

The Spanish River Papers

FEBRUARY 2025

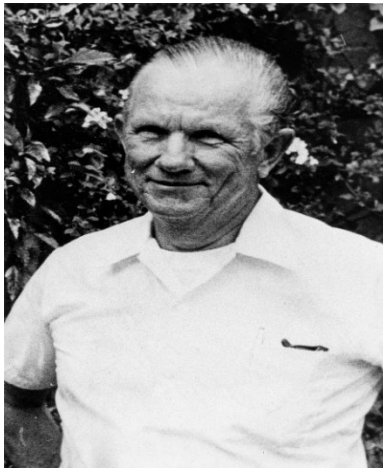
VOLUME XXVI



THE POPULATION BOMB:
HOW NATIONAL ANXIETY
ABOUT POPULATION GROWTH
FUELED BOCA RATON'S
GROWTH CAP LEGISLATION

BY: CHRISTIAN
ROBINSON

Abstract



Norman Wymbs, 1971

On June 25th, 1972, Boca Raton City Council member Norman Wymbs, emboldened by recent demands for growth control, proposed a city-wide Growth cap that limited Boca Raton's size to 40,000 dwelling units. While his proposal failed in the City Council meeting, his attempt at population control was revived by Citizens for Reasonable Growth (CRG), an organization led by FAU faculty member Dorothy

Wilken. This resulted in a bipartisan effort to slow Boca Raton's growth that cited concerns of over-development, harm to the environment, and increasing unavailability of resources. CRG quickly organized a petition that garnered over 5,000 signatures and forced the issue of growth to appear on the city's ballot in November as a referendum.¹ The Growth Cap was overwhelmingly passed and became the first anti-growth legislation passed in the United States.² While the Cap was deemed unconstitutional in 1976, following lawsuits brought



Dorothy Wilken, ca. 1977

by Boca Raton developing companies, its legacy should be understood as a microcosm of national trends and anxiety concerning population growth that spiked in the late 1960s. These trends created a corresponding anxious political consciousness in Boca Raton that resulted in

¹ Dale M. King, "Boca made ill-fated effort to restrict growth 30 years ago," *Boca Raton News* (Boca Raton, FL), September 4, 2005.

² Jon Nordwimer, "Boca Raton Decides to Stop Growing," *The New York Times* (New York, New York), Feb. 9, 1973.

legislation that did not reflect the reality of population growth in the area and lacked a relationship to rational city-wide objectives.

Contextualizing the Growth Cap

Rapid population growth in the 1960s led to global anxiety about unrestricted growth and limited access to resources. The global population grew to 3 billion in 1960, after being at 2 billion only 35 years prior, while the global growth rate rose to above 2%. This accelerated growth was unparalleled and led to the publication of scholarly works such as *The Population Bomb* by Paul Ehrlich. Scholarship on population growth in the 1960s, like Ehrlich's book, was incredibly anxiety-inducing by implying that unchecked growth, if allowed to continue, would lead to disaster as people depleted resources used to support the world's population faster than they were capable of being replaced.³ At the time these concerns did seem legitimate in that high birth rates paired with low death rates because of increased access to modern medicine did result in large increases and unprecedented growth in the 1960s. However, low death rates were quickly matched by low birth rates in the following decade as contraception became more widely available. Furthermore, the availability of schools, childcare, and housing grew to meet these challenges.⁴ This created a unique mindset in the 1960s when population growth did seem unchecked, yet it would begin to reach an equilibrium in the 1970s. As a result, Boca Raton's anxiety concerning population size at the start of the 1970s should be understood in the context of the population trends in the 1960s and what seemed to be unchecked growth.

Florida mirrored national growth trends following World War II while also welcoming

³ Lam, "How the World Survived the Population Bomb: Lessons From 50 Years of Extraordinary Demographic History," 1233.

