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Representational Bias in the 2008 Electorate

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Executive Summary

Representational Bias in the 2008 Electorate reviews the story of who was eligible to vote, who was registered to vote, and who did vote in the 2008 general election. By comparing this data with those from other recent elections, the report presents a picture of the changing electorate in the United States, and identifies the changes in the extent to which participation in our federal elections is—and is not—representative of the population that is eligible to vote in America. These findings are based on the authors' analysis of the November Voting and Registration Supplements of the U.S. Census Bureau's Current Population Survey, a biennial nationwide survey of approximately 90,000 adult citizens.

In 2008, the adult citizen population—U.S. citizens 18 years of age and older—numbered approximately 206 million. Sixty-four percent of this population voted in the general election of 2008. This overall participation rate is not substantially different compared to 2004, but was 4 percentage points higher than in 2000. However, even without an increase in rate, continued rapid growth in the U.S. population caused the number of citizens that voted in 2008 to be noticeably larger than in 2004: there were 131 million voters in 2008 compared to 126 million voters in 2004.

Gains by Underrepresented Groups in the 2008 Election

Continuing historic trends, the registered and voting populations were disproportionately composed of older, wealthier, and White Americans. (See *Table 1*, on page v.) However, the population that voted in 2008—while still unrepresentative of the American population in many ways—was more diverse than in previous years. This is attributable to the increasing diversity of the population eligible to vote, a significant increase in turnout among minority voters in 2008, and a slight decline in turnout among White non-Latino voters.

This report finds that the 2008 election saw some significant gains in participation among historically underrepresented groups:

- Increasing diversity in the adult citizen population contributed to diversification in the makeup of those registered and voting in presidential elections. While non-Whites (which in this report includes Latinos of any race) constituted only slightly more than one-quarter of the adult citizen population in 2008, non-Whites accounted for nearly two-thirds of the *growth* of the adult citizen population since the previous presidential election.

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- Moreover, the number of additional non-Whites registered to vote since 2004 equaled the entire increase in the registered population since 2004.
- A surge in voting among non-Whites in 2008 made up approximately 91 percent of the increase in the total number of voters since 2004.
- The increase in non-White voting was disproportionately driven by an increase in minority voters under the age of 30. In fact, because of this increase in participation by young minority voters, 2008 was the only election in recent memory where the voting rate by youth increased while the rate for those 30 and over did not.
- Reported voter registration rates among Black women under 30, the highest rate among citizens under 30 of any race or gender, grew negligibly since 2004, but registration rates increased remarkably among young Black men (8 percentage points), young Latinos of both genders (6 percentage points), and Asians (5 percentage points for young men and 13 points for young women).¹
- Among these younger populations, Black women voted at the highest rate (64 percent), followed by White women (56 percent) and Black men (52 percent). All minority groups under 30 saw increases in their turnout rates compared to 2004.

Continuing Disparities in the Registered and Voting Populations

Some 75 million Americans—36 percent of the adult citizen population—did not cast a ballot in the 2008 election. Overall, 90 percent of those who were registered voted in 2008. Thus, of the 75 million non-voters, 15 million were registered voters who did not vote. The remaining 60 million non-voters were not registered to vote in 2008.

While some representational gains were evident in the population that was registered and voted in 2008, this report finds that some notable inequalities still remain. The unregistered and non-voting populations remain disproportionately composed of low-income and minority Americans. (See *Table 1* and *Figure 1*.) Because of the high rate of voting in presidential elections among those registered, the nationwide composition of those who are unregistered and those who are not voting are often similar, as can be seen in *Table 1*.

Had citizens from underrepresented populations voted at the rate of those in other groups, tens of millions of more citizens would have participated in the 2008 election. (See *Table 2*.) Some notable observations from these tables and the report:

- Overall, non-Whites made up 27 percent of the adult citizen population, but only 24 percent of the voters. Put another way, non-Whites made up a disproportionate 33 percent of the unregistered population.

Table 1: Composition of Adult Citizen Population, Voters, Unregistered, and Non-Voters, 2008

Demographic Category	Adult Citizens	Voters	Unregistered	Non-Voters*
Race				
White	73%	76%	67%	68%
Black	12%	12%	12%	11%
Asian /Pacific Islander	4%	3%	6%	5%
Latino	9%	7%	13%	13%
Native American	1%	<1%	1%	1%
Multi-racial	1%	1%	1%	1%
Age Group				
Under 30	21%	17%	29%	29%
30 and Over	79%	83%	71%	71%
Annual Household Income				
Less than \$25,000	20%	16%	29%	29%
More than \$100,000	20%	24%	13%	13%
Education				
High School Degree or Less	43%	34%	58%	58%
Some College or More	57%	66%	42%	42%
Marital Status				
Married	55%	60%	46%	46%
Unmarried	45%	40%	54%	54%
Disability **				
Disability Reported	12%	11%	14%	15%
No Disability Reported	88%	89%	86%	85%
Time At Present Residence				
Less than 5 Years	49%	37%	54%	52%
5 Years or More	51%	63%	46%	48%

Source: November 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote

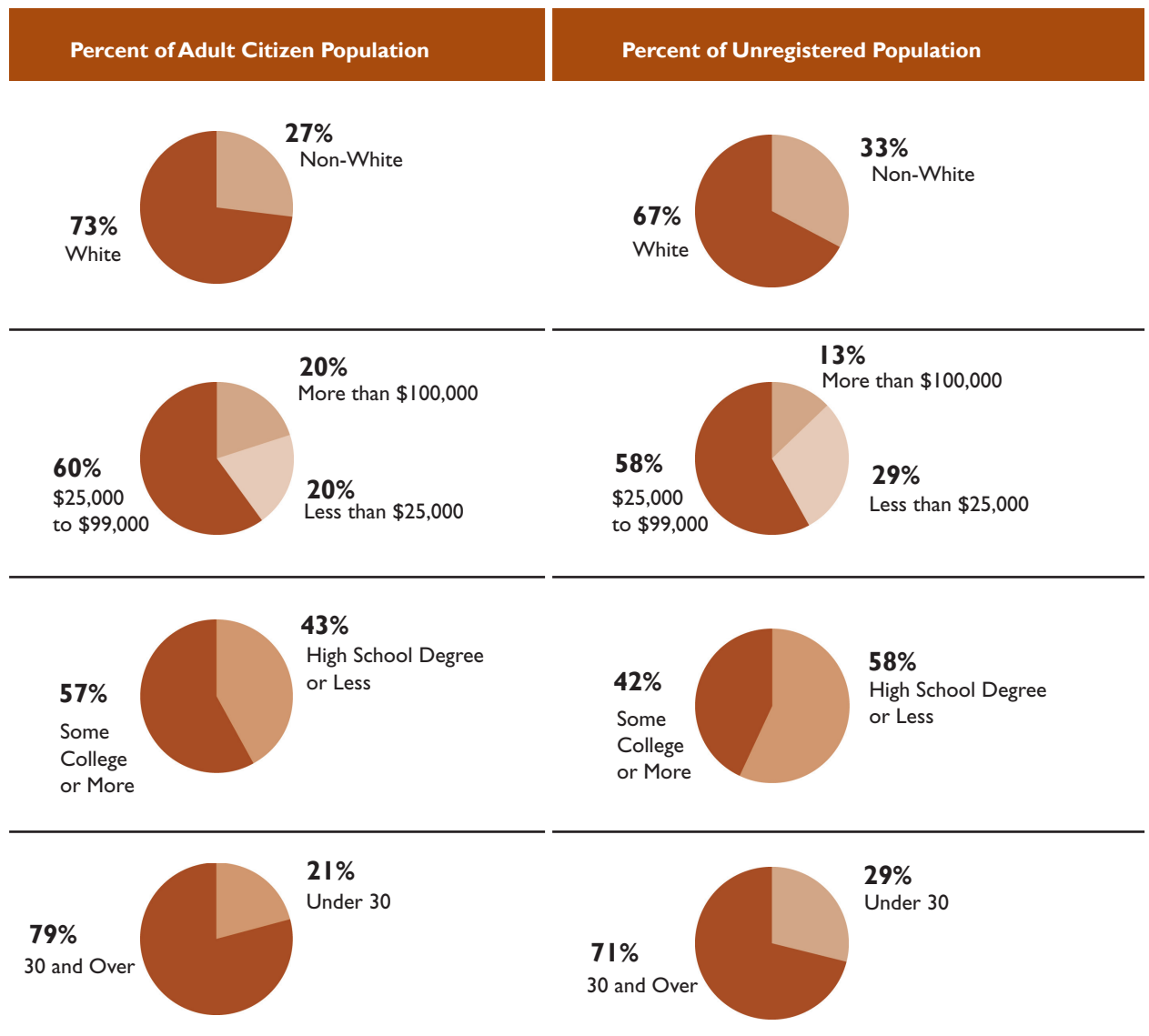
* Because 90 percent or more of those registered vote in presidential elections, the nationwide composition of those who are not registered and those who are not voting are often approximately equal.

** This new measure in the CPS may undercount the disabled population. (See page 29.)

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- Altogether, nearly 24 million non-Whites did not vote in 2008. Had minorities voted at the same rate as Whites, approximately 5 million more votes would have been cast.
- Citizens under the age of 30 made up 21 percent of the adult citizen population, but only 17 percent of the voters. They made up 29 percent of the unregistered population.
- Approximately 21 million citizens under the age of 30 did not vote in 2008. Had younger citizens voted at the same rate as those aged 30 and over, 7 million more votes would have been cast.

Figure 1: Demographic Groups as Percent of Adult Citizen Population and as Percent of Unregistered Population, 2008



Source: November 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote

- Citizens from households with annual incomes below \$25,000 make up 20 percent of the adult citizen population reporting income, but only 16 percent of the voters reporting income. This income group constitutes 29 percent of those unregistered reporting income in 2008. Approximately 15 million adults in this reported income bracket did not vote in 2008.
- Meanwhile, citizens with annual household incomes of \$100,000 or more, who also made up approximately 20 percent of the adult citizen population, were 24 percent of the voting population reporting income. Yet, they made up only 13 percent of the unregistered population.
- Had citizens from the lower quintile of the household income measure voted at the rate of those from the top quintile, roughly 8.4 million additional low-income citizens would have voted.

Table 2: Additional Voters Had Parity in Turnout Been Achieved, 2008

Comparison Groups	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Additional Voters with Turnout Parity*
Race		
White	66%	
Non-White	57%	5,034
Annual Household Income		
\$100,000 or More	79%	
\$25,000 or Less	54%	8,357
Education		
Some College or More	73%	
High School or Less	51%	19,856
Age Group		
30 and Over	67%	
Under 30	51%	7,008
Marital Status of Women		
Married	71%	
Unmarried	60%	5,665
Disability		
No Disability Reported	65%	
Disability Reported	57%	1,852

Source: November 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote

* The number of additional citizens that would have voted, had this group turned out to vote in 2008 at the rate of the other group.

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Unfortunately, if historical patterns persist, the registration and turnout rates for the upcoming 2010 mid-term election will markedly decline compared to 2008, and some of the disparities found in this report may expand:²

- For the past seven election cycles, the national turnout rate in mid-term elections averaged 15 percentage points lower than the preceding presidential election.
- The steep decline in voting between presidential and mid-term elections for younger voters is consistently several points greater than that for the general population.
- The decline in turnout between presidential and mid-term elections is often nearly the same for both Whites and Blacks. However, the nationwide drop in the voter turnout rate for Whites between the 2004 presidential election and the 2006 mid-term election was about 16 percentage points, whereas the decline for Blacks was about 19 points.

It remains to be seen if the increases in turnout for various groups in 2008 came from populations that will turnout in significantly lower rates come 2010.³ However, this strong possibility, coupled with the remarkably steady and rapid growth in the population of the United States, means both government officials and civic organizations will need to redouble their efforts in assisting populations that are underrepresented in elections in the coming year. This includes enforcement of current registration and election laws, improvements or additional reforms to voter registration policies, and recognition of the importance of voter registration drives in reaching underrepresented populations.

Introduction

Historically, the proportion of the U.S. population that registers to vote and that does vote has been skewed towards White, educated, and wealthier citizens. Furthermore, young Americans and those who have recently moved have been disproportionately represented among those who do not participate in U.S. elections. While many of these trends remained the same in 2008, a surge in voting by minorities, particularly youth, made the 2008 election more representative of the adult citizen population than past elections.

