



Representational Bias in the 2012 Electorate

by Vanessa Perez, Ph.D.

January 2015

Table of Contents

1	Introduction	3–4
2	Methodology	5
3	Continuing Disparities in the Registered and Voting Populations	6–10
4	National and State Registration and Voting Data	11–19
5	Race and Ethnicity	20–22
6	Gender and Marital Status	24–27
7	Age and Gender	28–30
8	Gender, Age, and Race	31–34
9	Income and Education	35–37
10	Residential Mobility	38–39
11	Disability	40
12	Conclusion	41–42
13	Notes	43

List of Tables

<i>Table 1:</i>	<i>Composition of the American Electorate, 2012</i>
<i>Table 2:</i>	<i>Additional Voters Had Parity in Turnout Been Achieved, 2012</i>
<i>Table 3:</i>	<i>How Citizens Reported Registering to Vote in 2012</i>
<i>Table 4:</i>	<i>Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by State, 2012</i>
<i>Table 5:</i>	<i>Adult Citizen Population and Registration by State, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012</i>
<i>Table 6:</i>	<i>Voter Turnout by State, 2000, 2004, 2008 & 2012</i>
<i>Table 7:</i>	<i>Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Race/Ethnicity, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012</i>
<i>Table 8:</i>	<i>Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Gender, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012</i>
<i>Table 9:</i>	<i>Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Gender and Marital Status, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012</i>
<i>Table 10:</i>	<i>Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Gender and Age, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012</i>
<i>Table 11:</i>	<i>Adult Citizen Population and Registration by Gender, Age, and Race, 2012</i>
<i>Table 12:</i>	<i>Adult Citizen Voting by Gender, Age and Race, 2012</i>
<i>Table 13:</i>	<i>Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Annual Household Income, 2012</i>
<i>Table 14:</i>	<i>Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Education, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012</i>
<i>Table 15:</i>	<i>Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Residency Length, 2012</i>
<i>Table 16:</i>	<i>Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Residency Length and Race, 2012</i>
<i>Table 17:</i>	<i>Percent of Race/Ethnicity in Demographic Groups with Low Electoral Participation, 2012</i>
<i>Table 18:</i>	<i>Disability Status and Voting Behavior, 2012</i>

List of Figures

<i>Figure 1:</i>	<i>Demographic Groups as a Percentage of Adult Citizen Population, and as a Percentage of the Unregistered Population, 2012</i>
<i>Figure 2:</i>	<i>States Ranked by Voter Registration Rates, 2012</i>
<i>Figure 3:</i>	<i>States Ranked by Turnout Rates, 2012</i>
<i>Figure 4:</i>	<i>Registration by Race and Ethnicity, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012</i>
<i>Figure 5:</i>	<i>Voting by Race and Ethnicity, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012</i>
<i>Figure 6:</i>	<i>Composition of the Adult Citizen, Registered, and Voting Populations by Race and Ethnicity, 2012</i>
<i>Figure 7:</i>	<i>Composition of the Adult Citizen, Registered, and Voting Populations by Gender and Marital Status, 2012</i>
<i>Figure 8:</i>	<i>Composition of the Adult Citizen, Registered, and Voting Populations by Age Group, 2012</i>
<i>Figure 9:</i>	<i>Turnout by Gender, Age, and Race, 2008 and 2012</i>
<i>Figure 10:</i>	<i>Composition of the Adult Citizen, Registered, and Voting Populations by Annual Household Income, 2012</i>
<i>Figure 11:</i>	<i>Composition of the Adult Citizen, Registered, and Voting Populations by Education, 2012</i>

I. Introduction

This report highlights key characteristics of the American electorate over the past four presidential elections, in order to examine the ways in which the American electorate is becoming more or less representative of the general public. Using the Census Bureau's Current Population Survey, this study illustrates how electoral participation varies for different segments of the adult citizen population.

The 2012 presidential election marked historic gains in the electoral participation of traditionally underrepresented Americans. Black turnout continued to trend upwards in this election, interestingly surpassing that of Whites for the first time.¹ Black turnout was 10 points higher in 2012 than in the 2000 presidential election.

This is not the only way in which the composition of the electorate is changing in unprecedented ways. The voting public is becoming increasingly non-white and younger. This is partly because the size of the Latino population is expanding, though their registration and turnout rates remain disproportionately low relative to their numbers in the general population.²

Despite these achievements, high registration and turnout rates are for the most part more prevalent among wealthy and older individuals.³ It is well established that racial and ethnic minorities and the economically disadvantaged are less likely to register and vote than others. This report finds that these patterns persisted through 2012. Racial and ethnic minorities, low income people, young Americans, people with disabilities, and those with less than a high school education continue to disproportionately make up the bulk of the non-voting population.

Another key finding is that, while registration and turnout rates among the young increased in 2008—perhaps due to the excitement of the Obama campaign—these rates dropped back to traditional levels in 2012.

Table 1 and Figure 1 summarize registration and voting rates for adult citizens in 2012 by race, age, income, education, marital status, disability status, and mobility rates. Table 2 shows how many more votes would result if these disparities were corrected.

Barriers to registration and voting may account for some disparities in the American electorate, as members of underrepresented populations may lack the resources and opportunities to absorb the costs associated with casting a ballot. Research shows that restrictive voting laws can negatively affect voter turnout;⁴ there is also evidence to suggest that registration itself has a more negative effect on low-income populations.⁵ Reducing obstacles to registration and voting is therefore thought to boost participation.

Since the 1960s, the federal government and the states began to implement several measures to remedy the representational bias in the American electorate. The Voting Rights Act of 1965, the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 (NVRA), and the Help America Vote Act of 2002 (HAVA) are among the better known suffrage rights reforms.⁶

One of the goals of these laws is to eliminate barriers to voting, particularly among traditionally marginalized populations. Among the better-known ways to do this is to facilitate voter registration. There is a general consensus in the academic literature that more registration yields higher turnout. The vast majority of Americans vote, once registered.⁷ This was a major impetus behind passage of the NVRA.⁸ The idea was to increase registration to boost turnout, particularly among the poor, racial and ethnic minorities. The election of 2008 marked important increases in electoral participation from these groups.

This report examines the extent to which registration and voting rates changed in 2012 relative to the previous presidential elections since 2000.

II. Methodology

This report presents a statistical analysis of the Census Bureau's November Voting and Registration Supplement of the Current Population Survey (CPS) for presidential elections since the year 2000. The CPS is a survey of labor statistics conducted on approximately 56,000 households. Every two years, the Census interviews individuals who are U.S. citizens and over 18 years of age on matters regarding voting and registration. This study highlights demographic characteristics and changing trends in the composition of the American electorate. Summary statistics are included in addition to cross-tabulations and regression analysis of self-reported registration and turnout rates.⁹ The relationship between two or more variables is analyzed while holding other factors constant.

III. Continuing Disparities in the Registered and Voting Populations

Inequality in representation remains the norm in the composition of the American electorate in 2012. This report finds that, while the non-white population is increasing, the White adult citizen population makes up the bulk of the electorate. In 2012, 73.7 percent of voters identified as White, compared to 12.9 percent Black, 8.4 percent Latino, and 3.1 percent Asian and/or Pacific Islander (Table 1).

Voting patterns for Whites and Blacks are consistent with their numbers in the general population. But the same is not true for Latinos, who make up 10.9 percent of the population but only 8.4 percent of the electorate. Table 1 presents additional patterns in underrepresentation:

- Young people (under 30) are less likely to register and vote than older individuals.
- High income and education are positively associated with registration and voting.
- The difference between the total married and unmarried adult citizens is only 5 percent, but unmarried people are significantly less likely to register and vote.
- Residential stability matters for turnout: 67.5 percent of voters had lived at the same address for 5 years or more.

Table 2 shows how many additional votes might result if marginalized populations voted at higher rates:

- If non-white individuals voted at the same rate as Whites, and people under the age of 30 voted at the same rate as older voters, the electorate would expand by 14.7 million voters
- If low income people voted at the same rate as those earning over \$100,000 a year, the electorate would grow by 11.5 million voters.
- If people with a High School education or less voted at the same rate as those with more education, there would be 19 million more voters.

To address the problem of underrepresentation in the electorate, Congress included a provision in the NVRA to require states to offer voter registration opportunities in public agencies (i.e., offices providing Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program benefits [food stamps], or Medicaid, and other benefits). Table 3 presents findings from the CPS on various manners of reported registration in 2012. It shows that about 1 million non-white citizens registered at public agencies (2 percent more than White citizens), and 20 percent of non-whites registered by mail. A greater proportion of non-white people registered at registration drives than Whites.

In 2012, the CPS added a category to its questionnaire, asking people if they registered online. Online registration may help boost registration rates among populations that are more commonly exposed to discriminatory practices associated with in-person registration. (These populations would include minorities and LGBT individuals.¹⁰)

III. Continuing Disparities in the Registered and Voting Populations

Table I: Composition of the American Electorate, 2012

	Demographic Category	Adult Citizens	Voters
RACE	White	71.1%	73.7%
	Black	12.0%	12.9%
	Asian/Pacific Islander	4.0%	3.1%
	Latino	10.9%	8.4%
	Native American	0.7%	0.6%
	Multi-racial	1.4%	1.3%
AGE GROUP	Under 30	21.2%	15.5%
	30 and over	78.8%	84.6%
ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME	Less than \$25,000	22.2%	17.7%
	More than \$100,000	21.0%	25.0%
EDUCATION	High School Degree or Less	40.6%	32.1%
	Some College or More	59.5%	67.9%
MARITAL STATUS	Married	53.2%	59.3%
	Unmarried	46.8%	40.7%
DISABILITY	Disability Reported	12.8%	11.8%
	No Disability Reported	87.2%	88.2%
TIME AT PRESENT RESIDENCE	Less than 5 Years	38.1%	32.5%
	5 Years or More	61.9%	67.5%

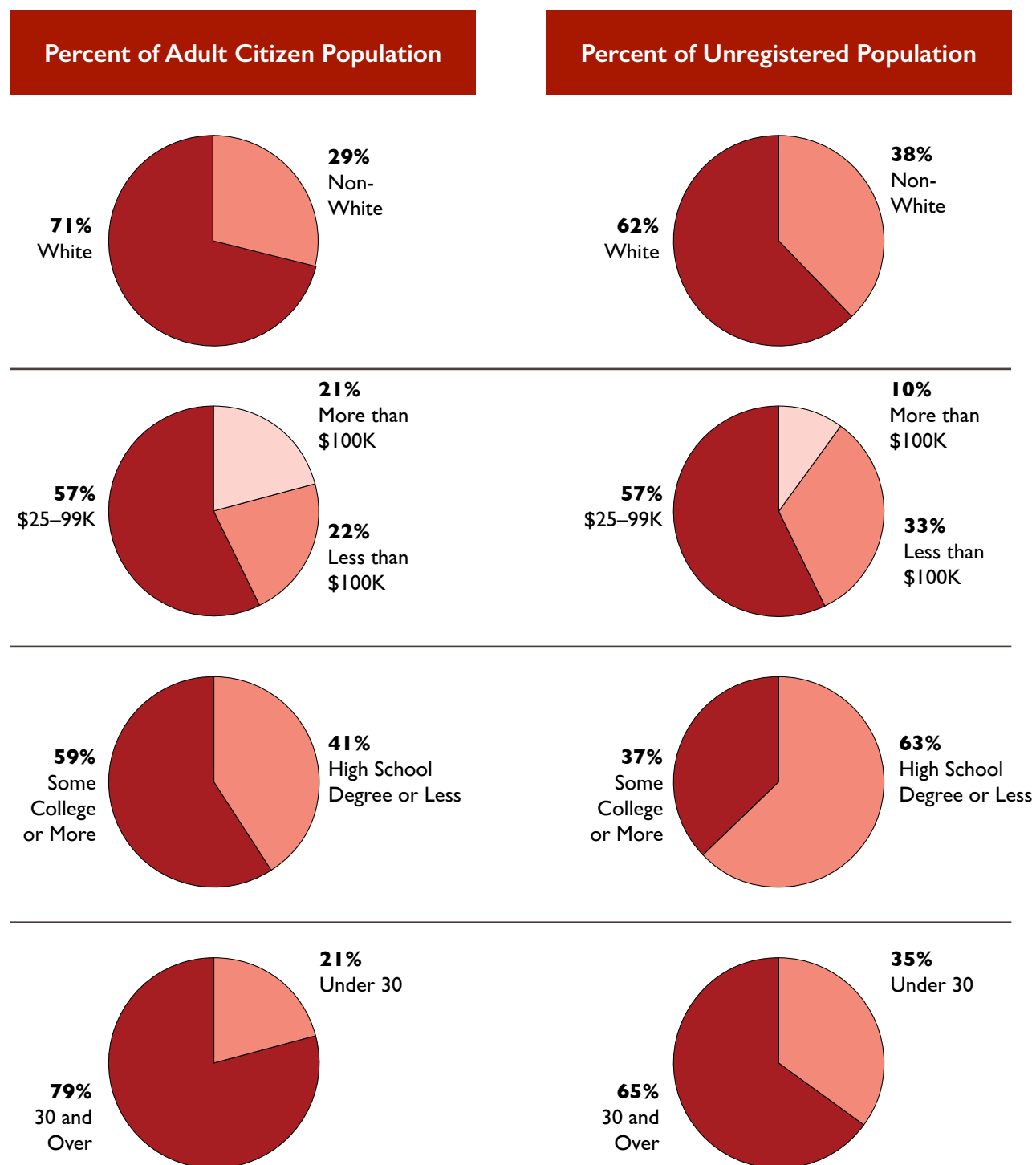
III. Continuing Disparities in the Registered and Voting Populations

