



ENGAGING THE EMERGING MAJORITY

THE CASE FOR VOTER REGISTRATION IN 2012 AND BEYOND

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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

BY 2018 THERE WILL BE A NEW MAJORITY IN AMERICA. The demographic contours of the United States are changing. In 2018, for the first time, African Americans, Latinos, Asian/Pacific Islanders, Native Americans and unmarried women will be the majority of the American citizen voting age population—this is the Emerging Majority.

IN TODAY'S AMERICA, THE EMERGING MAJORITY FACES INEQUALITY ON MANY FRONTS: in their workplaces, where they earn less and face higher unemployment rates; in their homes, where they are more likely to face foreclosure; and in their schools, where they are less likely to get a high school or college degree. Underlying these other inequalities is a deeper inequality that strikes at the heart of our democracy: voter registration inequality.

THE EMERGING MAJORITY IS NOT EQUALLY REPRESENTED IN OUR DEMOCRACY. Even as their numbers in the population surge, the voter registration rate of the Emerging Majority—and, therefore, their full participation in our democracy—lags behind the rest of the population. In 2010, the difference in voter registration rates between the Emerging Majority and the rest of the population—the registration equality gap—was 11%, with the Emerging Majority registered at a rate of 59% and the rest of the population registered at a rate of 70%. Even in 2008, a year of historic voter registration and turnout, there were *four* unregistered but eligible Emerging Majority citizens for every single registered Emerging Majority member who did not vote.

THE EMERGING MAJORITY IS YOUNG AND MOVES FREQUENTLY, EXACERBATING LOWER VOTER REGISTRATION RATES. Fifty-nine percent of all 18-29 year olds in America are in the Emerging Majority. 56,000 Latino citizens and 58,000 African Americans turn 18 every month, becoming eligible to vote. The Emerging Majority has also borne the brunt of the economic crisis, with unemployment and foreclosure rates increasing the rates at which these voters move and have to be reregistered.

IT DOESN'T HAVE TO BE THIS WAY. In 2004 and 2008, with significant investment of human and financial resources, we saw the registration equality gap begin to close. However, the gap has widened during non-presidential election years like 2010 when non-partisan independent voter registration efforts have had insufficient resources. Currently, it would require registering 9.8 million new Emerging Majority registrants to close the registration equality gap with the rest of the population. As the Emerging Majority continues to grow, registration inequality will grow as well unless capacity and investment exist not just to maintain, but to actually move beyond current registration rates. Our ultimate goal is full citizen registration.

REGISTERING VOTERS BUILDS DEMOCRACY FOR THE LONG TERM. Individuals registered to vote by non-partisan efforts in presidential years have been proven highly likely to turn out to vote and highly likely to remain active voters in subsequent elections. Americans who are registered to vote are also more likely to participate in activities that build the fabric of our democracy, including talking with their friends and family about politics, and joining neighborhood and community groups where they can unite with others to change the inequalities they face elsewhere in their lives.

RECOMMENDATIONS:

INCREASE RESOURCES AND CAPACITY TO REGISTER THE EMERGING MAJORITY TO VOTE DURING EVERY ELECTION YEAR. The disparity between the Emerging Majority's proportion of the citizenry and its proportion of the registered electorate is not merely unfortunate. It strikes at the heart of our democracy, threatening its representative quality. A first step to correct this imbalance is to increase investment of human and financial resources in voter registration efforts to close the registration equality gap, ensuring that the Emerging Majority is registered equal to its proportion of the population. As we begin to close the gap state by state, we should strive for full registration, raising the bar for all Americans.

This investment and the capacity to achieve full registration in each state needs to be built during presidential cycles, leveraging the intensity of those elections, but it must be sustained in the intervening years. Starting in 2012, both capacity and investment will need to expand consistently year to year if we are to keep up with the growth of the Emerging Majority, close the registration equality gap, and move toward full registration. In particular we recommend investing for the long term in registering young Emerging Majority voters and those who have moved in the last four years. We also recommend investing in practice-based research and easily accessible data infrastructure that can improve the effectiveness of all voter registration programs, large and small.

2012: The landscape for registration in 2012 is challenging. New, strict laws have been introduced in many states to limit voter registration activity and make it more difficult to vote. However, in spite of the challenges, voter registration groups are expanding their capacity, with a presence in all 50 states and ambitious goals.

Registering the Emerging Majority to vote is no panacea, but it is a critical step toward remedying the social, political and economic inequalities the Emerging Majority face, and toward building a more representative democracy in America.

METHODOLOGY: This report is based primarily on data from the U.S. Census Bureau Current Population Survey from 1994–2010, supplemented by additional scholarship on voter registration and civic participation.

2. ENGAGING THE EMERGING MAJORITY

Today in America, not everyone has equal opportunity. Some Americans—particularly African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, American Indians and unmarried women—face persistent social, economic and political inequality. They are more likely to live in poverty than the rest of the population.¹ Some are more likely to receive more severe punishments in federal court than the rest of the population.² They are significantly underrepresented in state legislatures and Congress.³ They are less likely to be registered to vote and they are less likely to cast a ballot than the rest of the population.⁴ Historically, the inequalities facing this population do not abate, even with age.

All of these populations are growing. Together, they are the Emerging Majority. By 2018, the Emerging Majority will comprise the majority of the citizen voting age population of the United States. If the Emerging Majority are registered to vote and motivated to civic engagement, they have the potential to dramatically shift the American social, economic, and political landscape—allowing us to begin rectifying our country's historical inequalities.

A first step in engaging the Emerging Majority is bringing them to full registration equality with the rest of the population, with a long-term focus on full registration. Currently the Emerging Majority is under registered and underrepresented in our electorate. In part, their lagging registration rate is attributable to their youth. Of all citizens between 18 and 29, 59% are in the Emerging Majority.⁵ The Emerging Majority has also been struck disproportionately by the foreclosure crisis and unemployment, making it a more mobile population and exacerbating lagging registration rates. The independent voter registration community is building the capacity to conduct effective youth and mover registration programs in 2012 and beyond.

In the short term, closing the registration equality gap will require successfully registering 9.8 million new Emerging Majority voters. In the long term, ensuring every eligible Emerging Majority citizen is registered will require registering tens of millions of new voters—for example, achieving full registration in 2010 would have required registering 38 million new Emerging Majority voters.

¹ U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, INCOME, POVERTY, AND HEALTH INSURANCE COVERAGE IN THE UNITED STATES: 2010 tbl. 4 (2011).

² Brian D. Johnson & Sara Betsinger, *Punishing the "Model Minority": Asian-American Sentencing Outcomes in Federal District Courts*, 47 CRIM'Y 1045, 1076–9 (2009).

³ *Legislator Demographics: National Totals*, NAT'L CONF. STATE LEGISLATURES (2011), <http://www.ncsl.org/?tabid=18248>.

⁴ See Section 3.1.

⁵ U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2010 SUPPLEMENT (2011).

2.1 A NEW MAJORITY BY 2018

Over the last 40 years, America has seen a dramatic demographic shift. Central to this shift is a surge in the populations of African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, Native Americans and unmarried women, making the youngest Americans the most diverse in our history.⁶

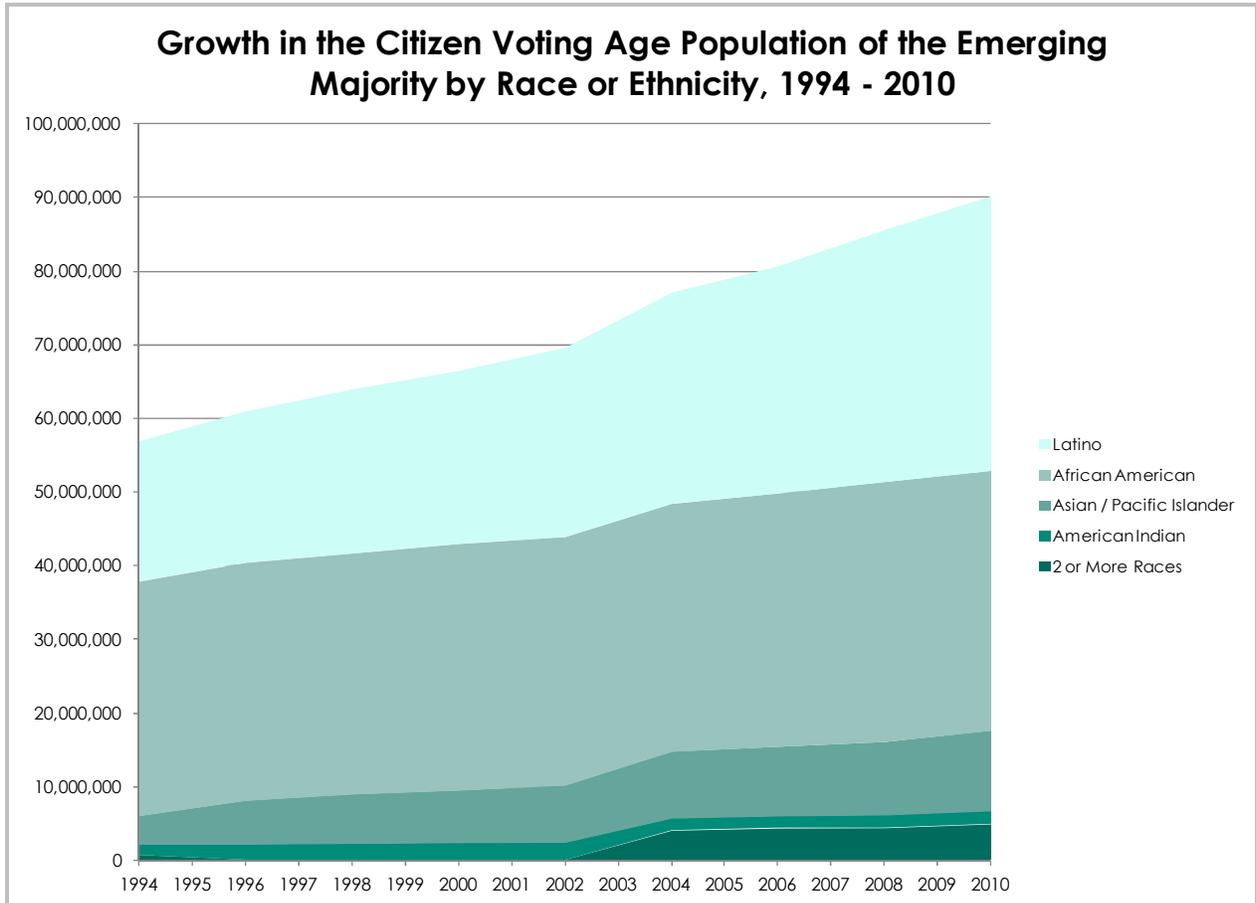


Figure 2.1.1 – Numerical growth of race or ethnic categories included in the Emerging Majority between 1994 and 2010.

Although the demographic shifts have occurred nationwide, they have not been uniform. Some states, notably those in the South have seen a larger growth in the African American citizen voting age population than the rest of the country. Latino growth has been located primarily in California and Texas, with large increases in New York, Florida, Arizona and Illinois, as well. The Asian/Pacific Islander citizen population has also increased dramatically in the last decade on both coasts and in Texas.

⁶ PEW RESEARCH CENTER, MILLENNIALS: A PORTRAIT OF GENERATION NEXT 9 (2010).

