



# THE CHANGING FACE OF THE NATION:

How Hispanic and Asian Voters  
Could Reshape the Electorate in Key States

Over the next decade, the United States will undergo some very substantive demographic changes that have the promise of dramatically shifting our electoral map. Americans are aging rapidly, with 10,000 baby boomers retiring every day.<sup>1</sup> As these seniors leave the working population -- and eventually, pass away and leave the voting population too -- the people that will replace them as workers and voters represent a new and different America, especially in terms of racial and ethnic background. Whereas only 11.2 percent of the current US senior population identifies as Hispanic or Asian American, 27.8 percent of those graduating from our high schools in the decade do.<sup>2</sup> And with millions of Hispanic and Asian immigrants expected to naturalize over the coming years and millions more Hispanic and Asian citizens who are eligible but have not yet registered to vote already here, the electorate of the future looks very different from the electorate of the past.

This report attempts to quantify how these new voters will impact the electorate in 2016, 2018, and 2020. There are currently more than 9.6 million Hispanic citizens and almost 3.6 million Asian American citizens who are unregistered to vote. By 2020, this potential voting pool will also include almost 6.6 million new Hispanic and almost 1.6 million new Asian adults who have turned 18 and become eligible to vote, as well as 2.1 million newly naturalized Hispanic immigrants and an additional 2.1 million newly naturalized Asian immigrants who will have recently gained voting eligibility for the first time. In total, such groups represent 25.6 million potential Asian and Hispanic voters that could join the electorate by 2020. To put those figures in context, only four U.S. presidential elections have ever been decided by more than 10 million popular votes—and none by more than 18 million.<sup>3</sup>

What this new voting demographic will mean for the two political parties is far from clear. In 2012, Mitt Romney won 59 percent of the white vote but just 27 and 26 percent of the Hispanic and Asian vote, respectively. The share of Hispanics and Asians supporting Republicans, however, could obviously shift in the coming electoral cycles: In the 2004 presidential election, Republican President George W. Bush was able to capture an estimated 44 percent of the Asian and Hispanic vote. In both cases, the impact of the Hispanic and Asian vote was partially muted by the fact that both groups turned out to vote at lower levels than other voters, in particular white voters. Hispanic and Asian turnout numbers have been increasing, however, and future elections may be expected to see not just a larger Hispanic and Asian voting pool, but also a more active one at the voting booth.

1 Pew Research Center, "Daily Number: Baby Boomers Retire" (Dec. 29, 2010). Accessed Oct. 8, 2014, available here: <http://www.pewresearch.org/daily-number/baby-boomers-retire/>.

2 2013 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates.

3 US Election Atlas, available here: <http://uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS/national.php?year=2008>.

In this brief, we explore what impact the expanding Hispanic and Asian voting pool can be expected to have in 18 key states over the next three voting cycles. Understanding that their impact will depend both on how many Hispanic and Asian voters turn out at the polls and also on which party they vote for, we model both high and low impact scenarios. The high impact scenario assumes that Hispanic and Asian voters vote the same way their groups did in 2012 and turnout at the same levels as white voters. The low impact scenario assumes that these groups vote the way they did during the 2004 presidential election and maintain their turnout rates from recent elections.

We find that if Republicans fail to regain their foothold in Hispanic and Asian communities, they could be facing a troubling electoral future. Previously safe Republican states like Texas, Arizona, North Carolina—and in the not so distant future, Georgia—could all become competitive electoral states. Making a concerted effort to win back Hispanic and Asian support, however, could actually help Republicans increase their advantage in places like Florida where the Hispanic eligible voting population is poised to rapidly grow in the next six years.

## KEY FINDINGS



### **There are currently more than 13.2 million unregistered Hispanic and Asian eligible voters in the United States.**

Many key presidential states have particularly high totals of unregistered Hispanic and Asian voters, such as Texas (2.4 million), Florida (814,000), Arizona (582,000), Colorado (272,000), Pennsylvania (224,000), Nevada (154,000), and Virginia (127,000).



### **By 2020, almost 4.2 million additional Hispanic and Asian residents will naturalize and become eligible to vote.**

This will have particular impact in key presidential states like Florida (472,000), Texas, (360,000), Virginia (113,000), Arizona (82,000), and Georgia (81,000).



### **Also by 2020, almost 8.2 million Hispanic and Asian citizens will turn 18 years old and become eligible to vote for the first time.**

These future voters are spread throughout the country, but have very high concentrations in key presidential states like Texas (1.4 million), Arizona (305,000), Florida (482,000), and Colorado (167,000).



### **These new pools of voters could dramatically reshape the electoral map.**

By 2020, current Hispanic and Asian unregistered citizens, newly naturalized immigrants, and those recently turned 18 could increase the pool of Hispanic and Asian voters in Texas by almost 4.2 million people—a number that is more than triple the 1.26-million person margin of victory that Mitt Romney held there in 2012. That same year, Arizona, a state Romney won by 208,000, will have almost 970,000 such potential new Asian and Hispanic voters. By 2020, the pool of potential Hispanic and Asian voters in Colorado (479,000) and Nevada (331,000) will be 3.5 and 4.9 times the size of Obama's margin of victory in those states in 2012, respectively.

## KEY FINDINGS



**If Hispanic and Asian voting patterns from the 2012 presidential election continue into future elections, many traditionally Republican states will become competitive or begin to lean Democratic.**

If these trends continue, and if Hispanic and Asian voters continue to increase their turnout numbers, this could mean bad news for Republicans. If Hispanic and Asian voters maintain their 2012 voting preferences and reach the participation levels of white voters, they would erase nearly all of the GOP margin of victory in Arizona and half of the margin in victory in Texas and North Carolina by as soon as 2020.



