



# REPORT

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## Hispanics and the 2004 Election: Population, Electorate and Voters

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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Hispanics accounted for half of the population growth in the United States between the elections of 2000 and 2004 but only one-tenth of the increase in the total votes cast, according to a Pew Hispanic Center analysis of new data from the U.S. Census Bureau.♦

This gap between the very substantial growth of the Hispanic population and much more modest growth in Hispanic electoral clout has been developing for a generation but has widened considerably in recent years.

It is primarily the result of the two key demographic factors that distinguish Latinos from whites and blacks in the electoral arena: a high percentage of Hispanics are either too young to vote or are ineligible because they are not citizens.

As a result, a population increase of 5.7 million Latinos between 2000 and 2004 yielded only 2.1 million new eligible voters. In addition, Hispanic voter participation rates lag those of whites or blacks so that the number of Hispanic voters increased by just 1.4 million.

The combination of demographic factors and participation rates meant that 18 percent of the total Latino population (adults as well as children, citizens and non-citizens) went to the polls in 2004, compared with 51 percent of all whites and 39 percent of all blacks.

Despite these factors, however, the Hispanic population has been growing at such a strong rate that it still has led to an increase—albeit a small one—in the Hispanic share of the overall electorate. In November, 2004, Hispanics accounted for 6.0% of all votes cast, up from 5.5% four years earlier. During this same period, the Hispanic share of the population rose from 12.8% in 2000 to 14.3% in 2004.

The Hispanic population is not only much larger than the Hispanic electorate but it also differs in some key characteristics, including language usage. The share of Latino adults living in households where only Spanish is spoken is three times higher in the general population than it is among voters.

This report relies primarily on a supplement of the Current Population Survey (CPS) that is conducted every November of an election year. The CPS is the large monthly survey of U.S. households conducted by the Census Bureau and the Bureau of Labor Statistics which is best known as a source of unemployment rates. The November supplements ask whether individuals were registered to vote and whether they actually voted but do not ask which candidates or political parties they supported. Thus, the CPS data does not directly provide any information on how Hispanics voted in the 2004 election.

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♦ The terms “Hispanic” and “Latino” are used interchangeably. The terms “white” and “black” refer to non-Hispanics in those racial categories.

However, this data does shed some new light on a lingering controversy surrounding the extent of Hispanic support for President George W. Bush last year. An analysis of the 2004 exit poll data in conjunction with this new CPS data suggests that Bush's share of the Hispanic vote last year was probably closer to 40 percent than to the 44 percent widely reported last year by news organizations that had relied on national exit poll data.

Some of the major findings in this report include:

- Between the 2000 and 2004 elections, the Hispanic population grew by 5.7 million, accounting for half of the increase in the U.S. population of 11.5 million.
- Of those 5.7 million Hispanics added to the U.S. population between the last two presidential elections, 1.7 million persons or 30 percent were less than 18 years old and are thus not eligible to vote. Another 1.9 million or 33 percent of the people added to the Hispanic population between the two elections were adults not eligible to vote because they were not citizens.
- As a result of these factors, only 39 percent of the Latino population was eligible to vote compared to 76 percent of whites and 65 percent of the black population.
- Both the number of Latinos registered to vote (9.3 million) and the number of Latinos who cast ballots (7.6 million) in November 2004 marked increases of political participation over the 2000 election that were larger than for any other ethnic or racial group in percentage terms.
- However, both registration and turnout rates for Latinos were lower than for whites or blacks. As a result, only 47 percent of eligible Hispanics went to the polls compared to 67 percent of whites and 60 percent of blacks. Differences in registration rates explain most of the gaps.
- The combination of demographic factors and participation rates meant that only 18 percent of the Latino population voted in 2004 compared to 51 percent of whites and 39 percent of blacks.
- In November 2004, Hispanics were 14.3 percent of the total population but only 6.0 percent of the votes cast. In the previous election, Hispanics were 12.8 percent of the population and 5.5 percent of the votes cast.
- The gap between the size of the Latino adult population and the number of Hispanic voters has been growing since at least 1972 and is likely to continue growing given current trends.