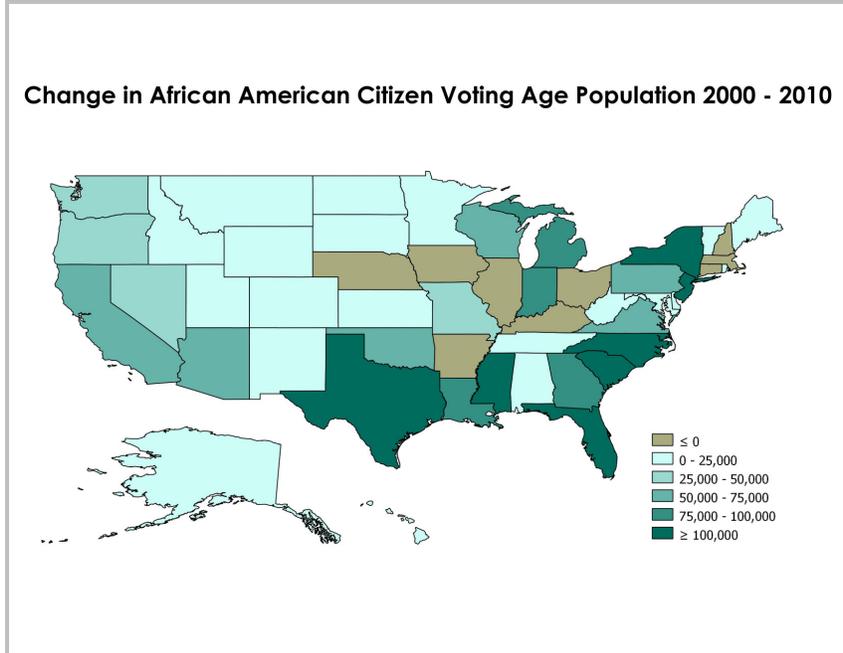


Figure 2.1.2 – Numerical change in African American citizen voting age population state-by-state between 2000 and 2010.

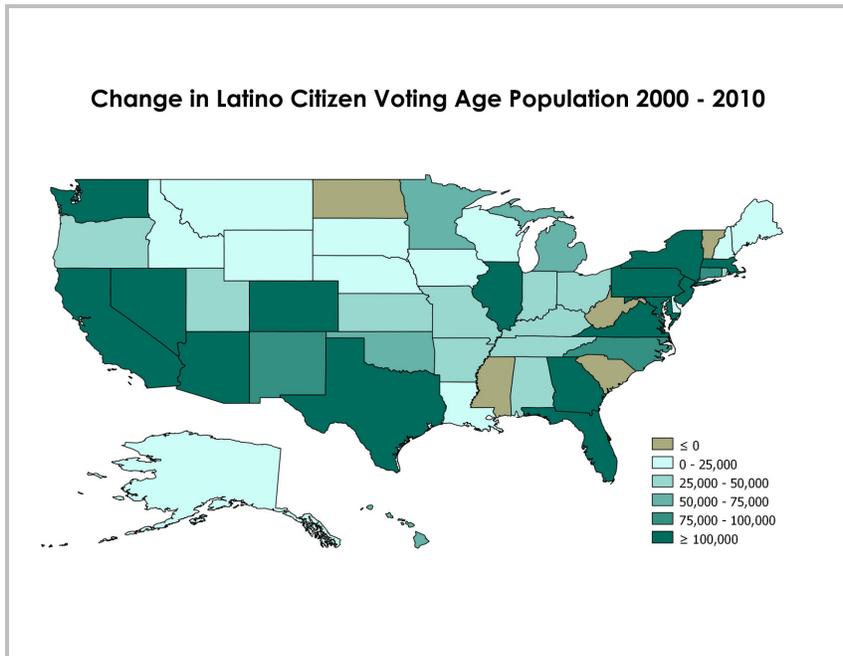


Figure 2.1.3 – Numerical change in Latino citizen voting age population state-by-state between 2000 and 2010.

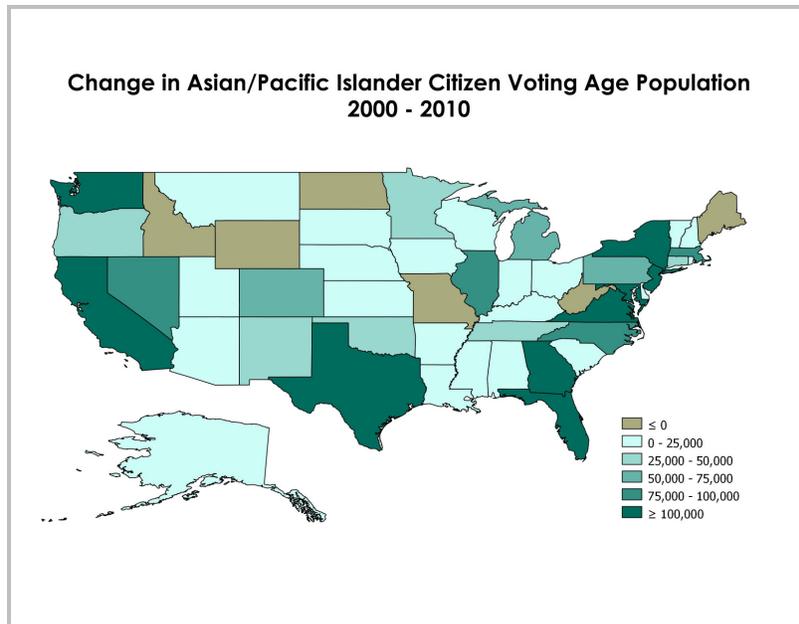


Figure 2.1.4 – Numeric change in Asian/Pacific Islander citizen voting age population state-by-state between 2000 and 2010.

This constituency—African Americans, Latinos, Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders, American Indians and unmarried women—that we call the Emerging Majority, currently represents 44% of the voting age citizen population in America.⁷ By 2018 they will be a majority of the voting age citizen population for the first time,⁸ and they will have the power to dramatically shape the American social, economic, and political landscape in the 21st century—but only if they are registered to vote.

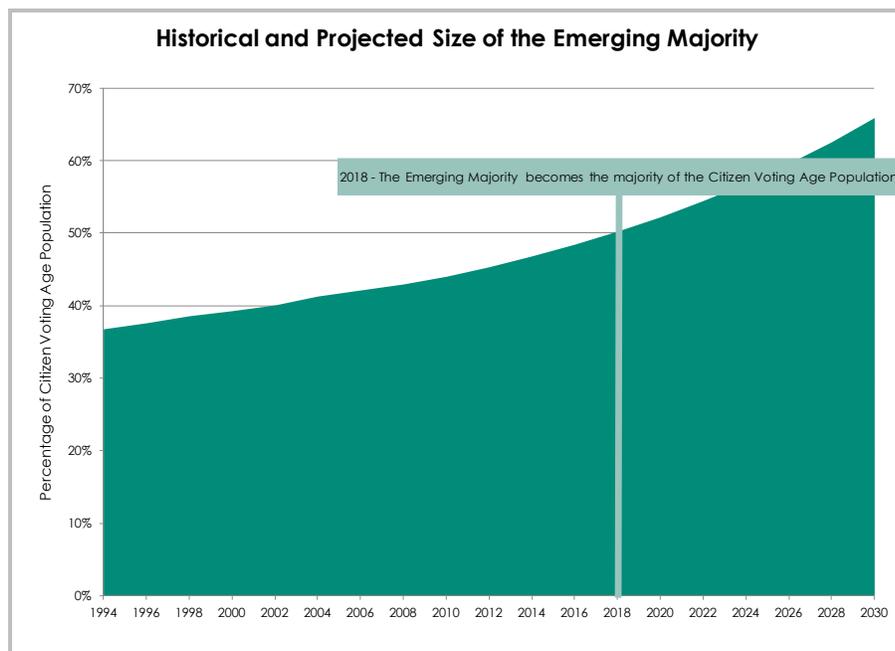


Figure 2.1.5 – Historical and projected growth of the Emerging Majority.

⁷ U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2010 SUPPLEMENT (2011).

⁸ Projections provided by Lake Research Partners.

2.2 THE EMERGING MAJORITY IS CURRENTLY UNDER-REGISTERED AND UNDERREPRESENTED

Registration and voter turnout in the constituencies comprising the Emerging Majority have historically lagged behind the rest of the population. While every constituency made significant progress in voter registration during the 2008 cycle, by 2010, registration rates were declining again.

In 2012 it will be critical that independent registration efforts have the opportunity to return to and improve on the advances made in 2008. Erasing the registration equality gap is only the first benchmark for increasing representation of the Emerging Majority in our democracy. As groups approach that benchmark, the goal is to raise the standard for voter registration and move closer to full citizen registration. That will only be possible with expanded organizational capacity to register voters and greater investment in voter registration.

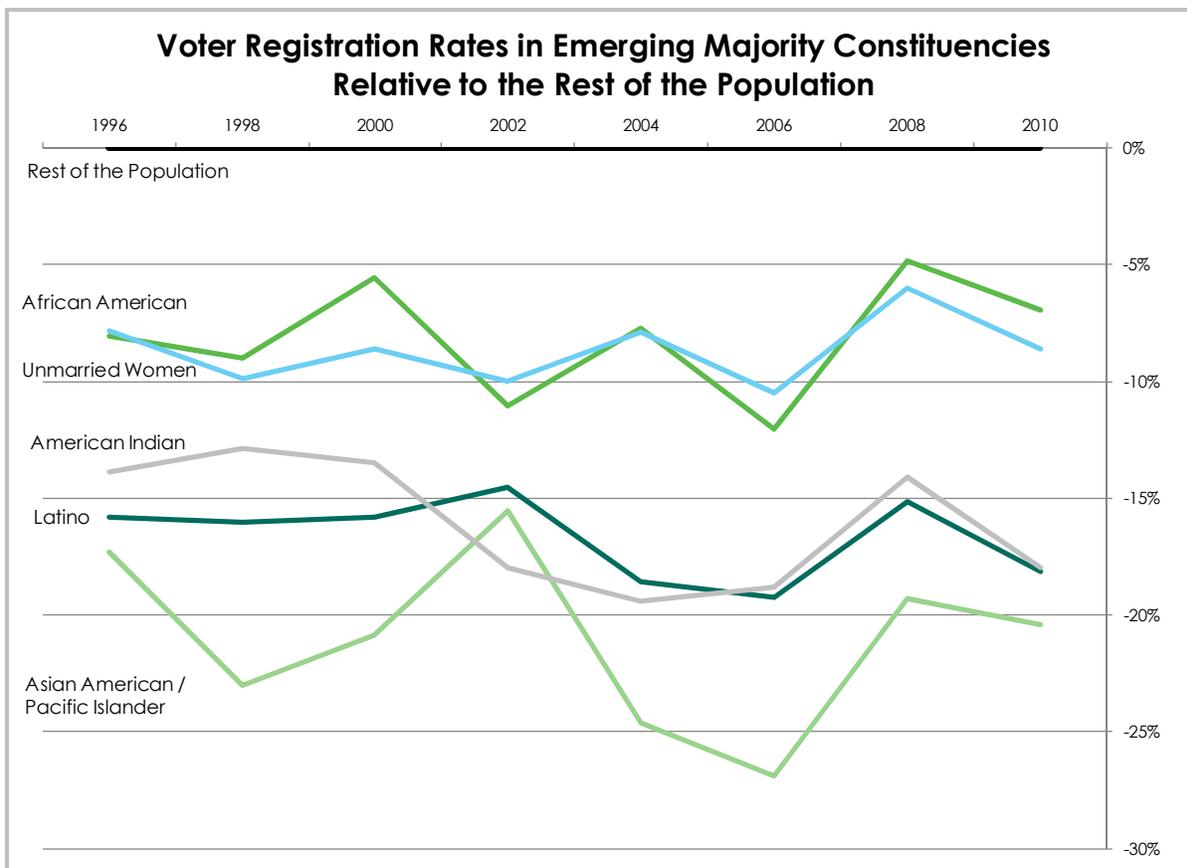


Figure 2.2.1 – Comparison of the registration rate of Emerging Majority constituent populations with the registration rate of the rest of the population between 1996 and 2010.

2.2 THE EMERGING MAJORITY IS CURRENTLY UNDER-REGISTERED AND UNDERREPRESENTED

In 2010, the difference in registration rates between the Emerging Majority and the rest of the population (White, non-Hispanic men and married White, non-Hispanic women) was 11%. We call this difference the registration equality gap.

The registration equality gap is greatest for Emerging Majority youth, who in 2010 were more likely to be unregistered than registered to vote. This gap points to the need for well-resourced, effective voter registration programs across the Emerging Majority constituencies, and for young people in particular.