Research on who does and does not vote can come from either administrative data (i.e., election files kept by local or state officials), or from survey data. One of the largest ongoing surveys on voting behavior is the Current Population Survey's (CPS) Voting and Registration Supplement. The CPS, conducted by the Bureau of the Census for the Bureau of Labor Statistics, is a monthly survey of over 60,000 households and is designed to be representative of the non-institutionalized population of the United States. In November of even-numbered years for the past several decades the CPS has included a short battery of questions related to voter registration and voting.

This report reviews how responses to some questions in the CPS's November Voting and Registration Supplements have changed over the past few presidential elections, as well as how responses vary across some important demographic categories such as race, gender, and income. Data on voter registration and voter turnout for each state and the District of Columbia are also provided.

The report finds that those who are registered and who vote are not representative of the U.S. population that is eligible to vote. Age, race, income, education, residential mobility, gender, and marital status are categories reviewed in this report. These categories all identify lines across which voter registration and turnout can vary enormously. In addition, for the first time, the 2008 CPS also asked respondents questions about various disabilities, so this report briefly reviews the registration and turnout rates of those reporting one or more disabilities.

Table 1 in the Executive Summary presents a snapshot of the under-representation of some of the categories explored in greater detail in the sections that follow. Even though the 2008 election was more diverse than other recent elections, *Figure 1* (also in the Executive Summary) demonstrates that many demographic groups remain disproportionately unregistered. *Table 2* in the Executive Summary shows, for some populations, how many additional voters would have voted in 2008 had underrepresented populations participated at the rate of over-represented groups.

Introduction

Not explored in this report are the non-demographic factors that contribute to the skewed nature of electoral participation in the United States. A wide variety of state policies and election laws – ranging from voter registration policies, to the voting rights of formerly incarcerated persons, to identification requirements – appear to have disparate impacts on the registration and turnout rates of various subpopulations. Other writings by Project Vote, advocacy groups, and academics detail research on institutional barriers such as the policies mentioned.⁴ Regardless of the causes, however, nearly 60 million adult citizens—29 percent of the total—reported that they were not registered to vote, and a total of 75 million adult citizens—36 percent of the total—did not vote in 2008.

Altogether, this review of the survey data strongly points to the need for civic organizations and government officials (at all levels of government) to redouble their efforts to expand access to voter registration services and facilitate access to the ballot box. Civic organizations, in addition to advocating for better enforcement of existing laws, have begun to call for additional reforms to further expand citizen access to voter registration. Arguably, the disparities in the voter registration rates between various populations that are identified in this report pose a far more serious problem for representative democracy than a less than perfect overall registration rate. Under-representation potentially skews our national agenda and excludes from major public policy decisions the voices of our least powerful and most vulnerable citizens. Thus, the major objective of any reforms should be to reduce the disparities found in this report.

State and local election officials should view under-representation in elections as a call to embrace voter registration as an affirmative responsibility of government. Better implementation of laws relating to the registration of young, low-income, and minority voters, starting with much-needed enforcement of the National Voter Registration Act (NVRA), should be a priority for local and state officials.⁵

In addition, despite the recent spate of attacks on voter registration drives, election officials and civic groups should continue to recognize the importance of drives as a vital tool for increasing civic participation. According to the 2008 CPS, nearly 9 million citizens reported having registered “at a voter registration drive.” (See *Table 3* on the next page.) This equals 8 percent of the total responding to the question and who remembered where they registered.⁶ This likely seriously undercounts the total impact of voter registration drives, however, as 9.4 million citizens (another 8 percent) reported that they registered “at a school, hospital, or on campus”—all locations where voter registration drives are often conducted by civic organizations and student groups. Moreover, it is likely that some portion of the 19.7 million citizens that registered to vote through mail-in voter registration applications received these applications from voter drives or from organizations that distributed these forms through the postal or electronic mail.

As documented in this report, the United States population continues to grow rapidly. Thus, even if additional voter registration reforms markedly increase the overall registration rate, it is likely that voter registration drives will continue to play an important role in facilitating the electoral participation of millions of citizens. As shown in *Table 3* below, when compared to Whites, non-Whites are twice as likely to report having registered through a voter registration drive, and roughly fifty percent

more likely to report having registered at a school or on campus. Minorities are also more likely to register to vote via mail-in voter registration forms and at public assistance agencies.

Therefore, in addition to expanding their own efforts to register additional voters and ensure full and fair implementation of the NVRA, state and local election officials should work with civic organizations to improve the quality and scope of registration drives, which serve as an important tool for registering millions of citizens, particularly in communities with historically low registration rates.

*Table 3: How Citizens Registered to Vote**

	Whites		Non-Whites		Total	
Department of motor vehicles	23,877	27%	7,079	25%	30,956	26%
Public assistance agency	746	1%	716	3%	1,462	1%
Registered by mail	14,200	16%	5,503	19%	19,703	17%
School, hospital, or on campus	6,327	7%	3,103	11%	9,430	8%
Town hall or county registration office	26,278	29%	5,268	18%	31,546	27%
Registration drive	5,566	6%	3,409	12%	8,975	8%
On election or primary day	7,456	8%	1,695	6%	9,151	8%
Other	4,675	5%	1,745	6%	6,421	5%
Total	89,125	100%	28,518	100%	117,643	100%

Source: November 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote; numbers are in 1000's

* Percents are of those who recalled how they registered to vote.

National and State Registration and Voting Data

Table 4a: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by State, 2008

State	Adult Citizens	Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Rank	Voted	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Rank	Voted as % of Registered
Alabama	3,404	2,438	72%	29	2,126	62%	38	87%
Alaska	468	345	74%	20	304	65%	27	88%
Arizona	4,169	2,874	69%	40	2,497	60%	42	87%
Arkansas	2,030	1,317	65%	48	1,092	54%	48	83%
California	21,816	4,885	68%	42	13,828	63%	33	93%
Colorado	3,374	2,437	72%	27	2,308	68%	10	95%
Connecticut	2,396	1,761	74%	21	1,610	67%	20	91%
Delaware	606	447	74%	19	408	67%	18	91%
District of Columbia	413	324	78%	4	306	74%	2	95%
Florida	12,462	8,774	70%	34	7,951	64%	32	91%
Georgia	6,515	4,624	71%	31	4,183	64%	30	90%
Hawaii	883	522	59%	51	457	52%	51	88%
Idaho	1,049	723	69%	40	644	61%	40	89%
Illinois	8,681	6,151	71%	32	5,436	63%	36	88%
Indiana	4,562	3,105	68%	43	2,758	61%	41	89%
Iowa	2,137	1,630	76%	10	1,501	70%	7	92%
Kansas	1,926	1,343	70%	37	1,219	63%	34	91%
Kentucky	3,094	2,259	73%	22	1,952	63%	35	86%
Louisiana	3,056	2,393	78%	4	2,149	70%	6	90%
Maine	1,005	801	80%	2	716	71%	3	89%
Maryland	3,824	2,828	74%	18	2,611	68%	11	92%
Massachusetts	4,533	3,293	73%	25	3,044	67%	21	92%
Michigan	7,176	5,531	77%	6	4,865	68%	12	88%
Minnesota	3,678	2,931	80%	2	2,759	75%	1	94%
Mississippi	2,064	1,589	77%	7	1,439	70%	8	91%
Missouri	4,326	3,224	75%	15	2,846	66%	23	88%
Montana	724	516	71%	30	473	65%	26	92%
Nebraska	1,253	939	75%	14	844	67%	18	90%
Nevada	1,714	1,147	67%	45	1,027	60%	42	90%
New Hampshire	994	756	76%	11	708	71%	3	94%
New Jersey	5,675	4,022	71%	32	3,637	64%	31	90%
New Mexico	1,352	937	69%	38	846	63%	36	90%
New York	12,849	8,458	66%	47	7,559	59%	44	89%
North Carolina	6,477	4,902	76%	12	4,370	68%	15	89%
North Dakota	476	399	84%	1	321	68%	15	81%
Ohio	8,367	6,108	73%	22	5,483	66%	25	90%

(Table 4a continued)

State	Adult Citizens	Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Rank	Voted	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Rank	Voted as % of Registered
Oklahoma	2,566	1,798	70%	35	1,507	59%	45	84%
Oregon	2,687	1,961	73%	22	1,818	68%	14	93%
Pennsylvania	9,206	6,451	70%	35	5,747	62%	38	89%
Rhode Island	752	568	76%	13	507	67%	17	89%
South Carolina	3,202	2,385	75%	15	2,100	66%	24	88%
South Dakota	575	442	77%	8	390	68%	12	88%
Tennessee	4,529	2,921	65%	49	2,516	56%	47	86%
Texas	15,040	10,123	67%	44	8,435	56%	46	83%
Utah	1,768	1,056	60%	50	939	53%	50	89%
Vermont	476	345	73%	26	308	65%	28	89%
Virginia	5,316	3,950	74%	17	3,650	69%	9	92%
Washington	4,600	3,299	72%	28	3,073	67%	22	93%
West Virginia	1,387	917	66%	46	741	53%	49	81%
Wisconsin	4,053	3,095	76%	9	2,887	71%	3	93%
Wyoming	389	270	69%	38	250	64%	29	93%
Total	206,072	146,311	71%		131,144	64%		90%

Source: November 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote; numbers are in 1000's

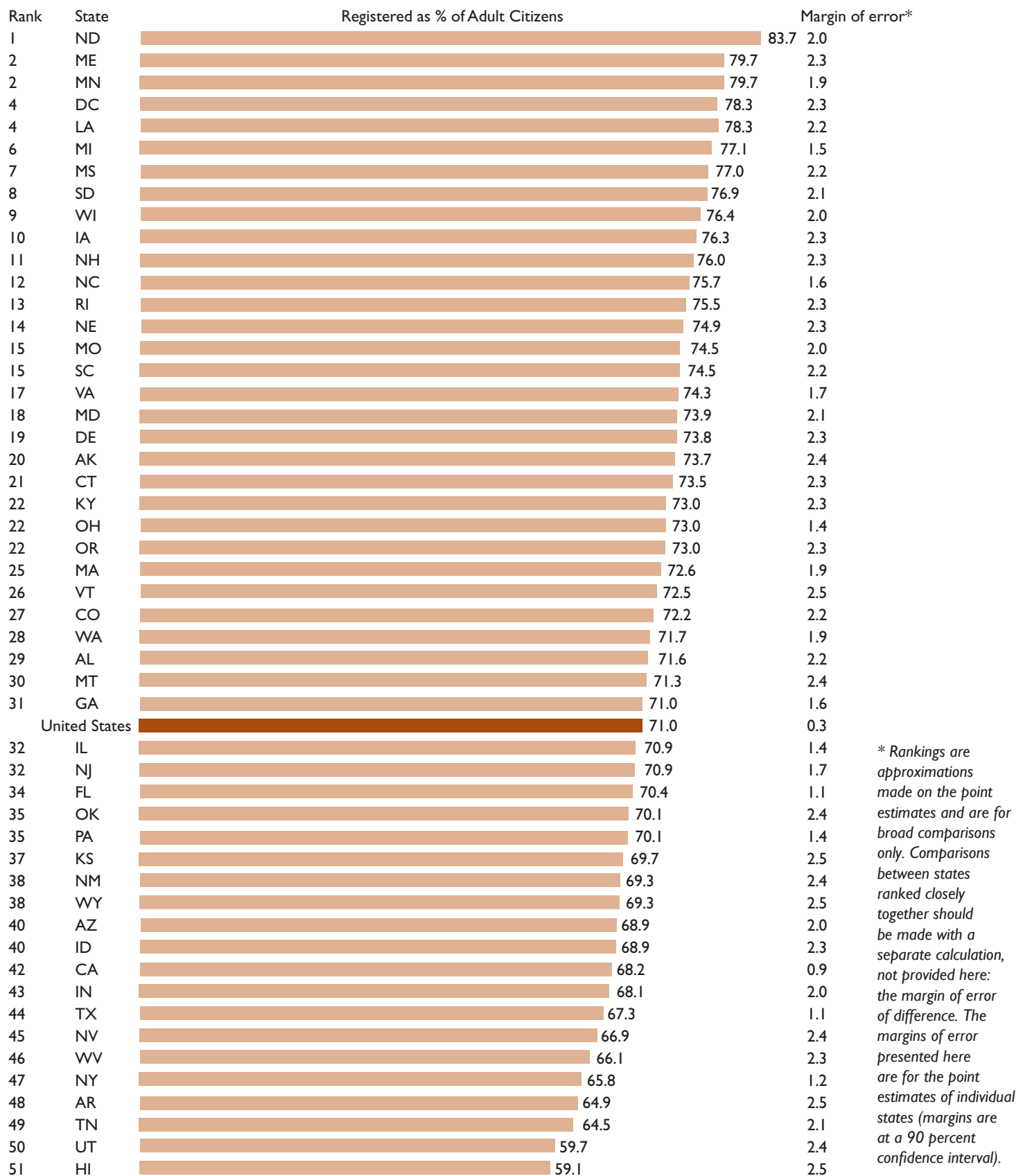
Table 4a provides, for each state, estimates of the total number of adult citizens, and of the number of citizens registered and voting in 2008. The table also provides the voter registration and turnout rates as a percentage of the adult population, as well as the turnout rate for those registered. Each state is ranked based on estimated voter registration and turnout rates.⁷

- In 2008, out of 206.1 million adult citizens, 146.3 million reported that they were registered, and 131.1 million reported voting.
- The national registration rate of the adult citizen population was 71 percent, the national turnout rate was nearly 64 percent, and the national rate of turnout for those registered was approximately 90 percent.

