in Florida but do not consider themselves to be permanent residents of the state.

2) A lot of Floridians leave the state for significant lengths of time.

Approximately 2.5 million left for more than one month during the year prior to the survey. These temporary out-migrants are a diverse group and they leave the state for a variety of reasons, but a substantial number of them share many of the characteristics of the traditional snowbird (old age structure, low proportion of racial and ethnic minorities, high income). We believe this subgroup is very similar to snowbirds, except they classify themselves as Florida residents instead of residents of some other state. Both groups spend part of the year in Florida and part elsewhere. Only one groups, however, is reflected in Florida's official population statistics.

3) The whole concept of place of residence is somewhat ambiguous and difficult to clarify. This is especially true in countries using *de jure* residency rules and self-enumeration censuses. Definitions of permanent residence vary from person to person in the United States, and do not necessarily follow Census Bureau guidelines. This can create substantial problems for constructing and

interpreting population estimates and projections, and for using them for purposes of planning and analysis.

The incidence of multi-residential people in the United States is most likely increasing because of higher incomes and improvements in transportation and communications. Although temporary migrants are more common in some areas than others, they are found in some areas of virtually every state in the nation and have a substantial impact on the demand for housing, roads, water supplies, health services, police protection, and many other goods and services. We believe it is very important to begin collecting information on temporary migration in a systematic and comprehensive way. The American Community Survey would be an excellent vehicle for collecting these types of data.

Table 1. Respondents by Month

<u>Month</u>	Permanent	Temporary	Total
Jan	928 (.963)	35 (.037)	963
Feb	921 (.948)	51 (.052)	972
March	958 (.959)	40 (.041)	998
Apr	1014 (.969)	32 (.031)	1046
May	976 (.971)	29 (.029)	1005
June	982 (.976)	24 (.024)	1006
July	1003 (.971)	30 (.029)	1033
Aug	993 (.976)	24 (.024)	1017
Sept	983 (.975)	25 (.025)	1008
Oct	983 (.985)	15 (.015)	998
Nov	970 (.976)	24 (.024)	994
Dec	949 (.962)	37 (.038)	986
Total	11,660 (.970)	367 (.030)	12,027

Table 2. Respondents by Age

<u>Age</u>	Permanent	Temporary	Total
18-34	3001 (.266)	128 (.362)	3129
35-44	2535 (.225)	38 (.107)	2573
45-54	2124 (.188)	26 (.073)	2150
55-64	1382 (.123)	46 (.130)	1428
65-74	1371 (.122)	83 (.234)	1454
75+	859 (.076)	33 (.093)	892
Total	11,272	354	11,626

Table 3. Respondents by Race and Ethnicity

Race	Permanent	Temporary
White	9409 (.823)	280 (.791)
Black	1141 (.100)	39 (.110)
Asian & P.I.	117 (.010)	4 (.011)
Amer. Indian	67 (.006)	1 (.003)
Multi	117 (.010)	8 (.023)
Other	579 (.051)	22 (.062)
Total	11,430	354
Ethnicity		
Hispanic	1129 (.102)	25 (.072)
Non-Hispanic	9979 (.898)	324 (.928)
Total	11,108	349

Table 4. Respondents by Type of Housing in Florida

Type	Permanent	Temporary
MH	1078 (.093)	62 (.169)
SF-det	7325 (.629)	131 (.357)
SF-att	1075 (.092)	47 (.128)
MF	1721 (.148)	107 (.292)
Other	443 (.038)	20 (.054)
Total	11,642	367

Table 5. Respondents by Housing Tenure in Florida

Status	Permanent	Temporary
Own	8899 (.769)	220 (.606)
Rent	2670 (.231)	143 (.394)
Total	11,569	363

Table 6. Characteristics of Respondents

Characteristic	Permanent	Temporary
Mean age	47.1	48.0
Mean education	13.9	14.2
Mean income	50,627	57,719
N	11,291	360

Table 7. Number of Months Spent in Florida by Temporary Residents

Months	Respondents
<1	12
1-3	48
4-6	116
7-9	24
10-12	120
Total	320

Table 8. Temporary Residents by Length of Stay and Age

Age	≤ 6 months	> 6 months
18-34	43 (.197)	84 (.618)
35-44	23 (.106)	15 (.110)
45-54	16 (.073)	10 (.074)
55-64	38 (.174)	9 (.066)
65-74	70 (.321)	13 (.096)
75+	28 (.128)	5 (.037)
Total	218 (1.000)	136 (1.001)

Table 9. Temporary Residents by Length of Stay and Race and Ethnicity

Race	£ 6 months	> 6 months
White	185 (.860)	96 (.686)
Black	12 (.056)	27 (.193)
Asian & P.I.	2 (.009)	2 (.014)
Amer. Indian	0 (.000)	1 (.007)
Multi	4 (.019)	4 (.029)
Other	12 (.056)	10 (.071)
Total	215	140
<u>Ethnicity</u>		
Hispanic	12 (.057)	13 (.095)
Non Hispanic	200 (.943)	124 (.905)
Total	212	137

