

AUGUST 2016

# REPRESENTATIONAL BIAS IN THE 2014 ELECTORATE

by LASHONDA BRENSON, Ph.D.



Dear Colleagues:

Project Vote's mission has always been to increase voter participation among under-represented populations, and to ensure that the American electorate represents the American people.

*Representational Bias*, therefore, is perhaps the most important series of publications that we produce. It tells us—and the entire voting rights community—exactly where there is still significant work to be done to realize our shared vision of a fully representative democracy.

Using an approach first developed by Douglas R. Hess in 2007, *Representational Bias* analyzes Census Bureau data to identify who is registered to vote, and who really *does* vote, in American elections. By comparing rates across several election cycles, it identifies trends in registration and voter turnout according to race, ethnicity, income, age, gender, and a number of other demographic categories, in order to determine where the gaps in representation still exist.

With a presidential election just over three months away, we are pleased now to present *Representational Bias in the 2014 Electorate*, by Project Vote Research Director LaShonda Brenson. In this report, Dr. Brenson examines the population, registration, and voting rates in the 2014 election, which represented a historic low in voter turnout. By comparing these rates to both midterm and presidential elections since 2006, Dr. Brenson creates a comprehensive snapshot of current voting trends in the United States, and identifies where we need to focus our collective efforts to achieve true representation.

When our electorate does not accurately reflect the racial, ethnic, and economic diversity of the United States, democracy is not working the way it's supposed to work. Our national priorities are skewed, our most vulnerable citizens are left out of the process, and our government does not represent who we are as a people.

So we see *Representational Bias in the 2014 Electorate* as more than a research project. We see it as a report card on our democratic process, and a pressing agenda for the hard work still ahead.

Regards,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read "Michael Slater", with a long, sweeping horizontal line extending to the right.

Michael Slater  
President  
Project Vote

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# I. INTRODUCTION

*Representational Bias in the 2014 Electorate* details the demographics of the American electorate since the 2004 presidential election. Using the Census Bureau's Voting and Registration Supplement of the Current Population Survey (CPS), this report illustrates how political participation varies for different fragments of the voting eligible population (VEP) across both presidential and midterm elections.

The CPS is performed every two years on approximately 56,000 households, which are selected with the purpose of being representative of the U.S. population. The Census interviews individuals who are U.S. citizens and over 18 years of age on matters regarding voting and registration.

Using descriptive and summary statistics, this report highlights demographic characteristics and trends in the composition of the American electorate.

## Turnout in Midterm Elections

While conventional wisdom suggests that midterm elections generally have lower turnout rates when compared to presidential elections, the 2014 midterm election marked a historic low with a national turnout rate reported by some sources to be as low as 37 percent.<sup>1</sup> In fact, the 2014 midterm turnout was the lowest turnout in a midterm election since 1942, when the turnout rate was under 34 percent.<sup>2</sup>

More than 80 percent of U.S. states had turnout rates less than 50 percent in 2014, and the highest turnout rate was only 61 percent. Some states with competitive gubernatorial and Senate elections observed higher turnout rates, but not all: Georgia and North Carolina, for example, had competitive midterm elections, but only had slightly better turnout rates than states without such elections.

This suggests that there are other factors at play that explain the poor turnout rate in the 2014 midterm elections. For example, Colorado made substantial improvements to their voting practices, and had the highest turnout rate in the U.S. While Colorado did have a competitive Senate election, other states with equally competitive races did not fare as well.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, the high turnout rate in Colorado (and some other states) supports the conclusion that increasing access to voter registration and voting (e.g. Election Day registration and early voting) may lead to higher turnout rates.

Similar to our previous findings from earlier *Representational Bias* reports, we find that low political participation was most dire among younger citizens, racial and ethnic minorities, low-income households, and those with less than a high-school education. We find that these disparities in political participation are more acute during midterm elections, relative to previous reports that examined participation in presidential elections.

**Table 1** and **Figure 1** summarize registration and voting rates for adult citizens in the 2014 midterm election by race, ethnicity, age, income, educational attainment, marital status, disability status, and residential mobility. **Table 2** shows data on how many additional voters might result if marginalized populations voted at higher rates.

Disparities in political participation have existed in the polity for quite some time, and will not be redressed until action is taken on several fronts. Federal laws like the National Voter Registration Act of 1993 (NVRA), for example, were passed to expand opportunities for citizens to register to vote by offering registration through Department of Motor Vehicles (DMVs) and public assistance agencies. However, poor implementation and enforcement of the NVRA across the country has reduced the intended impact of the NVRA, and hindered the more representative electorate the law was designed to achieve.

In addition to enforcing the NVRA, state and local election officials should work to increase opportunities for disadvantage populations to register to vote. As shown in Table 3, when compared to whites, non-whites are more than three times as likely to register to vote at a public assistance agency office, and almost twice as likely to register through a voter registration drive. Racial and ethnic minorities are also more likely to register through the mail and at a school, hospital, or campus. Hence, it is incumbent upon state and local officials to enforce the NVRA and support efforts of civic organizations that seek to register under-represented groups in the polity.

This report examines how registration and turnout rates varied in the 2014 midterm election relative to the 2006 and 2010 midterm elections, and also considers how participation varied in the last several presidential elections.

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## 2. CONTINUING DISPARITIES IN THE REGISTERED AND VOTING POPULATIONS

Although the non-white population is increasing, whites are still over-represented in the electorate. In 2014, 69.9 percent of voters identified as white, compared to 12 percent black, 11.4 percent Latino, and 4.4 percent Asian (see **Table 1**). In regards to voter turnout, however, whites represented 76 percent of the electorate, and all of the non-white populations were under-represented in voting. Latinos—who make up 11.4 percent of the population but only 7.3 percent of the electorate—were the most under-represented population.

**Table 1** shows additional disparities in voter turnout:

- Young people (18 to 29 years of age) are significantly under-represented in the electorate, as they make up over 20 percent of the population, but only 10 percent of voters.
- Individuals with higher income and educational attainment are significantly more likely to vote than persons with less education and income.
- While there are more married adult citizens than unmarried adult citizens (by 5 percent), married people are significantly more likely to vote.
- Residential mobility is another important factor in predicting voter turnout, as persons living at the same address for 5 years or more represent 61 percent of adult citizens, but over 71 percent of voters.

**Table 2** shows disparities in voter turnout amongst groups. This table also shows how many more voters an under-represented group would gain if parity existed between the various groups.

- If the non-white population voted at the same rate as whites, the electorate would grow by over 8.3 million voters.
- If individuals under the age of 30 voted at the same rate as persons aged 30 or older, the electorate would expand by nearly 13 million voters.
- If people from low-income households voted at the same rate as those earning more than \$100,000 a year, the electorate would grow by 9.7 million voters.
- If adult citizens with a High School education or less voted at the same rate as those with some college experience or more, there would be an additional 15.5 million voters.

**Figure 1** shows how all of these same groups—whites, persons over 30, and individuals with higher levels of income and education—are over-represented in the population of adult citizens who are not registered to vote.

The under-representation that we observe in voter registration and voter turnout is troubling. Not only do these disparities have the potential to elect persons not representative of the population, but they also sway how current policies are enforced and whether new public policies are introduced that might address disparities.

Table I: Composition of the American Electorate, 2014

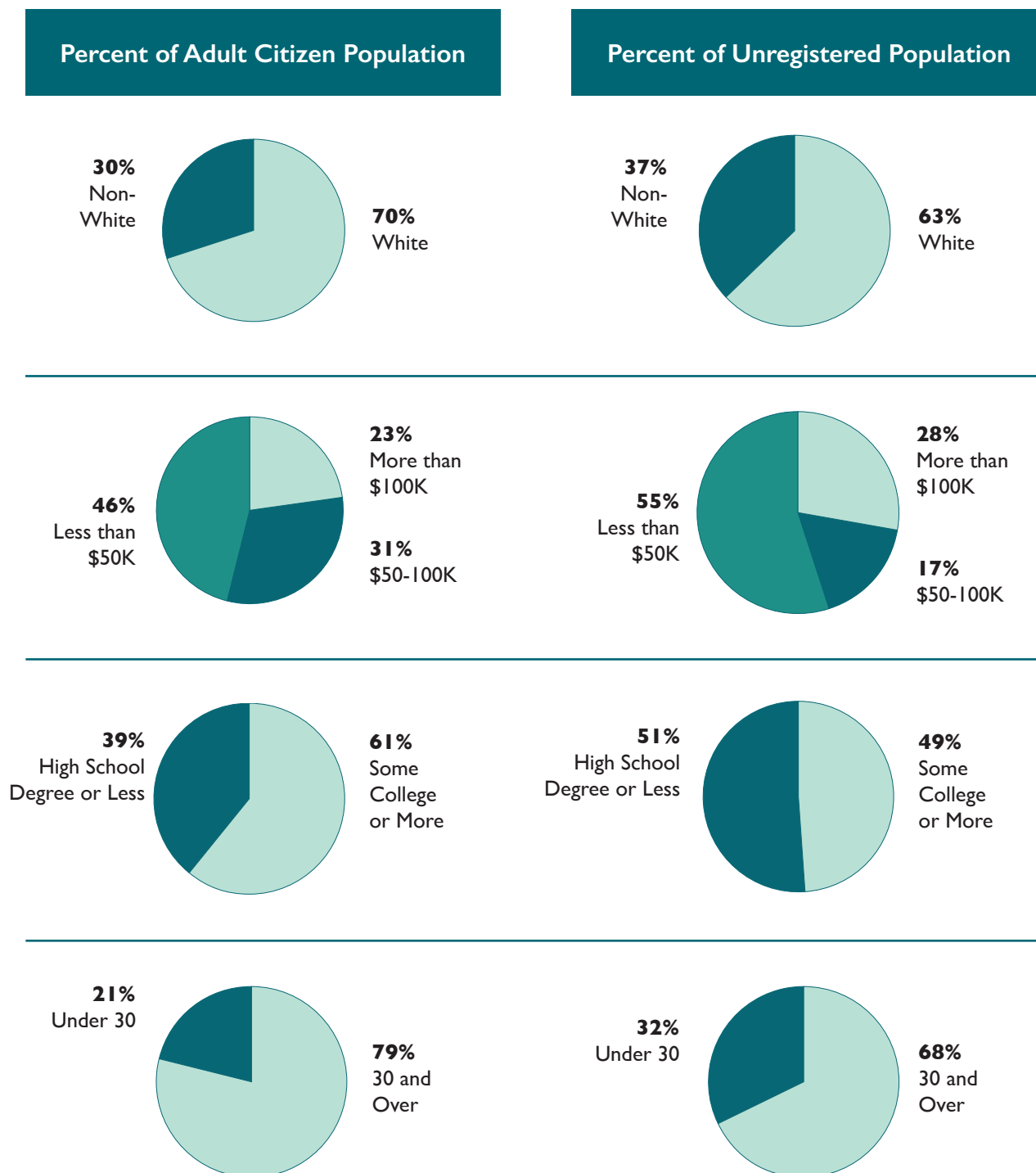
	Demographic Category	Adult Citizens	Voters
RACE	White	69.9%	76.3%
	Black	12.1%	11.7%
	Asian/Pacific Islander	4.5%	2.9%
	Latino	11.4%	7.3%
	Native American	0.8%	0.6%
	Two or More Races	1.3%	1.2%
AGE GROUP	Under 30	21.1%	10.0%
	30- to 64-years-old	58.8%	61.6%
	65-years-old and older	20.1%	28.4%
ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME	Less than \$25,000	20.8%	14.9%
	\$25,000 to \$50,000	25.1%	23.0%
	\$50,000 to \$75,000	18.9%	20.0%
	\$75,000 to \$100,000	12.2%	14.0%
	More than \$100,000	23.0%	28.2%
EDUCATION	Less than High School Graduate	9.6%	5.1%
	High School Graduate	29.8%	24.1%
	Some College Experience	30.0%	29.8%
	Bachelor's Degree or Higher	30.5%	41.0%
MARITAL STATUS	Married	52.7%	63.5%
	Not Married	47.3%	36.5%
DISABILITY	Disability Reported	12.9%	12.6%
	No Disability Reported	87.1%	87.4%
TIME AT PRESENT RESIDENCE	Less than 1 Year	13.4%	7.0%
	1 to 5 Years	26.0%	21.3%
	5 Years or More	60.6%	71.8%



*Table 2: Additional Voters Had Parity in Turnout Been Achieved, 2014*

Demographic Category	Comparison Groups	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Additional Voters with Turnout Parity (in 1000s)
RACE	White	45.77%	
	Non-White	33.09%	8,393
AGE GROUP	30 and over	47.85%	
	Under 30	19.86%	12,997
ANNUAL HOUSEHOLD INCOME	\$100,000 or more	51.32%	
	\$25,000 or less	29.93%	9,794
EDUCATION	Some College or more	49.03%	
	High School or Less	31.07%	15,587
MARITAL STATUS	Married	50.53%	
	Not Married	32.37%	18,886
DISABILITY	Disability Reported	40.85%	
	No Disability Reported	42.10%	2,394

*Figure I: Demographic Groups as a Percentage of the Adult Citizen Population, and as a Percentage of the Unregistered Population, 2014*



### 3. METHODS OF REGISTERING TO VOTE

**Table 3** presents data on how race and ethnicity intersected with voter registration in 2014. It shows that DMVs registered similar proportions of non-white and white voters, but other locations, such as public assistance agencies, registered non-white citizens at higher rates than white registrants.