Even though there were 54.9 million Emerging Majority citizens registered to vote in 2010, closing the registration equality gap would have required registering an additional 9.8 million Emerging Majority citizens.⁹ To achieve full registration would have required registering 38 million Emerging Majority voters.

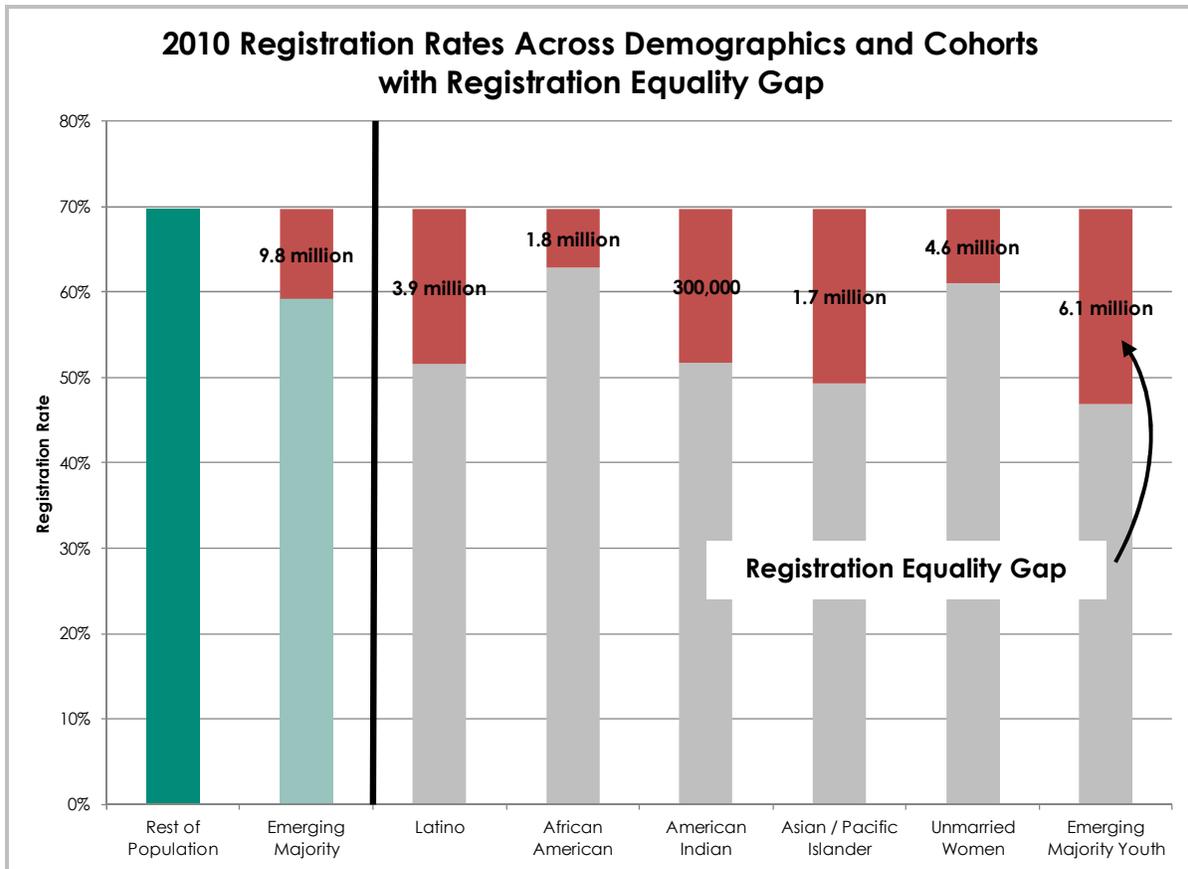


Figure 2.2.2 – 2010 Voter registration rates of selected demographics and cohorts with the registration equality gap highlighted, and the number required to close that gap in each demographic or cohort indicated. Note: Race, gender, age and ethnic cohorts overlap, so registration equality gap subtotals by demographic total more than the total Emerging Majority gap.

⁹ U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2010 SUPPLEMENT (2011).

2.2 THE EMERGING MAJORITY IS CURRENTLY UNDER-REGISTERED AND UNDERREPRESENTED

The size of the registration equality gap—the number of Emerging Majority citizens who would have to be registered to vote to have their voices represented at the same rate as the rest of the population—differs regionally. Thirteen states would have to register more than 200,000 Emerging Majority voters each to close the gap. In Texas alone, where the Emerging Majority is registered at only 56%, it would require registering 1.1 million new Emerging Majority voters to close the gap.

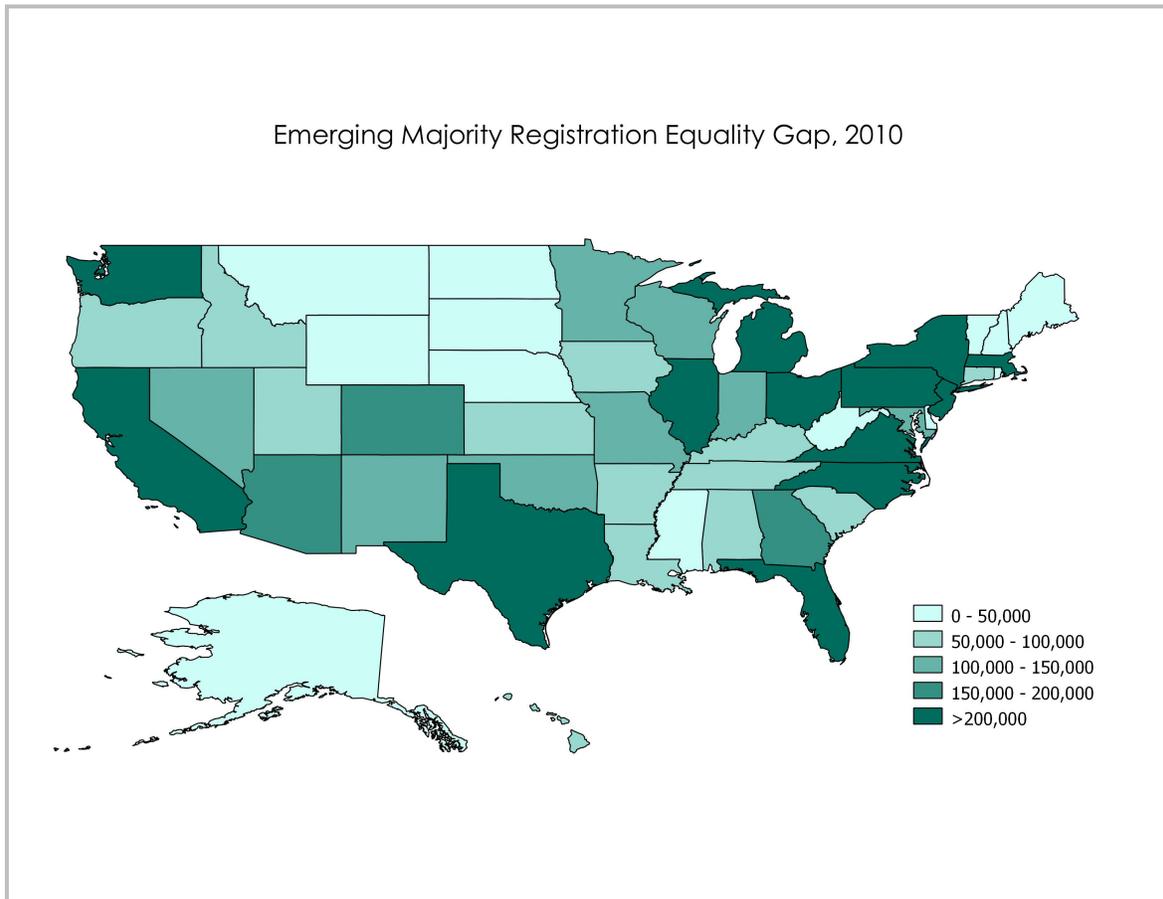


Figure 2.2.3 – 2010 Emerging Majority registration equality gap, state-by-state.

To underscore the size of the unregistered pool of Emerging Majority citizens, consider voter turnout rates in 2008. Even in that year, when an historic number of the Emerging Majority cast ballots, a remarkable 40% of unmarried women citizens of voting age did not vote. Four out of five of those women who did not vote could not because they were not registered in the first place! **In fact, across constituencies, for every single Emerging Majority registered voter who did not vote in 2008, there were four more citizens just like them who could have voted if only they had been registered.**¹⁰

¹⁰ U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2008 SUPPLEMENT (2009).

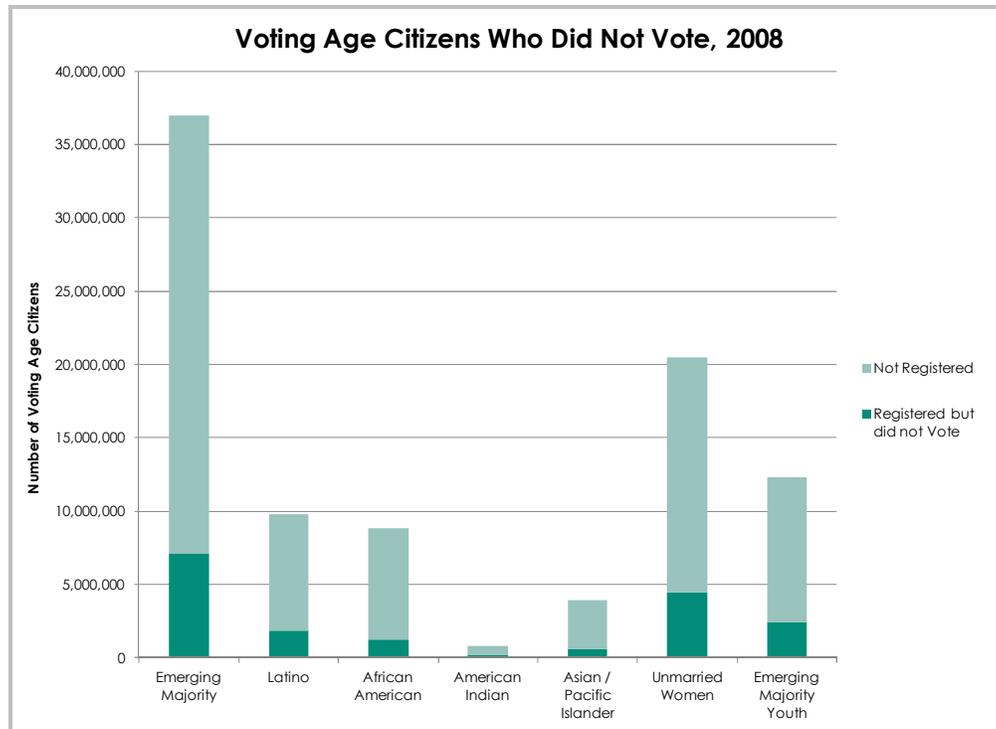


Figure 2.2.4 – Comparison of registered voters who did not vote in 2008 with unregistered voters in 2008 by cohort and overall.

Millions of American citizens are living on the sidelines of our democracy, not engaged in the electoral process simply because they are not registered to vote. As a result of lagging registration rates among the Emerging Majority, our electorate and in turn our democratic institutions are not representative. Without equal voice in the electorate, the needs, interests and values of the Emerging Majority are not fairly represented in our democracy. This underrepresentation has ripple effects that impact everything from the legitimacy of institutions to the distribution of government services and responsibilities.¹¹

¹¹ HAHRIE HAN, *MOVED TO ACTION: MOTIVATION, PARTICIPATION & INEQUALITY IN AMERICAN POLITICS* 21 (2009) (“Democracy necessitates a give-and-take between citizens and political institutions. . . . Given the connection between wanting to participate and finding a voice in politics, the legitimacy of the political system begins, in some sense, with those the institutions seek to mobilize. How political institutions shape citizens affects who participates.”); Kay L. Schlozman et al., *Inequalities of Political Voice* (Task Force on Inequality and American Democracy, American Political Science Association, 2004); Michiko Ueda, *Does Minority Representation Matter for Policy Outcomes? Evidence from the U.S. States* (Ph.D. dissertation, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, June 2006); Christopher Dennis, *The Election and Impact of Black School Board Members: The Effect of Community Racial and Political Attitudes*, 22 STATE & LOC. GOV'T REV. 22 (1990). For an interesting discussion of a radical approach to altering representative make-up and its effects, see Rohini Pande, *Can Mandated Political Representation Increase Policy Influence for Disadvantaged Minorities? Theory and Evidence from India*, 93 AM. ECON. REV. 1132 (2003).