**However, if Republicans are able to regain the same level of support they held among Asian and Hispanic voters in 2004, the rapidly growing pool of potential voters could actually represent an advantage for them.**

In two states in our analysis, Florida and Georgia, Republicans could actually see a net gain in the number of Hispanic and Asian voters siding with them by 2020 if they achieve the same level of support they held among Hispanics and Asians in 2004. Regaining Bush level support would also result in Romney's 1.2-million vote margin in Texas shrinking by just 18,000 votes by 2020 if Hispanics and Asians maintain their 2012 turnout levels.

## THE SIZE OF THE TOTAL POTENTIAL POOL OF NEW VOTERS VERSUS 2012 MARGINS

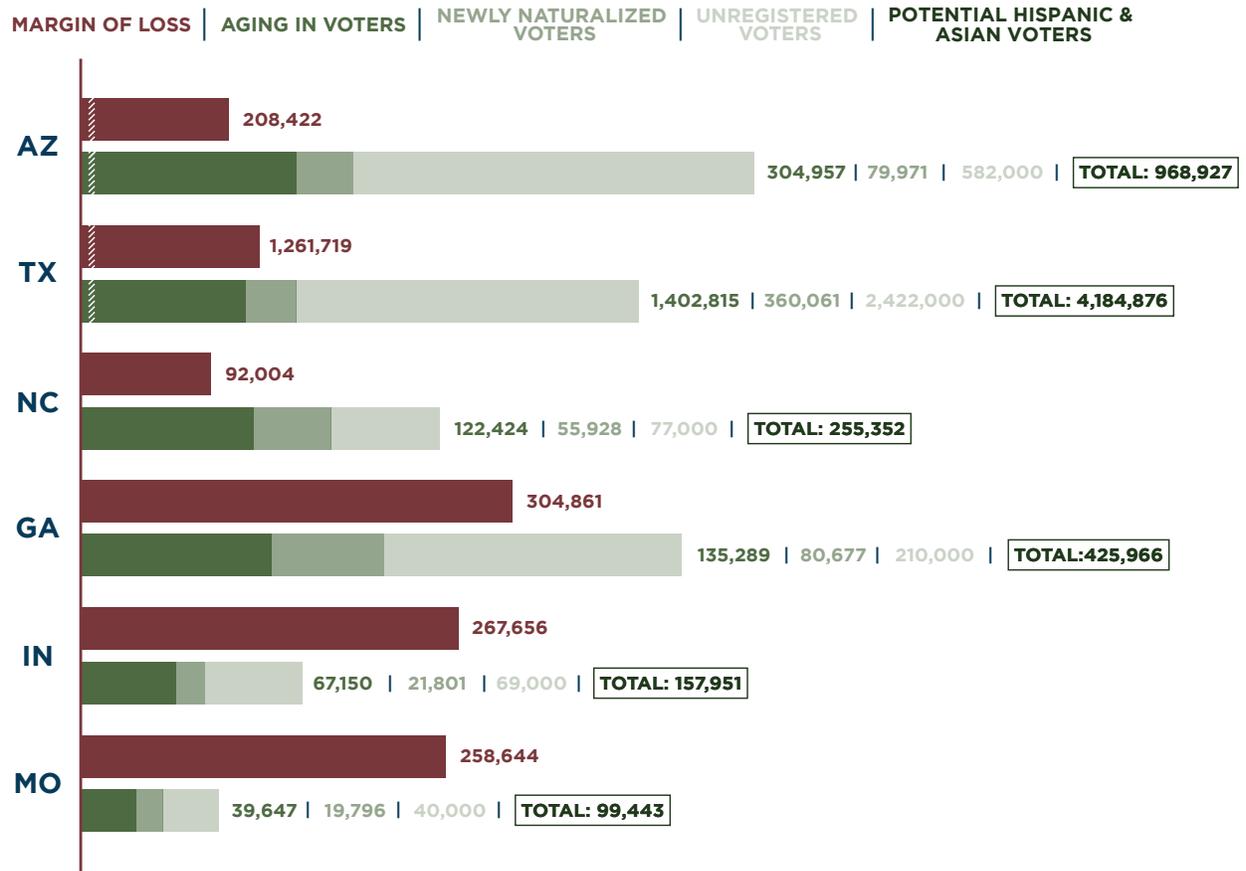
Efforts to register unregistered Asian and Hispanic citizens—coupled with Hispanics and Asians aging into the electorate or gaining citizenship—could easily have a powerful impact on U.S. elections in the coming years. All together, the three streams of new voters described above total almost 26 million people who could join the electorate by 2020. Although that number sounds sizeable on its own, it gains more impact when put into the context of recent Presidential election contests. In 2012, just 129.2 million Americans in total cast votes in the U.S. Presidential election, and Barack Obama's margin of victory that year totaled almost 5.0 million votes. Only four presidential elections in history, in fact, have ever been decided by more than 10 million popular votes, topped by the almost 18 million votes by which Richard Nixon beat George McGovern in 1972.<sup>4</sup>

Presidential elections, however, are often decided by dynamics at the state level. In the graphic and the chart below, we show the full size of the potential new pool of Hispanic and Asian voters in each state in 2016 and 2020, as well as the margin by which President Barack Obama won or lost each state in 2012. In 11 of the 18 states featured here—or more than 60 percent of them—the number of potential new Asian and Hispanic voters that will exist by 2020 is equal to or greater than the margin of victory of loss enjoyed by Barack Obama in each state in 2012. In 2016, this is the case in 10 of our states. In Florida the number of potential new Hispanic and Asian voters in the state by 2020 is almost 24 times greater in number than the small margin of victory by which President Barack Obama won that state in 2012.