Offering voter registration at public assistance offices, as the NVRA requires, increases access to voting to citizens who are qualified to vote, but who may not interact with other institutions (like DMVs) that offer voter registration. In addition, political science research demonstrates that how a citizen interacts with public assistance programs can have lasting impacts about their belief in the responsiveness of government, political efficacy, and likelihood to engage in political events.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, if voter registration is offered in public assistance offices in a meaningful way, not only are we registering members of under-represented populations who might not otherwise register to vote, but we are also, in some small way, demonstrating that their government cares if they register to vote and participate in elections.<sup>5</sup>

*Table 3: How Citizens Reported Registering to Vote in 2014*

Registration Method	Whites (in 1000s)		Non-Whites (in 1000s)		Total (in 1000s)	
Department of Motor Vehicles	11,177	27.73%	3,301	28.94%	14,488	28.00%
Public Assistance Agency	321	0.80%	341	2.99%	662	1.28%
Registered by mail	5,315	13.19%	2,139	18.75%	7,454	14.41%
Registered using the Internet or online	1,123	2.79%	341	2.99%	1,464	2.83%
School, hospital, or on campus	2,177	5.40%	953	8.35%	3,130	6.05%
Registration drive	1,639	4.07%	883	7.74%	2,522	4.88%
Polling place on election or primary day	4,364	10.83%	815	7.14%	5,179	10.01%
Other	2,078	5.16%	595	5.22%	2,673	5.17%
Total	40,306	100.00%	11,408	100.00%	51,714	100.00%

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## 4. NATIONAL AND STATE REGISTRATION AND VOTING DATA

**Table 4** shows statistics on state-level reported registration and voting rates for the 2014 midterm election. Each state is ranked by its registration and voting turnout rates with “1” indicating the highest registration and voting turnout rates. Maine, Mississippi, the District of Columbia, Maryland, and Missouri have the five highest voter registration rates. Colorado, Hawaii, Maine, Oregon, and Alaska are the states with the five highest voter turnout rates in the recent midterm election.

Many states that have relatively high voter registration and turnout rates have a few things in common: competitive elections with large amounts of money spent on campaigning; and populations that have high levels of educational attainment, which is correlated with higher turnout rates. In addition, many of these states have policies that make the process of registering and voting easy (e.g. Maine allows citizens to register to vote on Election Day.)

**Figures 2 and 3** show states ranked by voter registration and voter turnout rates, respectively, for the 2014 midterm election.

As discussed above, presidential elections typically have higher levels of participation than midterm elections. Because of this, when studying electoral participation over time, it is most useful to compare data that results from similar elections. **Table 5 and Table 6** present the number of citizens who voted as a percent of those registered in the last three midterm elections and last three presidential elections, respectively. We observed that all six elections have overall registrations rates around an average of 70 percent, with presidential elections having registration rates slightly above 70 percent, and while registration rates in midterm elections are slightly below 70 percent.

**Tables 7 and 8** show the total number of citizens that reported voting in the last three midterm and presidential elections. Unlike registration rates, we observed greater differences in the rate of persons that voted as a percent of those registered. That is, during presidential elections, we observe that overall rates of voter turnout as a percentage of those registered averaged around 90 percent. However, these rates were around 70 percent during the 2006 and 2010 midterm elections, and fell to 65 percent in the 2014 midterm election.

Table 4: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by State, 2014

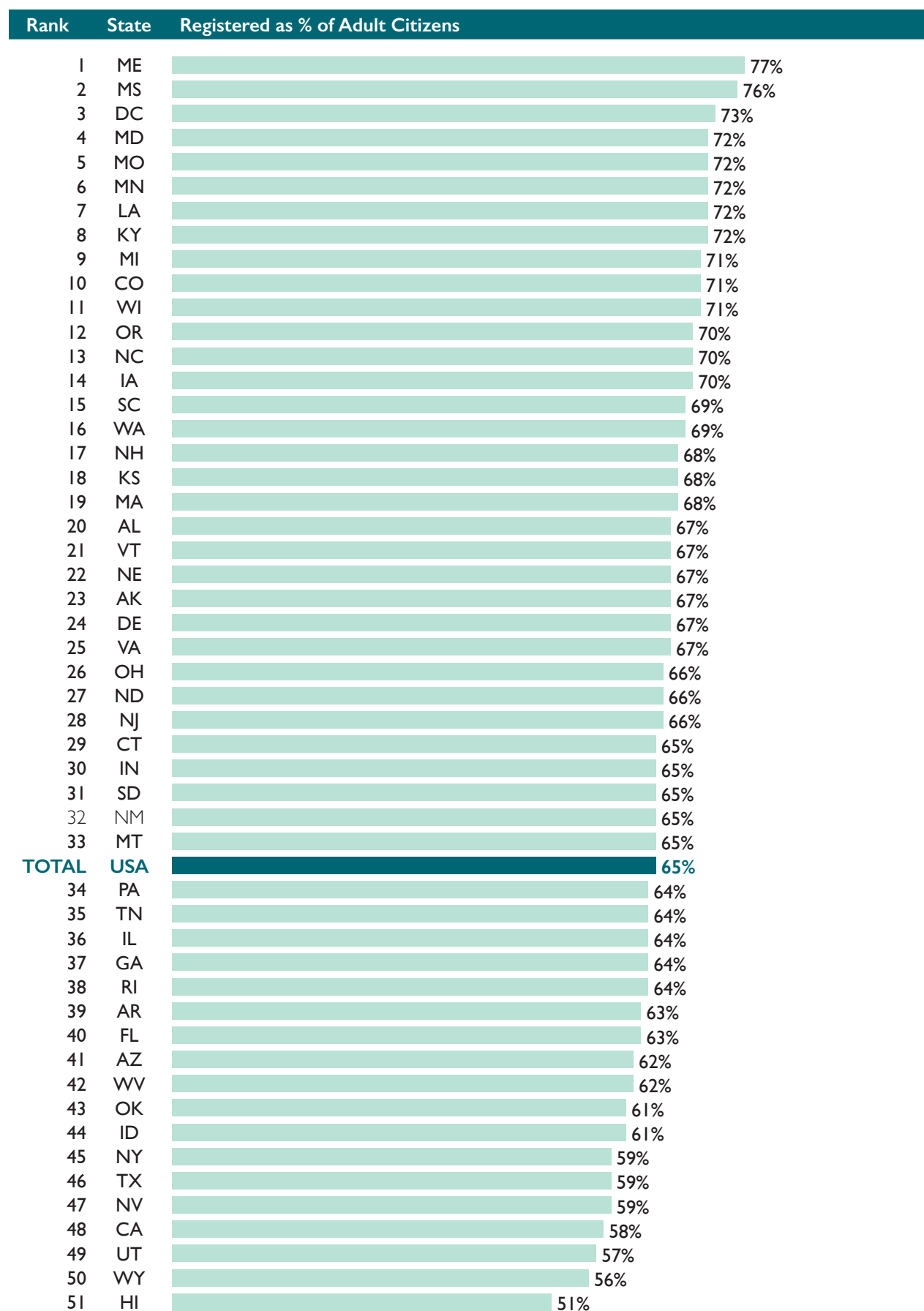
State	Adult Citizens (in 1000s)	Registered (in 1000s)	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Rank	Voted (in 1000s)	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Rank	Voted as % of Registered
Alabama	3,519	2,366	67%	20	1,497	43%	39	63%
Alaska	503	336	67%	23	255	51%	5	76%
Arizona	4,397	2,738	62%	42	1,785	41%	32	65%
Arkansas	2,057	1,292	63%	40	798	39%	42	62%
California	24,455	14,113	58%	49	8,949	37%	35	63%
Colorado	3,732	2,654	71%	10	2,211	59%	1	83%
Connecticut	2,560	1,668	65%	29	1,195	47%	12	72%
Delaware	661	442	67%	24	299	45%	20	68%
District of Columbia	480	353	73%	3	247	51%	17	70%
Florida	13,879	8,691	63%	41	6,220	45%	14	72%
Georgia	6,759	4,306	64%	38	2,919	43%	25	68%
Hawaii	956	490	51%	52	399	42%	2	81%
Idaho	1,105	671	61%	45	462	42%	19	69%
Illinois	8,951	5,716	64%	37	3,734	42%	31	65%
Indiana	4,693	3,048	65%	30	1,646	35%	51	54%
Iowa	2,275	1,584	70%	14	1,203	53%	9	76%
Kansas	1,993	1,353	68%	18	962	48%	16	71%
Kentucky	3,207	2,298	72%	8	1,525	48%	29	66%
Louisiana	3,342	2,398	72%	7	1,677	50%	18	70%
Maine	1,045	799	77%	1	642	61%	3	80%
Maryland	4,148	2,995	72%	4	2,028	49%	26	68%
Massachusetts	4,815	3,250	68%	19	2,259	47%	22	70%
Michigan	7,246	5,159	71%	9	3,416	47%	28	66%
Minnesota	3,933	2,822	72%	6	2,047	52%	11	73%
Mississippi	2,142	1,628	76%	2	907	42%	46	56%
Missouri	4,429	3,194	72%	5	1,713	39%	52	54%
Montana	782	506	65%	33	391	50%	7	77%
Nebraska	1,306	873	67%	22	579	44%	27	66%
Nevada	1,858	1,088	59%	48	693	37%	34	64%
New Hampshire	1,015	694	68%	17	509	50%	10	73%
New Jersey	5,909	3,919	66%	28	2,151	36%	50	55%
New Mexico	1,417	919	65%	32	646	46%	21	70%
New York	13,611	8,078	59%	46	4,680	34%	44	58%
North Carolina	6,857	4,779	70%	13	3,170	46%	30	66%

Table 4: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by State, 2014 (continued)

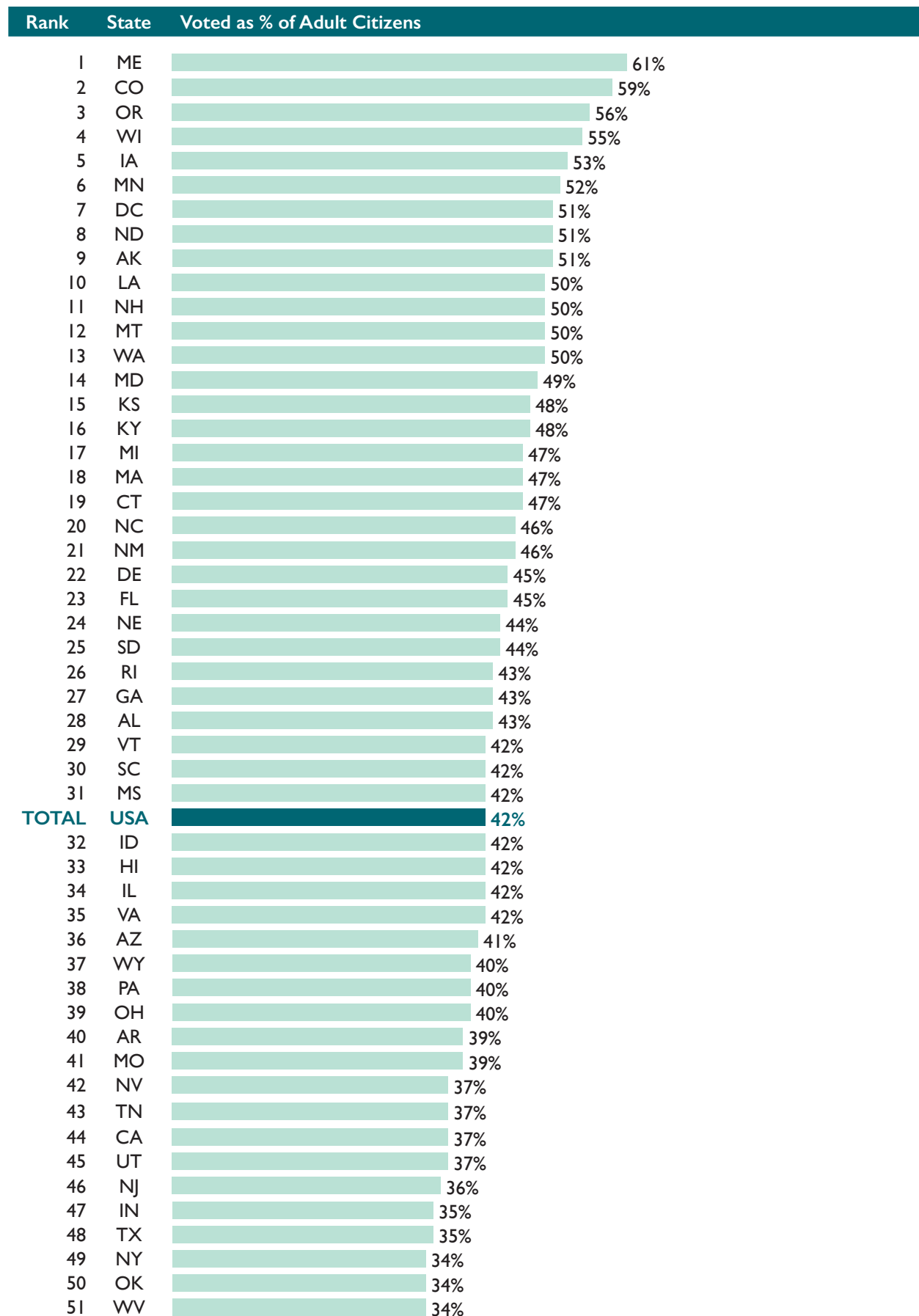
State	Adult Citizens (in 1000s)	Registered (in 1000s)	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Rank	Voted (in 1000s)	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Rank	Voted as % of Registered
North Dakota	547	363	66%	27	279	51%	8	77%
Ohio	8,509	5,657	66%	26	3,378	40%	43	60%
Oklahoma	2,690	1,644	61%	44	920	34%	48	56%
Oregon	2,870	2,008	70%	12	1,594	56%	4	79%
Pennsylvania	9,511	6,121	64%	35	3,803	40%	36	62%
Rhode Island	765	486	64%	39	331	43%	24	68%
South Carolina	3,569	2,458	69%	15	1,514	42%	41	62%
South Dakota	618	401	65%	31	273	44%	23	68%
Tennessee	4,815	3,088	64%	36	1,763	37%	47	57%
Texas	16,844	9,946	59%	47	5,836	35%	45	59%
Utah	1,924	1,101	57%	50	703	37%	37	64%
Vermont	482	324	67%	21	205	43%	38	63%
Virginia	5,888	3,924	67%	25	2,453	42%	40	63%
Washington	4,776	3,281	69%	16	2,390	50%	13	73%
West Virginia	1,440	896	62%	43	484	34%	49	54%
Wisconsin	4,232	3,005	71%	11	2,343	55%	6	78%
Wyoming	427	241	56%	51	172	40%	15	71%
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>219,941</b>	<b>142,166</b>	<b>65%</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>92,251</b>	<b>42%</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>65%</b>