- The foreign born account for 56 percent of the Latino adult population but only 28 percent of the 2004 voters. As a result, 27 percent of Latino adults live in households where only Spanish is spoken compared to only 9 percent of voters.
- An analysis of census and exit poll data suggests that President Bush took 40 percent of the Hispanic vote in 2004 rather than the 44 percent originally reported from the major news media exit poll.
- Religion appears to be linked to President Bush's improved showing among Hispanics in 2004 over 2000, when he took 34 percent of Latino votes. Hispanic Protestants made up a larger share of the Latino vote last year (32% in 2004 compared with 25% in 2000), and 56 percent of these voters supported the president in 2004, compared with 44 percent in 2000. The president's share of the Hispanic Catholic vote remained essentially unchanged between 2000 and 2004.

The November supplements to the CPS, which are the primary source of data for this report, are generally considered an authoritative source of data on the socio-economic characteristics of the electorate. (DeSipio, 2004; Ramakrishnan and Espenshade, 2001; Cassell, 2002.) It is, for example, the only source of information on whether voters are native or foreign born, which is a critical variable in examining the Hispanic population. Moreover, the November CPS is by far the largest national survey that provides data on the size and characteristics of the full population, eligible voters, registered voters and actual voters.

All surveys are subject to discrepancies due to margins of error and other factors. This is true of the CPS although it is a very large survey regularly conducted of the American public with an average monthly sample of about 140,000 individuals. The November election year supplements of the CPS routinely show a larger number of persons voting than the actual count. So, the November 2004 CPS reports that 125.74 million persons reported voting in the 2004 national election while the official count of votes for the 2004 Presidential contest is 122.28 million in the Federal Register. The discrepancy is 3.5 million votes or about 3 percent of the official count. The CPS supplement is taken after election day and relies on individuals' self-reporting of their voting behavior. The difference between the CPS and the official count results from two factors: Some people report having voted when they did not, and some ballots do not get counted because the voter did not mark them properly, a voting machine misread them and other reasons. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2002.) The CPS covers the civilian, noninstitutional population resident in the country. Almost all active duty military (either in the United States or abroad), as well as persons in institutions (for example, nursing homes and correctional facilities), are not included.

The Pew Hispanic Center was founded in 2001 with support from The Pew Charitable Trusts. The Center conducts non-partisan research that aims at improving understanding of the Hispanic population. It is a project of the Pew Research Center.

## **I. The Growth of the Hispanic Population and its Voting Strength**

Between the 2000 and 2004 elections the Hispanic population grew by 5.7 million persons accounting for half of the increase in the U.S. population of 11.5 million. However, nearly two-thirds (63%) of the people added to the Latino population were not eligible to vote in 2004 either because they were too young or because they were not U.S. citizens. In addition, Latino eligible voters registered and voted at lower rates than either whites or blacks. In the end Latinos accounted for only 10 percent of the increase in voters between the past two elections.

In contrast, whites accounted for 29 percent of the population growth but produced 74 percent of the increase in votes cast because the demographic factors shaping the white population are different and because whites participated in the 2004 election at high rates.

Consider also that in November 2004 the Hispanic population outnumbered the black population by nearly five million persons. Yet, the number of blacks eligible to vote was 7.3 million greater than the number of Hispanics. For Hispanics, a population of 41.3 million produced 16 million eligible voters. For blacks, a population of 36.4 million produced 23.4 million eligible voters.

For decades now, population growth has translated into political power at a much lower rate for Latinos than for the other major ethnic and racial groups. As a result, voters are a much smaller share of the population for Hispanics than for the other groups, and the gap in the size of the Hispanic electorate relative to the Hispanic population will continue widening if current conditions persist.

Between 2000 and 2004, the number of Latino voters jumped by 1.4 million or 23 percent, twice the growth rate of whites. Hispanics are indeed a fast growing population and a fast growing political presence at a time when other major segments of the rest of the U.S. population are growing slowly, if at all. However, in this case growth rates alone do not tell the whole story. When the baseline is low, relatively small numerical increases can produce big growth rates. And, when it comes to counting people in almost any category, Hispanics break their own records everyday.

Growth, particularly in political arenas, has to be measured in context. So, what did adding 1.4 million voters do for Hispanic political clout? It boosted the Latino share of the total U.S. vote by a mere one half of one percent from 5.5 percent of the votes cast in the 2000 election to six percent last year, according to the CPS. And, what did it take to achieve that increase of one half of one percent? A total of four people had to be added to the Hispanic population to generate each one of those additional votes.

The Hispanic population is more and more visible across the country, and its growth is increasingly controversial in some places. But, its political presence is far smaller by comparison.