Interestingly, even though it is well known that people tend to over-report certain behaviors on surveys—including voting—the number of ballots cast in 2008, approximately 132 million, is very close to the CPS estimate of 131 million voters.⁸

National and State Registration and Voting Data

Figure 2: States Ranked by Voter Registration Rates, 2008



Source: November 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote.

Table 4b: Adult Citizen Population and Registration by State, 2000, 2004, and 2008

State	2000			2004			2008		
	Adult Citizens	Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Adult Citizens	Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Adult Citizens	Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens
Alabama	3,233	2,411	75%	3,257	2,418	74%	3,404	2,438	72%
Alaska	399	299	75%	434	334	77%	468	345	74%
Arizona	3,129	1,879	60%	3,508	2,485	71%	4,169	2,874	69%
Arkansas	1,851	1,125	61%	1,942	1,328	68%	2,030	1,317	65%
California	19,837	13,061	66%	20,693	14,193	69%	21,816	14,885	68%
Colorado	2,854	1,954	69%	3,109	2,307	74%	3,374	2,437	72%
Connecticut	2,239	1,510	67%	2,409	1,695	70%	2,396	1,761	74%
Delaware	543	385	71%	579	415	72%	606	447	74%
District of Columbia	373	295	79%	390	293	75%	413	324	78%
Florida	10,081	7,043	70%	11,469	8,219	72%	12,462	8,774	70%
Georgia	5,553	3,528	64%	5,866	3,948	67%	6,515	4,624	71%
Hawaii	771	402	52%	852	497	58%	883	522	59%
Idaho	892	569	64%	948	663	70%	1,049	723	69%
Illinois	8,118	5,911	73%	8,640	6,437	75%	8,681	6,151	71%
Indiana	4,303	3,000	70%	4,435	3,031	68%	4,562	3,105	68%
Iowa	2,008	1,524	76%	2,136	1,674	78%	2,137	1,630	76%
Kansas	1,861	1,293	69%	1,851	1,338	72%	1,926	1,343	70%
Kentucky	2,918	2,087	72%	2,969	2,231	75%	3,094	2,259	73%
Louisiana	3,091	2,369	77%	3,218	2,413	75%	3,056	2,393	78%
Maine	966	786	81%	1,007	824	82%	1,005	801	80%
Maryland	3,565	2,499	70%	3,678	2,676	73%	3,824	2,828	74%
Massachusetts	4,246	3,244	76%	4,497	3,483	78%	4,533	3,293	73%
Michigan	6,963	4,996	72%	7,177	5,364	75%	7,176	5,531	77%
Minnesota	3,407	2,688	79%	3,645	3,080	85%	3,678	2,931	80%
Mississippi	2,001	1,465	73%	2,049	1,510	74%	2,064	1,589	77%
Missouri	3,987	3,023	76%	4,106	3,336	81%	4,326	3,224	75%
Montana	650	461	71%	687	519	76%	724	516	71%
Nebraska	1,176	865	74%	1,215	918	76%	1,253	939	75%
Nevada	1,229	720	59%	1,477	965	65%	1,714	1,147	67%
New Hampshire	857	628	73%	948	716	76%	994	756	76%
New Jersey	5,458	3,859	71%	5,591	4,085	73%	5,675	4,022	71%
New Mexico	1,188	750	63%	1,301	936	72%	1,352	937	69%
New York	11,877	8,047	68%	12,779	8,624	68%	12,849	8,458	66%
North Carolina	5,335	3,720	70%	5,923	4,292	73%	6,477	4,902	76%
North Dakota	445	409	92%	462	412	89%	476	399	84%
Ohio	8,143	5,561	68%	8,305	6,003	72%	8,367	6,108	73%

National and State Registration and Voting Data

(Table 4b continued)

State	2000			2004			2008		
	Adult Citizens	Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Adult Citizens	Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Adult Citizens	Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens
Oklahoma	2,400	1,679	70%	2,476	1,781	72%	2,566	1,798	70%
Oregon	2,295	1,714	75%	2,600	2,049	79%	2,687	1,961	73%
Pennsylvania	8,687	5,847	67%	9,055	6,481	72%	9,206	6,451	70%
Rhode Island	690	508	74%	732	522	71%	752	568	76%
South Carolina	2,897	1,993	69%	3,002	2,238	75%	3,202	2,385	75%
South Dakota	525	376	72%	554	425	77%	575	442	77%
Tennessee	4,067	2,590	64%	4,250	2,739	64%	4,529	2,921	65%
Texas	12,937	8,929	69%	13,925	9,681	70%	15,040	10,123	67%
Utah	1,378	953	69%	1,508	1,141	76%	1,768	1,056	60%
Vermont	451	330	73%	469	354	76%	476	345	73%
Virginia	4,912	3,317	68%	4,971	3,441	69%	5,316	3,950	74%
Washington	4,078	2,852	70%	4,220	3,133	74%	4,600	3,299	72%
West Virginia	1,397	886	63%	1,394	935	67%	1,387	917	66%
Wisconsin	3,755	2,970	79%	3,928	3,225	82%	4,053	3,095	76%
Wyoming	348	240	69%	370	265	72%	389	270	69%
Totals	186,366	129,549	70%	197,005	142,070	72%	206,072	146,311	71%

Source: November 2000, 2004, and 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote; numbers are in 1000's

Table 4b provides the total number of adult citizens and registration data for all states for the last three presidential elections: 2000, 2004, and 2008. Table 4c provides voting data for all states for the same three years.

- The national registration rate has remained fairly consistent across the three presidential elections, ranging from 70 to 72 percent of the adult population, even as the demographic composition of electorate changed.
- While turnout increased from 60 percent in 2000 to 64 percent in 2004, it did not change markedly between 2004 and 2008.
- In no state in 2008 did the number voting as a rate of the number registered drop below 80 percent. For more than half of the states this rate surpassed over 90 percent. The percent of those registered who voted in 2008 was four points higher than in 2000 (90 percent and 86 percent, respectively), but was essentially unchanged compared to 2004 (89 percent).

Table 4c: Voter Turnout by State, 2000, 2004, & 2008

State	2000			2004			2008		
	Voted	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered	Voted	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered	Voted	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
Alabama	1,953	60%	81%	2,060	63%	85%	2,126	62%	87%
Alaska	270	68%	90%	293	68%	88%	304	65%	88%
Arizona	1,644	53%	88%	2,239	64%	90%	2,497	60%	87%
Arkansas	936	51%	83%	1,140	59%	86%	1,092	54%	83%
California	11,489	58%	88%	12,807	62%	90%	13,828	63%	93%
Colorado	1,633	57%	84%	2,097	68%	91%	2,308	68%	95%
Connecticut	1,332	60%	88%	1,524	63%	90%	1,610	67%	91%
Delaware	352	65%	92%	385	66%	93%	408	67%	91%
District of Columbia	267	72%	91%	270	69%	92%	306	74%	95%
Florida	6,006	60%	85%	7,372	64%	90%	7,951	64%	91%
Georgia	2,827	51%	80%	3,332	57%	84%	4,183	64%	90%
Hawaii	340	44%	84%	433	51%	87%	457	52%	88%
Idaho	500	56%	88%	585	62%	88%	644	61%	89%
Illinois	5,030	62%	85%	5,672	66%	88%	5,436	63%	88%
Indiana	2,564	60%	85%	2,598	59%	86%	2,758	61%	89%
Iowa	1,353	67%	89%	1,522	71%	91%	1,501	70%	92%
Kansas	1,148	62%	89%	1,188	64%	89%	1,219	63%	91%
Kentucky	1,645	56%	79%	1,930	65%	87%	1,952	63%	86%
Louisiana	2,030	66%	86%	2,067	64%	86%	2,149	70%	90%
Maine	677	70%	86%	736	73%	89%	716	71%	89%
Maryland	2,178	61%	87%	2,413	66%	90%	2,611	68%	92%
Massachusetts	2,772	65%	85%	3,085	69%	89%	3,044	67%	92%
Michigan	4,343	62%	87%	4,818	67%	90%	4,865	68%	88%
Minnesota	2,376	70%	88%	2,887	79%	94%	2,759	75%	94%
Mississippi	1,213	61%	83%	1,263	62%	84%	1,439	70%	91%
Missouri	2,659	67%	88%	2,815	69%	84%	2,846	66%	88%
Montana	409	63%	89%	482	70%	93%	473	65%	92%
Nebraska	710	60%	82%	793	65%	86%	844	67%	90%
Nevada	641	52%	89%	871	59%	90%	1,027	60%	90%
New Hampshire	571	67%	91%	677	72%	95%	708	71%	94%
New Jersey	3,374	62%	87%	3,693	66%	90%	3,637	64%	90%
New Mexico	647	54%	86%	837	64%	89%	846	63%	90%
New York	7,004	59%	87%	7,698	60%	89%	7,559	59%	89%
North Carolina	2,995	56%	81%	3,639	61%	85%	4,370	68%	89%
North Dakota	313	70%	77%	330	72%	80%	321	68%	81%
Ohio	4,823	59%	87%	5,485	66%	91%	5,483	66%	90%

National and State Registration and Voting Data

(Table 4c continued)

State	2000			2004			2008		
	Voted	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered	Voted	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered	Voted	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
Oklahoma	1,431	60%	85%	1,541	62%	87%	1,507	59%	84%
Oregon	1,529	67%	89%	1,924	74%	94%	1,818	68%	93%
Pennsylvania	4,988	57%	85%	5,845	65%	90%	5,747	62%	89%
Rhode Island	438	64%	86%	467	64%	89%	507	67%	89%
South Carolina	1,725	60%	87%	1,899	63%	85%	2,100	66%	88%
South Dakota	311	59%	83%	378	68%	89%	390	68%	88%
Tennessee	2,183	54%	84%	2,319	55%	85%	2,516	56%	86%
Texas	7,005	54%	78%	7,950	57%	82%	8,435	56%	83%
Utah	829	60%	87%	1,022	68%	90%	939	53%	89%
Vermont	290	64%	88%	316	67%	89%	308	65%	89%
Virginia	2,962	60%	89%	3,134	63%	91%	3,650	69%	92%
Washington	2,527	62%	89%	2,851	68%	91%	3,073	67%	93%
West Virginia	732	52%	83%	798	57%	85%	741	53%	81%
Wisconsin	2,632	70%	89%	3,010	77%	93%	2,887	71%	93%
Wyoming	219	63%	91%	247	67%	93%	250	64%	93%
Totals	110,826	60%	86%	125,736	64%	89%	131,144	64%	90%

Source: November 2000, 2004, and 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote; numbers are in 1000's

Dramatic variations exist in state registration and voting rates.

- Table 4a shows, for 2008, a range of 20 percentage points between the states with the highest (Maine and Minnesota) and lowest (Hawaii and Utah) registration rates.⁹
- A 23-point range exists in voting rates, with 75 percent of the eligible population voting in 2008 in Minnesota (the highest rate) compared to only 53 percent in Utah and 52 percent in Hawaii (the lowest rate).

For the District of Columbia, Georgia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia—all southern states with large Black populations—turnout in 2008 was the highest it has been since 1984.¹⁰

It is worth noting that the size of the adult citizen population is growing rapidly. Between 2000 and 2004, the U.S. gained nearly 11 million adult citizens. Between 2004 and 2008, approximately 9 million adult citizens were added. In short, the population eligible to register and vote increased by roughly 5 percent between each of the last two presidential elections.