Figure 2: States Ranked by Voter Registration Rates, 2014



**Figure 3: States Ranked by Turnout Rates, 2014**



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

State	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
Alabama	3,257	2,418	74%	3,404	2,438	72%	3,479	2,556	74%
Alaska	434	334	77%	468	345	74%	495	361	73%
Arizona	3,508	2,485	71%	4,169	2,874	69%	4,314	2,812	65%
Arkansas	1,942	1,328	68%	2,030	1,317	65%	2,109	1,376	65%
California	20,693	14,193	69%	21,816	14,885	68%	23,419	15,356	66%
Colorado	3,109	2,307	74%	3,374	2,437	72%	3,544	2,635	74%
Connecticut	2,409	1,695	70%	2,396	1,761	74%	2,499	1,760	70%
Delaware	579	415	72%	606	447	74%	641	470	73%
District of Columbia	390	293	75%	413	324	79%	461	385	84%
Florida	11,469	8,219	72%	12,462	8,774	70%	13,326	9,102	68%
Georgia	5,866	3,948	67%	6,515	4,624	71%	6,738	4,767	71%
Hawaii	852	497	58%	883	522	59%	930	547	59%
Idaho	948	663	70%	1,049	723	69%	1,064	745	70%
Illinois	8,640	6,437	75%	8,681	6,151	71%	8,831	6,425	73%
Indiana	4,435	3,031	68%	4,562	3,105	68%	4,724	3,270	69%
Iowa	2,136	1,674	78%	2,137	1,630	76%	2,232	1,745	78%
Kansas	1,851	1,338	72%	1,926	1,343	70%	1,973	1,467	74%
Kentucky	2,969	2,231	75%	3,094	2,259	73%	3,194	2,303	72%
Louisiana	3,218	2,413	75%	3,056	2,393	78%	3,239	2,498	77%
Maine	1,007	824	82%	1,005	801	80%	1,020	787	77%
Maryland	3,678	2,676	73%	3,824	2,828	74%	4,007	2,888	72%
Massachusetts	4,497	3,483	78%	4,533	3,293	73%	4,774	3,759	79%
Michigan	7,177	5,364	75%	7,176	5,531	77%	7,228	5,620	78%
Minnesota	3,645	3,080	85%	3,678	2,931	80%	3,903	3,085	79%
Mississippi	2,049	1,510	74%	2,064	1,589	77%	2,130	1,794	84%
Missouri	4,106	3,336	81%	4,326	3,224	75%	4,409	3,384	77%
Montana	687	519	76%	724	516	71%	754	553	73%

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

State	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
Nebraska	1,215	918	76%	1,253	939	75%	1,296	901	70%
Nevada	1,477	965	65%	1,714	1,147	67%	1,808	1,176	65%
New Hampshire	948	716	76%	994	756	76%	991	752	76%
New Jersey	5,591	4,085	73%	5,675	4,022	71%	5,929	4,326	73%
New Mexico	1,301	936	72%	1,352	937	69%	1,426	978	69%
New York	12,779	8,624	68%	12,849	8,458	66%	13,082	8,887	68%
North Carolina	5,923	4,292	73%	6,477	4,902	76%	6,712	5,295	79%
North Dakota	462	412	89%	476	399	84%	514	383	75%
Ohio	8,305	6,003	72%	8,367	6,108	73%	8,550	6,076	71%
Oklahoma	2,476	1,781	72%	2,566	1,798	70%	2,733	1,806	66%
Oregon	2,600	2,049	79%	2,687	1,961	73%	2,806	2,086	74%
Pennsylvania	9,055	6,481	72%	9,206	6,451	70%	9,452	6,795	72%
Rhode Island	732	522	71%	752	568	76%	751	552	74%
South Carolina	3,002	2,238	75%	3,202	2,385	75%	3,380	2,479	73%
South Dakota	554	425	77%	575	442	77%	607	454	75%
Tennessee	4,250	2,739	64%	4,529	2,921	65%	4,678	3,210	69%
Texas	13,925	9,681	70%	15,040	10,123	67%	16,062	10,749	67%
Utah	1,508	1,141	76%	1,768	1,056	60%	1,793	1,138	64%
Vermont	469	354	76%	476	345	73%	487	357	73%
Virginia	4,971	3,441	69%	5,316	3,950	74%	5,645	4,210	75%
Washington	4,220	3,133	74%	4,600	3,299	72%	4,832	3,533	73%
West Virginia	1,394	935	67%	1,387	917	66%	1,442	982	68%
Wisconsin	3,928	3,225	82%	4,053	3,095	76%	4,247	3,318	78%
Wyoming	370	265	72%	389	270	69%	419	268	64%
Total	197,006	142,072	72%	206,074	146,314	71%	215,079	153,161	71%

*Table 6: Adult Citizen Population and Registration by State, 2006, 2010, 2014*

State	2006			2010			2014		
	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	3,353	2,480	74%	3,420	2,224	65%	3,519	2,366	67%
Alaska	452	333	74%	478	317	66%	503	336	67%
Arizona	3,828	2,378	62%	4,443	2,934	66%	4,397	2,738	62%
Arkansas	2,004	1,316	66%	2,068	1,256	61%	2,057	1,292	63%
California	21,250	13,239	62%	22,767	13,864	61%	24,455	14,113	58%
Colorado	3,187	2,275	71%	3,473	2,299	66%	3,732	2,654	71%
Connecticut	2,454	1,650	67%	2,463	1,641	67%	2,560	1,668	65%
Delaware	603	408	68%	634	418	66%	661	442	67%
District of Columbia	374	275	74%	441	295	67%	480	353	73%
Florida	12,098	7,855	65%	12,697	7,994	63%	13,879	8,691	63%
Georgia	6,086	3,950	65%	6,574	4,076	62%	6,759	4,306	64%
Hawaii	893	492	55%	892	466	52%	956	490	51%
Idaho	1,007	660	66%	1,048	666	64%	1,105	671	61%
Illinois	8,383	5,779	69%	8,780	5,823	66%	8,951	5,716	64%
Indiana	4,506	2,946	65%	4,638	2,838	61%	4,693	3,048	65%
Iowa	2,162	1,663	77%	2,185	1,547	71%	2,275	1,584	70%
Kansas	1,938	1,274	66%	1,971	1,349	68%	1,993	1,353	68%
Kentucky	3,052	2,240	73%	3,158	2,113	67%	3,207	2,298	72%
Louisiana	3,006	2,179	72%	3,236	2,425	75%	3,342	2,398	72%
Maine	1,023	811	79%	1,017	779	77%	1,045	799	77%
Maryland	3,806	2,720	71%	3,853	2,509	65%	4,148	2,995	72%
Massachusetts	4,395	3,180	72%	4,695	3,230	69%	4,815	3,250	68%
Michigan	7,163	5,256	73%	7,176	5,127	71%	7,246	5,159	71%
Minnesota	3,632	2,862	79%	3,830	2,756	72%	3,933	2,822	72%
Mississippi	2,054	1,437	70%	2,087	1,532	73%	2,142	1,628	76%
Missouri	4,276	3,170	74%	4,387	3,013	69%	4,429	3,194	72%
Montana	729	512	70%	744	491	66%	782	506	65%

Table 6: Adult Citizen Population and Registration by State, 2006, 2010, 2014 (continued)

State	2006			2010			2014		
	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	1,239	852	69%	1,240	804	65%	1,306	873	67%
Nevada	1,610	905	56%	1,725	996	58%	1,858	1,088	59%
New Hampshire	985	687	70%	1,002	666	66%	1,015	694	68%
New Jersey	5,563	3,487	63%	5,719	3,656	64%	5,909	3,919	66%
New Mexico	1,346	951	71%	1,362	746	55%	1,417	919	65%
New York	12,701	8,143	64%	13,163	8,395	64%	13,611	8,078	59%
North Carolina	6,013	4,160	69%	6,632	4,455	67%	6,857	4,779	70%
North Dakota	475	397	84%	477	361	76%	547	363	66%
Ohio	8,319	5,919	71%	8,468	5,601	66%	8,509	5,657	66%
Oklahoma	2,539	1,776	70%	2,628	1,603	61%	2,690	1,644	61%
Oregon	2,680	1,924	72%	2,830	2,005	71%	2,870	2,008	70%
Pennsylvania	9,234	5,991	65%	9,339	6,031	65%	9,511	6,121	64%
Rhode Island	733	536	73%	745	510	68%	765	486	64%
South Carolina	3,043	1,986	65%	3,339	2,304	69%	3,569	2,458	69%
South Dakota	569	445	78%	587	406	69%	618	401	65%
Tennessee	4,414	2,828	64%	4,547	2,854	63%	4,815	3,088	64%
Texas	14,406	9,676	67%	15,403	9,493	62%	16,844	9,946	59%
Utah	1,641	932	57%	1,800	1,095	61%	1,924	1,101	57%
Vermont	479	345	72%	481	356	74%	482	324	67%
Virginia	5,123	3,402	66%	5,544	3,546	64%	5,888	3,924	67%
Washington	4,405	3,090	70%	4,637	3,367	73%	4,776	3,281	69%
West Virginia	1,389	873	63%	1,418	883	62%	1,440	896	62%
Wisconsin	4,071	2,948	72%	4,156	2,908	70%	4,232	3,005	71%
Wyoming	383	253	66%	402	239	60%	427	241	56%
Total	201,073	135,847	68%	210,800	137,263	65%	219,941	142,166	65%



Table 7: Voter Turnout by State, 2004, 2008, 2012

State	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
Alabama	2,060	63%	85%	2,126	63%	87%	2,154	62%	84%
Alaska	293	68%	88%	304	65%	88%	289	58%	80%
Arizona	2,239	64%	90%	2,497	60%	87%	2,412	56%	86%
Arkansas	1,140	59%	86%	1,092	54%	83%	1,124	53%	82%
California	12,807	62%	90%	13,828	63%	93%	13,462	58%	88%
Colorado	2,097	67%	91%	2,308	68%	95%	2,495	70%	95%
Connecticut	1,524	63%	90%	1,610	67%	91%	1,568	63%	89%
Delaware	385	66%	93%	408	67%	91%	431	67%	92%
District of Columbia	270	69%	92%	306	74%	94%	350	76%	91%
Florida	7,372	64%	90%	7,951	64%	91%	8,107	61%	89%
Georgia	3,332	57%	84%	4,183	64%	91%	4,168	62%	87%
Hawaii	433	51%	87%	457	52%	88%	480	52%	88%
Idaho	585	62%	88%	644	61%	89%	679	64%	91%
Illinois	5,672	66%	88%	5,436	63%	88%	5,428	62%	85%
Indiana	2,598	59%	86%	2,758	61%	89%	2,801	59%	86%
Iowa	1,522	71%	91%	1,501	70%	92%	1,548	69%	89%
Kansas	1,188	64%	89%	1,219	63%	91%	1,249	63%	85%
Kentucky	1,930	65%	87%	1,952	63%	86%	1,895	59%	82%
Louisiana	2,067	64%	86%	2,149	70%	90%	2,148	66%	86%
Maine	736	73%	89%	716	71%	89%	700	69%	89%
Maryland	2,413	66%	90%	2,611	68%	92%	2,609	65%	90%
Massachusetts	3,085	69%	89%	3,044	67%	92%	3,382	71%	90%
Michigan	4,818	67%	90%	4,865	68%	88%	4,832	67%	86%
Minnesota	2,887	79%	94%	2,759	75%	94%	2,859	73%	93%
Mississippi	1,263	62%	84%	1,439	70%	91%	1,588	75%	89%
Missouri	2,815	69%	84%	2,846	66%	88%	2,818	64%	83%
Montana	482	70%	93%	473	65%	92%	495	66%	90%
Nebraska	793	65%	86%	844	67%	90%	798	62%	89%

Table 7: Voter Turnout by State, 2004, 2008, and 2012 (continued)

State	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
Nevada	871	59%	90%	1,027	60%	90%	1,048	58%	89%
New Hampshire	677	71%	95%	708	71%	94%	688	69%	92%
New Jersey	3,693	66%	90%	3,637	64%	90%	3,670	62%	85%
New Mexico	837	64%	89%	846	63%	90%	878	62%	90%
New York	7,698	60%	89%	7,559	59%	89%	7,675	59%	86%
North Carolina	3,639	61%	85%	4,370	68%	89%	4,624	69%	87%
North Dakota	330	71%	80%	321	67%	81%	328	64%	86%
Ohio	5,485	66%	91%	5,483	66%	90%	5,395	63%	89%
Oklahoma	1,541	62%	87%	1,507	59%	84%	1,431	52%	79%
Oregon	1,924	74%	94%	1,818	68%	93%	1,897	68%	91%
Pennsylvania	5,845	65%	90%	5,747	62%	89%	5,824	62%	86%
Rhode Island	467	64%	89%	507	67%	89%	469	63%	85%
South Carolina	1,899	63%	85%	2,100	66%	88%	2,187	65%	88%
South Dakota	378	68%	89%	390	68%	88%	370	61%	82%
Tennessee	2,319	55%	85%	2,516	56%	86%	2,606	56%	81%
Texas	7,950	57%	89%	8,435	56%	83%	8,643	54%	80%
Utah	1,022	68%	82%	939	53%	89%	1,022	57%	90%
Vermont	316	67%	91%	308	65%	89%	308	63%	86%
Virginia	3,134	63%	90%	3,650	69%	92%	3,778	67%	90%
Washington	2,851	68%	89%	3,073	67%	93%	3,172	66%	90%
West Virginia	798	57%	93%	741	53%	81%	690	48%	70%
Wisconsin	3,010	77%	91%	2,887	71%	93%	3,127	74%	94%
Wyoming	247	67%	93%	250	64%	93%	247	59%	92%
<b>Total</b>	<b>125,736</b>	<b>64%</b>	<b>89%</b>	<b>131,145</b>	<b>64%</b>	<b>90%</b>	<b>132,946</b>	<b>62%</b>	<b>87%</b>