Table 2: Additional Voters Had Parity in Turnout Been Achieved, 2012

	Comparison Groups	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Additional Voters with Turnout Parity (in 1000s)
RACE	White	64.1%	
	Non-White	56.1%	5,002
AGE GROUP	30 and Over	66.3%	
	Under 30	45.0%	9,709
ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME	\$100,00 or More	73.6%	
	\$25,000 or Less	49.4%	11,545
EDUCATION	Some College or More	70.6%	
	High School or Less	49.0%	19,112
MARITAL STATUS	Married	69.0%	
	Unmarried	53.7%	6,468
DISABILITY	Disability Reported	62.4%	
	No Disability Reported	56.8%	1,537

III. Continuing Disparities in the Registered and Voting Populations

Figure I: Demographic Groups as a Percentage of the Adult Citizen Population, and as a Percentage of the Unregistered Population, 2012



III. Continuing Disparities in the Registered and Voting Populations

Table 3: How Citizens Reported Registering to Vote in 2012

	Whites (in 1000s)		Non-Whites (in 1000s)		Total (in 1000s)	
Department of Motor Vehicles	27,536	30%	9,465	29%	37,000	30%
Public Assistance Agency	820	1%	1,000	3%	1,820	1%
Registered by mail	13,634	15%	6,483	20%	20,117	16%
Registered using the Internet or online	3,142	3%	1,313	4%	4,455	4%
School, hospital, or on campus	5,413	6%	3,023	9%	8,436	7%
Town hall or county, registration office	23,876	26%	5,317	16%	29,193	24%
Registration drive	4,735	5%	2,937	9%	7,672	6%
Polling place on election or primary day	7,816	9%	1,892	6%	9,708	8%
Other	3,867	4%	1,766	5%	5,633	5%
Total	90,840	100%	33,195	100%	124,034	100%

IV. National and State Registration and Voting Data

Table 4 presents state-level reported registration and voting rates for the 2012 presidential election. Each state is ranked in accordance with its registration and voting rates. It shows that Mississippi had the highest voter registration rates, and that turnout was highest in the District of Columbia.

The number of citizens who voted as a percent of those registered is also reported. Table 5 shows these patterns for all presidential elections since 2000. Table 6 shows the total number of citizens that reported voting in the past four presidential elections, and the total who voted as a percent of those registered.

Figure 2 shows voter registration by state compared with the U.S. total. States are ranked in accordance to their voter registration rates.

- Mississippi and the District of Columbia have the highest number of citizens registered as a percent of all citizens.
- Hawaii ranks last.
- The typical battleground states such as Florida and Ohio rank lower than the nationwide average (71.2), at 68.3 and 71.1 respectively.

Figure 3 shows states ranked by turnout rates for the 2012 presidential election.

- The District of Columbia had the highest turnout rate, 75.9 followed by Mississippi, 74.6.
- National turnout was much lower, at 61.8. This rate is consistent with average turnout (62.2) in the four most recent presidential elections, but lower than turnout in 2004, which was 63.8.

IV. National and State Registration and Voting Data

Table 4: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by State, 2012

State	Adult Citizens (in 1000s)	Registered (in 1000s)	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Rank	Voted (in 1000s)	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Rank	Voted as % of Registered
Alabama	3,479	2,556	73.5	20	2,154	61.9	28	84.3
Alaska	495	361	72.9	27	289	58.4	41	80.1
Arizona	4,314	2,812	65.2	47	2,412	55.9	45	85.8
Arkansas	2,109	1,376	65.2	46	1,124	53.3	48	81.7
California	23,419	15,356	65.6	45	13,462	57.5	43	87.7
Colorado	3,544	2,635	74.4	17	2,495	70.4	6	94.7
Connecticut	2,499	1,760	70.4	34	1,568	62.7	26	89.1
Delaware	641	470	73.3	23	431	67.2	12	91.7
District of Columbia	461	385	83.5	2	350	75.9	1	90.9
Florida	13,326	9,102	68.3	40	8,107	60.8	36	89.1
Georgia	6,738	4,767	70.7	33	4,168	61.9	30	87.4
Hawaii	930	547	58.8	51	480	51.6	50	87.8
Idaho	1,064	745	70.0	35	679	63.8	21	91.1
Illinois	8,831	6,425	72.8	28	5,428	61.5	34	84.5
Indiana	4,724	3,270	69.2	37	2,801	59.3	38	85.7
Iowa	2,232	1,745	78.2	6	1,548	69.4	8	88.7
Kansas	1,973	1,467	74.4	16	1,249	63.3	23	85.1
Kentucky	3,194	2,303	72.1	29	1,895	59.3	37	82.3
Louisiana	3,239	2,498	77.1	10	2,148	66.3	15	86.0
Maine	1,020	787	77.2	9	700	68.6	10	88.9
Maryland	4,007	2,888	72.1	30	2,609	65.1	18	90.3
Massachusetts	4,774	3,759	78.7	5	3,382	70.8	5	90.0
Michigan	7,228	5,620	77.8	8	4,832	66.9	14	86.0
Minnesota	3,903	3,085	79.0	3	2,859	73.3	4	92.7
Mississippi	2,130	1,794	84.2	1	1,588	74.6	2	88.5
Missouri	4,409	3,384	76.8	11	2,818	63.9	20	83.3
Montana	754	553	73.3	22	495	65.6	16	89.5
Nebraska	1,296	901	69.5	36	798	61.6	32	88.6
Nevada	1,808	1,176	65.0	48	1,048	58.0	42	89.1
New Hampshire	991	752	75.9	12	688	69.4	7	91.5
New Jersey	5,929	4,326	73.0	26	3,670	61.9	29	84.8
New Mexico	1,426	978	68.6	39	878	61.6	33	89.8
New York	13,082	8,887	67.9	42	7,675	58.7	40	86.4
North Carolina	6,712	5,295	78.9	4	4,624	68.9	9	87.3

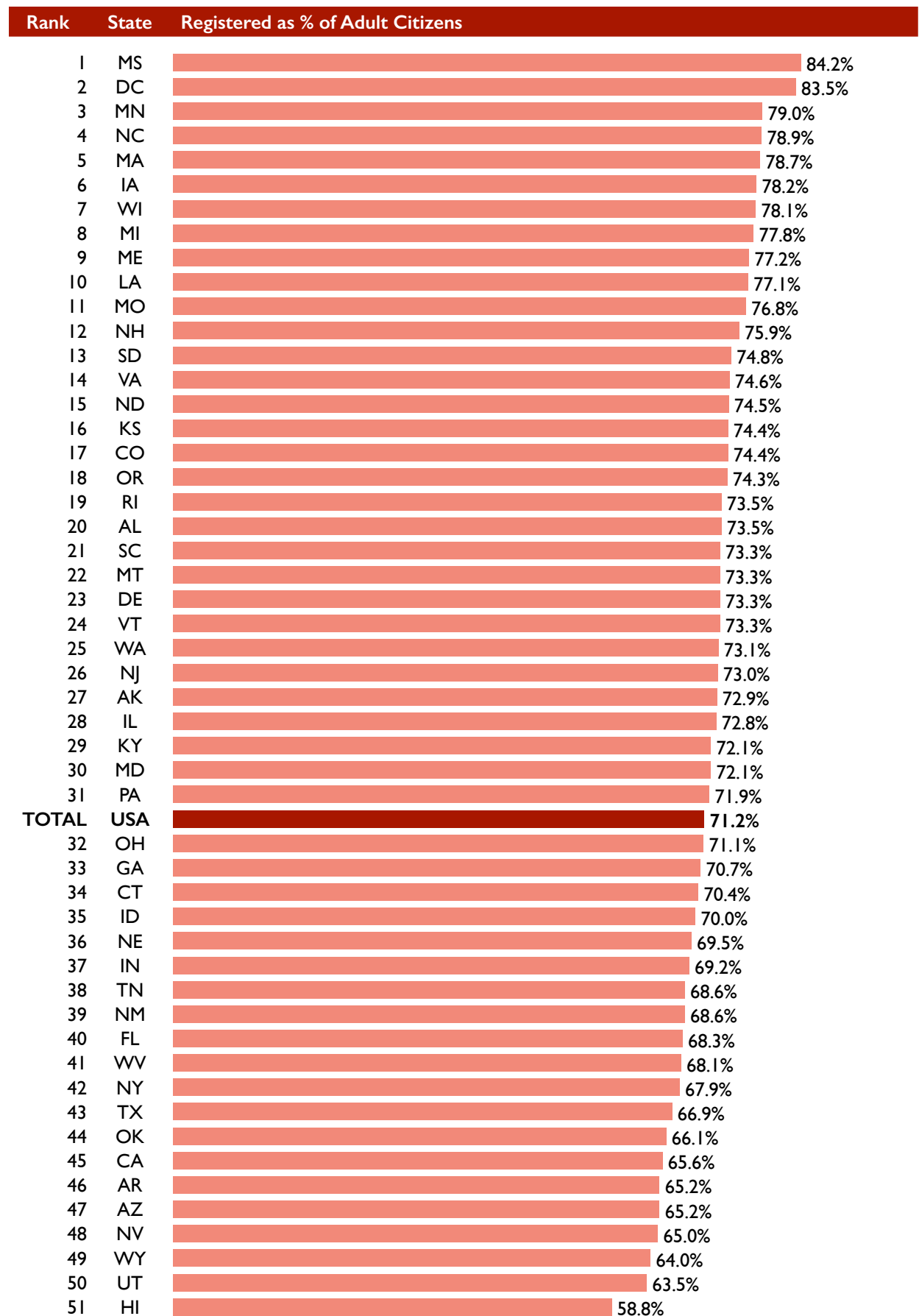
IV. National and State Registration and Voting Data

Table 4: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by State, 2012 (continued)

State	Adult Citizens (in 1000s)	Registered (in 1000s)	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Rank	Voted (in 1000s)	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Rank	Voted as % of Registered
North Dakota	514	383	74.5	15	328	63.8	22	85.6
Ohio	8,550	6,076	71.1	32	5,395	63.1	25	88.8
Oklahoma	2,733	1,806	66.1	44	1,431	52.4	49	79.2
Oregon	2,806	2,086	74.3	18	1,897	67.6	11	90.9
Pennsylvania	9,452	6,795	71.9	31	5,824	61.6	31	85.7
Rhode Island	751	552	73.5	19	469	62.5	27	85.0
South Carolina	3,380	2,479	73.3	21	2,187	64.7	19	88.2
South Dakota	607	454	74.8	13	370	61.0	35	81.5
Tennessee	4,678	3,210	68.6	38	2,606	55.7	46	81.2
Texas	16,062	10,749	66.9	43	8,643	53.8	47	80.4
Utah	1,793	1,138	63.5	50	1,022	57.0	44	89.8
Vermont	487	357	73.3	24	308	63.2	24	86.3
Virginia	5,645	4,210	74.6	14	3,778	66.9	13	89.7
Washington	4,832	3,533	73.1	25	3,172	65.6	17	89.8
West Virginia	1,442	982	68.1	41	690	47.9	51	70.3
Wisconsin	4,247	3,318	78.1	7	3,127	73.6	3	94.2
Wyoming	419	268	64.0	49	247	58.9	39	92.2
TOTAL	215,079	153,161	71.2		132,946	61.8		86.8