2.3 THE EMERGING MAJORITY IS YOUNG

One of the main reasons the Emerging Majority is under-registered is that they are younger than the general population. Youth between the ages of 18 and 29 make up nearly twice as large a portion of the Emerging Majority as they do of the rest of the population.

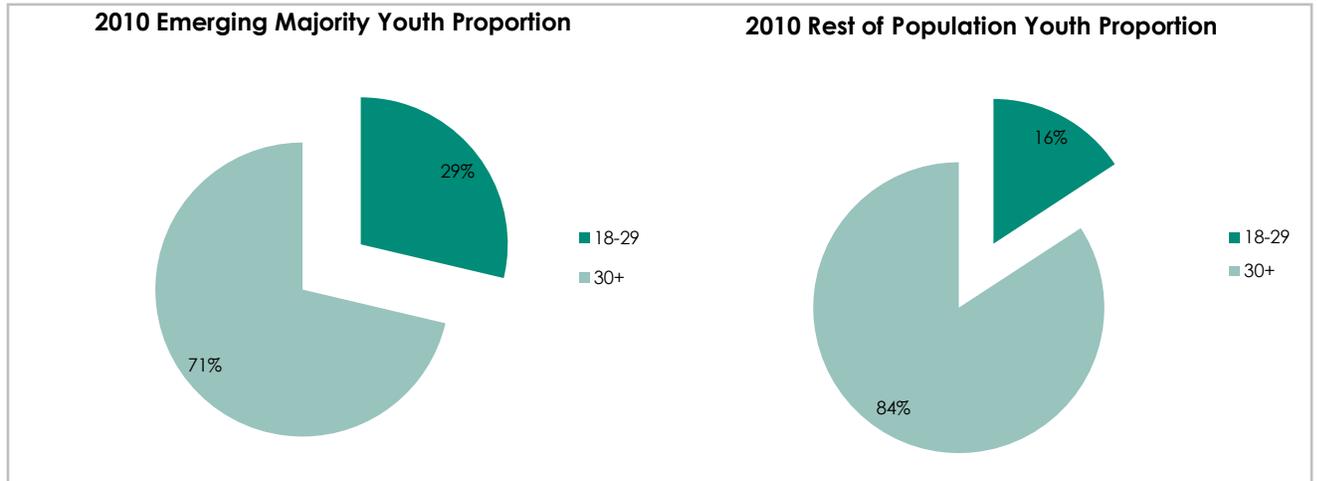


Figure 2.3.1 – Comparison of the proportion of the Emerging Majority citizens between 18 and 29 years of age and citizens between the ages of 18 and 29 years in the rest of the population.

The Latino and African American citizen populations are particularly young. According to the 2010 census, Latinos accounted for 56% of U.S. population growth in the last 10 years.¹² Every month in America, 56,000 Latino citizens turn 18 years old—667,000 a year. Similarly, each month more than 58,000 African American citizens turn 18 years old.¹³ Nearly one third of the Native American population is under 18 and 500,000 will become eligible to vote in the next four years.¹⁴

The underrepresentation of people of color and unmarried women in our democracy is exacerbated by their age distribution, but it can be corrected for the long term with increased focus on registration of Emerging Majority youth in particular.

¹² JEFFREY S. PASSEL, D'VERA COHN & MARK HUGO LOPEZ, PEW HISPANIC CENTER, CENSUS 2010: 50 MILLION LATINOS—HISPANICS ACCOUNT FOR MORE THAN HALF OF NATION'S GROWTH IN PAST DECADE 1 (2011).

¹³ U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2010 SUPPLEMENT (2011).

¹⁴ U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, 2011.

2.4 THE EMERGING MAJORITY MOVES FREQUENTLY

Emerging Majority voters are also registered at lower rates because they are more likely to move households and need to re-register in their new neighborhoods. While this would likely be true in any election, the impact of voter mobility has been exacerbated since 2008. In the last four years our country has faced the highest foreclosure rates since 1972¹⁵ and highest unemployment rates since 1983.¹⁶ These economic trends have hit the Emerging Majority hardest.¹⁷ In the four years between 2006 and 2010, at least 23 million people of color and 22 million unmarried women moved, or 46% and 47% of those populations respectively. During this period 8 million youth within the Emerging Majority changed addresses.¹⁸ As a result, they were less likely to be registered and to vote in subsequent elections.¹⁹

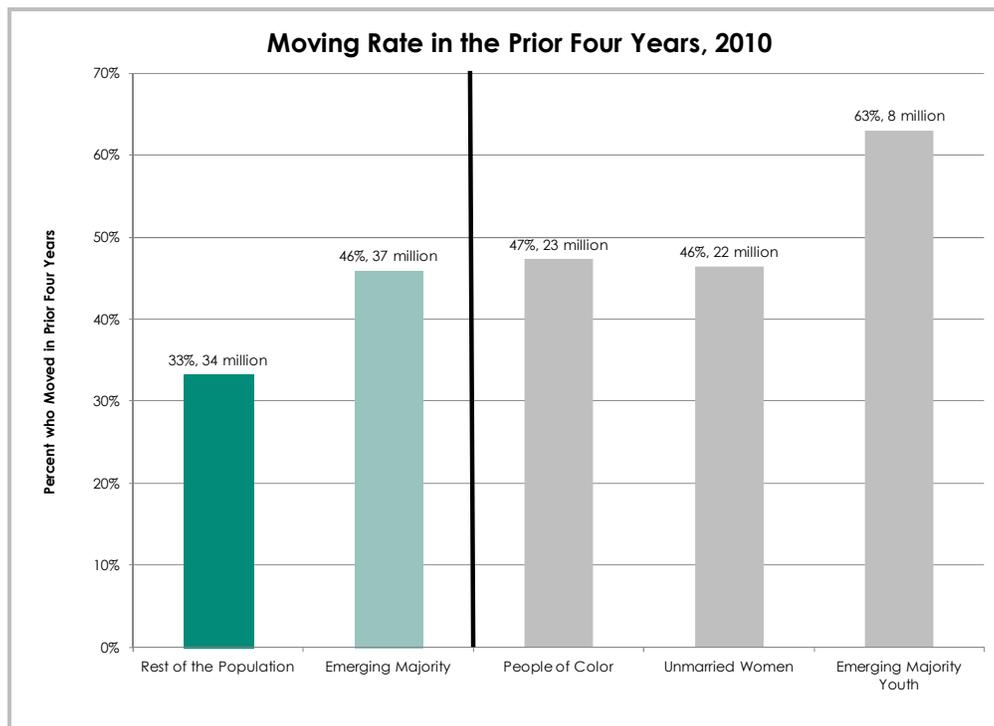


Figure 2.4.1 – Moving rates by selected demographics and cohorts. Moving rates are based on completed responses to the “duration at current address” question found in the November 2010 Supplement to the Current Population Survey. Here, movers consist of anyone who had resided at their then current address for fewer than four years.

¹⁵ Amy Hoak, *Foreclosures Tie Record High in Fourth Quarter: Mortgage Delinquencies To Lowest Level since 2008*, MARKETWATCH (Feb. 17, 2011), <http://www.marketwatch.com/story/foreclosures-tie-record-high-in-fourth-quarter-2011-02-17>.

¹⁶ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, <http://data.bls.gov/pdq/SurveyOutputServlet> (compare October 2009 with June 1983).

¹⁷ CENTER FOR RESPONSIBLE LENDING, *FORECLOSURES BY RACE AND ETHNICITY: THE DEMOGRAPHICS OF A CRISIS 3* (2010) (finding that African Americans, Latinos, American Indians, and Asian and Pacific Islanders are all more likely to be foreclosed upon than non-Hispanic, White mortgagors); LIZ WEISS & PAGE GARDNER, *ADVANCING THE ECONOMIC SECURITY OF UNMARRIED WOMEN: OVERVIEWS OF LAWS AND LEGISLATION IN THE 111TH CONGRESS 6* (2010).

¹⁸ U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, *CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2010 SUPPLEMENT* (2011).

¹⁹ See, e.g., Benjamin Highton, *Residential Mobility, Community Mobility, and Electoral Participation*, 22 *POL. BEHAV.* 109 (2000); Pevehill Squire, Raymond E. Wolfinger, & David P. Glass, *Residential Mobility and Voter Turnout*, 81 *AM. POL. SCI. REV.* 45 (1987).

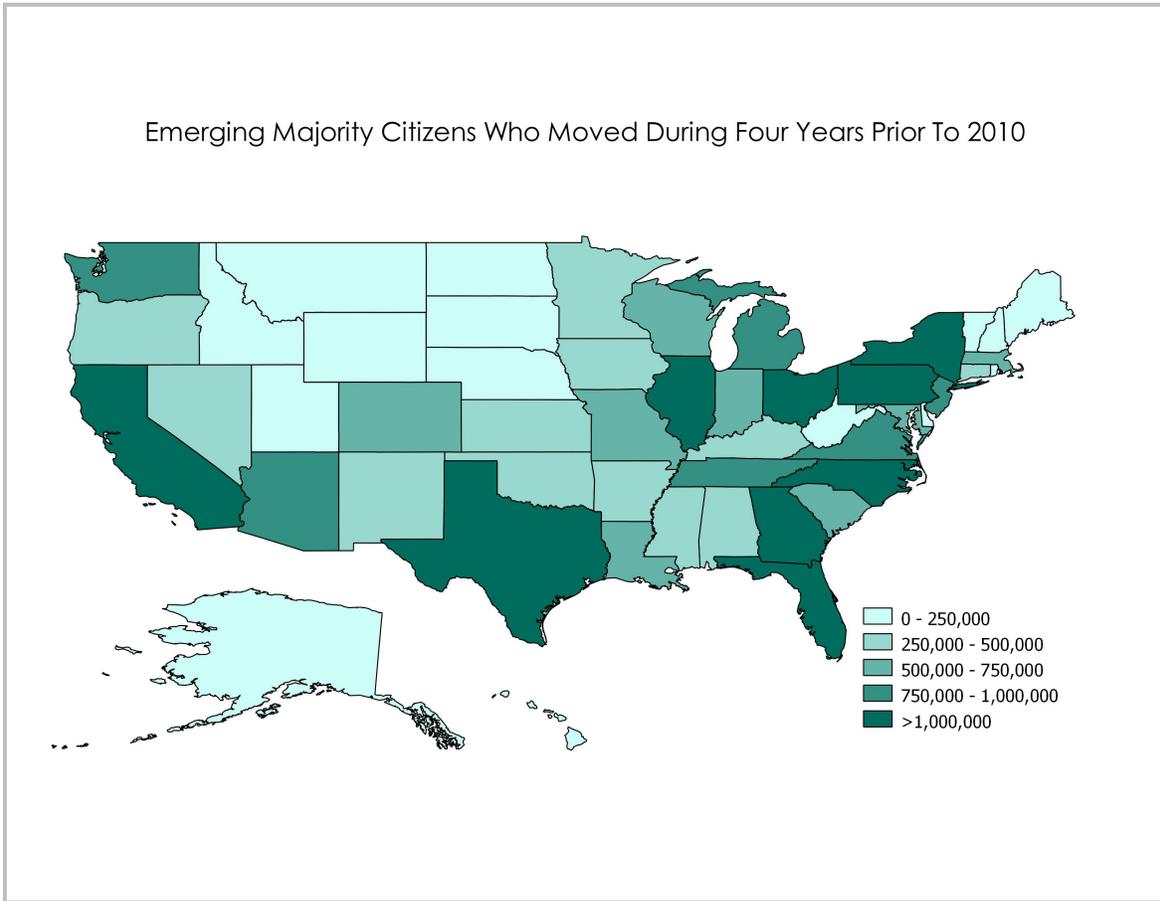


Figure 2.4.2 – State-by-state Emerging Majority moving rates. Moving rates are based on completed responses to the “duration at current address” question found in the November 2010 Supplement to the Current Population Survey. Here, movers consist of anyone who had resided at their then current address for fewer than four years.