Table 8: Voter Turnout by State, 2006, 2010, 2014

State	2006			2010			2014		
	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	1,667	50%	67%	1,509	44%	68%	1,497	43%	63%
Alaska	248	55%	75%	242	51%	76%	255	51%	76%
Arizona	1,777	46%	75%	2,170	49%	74%	1,785	41%	65%
Arkansas	911	45%	69%	841	41%	67%	798	39%	62%
California	10,104	48%	76%	10,725	47%	77%	8,949	37%	63%
Colorado	1,730	54%	76%	1,826	53%	79%	2,211	59%	83%
Connecticut	1,220	50%	74%	1,215	49%	74%	1,195	47%	72%
Delaware	275	46%	68%	323	51%	77%	299	45%	68%
District of Columbia	187	50%	68%	200	45%	68%	247	51%	70%
Florida	5,343	44%	68%	5,572	44%	70%	6,220	45%	72%
Georgia	2,672	44%	68%	2,865	44%	70%	2,919	43%	68%
Hawaii	388	43%	79%	385	43%	83%	399	42%	81%
Idaho	523	52%	79%	498	48%	75%	462	42%	69%
Illinois	3,968	47%	69%	3,994	45%	69%	3,734	42%	65%
Indiana	2,053	46%	70%	1,826	39%	64%	1,646	35%	54%
Iowa	1,180	55%	71%	1,143	52%	74%	1,203	53%	76%
Kansas	901	46%	71%	931	47%	69%	962	48%	71%
Kentucky	1,508	49%	67%	1,479	47%	70%	1,525	48%	66%
Louisiana	1,201	40%	55%	1,618	50%	67%	1,677	50%	70%
Maine	595	58%	73%	604	59%	77%	642	61%	80%
Maryland	2,145	56%	79%	1,802	47%	72%	2,028	49%	68%
Massachusetts	2,434	55%	77%	2,452	52%	76%	2,259	47%	70%
Michigan	4,088	57%	78%	3,394	47%	66%	3,416	47%	66%
Minnesota	2,375	65%	83%	2,104	55%	76%	2,047	52%	73%
Mississippi	879	43%	61%	983	47%	64%	907	42%	56%
Missouri	2,310	54%	73%	2,004	46%	67%	1,713	39%	54%
Montana	435	60%	85%	386	52%	79%	391	50%	77%
Nebraska	634	51%	74%	511	41%	64%	579	44%	66%

Table 8: Voter Turnout by State, 2006, 2010, 2014 (continued)

State	2006			2010			2014		
	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	686	43%	76%	731	42%	73%	693	37%	64%
New Hampshire	477	48%	69%	470	47%	71%	509	50%	73%
New Jersey	2,406	43%	69%	2,383	42%	65%	2,151	36%	55%
New Mexico	731	54%	77%	579	42%	78%	646	46%	70%
New York	5,402	43%	66%	5,746	44%	68%	4,680	34%	58%
North Carolina	2,422	40%	58%	3,009	45%	68%	3,170	46%	66%
North Dakota	259	54%	65%	266	56%	74%	279	51%	77%
Ohio	4,408	53%	74%	3,824	45%	68%	3,378	40%	60%
Oklahoma	1,174	46%	66%	1,061	40%	66%	920	34%	56%
Oregon	1,601	60%	83%	1,594	56%	79%	1,594	56%	79%
Pennsylvania	4,394	48%	73%	4,104	44%	68%	3,803	40%	62%
Rhode Island	431	59%	80%	348	47%	68%	331	43%	68%
South Carolina	1,376	45%	69%	1,700	51%	74%	1,514	42%	62%
South Dakota	358	63%	80%	322	55%	79%	273	44%	68%
Tennessee	2,003	45%	71%	1,714	38%	60%	1,763	37%	57%
Texas	5,526	38%	57%	5,600	36%	59%	5,836	35%	59%
Utah	603	37%	65%	695	39%	63%	703	37%	64%
Vermont	273	57%	79%	265	55%	74%	205	43%	63%
Virginia	2,431	47%	71%	2,257	41%	64%	2,453	42%	63%
Washington	2,346	53%	76%	2,692	58%	80%	2,390	50%	73%
West Virginia	513	37%	59%	581	41%	66%	484	34%	54%
Wisconsin	2,352	58%	80%	2,258	54%	78%	2,343	55%	78%
Wyoming	199	52%	79%	190	47%	79%	172	40%	71%
<b>Total</b>	<b>96,119</b>	<b>48%</b>	<b>71%</b>	<b>95,987</b>	<b>46%</b>	<b>70%</b>	<b>92,251</b>	<b>42%</b>	<b>65%</b>

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## V. RACE AND ETHNICITY

**Tables 9 and 10** present registration and voting rates by race and ethnicity for the elections of 2004, 2006, 2008, 2010, 2012, and 2014. The data show that the non-white population is growing over time; 9.1 million more individuals identified as non-white in 2014 since the last midterm election in 2010.

While voter registration turnout rates among each racial and ethnic group in the 2010 midterm election persisted in 2014, voter turnout decreased for each group. Looking at the second to last column of **Table 10** for the 2010 and 2014 elections, we observe that voter turnout for whites and blacks decreased by 3 percentage points, but decreased by 4 percentage points for Asian voters, 5 percentage points for both Latino and multi-racial voters, and 7 percentage points for Native voters.

**Figures 4 through 7** illustrate the trend in registration and voting rates by race and ethnicity from 2004 to 2014. Again, we have separated midterm and presidential elections in order to make accurate comparisons, and we observe lower turnout rates amongst all racial and ethnic groups in midterm elections.

- Registration rates in the 2006, 2010, and 2014 midterm elections have remained roughly the same rate for each racial and ethnic group.
- Voting turnout rates in the 2006, 2010, and 2014 midterm elections, however, varied for each racial and ethnic group. Some groups observed higher turnout rates in 2006, and others in 2010, but all groups observed lower turnout rates in the 2014 midterm election.

**Figures 4 and 5** show that voter registration rates in presidential elections are 5 to 7 percentage points higher than rates in midterm elections. However, **Figures 6 and 7** demonstrate that turnout is significantly higher in presidential elections relative to midterm elections, by anywhere from 13 to 26 percentage points.

- For example, the overall turnout between the 2012 presidential election and the 2014 midterm varied by over twenty percentage points. This is why one should use caution when comparing and contrasting registration and turnout rates in presidential and midterm elections.

Table 9: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Race/Ethnicity, 2004, 2008, 2012

Demographic	Year	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
White	2004	148,159	75%	111,318	75%	99,567	67%	89%
	2008	151,321	73%	111,215	74%	100,042	66%	90%
	2012	152,862	71%	112,706	74%	98,041	64%	87%
Black	2004	22,866	12%	15,773	69%	13,799	60%	87%
	2008	24,332	12%	17,059	70%	15,857	65%	93%
	2012	25,753	12%	18,852	73%	17,163	67%	91%
Asian/Pacific Islander	2004	6,580	3%	3,438	52%	2,943	45%	86%
	2008	7,415	4%	4,076	55%	3,502	47%	86%
	2012	8,619	4%	4,841	56%	4,057	47%	84%
Latino	2004	16,088	8%	9,308	58%	7,587	47%	82%
	2008	19,537	9%	11,608	59%	9,745	50%	84%
	2012	23,329	11%	13,697	59%	11,188	48%	82%
Native American	2004	1,136	1%	692	61%	553	49%	80%
	2008	1,206	1%	743	62%	589	49%	79%
	2012	1,589	1%	1,024	65%	803	51%	78%
Two or More Races	2004	2,177	1%	1,540	71%	1,287	59%	84%
	2008	2,271	1%	1,610	71%	1,409	62%	88%
	2012	2,929	1%	2,037	70%	1,696	58%	83%



Table 10: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Race/Ethnicity, 2006, 2010, 2014

Demographic	Year	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
White	2006	149,761	74%	106,620	71%	77,280	52%	72%
	2010	152,929	73%	104,316	68%	74,372	49%	71%
	2014	153,750	70%	104,700	68%	70,351	46%	67%
Black	2006	23,643	12%	14,483	61%	9,761	41%	67%
	2010	24,782	12%	15,662	63%	10,908	44%	70%
	2014	26,559	12%	17,014	64%	10,789	41%	63%
Asian/Pacific Islander	2006	6,876	3%	3,334	48%	2,197	32%	66%
	2010	7,893	4%	3,924	50%	2,465	31%	63%
	2014	9,814	4%	4,817	49%	2,696	27%	56%
Latino	2006	17,315	9%	9,304	54%	5,595	32%	60%
	2010	21,285	10%	10,982	52%	6,646	31%	61%
	2014	25,902	11%	12,862	50%	6,775	26%	53%
Native American	2006	1,146	1%	628	55%	355	31%	57%
	2010	1,321	1%	744	56%	515	39%	69%
	2014	1,805	1%	957	53%	573	32%	60%
Two or More Races	2006	2,333	1%	1,479	63%	930	40%	63%
	2010	2,589	1%	1,635	63%	1,080	42%	66%
	2014	2,922	1%	1,853	63%	1,067	37%	58%