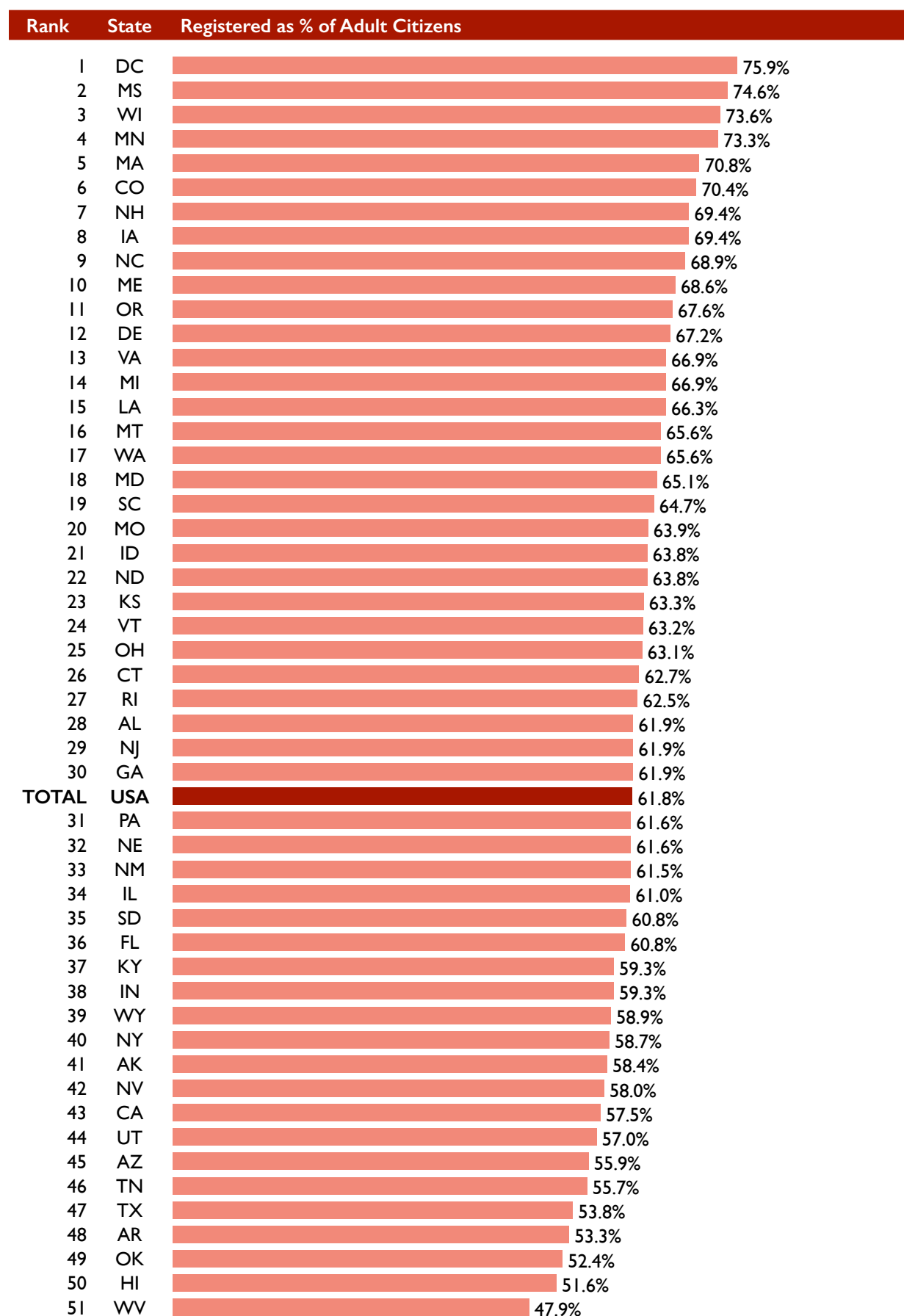
IV. National and State Registration and Voting Data

Figure 2: States Ranked by Voter Registration Rates, 2012



IV. National and State Registration and Voting Data

Figure 3: States Ranked by Turnout Rates, 2012



IV. National and State Registration and Voting Data

Table 5: Adult Citizen Population and Registration by State, 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012

State	2000			2004			2008			2012		
	Adult Citizens (in 1000s)	Registered (in 1000s)	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Adult Citizens (in 1000s)	Registered (in 1000s)	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Adult Citizens (in 1000s)	Registered (in 1000s)	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Adult Citizens (in 1000s)	Registered (in 1000s)	Registered as % of Adult Citizens
Alabama	3,233	2,411	74.6%	3,257	2,418	74.2%	3,404	2,438	71.6%	3,479	2,556	73.5%
Alaska	399	299	74.9%	434	334	77.0%	468	345	73.7%	495	361	72.9%
Arizona	3,129	1,879	60.1%	3,508	2,485	70.8%	4,169	2,874	68.9%	4,314	2,812	65.2%
Arkansas	1,851	1,125	60.8%	1,942	1,328	68.4%	2,030	1,317	64.9%	2,109	1,376	65.2%
California	19,837	13,061	65.8%	20,693	14,193	68.6%	21,816	14,885	68.2%	23,419	15,356	65.6%
Colorado	2,854	1,954	68.5%	3,109	2,307	74.2%	3,374	2,437	72.2%	3,544	2,635	74.4%
Connecticut	2,239	1,510	67.4%	2,409	1,695	70.4%	2,396	1,761	73.5%	2,499	1,760	70.4%
Delaware	543	385	70.9%	579	415	71.7%	606	447	73.8%	641	470	73.3%
District of Columbia	373	295	79.1%	390	293	75.1%	413	324	78.5%	461	385	83.5%
Florida	10,081	7,043	69.9%	11,469	8,219	71.7%	12,462	8,774	70.4%	13,326	9,102	68.3%
Georgia	5,553	3,528	63.5%	5,866	3,948	67.3%	6,515	4,624	71.0%	6,738	4,767	70.7%
Hawaii	771	402	52.1%	852	497	58.3%	883	522	59.1%	930	547	58.8%
Idaho	892	569	63.8%	948	663	69.9%	1,049	723	68.9%	1,064	745	70.0%
Illinois	8,118	5,911	72.8%	8,640	6,437	74.5%	8,681	6,151	70.9%	8,831	6,425	72.8%
Indiana	4,303	3,000	69.7%	4,435	3,031	68.3%	4,562	3,105	68.1%	4,724	3,270	69.2%
Iowa	2,008	1,524	75.9%	2,136	1,674	78.4%	2,137	1,630	76.3%	2,232	1,745	78.2%
Kansas	1,861	1,293	69.5%	1,851	1,338	72.3%	1,926	1,343	69.7%	1,973	1,467	74.4%
Kentucky	2,918	2,087	71.5%	2,969	2,231	75.1%	3,094	2,259	73.0%	3,194	2,303	72.1%
Louisiana	3,091	2,369	76.6%	3,218	2,413	75.0%	3,056	2,393	78.3%	3,239	2,498	77.1%
Maine	966	786	81.4%	1,007	824	81.8%	1,005	801	79.7%	1,020	787	77.2%
Maryland	3,565	2,499	70.1%	3,678	2,676	72.8%	3,824	2,828	74.0%	4,007	2,888	72.1%
Massachusetts	4,246	3,244	76.4%	4,497	3,483	77.5%	4,533	3,293	72.6%	4,774	3,759	78.7%
Michigan	6,963	4,996	71.8%	7,177	5,364	74.7%	7,176	5,531	77.1%	7,228	5,620	77.8%
Minnesota	3,407	2,688	78.9%	3,645	3,080	84.5%	3,678	2,931	79.7%	3,903	3,085	79.0%
Mississippi	2,001	1,465	73.2%	2,049	1,510	73.7%	2,064	1,589	77.0%	2,130	1,794	84.2%
Missouri	3,987	3,023	75.8%	4,106	3,336	81.2%	4,326	3,224	74.5%	4,409	3,384	76.8%
Montana	650	461	70.9%	687	519	75.5%	724	516	71.3%	754	553	73.3%

IV. National and State Registration and Voting Data

Table 5: Adult Citizen Population and Registration by State, 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012 (continued)

State	2000			2004			2008			2012		
	Adult Citizens (in 1000s)	Registered (in 1000s)	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Adult Citizens (in 1000s)	Registered (in 1000s)	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Adult Citizens (in 1000s)	Registered (in 1000s)	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Adult Citizens (in 1000s)	Registered (in 1000s)	Registered as % of Adult Citizens
Nebraska	1,176	865	73.6%	1,215	918	75.6%	1,253	939	74.9%	1,296	901	69.5%
Nevada	1,229	720	58.6%	1,477	965	65.3%	1,714	1,147	66.9%	1,808	1,176	65.0%
New Hampshire	857	628	73.3%	948	716	75.5%	994	756	76.1%	991	752	75.9%
New Jersey	5,458	3,859	70.7%	5,591	4,085	73.1%	5,675	4,022	70.9%	5,929	4,326	73.0%
New Mexico	1,188	750	63.1%	1,301	936	71.9%	1,352	937	69.3%	1,426	978	68.6%
New York	11,877	8,047	67.8%	12,779	8,624	67.5%	12,849	8,458	65.8%	13,082	8,887	67.9%
North Carolina	5,335	3,720	69.7%	5,923	4,292	72.5%	6,477	4,902	75.7%	6,712	5,295	78.9%
North Dakota	445	409	91.9%	462	412	89.2%	476	399	83.8%	514	383	74.5%
Ohio	8,143	5,561	68.3%	8,305	6,003	72.3%	8,367	6,108	73.0%	8,550	6,076	71.1%
Oklahoma	2,400	1,679	70.0%	2,476	1,781	71.9%	2,566	1,798	70.1%	2,733	1,806	66.1%
Oregon	2,295	1,714	74.7%	2,600	2,049	78.8%	2,687	1,961	73.0%	2,806	2,086	74.3%
Pennsylvania	8,687	5,847	67.3%	9,055	6,481	71.6%	9,206	6,451	70.1%	9,452	6,795	71.9%
Rhode Island	690	508	73.6%	732	522	71.3%	752	568	75.5%	751	552	73.5%
South Carolina	2,897	1,993	68.8%	3,002	2,238	74.6%	3,202	2,385	74.5%	3,380	2,479	73.3%
South Dakota	525	376	71.6%	554	425	76.7%	575	442	76.9%	607	454	74.8%
Tennessee	4,067	2,590	63.7%	4,250	2,739	64.4%	4,529	2,921	64.5%	4,678	3,210	68.6%
Texas	12,937	8,929	69.0%	13,925	9,681	69.5%	15,040	10,123	67.3%	16,062	10,749	66.9%
Utah	1,378	953	69.2%	1,508	1,141	75.7%	1,768	1,056	59.7%	1,793	1,138	63.5%
Vermont	451	330	73.2%	469	354	75.5%	476	345	72.5%	487	357	73.3%
Virginia	4,912	3,317	67.5%	4,971	3,441	69.2%	5,316	3,950	74.3%	5,645	4,210	74.6%
Washington	4,078	2,852	69.9%	4,220	3,133	74.2%	4,600	3,299	71.7%	4,832	3,533	73.1%
West Virginia	1,397	886	63.4%	1,394	935	67.1%	1,387	917	66.1%	1,442	982	68.1%
Wisconsin	3,755	2,970	79.1%	3,928	3,225	82.1%	4,053	3,095	76.4%	4,247	3,318	78.1%
Wyoming	348	240	69.0%	370	265	71.6%	389	270	69.4%	419	268	64.0%
Total	186,364	129,550	69.5%	197,006	142,072	72.1%	206,074	146,314	71.0%	215,079	153,161	71.2%