Hence, despite the lack of substantial change in registration and turnout rates between 2004 and 2008, the number of people registered increased over that period by approximately 4.2 million (or 3 percent), and the number that voted increased by approximately 5.4 million (or 4 percent). This rapid expansion of the adult citizen population has important ramifications for civic engagement work.

Overall, the population growth *highlights the need for increased capacity of both local officials and civic organizations* to involve the ever growing public in the electoral process. It also clearly stresses the need for *increasing the reach of voter registration efforts*, perhaps through the development of reforms which advocates believe will increase the percentage of citizens that are registered. This would include paperless registration, greater use of government transactions with the public as opportunities for voter registration, registration records that better track our nation's highly mobile population, and offering registration during voting periods. As mentioned in the Introduction, the importance of voter registration drives should not be overlooked.

However, even if voter registration systems are modernized in ways that increase the registration rate, *it is likely that a significant number of people will remain unregistered simply due to the nation's rapid population growth, decentralized election administration procedures, and residential mobility.* Finally, the size and continued growth in population mean that even seemingly small errors or inequalities in registration and balloting can affect hundreds of thousands, or even millions, of voters. For instance, it may sound trivial if 2 percent of the population experiences problems registering or voting, but 2 percent of the registered population in 2008 equals nearly 3 million citizens.¹¹

Race and Ethnicity

Table 5 shows registration and voting broken down by race and ethnicity for the last three presidential elections.¹²

Until November 2004, respondents to the Voting and Registration Supplement were not allowed to select more than one race. Thus, comparisons of 2000 to more recent years are complicated by the fact that some people in 2000 would have been included in the Multi-racial category used in this report if the option to select more than one race had existed. (See note 12 on page 3 for information on the definitions for race and ethnicity categories used in this report, and how this relates to those used in other reports.)

Table 5: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Race/Ethnicity, 2000, 2004, and 2008

	Adult Citizens	Column %	Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Voted	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
2000							
White	144,731	78%	103,588	72%	89,469	62%	86%
Black	22,409	12%	15,156	68%	12,749	57%	84%
Asian/Pacific Islander	4,631	3%	2,414	52%	2,003	43%	83%
Latino	13,159	7%	7,546	57%	5,934	45%	79%
Native American	1,436	1%	844	59%	671	47%	79%
Multi-racial*	N/A		N/A		N/A		
Total	186,366	100%	129,549	70%	110,826	60%	86%
2004							
White	148,159	75%	111,318	75%	99,567	67%	89%
Black	22,866	12%	15,773	69%	13,799	60%	87%
Asian/Pacific Islander	6,580	3%	3,438	52%	2,943	45%	86%
Latino	16,088	8%	9,308	58%	7,587	47%	82%
Native American	1,136	1%	692	61%	553	49%	80%
Multi-racial	2,177	1%	1,540	71%	1,287	59%	84%
Total	197,005	100%	142,070	72%	125,736	64%	89%
2008							
White	151,321	73%	111,215	74%	100,042	66%	90%
Black	24,322	12%	17,059	70%	15,857	65%	93%
Asian/Pacific Islander	7,415	4%	4,076	55%	3,502	47%	86%
Latino	19,537	9%	11,608	59%	9,745	50%	84%
Native American	1,206	1%	743	62%	589	49%	79%
Multi-racial	2,271	1%	1,610	71%	1,409	62%	88%
Total	206,072	100%	146,311	71%	131,144	64%	90%

Source: November 2000, 2004, and 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote; numbers are in 1000's

* Respondents were not able to select more than one race in 2000.

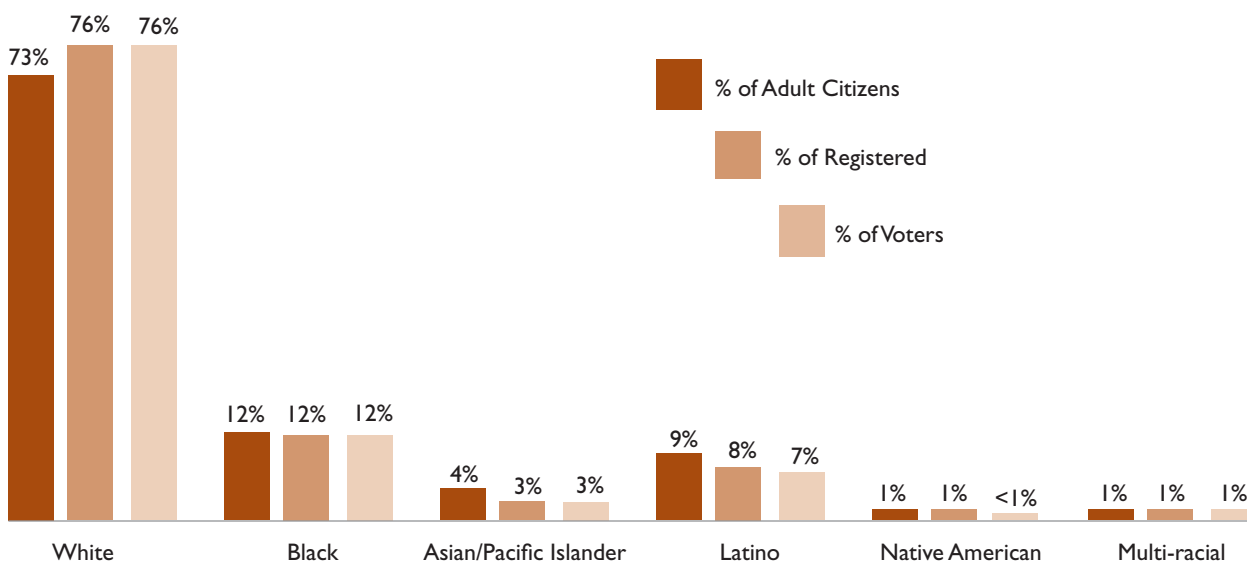
Nonetheless, given that only about one percent of the adult population selected more than one race in 2008 we provide data for all three presidential election cycles to demonstrate two general trends.

First, the percent of the population that is non-White is increasing. In 2000, 78 percent of all adult citizens reported that they were White and that they were not Latino. By 2008, this group declined to 75 percent of the total adult citizen population. Some of this difference is from respondents, presumably less than 1 percent of the total, who selected White in 2000 but now select more than one race. The larger portion of this difference is due to the growth in the Latino population, from 7 percent of the total number of adult citizens in 2000 to 9 percent in 2008, and of the Asian or Pacific Islander populations, from approximately 3 percent in 2000 to 4 percent in 2008.

Second, while the voter registration rates for all non-Whites have been increasing moderately since 2000, the turnout rates have been increasing more dramatically. Thus, it remains unclear what portion of the increased turnout by non-Whites in 2008 was the result of the historic nature of the 2008 election—that is, the first presidential election in which a minority candidate headed the ticket of a major party—or was the result of trends in increasing minority turnout that predate 2008.

Ultimately, non-Whites (including Latinos of any race) accounted for nearly two-thirds of the *increase* in the number of adult citizens since the previous presidential election. Moreover, minorities equaled the entire increase since 2004 in the number of registered voters, and 91 percent of the increase in the total

Figure 3: Composition of the Adult Citizen, Registered, and Voting Populations by Race and Ethnicity, 2008



Source: November 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote

Race and Ethnicity

number of votes cast between 2004 and 2008. Nonetheless, as seen in *Figure 3*, while Black participation in 2008 overall was proportionate to their share of the adult citizen population, this was not true of other minorities. (See also *Tables 1* and *2* and the section below on *Gender, Age, and Race*.)

It is important to keep in mind the impact that mid-term election cycles have on voter registration and turnout. For the past seven election cycles, the turnout rate in mid-term elections averaged 15 percentage points lower than the preceding presidential election.¹³ The steep decline in turnout in mid-term elections is often nearly the same for both Whites and Blacks. However, the nationwide drop in the voter turnout rate for Whites between the 2004 presidential election and the 2006 mid-term election was about 16 percentage points, whereas the decline for Blacks was much greater: about 19 points. It remains to be seen if the increases in turnout for various groups in 2008 came from populations that will turnout in significantly lower rates come 2010.¹⁴

Gender and Marital Status

Continuing a trend that began in the 1980s, women register and vote at a higher rate than men.¹⁵ (See Table 6.) The 2008 registration rate for women, who make up 52 percent of the population, was 73 percent—four percentage points higher than the registration rate of men. The 2008 voting rate for women was 66 percent, also four percentage points higher than that of men. Overall, nearly 10 million more ballots were cast by women in 2008 than by men.

Over the three presidential elections examined, unmarried men and women have played an increasingly larger role. (See Table 7.) Whereas the number of married men and women who voted increased from 2000 to 2008 by 3.4 million and 4.1 million, respectively, the number of unmarried men and women who voted increased for the same period by 5.8 million and 7 million, respectively. Thus, of the 20.3 million additional voters in 2008 compared to 2000, unmarried women composed approximately 35 percent of the increase and unmarried men approximately 29 percent.

The turnout gap between married and unmarried adult citizens has declined approximately 4 percentage points from 2000 to 2008, with unmarried women making slightly more progress than unmarried men.

Table 6: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Gender, 2000, 2004, and 2008

	Adult Citizens	Column %	Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Voted	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
2000							
Men	88,758	48%	60,356	68%	51,542	58%	85%
Women	97,608	52%	69,193	71%	59,284	61%	86%
Total	186,366	100%	129,549	70%	110,826	60%	86%
2004							
Men	94,147	48%	66,406	71%	58,455	62%	88%
Women	102,858	52%	75,663	74%	67,281	65%	89%
Total	197,005	100%	142,070	72%	125,736	64%	89%
2008							
Men	98,818	48%	68,242	69%	60,729	62%	89%
Women	107,255	52%	78,069	73%	70,415	66%*	90%
Total	206,072	100%	146,311	71%	131,144	64%	90%

Source: November 2000, 2004, and 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote; numbers are in 1000's

*Due to rounding, the difference between 2004 and 2008 for women appears larger than it actually is, while the difference for men appears smaller than it actually is. For greater detail and standard errors of difference, see this report's page on <http://www.projectvote.org>.

Gender and Marital Status

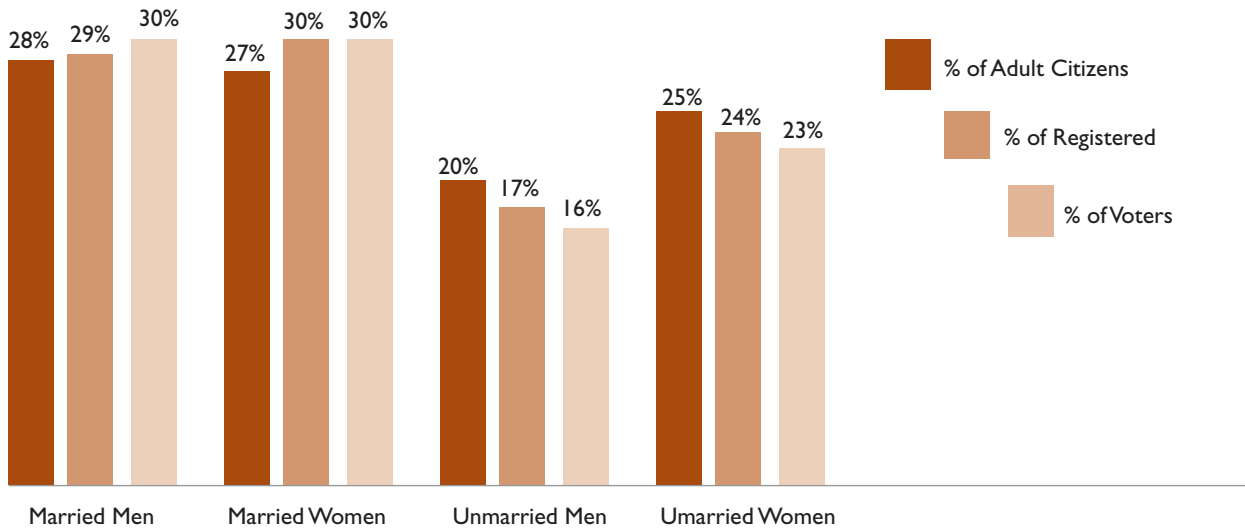
Nonetheless, unmarried citizens are underrepresented in elections. The gap in the voting rate between married and unmarried adult citizens was still sizable: 18 points for men and 11 points for women in 2008. (See also *Figure 4.*) Had unmarried women voted at the rate as married women in 2008, an additional 5.6 million voters would have participated. (See *Table 2.*)