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

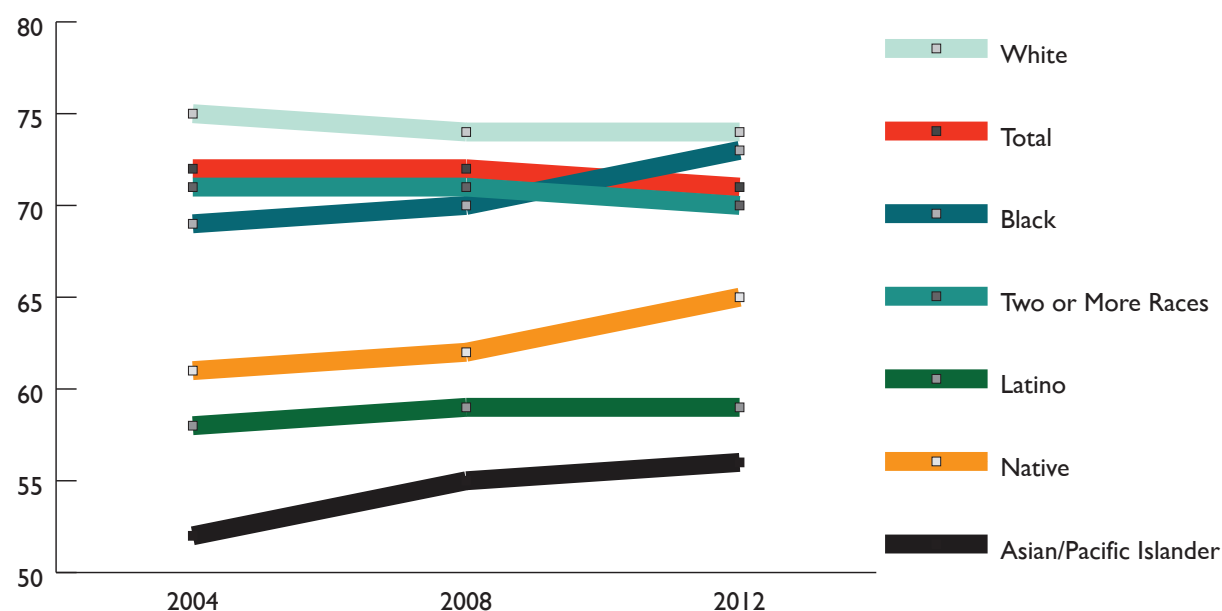


Figure 5: Registration by Race/Ethnicity, 2006, 2010, 2014

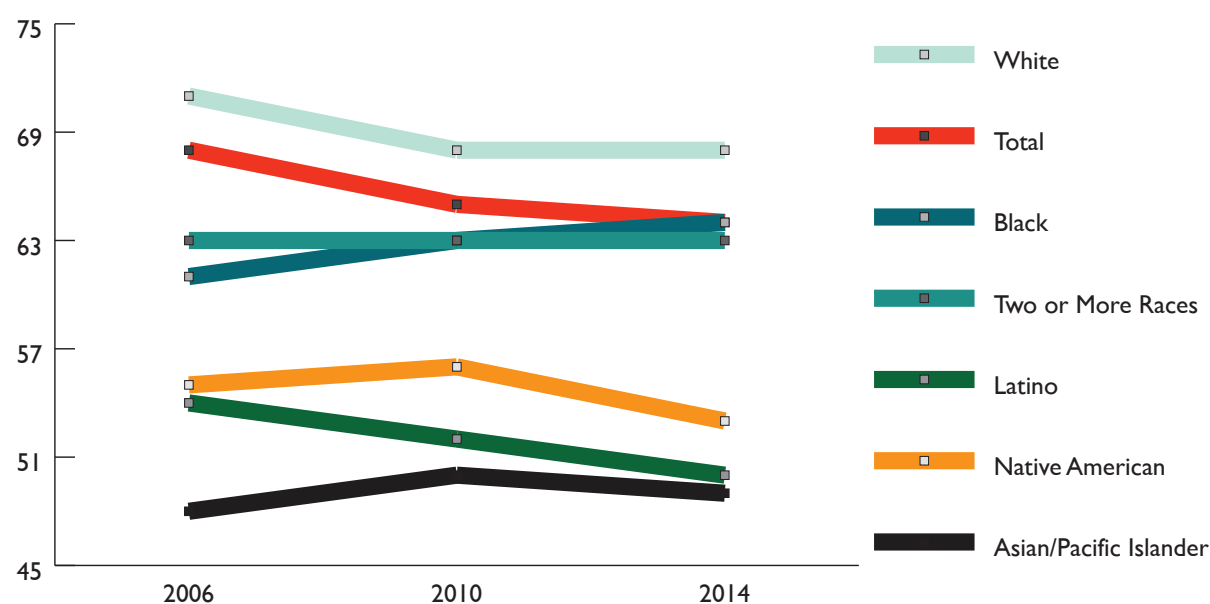


Figure 6: Voting by Race/Ethnicity, 2004, 2008, 2012

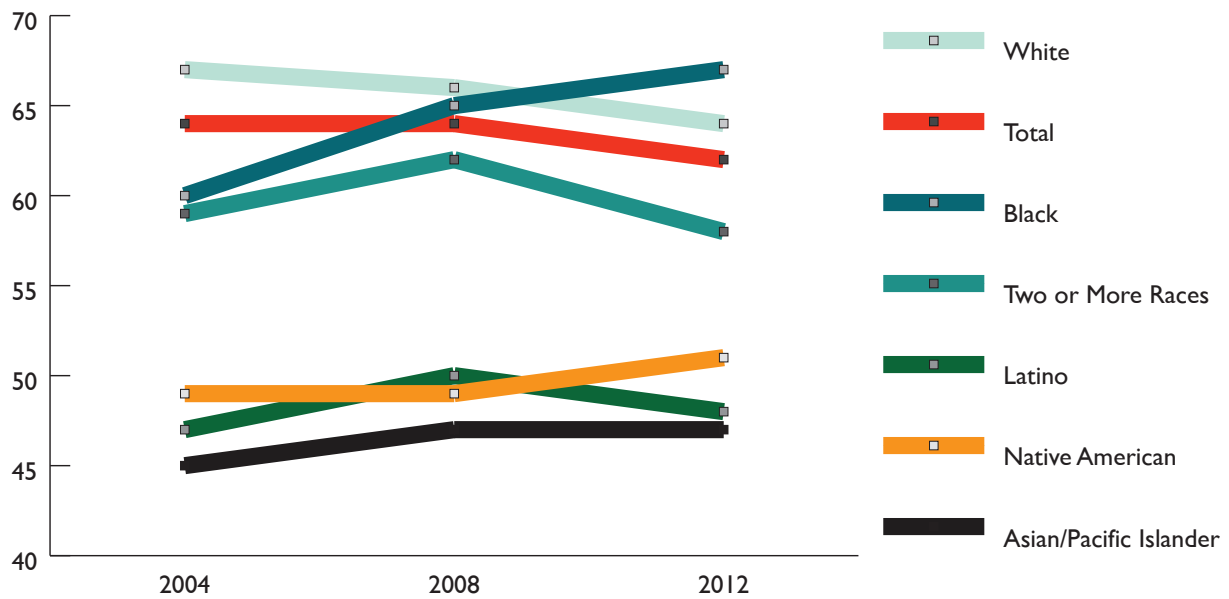
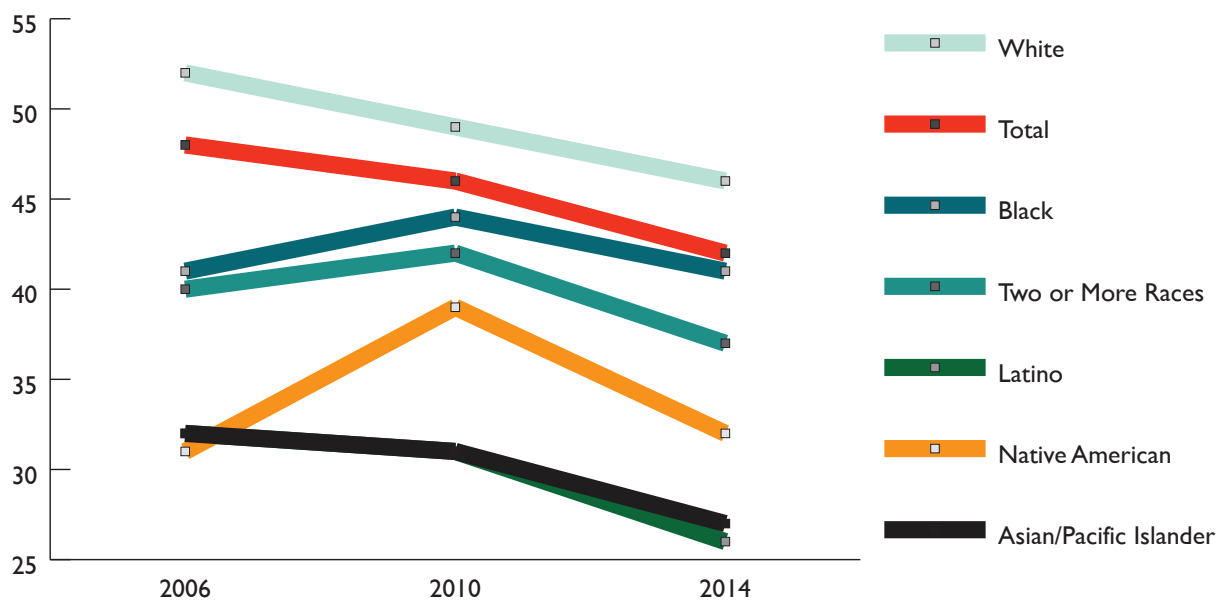
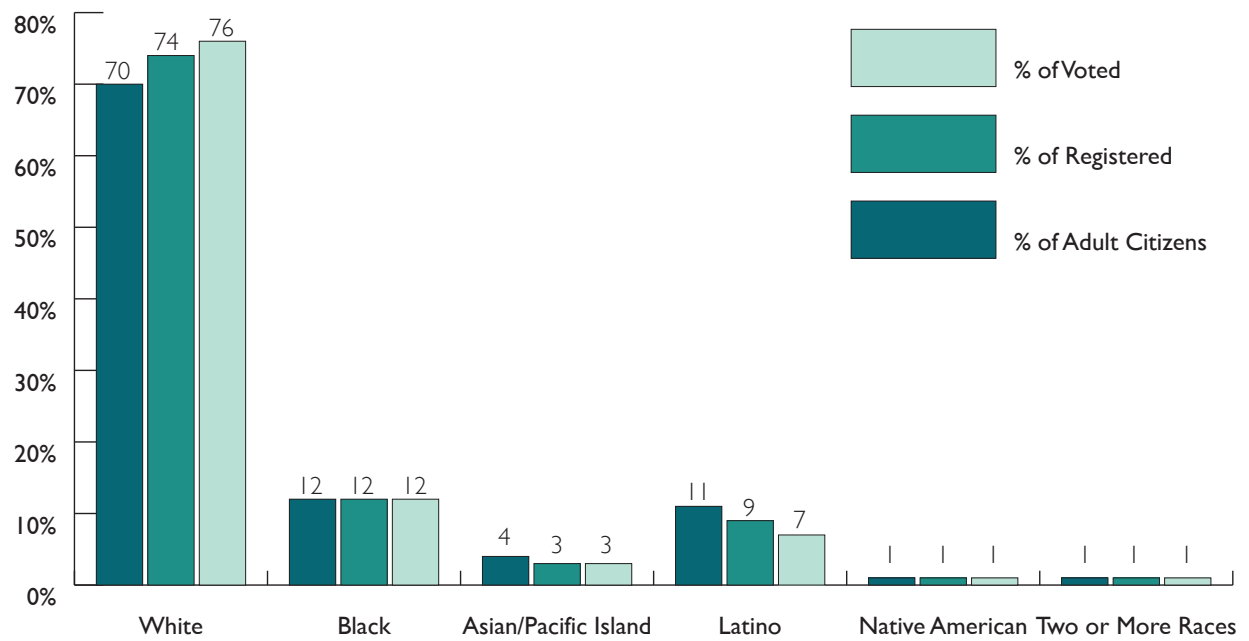


Figure 7: Voting by Race/Ethnicity, 2006, 2010, 2014



**Figure 8: Composition of the Adult Citizen, Registered, and Voting Populations by Race/Ethnicity, 2014**



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## 6. GENDER AND MARITAL STATUS

Gender and marital status are important variables in predicting voter registration and turnout. Women typically register and vote in elections at higher rates than men. Being married increases the likelihood that an individual will register and vote. Marital status is particularly important among men, as unmarried women register and vote at higher rates than unmarried men.

**Tables 11 and 12** show registration and voting rates for the adult citizen population by gender from 2004 to 2014:

- **Table 11** shows that 71 percent of men and 74 percent of women were registered in 2004, but dropped 2 percentage points for men and only 1 percentage point for women in 2008. Registration rates remained the same for each group in 2012.
- **Table 12** illustrates that men and women were much less likely to say they were registered in 2014 than in 2010 and 2006.
- **Table 11** shows that self-reported voting among men and women remained consistent from 2004 to 2008, but dropped by 2 percentage points for each group in 2012.
- **Table 12** demonstrates that self-reported voting among men decreased slightly from 2006 to 2010, but increased back to 47 percent in 2014. Self-reported voting among women decreased by three percentage points from 2006 to 2010, but voting among women increased by seven percentage points in 2014.

**Tables 13 and 14** compare voting and registration rates among men and women by marital status from 2004 to 2014:

- **Tables 13 and 14** show that, in presidential and midterm elections, married women are more likely to register and vote than married men and unmarried men and women.
- **Table 13** shows that self-reported registration and turnout rates among each group remained relatively consistent during presidential elections.
- **Table 14** demonstrates that registration rates among each group remained steady during midterm elections, but voting rates change substantial. In the case of married women and men, voting rates increased by 12 (men) and 14 (women) percentage points from 2006 to 2010, but decreased by 17 and 20 percentage points, respectively in 2014.

**Figure 9** shows the breakdown of the married and unmarried populations as a percentage of adult citizens, the registered, and voters.

Table 11: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Gender, 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
2004	Men	94,147	48%	66,406	71%	58,455	62%	88%
	Women	102,858	52%	78,069	74%	67,281	66%	89%
	Total	197,005	100%	146,311	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%
2012	Men	103,022	48%	70,832	69%	61,551	60%	87%
	Women	112,059	52%	81,257	73%	71,397	64%	88%
	Total	215,081	100%	130	71%	132,948	62%	87%

Table 12: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Gender, 2006, 2010, 2014

		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
2006	Men	96,144	48%	63,425	66%	45,118	47%	71%
	Women	104,928	52%	72,422	69%	51,001	49%	70%
	Total	201,073	100%	135,847	68%	96,119	48%	71%
2010	Men	101,279	48%	64,337	64%	45,392	45%	71%
	Women	109,521	52%	72,926	67%	50,595	46%	69%
	Total	210,800	100%	137,263	65%	95,987	46%	70%
2014	Men	105,299	48%	66,147	47%	43,009	47%	65%
	Women	114,642	52%	76,019	53%	49,243	53%	65%
	Total	219,941	100%	142,166	100%	92,251	100%	65%



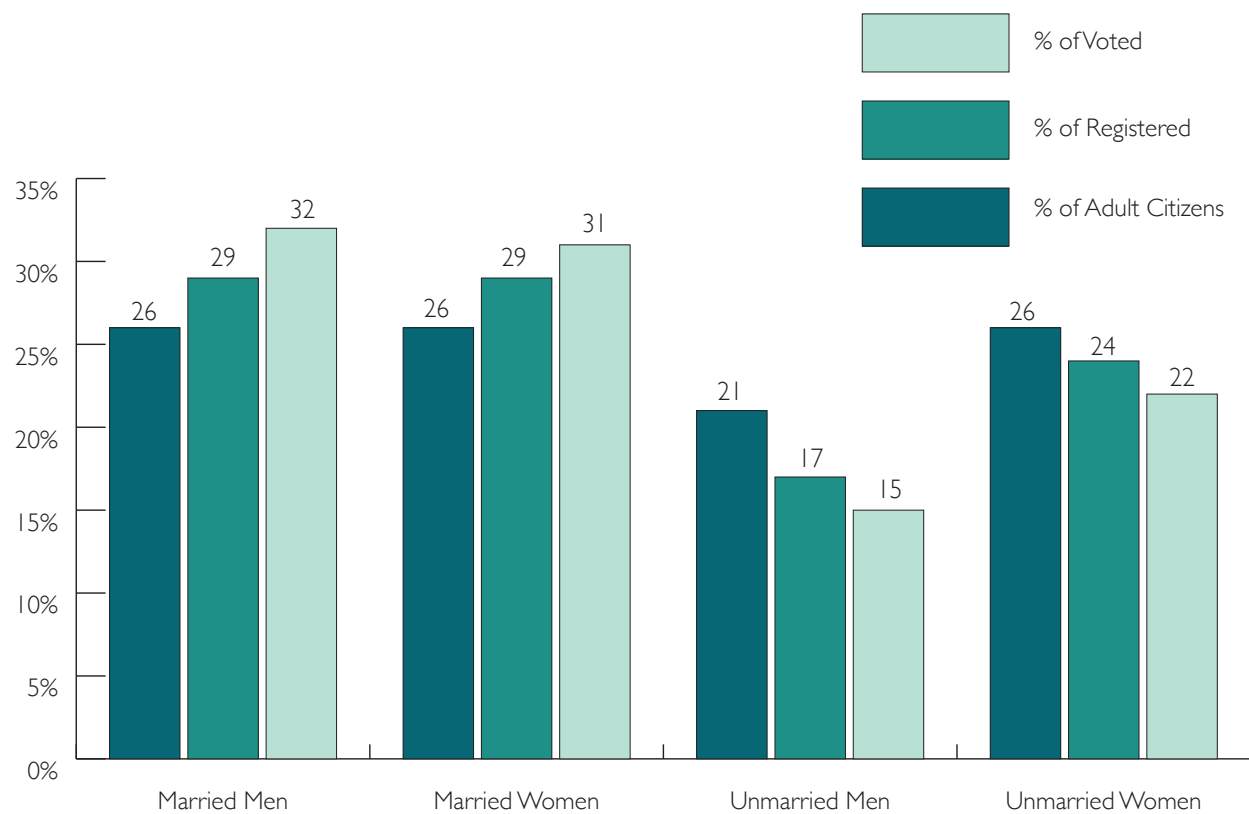
**Table 13: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Gender and Marital Status, 2004, 2008, 2012**