IV. National and State Registration and Voting Data

Table 6: Voter Turnout by State, 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012

State	2000			2004			2008			2012		
	Voted (in 1000s)	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered	Voted (in 1000s)	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered	Voted (in 1000s)	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered	Voted (in 1000s)	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
Alabama	1,953	60.4%	81.0%	2,060	63.2%	85.2%	2,126	62.5%	87.2%	2,154	61.9%	84.3%
Alaska	270	67.7%	90.3%	293	67.5%	87.7%	304	65.0%	88.1%	289	58.4%	80.1%
Arizona	1,644	52.5%	87.5%	2,239	63.8%	90.1%	2,497	59.9%	86.9%	2,412	55.9%	85.8%
Arkansas	936	50.6%	83.2%	1,140	58.7%	85.8%	1,092	53.8%	82.9%	1,124	53.3%	81.7%
California	11,489	57.9%	88.0%	12,807	61.9%	90.2%	13,828	63.4%	92.9%	13,462	57.5%	87.7%
Colorado	1,633	57.2%	83.6%	2,097	67.4%	90.9%	2,308	68.4%	94.7%	2,495	70.4%	94.7%
Connecticut	1,332	59.5%	88.2%	1,524	63.3%	89.9%	1,610	67.2%	91.4%	1,568	62.7%	89.1%
Delaware	352	64.8%	91.4%	385	66.5%	92.8%	408	67.3%	91.3%	431	67.2%	91.7%
District of Columbia	267	71.6%	90.5%	270	69.2%	92.2%	306	74.1%	94.4%	350	75.9%	90.9%
Florida	6,006	59.6%	85.3%	7,372	64.3%	89.7%	7,951	63.8%	90.6%	8,107	60.8%	89.1%
Georgia	2,827	50.9%	80.1%	3,332	56.8%	84.4%	4,183	64.2%	90.5%	4,168	61.9%	87.4%
Hawaii	340	44.1%	84.6%	433	50.8%	87.1%	457	51.8%	87.5%	480	51.6%	87.8%
Idaho	500	56.1%	87.9%	585	61.7%	88.2%	644	61.4%	89.1%	679	63.8%	91.1%
Illinois	5,030	62.0%	85.1%	5,672	65.6%	88.1%	5,436	62.6%	88.4%	5,428	61.5%	84.5%
Indiana	2,564	59.6%	85.5%	2,598	58.6%	85.7%	2,758	60.5%	88.8%	2,801	59.3%	85.7%
Iowa	1,353	67.4%	88.8%	1,522	71.3%	90.9%	1,501	70.2%	92.1%	1,548	69.4%	88.7%
Kansas	1,148	61.7%	88.8%	1,188	64.2%	88.8%	1,219	63.3%	90.8%	1,249	63.3%	85.1%
Kentucky	1,645	56.4%	78.8%	1,930	65.0%	86.5%	1,952	63.1%	86.4%	1,895	59.3%	82.3%
Louisiana	2,030	65.7%	85.7%	2,067	64.2%	85.7%	2,149	70.3%	89.8%	2,148	66.3%	86.0%
Maine	677	70.1%	86.1%	736	73.1%	89.3%	716	71.2%	89.4%	700	68.6%	88.9%
Maryland	2,178	61.1%	87.2%	2,413	65.6%	90.2%	2,611	68.3%	92.3%	2,609	65.1%	90.3%
Massachusetts	2,772	65.3%	85.5%	3,085	68.6%	88.6%	3,044	67.2%	92.4%	3,382	70.8%	90.0%
Michigan	4,343	62.4%	86.9%	4,818	67.1%	89.8%	4,865	67.8%	88.0%	4,832	66.9%	86.0%
Minnesota	2,376	69.7%	88.4%	2,887	79.2%	93.7%	2,759	75.0%	94.1%	2,859	73.3%	92.7%
Mississippi	1,213	60.6%	82.8%	1,263	61.6%	83.6%	1,439	69.7%	90.6%	1,588	74.6%	88.5%
Missouri	2,659	66.7%	88.0%	2,815	68.6%	84.4%	2,846	65.8%	88.3%	2,818	63.9%	83.3%
Montana	409	62.9%	88.7%	482	70.2%	92.9%	473	65.3%	91.7%	495	65.6%	89.5%
Nebraska	710	60.4%	82.1%	793	65.3%	86.4%	844	67.4%	89.9%	798	61.6%	88.6%

IV. National and State Registration and Voting Data

Table 6: Voter Turnout by State, 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012 (continued)

State	2000			2004			2008			2012		
	Voted (in 1000s)	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered	Voted (in 1000s)	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered	Voted (in 1000s)	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered	Voted (in 1000s)	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
Nevada	641	52.2%	89.0%	871	59.0%	90.3%	1,027	59.9%	89.5%	1,048	58.0%	89.1%
New Hampshire	571	66.6%	90.9%	677	71.4%	94.6%	708	71.2%	93.7%	688	69.4%	91.5%
New Jersey	3,374	61.8%	87.4%	3,693	66.1%	90.4%	3,637	64.1%	90.4%	3,670	61.9%	84.8%
New Mexico	647	54.5%	86.3%	837	64.3%	89.4%	846	62.6%	90.3%	878	61.6%	89.8%
New York	7,004	59.0%	87.0%	7,698	60.2%	89.3%	7,559	58.8%	89.4%	7,675	58.7%	86.4%
North Carolina	2,995	56.1%	80.5%	3,639	61.4%	84.8%	4,370	67.5%	89.1%	4,624	68.9%	87.3%
North Dakota	313	70.3%	76.5%	330	71.4%	80.1%	321	67.4%	80.5%	328	63.8%	85.6%
Ohio	4,823	59.2%	86.7%	5,485	66.0%	91.4%	5,483	65.5%	89.8%	5,395	63.1%	88.8%
Oklahoma	1,431	59.6%	85.2%	1,541	62.2%	86.5%	1,507	58.7%	83.8%	1,431	52.4%	79.2%
Oregon	1,529	66.6%	89.2%	1,924	74.0%	93.9%	1,818	67.7%	92.7%	1,897	67.6%	90.9%
Pennsylvania	4,988	57.4%	85.3%	5,845	64.5%	90.2%	5,747	62.4%	89.1%	5,824	61.6%	85.7%
Rhode Island	438	63.5%	86.2%	467	63.8%	89.5%	507	67.4%	89.3%	469	62.5%	85.0%
South Carolina	1,725	59.5%	86.6%	1,899	63.3%	84.9%	2,100	65.6%	88.1%	2,187	64.7%	88.2%
South Dakota	311	59.2%	82.7%	378	68.2%	88.9%	390	67.8%	88.2%	370	61.0%	81.5%
Tennessee	2,183	53.7%	84.3%	2,319	54.6%	84.7%	2,516	55.6%	86.1%	2,606	55.7%	81.2%
Texas	7,005	54.1%	78.5%	7,950	57.1%	82.1%	8,435	56.1%	83.3%	8,643	53.8%	80.4%
Utah	829	60.2%	87.0%	1,022	67.8%	89.6%	939	53.1%	88.9%	1,022	57.0%	89.8%
Vermont	290	64.3%	87.9%	316	67.4%	89.3%	308	64.7%	89.3%	308	63.2%	86.3%
Virginia	2,962	60.3%	89.3%	3,134	63.0%	91.1%	3,650	68.7%	92.4%	3,778	66.9%	89.7%
Washington	2,527	62.0%	88.6%	2,851	67.6%	91.0%	3,073	66.8%	93.1%	3,172	65.6%	89.8%
West Virginia	732	52.4%	82.6%	798	57.2%	85.3%	741	53.4%	80.8%	690	47.9%	70.3%
Wisconsin	2,632	70.1%	88.6%	3,010	76.6%	93.3%	2,887	71.2%	93.3%	3,127	73.6%	94.2%
Wyoming	219	62.9%	91.3%	247	66.8%	93.2%	250	64.3%	92.6%	247	58.9%	92.2%
Total	110,825	59.5%	85.5%	125,737	63.8%	88.5%	131,145	63.6%	89.6%	132,946	61.8%	86.8%

V. Race and Ethnicity

Table 7 presents registration and voting rates by race and ethnicity for the elections of 2000, 2004, 2008, and 2012. The data show that the non-white population is growing over time; 7,468,000 more individuals identified as non-white in 2012 than in 2008.

The high turnout rates among minorities that marked the 2008 presidential election persisted in 2012. Participation by Blacks was highest among the six racial groups. Other minorities similarly voted at rates consistent with their participation in the 2008 election, with the exception of Latinos, where turnout decreased by two percentage points.

- White individuals make up 70 percent of the registering population and over 60 percent of the voting population.

Figures 4 and 5 illustrate the trend in registration and voting rates by race and ethnicity from 2000 to 2012.

- Registration for Blacks and Native Americans increased by approximately 5 points since the 2000 presidential election. The increase among Latinos is less marked: only 2 points since the year 2000.
- Voting also increased among minority populations since 2000. Voting among Blacks rose by 10 points. The increase among Latinos was 3 points, and among Native Americans, 4 points.

Figure 6 shows the breakdown of the adult citizen population, the registered population, and the voting population by race and ethnicity.

V. Race and Ethnicity

Table 7: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Race/Ethnicity, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012

Demographic	Adult Citizens (in 1000s)	Column %	Registered (in 1000s)	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Voted (in 1000s)	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
2000 White	144,731	78.0%	103,588	72.0%	89,469	62.0%	86.0%
2000 Black	22,409	12.0%	15,156	68.0%	12,749	57.0%	84.0%
2000 Asian/Pacific Islander	4,631	3.0%	2,414	52.0%	2,003	43.0%	83.0%
2000 Latino	13,159	7.0%	7,546	57.0%	5,934	45.0%	79.0%
2000 Native American	1,436	1.0%	844	59.0%	671	47.0%	79.0%
2000 Multi-racial*	N/A		N/A		N/A		
2000 Total	186,366	100.0%	129,549	70.0%	110,826	60.0%	86.0%
2004 White	148,159	75.0%	111,318	75.0%	99,567	67.0%	89.0%
2004 Black	22,866	12.0%	15,773	69.0%	13,799	60.0%	87.0%
2004 Asian/Pacific Islander	6,580	3.0%	3,438	52.0%	2,943	45.0%	86.0%
2004 Latino	16,088	8.0%	9,308	58.0%	7,587	47.0%	82.0%
2004 Native American	1,136	1.0%	692	61.0%	553	49.0%	80.0%
2004 Multi-racial*	2,177	1.0%	1,540	71.0%	1,287	59.0%	84.0%
2004 Total	197,005	100.0%	142,070	72.0%	125,736	64.0%	89.0%
2008 White	151,321	73.0%	111,215	74.0%	100,042	66.0%	90.0%
2008 Black	24,322	12.0%	17,059	70.0%	15,857	65.0%	93.0%
2008 Asian/Pacific Islander	7,415	4.0%	4,076	55.0%	3,502	47.0%	86.0%
2008 Latino	19,537	9.0%	11,608	59.0%	9,745	50.0%	84.0%
2008 Native American	1,206	1.0%	743	62.0%	589	49.0%	79.0%
2008 Multi-racial*	2,271	1.0%	1,610	71.0%	1,409	62.0%	88.0%
2008 Total	206,072	100.0%	146,311	71.0%	131,144	64.0%	90.0%
2012 White	152,862	71.1%	112,706	73.7%	98,041	64.1%	87.0%
2012 Black	25,753	12.0%	18,852	73.2%	17,163	66.6%	91.0%
2012 Asian	8,619	4.0%	4,841	56.2%	4,057	47.1%	83.8%
2012 Latino	23,329	10.8%	13,697	58.7%	11,188	48.0%	81.7%
2012 Native American	1,589	0.7%	1,024	64.5%	803	50.5%	78.4%
2012 Multi-racial*	2,929	1.4%	2,037	69.5%	1,696	57.9%	83.3%
2012 Total	215,081	100.0%	153,157	71.2%	132,948	61.8%	86.8%