2.5 IT WILL TAKE 9.8 MILLION NEWLY REGISTERED VOTERS TO CLOSE THE REGISTRATION EQUALITY GAP

Closing the current registration equality gap between the Emerging Majority and the rest of the population would require successfully registering an additional **9.8 million Emerging Majority voters**. To register all unregistered members of the Emerging Majority and achieve full registration would require successfully registering 38 million new voters.

While the challenge of closing the registration equality gap is great, it is achievable. Voter registration groups have made significant progress when there has been investment of both human and financial resources in non-partisan voter registration efforts. For example, in 2008, when donors invested more than \$50 million in non-partisan registration, the New Organizing Institute determined that independent organizations successfully registered at least 4.1 million voters.²⁰ In 2010, however, we saw the opposite impact when both investment and capacity decreased, and the registration gap grew.

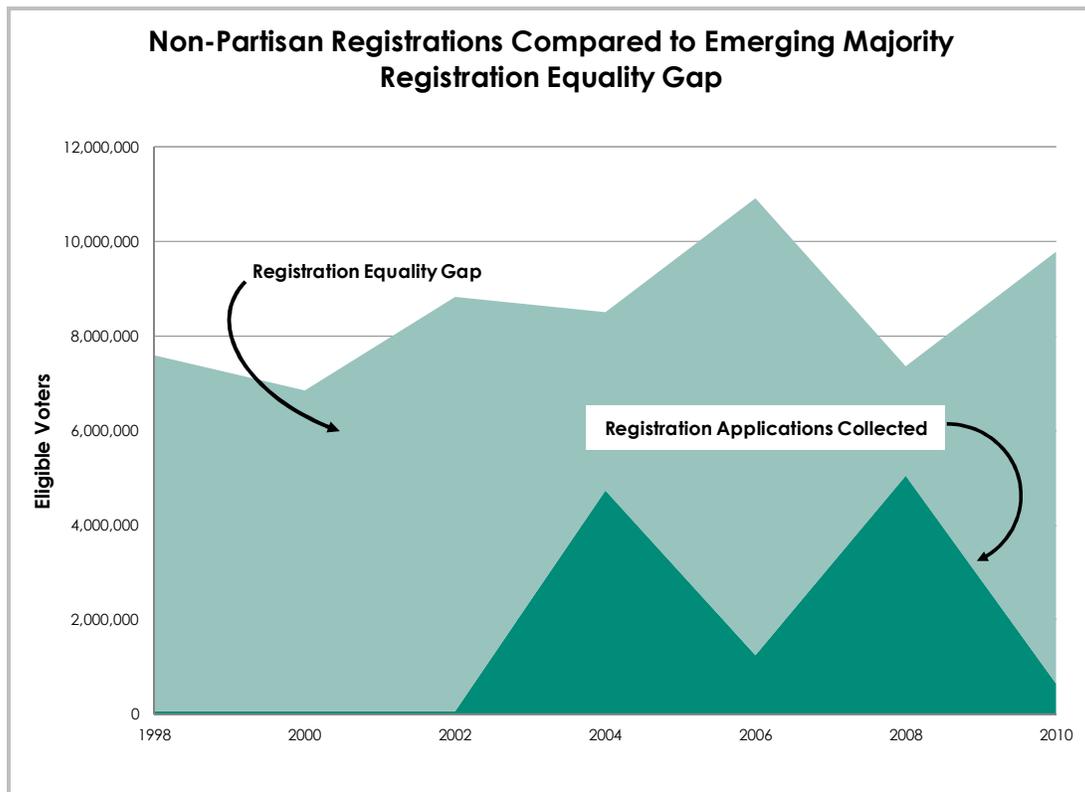


Figure 2.5.1 – Comparison of Emerging Majority registration gap with the number of non-partisan voter registrations between 1998 and 2010. Data regarding non-partisan voter registration application collections from 2002, 2000, and 1998 are estimates provided by practitioners.

²⁰ ETHAN ROEDER, NEW ORGANIZING INSTITUTE, VOTER REGISTRATION ANALYSIS '08 45 (2009). Investment estimate based on conversations with practitioners.

2.5 IT WILL TAKE 9.8 MILLION NEWLY REGISTERED VOTERS TO CLOSE THE REGISTRATION EQUALITY GAP

Achieving registration equality and moving the bar closer toward full registration will require long-term, cycle-to-cycle commitment of human and financial resources, including in mid-term and local elections. Without significant reliable investment in non-partisan voter registration efforts, the distance between current registration rates and registration equality will continue to grow as Emerging Majority populations expand.

In some states it will be possible to close the registration equality gap and begin moving closer toward full democratic participation in 2012. In those places, non-partisan voter registration groups can aim to register a portion of the of the unregistered but eligible population, for example 50% or 75%. To aid decision-making on the part of voter registration groups and funders, in table 2.5.1 we have provided state-by-state numbers for what it would require to close the registration gap, as well as to register 50% of the unregistered Emerging Majority or 75% of the unregistered Emerging Majority citizen voting age population.²¹

²¹ Summary tables for each state broken out by constituencies of the Emerging Majority are available at the New Organizing Institute Education Fund's website or upon request.

2.5 IT WILL TAKE 9.8 MILLION NEWLY REGISTERED VOTERS TO CLOSE THE REGISTRATION EQUALITY GAP

TABLE 2.5.1 EMERGING MAJORITY VOTER REGISTRATION BY STATE, 2010

State	Emerging Majority Registration Rate	Total Unregistered Emerging Majority	New Registrants Required		
			To Close the Registration Equality Gap	To Register 50% of All Unregistered	To Register 75% of All Unregistered
Alabama	63%	540,000	51,000	270,000	405,000
Alaska	58%	80,000	27,000	40,000	60,000
Arizona	61%	791,000	175,000	395,500	593,250
Arkansas	55%	330,000	67,000	165,000	247,500
California	55%	6,274,000	2,164,000	3,137,000	4,705,500
Colorado	59%	533,000	156,000	266,500	399,750
Connecticut	62%	358,000	75,000	179,000	268,500
Delaware	59%	108,000	32,000	54,000	81,000
District of Columbia	64%	119,000	43,000	59,500	89,250
Florida	61%	2,396,000	277,000	1,198,000	1,797,000
Georgia	60%	1,299,000	155,000	649,500	974,250
Hawaii	51%	377,000	67,000	188,500	282,750
Idaho	46%	147,000	64,000	73,500	110,250
Illinois	63%	1,451,000	247,000	725,500	1,088,250
Indiana	55%	629,000	117,000	314,500	471,750
Iowa	62%	219,000	68,000	109,500	164,250
Kansas	57%	257,000	97,000	128,500	192,750
Kentucky	60%	391,000	94,000	195,500	293,250
Louisiana	73%	424,000	70,000	212,000	318,000
Maine	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Maryland	62%	764,000	134,000	382,000	573,000
Massachusetts	60%	696,000	249,000	348,000	522,000
Michigan	66%	905,000	226,000	452,500	678,750
Minnesota	62%	411,000	150,000	205,500	308,250
Mississippi	73%	282,000	10,000	141,000	211,500
Missouri	64%	543,000	115,000	271,500	407,250
Montana	55%	102,000	36,000	51,000	76,500
Nebraska	59%	141,000	29,000	70,500	105,750
Nevada	52%	418,000	107,000	209,000	313,500
New Hampshire	55%	119,000	42,000	59,500	89,250
New Jersey	58%	1,144,000	304,000	572,000	858,000

Table 3.5.1 – Note: The Census Bureau cautions that calculations conducted on subpopulations of fewer than 75,000 do not return useful results. Thus, subpopulations smaller than 75,000 have not been included.

2.5 IT WILL TAKE 9.8 MILLION NEWLY REGISTERED VOTERS TO CLOSE THE REGISTRATION EQUALITY GAP

TABLE 2.5.1 EMERGING MAJORITY VOTER REGISTRATION BY STATE, 2010

State	Emerging Majority Registration Rate	Total Unregistered Emerging Majority	New Registrants Required		
			To Close the Registration Equality Gap	To Register 50% of All Unregistered	To Register 75% of All Unregistered
New Mexico	51%	450,000	115,000	225,000	337,500
New York	58%	2,739,000	770,000	1,369,500	2,054,250
North Carolina	63%	1,111,000	246,000	555,500	833,250
North Dakota	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Ohio	61%	1,097,000	207,000	548,500	822,750
Oklahoma	54%	490,000	122,000	245,000	367,500
Oregon	66%	317,000	63,000	158,500	237,750
Pennsylvania	58%	1,311,000	299,000	655,500	983,250
Rhode Island	59%	116,000	44,000	58,000	87,000
South Carolina	66%	516,000	77,000	258,000	387,000
South Dakota	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Tennessee	59%	682,000	99,000	341,000	511,500
Texas	56%	3,881,000	1,090,000	1,940,500	2,910,750
Utah	45%	249,000	97,000	124,500	186,750
Vermont	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Virginia	55%	1,116,000	407,000	558,000	837,000
Washington	63%	609,000	242,000	304,500	456,750
West Virginia	60%	148,000	13,000	74,000	111,000
Wisconsin	64%	434,000	101,000	217,000	325,500
Wyoming	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

3. BUILDING OUR DEMOCRACY

While getting eligible voters on the rolls is a worthy end in itself, the process of voter registration is also a means for building and strengthening our democracy at the individual, organizational, and community levels.

From the battlefields of Concord and Lexington to Paul Revere and Crispus Attucks in the Revolutionary War, from the Iron Jawed Angels of the suffragettes to Mississippi Summer and Fannie Lou Hamer in the civil rights movement, from Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Workers to the organizers of today, the struggle for the right to full participation in American society is not just about the right to vote. Voting is an essential entry point to democracy, but democracy is the ongoing process that continues beyond Election Day, when neighborhood and community groups form, momentum is sustained, and the issues that motivated people to vote are supported with organizing and movement. In the words of a civil rights song, "Freedom is a Constant Struggle."

This report began with an articulation of just a few of the social, economic and political inequalities the Emerging Majority face in their daily lives. Voter registration is a necessary early step to rectify those inequalities by giving the Emerging Majority a voice in our democratic institutions as individuals and as communities. However, registration alone will not dissolve those inequalities without increased civic engagement beyond registration. At the individual level, voter registration is the path to long-term civic engagement at the ballot box and beyond. At the organizational level, voter registration can build the infrastructure and capacity of civic organizations by turning supporters into engaged citizens, and volunteers into organizers. And, at the community level, voter registration is a step toward ensuring often marginalized populations have a voice and the concerns of their communities are addressed.

3.1 VOTER REGISTRATION BUILDS A PIPELINE TO CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

The first step to civic engagement beyond registration is turning out to vote. The good news is that an overwhelming majority of Americans will turn out to vote in presidential elections once they are registered. In 2008, according to the self-reported figures in the Current Population Survey, 90% of all registered voters cast a ballot, with high turnout across the demographic spectrum.²² Similarly, in 2004, 89% of all registered voters cast a ballot.²³ Among the 4.1 million citizens found by the New Organizing Institute to have been successfully added to the rolls by nonpartisan registration drives in 2008, 68% voted.²⁴ The statistical case is clear: once people are registered, they are highly likely to vote, especially in presidential cycles when there is heightened attention to voting. Figure 4.1.1 shows that even in mid-term elections the registered population will turn out at a significantly higher rate than the citizen voting age population as a whole.