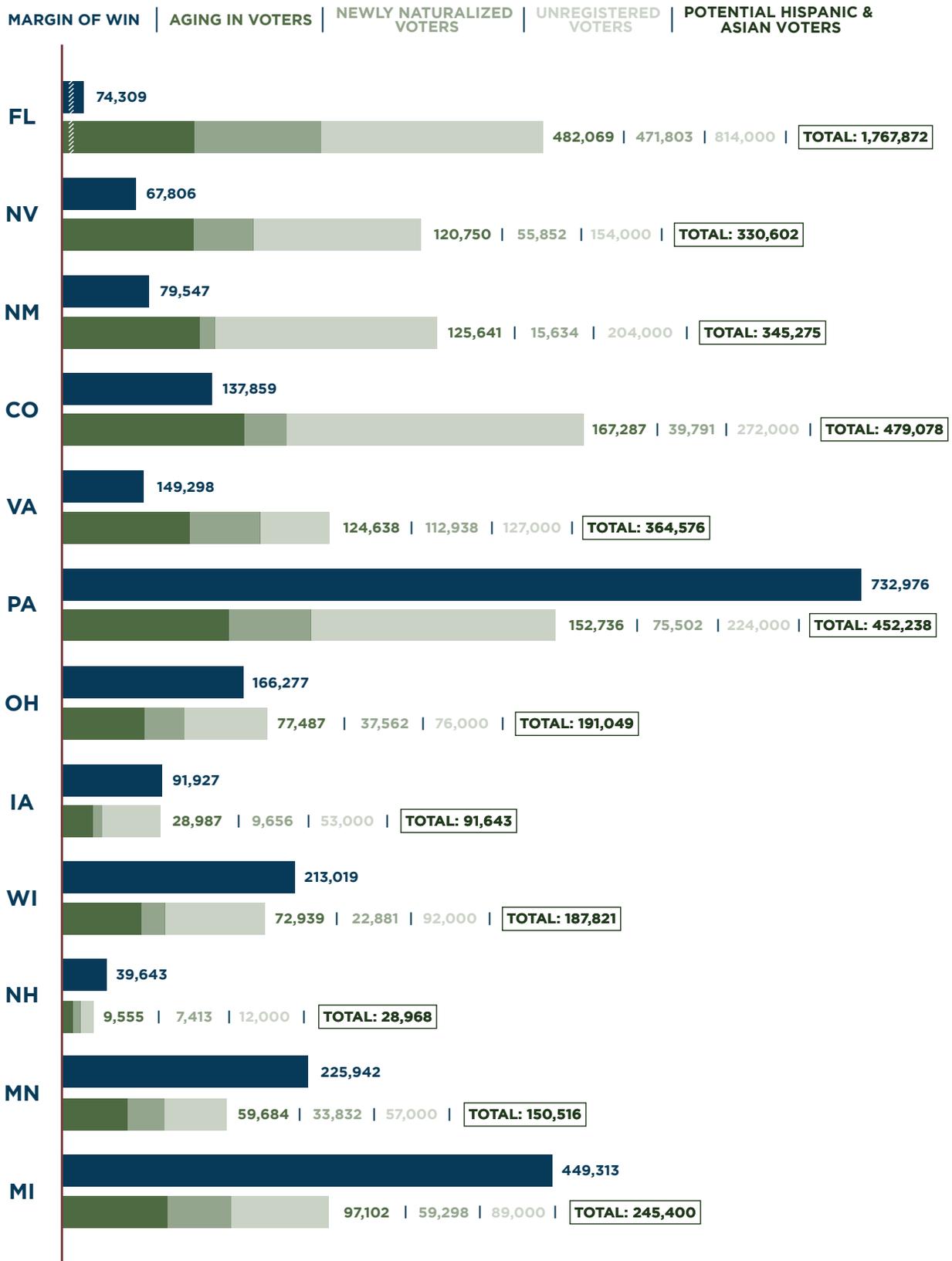
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<sup>4</sup> See footnote 3.

**FIGURE 1: HOW THE TOTAL NUMBER OF POTENTIAL NEW HISPANIC AND ASIAN VOTERS BY 2020 COMPARES TO OBAMA'S 2012 MARGIN OF LOSS IN KEY STATES**



**FIGURE 2: HOW THE TOTAL NUMBER OF POTENTIAL NEW HISPANIC AND ASIAN VOTERS BY 2020 COMPARES TO OBAMA'S 2012 MARGIN OF VICTORY IN KEY STATES**



# FACTORS BEHIND THE DEMOGRAPHIC SHIFT

## THE POOL OF UNREGISTERED VOTERS

In this brief, we focus on 18 states, all of which are either swing states or areas facing major demographic change within the next decade. In many of these areas, large pools of unregistered Hispanic and Asian eligible voters existed in 2012. Nationally, more than 13.2 million such potential voters were present in the US during the last presidential election cycle, and in places like Texas, Arizona, and Nevada some interest groups are already making major efforts to register them.<sup>5</sup> On a state level, such drives are already having an impact. In Nevada, for instance, the share of Asian citizens who reported being registered to vote almost doubled between 2008 and 2012, jumping from 38.5 to 71.9 percent.<sup>6 7</sup> In Texas, the Asian citizen population grew its share of registered voters by almost 14 percentage points during the same period.<sup>8</sup>

The U.S. was home to almost 13.2 million eligible but unregistered Latino and Asian voters in 2012. In places like Texas, Arizona, and Nevada major efforts are already underway to register them.

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In the chart below, we quantify the number of unregistered Hispanic and Asian citizens in each of the 18 states in our analysis. Seven of the states are home to more than 200,000 such potential voters, and in some of those cases, the figures are particularly sizeable. Florida, for instance, is home to more than 800,000 unregistered Asian and Hispanic citizens, while Texas has more than 2.4 million. To put those figures in context, the number of unregistered Hispanic and Asian voters in Texas exceeds the population of the city of Houston.<sup>9</sup> The population of unregistered Latino and Asian voters in Florida is larger than the populations of Miami and Tampa combined.<sup>10</sup>

5 See: Emmarie Huettemann. The New York Times. The Caucus Blog. "Hispanic Groups Start \$5 Million Voter Registration Drive." Jan. 23, 2014 and

6 Current Population Survey, Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2012, (May 2013), Table 4b: Reported Voting and Registration by Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin, for States: November 2012. Accessed Sept. 15, 2014. Available here: <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/socdemo/voting/publications/p20/2012/Table04b.xls>.