Figure 4: Registration by Race/Ethnicity, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012

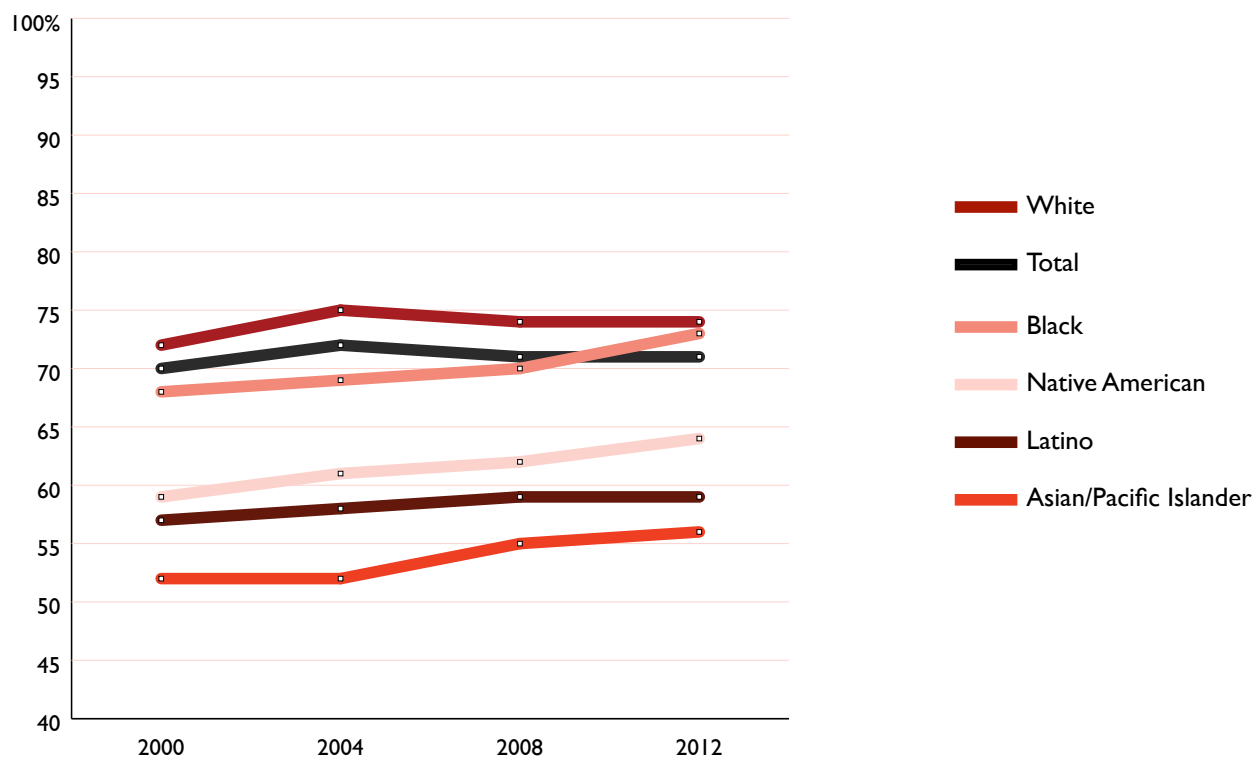


Figure 5: Voting by Race/Ethnicity, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012

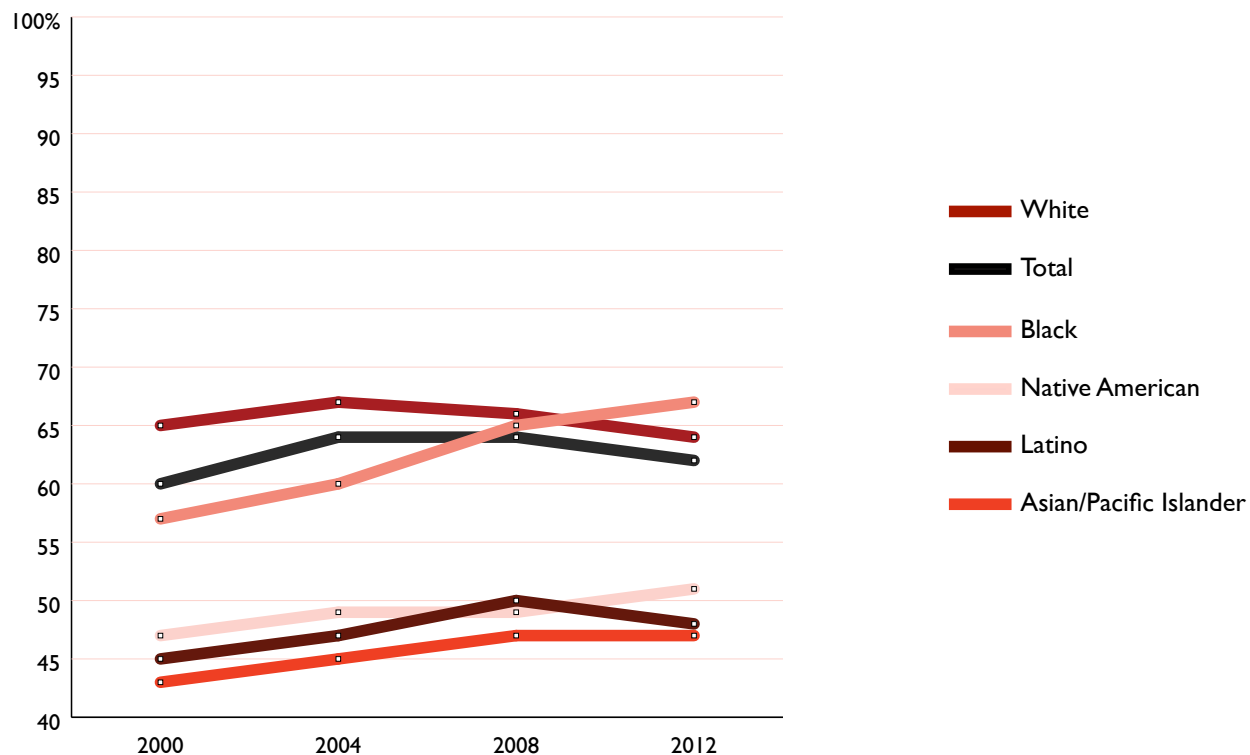
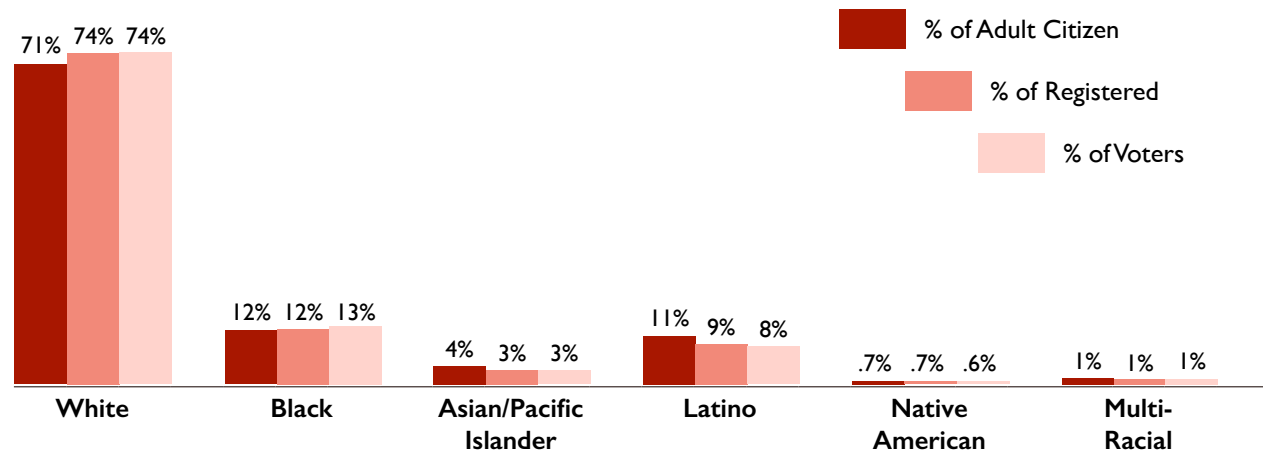


Figure 6: Composition of the Adult Citizen, Registered, and Voting Populations by Race/Ethnicity, 2012



VI. Gender and Marital Status

Gender and marital status are also positively associated with high registration and turnout figures. Women are typically more likely to participate in elections than men, and being married increases the likelihood that an individual will register and vote.

Table 8 presents registration and voting rates for the adult citizen population from 2000 to 2012:

- Table 8 shows that the percent of women registered in 2012 remained consistent from 2008, and slightly decreased since 2004. Men were as likely to say they were registered in 2012 as they were in 2008.
- Self-reported voting dropped among women in 2012 by 2 percentage points. The rate for men similarly dropped by 2 points.

Table 9 compares voting and registration rates among men and women by marital status.

- Table 9 shows that married women are more likely to register and vote than married men and unmarried men and women.
- The number of unmarried men and women who reported voting dropped in 2012 from 51 percent (men) and 60 percent (women) to 49 percent and 58 percent respectively.
- Married women were as likely to say they were registered in 2012 as they were in 2008.

Figure 5 shows the breakdown of the married and unmarried population as a percentage of adult citizens, those who are registered, and voters.

VI. Gender and Marital Status

Table 8: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Gender, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012

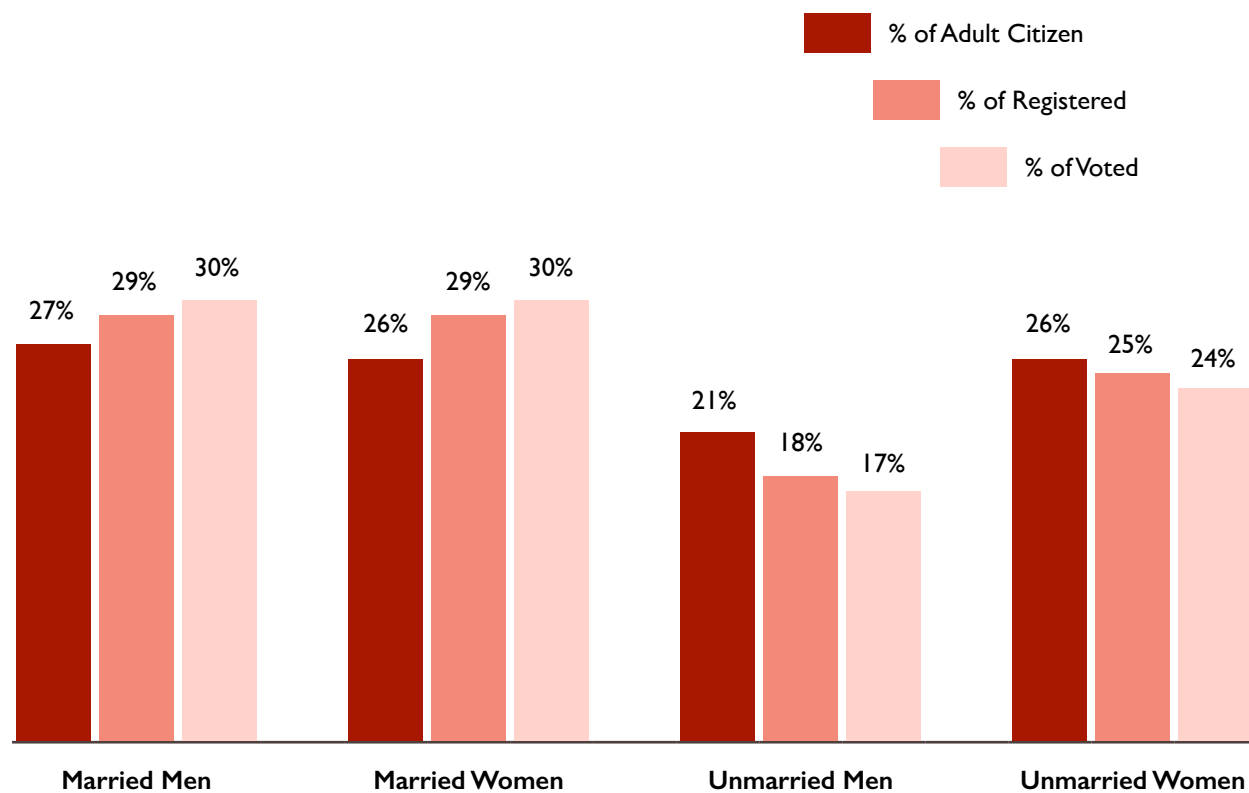
		Adult Citizens (in 1000s)	Column %	Registered (in 1000s)	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Voted (in 1000s)	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
2000	Men	88,758	48.0%	60,356	68.0%	51,542	58.0%	85.0%
	Women	97,608	52.0%	69,193	71.0%	59,284	61.0%	86.0%
	Total	186,366	100.0%	129,549	70.0%	110,826	60.0%	86.0%
2004	Men	94,147	48.0%	66,406	71.0%	58,455	62.0%	88.0%
	Women	102,858	52.0%	75,663	74.0%	67,281	65.0%	89.0%
	Total	197,005	100.0%	142,070	72.0%	125,736	64.0%	89.0%
2008	Men	98,818	48.0%	68,242	69.0%	60,729	62.0%	89.0%
	Women	107,255	52.0%	78,069	73.0%	70,415	66.0%	90.0%
	Total	206,072	100.0%	146,311	71.0%	131,144	64.0%	90.0%
2012	Men	103,022	47.9%	70,832	68.8%	61,551	59.7%	86.9%
	Women	112,059	52.1%	81,257	72.5%	71,397	63.7%	87.9%
	Total	215,081	100.0%	152,089	70.7%	132,948	61.8%	87.4%