Table 10. Temporary Residents: Reasons for Visiting Florida

<u>Reason</u>	£ 6 months	> 6 months	Total
Weather, climate	111 (.634)	25 (.189)	136
Employment, job	13 (.074)	38 (.288)	51
Family	11 (.063)	11 (.083)	22
Health	6 (.034)	3 (.023)	9
Recreation	5 (.029)	1 (.008)	6
Retirement	6 (.034)	3 (.023)	9
Enter/leave school	2 (.011)	20 (.152)	22
Military	5 (.029)	19 (.144)	24
Other	16 (.091)	12 (.091)	28
Total	175	132	307

Table 11. Temporary Residents by Length of Stay and Employment Status

Employed	£ 6 months	> 6 months
YES	69 (.321)	87 (.617)
NO	146 (.679)	54 (.383)
Total	215	141

Table 12. Where Temporary Residents Live When Not in Florida

<u>Region</u>	£ 6 months	> 6 months	Total
Northeast	62 (.376)	45 (.349)	107
Midwest	51 (.309)	23 (.178)	74
South	24 (.145)	32 (.248)	56
West	9 (.055)	14 (.109)	23
Canada	7 (.042)	1 (.008)	8
Abroad	12 (.073)	14 (.109)	26
Total	165	129	294

Table 13. Characteristics of Respondents

<u>Characteristic</u>	Permanent	Temp ≤ 6 mo.	Temp > 6 mo.
Mean age	47.1	55.3	36.5
Mean education	13.9	14.2	14.1
Mean income	50,627	66,097	45,714
N	11,291	225	135

Table 14. Temporary Residents by Type of Housing in Florida

Type	≤ 6 months	> 6 months
MH	51 (.228)	11 (.076)
SF-det	75 (.335)	57 (.396)
SF-att	30 (.134)	16 (.111)
MF	55 (.246)	53 (.368)
Other	13 (.058)	7 (.049)
Total	224	144

Table 15. Temporary Residents by Housing Tenure in Florida

Status	≤ 6 months	> 6 months
Own	164 (.739)	56 (.397)
Rent	58 (.261)	85 (.603)
Total	222	141

Table 16. Mobility Status of Florida Residents

	Non- Movers	In-State Movers	Out-of-State Movers	Total
Number	2495	79	527	3101
(%)	(.805)	(.025)	(.170)	(1.000)

Table 17. Florida Residents: Age by Mobility

<u>Age</u>	Non-Movers	In-State Movers	Out-of-State Movers	Total
18-34	640 (.257)	29 (.367)	101 (.192)	771 (.249)
35-44	576 (.231)	15 (.190)	90 (.171)	681 (.220)
45-54	451 (.181)	16 (.203)	82 (.156)	549 (.177)
55-64	315 (.126)	5 (.063)	79 (.150)	399 (.129)
65+	512 (.205)	14 (.177)	175 (.332)	700 (.226)
Total	2495	79	527	3101

Table 18. Florida Residents by Race and Ethnicity

<u>Race/Ethnicity</u>	Non-Movers	In-State Movers	Out-of-State Movers	Total
White	2099 (.822)	62 (.775)	469 (.873)	2630 (.830)
Black	263 (.103)	6 (.075)	26 (.048)	295 (.093)
Asian	26 (.010)	3 (.038)	1 (.002)	29 (.009)
Am. Indian	17 (.007)	3 (.038)	2 (.004)	22 (.007)
Multi	27 (.011)	0	6 (.011)	33 (.010)
Other	120 (.047)	6 (.075)	33 (.061)	159 (.050)
Total	2552	80	537	3168
Hispanic	310 (.124)	9 (.122)	45 (.084)	364 (.117)
Non-Hispanic	2185 (.876)	65 (.878)	490 (.916)	2741 (.883)
Total	2495	74	535	3105

Table 19. Type of Housing, Primary Residence, Florida Residents

<u>Type</u>	Non-Movers	In-State Movers	Out-of-State Movers	Total
MH	203 (.079)	7 (.088)	56 (.103)	266 (.083)
SF-det	1638 (.636)	39 (.488)	306 (.561)	1983 (.620)
SF-att	216 (.084)	4 (.050)	60 (.110)	280 (.088)
MF	424 (.165)	26 (.325)	101 (.185)	551 (.172)
Other	93 (.036)	4 (.050)	22 (.040)	119 (.037)
Total	2574 (1.000)	80 (1.001)	545 (.999)	3199 (1.000)

Table 20. Tenure, Primary Residence, Florida Residents

	Non- Movers	In-State Movers	Out-of- State Movers	Total
Owner	1953 (.761)	44 (.550)	434 (.802)	2431
Renter	613 (.239)	36 (.450)	107 (.198)	756
Total	2566	80	541	3187

Table 21. Characteristics of Florida Residents by Mobility Status

<u>Characteristic</u>	Non-Movers	In-State Movers	Out-of State Movers
Mean age	47.6	43.9	52.8
Mean education	13.9	14.0	14.4
Mean income	48,743	36,519	59,278