7 Current Population Survey, Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2008, (July 2009), Table 4b: Reported Voting and Registration of the Voting-Age Population, by Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin, for States: November 2008. Accessed Sept. 15, 2014. Available here: <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/socdemo/voting/publications/p20/2008/tables.html>.

8 Ibid, footnotes 9 and 10.

9 The City of Houston, Office of Planning and Development, Demographic Data [Website]. Accessed Aug. 5, 2014, Available here: [http://www.houstontx.gov/planning/Demographics/demog\\_links.html](http://www.houstontx.gov/planning/Demographics/demog_links.html).

10 U.S. Census Bureau, Annual Estimates of the Resident Population for Incorporated Places Over 50,000, July 2012, Accessed Aug. 5, 2014, Available here: <http://factfinder2.census.gov/faces/tableservices/jsf/pages/productview.xhtml?src=bkml>.

**Table 1: Number of Unregistered Latino and Asian Citizens in Key States, 2012**

State	Unregistered Hispanic Citizens (Age 18+)	Unregistered Asian Citizens (Age 18+)	Total
Arizona	473,000	109,000	582,000
Colorado	213,000	59,000	272,000
Florida	628,000	186,000	814,000
Georgia	98,000	112,000	210,000
Indiana	47,000	22,000	69,000
Iowa	39,000	14,000	53,000
Michigan	32,000	57,000	89,000
Minnesota	42,000	15,000	57,000
Missouri	33,000	7,000	40,000
Nevada	121,000	33,000	154,000
New Hampshire	8,000	4,000	12,000
New Mexico	195,000	9,000	204,000
North Carolina	54,000	23,000	77,000
Ohio	57,000	19,000	76,000
Pennsylvania	182,000	42,000	224,000
Texas	2,215,000	207,000	2,422,000
Virginia	40,000	87,000	127,000
Wisconsin	87,000	5,000	92,000

## DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE

Unregistered voters, of course, are those who are already eligible to vote but have so far neglected to register. In the coming years, another powerful force will shape the power of Hispanic and Asian voters in each state: The large number of teenagers and new citizens of Hispanic and Asian descent expected to become eligible to vote for the first time. Nationally, we estimate nearly 4.2 million Asian and Hispanic immigrants will naturalize and gain citizenship in the next six years. By 2016, an estimated 3.9 million Asian and Hispanic citizen youth will age into the electorate as well. By 2020, that figure will total almost 8.2 million.

In many of our key states, such trends could have a major impact on the population of eligible voters. In 2012, for instance, Arizona was home to almost half a million unregistered Hispanic citizens and more than 100,000 unregistered eligible Asian voters. Within the next six years, almost 305,000 Hispanic and Asian youth in the state will turn 18 years old and gain the right to vote. More than 80,000 Asians and Hispanic immigrants are also expected to naturalize during that time. To put those figures in context, Obama lost that state by only 203,000 votes. Other states are home to equally large populations of soon-to-be eligible voters. In 12 of the 18 states in our analysis—or 67 percent of them—more than 100,000 Asian or Hispanics will either age into the electorate or naturalize in the next six years. In Florida, almost a million such voters will become eligible to join the electorate by 2020. In Texas, the equivalent figure comes close to 1.8 million.

**Table 2: Number of Newly Eligible Hispanic and Asian Voters in Key States between 2012 and 2016**

State	Expected New Hispanic Citizens (Age 18+)	Expected New Asian Citizens (Age 18+)	Hispanic Citizens Turning 18	Asian Citizens Turning 18	Total Newly Eligible Hispanic and Asian Voters
Arizona	28,418	12,567	133,483	10,309	184,777
Colorado	11,028	8,868	66,729	9,338	95,963
Florida	199,899	36,002	211,647	26,402	473,950
Georgia	15,506	24,833	45,271	14,433	100,043
Indiana	4,595	6,305	23,061	7,227	41,188
Iowa	2,401	2,428	10,652	1,654	17,135
Michigan	4,159	25,490	30,863	13,303	73,815
Minnesota	3,978	12,938	15,699	13,521	46,136
Missouri	2,813	7,085	12,524	5,523	27,945
Nevada	15,234	12,691	46,193	9,529	83,647
New Hampshire	1,298	2,409	2,384	2,096	8,187
New Mexico	6,038	1,779	59,265	2,657	69,739
North Carolina	12,261	15,703	38,229	12,399	78,592
Ohio	3,749	15,032	24,341	10,967	54,089
Pennsylvania	10,075	27,676	49,463	22,628	109,842
Texas	108,903	71,128	612,774	42,867	835,672
Virginia	18,747	37,721	34,474	22,613	113,555
Wisconsin	4,170	7,271	22,058	8,996	42,495

**Table 3: Number of Newly Eligible Hispanic and Asian Voters in Key States between 2012 and 2020**

State	Expected Number of New Hispanic Citizens	Expected Number of New Asian Citizens	Hispanics Citizens Turning 18	Asian Citizens Turning 18	Total Newly Eligible Hispanic and Asian Voters
Arizona	56,837	25,134	282,770	22,187	386,928
Colorado	22,055	17,736	146,551	20,736	207,078
Florida	399,799	72,004	428,674	53,395	953,872
Georgia	31,011	49,666	102,439	32,850	215,966
Indiana	9,190	12,611	53,591	13,559	88,951
Iowa	4,801	4,855	24,531	4,456	38,643
Michigan	8,318	50,980	66,295	30,807	156,400
Minnesota	7,957	25,875	30,862	28,822	93,516
Missouri	5,626	14,170	27,565	12,082	59,443
Nevada	30,469	25,383	99,129	21,621	176,602
New Hampshire	2,595	4,818	5,668	3,887	16,968
New Mexico	12,076	3,558	121,636	4,005	141,275
North Carolina	24,522	31,406	96,467	25,957	178,352
Ohio	7,497	30,065	52,973	24,514	115,049
Pennsylvania	20,151	55,351	109,983	42,753	228,238
Texas	217,806	142,255	1,302,491	100,324	1,762,876
Virginia	37,495	75,443	74,569	50,069	237,576
Wisconsin	8,339	14,542	52,718	20,221	95,820

In the coming years, another powerful force will shape the power of Hispanic and Asian voters in each state: The large number of teenagers and new citizens of Hispanic and Asian descent expected to become eligible to vote for the first time.