VI. Gender and Marital Status

Table 9: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Gender and Marital Status, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012

		Adult Citizens (in 1000s)	Registered (in 1000s)	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Voted (in 1000s)	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
2000	Married	Men	53,817	40,706	76.0%	35,999	67.0%
		Women	52,826	40,285	76.0%	35,868	68.0%
		Total	106,644	80,991	76.0%	71,867	67.0%
	Unmarried	Men	34,941	19,650	56.0%	15,543	44.0%
		Women	44,782	28,908	65.0%	23,415	52.0%
		Total	79,723	48,558	61.0%	38,959	49.0%
2004	Married	Men	56,469	43,577	77.0%	39,561	70.0%
		Women	55,284	43,060	78.0%	39,423	71.0%
		Total	111,753	86,636	78.0%	78,984	71.0%
	Unmarried	Men	37,678	22,830	61.0%	18,894	50.0%
		Women	47,574	32,604	69.0%	27,858	59.0%
		Total	85,252	55,433	65.0%	46,752	55.0%
2008	Married	Men	57,192	43,061	75.0%	39,369	69.0%
		Women	56,335	43,172	77.0%	39,960	71.0%
		Total	113,527	86,233	76.0%	79,329	70.0%
	Unmarried	Men	41,625	25,181	60.0%	21,361	51.0%
		Women	50,920	34,897	69.0%	30,454	60.0%
		Total	92,545	60,078	65.0%	51,815	56.0%
2012	Married	Men	57,460	43,658	76.0%	39,317	68.4%
		Women	56,908	43,755	76.9%	39,543	69.5%
		Total	114,367	87,414	76.4%	78,860	69.0%
	Unmarried	Men	45,562	27,174	59.6%	22,234	48.8%
		Women	55,152	37,502	68.0%	31,854	57.8%
		Total	100,714	64,675	64.2%	54,088	53.7%

Figure 7: Composition of the Adult Citizen, Registered, and Voting Populations by Gender and Marital Status, 2012



VII. Age and Gender

It is well established that the likelihood of registering and voting increases with age. To illustrate the relationship between age and electoral behavior, this report categorizes individuals into three groups: under 30 (representing young people), 30 to 64 (middle age), and 65 and over (senior).

- While voting rates among those under 30 increased in 2008, the trend did not persist through the 2012 election. Youth turnout dropped by roughly 6 percentage points for both men and women. This represents a loss of 906,000 young voters in the 2012 election.
- Reported registration among this population also declined in the 2012 election. 54 percent of men and 60 percent of women under 30 reported being registered in 2012, compared to 58 percent of men and 65 percent of women in 2008.
- The registration rate increased slightly for women (1 percent) among those in the age category 30 to 64, but voting rates dropped among both men and women in 2012.
- Over time, voting rates are consistently highest among those individuals 65 and over.

VII. Age and Gender

Table 10: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Gender and Age, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012

Demographic		Adult Citizens (in 1000s)	Column %	Registered (in 1000s)	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Voted (in 1000s)	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
2000	Under 30	Men	19,250	10,026	52.0%	7,266	38.0%	72.0%
		Women	20,082	11,554	58.0%	8,597	43.0%	74.0%
		Total	39,332	21,581	55.0%	15,864	40.0%	74.0%
	30 to 64	Men	55,902	39,334	70.0%	34,315	61.0%	87.0%
		Women	59,317	43,686	74.0%	38,495	65.0%	88.0%
		Total	115,219	83,020	72.0%	72,810	63.0%	88.0%
	65 and Over	Men	13,607	10,996	81.0%	9,961	73.0%	91.0%
		Women	18,209	13,953	77.0%	12,192	67.0%	87.0%
		Total	31,816	24,949	78.0%	22,153	70.0%	89.0%
	2004 Under 30	Men	20,324	11,535	57.0%	9,242	45.0%	80.0%
		Women	20,760	13,128	63.0%	10,882	52.0%	83.0%
		Total	41,084	24,663	60.0%	20,125	49.0%	82.0%
2004	30 to 64	Men	59,485	43,276	73.0%	38,606	65.0%	89.0%
		Women	62,744	47,426	76.0%	43,081	69.0%	91.0%
		Total	122,229	90,701	74.0%	81,686	67.0%	90.0%
	65 and Over	Men	14,338	11,596	81.0%	10,608	74.0%	91.0%
		Women	19,354	15,109	78.0%	13,317	69.0%	88.0%
		Total	33,692	26,706	79.0%	23,925	71.0%	90.0%
2008	Under 30	Men	21,886	12,620	58.0%	10,323	47.0%	82.0%
		Women	21,959	14,174	65.0%	12,062	55.0%	85.0%
		Total	43,844	26,794	61.0%	22,385	51.0%	84.0%
	30 to 64	Men	61,233	43,324	71.0%	39,071	64.0%	90.0%
		Women	64,701	48,093	74.0%	44,168	68.0%	92.0%
		Total	125,934	91,417	73.0%	83,239	66.0%	91.0%
	65 and Over	Men	15,699	12,297	78.0%	11,335	72.0%	92.0%
		Women	20,596	15,803	77.0%	14,184	69.0%	90.0%
		Total	36,294	28,100	77.0%	25,519	70.0%	91.0%
2012	Under 30	Men	22,654	12,147	53.6%	9,396	41.5%	77.4%
		Women	22,949	13,741	59.9%	11,142	48.6%	81.1%
		Total	45,603	25,888	56.8%	20,539	45.0%	79.3%
	30 to 64	Men	62,170	44,065	70.9%	38,674	62.2%	87.8%
		Women	66,139	49,524	74.9%	44,095	66.7%	89.0%
		Total	128,310	93,588	72.9%	82,769	64.5%	88.4%
	65 and Over	Men	18,198	14,620	80.3%	13,480	74.1%	92.2%
		Women	22,971	17,992	78.3%	16,160	70.4%	89.8%
		Total	41,169	32,612	79.2%	29,641	72.0%	90.9%

Figure 8: Composition of the Adult Citizen, Registered, and Voting Populations by Age Group, 2012



VIII. Gender, Age, and Race

Table 11 and 12 further elaborate on how voting and registration varied by gender when age and race are taken into account. Further statistical analyses of the effects of these variables on turnout showed that gender, age, and race affect voting in the expected manner: older individuals and females are positively associated with turnout, whereas being non-white decreases the likelihood of voting.

Table 11 presents reported registration and voting rates among men and women for three different age categories in 2012:

- The registration rate for Latino men under 30 dropped from 2008. 45 percent of Latino men reported being registered in 2012, compared to 51 percent in 2008. The rate for Latino women under 30 dropped by 4 points.
- Registration rates among Black women dropped for those under 30, but increased for those in the higher age categories. 67 percent of Black women under 30 reported being registered compared to 68 percent in the last presidential election.

Table 12 shows reported voting rates for men and women broken down by age categories.

- Voting rates dropped in 2012 for individuals under 30 in all racial groups (from the 2008 levels). The largest drop was among those identifying as multi-racial (a 15 point drop from 2008).

Figure 9 shows a comparison of turnout rates by gender and race for the 2008 and 2012 elections.

VIII. Gender, Age, and Race

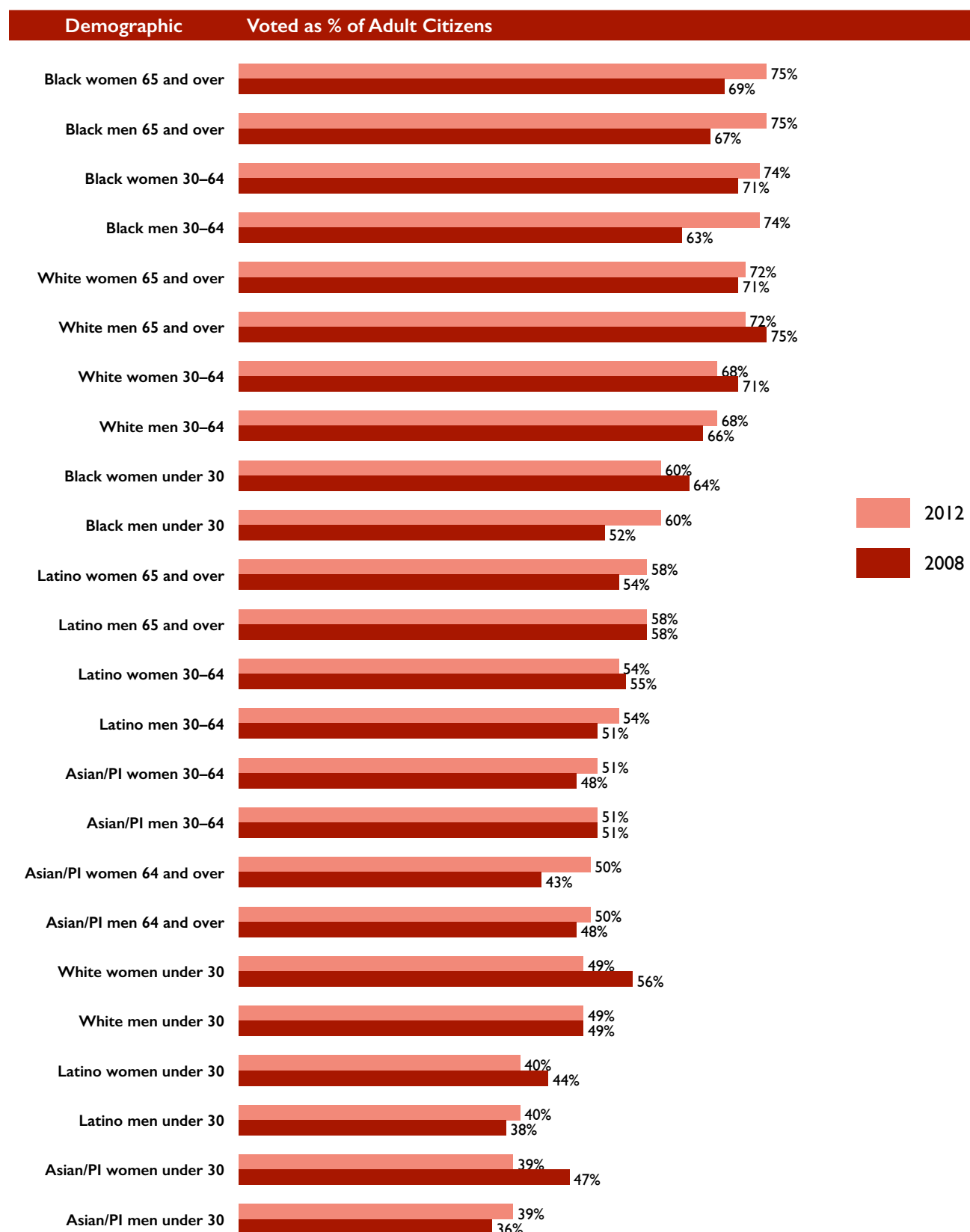
Table 11: Adult Citizen Population and Registration by Gender, Age, and Race, 2012