In assessing how growth in voting strength relates to overall population growth for Latinos and other groups, this report examines four population categories that represent different levels of political potential. The largest is the total population which

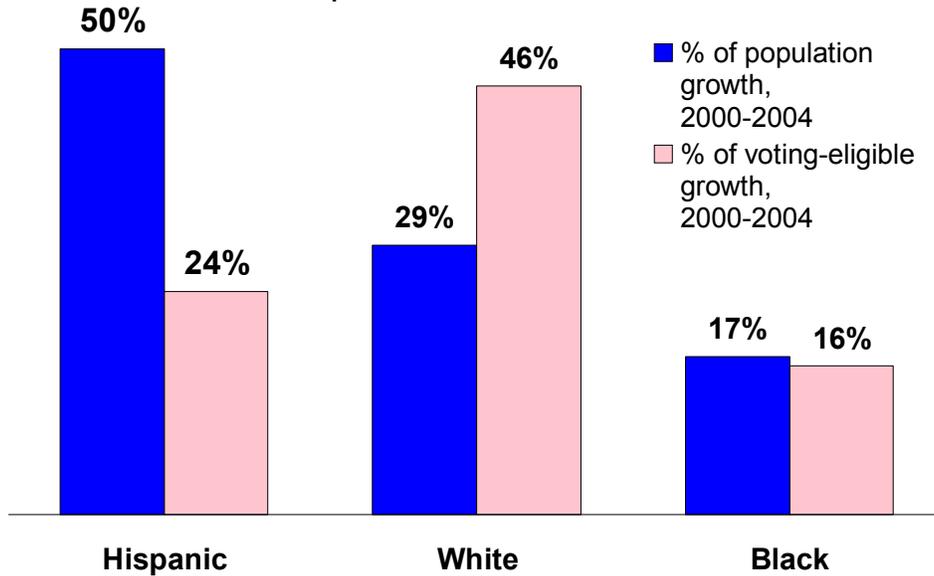
includes all people of all ages and citizenship status. The electorate is made up of eligible voters, i.e., individuals who are both at least 18 years old and U.S. citizens. Registered voters are people who are eligible and who signed up to vote. Voters are the eligible who registered and then actually went to the polls. Among Hispanics these segments differ in size and characteristics more so than for any of the other major racial and ethnic groups.

| Table 1. Population Categories of Political Participation                          |   |                  |                     |
|--|---|------------------|---------------------|
| Population Category  |   | 2004<br>Hispanic | 2004<br>All Persons |
| Total Population   | All persons regardless of age or citizenship status | 41,300,000       | 289,362,000         |
| Not Eligible to vote   | Youth under 18 years of age                         | 14,171,000       | 73,668,000          |
|  | Adults without U.S. citizenship                     | 11,041,000       | 18,689,000          |
|  | Total Not Eligible                                  | 25,212,000       | 92,357,000          |
| Eligible Voters  | U.S. citizens age 18 and above                      | 16,088,000       | 197,005,000         |
| Registered Voters  | U.S. adult citizens registered to vote              | 9,308,000        | 142,070,000         |
| Actual Voters  | U.S. adult citizens casting ballots                 | 7,587,000        | 125,736,000         |
| Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2004 November Current Population Survey |   |                  |                     |

## DEMOGRAPHIC FACTORS

The Hispanic population is growing quickly by way of immigration flows, most of it unauthorized, and high birth rates. These demographic factors shape the relationship between the size of the total population and the size of the electorate. For Latinos, population growth yields increases in the number of eligible voters at a slower and potentially diminished rate compared to other groups.

**Figure 1. Hispanic Share of Voting-Eligible Growth Lags Its Share of Total Population Growth from 2000 to 2004**



Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2000 and 2004 November Current Population Surveys. See text for definitions.

As noted above, the total Hispanic population grew by an estimated 5.7 million persons between November 2000 and November 2004, or half of the increase in the total U.S. population. However, the number of Latinos who were both U.S. citizens and at least 18 years old—eligible voters—grew only by 2.1 million. That number amounted to a little less than a quarter of the increase in the nation’s electorate. Meanwhile, whites accounted for 29 percent of the overall population increase but 46 percent of the growth in the electorate. (See Figure 1 and Table 1 in Appendix B.)