# THE ROLE OF PARTY CHOICE AND INCREASED PARTICIPATION

In recent elections, Hispanics and Asians have had lower turnout than the U.S. population as a whole. In 2012, for instance, roughly 48 percent of eligible Hispanic and Asians citizens in the country turned out to vote, compared to more than 60 percent of the country's overall population.<sup>11</sup> In the last decade and a half, however, Hispanic and Asian participation rates in presidential races have been slowly increasing.<sup>12</sup> In some states, like Michigan and Nevada, the change has been particularly dramatic. In Michigan, for instance, the US Census Bureau estimates that 70.3 percent of the state's Hispanic citizens turned out to vote in 2012, up from 47.8 percent just four years earlier.<sup>13</sup>

Whether or not the demographic changes described above have a meaningful impact on American elections, of course, will depend on the degree to which newly eligible and unregistered voters turn out to vote—as well as the party they

11 Thom File, Current Population Survey, The Diversifying Electorate—Voting Rates by Race and Hispanic Origin in 2012 (and Other Recent Elections), (May 13, 2013). Accessed July 15, 2014. Available here: <http://www.census.gov/prod/2013pubs/p20-568.pdf>.

12 Although Hispanic and Asian participation rates were slightly lower in 2012 than they were in the 2008 presidential election, both groups are voting in larger shares than they were in 1996 or 2000. See: Ibid, page 3.

13 See footnote 9 and 10.

**Table 4: Net Number of Potential New Hispanic and Asian Democratic Voters in Key States Under Various Scenarios, 2014-2020**

## Low Impact Scenario, Net Number of Additional Democratic Voters

State	2014	2016	2018	2020	2012 Obama Margin of Victory
Arizona	4,039	8,217	12,419	13,516	(208,422)
Colorado	6,590	13,907	21,675	23,340	137,859
Florida	-10,980	-22,479	-33,300	-38,127	74,309
Georgia	-694	-1,626	-2,529	-2,442	(304,861)
Indiana	717	1,389	2,175	2,548	(267,656)
Iowa	321	685	1,087	1,337	91,927
Michigan	3,908	7,825	12,491	15,169	449,313
Minnesota	1,452	3,017	4,570	6,193	225,942
Missouri	928	1,704	2,591	3,340	(258,644)
Nevada	2,826	5,769	8,939	10,056	67,806
New Hampshire	165	415	599	782	39,643
New Mexico	1,824	3,418	5,084	4,932	79,547
North Carolina	2,045	4,250	6,652	8,267	(92,004)
Ohio	2,976	6,163	9,477	11,909	166,277
Pennsylvania	6,215	12,902	20,416	24,044	309,840
Texas	3,918	7,848	12,030	15,298	(1,261,719)
Virginia	3,180	6,498	10,020	13,278	149,298
Wisconsin	883	1,847	2,864	3,831	213,019

opt to support. In this analysis, we gathered data from the Current Population Survey's Voting and Registration Supplement that allowed us to approximate the voter turnout for Asian and Hispanic voters—as well as white voters—in each of our 18 states. Using such data, we then explored how the demographic changes we detail could effect election results in three main scenarios—1) a low impact scenario where the same share of Hispanics and Asians turn out to vote in future cycles as came out in 2012, 2) a medium impact scenario where Hispanic and Asians make up half of their turnout gap with whites, and 3) a high impact scenario where Hispanics and Asian raise turnout levels so they equal the 2012 white turnout level in their state. In our low impact scenario, we assume that Republicans regain the same level of support from Hispanic and Asians voters that they earned in the 2004 presidential election. In our medium and high impact scenarios, we assume that the same low share of Hispanics and Asians support the GOP as did in 2012.

Our figures show that if Republicans fail to make regain the position they once held with Asian and Latino populations a decade ago, they could face a major change in the electoral map within the next six years. Consider our medium and high impact scenarios, both of which involve Democrats holding onto their 2012 levels of Hispanic and Asian support. In Arizona the margin of victory held by Republicans is almost entirely erased by 2020 in our high impact scenario. Other states that have historically been swing states or virtual ties show signs of becoming increasingly out of reach to Republicans in the near term as well: In Florida, for instance, the margin of victory held by Obama in 2012 more than doubles by as soon as 2018 under our medium-impact scenario. In Colorado, the margin of victory for Democrats comes close to doubling by 2020 under the high impact scenario; In Nevada, the medium impact scenario shows the margin held by Democrats growing by almost 50 percent that year. Pennsylvania could also add more than 100,000 new Democratic voters by as soon as 2018.