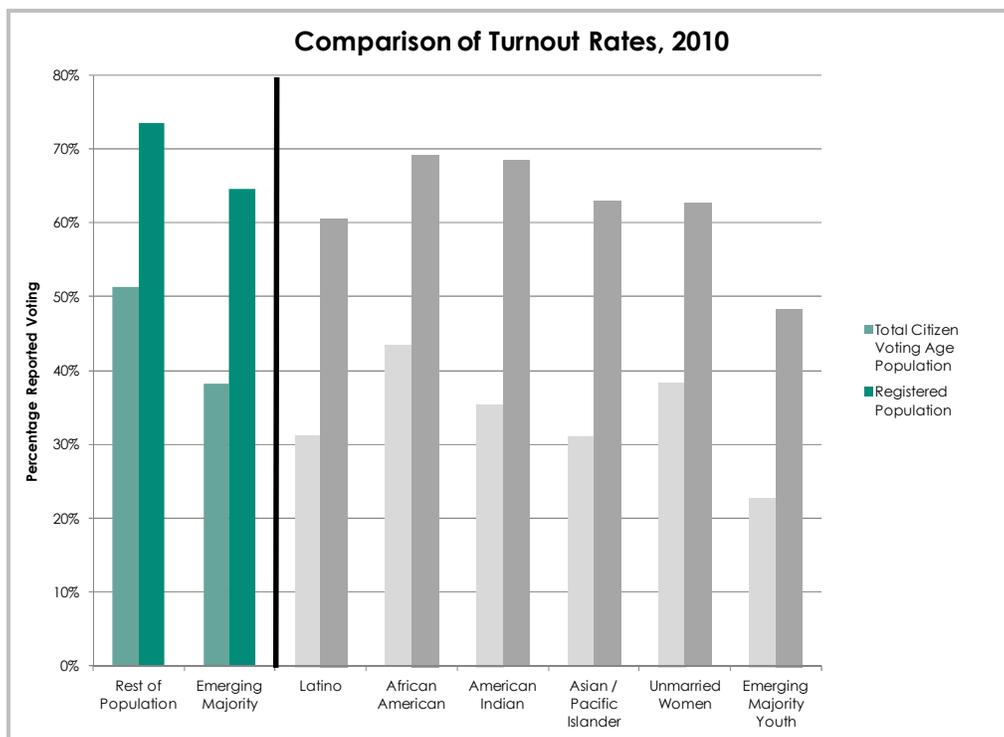


Figure 3.1.1 – Comparison of voter turnout in 2010 among the total citizen voting age population and the registered population of selected demographics and cohorts.

²² U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2008 SUPPLEMENT (2009).

²³ U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2004 SUPPLEMENT (2005).

²⁴ ETHAN ROEDER, NEW ORGANIZING INSTITUTE, VOTER REGISTRATION ANALYSIS '08 (2009). Notably, the turnout rate for non-partisan registrants determined by the New Organizing Institute's report was found by analyzing voter file data, not by relying on self-reporting. As such, this turnout rate (68%) likely underreports the turnout of non-partisan registrants in 2008 whereas the Current Population Survey, which relies on self-reporting, likely overstates turnout rates. Cf. *id.*

3.1 VOTER REGISTRATION BUILDS A PIPELINE TO CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Once citizens start voting, it becomes a habit. Gerber, Green and Shachar found that individuals who voted in previous elections were approximately four times more likely to vote in the next election than people who did not vote in the most recent prior general election.²⁵ The habit of voting begins with registration.

Voting is the baseline of civic participation, but the individual and community activities that build the fabric of our democracy are also highly correlated with voter registration. Common metrics used by political scientists and the U.S. Census Bureau for measuring civic engagement include involvement with organizations, frequency of discussing politics with family or friends, contacting public officials, and boycotting a product or service.²⁶ Registered eligible voters do all of these things at a greater rate than unregistered eligible voters.²⁷ The New Organizing Institute does not draw a causal link between registering to vote and these civic engagement metrics based on the current research. However, the fact that there is a correlation between voter registration status and civic activity is worthy of additional research and investigation. In particular non-partisan civic organizations would benefit from research about how best to engage the voters they have already registered in further civic activity after Election Day.

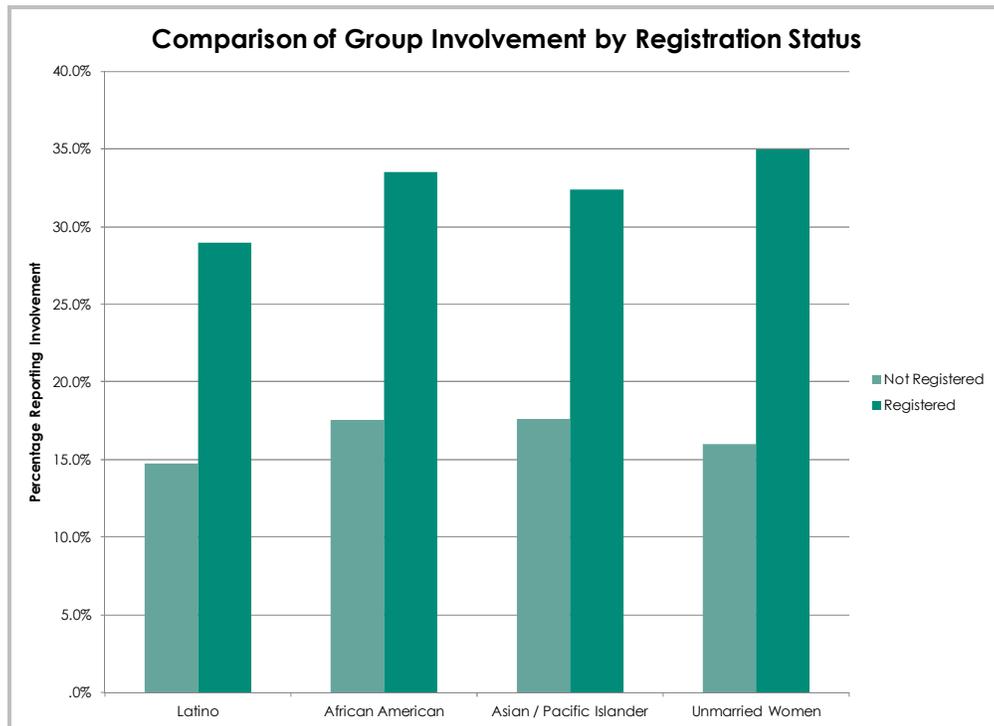


Figure 3.1.2 – Comparison of rate of involvement in groups generally by registered and unregistered voting age citizens across demographics that make up the Emerging Majority. Note that American Indians have been excluded due to an insufficiently large sample size.

²⁵ Alan S. Gerber, Donald P. Green & Ron Shachar, *Voting May Be Habit-Forming: Evidence from a Randomized Field Experiment* 47 *Am. J. Pol. Sci.* 540, 547 (2003); see also Donald P. Green & Ron Shachar, *Habit Formation and Political Behaviour: Evidence of Consuetude in Voter Turnout*, 30 *Brit. J. Pol. Sci.* 561 (2000).

²⁶ See, e.g., *Bowling Alone*; Zukin

²⁷ Analysis by CIRACLE of CPS Civic Engagement November 2010 Supplement

3.1 VOTER REGISTRATION BUILDS A PIPELINE TO CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

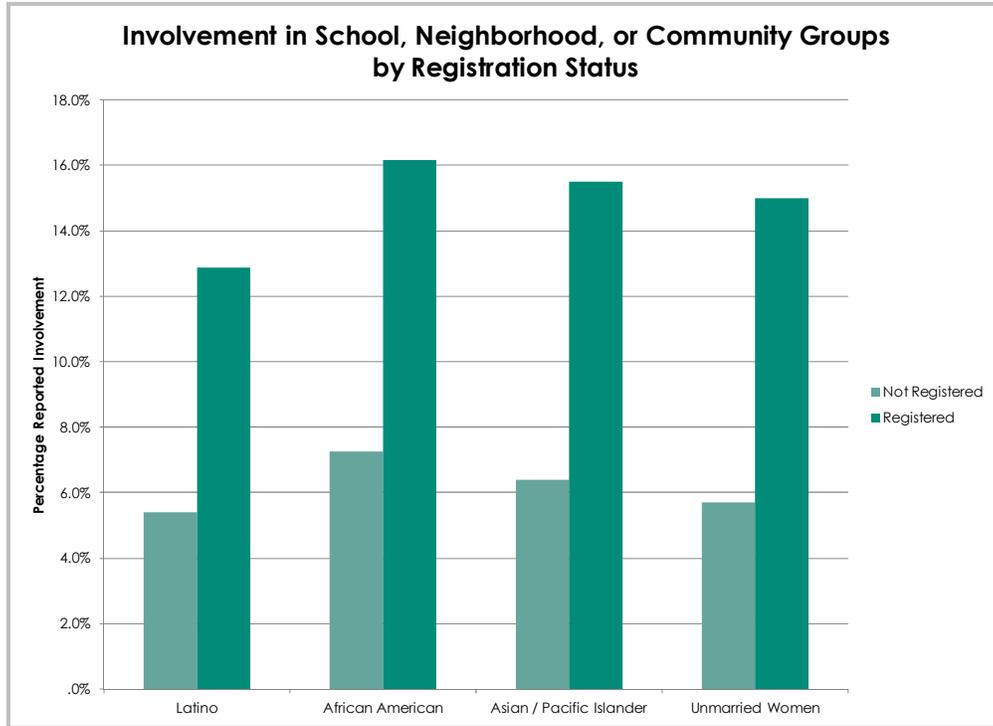


Figure 3.1.3 – Comparison of rate of involvement in school, neighborhood, or community groups by registered and unregistered voting age citizens across demographics that make up the Emerging Majority. Those who are registered are more likely to be involved. Note that American Indians have been excluded due to an insufficiently large sample size.

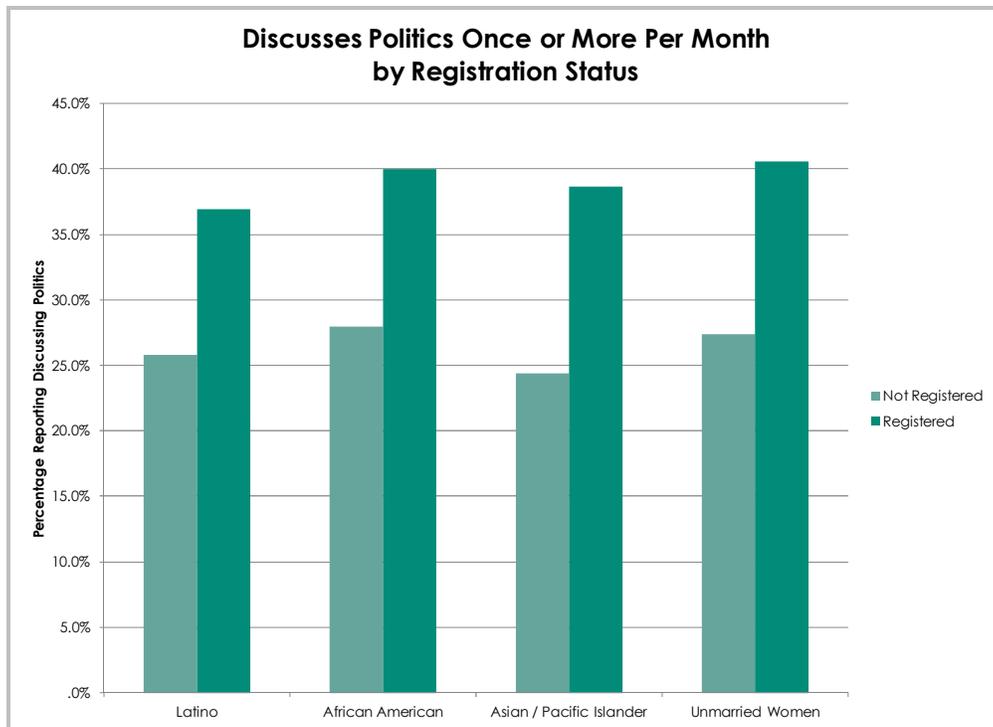


Figure 3.1.4 – Comparison of rate of discussing politics once or more per month by registered and unregistered voting age citizens across demographics that make up the Emerging Majority. Those who are registered are more likely to talk about politics with friends and family. Note that American Indians have been excluded due to an insufficiently large sample size.