Table 7: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Gender and Marital Status, 2000, 2004, 2008

	Gender	Adult Citizens	Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Voted	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of of Registered
2000							
Married	Men	53,817	40,706	76%	35,999	67%	88%
	Women	52,826	40,285	76%	35,868	68%	89%
	Total	106,644	80,991	76%	71,867	67%	89%
Unmarried	Men	34,941	19,650	56%	15,543	44%	79%
	Women	44,782	28,908	65%	23,415	52%	81%
	Total	79,723	48,558	61%	38,959	49%	80%
2004							
Married	Men	56,469	43,577	77%	39,561	70%	91%
	Women	55,284	43,060	78%	39,423	71%	92%
	Total	111,753	86,636	78%	78,984	71%	91%
Unmarried	Men	37,678	22,830	61%	18,894	50%	83%
	Women	47,574	32,604	69%	27,858	59%	85%
	Total	85,252	55,433	65%	46,752	55%	84%
2008							
Married	Men	57,192	43,061	75%	39,369	69%	91%
	Women	56,335	43,172	77%	39,960	71%	93%
	Total	113,527	86,233	76%	79,329	70%	92%
Unmarried	Men	41,625	25,181	60%	21,361	51%	85%
	Women	50,920	34,897	69%	30,454	60%	87%
	Total	92,545	60,078	65%	51,815	56%	86%

Source: November 2000, 2004, and 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote; numbers are in 1000's

Figure 4: Composition of the Adult Citizen, Registered, and Voting Populations by Gender and Marital Status, 2008



Source: November 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote

Age and Gender

This report categorizes respondents' ages into three groups: Under 30, 30 to 64, and 65 and Over. As shown in *Figure 5*, these age groups composed 21 percent, 61 percent, and 18 percent of the adult citizen population in 2008, respectively. However, the population voting in 2008 was skewed away from youth: the three age groups represented 17 percent, 64 percent, and 18 percent of the total population that voted. Had citizens between the ages of 18 and 29 voted at the same rate as those over 30, an additional 7 million people would have voted in 2008.

Nonetheless, youth turnout was up in 2008. In fact, the 2008 election represents the first time in the history of the CPS that youth turnout has markedly increased while overall turnout did not.¹⁶

Table 8 presents the gender breakdown and totals for these three age groups for the past three presidential elections. Several observations stand out:

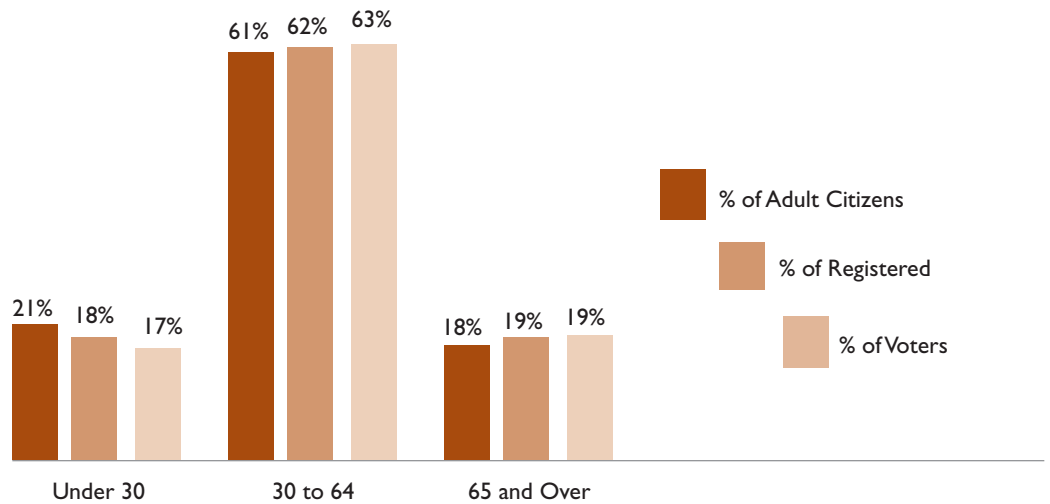
- Compared to 2000, turnout among voters under the age of 30 increased in each of the past two presidential cycles, although the increase from 2000 to 2004 (9 points) was greater than that of 2004 to 2008 (2 points).
- This increase in turnout, coupled with population growth, resulted in 6.5 million more votes from the Under 30 age group in 2008 than in 2000.
- The increase in turnout among younger citizens is more pronounced among women than men: the turnout rate increased by 12 percentage points for young women since 2000 and 9 points for young men.
- Of the three elections examined, the turnout rates for the remaining two age categories were highest in 2004, which was only slightly higher for seniors than in 2000 and 4 points higher for citizens between 30 and 64 years of age than in 2000. Comparing 2008 to 2004, these groups appeared to have held even in their turnout rates or even experienced a slight decline.
- Women, as noted above, generally have a higher turnout rate than men. However, this does not hold true in the 65 and Over age group. The voting rate for senior men was 3 percentage points higher than that of senior women in 2008, although this gap has shrunk by a percentage point or two in each of the presidential elections since 2000.

Table 8: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Gender and Age, 2000, 2004, 2008

	Gender	Adult Citizens	Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Voted	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
2000							
Under 30	Men	19,250	10,026	52%	7,266	38%	72%
	Women	20,082	11,554	58%	8,597	43%	74%
	Total	39,332	21,581	55%	15,864	40%	74%
30 to 64	Men	55,902	39,334	70%	34,315	61%	87%
	Women	59,317	43,686	74%	38,495	65%	88%
	Total	115,219	83,020	72%	72,810	63%	88%
65 and Over	Men	13,607	10,996	81%	9,961	73%	91%
	Women	18,209	13,953	77%	12,192	67%	87%
	Total	31,816	24,949	78%	22,153	70%	89%
2004							
Under 30	Men	20,324	11,535	57%	9,242	45%	80%
	Women	20,760	13,128	63%	10,882	52%	83%
	Total	41,084	24,663	60%	20,125	49%	82%
30 to 64	Men	59,485	43,276	73%	38,606	65%	89%
	Women	62,744	47,426	76%	43,081	69%	91%
	Total	122,229	90,701	74%	81,686	67%	90%
65 and Over	Men	14,338	11,596	81%	10,608	74%	91%
	Women	19,354	15,109	78%	13,317	69%	88%
	Total	33,692	26,706	79%	23,925	71%	90%
2008							
Under 30	Men	21,886	12,620	58%	10,323	47%	82%
	Women	21,959	14,174	65%	12,062	55%	85%
	Total	43,844	26,794	61%	22,385	51%	84%
30 to 64	Men	61,233	43,324	71%	39,071	64%	90%
	Women	64,701	48,093	74%	44,168	68%	92%
	Total	125,934	91,417	73%	83,239	66%	91%
65 and Over	Men	15,699	12,297	78%	11,335	72%	92%
	Women	20,596	15,803	77%	14,184	69%	90%
	Total	36,294	28,100	77%	25,519	70%	91%

Source: November 2000, 2004, and 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote; numbers are in 1000's

Figure 5: Composition of the Adult Citizen, Registered, and Voting Populations by Age Group, 2008



Source: November 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote

Gender, Age, and Race

Tables 9a and 9b are more complex than the other tables, but they allow for important elaboration on the makeup of the population that went to the polls in 2008.¹⁷ The main story of the change in the composition of the 2008 voting population is the phenomenal increase in turnout among minority youth, particularly Black youth. Comparable data for 2004 are included in Appendix Tables 3a and 3b. Figure 6 also shows turnout rates for both 2004 and 2008 for some groups. (Standard errors of difference for the comparisons in Figure 6 are available on the page for this report on Project Vote’s website.)

Comparing 2004 to 2008, the most significant story for voter registration is the increase in rates among non-White youth (defined here as those under 30 years of age):

- The registration rate increased remarkably between the two elections for young Black men (by about 8 percentage points), young Latinos (about 6 points for both genders), and Asians (approximately 5 points for men and 14 points for women). (However, see notes 1 and 18 on page 31.)
- Despite these increases, Black women under 30 are the only minority group that had a voter registration rate higher than that of their age cohorts who are White. (While Black women between 30 and 64 had a higher registration rate than White men between 30 and 64, White women between 30 and 64 had an even higher registration rate. Regarding Multi-racial citizens, see note 17 on page 31.)
- Interestingly, there was a decline of roughly two percentage points in registration across all three age groups for White men between 2004 and 2008.

Regarding voter turnout in 2008, White senior men (i.e., those aged 65 and over) had the highest rate in 2008: 75 percent. White and Black women 30 and over fell between 4 to 6 percentage points behind White senior men in 2008, depending on the specific age and race category of women. However, White and Black women 30 and over did vote at a rate several points higher than that of White men between 30 and 64. Some other observations:

- Among youth, White, Black, Asian, and Latino women have higher voting rates than their male counterparts. This gender gap declines with age, however, and reverses among the elderly for Whites, Asians and Latinos, but not for Blacks.
- Among youth, Black women (64 percent) voted at the highest rate. White women had the second highest turnout (56 percent) and Black men the third highest rate (52 percent). Less than half of Asians and Latinos under 30 voted.
- The gender difference in turnout among young voters—particularly young minority voters—is an area in need of additional study. For instance, the 12 point gap in turnout between Black women and men in the Under 30 age group is remarkable.

When comparing turnout in 2004 to that in 2008, the following observations stand out:

- As previously mentioned, there was no substantial change in the national turnout rate of 64 percent between 2004 and 2008. However, there was a decline of 1 percentage point in turnout among Whites overall, coming almost entirely from declines in turnout among White men.

Gender, Age, and Race

Table 9a: Adult Citizen Population and Registration by Gender, Age, and Race, 2008

	Adult Citizens	Men Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Adult Citizens	Women Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens
White						
Under 30	14,734	8,734	59%	14,447	9,523	66%
30 to 64	45,563	33,381	73%	46,974	35,969	77%
65 and Over	12,917	10,445	81%	16,687	13,162	79%
Total	73,214	52,561	72%	78,107	58,654	75%
Black						
Under 30	2,964	1,766	60%	3,320	2,252	68%
30 to 64	6,661	4,555	68%	8,332	6,211	75%
65 and Over	1,187	874	74%	1,857	1,401	75%
Total	10,812	7,195	67%	13,510	9,864	73%
Asian/Pacific Islander						
Under 30	714	323	45%	738	425	58%
30 to 64	2,310	1,362	59%	2,554	1,427	56%
65 and Over	484	245	51%	615	296	48%
Total	3,508	1,929	55%	3,907	2,148	55%
Latino						
Under 30	2,939	1,487	51%	2,935	1,648	56%
30 to 64	5,753	3,397	59%	5,765	3,690	64%
65 and Over	928	601	65%	1,217	785	64%
Total	9,620	5,486	57%	9,917	6,122	62%
Native American						
Under 30	124	63	51%	165	80	48%
30 to 64	354	190	54%	410	290	71%
65 and Over	60	47	79%	92	73	79%
Total	539	301	56%	667	443	66%
Multi-racial						
Under 30	410	247	60%	353	246	70%
30 to 64	592	439	74%	666	507	76%
65 and Over	123	85	69%	127	86	68%
Total	1,124	771	69%	1,147	839	73%

Source: November 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote; numbers are in 1000's

Table 9b: Adult Citizen Voting by Gender, Age, and Race, 2008

	Voted	Men Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registration	Voted	Women Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registration
White						
Under 30	7,158	49%	82%	8,057	56%	85%
30 to 64	30,186	66%	90%	33,160	71%	92%
65 and Over	9,644	75%	92%	11,837	71%	90%
Total	46,988	64%	89%	53,055	68%	90%
Black						
Under 30	1,548	52%	88%	2,110	64%	94%
30 to 64	4,216	63%	93%	5,892	71%	95%
65 and Over	800	67%	92%	1,290	69%	92%
Total	6,565	61%	91%	9,292	69%	94%
Asian/Pacific Islander						
Under 30	255	36%	79%	350	47%	82%
30 to 64	1,172	51%	86%	1,230	48%	86%
65 and Over	232	48%	95%	264	43%	89%
Total	1,659	47%	86%	1,843	47%	86%
Latino						
Under 30	1,112	38%	75%	1,281	44%	78%
30 to 64	2,956	51%	87%	3,195	55%	87%
65 and Over	542	58%	90%	659	54%	84%
Total	4,610	48%	84%	5,135	52%	84%
Native American						
Under 30	38	31%	61%	44	27%	55%
30 to 64	148	42%	78%	252	61%	87%
65 and Over	40	68%	86%	65	71%	90%
Total	227	42%	76%	361	54%	82%
Multi-racial						
Under 30	212	52%	86%	220	62%	89%
30 to 64	393	66%	90%	440	66%	87%
65 and Over	76	62%	89%	69	54%	80%
Total	681	61%	88%	729	64%	87%