⁴ Lam, "How the World Survived the Population Bomb: Lessons From 50 Years of Extraordinary Demographic History," 1250-1255.

the addition of retirees migrating from northern states. This was, in part, a result of the aforementioned advancements in medicine that not only lowered the infant mortality rate but also contributed to a longer lifespan among retirees. Moreover, the proliferation of pensions, retirement plans, and Social Security allowed retirees to transport their savings to Florida, which proved especially attractive to residents of northern states attempting to escape harsh winter. Furthermore, Florida's sweltering heat, which had previously discouraged movement to the state, was remedied during this time with the advent of in-home air conditioning units installed atop windows. These advancements culminated in life in Florida becoming far more desirable than it had ever been before.⁵ Not only were retirees drawn to Florida, but younger residents began to journey to Boca Raton, specifically attracted by Florida Atlantic University and jobs at IBM's manufacturing plant, with the two opening in 1964 and 1967, respectively. This created a rapidly changing environment in Boca Raton that not only mirrored national and global growth trends but exceeded them, especially in contrast to the minuscule farming town that Boca Raton was prior to World War II. These changes created growing anxiety in Boca Raton regarding how this growth should be effectively managed as Boca entered the 1970s.

Anxiety regarding growth exceeded national trends in Boca Raton and continued into the 1970s. This continued anxiety stemmed directly from a misinterpretation of a series of reports by FAU economist John Webb and a similar report by a local chapter of the Audubon Society. Webb's first report begins with a brief overview of Boca Raton's growth beginning with slow steady growth from 1925-1950 following the arrival of Addison Mizner and his

⁵ Gary R. Mormino, "Sunbelt Dreams and Altered States: A Social and Cultural History of Florida, 1950-2000," *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 81, no. 1 (2002): 6.

development plans utilizing Mediterranean-Revival style architecture to transform Boca Raton into a resort town. These plans failed due to the Great Depression and the corresponding Florida land boom bust which caused a bankrupted Mizner to leave Boca Raton in 1927. In spite of this, Boca Raton continued its slow growth and in 1950 the city was home to 992 residents, a stark contrast to the small farming community that Boca Raton was prior to Mizner's arrival. Webb explains that Boca Raton's population increased exponentially throughout the 1950s and 1960s reaching 15,000 residents in 1965. He adds that the population is likely to continue increasing as a direct result of students brought to the area by newly established Florida Atlantic University. This first report by Webb detailing how Boca Raton would continue to grow should be understood in the context of national and state-wide anxiety about population growth and lack of resources. In this context, it is understandable how the report made Boca Raton residents hesitant to grow and why Webb's first report was cited by groups like CRG when promulgating the Growth Cap.⁶

Boca Raton residents dissatisfied with the city's growth rate were alarmed by Webb's first report and ignored the caution he urged in his second. In his second report Webb estimates how many people Boca Raton could feasibly support with current land use policies and available housing units. However, these estimates of Boca Raton's maximum capacity at one point in time were equated to population projections for the future leading to fears of an impending housing crisis that did not reflect Webb's actual findings. Moreover, Webb makes it explicitly clear that these capacity estimates should not be taken out of context or attributed to definite projections. He clarifies this misunderstanding in his report stating that:

It would be easy to show that there are cities in Florida where the population has increased from about that of Boca Raton today to that of the estimated capacity of the city in the relatively short span of 20

⁶ John N. Webb, "Report No.1 The Population of Boca Raton By Planning Areas and Years 1955 to 1965," 1966, BRHS collection, 2012.150.226, Boca Raton Historical Society, Boca Raton, FL, 2.

to 40 years. It would be unfortunate if the capacity estimates of this report were to be confused with projections of actual population to be expected here in specific years in the future...⁷

Beyond this clear warning about how the report is to be understood in the quote above, Webb asserts without changing land use policies the city could support seven times its population at the time when he was writing his report. Additionally, any overpopulation could have been balanced with further development in west Boca Raton to match its eastern counterpart.⁸ In spite of these clear warnings Boca Raton residents fixated on the estimated capacity of the city, using that as a population projection. This was paired with a similar report conducted by the local chapter of the Audubon Society that projected environmental damage should unchecked growth continue.⁹ A combination of fears stoked by a misunderstanding of Webb's reports and the Audubon Society's study led to citizens demanding responsible land use and growth restrictions despite there being no reasonable emergency. These alarmed residents were then given a political platform with Wymb's failed 1972 proposal and the subsequent Growth Cap campaign by CRG.