The most interesting states to consider under the medium and high impact scenarios, however, are those that were won by Republican presidential candidate Mitt Romney in 2012. In our high-impact scenario, Texas Republicans lose almost half the

#### Medium Impact Scenario, Net Number of Additional Democratic Voters

State	2014	2016	2018	2020	2012 Obama Margin of Victory
Arizona	73,366	93,052	112,804	118,486	(208,422)
Colorado	47,450	60,874	75,160	79,610	137,859
Florida	44,751	74,215	102,542	120,499	74,309
Georgia	26,199	38,184	50,291	58,819	(304,861)
Indiana	11,200	15,052	19,580	21,665	(267,656)
Iowa	7,906	10,090	12,482	13,828	91,927
Michigan	15,289	25,091	36,664	44,650	449,313
Minnesota	12,439	19,657	26,569	33,854	225,942
Missouri	4,843	8,259	12,173	15,350	(258,644)
Nevada	12,142	19,721	27,834	31,230	67,806
New Hampshire	1,611	2,877	3,803	4,727	39,643
New Mexico	15,341	20,625	26,020	25,702	79,547
North Carolina	12,824	22,364	32,788	39,662	(92,004)
Ohio	4,781	9,324	13,881	18,658	166,277
Pennsylvania	38,615	53,603	69,666	79,348	309,840
Texas	239,504	315,687	394,909	416,548	(1,261,719)
Virginia	16,303	27,377	39,123	49,941	149,298
Wisconsin	13,424	18,862	24,865	29,565	213,019

margin of victory they held in 2012 within the next six years. The same can be said in North Carolina. In Georgia, Republicans also experience meaningful erosion of their margins within just six years. It is important to note that our report quantifies the erosion of margins for Republicans due solely to the demographic changes outlined in this report. Within the broader population, the deaths of older, more conservative voters and the aging in of more liberal, younger ones could decrease these margins further. If the last two elections are any indication, this could be a powerful phenomenon. In 2008, for instance, 66 percent of young people, ages 18-29, cast their votes for Democratic Barack Obama. This compared to just 45 percent of the population older than age 65—the largest young-old gap in support recorded since the 1960s.<sup>14</sup>

Our low impact scenario, however, shows that the coming shift in U.S. racial demographics could easily be a positive—or at least neutral—development for the Republican Party. George W. Bush, a former border state governor known to support immigration reform, was able to capture 44 percent of the Hispanic and Asian vote as recently as 2004—something Republicans could potentially do again by making a concerted effort to put up candidates appealing to those populations. Our low impact scenario shows that if Republicans did that—and turnout among Hispanics and Asians held at 2012 levels—the impact on Republican margins could be minimal. In Texas, for instance, Romney’s 1.2-million vote margin would be eroded by just 18,000 votes if Republicans put up a candidate in 2020 able to capture Bush-level support. In both Georgia and Florida, where Republicans did less well with Hispanics and Asians 2012 than they did in 2004, achieving that level of support could actually make the states more favorable to Republicans overall. In Florida, for instance, a state Obama won by 74,000 votes in 2012, achieving Bush-level support from Hispanics and Asians could add almost 40,000 net new Republican voters to the rolls by as soon as 2020.

<sup>14</sup> Pew Research, “Millennials in Adulthood” (March 7, 2014). Accessed Sept. 29, 2014. Available here: <http://www.pewsocialtrends.org/2014/03/07/millennials-in-adulthood/>.

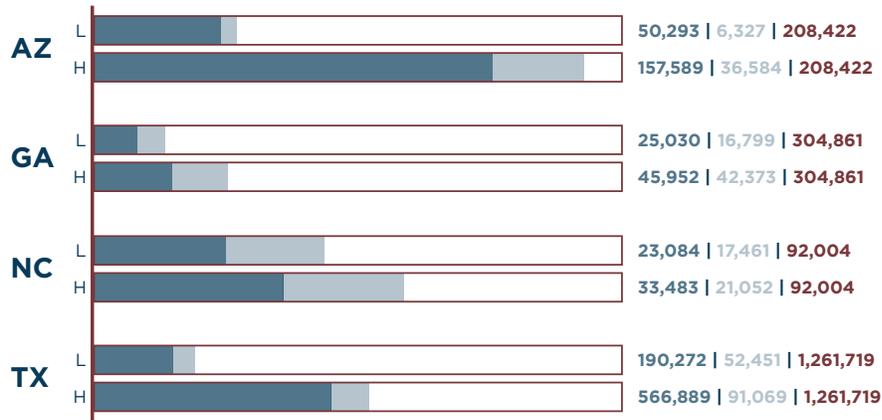
### High Impact Scenario, Net Number of Additional Democratic Voters

State	2014	2016	2018	2020	2012 Obama Margin of Victory
Arizona	131,449	155,026	178,647	185,817	(208,422)
Colorado	85,077	101,121	118,205	123,905	137,859
Florida	62,096	92,798	122,369	141,585	74,309
Georgia	43,643	57,391	71,285	81,170	(304,861)
Indiana	19,159	23,817	29,271	31,838	(267,656)
Iowa	14,360	17,049	19,989	21,613	91,927
Michigan	21,476	31,974	44,355	53,100	449,313
Minnesota	18,896	26,775	34,194	42,044	225,942
Missouri	5,651	9,408	13,080	16,285	(258,644)
Nevada	17,332	25,359	33,953	37,541	67,806
New Hampshire	2,499	3,944	5,001	6,057	39,643
New Mexico	25,313	31,159	37,050	36,817	79,547
North Carolina	17,423	27,624	38,781	46,088	(92,004)
Ohio	5,288	9,867	14,463	19,262	166,277
Pennsylvania	65,315	82,471	100,883	111,917	309,840
Texas	416,362	503,881	594,872	619,280	(1,261,719)
Virginia	22,750	34,539	47,060	58,667	149,298
Wisconsin	22,358	28,440	35,229	40,284	213,019

Note: Low-impact scenario assumes Republicans earn 44 percent of the Hispanic and Asian vote nationally; medium and high impact scenarios assume Democrats maintain their 2012 levels of support.