3.2 VOTER REGISTRATION BUILDS ORGANIZATIONAL CAPACITY

Integrating voter registration efforts with issue campaigns can be an effective means for motivating and engaging Emerging Majority voters. Recent research has questioned the traditional resource-mobilization model of civic engagement—a model that holds that civic engagement and political participation are limited to people with means.²⁸ Instead, research by Hahrie Han indicates that individuals with fewer means, who may otherwise lack the general interest in politics normally associated with participation, are more likely to participate when they have strong personal interest in the issues at hand.²⁹

Recognizing that motivation is not tied to resources, and therefore not limited to persons with means, Han's work suggests issue and peer based engagement of citizens like those in the Emerging Majority is likely to "engage marginalized individuals because personal commitments are distributed more equally through the population than are participatory resources."³⁰ Han argues that rather than dismissing those who don't participate regularly in our democracy as difficult to motivate, "mobilization could instead be about reaching out to new groups of people and connecting politics to their personal values, such that they develop the personal commitments necessary for action."³¹

While Han's research is a critical start, the field of civic engagement needs further research about how organizations engaging the Emerging Majority can best integrate their voter registration and organizing work to maximize the motivation and activism of their constituents on an ongoing basis. It is possible that combining voter registration efforts with issue campaigns allows civic organizations to simultaneously expand the electorate and motivate citizens who might otherwise not participate by inviting them to engage around issues they care about. An issue campaign may provide the stimulus—the ask—necessary to motivate a previously interested but unmoved individual not just to register to vote, but also to take further civic action.

Han's research also suggests that our democratic institutions will be strengthened by reaching out to engage others beyond the existing active core.³² Registering voters is one means for civic organizations to invite those on the sidelines to participate in our democracy, strengthening the institutions that uphold our democracy in the process.

²⁸ Stephen Ansolabehere & Eitan Hersh, *Gender, Race, Age, and Voting: A Research Note* (Am. Pol. Sci. Assoc. Meeting Paper, Aug. 17, 2011); HAHRIE HAN, *MOVED TO ACTION: MOTIVATION, PARTICIPATION & INEQUALITY IN AMERICAN POLITICS* (2009).

²⁹ HAHRIE HAN, *MOVED TO ACTION: MOTIVATION, PARTICIPATION & INEQUALITY IN AMERICAN POLITICS* 1–16 (2009).

³⁰ *Id.* at 15.

³¹ *Id.* at 17.

³² *Id.* at 22 ("Democratic institutions that mobilize only small groups of people are no more legitimate than a democracy that is responsive to only the concerns of narrow minorities. Recognizing the cyclical relationship between motivation, participation, and political organizations helps us locate democratic legitimacy in a new place. Both the give and the take between political institutions and citizens are necessary to form the rich fabric of democracy.").

4. VOTER REGISTRATION IN 2012

In 2012, the non-partisan voter registration community has the opportunity to make significant strides in registering the 9.8 million unregistered voting age Emerging Majority citizens. 2012 will be a highly contentious election, in which some \$2.5 billion is expected to be spent on political advertising alone.³³ The non-partisan voter registration community is well positioned to harness this energy and leverage it to boost Emerging Majority registration rates and voter turnout rates for 2012 and beyond.

While there are real opportunities to increase participation, the 2012 cycle will also provide new challenges as citizens in several states face new laws that will make it more difficult to register to vote, and as voter registration organizations face new legal restrictions on their registration drives.

The ambitious goals that registration groups have set for themselves in 2012 reflect a commitment to digging in, and working through the new challenges to ensure that the voices of the Emerging Majority are heard. Building the capacity they need to meet those goals will require significant and early investment of human and financial resources across the country.

³³ Moody's Investor Services predicts political advertising in 2012 will grow between 9% and 18% over the \$2.3 billion spent in 2010. See Georg Szalai, *Moody's Predicts Record Political Ad Spending for TV Station Groups in 2012*, HOLLYWOOD REP., June 21, 2011, <http://www.hollywoodreporter.com/news/moodys-predicts-record-political-ad-203711>.

4.1 THE LANDSCAPE FOR 2012

Much has changed since the voter registration peak in 2008. The legal challenges facing non-partisan voter registration efforts are greater now than at anytime since the Civil Rights era. For years, laws governing voter registration and elections were opened up, making registering to vote and actually casting a ballot more accessible to millions of citizens.³⁴ However, beginning in 2006 and accelerating dramatically in 2011, the United States has seen the dramatic return of restrictive registration and voting laws that will make it more difficult for all Americans, and particularly for the Emerging Majority to register and to vote.

Until 2006, no state required voters to show government-issued photo ID to vote.³⁵ Between 2006 and 2010, “only two states had ever imposed strict photo ID requirement on voters, and only for a short period of time.”³⁶ However, in 2011 alone, 34 states introduced bills requiring photo ID to vote. Although many of these bills did not become law, 7 states now have restrictive new photo ID laws going into the 2012 elections. According to the Brennan Center, “the photo ID bills . . . introduced [in 2011 were] more restrictive than those in prior sessions, including fewer forms of acceptable IDs, fewer exemptions, or fewer alternative mechanisms for eligible voters without the specified IDs to vote.”³⁷

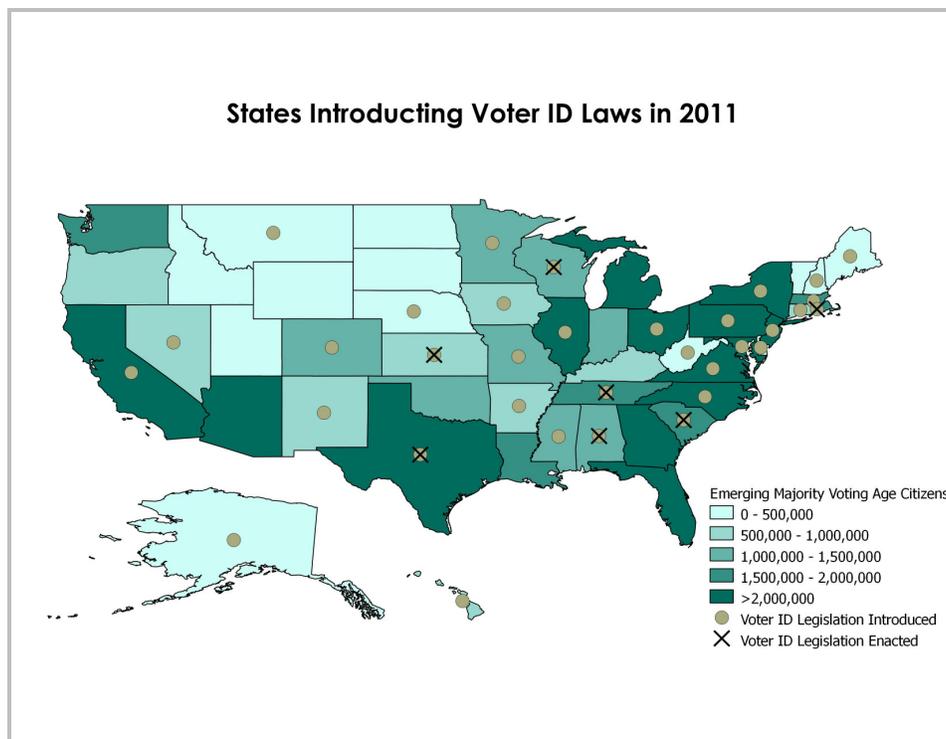


Figure 4.1.1 – States where voter ID legislation was introduced in 2011 overlaying a map of Emerging Majority citizen voting age population by state.

³⁴ See, e.g., WENDY R. WEISER & LAWRENCE NORDEN, VOTING LAW CHANGES IN 2012 19 (2011).

³⁵ *Id.* at 4.

³⁶ *Id.*

³⁷ *Id.*

4.1 THE LANDSCAPE FOR 2012

The restrictions on voting and registration do not stop at photo ID requirements. A number of states have taken aim at non-partisan voter registration efforts. At least 8 states have introduced bills that would make it more difficult for non-partisan voter registration groups to register new voters, and 3 states now have new laws restricting independent voter registration. The potential effect of these new laws is already apparent. For example, the League of Women Voters has already placed a moratorium on all voter registration work in Florida because the new restrictive law is too burdensome.³⁸

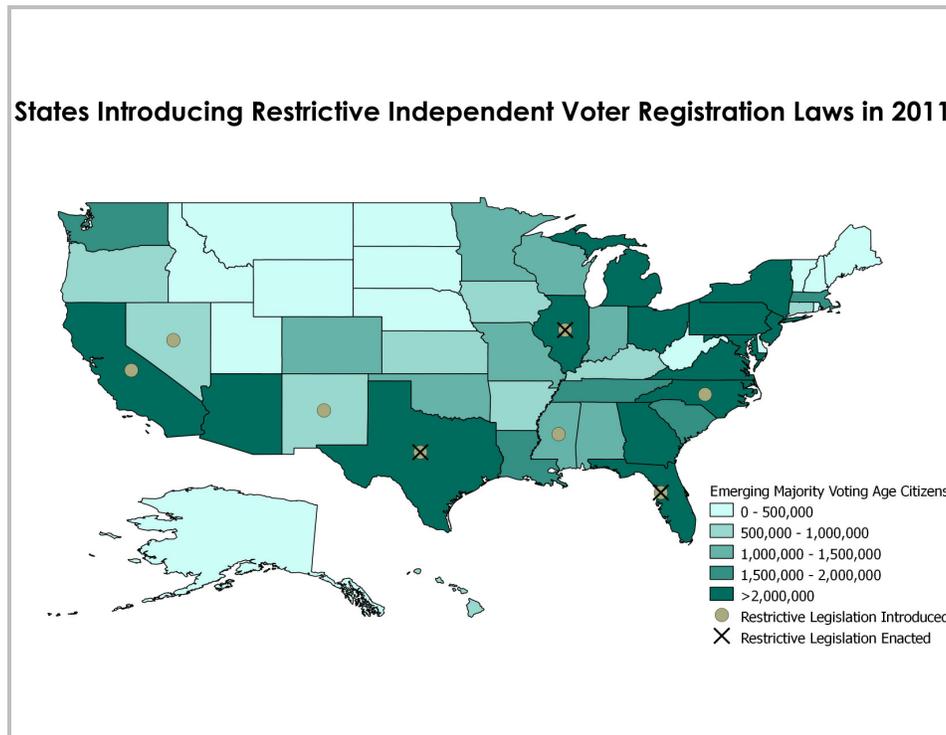


Figure 4.1.2 – States where laws restricting non-partisan voter registration efforts were introduced in 2011.

Because Emerging Majority voters are disproportionately more reliant on non-partisan voter registration groups to register to vote, these regulations will likely only further reduce the registration rates of the population that is already least likely to be registered to vote.³⁹ As the Brennan Center notes, “[t]he type and extent of laws governing voter registration have a direct impact on who gets to participate in the process.”⁴⁰

Some states have gone so far as to reintroduce barriers to participation they had previously removed. Five of the nine states that had some form of same day registration, which made it easier to register and vote prior to 2011, introduced legislation this year to end same day registration.⁴¹

³⁸ *Id.* at 24.

³⁹ *Id.* at 20.

⁴⁰ *Id.*

⁴¹ *Id.* at 25.