		Adult Citizens (in 1000s)	Registered (in 1000s)	Column %	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Voted (in 1000s)	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered	
2004	Married	Men	56,469	43,577	77%	39,561	70%	91%	85.0%
		Women	55,284	43,060	78%	39,423	71%	92%	86.0%
		Total	111,753	78,984	78%	78,984	71%	91%	86.0%
	Not Married	Men	37,678	22,830	61%	18,894	50%	83%	85.0%
		Women	47,574	32,604	69%	27,858	59%	85%	86.0%
		Total	85,252	55,433	65%	46,752	55%	84%	86.0%
2008	Married	Men	57,192	43,061	75%	39,369	69%	91%	85.0%
		Women	56,335	43,172	77%	39,960	71%	93%	86.0%
		Total	113,527	146,311	76%	79,329	70%	92%	86.0%
	Not Married	Men	41,625	25,181	60%	21,361	51%	85%	85.0%
		Women	50,920	34,897	69%	30,254	60%	87%	86.0%
		Total	92,545	60,078	65%	51,815	56%	86%	86.0%
2012	Married	Men	57,460	43,658	76%	39,317	68%	90%	85.0%
		Women	56,908	43,755	77%	39,543	70%	90%	86.0%
		Total	114,367	87,414	76%	78,860	69%	90%	86.0%
	Not Married	Men	45,562	27,174	60%	22,234	49%	82%	85.0%
		Women	55,152	37,502	68%	31,854	58%	85%	86.0%
		Total	100,714	64,675	64%	54,088	54%	84%	86.0%

**Table 14: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Gender and Marital Status, 2006, 2010, 2014**

		Adult Citizens (in 1000s)	Registered (in 1000s)	Column %	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Voted (in 1000s)	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
2006	Married	Men	56,195	74%	31,620	56%	76%	85.0%
		Women	55,514	75%	31,212	56%	75%	86.0%
		<b>Total</b>	<b>111,710</b>	<b>74%</b>	<b>62,831</b>	<b>56%</b>	<b>76%</b>	<b>86.0%</b>
	Not Married	Men	39,949	54%	13,498	34%	62%	85.0%
		Women	49,414	62%	19,790	40%	64%	86.0%
		<b>Total</b>	<b>89,363</b>	<b>59%</b>	<b>33,288</b>	<b>37%</b>	<b>63%</b>	<b>86.0%</b>
2010	Married	Men	57,008	71%	30,981	68%	90%	85.0%
		Women	56,414	72%	30,252	70%	90%	86.0%
		<b>Total</b>	<b>113,422</b>	<b>72%</b>	<b>61,233</b>	<b>69%</b>	<b>90%</b>	<b>86.0%</b>
	Not Married	Men	44,271	53%	14,411	33%	61%	85.0%
		Women	53,107	61%	20,343	38%	63%	86.0%
		<b>Total</b>	<b>97,378</b>	<b>58%</b>	<b>34,754</b>	<b>36%</b>	<b>62%</b>	<b>86.0%</b>
2014	Married	Men	58,113	71%	29,600	51%	71%	85.0%
		Women	57,831	72%	29,000	50%	70%	86.0%
		<b>Total</b>	<b>115,943</b>	<b>72%</b>	<b>58,600</b>	<b>51%</b>	<b>71%</b>	<b>86.0%</b>
	Not Married	Men	47,186	52%	13,400	28%	54%	85.0%
		Women	56,811	61%	20,200	36%	59%	86.0%
		<b>Total</b>	<b>103,998</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>33,600</b>	<b>32%</b>	<b>57%</b>	<b>86.0%</b>

**Figure 9: Composition of the Adult Citizen, Registered, and Voting Populations by Gender and Marital Status, 2014**



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## 7. AGE AND GENDER

Previous research posits that older Americans of all racial and ethnic groups tend to register to vote and participate in elections at higher rates than younger individuals in their same racial or ethnic group.

This report treats age as a categorical variable and breaks individuals into three groups: 18 to 29 years old (representing young adults), 30 to 64 years old (middle-age adults), and 65 years old and over (senior adults).

**Tables 15 and 16** show registration and voting rates for the adult citizen population by age and gender from 2004 to 2014:

- **Tables 15 and 16** show that, in presidential and midterm elections, men 65 and over are more likely to register and vote than other men and women of any other age group.
- Registration and voting turnout rates increased from 2004 to 2008, but this trend did not persist through the 2012 election.
- Self-reported registration and voting turnout rates were especially low among young adults in the 2006, 2010, and 2014 midterm elections, as middle-age and older adults reported thirty to forty percent higher rates of registration and voting than young adults.

**Figure 10** shows the breakdown of the adult citizen, registered, and voter populations in 2014 by age group.

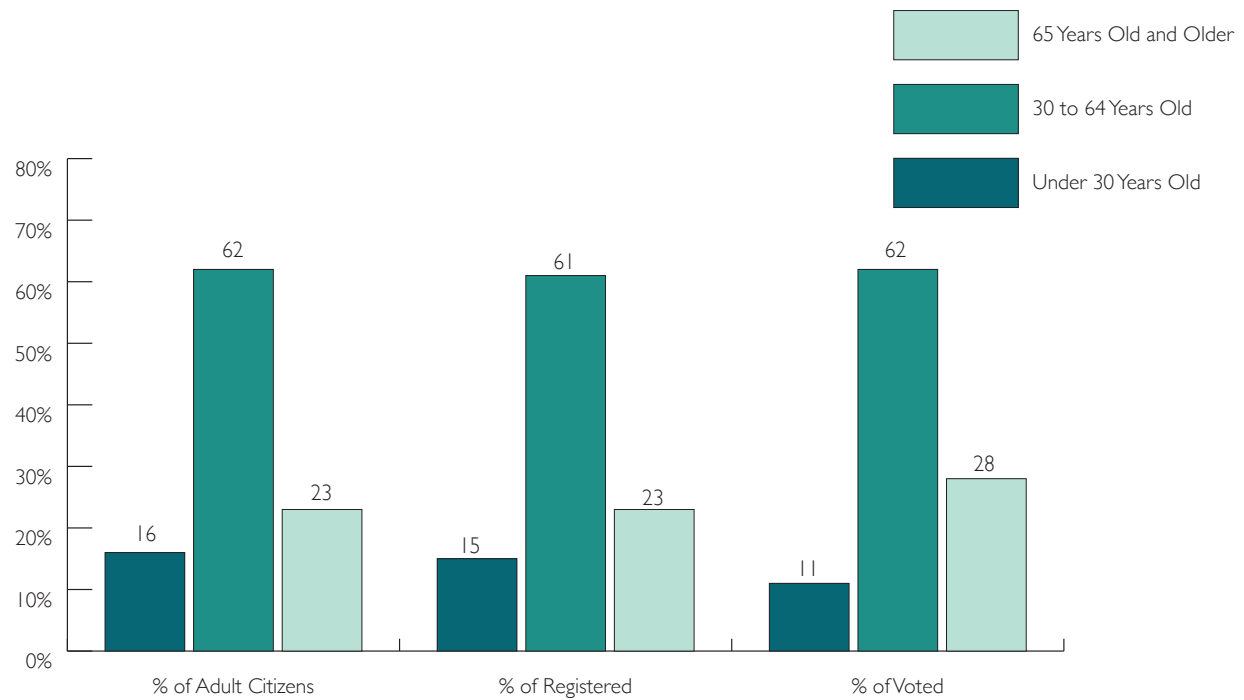
Table 15: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Gender and Age, 2004, 2008, 2012

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	
2004	Under 30	Men	20,324	11,535	57%	9,242	45%	80%	72.0%
		Women	20,760	13,158	63%	10,882	52%	83%	74.0%
		Total	41,084	24,663	60%	20,125	49%	82%	74.0%
	30 to 64	Men	59,485	43,276	73%	38,606	65%	89%	87.0%
		Women	62,744	47,426	76%	43,081	69%	91%	88.0%
		Total	122,229	90,701	74%	81,686	67%	90%	88.0%
	65 and Over	Men	14,338	11,596	81%	10,608	74%	91%	91.0%
		Women	19,354	15,109	78%	13,317	69%	88%	87.0%
		Total	33,692	26,706	79%	23,925	71%	90%	89.0%
2008	Under 30	Men	21,886	12,620	58%	10,323	47%	82%	80.0%
		Women	21,959	14,174	65%	12,062	55%	85%	83.0%
		Total	43,844	26,794	61%	22,385	51%	84%	82.0%
	30 to 64	Men	61,233	43,324	71%	39,071	64%	90%	89.0%
		Women	64,701	48,093	74%	44,168	68%	92%	91.0%
		Total	125,934	91,417	73%	83,239	66%	91%	90.0%
	65 and Over	Men	15,699	12,297	78%	11,335	72%	92%	91.0%
		Women	20,596	15,803	77%	14,184	69%	90%	88.0%
		Total	36,294	28,100	77%	25,519	70%	91%	90.0%
2012	Under 30	Men	22,654	12,147	54%	9,396	42%	77%	82.0%
		Women	22,949	13,741	60%	11,142	49%	81%	85.0%
		Total	45,603	25,888	57%	20,539	45%	79%	84.0%
	30 to 64	Men	62,170	44,065	71%	38,674	62%	88%	90.0%
		Women	66,139	49,524	75%	44,095	67%	89%	92.0%
		Total	128,310	93,588	73%	82,769	65%	88%	91.0%
	65 and Over	Men	18,198	14,620	80%	13,480	74%	92%	92.0%
		Women	22,971	17,992	78%	16,160	70%	90%	90.0%
		Total	41,169	32,612	79%	29,641	72%	91%	91.0%

Table 16: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Gender and Age, 2006, 2010, 2014

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	
2006	Under 30	Men	20,998	10,183	48%	5,021	24%	49%	72.0%
		Women	21,244	11,268	53%	5,747	27%	51%	74.0%
		Total	42,242	21,452	51%	10,768	25%	50%	74.0%
	30 to 64	Men	60,318	41,422	69%	30,224	50%	73%	87.0%
		Women	63,884	45,950	72%	33,473	52%	73%	88.0%
		Total	124,202	87,372	70%	63,697	51%	73%	88.0%
	65 and Over	Men	14,828	11,820	80%	9,873	67%	84%	91.0%
		Women	19,800	15,203	77%	11,781	60%	77%	87.0%
		Total	34,628	27,023	78%	21,654	63%	80%	89.0%
2010	Under 30	Men	22,577	10,732	48%	5,290	23%	49%	80.0%
		Women	22,643	11,533	51%	5,540	24%	48%	83.0%
		Total	45,220	22,265	49%	10,830	24%	49%	82.0%
	30 to 64	Men	62,295	41,163	66%	29,629	48%	72%	89.0%
		Women	65,540	45,581	70%	32,593	50%	72%	91.0%
		Total	127,835	86,744	68%	62,222	49%	72%	90.0%
	65 and Over	Men	16,407	12,442	76%	10,473	64%	84%	91.0%
		Women	21,338	15,812	74%	12,462	58%	79%	88.0%
		Total	37,745	28,255	75%	22,935	61%	81%	90.0%
2014	Under 30	Men	22,981	10,300	45%	4,215	18%	41%	82.0%
		Women	23,454	11,400	49%	5,007	21%	44%	85.0%
		Total	46,434	21,700	47%	9,222	20%	42%	84.0%
	30 to 64	Men	62,697	41,000	65%	26,600	42%	65%	90.0%
		Women	66,685	46,300	69%	30,200	45%	65%	92.0%
		Total	129,382	87,300	67%	56,800	44%	65%	91.0%
	65 and Over	Men	19,622	14,900	76%	12,200	62%	82%	92.0%
		Women	24,503	18,400	75%	14,000	57%	76%	90.0%
		Total	44,125	33,300	75%	26,200	59%	79%	91.0%

**Figure 10: Composition of the Adult Citizen, Registered, and Voting Populations by Age Group, 2014**



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## 8. GENDER, AGE, AND RACE

**Tables 17 and 18** illustrate how the relationship between age, gender, and electoral participation is moderated by race and ethnicity. Similar to results in the previous section, we find that older adults and women of all racial and ethnic groups tend to register and vote at higher rates than younger adults and men of the same race or ethnicity.

**Table 17** reports the registration rates among men and women by race, ethnicity, and gender in 2014:

- Self-reported registration rates were highest among white women, black women, and multi-racial women; rates of registration were especially high among group members 65 and over.
- We also observe that registration rates among men of each racial and ethnic group are highest among older individuals.

**Table 18** shows reported voting rates for men and women by race, ethnicity and gender in 2014:

- In regards to voting, we observe that, for each racial or ethnic group as a whole, voting as a percentage of the adult citizen population is below fifty percent. However, considering voters as a proportion of those registered, black and white voters of both genders have the highest proportion of voters relative to other groups.
- White men had a slightly higher voter turnout rate (by 1 percent) than white women overall, but senior white men outvoted senior white women by 6 percent. Amongst black voters, senior black voters of both gender voted at the same rate, but black, female, middle-aged and young voters reported higher voter turnout than black males in the same age groups.

**Figure 11** shows a comparison of turnout rates by gender and race and ethnicity for the 2010 and 2014 elections.

**Figure 12** shows a comparison of turnout rates by gender, age, and race and ethnicity for the 2012 and 2014 elections. We observe significant differences between all groups, with some groups (Black men under 30) having as much as a 39 percent difference in turnout in just two years. These differences say more about the differences between presidential and midterm elections, and less about the difference in turnout within a particular group in two years.