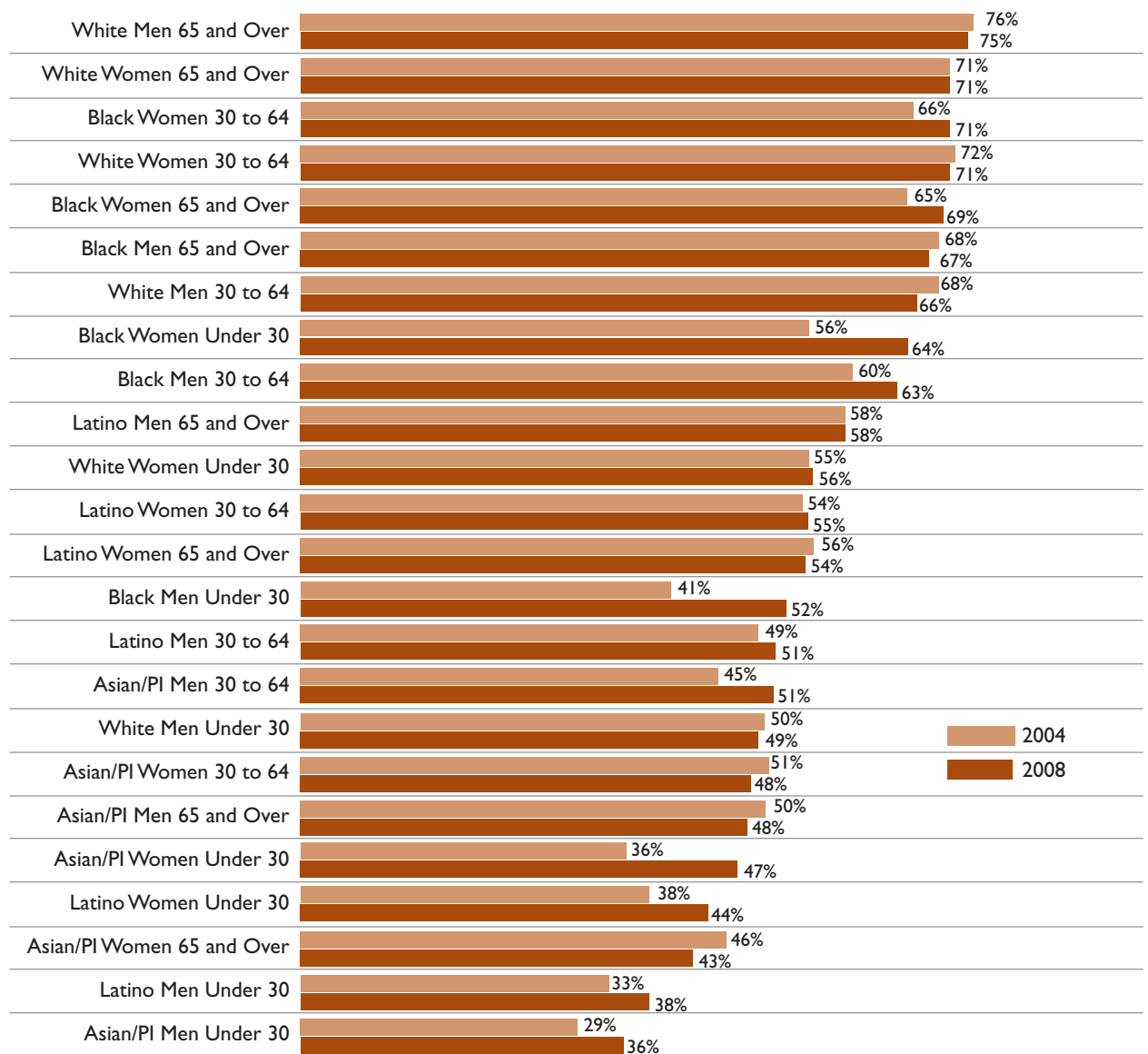
Source: November 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote; numbers are in 1000's

Gender, Age, and Race

- Asians and Pacific Islanders over the age of 30 also appear to show a decline in turnout. However, this variation over time may be due to how samples in the CPS were taken.¹⁸
- However, the gains in turnout between 2004 and 2008 among non-White youth are remarkable. Black men and Asian women under 30 had 11 point increases in turnout. Meanwhile, Black women and Asian men under 30 exhibited a 7 point increase. Finally, both Latino men and women under 30 had a 5 point increase.

Of course, it remains to be seen if these changes persist over time. If non-White youth return to the voting rates of prior periods, or show significantly larger declines compared to Whites in upcoming mid-term elections, much of the recent gains in representation of traditionally underrepresented populations will disappear.

Figure 6: Turnout by Gender, Age, and Race, 2004 and 2008



Source: November 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote

Income and Education

Tables 10 and 11 display the income and education skew in the population that votes. The income question in the CPS, while not particularly precise, is meant to capture the total annual income of all members sharing a household. Instead of providing continuous data on income, the CPS places respondents into one of over a dozen household income categories. In Table 10 we collapse these income categories into five broader categories that roughly divide the adult citizen population into income quintiles.¹⁹

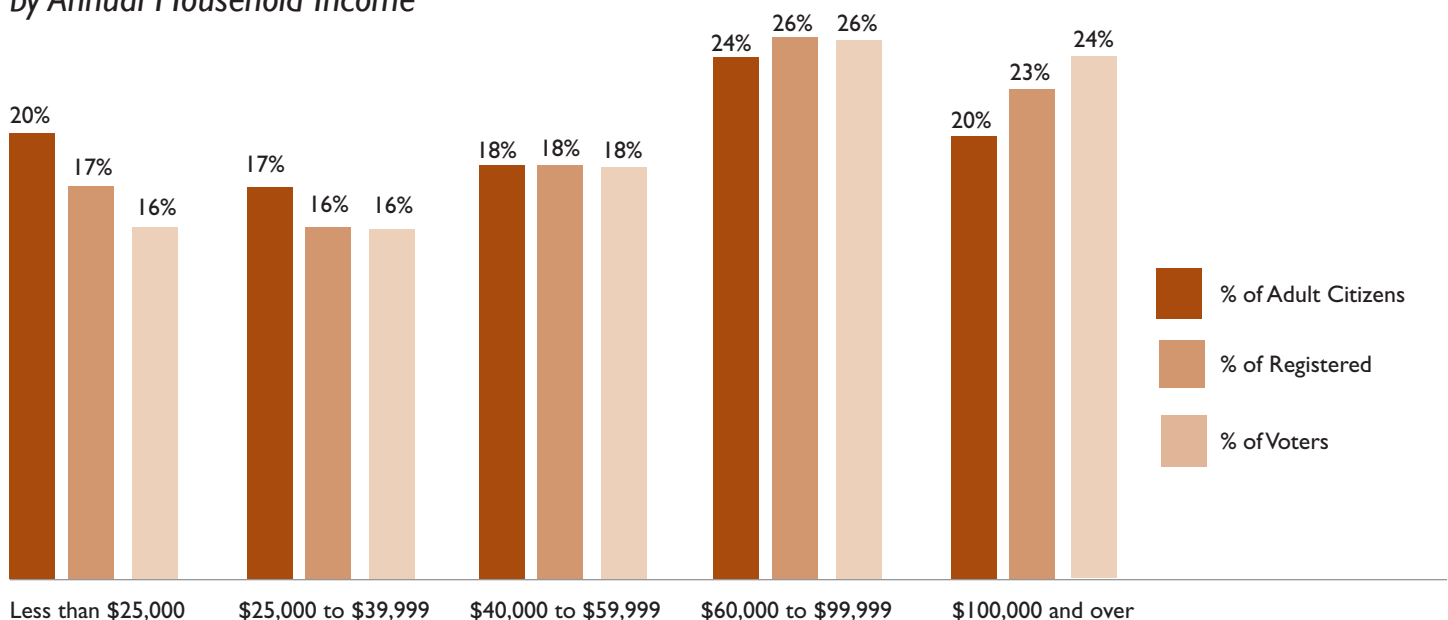
In 2008, citizens in the top income category (households with annual incomes of \$100,000 or more) had a registration rate 20 percentage points higher than those in the lowest income category (households with incomes below \$25,000 a year) and a turnout rate that was 25 points higher.

Table 10: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Annual Household Income, 2008

Household Income, Approximate Quintiles	Adult Citizens	Column %	Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Voted	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
Less than \$25,000/year	32,982	20%	21,520	65%	17,831	54%	83%
\$25,000 to \$39,999	28,060	17%	20,130	72%	17,412	62%	86%
\$40,000 to \$59,999	29,795	18%	22,445	75%	20,058	67%	89%
\$60,000 to \$99,999	39,548	24%	31,836	81%	29,377	74%	92%
\$100,000 and over	33,245	20%	28,112	85%	26,391	79%	94%
Total Reporting	163,631	100%	124,044	76%	111,069	68%	90%

Source: November 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote; numbers are in 1000's

Figure 7: Composition of the Adult Citizen, Registered, and Voting Populations by Annual Household Income



Source: November 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote

Income and Education

As shown in *Figure 7*, citizens from households with incomes below \$25,000 a year made up 20 percent of the adult citizen population in 2008 reporting income, yet they made up only 16 percent of the voters reporting income. Meanwhile, citizens from households with annual incomes of \$100,000 or more also made up 20 percent of the population, but made up 24 percent of the vote. If the 33 million citizens in the lowest income quintile had voted at the same rate as those in the highest quintile, approximately 8.4 million more people would have participated in the election. (Since nearly one-fifth of households did not report their income, this likely undercounts the number of voters that could be gained if turnout reached parity.)

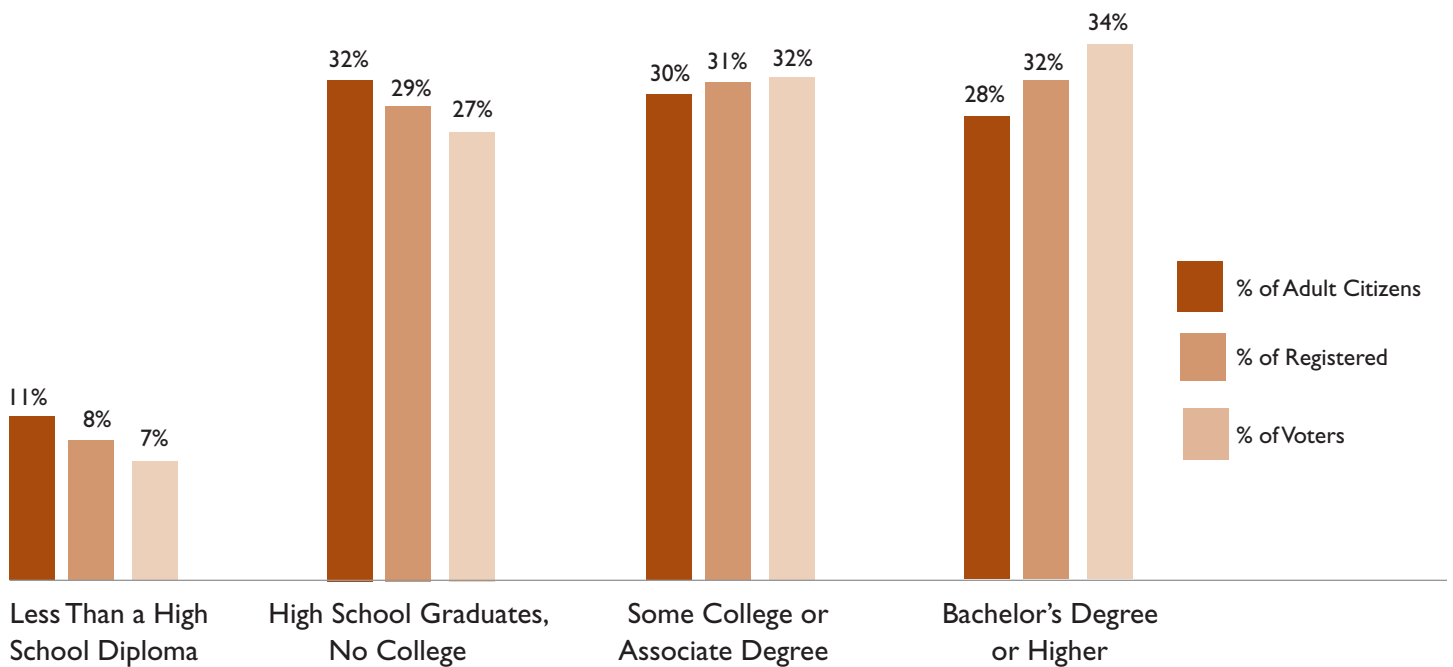
Table 11: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Education, 2000, 2004, 2008