Fundamentally different demographic dynamics are at work in the nation’s major racial and ethnic groups. The white population, for example, is aging and growing slowly. Its voting-eligible population is being fed by a stock of native-born U.S. citizens turning 18 and by immigrants who gain citizenship through naturalization. Among whites, the non-eligible population actually shrank between the two elections with decreases in both the number of whites under the age of 18 (minus 670,000) and the number of adults who are not citizens (minus 24,000). As a result, the growth in the number of white eligible voters (4 million) was actually larger than the overall increase in the total white population (3.4 million).

In contrast total Latino population growth was more than twice the size of the growth in the Latino electorate (5.7 million vs. 2.1 million). This is a very young population that is growing fast and the two elements feeding that population growth—births and immigration—do not immediately translate into growth in the number of eligible voters. Nearly two-thirds (63%) of the people added to the Hispanic population lacked one of the two requirements for voting—age and citizenship. (See table 2.)

**Table 2. The Hispanic Population and Electorate, 2000 and 2004**

|   | 2004       | 2000       | Increase<br>2000 to<br>2004 | Share of<br>total<br>increase | Rate of<br>Increase |
|---|------------|------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------|
| Total   | 41,300,000 | 35,560,000 | 5,740,000                   | 100%                          | 16%                 |
| Non Eligible  | 25,212,000 | 21,621,000 | 3,591,000                   | 63%                           | 17%                 |
| Under 18  | 14,171,000 | 12,445,000 | 1,726,000                   | 30%                           | 14%                 |
| Non-citizens age 18 and<br>above  | 11,041,000 | 9,176,000  | 1,866,000                   | 33%                           | 20%                 |
| Eligible Voters   | 16,088,000 | 13,940,000 | 2,148,000                   | 37%                           | 15%                 |
| Native born   | 12,062,000 | 10,581,000 | 1,481,000                   | 26%                           | 14%                 |
| Foreign born  | 4,026,000  | 3,358,000  | 668,000                     | 12%                           | 20%                 |
| Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2000 and 2004 November Current Population Surveys<br>All figures rounded independently |            |            |                             |                               |                     |

Of the 5.7 million Hispanics added to the U.S. population between the last two presidential elections, 1.7 million persons, or 30 percent, were less than 18 years old. Most are native-born U.S. citizens and hence will eventually become eligible voters. And, when they do, they will join the electorate at a rapid rate. The Latino under-18 population grew by 14 percent between the two elections. But, this is a fairly recent phenomenon. It is still literally a baby boom, and in political terms it will be a long time before these Latinos make their presence felt. About 80 percent of them still will be too young to vote in the next presidential election.

The faster growth of the native-born youth population for Hispanics compared to whites is explained by two factors: The birth rate for Hispanic women is higher than it is for whites—82 vs. 56.5 live births per 1,000 females ages 15 to 44 (Downs, 2003). And, because this is the prime age group for immigration, women in those child-bearing years are a greater share of the Hispanic female population than among white females—48% vs. 39% (Census, 2005b).

The increase in the number of people under 18 only explains part of the reason that growth in the Hispanic electorate is so much smaller than growth in the Hispanic population. The other is immigration.

A third of the increase (1.9 million) in the Hispanic population between the two elections was due to growth in the number of foreign born non-citizens above the age of 18. According to estimates developed by the Pew Hispanic Center, two-thirds of all foreign-born Hispanics arriving in recent years have entered the country without authorization. Under current law some of those unauthorized migrants may eventually find a route to legal immigrant status and eventual citizenship, for example, by marrying a U.S. citizen, but the great majority will not. Even legislative proposals that would grant legal status to the unauthorized population envision a process that extends for several years at least.

In November 2004, 11 million of the 15.1 million foreign-born adults in the total Hispanic population reported that they were not U.S. citizens. The Pew Hispanic Center estimates that 6 to 7 million of them are unauthorized migrants. That leaves about 4

million legal immigrants who could potentially become U.S. citizens at some point in the future if they decided to pursue naturalization and meet the requirements.

But, the large proportion of undocumented migrants is not the only factor that produces a relatively low yield of eligible voters from the foreign-born Latino population; low rates of naturalization among Hispanic legal immigrants are an additional cause.