Revisiting Efforts to Institute Legal Restrictions on Growth

CRG represented a bipartisan cross-section of Boca Raton residents, each with their own unique multi-faceted motivations, yet united in their apprehension to urban growth. In that many liberal residents supported the Cap campaign led by CRG following the failure of Wymb's proposal. Many of them invoked concerns about how the environment and access to quality schools could be put under strain should the population continue to grow. Similarly, conservatives also supported the Cap, and by extension CRG, by claiming that growth would

⁷ John N. Webb, "Report No.2 How Many People? The Population Capacity of Boca Raton Under Present Conditions of Land Use and Zoning Regulations," 1966, BRHS collection, 2012.150.226, Boca Raton Historical Society, Boca Raton, FL, 2.

⁸ Webb, "Report No.2 How Many People? The Population Capacity of Boca Raton Under Present Conditions of Land Use and Zoning Regulations," 1966, Boca Raton Historical Society, 6-9.

⁹ Hubert B. Shenkin, "The Boca Raton Growth Cap," (research paper, Nova Southeastern University, 1984), 3-4.

tarnish Boca Raton's reputation as a resort city for the elite. Conservatives cited similar situations of perceived urban decline in Pompano Beach and Broward to support these claims and urged residents to protect Boca Raton from "Browardization," caused by unchecked growth.¹⁰

However, both liberal and conservative assumptions about the trajectory of growth in Boca Raton were unfounded. The liberal argument is combatted by Webb's own report urging caution regarding the estimate for total capacity and Boca Raton's ability to accommodate newcomers as mentioned.¹¹ Moreover conservative concerns were misleading as well and reflect clear class distinctions between elites living in Boca Raton and those living in surrounding areas, especially as the city became more racially and economically diverse. Webb's second report highlights these demographic changes and how Boca Raton was increasingly becoming home to diverse younger middle- and working-class populations.¹² Conservatives were likely upset by what they felt was an intrusion on the area that had long been a winter home to the elite, despite these changes to Boca's demographics not reflecting any threat to the city's ability to accommodate newcomers. As a result, liberals anxious about the future of schools and the environment paired with wealthy conservatives weary of Boca Raton's changing population formed the nucleus for Growth Cap support. This resulted in legislation that limited growth while simultaneously making housing unaffordable and new opportunities for growth stagnant to the detriment of middle and working-class residents.

CRG's petition to revive Wymb's failed proposal and institute growth faced challenges

¹⁰ King, "Boca made ill-fated effort to restrict growth 30 years ago," 2005.

¹¹ Webb, "Report No.1 The Population of Boca Raton By Planning Areas and Years 1955 to 1965," 1966, Boca Raton Historical Society, Boca Raton, FL, 2.

¹² John N. Webb, "Report No.3 Population Projections for the City of Boca Raton to 1970, 1975, and 1980," 1967, Boca Raton Historical Society, Boca Raton, FL, 16-20.

posed by People for Boca along with local developers. In that, alongside CRG emerged People for Boca, another citizen-led organization with strong opinions on growth. People for Boca acknowledged some of the issues raised by CRG, mainly the need for growth control legislation in response to concerns about how growth would impact the city's infrastructure. However, People for Boca still maintained confidence in local development corporations to steer Boca Raton's growth responsibly, with some safeguards being put in place through legislation. This moderate approach proved much more amenable to local development corporations that quickly portrayed People for Boca and CRG as diametrically opposed.¹³