Table 17: Adult Citizen Population and Registration by Gender, Age, and Race, 2014

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	14,087	6,660	47%	13,977	7,093	51%
	30 to 64	44,605	30,588	69%	45,885	33,069	72%
	65 and Over	15,833	12,302	78%	19,362	14,951	77%
	Total	74,525	49,551	66%	79,225	55,113	70%
Black	Under 30	3,116	1,489	48%	3,547	1,889	53%
	30 to 64	7,214	4,557	63%	8,809	6,224	71%
	65 and Over	1,582	1,155	73%	2,292	1,699	74%
	Total	11,911	7,201	60%	14,648	9,812	67%
Asian/ Pacific-Islander	Under 30	980	325	33%	963	326	34%
	30 to 64	2,833	1,494	53%	3,349	1,793	54%
	65 and Over	762	433	57%	927	447	48%
	Total	4,575	2,251	49%	5,238	2,565	49%
Latino	Under 30	4,096	1,525	37%	4,119	1,671	41%
	30 to 64	6,818	3,573	52%	7,253	4,260	59%
	65 and Over	1,196	820	69%	1,610	1,013	63%
	Total	12,110	5,918	49%	12,981	6,944	53%
Native American	Under 30	225	77	34%	272	102	37%
	30 to 64	514	256	50%	558	356	64%
	65 and Over	103	72	70%	133	94	70%
	Total	842	405	48%	963	552	57%
Two or More Races	Under 30	476	214	45%	577	291	50%
	30 to 64	713	487	68%	831	585	70%
	65 and Over	146	119	82%	179	156	87%
	Total	1,335	820	61%	1,587	1,033	65%

Table 18: Adult Citizen Voting by Gender, Age, and Race, 2014

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	2,811	20%	42%	3,155	23%	44%
	30 to 64	20,683	46%	68%	21,959	48%	66%
	65 and Over	10,185	64%	83%	11,558	60%	77%
	Total	33,679	45%	68%	36,672	46%	67%
Black	Under 30	661	21%	44%	939	26%	50%
	30 to 64	2,781	39%	61%	4,206	48%	68%
	65 and Over	894	57%	77%	1,308	57%	77%
	Total	4,336	36%	60%	6,453	44%	66%
Asian/ Pacific-Islander	Under 30	118	12%	36%	131	14%	40%
	30 to 64	758	27%	51%	1,019	30%	57%
	65 and Over	341	45%	79%	330	36%	74%
	Total	1,216	27%	54%	1,480	28%	58%
Latino	Under 30	508	12%	33%	628	15%	38%
	30 to 64	1,946	29%	54%	2,418	33%	57%
	65 and Over	595	50%	73%	680	42%	67%
	Total	3,050	25%	52%	3,725	29%	54%
Native American	Under 30	39	17%	50%	48	18%	47%
	30 to 64	148	29%	58%	221	40%	62%
	65 and Over	63	61%	87%	54	40%	57%
	Total	250	30%	62%	323	34%	59%
Two or More Races	Under 30	78	16%	36%	106	18%	37%
	30 to 64	310	44%	64%	369	44%	63%
	65 and Over	89	61%	75%	114	64%	73%
	Total	477	36%	58%	590	37%	57%

Figure 11: Turnout by Gender, Age, and Race, 2010 &amp; 2014

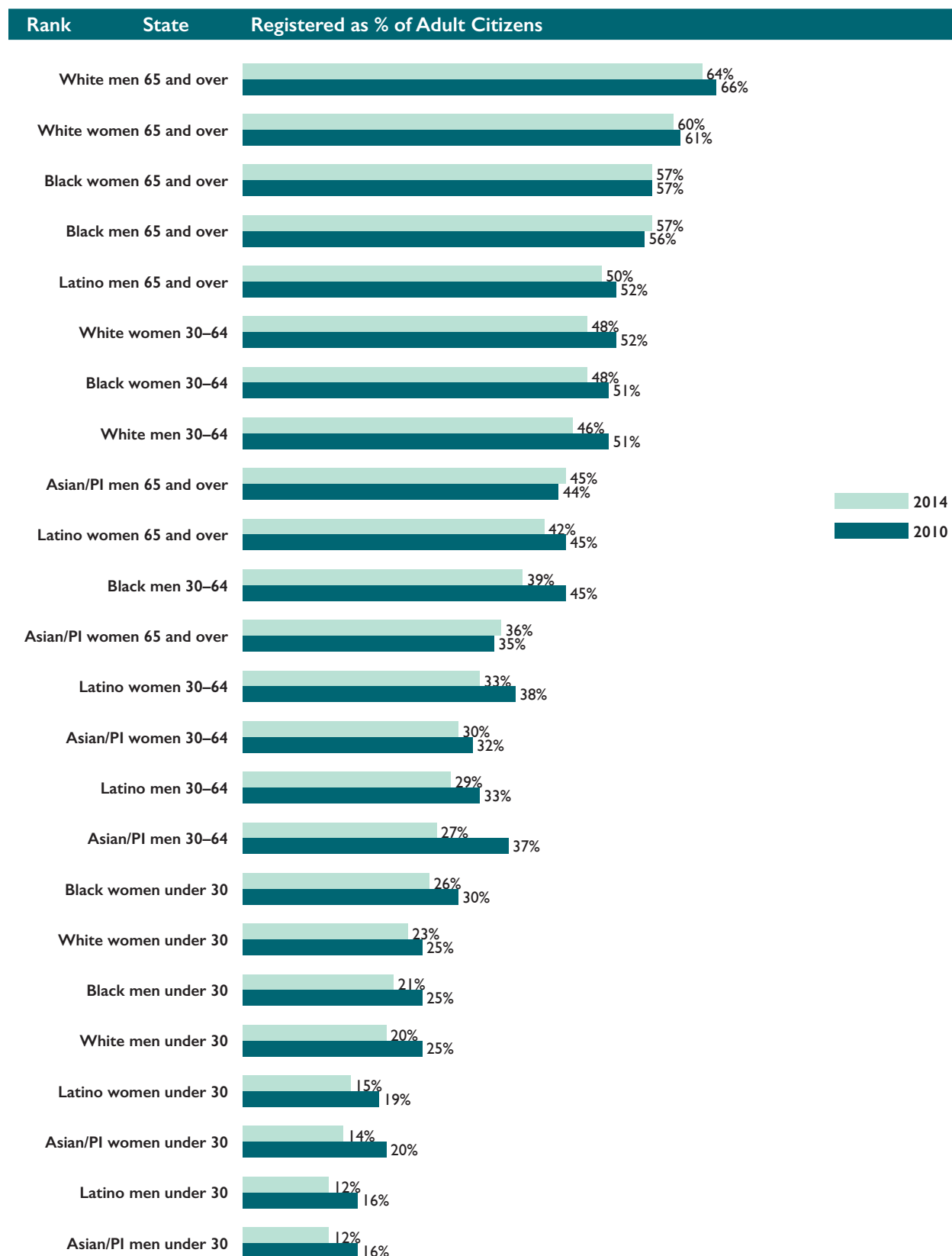
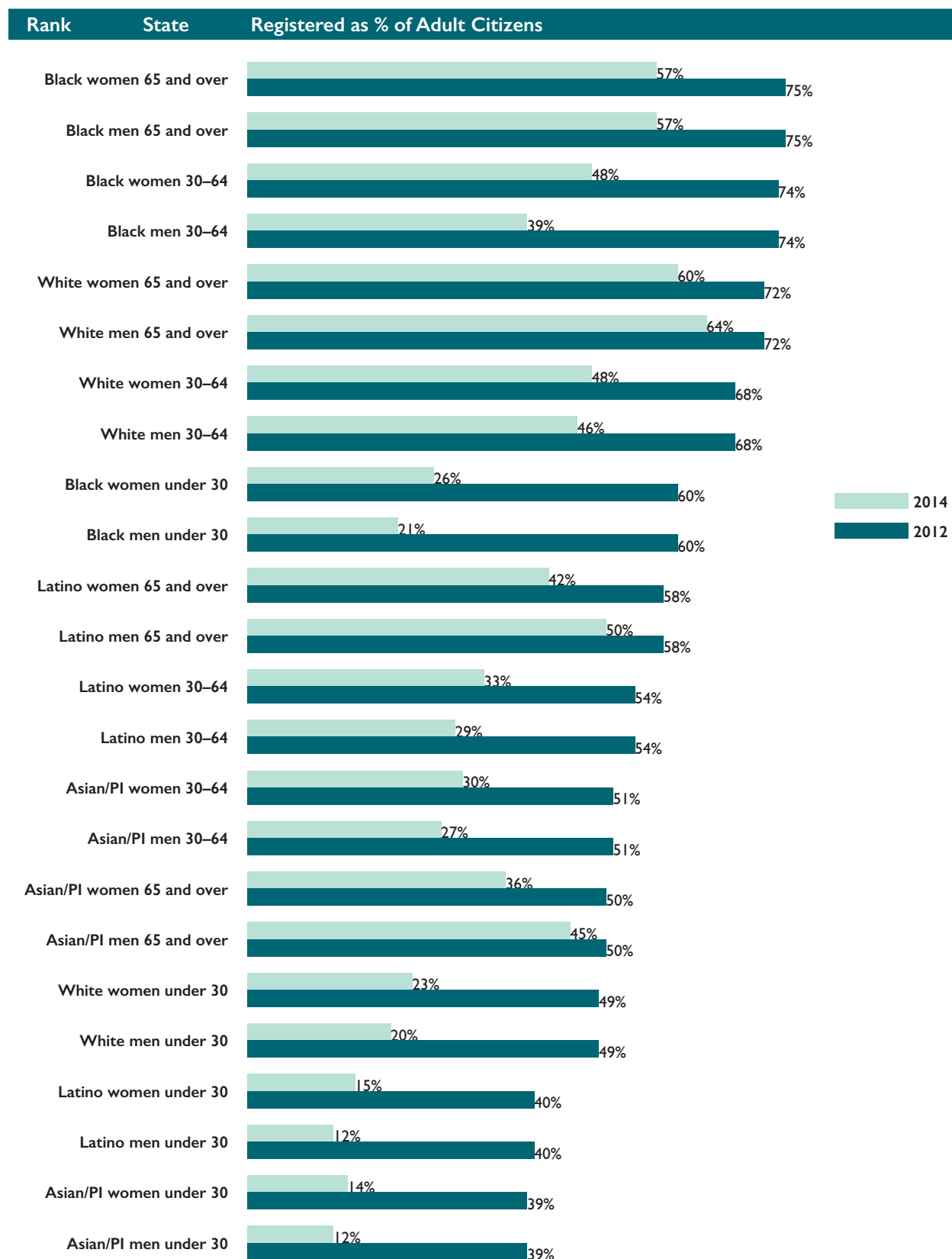


Figure 12: Turnout by Gender, Age, and Race, 2012 &amp; 2014



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## 9. INCOME AND EDUCATION

Higher levels of income and educational attainment are understood to be positively associated with higher rates of registration and turnout.<sup>6</sup> There are several reasons why this may be the case.

First, registering and turning out to vote costs time, and it requires knowledge about the electoral process. A higher income reduces some of the costs associated with registering and voting, because these individuals are more likely to be able to take time away from work to register and vote than individuals with lower incomes. In addition, regardless of their level of educational attainment, individuals with higher levels of income are more likely to acquire jobs and interests that lead to higher levels of voting and political participation.<sup>7</sup> Lastly, individuals with high levels of income and educational attainment are more likely to be targets of campaign mobilization and, in general, see their interests represented in politics, when compared to individuals with lower levels of income and educational attainment.<sup>8</sup>

To explore the relationship between income, educational attainment, and electoral participation, this report treats income as a categorical variable broken into five groups, ranging from household incomes of less than \$25,000 to \$100,000 or more. Similarly, educational attainment is treated as a categorical variable that breaks individuals into four groups: those with less than a high school diploma, high school graduates, those with some college or an associate's degree, and individuals with a bachelor's degree or higher.

**Table 19** shows self-reported registration and voting rates by income in 2014:

- As expected, individuals with higher incomes reported higher levels of registration and voting than individuals with lower incomes.
- For example, of people earning less than \$25,000, only 30 percent reported voting in the 2014 election, compared to 51 percent of those earning over \$100,000 dollars.

**Table 20 and 21** present reported registration and voting rates by educational attainment level for the years 2004 to 2014:

- **Table 21** shows that registration rates remained relatively consistent across each education level from 2010 to 2014, but turnout rates decreased 5 to 6 percentage points for each group.
- Regardless of registration and turnout trends, individuals with Bachelor's degrees or higher reported significantly higher levels of registration and voting.

**Table 19: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Annual Household Income, 2014**

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	45,786	21%	24,564	54%	13,705	30%	56%
\$25,000 to \$49,999	55,122	25%	33,725	61%	21,180	38%	63%
\$50,000 to \$74,999	41,555	19%	28,137	68%	18,464	44%	66%
\$75,000 to \$99,999	26,879	12%	19,021	71%	12,936	48%	68%
\$100,000 and over	50,599	23%	36,719	73%	25,966	51%	71%
<b>Total Reporting</b>	<b>219,941</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>142,166</b>	<b>65%</b>	<b>92,251</b>	<b>42%</b>	<b>65%</b>

Table 20: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Education, 2004, 2008, 2012

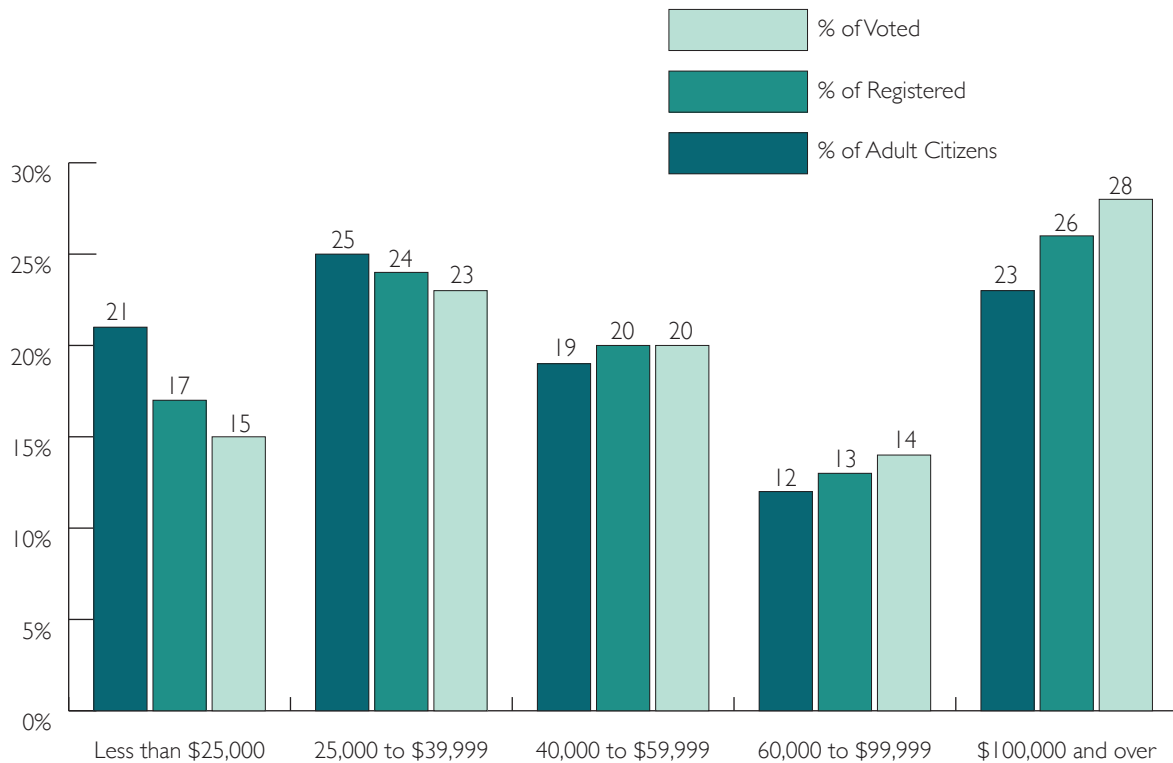
		Adult Citizens (in 1000s)	Column %	Registered (in 1000s)	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Voted (in 1000s)	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
2004	Less than a High School Diploma	25,669	13%	13,569	53%	10,131	40%	75%
	High School Graduates, No College	63,690	32%	42,180	66%	35,894	56%	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%
2012	Less than a High School Diploma	21,842	10%	10,885	50%	8,297	38%	76%
	High School Graduates, No College	65,380	30%	41,360	63%	34,402	53%	83%
	Some College or Associate Degree	64,790	30%	47,723	74%	41,601	64%	87%
	Bachelor's Degree or Higher	63,069	29%	52,121	83%	48,648	71%	93%
	Total	215,081	100%	152,089	71%	132,948	62%	87%