	Adult Citizens	Column %	Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Voted	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
2000							
Less Than a High School Diploma	26,586	14%	13,890	52%	10,213	38%	74%
High School Graduates, No College	62,426	34%	39,869	64%	32,749	53%	82%
Some College or Associate Degree	52,800	28%	38,700	73%	33,339	63%	86%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	44,554	24%	37,090	83%	34,526	78%	93%
Total	186,366	100%	129,549	70%	110,826	60%	86%
2004							
Less Than a High School Diploma	25,669	13%	13,569	53%	10,131	40%	75%
High School Graduates, No College	63,690	32%	42,180	66%	35,894	56%	85%
Some College or Associate Degree	56,494	29%	43,434	77%	38,922	69%	90%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	51,152	26%	42,888	84%	40,789	80%	95%
Total	197,005	100%	142,070	72%	125,736	64%	89%
2008							
Less Than a High School Diploma	22,981	11%	11,602	51%	9,046	39%	78%
High School Graduates, No College	65,378	32%	41,880	64%	35,866	55%	86%
Some College or Associate Degree	60,974	30%	45,904	75%	41,477	68%	90%
Bachelor's Degree or Higher	56,739	28%	46,924	83%	44,755	79%	95%
Total	206,072	100%	146,311	71%	131,144	64%	90%

Source: November 2000, 2004, and 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote; numbers are in 1000's

Table 11 condenses into four categories respondents' highest completed level of education. Although the educational composition of the adult citizen population is not changing rapidly, it is clearly becoming more educated. In 2000, 52 percent of the adult citizen population had completed "some college" or more. By 2008, 57 percent had completed the same level of education or higher. The difference in the voting rate between the least- and most-educated categories is startling: those with a four-year college degree or higher vote at a rate 40 percentage points higher than those with less than a high school diploma or equivalent.²⁰ As a result, while those with less than a high school education make up 11 percent of the adult citizen population, they make up only 7 percent of the vote. (See Figure 8.)

Figure 8: Composition of the Adult Citizen, Registered, and Voting Populations by Education, 2008



Source: November 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote

Residential Mobility

It has long been known that the “big three” predictors of turnout are age, education, and length of time at current address. *Tables 12a and 12b* indicate the remarkable residential mobility of the U.S. population. Approximately one in eight adult citizens had moved in the year prior to the November survey. Although age is closely associated with residential mobility, multivariate analyses (not shown here) indicate that length of time at one’s residence is still a powerful predictor of registration and turnout even after controlling for age and other factors.²¹

Table 12a shows, for those reporting time at current address, the large gap in registration and turnout between those who were at their current address for less than one year compared to those with greater residential stability.²² Only 69 percent of those at their address for less than one year in 2008 were registered and only 57 percent voted. Meanwhile, for those at their address for five or more years, 85 percent reported that they were registered and 78 percent reported having voted.

Non-Whites, particularly Blacks and Multi-racial citizens, are less likely to have remained at their current address for five years or more (see *Table 12b*). Eighteen percent of Black and 19 percent of Multi-racial adult citizens reported in November 2008 that they were at their current address for less than 1 year.

Table 12a: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Residency Length, 2008

Length of Time at Current Address	Adult Citizens	Column %	Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Voted	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
Less than 1 year	23,804	13%	16,497	69%	13,580	57%	82%
1 to 4 years	48,990	28%	38,005	78%	33,762	69%	89%
5 years or longer	105,339	59%	89,805	85%	81,979	78%	91%
Total Reporting	178,132	100%	144,308	81%	129,320	73%	90%

Source: November 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote; numbers are in 1000’s

Table 12b: Residency Length and Race/Ethnicity, 2008

Length of Time at Current Address	White	Column %	Black	Column %	Asian/PI	Column %	Latino	Column %	Native American	Column %	Multi-racial	Column %
Less than 1 year	16,366	12%	3,604	18%	713	12%	2,589	16%	162	15%	371	19%
1 to 4 years	34,415	26%	6,445	33%	1,875	32%	5,358	32%	274	26%	623	31%
5 years or longer	82,066	62%	9,762	49%	3,324	56%	8,566	52%	625	59%	996	50%
Total Reporting	132,846	100%	19,811	100%	5,912	100%	16,513	100%	1,060	100%	1,989	100%

Source: November 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote; numbers are in 1000’s

Disability

For the first time, the 2008 November CPS included a number of questions related to disability status. Six questions in the CPS now ask respondents if they have a disability related to hearing, sight, mental/cognitive impairment, or various physical mobility limitations. While these questions likely undercount the prevalence of disability in the United States (as the survey does not cover all disability types and the CPS does not survey residents of group homes or other institutionalized housing), the questions do give us a glimpse into how disability relates to other demographic characteristics and to registration and voting.

As shown in *Table 13*, approximately one in eight adult citizens responded affirmatively to one or more of the six questions about disability status. This represents approximately 26 million adult citizens.²³ While those reporting a disability on the CPS had only a slightly lower registration rate than those not reporting a disability (68 percent compared to 71 percent), they were much less likely to vote (57 percent compared to 65 percent). A recent Government Accountability Office report found that 27 percent of polling places visited had potential impediments yet did not offer curbside voting for persons with disabilities.²⁴

Had citizens reporting a disability voted at the same rate in 2008 as those not reporting a disability, approximately 1.9 million additional voters would have participated.

Some additional preliminary findings (not shown in the table):

- Of those respondents reporting a disability who were not registered to vote, 26 percent said that their illness or disability was the main reason they were not registered. Only 1 percent of those not reporting a disability responded that an illness or disability was the main reason they were not registered.
- Of those reporting a disability that were registered to vote but did not vote, 44 percent stated that their illness or disability (or that of a family member) was the main reason they did not vote. Only 10 percent of the registered population that did not report a disability gave this as the main reason for not voting.
- While disability status increases markedly with age, approximately 4 percent of those in the Under 30 age group reported a disability and 10 percent of those in the 30 to 64 age group reported a disability.

Table 13: Disability Status and Voting Behavior, 2008

Disability Status	Adult Citizens	Column %	Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Voted	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
Disability	25,654	12%	17,479	68%	14,704	57%	84%
No Disability	180,419	88%	128,832	71%	116,440	65%	90%
Total	206,072	100%	146,311	71%	131,144	64%	90%

Source: November 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote; numbers are in 1000's

Conclusion

Using data from the Current Population Survey, *Representational Bias in the 2008 Electorate* has demonstrated important differences in the electoral participation rates of various social groups in 2008. While there have been some noticeable changes in recent election cycles—particularly increases in participation among minority youth and the unmarried—representation in registration and turnout is still skewed towards Whites and citizens with greater income, education, and residential stability. Moreover, citizens that are married, older, or that do not report a disability remain overrepresented among those registered and those voting.

It is worth noting that many non-Whites are present in disproportionate numbers in several of the groups we have examined. *Table 14* presents the percent of adult citizens from each race and ethnic group that is included in the three categories mostly strongly associated with participation rates: education, age, and residential mobility. With a few exceptions, *Table 14* reveals that the disadvantages that low educational attainment, youth, and residential mobility have on participation accrue more often to non-Whites than Whites.

The report has also shown that millions of additional Americans would have participated in the 2008 elections if citizens from various groups had registered and voted at the rates of those whose electoral participation is currently overrepresented. Moreover, looking towards 2010, it remains to be seen if the recent increases in turnout for youth and non-Whites in presidential elections will be disproportionately erased by the declines usually seen in mid-term elections.

However, awareness of this possibility, and of the continuing growth in the size of the population eligible to register, means that both government officials and civic organizations will need to renew their commitment to assisting underrepresented populations in the coming year. Such efforts should include enforcing current registration and election laws (especially the National Voter Registration Act), reforming voter registration policies to increase registration access for these populations, and recognition of the vital importance of voter registration drives in reaching these underrepresented populations.

Table 14: Percent of Race/Ethnicity in Demographic Groups with Low Electoral Participation, 2008

Race/Ethnicity	Highest Educational Attainment: High School or Less	Age Group: 18 to 29 Year Olds	Residency: Less than 5 Years at Current Address
White	40%	19%	46%
Black	53%	26%	60%
Asian/Pacific Islander	30%	20%	55%
Latino	57%	30%	56%
Native American	57%	24%	48%
Multi-racial	37%	33%	56%

Source: November 2008 CPS; analysis by Project Vote

Notes

- ¹ Estimates of change for smaller populations, especially when further divided into genders, and changes that are small need to be read with caution as we do not present in this report the margins of errors of difference for comparing change across time. Moreover, changes in how the survey was administered between 2004 and 2008 may have affected the estimates for some groups. (See notes 17 and 18.) Standard errors of difference for some comparisons are provided on the page for this report on Project Vote's website.
- ² See Table A-1 on the voting and registration page of the Census Bureau's website, available at: <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/socdemo/voting/publications/historical/index.html>
- ³ See also this analysis by Women's Voices. Women Vote.: <http://www.wwww.org/assets/2009/10/7/drop-off-voters.pdf>.
- ⁴ See <http://www.projectvote.org> for more information and resources on issues in election administration that present barriers to voter registration or otherwise disenfranchise eligible Americans from voting.
- ⁵ See Rogers, Estelle. (2009). *The NVRA at Fifteen: A Report to Congress*, <http://projectvote.org/images/publications/NVRA/THE%20NVRA%20at%20FIFTEEN--A%20Report%20to%20Congress.pdf> by Estelle Rogers, and other resources and reports at www.projectvote.org.
- ⁶ These drives did not all necessarily occur in 2008. Respondents presumably give the last method (which may have occurred in any year) for registering to vote or updating their registration.
- ⁷ Rank ordering is based on rates rounded to the nearest decimal (not shown in the tables). Rankings are for broad comparisons only. Comparisons between states ranked closely together should be made with a separate calculation, not provided here: the margin of error of difference. The margins of error (using a 90 confidence interval) presented in Figure 2 are for the point estimates of individual states' voter registration rates.
- ⁸ Ballot data from McDonald, Michael. (2009). "2008 General Elections Turnout Rate." Accessed on September 24, 2009. Available at <http://elections.gmu.edu>. For interesting thoughts on why reports of voting on the CPS and ballot totals nearly converged see Prof. McDonald's website.
- ⁹ North Dakota has the highest registration rate, but it also has no voter registration requirement. It is likely that respondents recorded as unregistered did not complete the survey or did not understand registration laws in the state (and assumed they were not registered).
- ¹⁰ See Table A5-a on the voting and registration page of the Census Bureau's website, available at: <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/socdemo/voting/publications/historical/index.html>.
- ¹¹ For examples of problems in how elections are administered that affected millions of people when attempting to register or to vote see Ansolabehere, Stephen. (March 11, 2009). "Testimony Before the Senate Rules Committee." Available at: http://rules.senate.gov/public/index.cfm?FuseAction=Files.View&FileStore_id=536048b6-2e97-4193-8110-d18d2e95e201
- ¹² In this report, Latino includes respondents of any race that identified as Hispanic in the CPS. Thus, all other categories include non-Latinos. The category Asian and Pacific Islander includes Hawaiians, and the category Native American includes American Indians and Native Alaskans. How CPS respondents are categorized in this report differs from some previous reports by Project Vote and may differ from how other organizations or the Census Bureau categorizes respondents. This method is an attempt to place all respondents into our tables and is not meant to indicate that it is the only or even preferred method. As the nation becomes more diverse, it will become increasingly difficult for analysts to simplify for presentation the self-selected identities of respondents.
- ¹³ See note 2.
- ¹⁴ See note 3.
- ¹⁵ An exception to this gender difference is that elderly women participate at lower rates than elderly men (see the next section).
- ¹⁶ See Table A1 on the voting and registration page of the Census Bureau's website which uses 18 to 24 as the youngest age group instead of 18 to 30 as used in this report. Available at: <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/socdemo/voting/publications/historical/index.html>
- ¹⁷ Due to the unfortunately small sample sizes, which make estimates very unreliable, for the Multi-racial and Native American populations when looking at gender by race within age groups, we do not review those groups in this brief section (although data for all groups are reported in the tables).
- ¹⁸ Specifically, the majority of Asians, Hawaiians, and Pacific Islanders, and American Indians and Native Alaskans, live in a small number states and changes in CPS's sample frame (i.e., the areas within states from which samples are drawn) between 2004 and 2008 may influence results enough that comparisons over time for these groups should be made with caution (even if they were found to be statistically significant). See <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/socdemo/voting/publications/p20/2006/sa2006.pdf>.
- ¹⁹ Due to non-reporting, nearly one-fifth of the records in the CPS do not contain income data; thus, the number of adult citizens in Table 6 is less than the number in other tables.
- ²⁰ Because education is closely related to age and many people without a high school education may be young, Project Vote also ran versions of this table (not shown here) for only adult citizens over various ages. While the voting rates rise for all groups, as expected, when younger citizens are excluded, the size of the voter turnout gap between those with less than a high school education and those with a four-year college degree remained very large (i.e., well over 30 points).
- ²¹ See, for instance, Table 7 of the Census Bureau's "Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2006" at <http://www.census.gov/prod/2008pubs/p20-557.pdf>.
- ²² Approximately one-eighth of the respondents in 2008 did not report information on residential mobility. Since the registration and turnout rates of those reporting time at current address are roughly 9 points higher than the registration and turnout rates for the total survey, the actual registration and turnout rates are likely lower than what is shown in these tables for some or all of the categories.
- ²³ See also Schur, Lisa and Kruse, Douglas. (2009). "Fact Sheet: Disability and Voter Turnout in the 2008 Election." Available at www.dmd-aapd.org/DVP/Full_9pg_2008_Voter_Turnout_Rutgers.doc.
- ²⁴ General Accountability Office. (September 2009). "Voters with Disabilities." Available at: <http://www.gao.gov/new.items/d09941.pdf>