In reality, People for Boca, while representing a more moderate subsection of the population, still shared views with CRG. According to CRG leader and former Mayor Dorothy Wilken, the two organizations, even held joint meetings occasionally.¹⁴ Truly, the primary difference between the two organizations proved to be that People For Boca did not support the strict nature of the Growth Cap proposal paired with its vague reasoning. In spite of the minor ideological differences between CRG and People for Boca, support for anti-growth legislation remained strong, and CRG's petition drive resulted in the issue appearing on the ballot as a referendum in November 1972. The Cap was passed with an overwhelming majority, which speaks to the bi-partisan nature of the legislation and Boca's anxieties about growth. As a result, the Cap was officially put into effect, limiting Boca Raton's housing units to 40,000, which translates to an approximate population of 100,000 residents. Additionally, a moratorium on building permits that had already been put into effect earlier that year was extended via this legislation. The Cap, paired with the extended moratorium, infuriated local

¹³ King, "Boca made ill-fated effort to restrict growth 30 years ago," 2005.

¹⁴ Dorothy Wilken, "2024.194.001 Wilken, Dorothy Oral History Transcription," interview by Christian Robinson & Thomas Wood on July 26, 2024, in Delray Beach (Boca Raton, FL: Boca Raton Historical Society), 12.

development companies, including Arvida, Boca Villas, and Keating-Meredith, prompting fierce litigation regarding restrictions the Cap placed on developers.¹⁵

Boca Raton's Growth Cap in the Courts

The passage of Boca Raton's Growth Cap resulted in several lawsuits, the most notable being brought by local development companies Boca Villas Corporation, Keating Meredith, and Arvida. Keating Meredith and Boca Villas Corporation filed a joint lawsuit against the city on the issue of how the Growth Cap affected multi-family housing, while Arvida did the same independently over the issue of single-family housing. Judge Thomas E. Sholts reviewed both cases as they reached the Palm Beach County Circuit Court. Sholts' decision in the Boca Villas Corporation and Keating Meredith case was heard first and proved to be the most consequential, as this decision was used as precedent for the subsequent Arvida case.¹⁶

Despite a friendship with Growth Cap proponent and first female mayor Dorothy Wilken, Sholts tore into the Growth Cap legislation and deemed it unconstitutional in his Boca Villa Corporation and Keating Meredith decision. He determined that the city was allowed to institute measures designed to limit or control growth; however, the Cap

¹⁵ King, "Boca made ill-fated effort to restrict growth 30 years ago," 2005.

¹⁶ City of Boca Raton v. Boca Villas Corp., 371 So. 2d 154 (Fla. Dist. Ct. App. 1979), <https://casetext.com/case/city-of-boca-raton-v-boca-villas>.



Boca Villas Advertisement, 1954

represented an attempt that lacked a reasonable relationship to a municipal objective to protect the public. Moreover, Sholts dismissed expert witnesses presented by the local government to demonstrate the need for growth control, questioning their credibility. This dismissal of Cap proponents was paired with testimony from Walter Young, the City Director of Planning, who claimed that he and his coworkers were not contacted when the Growth Cap was being