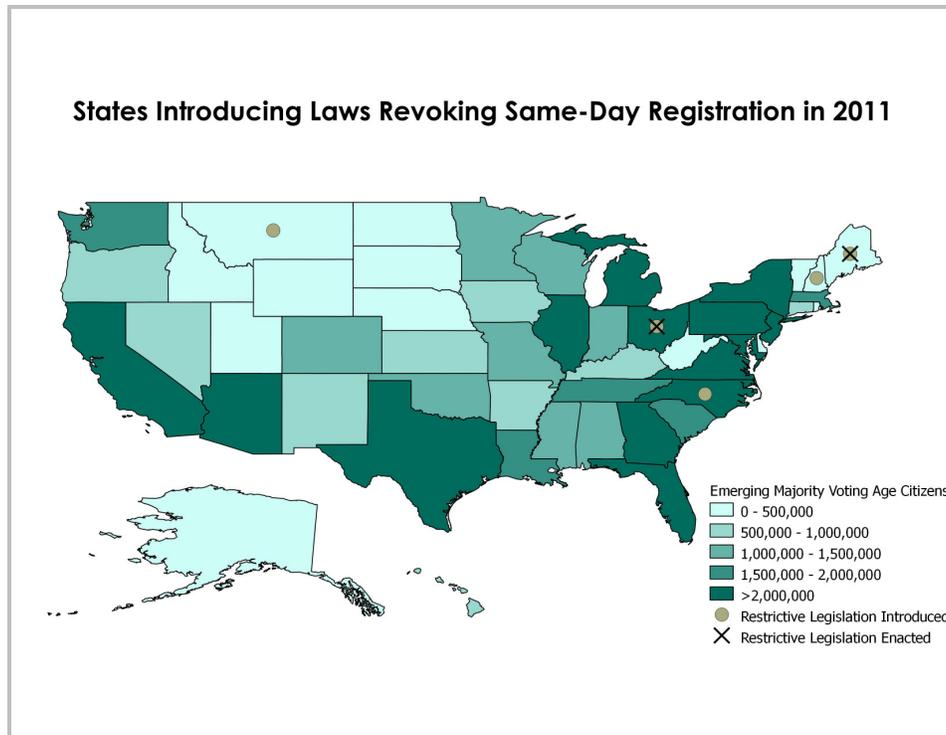


Figure 4.1.3 – States where laws revoking same day registration were introduced in 2011.
 Note: Maine's same-day registration was restored by a referendum on November 8, 2011.

While the restrictions on voter registration and voting introduce new challenges in 2012, it will also be a presidential cycle. As we've demonstrated earlier in this report, presidential cycles heighten awareness of voting, making citizens more motivated to register to vote.

In spite of the new challenges, non partisan voter registration groups are preparing to engage in voter registration in all 50 states, updating trainings for their staff and volunteers, and implementing rigorous quality control systems to ensure compliance with voter registration law. In addition the New Organizing Institute Education Fund has created an online Organizer's Guide to Election Administration to make it easier for staff and volunteers to keep abreast of changes in election law.⁴²

⁴² *Organizer's Guide to Election Administration*, NEW ORGANIZING INST. (2011), <http://elections.neworganizing.com/guide/>.

4.2 INDEPENDENT VOTER REGISTRATION GOALS FOR 2012

In order to prepare for new challenges in 2012 and at the same time make inroads on the registration equality gap, organizations have begun making their voter registration plans early. Current surveys of organizations planning to do voter registration show goals that amount to registering over 7 million voters through a combination of field, online and mail programs. If organizations meet these goals in 2012 it will be a significant advance over voter registration efforts in 2008 and a huge step forward towards closing the registration equality gap.

It may be possible to close the registration gap in a few states this cycle, but closing the registration gap is merely a beginning. For our democracy to be as effective and representative as possible, all eligible voting age citizens should be registered. And, in some states, thanks to consistent and effective work cycle after cycle, we can actually begin working towards full registration among at least some constituencies of the Emerging Majority.

Meeting the goals groups have set for themselves will require significant early investment of both human and financial resources in order to build the state-by state capacity necessary to achieve scaled voter registration programs. The decreased capacity in the 2010 cycle and the challenges to independent registration groups mean that groups have to hire and train staff rigorously and early, and set up strong data management and quality control systems before launching efforts at scale.

5. CONCLUSION: THE FUTURE IS IN OUR HANDS

Throughout our country's history, we have struggled to broaden the electorate and deepen civic engagement, and throughout our history there have been entrenched forces opposed to this very notion. The same is true today.

Advances in social progress, democracy, full civic participation and the struggle against social, economic, and political inequality take many forms. There are many, sometimes competing, calls on human and financial resources. When time, people and money are scarce, it is prudent to ask: What is the most efficient use of our resources? How can we invest our time, people and money to increase civic participation this year, and also build the organizational capacity it will take to continue increasing participation in future years? Voter registration efforts have been effective, not just in adding voters to the rolls, but keeping them there from cycle to cycle.

Ultimately the choice is ours whether to allow restrictive voter registration laws to impede progress in building our democracy, or dig in and continue along the long arc of history. There is much voter registration work to be done, and 2012 could be the launch for broader registration work than ever before that could not just hold the line on registration rates, but actually move the bar higher. There are many opportunities for collaboration and innovation. And there is much that we can still learn about the best ways to register voters and improve our democracy.

We can and should invest significantly and consistently in voter registration efforts in 2012, 2013, 2014, and beyond. That is how to ensure the voice of the Emerging Majority can be heard; that is how we ensure that ours becomes a truly representative democracy.

6. METHODOLOGY

Data presented here are based on the November Voting and Registration Supplements to the Current Population Survey (CPS), the 2010 November Civic Engagement Supplement to the CPS, the New Organizing Institute's (NOI) *2010 Voter Registration Analysis*, NOI's *Voter Registration Analysis '08*, and expenditures and programmatic costs in previous cycles as reported by collaborators.

We have used CPS data because of its large sample size, its historical duration, and its rigor. The Census Bureau cautions that any summary calculations conducted on subpopulations smaller than 75,000 people do not return useful results. As such, those values have been disregarded.

All calculations were done on a population composed only of U.S. citizens aged 18 and older.

EMERGING MAJORITY

We defined the Emerging Majority as African-Americans, Latinos, Asian/Pacific Islanders, Native Americans and unmarried women. Figures for the Emerging Majority were determined by aggregating CPS data for voting age citizens of color and white, non-Hispanic unmarried women. The values for persons of color were calculated by subtracting white, non-Hispanic CPS respondents from all CPS respondents. The values for white, non-Hispanic unmarried women were calculated by aggregating widowed, divorced, separated, and never married female respondents within the white, non-Hispanic category. The remainder of the population—the total citizen voting age population minus that of Emerging Majority—is then labeled the rest of the population.

REGISTRATION RATES

The registration rates of the Emerging Majority and of the Rest of the Population were then determined in the same manner as done by the Census Bureau—that is, the counts of “Yes” and “Not in Universe” of the CPS PES2 variable are summed. The “Not in Universe” response is included in the summation to determine the number of registrants due to a feature of the survey's methodology. Each respondent is first asked whether they cast a ballot, all those who respond that they cast a ballot are not asked whether they are registered to vote or not based on the assumption that one must be registered in order to cast a ballot. Thus, those respondents are not part of the universe asked to respond to the registration status question.

REGISTRATION EQUALITY GAP

To determine the gap in registration equality between the Emerging Majority and the rest of the population, the total citizen voting age population of Emerging Majority in any given state is multiplied by the registration rate of the rest of the population in that state. The actual number of currently registered Emerging Majority citizens is subtracted from this value, yielding the number of Emerging Majority citizens to be registered to close the registration equality gap.

MOVING RATES

To determine the number of movers and mover rates, responses to the time at current address question (PES8) found in the Voting and Registration Supplement were combined for the period in question. The response bins to PES8 include “No response”, “Refused”, “Don’t Know”, “Not in Universe”, “Less than 1 month”, “1-6 months”, “7-11 months”, “1-2 years”, “3-4 years”, and “5 years or longer.” Thus, for example, to determine the number of individual to have moved in the two year preceding November 2010, all response bins corresponding to two years and less to the duration at current address question were summed.

Importantly, 8% of all surveyed individuals did not respond to the Voter and Registration supplement at all. For questions of voting and registration, we adopted the CPS's methodology⁴³ of combining these non respondents with respondents who refused, or answered don't know or no. However, when calculating the rate at which individuals moved these respondents were simply excluded from the total population under consideration.

CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Findings presented regarding civic engagement among registered and unregistered citizens above are based on CIRCLE'S analysis of CPS data. Data comes from CPS 2010 November Civic Engagement Supplement. CIRCLE uses CPS data because it is rigorous, has a large sample, and is conducted within two weeks after each election. All calculations are done for eligible citizens who are 18 or over. The CPS supplements have a large sample – of over 100,000 - and can therefore be used to estimate voting and civic engagement trends among various groups. Any analysis that breaks down the sample into smaller groups (e.g., gender, education) will have smaller samples and therefore the margin of error will increase. CPS sampling is highly complex and accurate estimation of error rates involves many parameters that are not publicly available.

⁴³ Until 2011, the voter registration reports combined non respondents with “don't know”, “refused”, and “no” responses into the category of “not registered.” However, beginning with the report issued in September 2011, reflecting the November 2010 Voting and Registration Supplement, the published report disaggregated “not registered” and “did not respond.”

7. Figure and Table References

Figure 2.1.1 - U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2010 SUPPLEMENT (2011); U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2008 SUPPLEMENT (2009); U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2006 SUPPLEMENT (2007); U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2004 SUPPLEMENT (2005); U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2002 SUPPLEMENT (2003); U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2000 SUPPLEMENT (2001); U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 1998 SUPPLEMENT (1999); U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 1996 SUPPLEMENT (1997); U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 1994 SUPPLEMENT (1995) [hereinafter HISTORICAL CPS].

FIGURE 2.1.2 - Cf. U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2010 SUPPLEMENT (2011); U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2000 SUPPLEMENT (2001).

FIGURE 2.1.3 - Cf. U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2010 SUPPLEMENT (2011); U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2000 SUPPLEMENT (2001).

Figure 2.1.4 - Cf. U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2010 SUPPLEMENT (2011); U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2000 SUPPLEMENT (2001).

Figure 2.1.5 - Projection done by Lake Research and based on HISTORICAL CPS, See above figure 3.1.1.

Figure 2.2.1 - Cf. HISTORICAL CPS, See above figure 3.1.1.

Figure 2.2.2 - U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2010 SUPPLEMENT (2011).

Figure 2.2.3 - U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2010 SUPPLEMENT (2011).

Figure 2.2.4 - U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2008 SUPPLEMENT (2009).

Figure 2.3.1 - U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2010 SUPPLEMENT (2011).

Figure 2.4.1 - See U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2010 SUPPLEMENT (2011).

Figure 2.4.2 - See U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2010 SUPPLEMENT (2011).

Figure 2.5.1 - Cf. HISTORICAL CPS. NIRMAL MANKANI & DANA SPINDLER, NEW ORGANIZING INSTITUTE, 2010 VOTER REGISTRATION ANALYSIS: AN EVALUATION OF INDEPENDENT VOTER REGISTRATION EFFORTS FROM THE 2010 ELECTION CYCLE (2011); ETHAN ROEDER, NEW ORGANIZING INSTITUTE, VOTER REGISTRATION ANALYSIS '08 (2009).

Table 2.5.1 - U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2010 SUPPLEMENT (2011).

Figure 3.1.1 - U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: NOVEMBER 2010 SUPPLEMENT (2011).

8. Figure and Table References

Figure 3.1.2 - U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: CIVIC ENGAGEMENT SUPPLEMENT (2011) (interpreted by the Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement ("CIRCLE")).

Figure 3.1.3 - U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: CIVIC ENGAGEMENT SUPPLEMENT (2011) (interpreted by the Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement ("CIRCLE")).

Figure 3.1.4 - U.S. CENSUS BUREAU, CURRENT POPULATION SURVEY: CIVIC ENGAGEMENT SUPPLEMENT (2011) (interpreted by the Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement ("CIRCLE")).

Figure 4.1.1 - WENDY R. WEISER & LAWRENCE NORDEN, VOTING LAW CHANGES IN 2012 n. 14 (2011).

Figure 4.1.2 - WENDY R. WEISER & LAWRENCE NORDEN, VOTING LAW CHANGES IN 2012 21 (2011) (noting "seven" but listing eight states).

Figure 4.1.3 - WENDY R. WEISER & LAWRENCE NORDEN, VOTING LAW CHANGES IN 2012 25(2011).