**Table 21: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Education, 2006, 2010, 2014**

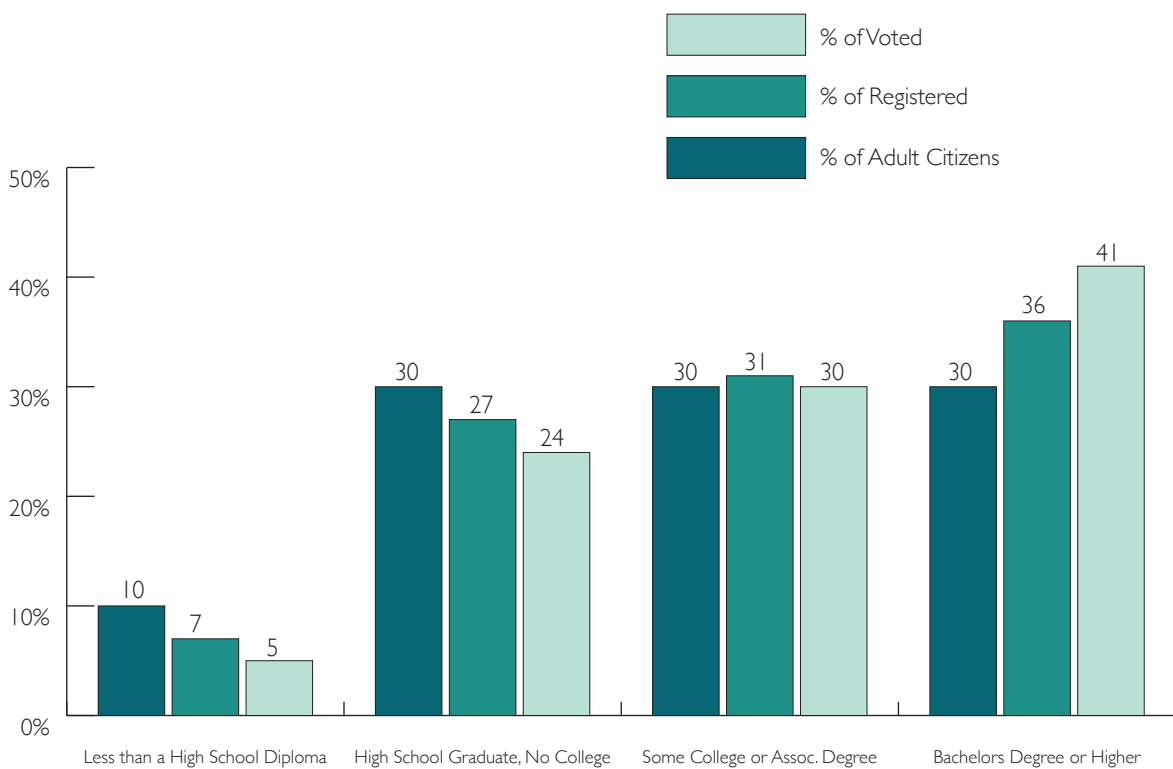
		Adult Citizens (in 1000s)	Column %	Registered (in 1000s)	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Voted (in 1000s)	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
2006	Less than a High School Diploma	24,349	12%	11,573	48%	6,678	27%	58%
	High School Graduates, No College	64,949	32%	40,205	62%	26,335	41%	66%
	Some College or Associate Degree	57,602	29%	41,096	71%	28,472	49%	69%
	Bachelor's Degree or Higher	54,173	27%	42,973	79%	34,634	64%	81%
	Total	201,073	100%	135,847	68%	96,119	48%	71%
2010	Less than a High School Diploma	22,586	11%	10,080	45%	5,665	25%	56%
	High School Graduates, No College	65,951	31%	38,329	58%	25,015	38%	65%
	Some College or Associate Degree	62,655	30%	42,816	68%	29,015	46%	68%
	Bachelor's Degree or Higher	59,608	28%	46,039	77%	36,292	61%	79%
	Total	210,800	100%	137,263	65%	95,987	46%	70%
2014	Less than a High School Diploma	21,178	10%	9,406	44%	4,701	22%	50%
	High School Graduates, No College	65,610	30%	37,766	58%	22,262	34%	59%
	Some College or Associate Degree	66,058	30%	44,039	67%	27,514	42%	62%
	Bachelor's Degree or Higher	67,095	30%	50,955	76%	37,774	56%	74%
	Total	219,941	100%	142,166	65%	92,251	42%	65%



**Figure 13: Composition of the Adult Citizen, Registered, and Voting Populations by Annual Household Income, 2014**



**Figure 14: Composition of the Adult Citizen, Registered, and Voting Populations by Education, 2012**



## 10. RESIDENTIAL MOBILITY

Another important variable in predicting who registers and turns out to vote is residential mobility. Voter registration is connected to an individual's home address, so the more someone moves, the less likely they are to register or stay registered. Upon moving, individuals are required to update their registrations and become informed about registration and voting in the new location. This is information that not every voter has access to, as voters may move to different counties in the same state and assume that their registration is still valid. As we will see in **Table 23**, racial and ethnic minorities are generally less likely to remain at the same address than whites.

**Table 22** shows reported registration and voting rates by length of time at a current address:

- **Table 22** demonstrates that individuals are significantly more likely to register and vote when they have lived at a residence for five years or more. There is a 27 percent difference in reported registration rates between people who lived in a residence for one year or less and those residing in a set location for five years or more.
- Similarly, persons who reside at a residence for five years or more reported higher levels of voting than individuals with less stable addresses.

**Table 23** explores how race and ethnicity moderates registration and voting rates by length of time at a current address:

- As expected, it demonstrates that racial and ethnic minorities are likely to move residences more frequently than whites. Only 12 percent of whites reported living at their current address for less than one year in 2014, compared to 16 percent for both black and Latino respondents.

**Table 24** shows that the racial and ethnic minority groups are younger overall, more mobile, and less likely to have achieved higher educational attainment levels, than whites. All of these factors affect their rates of registration and turnout.

**Table 22: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Residency Length, 2014**

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	25,242	13%	13,738	54%	6,354	25%	46%
1 to 4 years	49,094	26%	33,615	68%	19,385	39%	58%
5 years or longer	114,472	61%	92,988	81%	65,468	57%	70%
Total reporting	188,809	100%	140,342	74%	91,207	48%	65%

**Table 23: Adult Citizen Population, Registration, and Voting by Residency Length and Race, 2014**

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 %	Two or More Races (in 1000s)	Column %
Less than 1 year	16,589	12%	3,588	16%	910	12%	3,435	16%	247	16%	473	18%
1 to 4 years	31,902	24%	6,893	31%	2,123	27%	6,934	32%	477	31%	766	29%
5 years or longer	84,964	64%	11,444	52%	4,863	62%	10,971	51%	834	54%	139	53%
<b>Total</b>	<b>133,454</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>21,925</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>7,896</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>21,340</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>1,557</b>	<b>100%</b>	<b>1,379</b>	<b>100%</b>

**Table 24: 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	27%	8%	26%
Black	39%	15%	37%
Asian/Pacific Islander	22%	9%	30%
Latino	42%	17%	34%
Native American	40%	15%	38%
Multi-racial	25%	17%	35%

## II. DISABILITY

Americans with disabilities are under-represented in the electorate. **Table 25** shows reported registration and voting in accordance to disability status.

- **Table 25** shows that individuals, regardless of their ability status, reported the same level of voter registration rates.
- However, voting is slightly higher among persons reporting no disability: turnout was 65 percent for individuals reporting no disability, compared to 63 percent for those reporting a disability.

**Table 25: Disability Status and Voting Behavior, 2014**

Disability Status	Adult Citizens	Column %	Registered	Registered as % of Adult Citizens	Voted	Voted as % of Adult Citizens	Voted as % of Registered
Disability	28,456	13%	18,372	65%	11,624	41%	63%
No Disability	191,485	87%	123,794	65%	80,628	42%	65%
Total	219,941	100%	142,166	65%	92,251	42%	65%

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## 12. CONCLUSION

Using survey data from the Census Bureau's Current Population Survey, this report has demonstrated differences in the political participation of several groups in the 2014 midterm election. As mentioned at the beginning of this report, the 2014 midterm election marked a historic low in electoral participation.

Withstanding the historic low turnout in the recent election, low-income households, young adults (18 to 29 years old), less educated individuals, and persons with higher residential mobility rates, all remain under-represented in the electorate. And non-whites are over-represented in these groups with low registration and turnout rates.

**Table 24** presents the percentage of adult citizens from each racial or ethnic group in the three categories strongly associated with low political participation rates: low educational attainment, youth, and residential mobility. According to this table, non-whites are overwhelmingly over-represented in groups with low electoral participation in 2014.

It is worth noting that blacks and Latinos consistently rank among the highest in the categories that correlate with low participation. Yet, blacks are registering and 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 Latino population and new voter laws, registration and turnout rates dropped for this group in 2014. According to a recent report by the NALEO Educational Fund, 19 states enacted laws since November 2012 that make it more difficult for Latinos and other groups to vote.<sup>9</sup> This report estimates that these laws inhibit more than 875,000 eligible Latino voters from voting in the upcoming election.

As we approach the 2016 presidential election, under-representation in the electorate is more concerning than ever. As mentioned earlier, under-representation in the polity not only skews who we elect, but it also allows for legislators to introduce and pass policies that may not be representative of needs and priorities of the American public. As a result, public policy may disproportionately reflect the interests of only those who show up at the polls—those who are white, older, educated, and wealthy.

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 this, it is crucial to push forward efforts that facilitate registration and voting for all Americans by ensuring the enforcement of the NVRA and supporting laws that make voting easier.

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## NOTES

1. See Brian Miller: *American Goes to the Polls 2014: A Report on Voter Turnout in the 2014 Midterm Election* (Nonprofit VOTE, 2014). We should note that the turnout rate we found in our report was 42 percent. It is likely that our turnout rate is slightly higher than other related reports because our data is based on self-reported rates of turnout. Participants in the CPS may have reported that they turned out to vote when they did not because of social desirability—the tendency of survey respondents to answer questions in a way that is seen as satisfactory.
2. Jose DelReal, “Voter turnout in 2014 was the lowest since WWII,” *Washington Post*, November 10, 2014. Available at <https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2014/11/10/voter-turnout-in-2014-was-the-lowest-since-wwii/>
3. Colorado and three other states used same-day registration for the first time in the recent midterm election. Colorado also began using mail voting in the recent election. Mail voting requires election officials in Colorado to mail ballots to every registered voter in the state two weeks before Election Day. According to a study conducted by The Pew Charitable Trusts, the changes that Colorado made to the voting process saved money, as the cost-per-vote decreased by 40 percent, and 90 percent of surveyed voters reported feeling satisfied or very satisfied with the new changes to Colorado’s voting process. (For more details about this report, see “Colorado Voting Reforms: Early Results,” (Pew Charitable Trust, March 2016), available at <http://www.pewtrusts.org/~media/assets/2016/03/coloradovotingreformsearlyresults.pdf>).
4. Joe Soss, “Lessons of Welfare: Policy Design, Political Learning, and Political Action,” *American Political Science Review* 93.2 (1999).
5. Joe Soss, *Unwanted Claims: The Politics of Participation in the U.S. Welfare System* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2000).
6. Several studies have explored the relationship between education, income, and voting. On the one hand, some researchers conclude that educational attainment is said to be the demographic variable most strongly to voting (e.g. Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.). On the other, some studies conclude that educational attainment has had no consistent impact on voting (e.g. Sidney Verba, Norman H. Nie, and Jae-On Kim. *Participation and Political Equality: A Seven-Nation Study* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1978), and is less important than income.
7. Raymond E. Wolfinger and Steven J. Rosenstone, *Who Votes?* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980).
8. Jan E. Leighley and Jonathan Nagler, *Who Votes Now? Demographics, Issues, Inequality, and Turnout in the United States* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2013).
9. “Latinos Voters at Risk: Assessing the Impact Restrictive Voting Changes In Election,” (NALEO, 2016), available at <http://www.naleo.org/latinovotersatrisk>.



1420 K Street NW, Suite 700  
Washington, DC 20005  
202.546.4173  
[www.projectvote.org](http://www.projectvote.org)

## About the Author

LaShonda Brenson is Research Director for Project Vote. Dr. Brenson has a Ph.D. in Political Science from University of Michigan-Ann Arbor and a B.A. in Mathematics and Political Science from the University of Rochester.

## About Project Vote

Project Vote is a national nonpartisan, non-profit organization that promotes voting in historically under-represented communities. Project Vote takes a leadership role in nationwide voting rights and election administration issues, working through research, litigation, and advocacy to ensure that our constituencies can register, vote, and cast ballots that count.

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