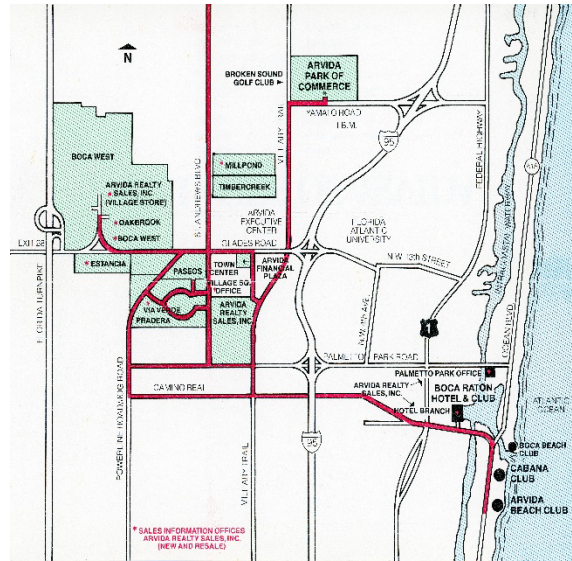
formulated. Young added that despite

the local popularity of the Cap, there was no inherent need for growth legislation at the time so long as the city continued to plan for the future adequately. Sholts also addressed concerns posed by CRG directly in his opinion, in which he explains that from the evidence presented, the city of Boca Raton had, until that point, provided reliable infrastructure along with clean water and air, which would be maintained if current practices remained in place. The issue of overcrowding schools due to growth is also mentioned, but Sholts explains that the Growth Cap was ill-suited to solve this problem as it intensely focuses on a 40,000-unit Cap rather than school legislation. Sholts' opinion reiterates the far-reaching nature of Boca Raton's Growth Cap and urges reasonable legislation that reflects the community's reality rather than fears about exploding growth. This cautious sentiment is repeated in Sholts' Arvida opinion

and was upheld when the case was appealed to higher courts.¹⁷



(Left to right) Evelyn Mitchell, Arthur Vining Davis, and Milton Weir, 1957



Colorized Map of Arvida Properties in Boca Raton, 1980

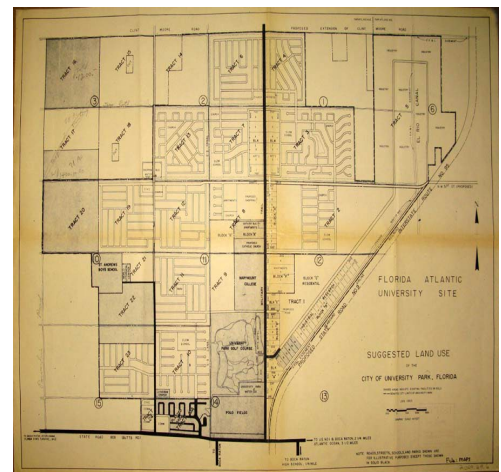
Started by Arthur Vining Davis, Arvida grew to become the most successful real estate development corporation in the history of South Florida. Davis, originally from Pennsylvania, was an Aluminum magnate and president of Alcoa Aluminum Corporation, where he made his exorbitant fortune. After his departure from Alcoa, Davis left Pennsylvania and formed Arvida using his initials for the company moniker and began utilizing land in South Florida and the Bahamas that he had begun buying land in the 1930s. Davis died in 1962, shortly after bringing Arvida to Boca Raton in 1958, but his company continued under the leadership of Milton N. Weir. Arvida grew to encompass properties such as the Boca Raton Hotel and Club, a hotel designed by Addison Mizner in 1925 and purchased by Davis from its previous owner J. Myer Schine, along with residential communities built by Arvida such as Broken Sound, Weston, and University Park. The business Arvida bought to Boca Raton via its resorts and residential developments magnified the company's influence on local politics, an issue that only intensified

¹⁷ *Boca Villas Corp*, 371 So. 2d 160 (Fla. Dist. Ct. App. 1979).

the larger the company became. As a result, the Boca Villas Keating-Meredith decision came before Judge Sholts first. However, the lawsuit brought by Arvida had a more tangible impact on the local economy and city configuration, which was directly tied to Arvida's size.¹⁸

The Arvida lawsuit led to more conflict with the city on the issues of University Park dependent city on the northwest corner of Military Trail and Glades Road that was created by Arvida. Additionally, Arvida employees held government positions within University Park meaning that Arvida effectively controlled the city. Eventually, Arvida agreed to annex University Park to Boca Raton in 1971. However, after the creation of the Growth Cap with its limit on housing units and building permit moratorium, Arvida sought to de-annex University Park from Boca Raton and resume control of the land to undermine the Cap and develop the area unchecked.¹⁹

This attempted subversion of the Cap became a key fixture of the Arvida case as the city argued that University Park was legally added to Boca Raton and could not be revoked through de-annexation. In his Arvida decision, Judge Sholts' agreed with the city that the attempted de-annexation of University Park, which had been part of Boca Raton for two years, was ridiculous. Despite this minor victory for the city, allowing them to keep University Park, Judge Sholts applied the same logic he used in the previous Keating Meredith and Boca Villas



University Park Land Use Map, 1965

¹⁸ Donald W. Curl, and John P. Johnson. *Boca Raton: A Pictorial History*. 3rd ed., (Boca Raton: Boca Raton Historical Society and The Boca Raton Resort & Club, 1990), 149-151.