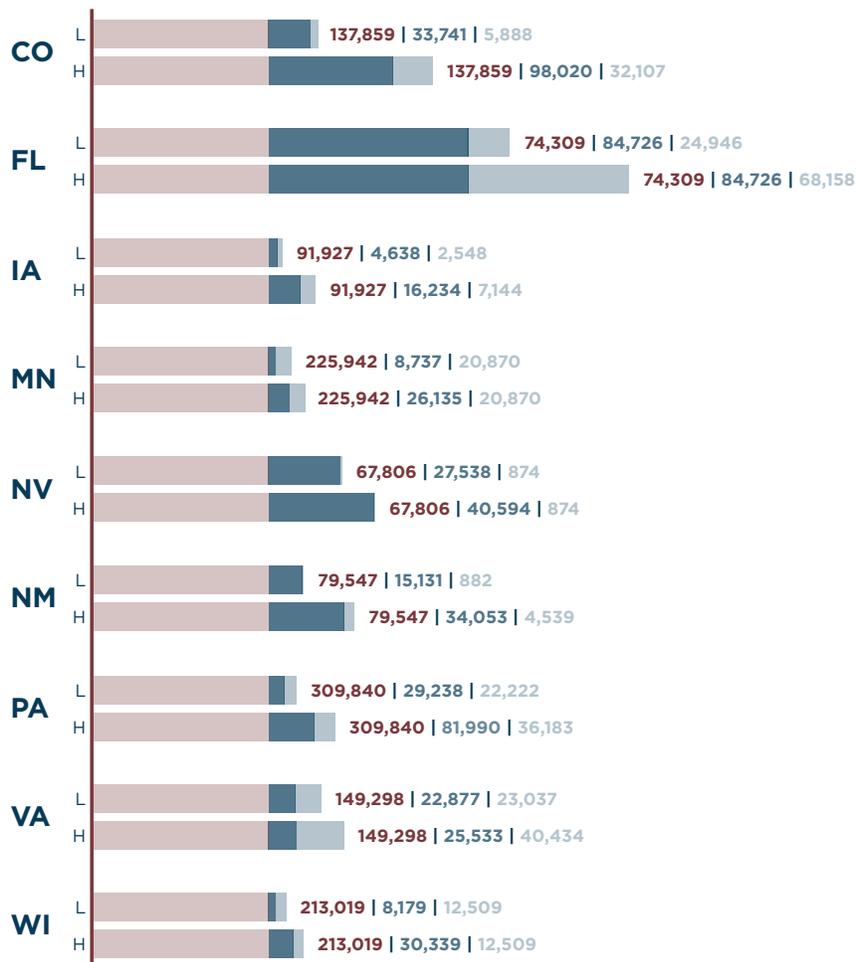
**FIGURE 3: STATES LOST BY OBAMA IN 2012 AND ESTIMATED NEW ASIAN AND HISPANIC DEMOCRATIC VOTERS BY 2020, LOW AND HIGH IMPACT ESTIMATES**

NEW HISPANIC DEMOCRATS | NEW ASIAN DEMOCRATS | MARGIN OF LOSS



**FIGURE 4: STATES WON BY OBAMA IN 2012 AND ESTIMATED NEW ASIAN AND HISPANIC DEMOCRATIC VOTERS BY 2020, LOW AND HIGH IMPACT ESTIMATES**

MARGIN OF WIN | NEW HISPANIC DEMOCRATS | NEW ASIAN DEMOCRATS



## CONCLUSION

In many large states critical to national elections across the country, hundreds of thousands of Hispanic and Asian citizens are slated to become eligible to vote within the next six years. The steps Republicans take to court such voters could easily determine how friendly the electoral map is to their party in the coming years. If the new voters choose Democrats by the same margin as their Asian and Latino counterparts did in 2012, demographic change alone could mean that at least seven states in our sample could become considerably less friendly to Republicans within the next six years. Arizona, for instance, could favor Democrats by as soon as 2020, while Texas and North Carolina could see their Republican margins halved within less than a decade. If Republicans do make concerted efforts to reach out to Hispanic and Asian voters, however, they could prevent demographic change from hurting their party significantly. If Republicans are able to once again win the 44 percent of the Hispanic and Asian they earned in 2004, they could widen their margin of victory in both Florida and Georgia by 2016, and see little to no change in their party's position in states like North Carolina and Virginia.

Although pundits often describe minority voters in America as largely liberal, it is not a stretch to imagine that future Republican candidates could earn 44 percent of the Hispanic and Asian vote. Despite the robust levels of Asian and Latino support for Democrats in the 2012 election, both ethnic groups have large numbers of voters who have yet to decide on what political party they want to consistently support. Studies have shown that 55 percent of Asians<sup>15</sup>—and 60 percent of all Asian immigrants<sup>16</sup>—do not identify with either of the two major political parties. Polling by the firm Latino Decisions has also found that almost 50 percent of Latino voters have voted for a Republican candidate at some point in their lives, many of them opting to support George W. Bush.<sup>17</sup>

George W. Bush, of course, was known as an outspoken supporter of immigration reform. The support Republicans earn from Hispanic and Asian voters in future may well hinge on the action Congress takes on that issue in the months ahead. Evidence already exists that some Hispanic voters have turned away from the Republican Party in recent years because of the party's perceived hostility towards immigration reform.<sup>18 19</sup> In one June 2014 poll, for instance, 48 percent of registered Hispanics said that anti-immigrant statements made by Republican candidates gave them a “much less favorable” view of the party overall.<sup>20</sup> The immigration issue also remains personal one for both Latino and Asian voters: More than two thirds of the Asians in the country in 2010 were born abroad,<sup>21</sup> while one in four Hispanics registered to vote in the country say they personally know someone who has been deported or faced deportation.<sup>22</sup> Tackling immigration reform and removing it as a major campaign issue would likely allow Republicans to make better inroads into such groups—a move that will have lasting implications for the party's ability to win national elections in the future.