Appendix

Appendix Table 1: Adult Citizen Population and Registration by State, 2002, 2006

State	2002			2006		
	Adult Citizens	Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Adult Citizens	Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens
Alabama	3,215	2,347	73%	3,353	2,480	74%
Alaska	418	303	73%	452	333	74%
Arizona	3,293	1,930	59%	3,828	2,378	62%
Arkansas	1,919	1,222	64%	2,004	1,316	66%
California	19,642	12,025	61%	21,250	13,239	62%
Colorado	2,959	1,976	67%	3,187	2,275	71%
Connecticut	2,385	1,679	70%	2,454	1,650	67%
Delaware	559	385	69%	603	408	68%
District of Columbia	389	295	76%	374	275	74%
Florida	11,043	7,290	66%	12,098	7,855	65%
Georgia	5,749	3,737	65%	6,086	3,950	65%
Hawaii	801	425	53%	893	492	55%
Idaho	916	567	62%	1,007	660	66%
Illinois	8,575	5,781	67%	8,383	5,779	69%
Indiana	4,593	2,829	62%	4,506	2,946	65%
Iowa	2,071	1,495	72%	2,162	1,663	77%
Kansas	1,938	1,298	67%	1,938	1,274	66%
Kentucky	2,984	2,017	68%	3,052	2,240	73%
Louisiana	3,034	2,276	75%	3,006	2,179	73%
Maine	1,028	831	81%	1,023	811	79%
Maryland	3,583	2,377	66%	3,806	2,720	72%
Massachusetts	4,459	3,198	72%	4,395	3,180	72%
Michigan	7,323	5,291	72%	7,163	5,256	73%
Minnesota	3,634	2,888	80%	3,632	2,862	79%
Mississippi	1,982	1,400	71%	2,054	1,437	70%
Missouri	4,058	2,981	74%	4,276	3,170	74%
Montana	673	468	70%	729	512	70%
Nebraska	1,185	838	71%	1,239	852	69%
Nevada	1,371	775	57%	1,610	905	56%
New Hampshire	952	629	66%	985	687	70%
New Jersey	5,853	3,802	65%	5,563	3,487	63%
New Mexico	1,232	727	59%	1,346	951	71%
New York	12,417	8,261	67%	12,701	8,143	64%
North Carolina	5,675	3,662	65%	6,013	4,160	69%
North Dakota	484	405	84%	475	397	84%
Ohio	8,382	5,488	66%	8,319	5,919	71%
Oklahoma	2,452	1,656	68%	2,539	1,776	70%

(Appendix Table I continued)

State	2002			2006		
	Adult Citizens	Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Adult Citizens	Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens
Oregon	2,451	1,718	70%	2,680	1,924	72%
Pennsylvania	9,093	5,762	63%	9,234	5,991	65%
Rhode Island	735	495	67%	733	536	73%
South Carolina	2,900	1,972	68%	3,043	1,986	65%
South Dakota	567	428	76%	569	445	78%
Tennessee	4,078	2,587	63%	4,414	2,828	64%
Texas	12,976	8,591	66%	14,406	9,676	67%
Utah	1,442	928	64%	1,641	932	57%
Vermont	483	341	71%	479	345	72%
Virginia	4,858	3,063	63%	5,123	3,402	66%
Washington	4,134	2,901	70%	4,405	3,090	70%
West Virginia	1,372	827	60%	1,389	873	63%
Wisconsin	3,975	2,744	69%	4,071	2,948	72%
Wyoming	368	240	65%	383	253	66%
Totals	192,656	128,154	67%	201,073	135,847	68%

Source: November 2002 and 2006 CPS; analysis by Project Vote; numbers are in 1000's

Appendix

Appendix Table 2: Voter Turnout by State, 2002, 2006

State	2002			2006		
	Voted	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered	Voted	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
Alabama	1,585	49%	68%	1,667	50%	67%
Alaska	230	55%	76%	248	55%	75%
Arizona	1,397	42%	72%	1,777	46%	75%
Arkansas	888	46%	73%	911	45%	69%
California	8,355	43%	69%	10,104	48%	76%
Colorado	1,483	50%	75%	1,730	54%	76%
Connecticut	1,134	48%	68%	1,220	50%	74%
Delaware	253	45%	66%	275	46%	68%
District of Columbia	207	53%	70%	187	50%	68%
Florida	5,334	48%	73%	5,343	44%	68%
Georgia	2,431	42%	65%	2,672	44%	68%
Hawaii	63	45%	85%	388	43%	79%
Idaho	425	46%	75%	523	52%	79%
Illinois	4,014	47%	69%	3,968	47%	69%
Indiana	1,856	40%	66%	2,053	46%	70%
Iowa	1,053	51%	70%	1,180	55%	71%
Kansas	944	49%	73%	901	47%	71%
Kentucky	1,367	46%	68%	1,508	49%	67%
Louisiana	1,527	50%	67%	1,201	40%	55%
Maine	594	58%	72%	595	58%	73%
Maryland	1,826	51%	77%	2,145	56%	79%
Massachusetts	2,340	53%	73%	2,434	55%	77%
Michigan	3,684	50%	70%	4,088	57%	78%
Minnesota	2,450	67%	85%	2,375	65%	83%
Mississippi	855	43%	61%	879	43%	61%
Missouri	2,134	53%	72%	2,310	54%	73%
Montana	363	54%	78%	435	60%	85%
Nebraska	546	46%	65%	634	51%	74%
Nevada	585	43%	75%	686	43%	76%
New Hampshire	485	51%	77%	477	48%	69%
New Jersey	2,504	43%	66%	2,406	43%	69%
New Mexico	547	44%	75%	731	54%	77%
New York	5,417	44%	66%	5,402	43%	66%
North Carolina	2,537	45%	69%	2,422	40%	58%
North Dakota	279	58%	69%	259	54%	65%
Ohio	3,652	44%	67%	4,408	53%	74%
Oklahoma	1,201	49%	73%	1,174	46%	66%

(Appendix Table 2 continued)

State	2002			2006		
	Voted	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered	Voted	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
Oregon	1,359	56%	79%	1,601	60%	83%
Pennsylvania	3,925	43%	68%	4,394	48%	73%
Rhode Island	372	51%	75%	431	59%	80%
South Carolina	1,353	47%	69%	1,376	45%	69%
South Dakota	375	66%	87%	358	63%	80%
Tennessee	1,897	47%	73%	2,003	45%	71%
Texas	5,283	41%	61%	5,526	38%	57%
Utah	631	44%	68%	603	37%	65%
Vermont	256	53%	75%	273	57%	79%
Virginia	1,808	37%	59%	2,431	48%	71%
Washington	2,097	51%	72%	2,346	53%	76%
West Virginia	507	37%	61%	513	37%	59%
Wisconsin	1,999	50%	73%	2,352	58%	80%
Wyoming	198	54%	83%	199	52%	79%
Totals	88,903	46%	69%	96,119	48%	71%

Source: November 2002 and 2006 CPS; analysis by Project Vote; numbers are in 1000's

Appendix

Appendix Table 3a: Adult Citizen Population and Registration by Gender, Age, and Race, 2004

	Men			Women		
	Adult Citizens	Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Adult Citizens	Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens
White						
Under 30	13,860	8,465	61%	13,982	9,159	66%
30 to 64	45,581	34,469	76%	46,803	36,593	78%
65 and Over	12,007	9,937	83%	15,925	12,696	80%
Total	71,448	52,870	74%	76,711	58,448	75%
Black						
Under 30	2,722	1,399	51%	3,134	2,105	67%
30 to 64	6,287	4,311	69%	7,924	5,829	74%
65 and Over	1,070	825	77%	1,730	1,304	75%
Total	10,079	6,536	65%	12,788	9,237	72%
Asian/Pacific Islander						
Under 30	724	291	40%	722	318	44%
30 to 64	2,092	1,107	53%	2,175	1,250	57%
65 and Over	375	214	57%	493	259	52%
Total	3,190	1,612	51%	3,390	1,827	54%
Latino						
Under 30	2,510	1,125	45%	2,426	1,221	50%
30 to 64	4,596	2,739	60%	4,823	3,039	63%
65 and Over	734	495	67%	999	689	69%
Total	7,840	4,359	56%	8,248	4,949	60%
Native American						
Under 30	121	43	35%	162	100	62%
30 to 64	329	208	63%	396	246	62%
65 and Over	55	45	81%	72	50	69%
Total	505	296	59%	630	396	63%
Multi-racial						
Under 30	387	211	54%	334	225	67%
30 to 64	601	441	73%	622	470	75%
65 and Over	98	81	83%	135	112	83%
Total	1,086	733	68%	1,091	807	74%

Source: November 2004 CPS; analysis by Project Vote; numbers are in 1000's

Appendix Table 3b: Voter Turnout by Gender, Age, and Race, 2004

	Voted	Men Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered	Voted	Women Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
White						
Under 30	6,895	50%	81%	7,676	55%	84%
30 to 64	31,065	68%	90%	33,509	72%	92%
65 and Over	9,140	76%	92%	11,281	71%	89%
Total	47,101	66%	89%	52,466	67%	89%
Black						
Under 30	1,127	41%	81%	1,770	56%	84%
30 to 64	3,794	60%	88%	5,255	66%	90%
65 and Over	732	68%	89%	1,120	65%	86%
Total	5,654	56%	86%	8,145	64%	88%
Asian/Pacific Islander						
Under 30	210	29%	72%	259	36%	81%
30 to 64	948	45%	86%	1,112	51%	89%
65 and Over	188	50%	88%	227	46%	88%
Total	1,346	42%	84%	1,598	47%	87%
Latino						
Under 30	824	33%	73%	928	38%	76%
30 to 64	2,259	49%	82%	2,588	54%	85%
65 and Over	427	58%	86%	561	56%	81%
Total	3,510	45%	64%	4,077	49%	82%
Native American						
Under 30	28	23%	65%	72	45%	72%
30 to 64	175	53%	84%	198	50%	81%
65 and Over	41	74%	92%	39	54%	78%
Total	244	48%	82%	309	49%	78%
Multi-racial						
Under 30	158	41%	75%	177	53%	79%
30 to 64	364	61%	82%	420	67%	89%
65 and Over	79	81%	98%	89	66%	80%
Total	601	55%	82%	686	63%	85%

Source: November 2004 CPS; analysis by Project Vote; numbers are in 1000's

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