¹⁹ City of Boca Raton v. Arvida Corp, 371 So. 2d 160 (Fla. Dist. Ct. App. 1979), <https://casetext.com/case/city-of-boca-raton-v-arvida-corp-1>; Sandy Wesley "Battle Against Urban Sprawl," *The Palm Beach Post* (West Palm Beach, FL), September 6, 1973.

decision that the Cap was unnecessary. This resulted in Boca Raton's Growth Cap being defeated for a second time in the courts, meaning it could no longer be applicable to multi-family nor single-family housing. Additionally, both decisions were affirmed by the district appellate court when the city government, which now included former CRG activists who used their association with the organization to reach political office, tried to appeal the case.²⁰

The implementation of Boca Raton's Growth Cap also led to conflict with Arvida regarding the development of the Boca Inlet. Arvida bought property surrounding the Boca Inlet in the 1960s, and after several delays, Arvida created a plan for the development of the area known as Sabal Point on the inlet in 1976. The proposed plan would have created an improved sea wall alongside the property paired with a luxury hotel now known as The Beach Club at the Boca Raton Hotel & Club. However, the plan quickly faced challenges from the city that were intensified by the ongoing Growth Cap case appeals. Boca Raton's Environmental Advisory Board determined Arvida's plans would be harmful to local wildlife in addition to severing public beach access for residents unless they paid the hotel's exorbitant rates.²¹

In the context of the ongoing Cap case, the emerging disagreement concerning the Boca Inlet nearly resulted in another lawsuit as the local government threatened to sue Arvida for the right to purchase the land and prevent development so the area would remain open to the public. Eventually, the city council brokered a deal with Arvida that allowed them to build the hotel in exchange for beach access remaining available. However, this decision notably did not reflect the

²⁰ *Arvida Corp.*, 371 So. 2d 160 (Fla. Dist. Ct. App. 1979); Wesley "Battle Against Urban Sprawl," September 6, 1973.

²¹ Patrick Riordan, "Public Access Lost in Hotel's Approval," *Boca Raton News* (Boca Raton, FL.), August 12, 1976.

will of Boca Raton residents, who were distrustful of Arvida in the wake of the Growth Cap litigation. These suspicions proved to be justified when the hotel was completed, and it was revealed to the public that beach access was only available south of the inlet, while the area adjacent to the hotel was restricted by a fence, making access legally murky for any interested beachgoers. This conflict between Arvida and Boca Raton over the inlet illustrates the consequences of the Cap lawsuits in how they created an almost adversarial relationship with local development companies, resulting in policy formed out of mutual distrust between the two and easily disregarded.²²

The Cap in the News

In addition to the negative relationship with development companies incurred by the Cap, Boca Raton's resistance to growth and corresponding legislation soured the city's national reputation. As early as 1973, only a few months after the Growth Cap took effect, Boca Raton was widely criticized as a gilded city of excess that, through the promulgation of anti-growth legislation, must have been attempting to send a message of exclusivity and splendor. This perspective is reflected in a 1973 New York Times article written by Jon Nordwimer that lambasts the Cap. He asserts that the legislation was created with the express purpose of making Boca Raton less inclusive by deterring the influx of economically and racially diverse residents. Nordwimer adds to this damning depiction of Boca Raton with meticulous descriptions of city landmarks that embody the exclusivity he argues is inherent to Boca Raton's culture, such as the Boca Raton Hotel & Club with its exorbitant pricing. This interest in remaining small and exclusive is juxtaposed with the state government's depiction of Florida as a growing and thriving state during this time period. The article also uses imagery to reinforce Boca Raton's

²² Riordan, "Public Access Lost in Hotel's Approval," 1976.

privilege, including a photograph of Champagne being sold on a golf course from what appears to be an ice cream cart.²³