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16 Hajnal, Zoltan and Taeku Lee. 2011. *Why Americans Don't Join the Party*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

17 Latino Decisions. *New Poll: GOP Actions on Immigration Reform Key to their Future*. June 4, 2014.

18 Shaun Bowler, Stephen P. Nicholas, and Gary M. Segura, “Earthquakes and Aftershocks: Race, Direct Democracy, and Partisan Change,” *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 50, No. 1 (Jan. 2006), pp. 146-159.

19 Jennifer L. Merolla, Adrian D. Pantoja, Ivy A. M. Cargile, Juana Mora, “From Coverage to Action: The Immigration Debate and Its Effect on Participation” *Political Research Quarterly*, Vol. 66, No. 2, pp 322-335.

20 Latino Decisions *Immigration Poll* (June 2014), see question 9. Available here: [http://www.latinodecisions.com/files/1214/0165/7185/CAP\\_Poll\\_Results\\_-\\_Legislative\\_Results.pdf](http://www.latinodecisions.com/files/1214/0165/7185/CAP_Poll_Results_-_Legislative_Results.pdf).

21 U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 American Community Survey SEX BY AGE BY NATIVITY (ASIAN ALONE) Table C05003D 2010 ACS 1-Year Estimates.

22 Gabriel Sanchez. *Latino Decisions. Immigration Policy is Personal for Latinos*. July 18, 2011.

# METHODOLOGY APPENDIX:

## DETERMINING THE NUMBER OF UNREGISTERED VOTERS

This report uses a variety of federal data sources to produce the figures included here. The data on the number of unregistered Latino and Asian citizens of voting age (by state) are reported in the Current Population Survey's Voting and Registration Supplement. This report uses the supplement for the November 2012 election, which reflects the voting-age population that year.

## QUANTIFYING DEMOGRAPHIC CHANGE

To determine estimates of the number of new citizens by state, we first constructed population projections for newly naturalized citizens overall using data from the Department of Homeland Security as a baseline. A straight-line projection was made using the average rate of growth from 2005 -2012 and projecting forward to 2020. To break the figures down to show only new citizens of Hispanic or Asian origin, we had to make approximations using country-of-origin data. For purposes of the report, we assumed all naturalizations reported to DHS from Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, as well as anywhere in South America were Hispanic naturalizations. We used DHS' own definitions in determining which countries-of-origin constituted Asian naturalizations.

Our information on the number of Hispanic and Asian residents in each state we expect to age into the electorate in the coming years is from the American Community Survey's 2012 edition. Using data from IPUMs, we examined the ages of all Hispanic and Asian citizens in each state in 2012. Our projections then use those figures to project forward and determine what number of citizens in each group will turn age 18 in the years from 2016 and 2020. These figures do not account for the possibility of some of the youth migrating to other states. They also do not take into account youth gaining citizenship between 2012 and the given year of the election.

## ASSESSING ELECTORAL IMPACT

To assess how demographic change could impact the number of new Democratic voters in each state, we first had to produce an estimate of the total Hispanic and Asian citizen populations we would expect to be in each state in 2014, 2016, 2018, and 2020. To do this, we first used data from the Current Population Survey's 2012 Voter and Registration Supplement showing the number of voting age Hispanic and Asian citizens in each state in 2012.<sup>23</sup> For each subsequent year after 2012, we adjusted those figures by the number of deaths we would expect to see in the 18 plus Hispanic and Asian citizen each year. To do that, we obtained estimates of deaths using 2011 death rates published by the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Vital Statistics Reports.<sup>24</sup> We then applied age-specific death rates to the Hispanic and Asian citizen population surviving from the previous year. Projected newly naturalized citizens and Hispanic and Asians turning 18 were added to the surviving citizen pool every two years to produce estimates.

To determine the level of voter turnout for Hispanic, Asian, and white voters in each state, we once again relied on the Current Population Survey's Voting and Registration Supplement for the 2012 election. The supplement estimates the turnout rates for various ethnic groups based on survey data, and includes a detailed table breaking figures out by state. In some states in our analysis, however, the sample of surveyed voter of a given ethnicity was small enough that the Census Bureau did not provide an estimate of voting turnout for that group. For these groups, which include Asians and Hispanics in Iowa and Asians in New

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<sup>23</sup> See footnote 10.

<sup>24</sup> Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, National Vital Statistics Report, 61 (6), October 2012, pp 14-15. Accessed Aug. 15, 2014, available here: <http://www.cdc.gov/nchs/products/nvsr.htm>.

Hampshire, we created a rough estimate using data the Census Bureau collected on the number of voters in each ethnic group and the total number of citizens of that ethnicity. The figures, for that reason, should be interpreted with caution.

As discussed in the text, our high-impact scenario assumes that Hispanics and Asians in a given state reach the same turnout level as whites in 2012, while our medium-impact scenario assumes they make up half the difference in turnout with whites. In several cases in our analysis, however, the turnout of the Hispanic or Asian populations actually exceeded turnout among white groups. This was true for Hispanics in Florida and Michigan, as well as Asians in five of our states (Minnesota, Missouri, Nevada, Ohio, and Wisconsin). In these cases, we held turnout steady in the low, medium, and high impact scenarios. This may be a conservative estimate of what could happen if minorities are encouraged further to vote.

Our estimates on the share of the Asian and Hispanic populations that favored Democrats and Republicans in 2012 derive from publicly available exit polling data.<sup>25</sup> For two states in our study, Texas and Georgia, pollsters did not conduct exit polls. For others, the breakdown in support for Democrats and Republicans was only available for the Hispanic population. In such cases, we assumed that the support for Republican and Democratic candidates in 2012 mirrored the breakdown of support on the national level. National exit polls show that 71 percent of Hispanic voters cast ballot for Barack Obama and 27 percent for Mitt Romney in 2012. The equivalent figures for Asians are 73 and 26 percent, respectively.

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<sup>25</sup> CNN Election Center, Races & Results, 2012 President. Accessed Sept. 15, 2014, available here: <http://www.cnn.com/election/2012/results/race/president>.