Demographic		MEN			WOMEN		
		Adult Citizens (in 1000s)	Registered (in 1000s)	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Adult Citizens (in 1000s)	Registered (in 1000s)	Registered as % of Adult Citizens
White	Under 30	14,046	7,962	56.7%	14,142	8,619	60.9%
	30 to 64	45,075	32,854	72.9%	46,375	35,724	77.0%
	65 and Over	14,868	12,183	81.9%	18,356	14,653	79.8%
	Total	73,989	52,999	71.6%	78,873	58,996	74.8%
Black	Under 30	3,041	1,688	55.5%	3,406	2,298	67.5%
	30 to 64	7,032	5,114	72.7%	8,712	6,779	77.8%
	65 and Over	1,416	1,132	79.9%	2,146	1,726	80.4%
	Total	11,489	7,933	69.1%	14,264	10,802	75.7%
Asian/ Pacific-Islander	Under 30	949	389	41.0%	917	453	49.4%
	30 to 64	2,489	1,389	55.8%	2,917	1,730	59.3%
	65 and Over	604	391	64.7%	743	432	58.1%
	Total	4,042	2,170	53.7%	4,577	2,615	57.1%
Latino	Under 30	3,885	1,731	44.6%	3,750	1,938	51.7%
	30 to 64	6,377	3,870	60.7%	6,751	4,280	63.4%
	65 and Over	1,107	767	69.3%	1,459	967	66.3%
	Total	11,369	6,368	56.0%	11,960	7,185	60.1%
Native American	Under 30	212	106	49.8%	217	111	51.4%
	30 to 64	483	323	66.9%	520	342	65.9%
	65 and Over	64	47	73.1%	94	79	84.4%
	Total	759	475	62.6%	830	533	64.2%
Multi-Racial	Under 30	522	271	52.0%	517	322	62.3%
	30 to 64	715	515	72.1%	865	669	77.3%
	65 and Over	138	100	72.6%	172	136	78.7%
	Total	1,375	887	64.5%	1,554	1,126	72.5%

Table 12: Adult Citizen Voting by Gender, Age, and Race, 2012

Demographic		MEN			WOMEN		
		Voted (in 1000s)	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered	Voted (in 1000s)	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
White	Under 30	6,101	43.4%	76.6%	6,886	48.7%	79.9%
	30 to 64	28,945	64.2%	88.1%	31,725	68.4%	88.8%
	65 and Over	11,242	75.6%	92.3%	13,143	71.6%	89.7%
	Total	46,288	62.6%	87.3%	51,754	65.6%	87.7%
Black	Under 30	1,411	46.4%	83.6%	2,048	60.1%	89.1%
	30 to 64	4,617	65.7%	90.3%	6,418	73.7%	94.7%
	65 and Over	1,056	74.6%	93.3%	1,613	75.1%	93.4%
	Total	7,084	61.7%	89.3%	10,078	70.7%	93.3%
Asian/ Pacific-Islander	Under 30	311	32.8%	80.0%	356	38.8%	78.6%
	30 to 64	1,183	47.5%	85.2%	1,483	50.8%	85.7%
	65 and Over	353	58.4%	90.3%	370	49.8%	85.7%
	Total	1,848	45.7%	85.2%	2,209	48.3%	84.5%
Latino	Under 30	1,318	33.9%	76.1%	1,500	40.0%	77.4%
	30 to 64	3,218	50.5%	83.1%	3,614	53.5%	84.4%
	65 and Over	691	62.5%	90.2%	846	58.0%	87.5%
	Total	5,227	46.0%	82.1%	5,961	49.8%	83.0%
Native American	Under 30	62	29.4%	59.0%	79	36.7%	71.4%
	30 to 64	272	56.3%	84.2%	284	54.7%	83.0%
	65 and Over	43	66.0%	90.2%	63	66.8%	79.1%
	Total	377	49.6%	79.2%	426	51.4%	80.0%
Multi-Racial	Under 30	192	36.7%	70.7%	273	52.8%	84.8%
	30 to 64	440	61.5%	85.4%	571	66.0%	85.3%
	65 and Over	95	69.1%	95.2%	125	72.7%	92.3%
	Total	727	52.9%	82.0%	969	62.3%	86.0%

Figure 9: Turnout by Gender, Age, and Race, 2008 & 2012



IX. Income and Education

Higher income and education levels are thought to positively impact registration and turnout. Several factors might account for this. It is possible that a higher income helps the voter to absorb the costs of registering and voting, or that higher income correlates to higher education, and this indirectly affects attitudes towards political participation in a positive manner.

Additional statistical analysis shows that education and income matter significantly for turnout. Turnout increases in line with higher levels of education and income.

Table 13 shows reported registration and voting rates by income. Income is shown in five categories, ranging from household incomes of less than \$25,000 to \$100,000 or more:

- Registration and voting rates are higher among high-income people.
- Of those earning less than \$25,000, only 49 percent reported voting in the 2012 election, compared to 74 percent of those earning over \$100,000 dollars. (This 25 point difference represents 9,669,000 people).

Table 14 presents reported registration and voting rates for the years 2000 to 2012:

- It shows that, in 2012, registration rates dropped for all people with less than a Bachelor's degree, and voting dropped for all education levels when compared to 2008.

Table 13: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Annual Household Income, 2012

Annual Household Income, Approximate Quintiles	Adult Citizens (in 1000s)	Column %	Registered (in 1000s)	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Voted (in 1000s)	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
Less than \$25,000	47,686	22.2%	29,162	61.2%	23,548	49.4%	80.7%
\$25,000 to \$39,999	36,401	16.9%	24,109	66.2%	20,537	56.4%	85.2%
\$40,000 to \$59,999	36,732	17.1%	25,867	70.4%	22,616	61.6%	87.4%
\$60,000 to \$99,999	49,122	22.8%	36,827	75.0%	33,029	67.2%	89.7%
\$100,000 and over	45,140	21.0%	36,124	80.0%	33,217	73.6%	92.0%
Total Reporting	215,081	100.0%	152,089	70.7%	132,948	61.8%	87.4%

IX. Income and Education

Table 14 Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Education, 2000, 2004, 2008, 2012

		Adult Citizens (in 1000s)	Column %	Registered (in 1000s)	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Voted (in 1000s)	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
2000	Less than a High School Diploma	26,586	14.0%	13,890	52.0%	10,213	38.0%	74.0%
	High School Graduates, No College	62,426	34.0%	39,869	64.0%	32,749	53.0%	82.0%
	Some College or Associate Degree	52,800	28.0%	38,700	73.0%	33,339	63.0%	86.0%
	Bachelor's Degree or Higher	44,554	24.0%	37,090	83.0%	34,526	78.0%	93.0%
	Total	186,366	100.0%	129,549	70.0%	110,826	60.0%	86.0%
2004	Less than a High School Diploma	25,669	13.0%	13,569	53.0%	10,131	40.0%	75.0%
	High School Graduates, No College	63,690	32.0%	42,180	66.0%	35,894	56.0%	85.0%
	Some College or Associate Degree	56,494	29.0%	43,434	77.0%	38,922	69.0%	90.0%
	Bachelor's Degree or Higher	51,152	26.0%	42,888	84.0%	40,789	80.0%	95.0%
	Total	197,005	100.0%	142,070	72.0%	125,736	64.0%	89.0%
2008	Less than a High School Diploma	22,981	11.0%	11,602	51.0%	9,046	39.0%	78.0%
	High School Graduates, No College	65,378	32.0%	41,880	64.0%	35,866	55.0%	86.0%
	Some College or Associate Degree	60,974	30.0%	45,904	75.0%	41,477	68.0%	90.0%
	Bachelor's Degree or Higher	56,739	28.0%	46,924	83.0%	44,755	79.0%	95.0%
	Total	206,072	100.0%	146,311	71.0%	131,144	64.0%	90.0%
2012	Less than a High School Diploma	21,842	10.2%	10,885	49.8%	8,297	38.0%	76.2%
	High School Graduates, No College	65,380	30.4%	41,360	63.3%	34,402	52.6%	83.2%
	Some College or Associate Degree	64,790	30.1%	47,723	73.7%	41,601	64.2%	87.2%
	Bachelor's Degree or Higher	63,069	29.3%	52,121	82.6%	48,648	77.1%	93.3%
	Total	215,081	100.0%	152,089	70.7%	132,948	61.8%	87.4%

Figure 10: Composition of the Adult Citizen, Registered, and Voting Populations by Annual Household Income, 2012

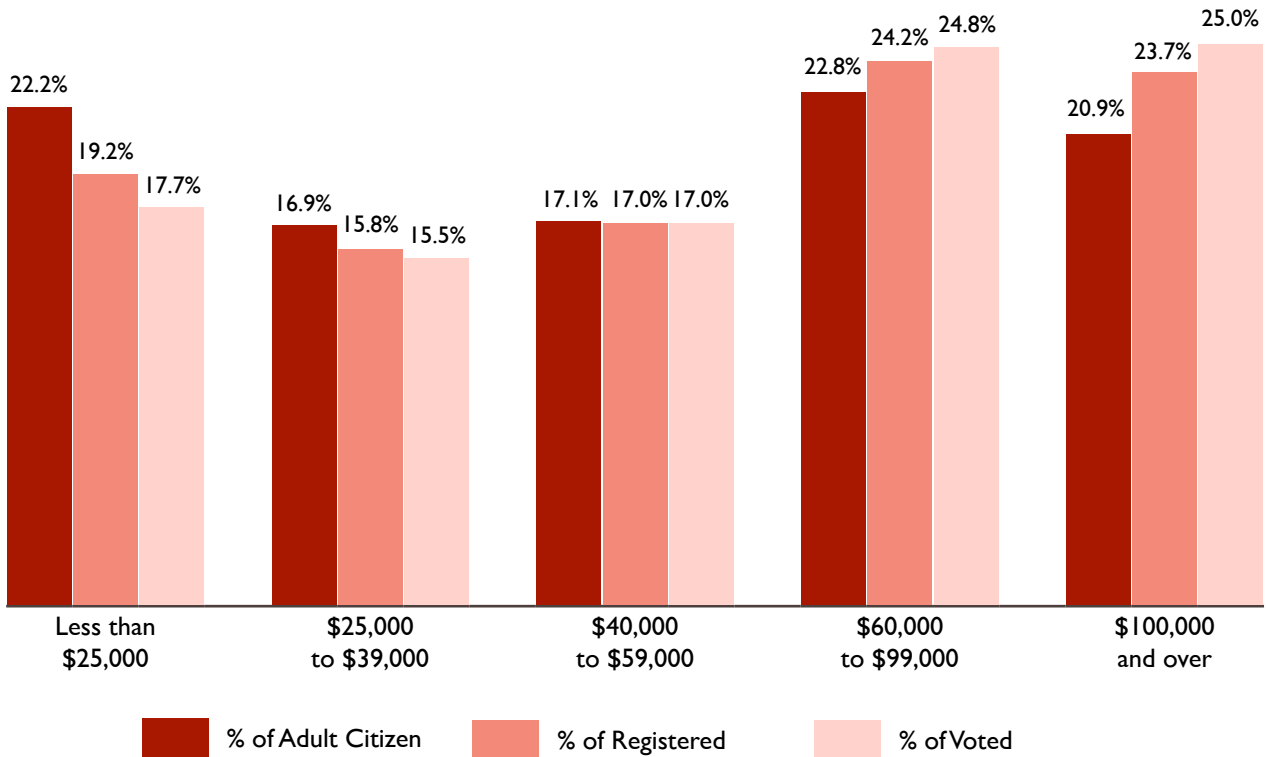


Figure 11: Composition of the Adult Citizen, Registered, and Voting Populations by Education, 2012



X. Residential Mobility

Residential mobility matters for registration and turnout because the more people move the less likely they are to register and/or stay registered, which increases their chances of not voting. Upon moving, most people need to update their registrations in advance of an election and become informed about registration and voting in the new location. Traditionally, residential mobility is highest among racial and ethnic minorities.¹¹

Table 15 presents reported registration and voting rates broken down by length of time at a current address:

- The data show that people are more likely to register and vote when they have lived at a residence for 5 years or more. There is an 18 point difference in reported registration between people who lived in a residence for a year or less and those residing at the same location for 5 years or more.
- Among the registered, those who have lived at a residence for 5 years or more also reported voting to a greater extent than others.