Images from Nordwimer's 1973 Article

Nordwimer's depiction of Boca Raton in direct response to the Growth Cap legislation has continued to serve as a damaging feature to the city's reputation. In that, Boca Raton is still associated with glitz and glamor, just as it was in the 1970s, a perception that only intensified as a result of the Cap legislation, which at face value appears to confirm elitist stereotypes regarding Boca Raton. It is important to acknowledge that some did support anti-growth legislation to halt the city's growth into a racially and economically diverse population; however, many of them also supported the Cap because they were responding to what they felt were grave concerns regarding not only the state's massive increase of population as a result of modern amenities, but also Boca Raton's growth from the IBM site and FAU. Moreover, these regional trends took place within the context of the aforementioned global trends and literature regarding growth that seemed truly alarming prior to these

²³ Nordwimer, "Boca Raton Decides to Stop Growing," 1973.

concerns being soothed in the late 1970s. As a result, it is unfair to characterize Boca by its exclusivity, and a more cosmopolitan view of the Growth Cap is necessary. This is reinforced by the fact that shortly after the Cap was repealed, the state legislature successfully passed density and zoning mandates that withstood judicial scrutiny, illustrating that more reasonable legislation regarding growth was a possibility following the anxiety of the Cap.²⁴

Conclusion

In conclusion, Boca Raton's Growth Cap legislation was the result of global growth trends in the 1960s paired with state-wide patterns that brought increasing numbers of older residents to Florida in search of a warm locale to spend their retirement.²⁵ This growth was further intensified in Boca Raton as a result of the city's changing demographic, which was growing to include younger more racially and economically diverse residents with the presence of IBM, FAU, and migration from nearby counties. Because of this newfound growth in association with pre-existing anxiety about growth sparked worldwide by literature, such as Erlich's *The Population Bomb*, along with a misreading of Webb's reports, a bi-partisan group of Boca Raton residents were uniquely and critically vulnerable to panic regarding the city's growing and changing demographic, resulting in anti-growth legislation.²⁶ Therefore, discussion regarding Boca Raton's Growth Cap should be placed into the context of this vulnerability that spurred Councilman Wymbs to propose drastic limitations to growth, a call to action that was carried forward by CRG and, to a more limited degree, People For Boca.

In spite of panic caused by the uniquely turbulent period of growth Boca Raton was

²⁴ King, "Boca made ill-fated effort to restrict growth 30 years ago," 2005.

²⁵ Lam, "How the World Survived the Population Bomb: Lessons From 50 Years of Extraordinary Demographic History," 1233; Mormino, "Sunbelt Dreams and Altered States: A Social and Cultural History of Florida, 1950-2000," 6.

²⁶ Lam, "How the World Survived the Population Bomb: Lessons From 50 Years of Extraordinary Demographic History," 1233; Webb, "Report No.1 The Population of Boca Raton By Planning Areas and Years 1955 to 1965," 2.

undergoing in the early 1970s, the court adequately responded to the legislation. This resulted in Judge Sholts' decision in both the Boca Villas Keating-Meredith and Arvida cases, which was upheld by the appellate courts. Sholts accurately identified that the key issues revolving around damage to the environment, education, and city infrastructure could not be solved by the Growth Cap legislation that had been designed in a panic and was promulgated to solely address the issue of housing units. This was done without consulting city planning officials regarding how best to manage growth. Moreover, the litigation associated with the Cap led to a continual struggle between Boca Raton and local development companies, most notably in the case of negotiations with Arvida over both University Park and Boca Inlet beach access.²⁷

The Cap, while well-intended, only served to further entrench the city government in squabbles with local development companies rather than implement public policy aimed at the actual severity of issues facing the community and developing long-term planning. Furthermore, the city's reputation as an elitist, exclusive community was magnified by the national attention the Cap received prior to it being repealed.²⁸ As a result, the Florida state-wide density mandates represent a more reasonable approach to growth management that reflects long-term planning and caution rather than the alarmist legislation implemented in Boca Raton.²⁹ Additionally, Boca Raton should continue to follow this precedent of reasonable growth management as the local government continues to examine growth and administer resources to the city's diverse population. A population that has grown to approximately 100,000, representing a figure that finally meets the Growth Cap's intended maximum population more

²⁷ *Arvida Corp*, 371 So. 2d 160 (Fla. Dist. Ct. App. 1979); *Boca Villas Corp*, 371 So. 2d 160 (Fla. Dist. Ct. App. 1979).

²⁸ Nordwimer, "Boca Raton Decides to Stop Growing," 1973.

²⁹ King, "Boca made ill-fated effort to restrict growth 30 years ago," 2005.

than 50 years after Norman Wymbs proposed growth control.³⁰



Aerial of Boca Raton, 1970



Aerial of Boca Raton, 2020

³⁰ University of Florida Bureau of Economic and Business Research, Table 1 Estimates of Population by County and City in Florida, 2023, Prepared by Bureau of Economic and Business Research, https://www.bebr.ufl.edu/wpcontent/uploads/2023/12/estimates_2023.pdf.

Bibliography

- Curl, Donald W, and John P Johnson. *Boca Raton: A Pictorial History*. 3rd ed., Boca Raton: Boca Raton Historical Society and The Boca Raton Resort & Club, 1990.
- King, Dale M. "Boca made ill-fated effort to restrict growth 30 years ago." *Boca Raton News* (Boca Raton, FL), Sept. 4, 2005.
- Lam, David. "How the World Survived the Population Bomb: Lessons From 50 Years of Extraordinary Demographic History." *Demography* 48, no. 4 (2011): 1231–62.
- Mormino, Gary R. "Sunbelt Dreams and Altered States: A Social and Cultural History of Florida, 1950-2000." *The Florida Historical Quarterly* 81, no. 1 (2002): 3–21.
- Nordwimer, Jon. "Boca Raton Decides to Stop Growing." *The New York Times* (New York, New York), Feb. 9, 1973.
- Patrick Riordan, "Public Access Lost in Hotel's Approval," *Boca Raton News* (Boca Raton, FL.), August 12, 1976.
- Shenkin, Hubert B. "The Boca Raton Growth Cap." (master's thesis, Nova Southeastern University, 1984).
- Webb, John N. "Report No.1 The Population of Boca Raton By Planning Areas and Years 1955 to 1965," 1966. BRHS collection, 2012.150.226. Boca Raton Historical Society. Boca Raton, FL.
- , John N. "Report No.2 How Many People? The Population Capacity of Boca Raton Under Present Conditions of Land Use and Zoning Regulations," 1966. BRHS collection, 2012.150.226. Boca Raton Historical Society. Boca Raton, FL.
- , John N. "Report No.3 Population Projections for the City of Boca Raton to 1970, 1975, and 1980." 1967. Boca Raton Historical Society. Boca Raton, FL.
- Wesley, Sandy. "Battle Against Urban Sprawl." *The Palm Beach Post* (West Palm Beach, FL). Sept. 6, 1973.
- Wilken, Dorothy. "Dorothy Wilken OH 2024 Transcription." Interviewed by Christian Robinson & Thomas Wood on July 26, 2024, in Delray Beach. Boca Raton Historical Society, Boca Raton, FL.
- City of Boca Raton v. Arvida Corp, 371 So. 2d 160 (Fla. Dist. Ct. App. 1979). <https://casetext.com/case/city-of-boca-raton-v-arvida-corp-1>.
- City of Boca Raton v. Boca Villas Corp., 371 So. 2d 154 (Fla. Dist. Ct. App. 1979). <https://casetext.com/case/city-of-boca-raton-v-boca-villas>.
- University of Florida Bureau of Economic and Business Research. Table 1 Estimates of

Population by County and City in Florida, 2023. Prepared by Bureau of Economic and
Business Research.
https://www.bebr.ufl.edu/wpcontent/uploads/2023/12/estimates_2023.pdf.