Table 16 breaks down residency by race and ethnicity:

- It shows that racial and ethnic minorities are less likely than Whites to live in a residence for more than 5 years.

Table 17 shows that racial and ethnic minorities are in general less educated and younger than Whites, and mobility is highest among these groups. It underscores the point that nonwhite individuals are less educated, younger, and more mobile than Whites in the U.S.

Table 15: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Residency Length, 2012

Length of Time at Current Address	Adult Citizens (in 1000s)	Column %	Registered (in 1000s)	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Voted (in 1000s)	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
Less than 1 year	24,901	13.2%	16,497	66.3%	12,728	51.1%	77.2%
1 to 4 years	47,090	24.9%	35,242	74.8%	29,916	63.5%	84.9%
5 years or longer	116,888	61.9%	98,531	84.3%	88,694	75.9%	90.0%
Total reporting	188,880	100.0%	150,270	79.6%	131,337	69.5%	87.4%

Table 16: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Residency Length and Race, 2012

Length of Time at Current Address	White (in 1000s)	Column %	Black (in 1000s)	Column %	Asian/ Pacific Islander (in 1000s)	Column %	Latino (in 1000s)	Column %	Native American (in 1000s)	Column %	Multi- Racial (in 1000s)	Column %
Less than 1 year	16,518	12.2%	3,487	15.9%	868	12.3%	3,307	16.3%	223	15.6%	499	18.4%
1 to 4 years	30,472	22.5%	6,720	30.7%	2,007	28.5%	6,723	33.2%	361	25.3%	806	29.7%
5 years or longer	88,573	65.3%	11,673	53.4%	4,167	59.2%	10,224	50.5%	844	59.1%	1,408	51.9%
Total	135,564	100.0%	21,880	100.0%	7,043	100.0%	20,253	100.0%	1,427	100.0%	2,713	100.0%

Table 17: Percent of Race/Ethnicity in Demographic Groups with Low Electoral Participation, 2012

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	40.4%	14.8%	34.7%
Black	52.0%	18.3%	46.7%
Asian/Pacific Islander	33.0%	17.9%	40.8%
Latino	65.5%	19.9%	49.5%
Native American	56.8%	19.3%	40.9%
Multi-racial	45.9%	18.0%	48.1%

XI. Disability

Americans with disabilities are underrepresented in the electorate. Table 18 shows reported registration and voting rates in accordance with disability status:

- It shows that 69 percent of those reporting having a disability were registered, compared to 72 percent of those who reported no disability.
- Voting is also higher among those reporting no disability. There is a more than 5 percent point difference in reported voting between those reporting a disability and others.

Table 18: Disability Status and Voting Behavior, 2012

Disability Status	Adult Citizens	Column %	Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Voted	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
Disability	27,515	12.8%	19,042	69.2%	15,627	56.8%	82.1%
No Disability	187,566	87.2%	134,115	71.5%	117,321	62.5%	87.5%
Total	215,081	100.0%	153,157	71.2%	132,948	62%	86.8%

12. Conclusion

The 2012 presidential election reflected significant changes in the electoral participation of traditionally underrepresented Americans.

Turnout among Blacks was highest in 2012 relative to Black turnout rates in prior years, and to participation by other racial and ethnic groups. This was particularly significant in 2012 because some studies suggest this gain in Black turnout influenced the presidential election outcome.¹² The boost in Black turnout also means that the electorate as a whole is gradually becoming more representative of the American public. In line with the participation of White citizens, Blacks are voting in proportion to their numbers in the general population.

The same is not yet true for the Latino electorate. Partly due to the expansion of the Hispanic population, registration and turnout rates dropped slightly for this group in 2012, despite the fact that more Latinos voted in this election than in recent ones.¹³ While the Latino vote remains disproportionately low relative to their share of the numbers in the total population, this report finds that their registration and turnout rates are increasing since the year 2000. Research shows this has important implications for future elections.

This Latino segment of the electorate is becoming a powerful force in politics. If present trends continue, it is expected that “by 2020 Latinos may be able to determine the outcome” of elections in states such as Arizona and Texas. However, growth in Latino turnout depends on the continuing expansion of the Hispanic voting eligible population, on “how rapidly immigrants naturalize and begin voting,” and on the extent to which parties are able to successfully mobilize this group.¹⁴

Despite these achievements in the electoral participation of populations typically underrepresented, this report finds that overall high voting rates remain most prevalent among wealthier, older individuals. Those who are married and female are also more likely to register and vote, though participation by women dropped slightly in 2012. A large share of minority voters, low income groups, young Americans, single people, and persons with disabilities register and vote at significantly lower rates than others. This is worrisome, particularly in light of voting restrictions legislated recently in many states.

Since the passage of HAVA in 2002, many states began implementing voting measures that chip away at some of the goals and achievements of the NVRA (1993) and Voting Rights Act of 1965. Some of the most common suffrage limitations come in the form of voter identification laws, proof of citizenship requirements, elimination or reduction in early voting, limiting registration days, and restricting canvasser’s abilities to adequately conduct voter registration drives.¹⁵ These reforms can make it harder for people to participate in elections, particularly those who are already marginalized in the electorate. If these stringent measures present obstacles to participation for these populations, it is possible that the gains in representation made in recent elections may not persist over time.

The risk in underrepresentation in the electorate is that public policy may misalign with the preferences of the American public, reflecting instead only the interests those who show up at the polls.¹⁶

Research suggests that an unrepresentative electorate has important implications for public policy in the U.S because voters and nonvoters differ in their policy preferences. This is particularly relevant for economic policy since “voters are less supportive of government redistribution than are nonvoters.”¹⁷

In order for policies to successfully reflect the interests of all Americans, it is necessary to address the limitations to full representation discussed here. To accomplish a truly representative democracy, it is crucial to advance policies that facilitate registration and voting for all Americans, particularly for groups that are historically underrepresented in the American electorate. Such efforts must include improved enforcement of federal voting rights laws (particularly the NVRA); adoption of policies that are shown to increase registration and voting (such as online registration, early voting, and same-day registration); and laws that facilitate, instead of hinder, the important efforts of community-based voter registration drives. Doing so will greatly improve the health of American democracy.

Notes

1. File, Thom. *The Diversifying Electorate—Voting Rates by Race and Hispanic Origin in 2012 (and Other Recent Elections)*: U.S. Census Bureau, 2013.
2. De la Garza, Rodolfo. "The Latino Vote in the 2012 Election: When Population Size Counts More Than Votes." Unpublished paper.
3. There are some exceptions to this, voting and registration rates for some race and ethnicities are consistent with their numbers in the general population.
4. Recent studies show the effect of registration on turnout is negative albeit not as strong as prior research suggested. See for example: Ansolabehere, Stephen, and David M Konisky. "The Introduction of Voter Registration and Its Effect on Turnout." *Political Analysis* 14 (2006): 83-100; Burden, Barry C., and Jacob R. Neiheisel. "Election Administration and the Pure Effect of Voter Registration on Turnout." *Political Research Quarterly* 66 1 (2013): 77-90. For an analysis on the effects of highly stringent registration laws on turnout in America see: Perez, Vanessa M. "The Effects of Voter Registration and Declining Political Party Competition on Turnout in the United States of America, 1880-1916." Columbia University, 2014.
5. Burden, Barry C., and Jacob R. Neiheisel. "Election Administration and the Pure Effect of Voter Registration on Turnout." *Political Research Quarterly* 66 1 (2013): 77-90.
6. While HAVA is more commonly associated with restrictive voter identification laws, the Act also includes provisions to improve the voter registration lists in the states. For further details see, R. Michael Alvarez, Thad E. Hall and Morgan Llewellyn "How Hard Can It Be: Do Citizens Think It Is Difficult to Register to Vote." *Stanford Law & Policy Review* 18.383 (2007).
7. See Erikson, Robert S. "Why Do People Vote? Because They Are Registered." *American Politics Research* 9.3 (1981): 259-76.
8. Wolfinger, Raymond E., and Jonathan Hoffman. "Registering and Voting with Motor Voter." *PS. March* (2001).
9. While issues of misreporting might plague survey data, this is not so much of a problem with the CPS data. One reason might be that the response rate for the CPS is high relative to that of other surveys. For a comment on this, see Wolfinger, Raymond E., and Jonathan Hoffman. "Registering and Voting with Motor Voter." *PS. March* (2001).
10. Professor Ken Sherrill, personal communication, Sept. 20, 2014.
11. See Highton, Benjamin. "Residential Mobility, Community Mobility, and Electoral Participation." *Political Behavior* 22.2 (2000); and Squire, Peverill, Raymond Wolfinger, and David Glass. "Residential Mobility and Voter Turnout." *The American Political Science Review* 81.1 (1987).
12. Frey, William H. *Minority Turnout Determined the 2012 Election*. The Brookings Institution, 2013.
13. File, Thom. *The Diversifying Electorate—Voting Rates by Race and Hispanic Origin in 2012 (and Other Recent Elections)*: U.S. Census Bureau, 2013.
14. De la Garza, Rodolfo. "The Latino Vote in the 2012 Election: When Population Size Counts More Than Votes." Unpublished paper.
15. Mortellaro, Stephen, and Michelle Kanter Cohen. *Restricting Voter Registration Drives: Project Vote, 2014; 2013 Voting Law Changes: Legislation Making It Harder to Vote*. Brennan Center for Justice, 2013.
16. Gilens, Martin. *Affluence and Influence : Economic Inequality and Political Power in America*. Princeton, NJ New York: Princeton University Press ; Russell Sage Foundation, 2012.
17. Leighley, Jan E., and Jonathan Nagler. *Who Votes Now? Demographics, Issues, Inequality and Turnout in the United States*. Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2014.



850 15th Street NW, Suite 250
Washington, DC 20005
202.546.4173
www.projectvote.org

About the Author

Vanessa M. Perez is a political scientist at Project Vote. She holds a B.A., M.Phil, and Ph.D. in Political Science from Columbia University.

The author would like to thank Douglas R. Hess for originating the concept and format of this report.

About Project Vote

Project Vote is a national nonpartisan, non-profit organization dedicated to building an electorate that accurately represents the diversity of America's citizenry. Project Vote takes a leadership role in nationwide voting rights and election administration issues, working through research, litigation, and advocacy to ensure that every eligible citizen can register, vote, and cast a ballot that counts.

Disclaimer

The information contained in this document is for general guidance only. It should not be used as a substitute for consultation with professional legal or other competent advisers. Project Vote is not responsible for any errors or omissions, or for the results obtained from the use of this information.

©2015 by Project Vote

This paper is covered by Creative Commons "Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike" license. (See <http://creativecommons.org>.) This work may be reproduced in whole or in part for non-commercial use. Reproduction or adaptation must attribute Project Vote, and must bear the Creative Commons "Attribution-NonCommercial-ShareAlike" license. Please notify Project Vote if reproducing or adapting this work.

"Project Vote" is a trademark of Project Vote, and registered in the U.S. Patent and Trademark Office. The Project Vote logo is a trademark or common law mark of Project Vote.

Front and back cover derived by Project Vote from "American Pride" by Carol VanHook, used under CC BY 2.0 (<https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/2.0>)