With the exception of Cuban exiles, who constitute a special case, naturalization rates historically have been lower for immigrants who hail from countries geographically close to the United States. This includes Mexico and several other major sources of legal immigrants from Latin America as well as Canada. In addition, older, more affluent and better educated immigrants are more likely to naturalize than their younger, less well-off counterparts, and each of those factors further reduces the share of Latino immigrants gaining citizenship (see Fix, Passel, and Sucher 2004 and Table 3 Appendix B). As a result of all these factors only 27 percent of the adult Latino foreign-born population in 2004 had gained U.S. citizenship compared to 54 percent of the adult non-Latino foreign born.

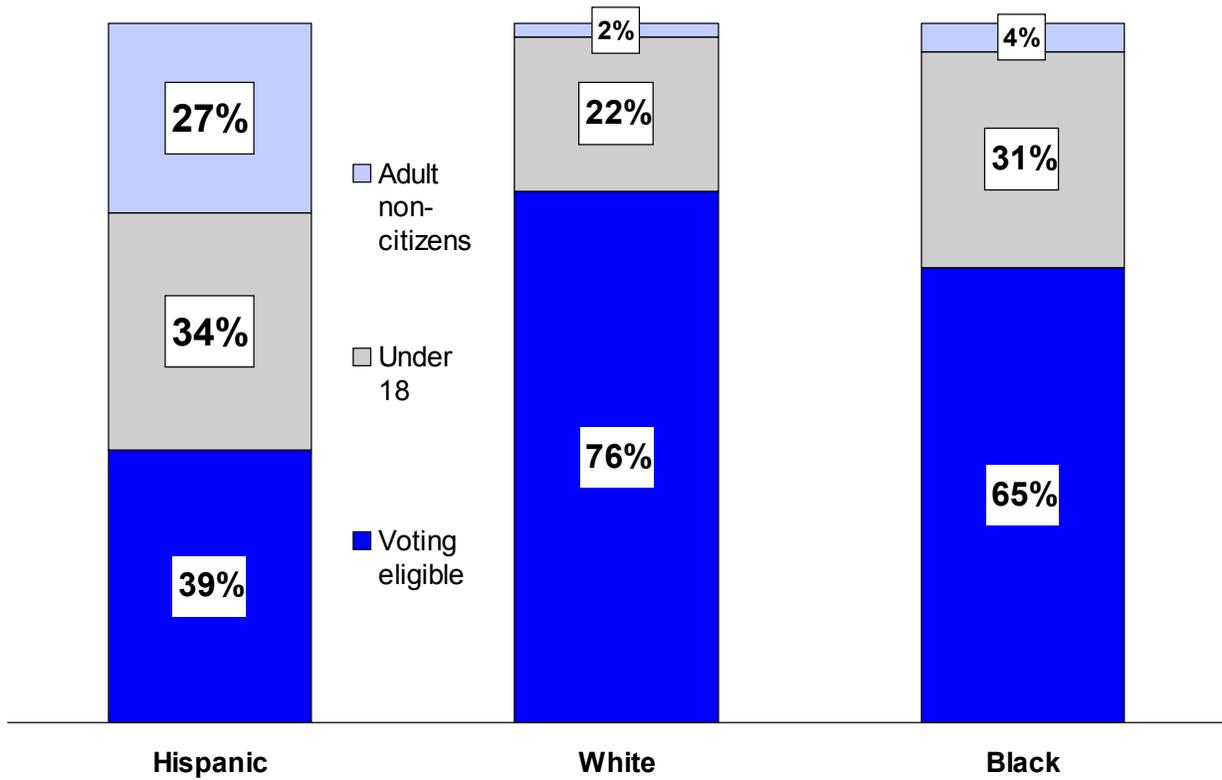
Population increase through immigration yields a relatively small share of eligible voters and that yield has shrunk in recent years. The number of adult foreign-born Latinos who had become U.S. citizens through naturalization and were thus eligible to vote increased by 668,000 between the two elections. That means that one-quarter of the adult immigrants added to the Latino population were citizens. This represents a drop in the number of eligible voters produced by the growth of the Latino foreign-born population compared to the period between the 1996 and 2000 elections when more than a third of the increase was added to the rolls of eligible voters, according to the CPS supplements.

This recent decrease reflects a drop in the number of all legal immigrants becoming citizens in recent years, Hispanic and non-Hispanic alike. Following the September 11 attacks the processing time for naturalization applicants stretched out and the pace of naturalizations slowed as background checks became more extensive and personnel resources were diverted to other tasks. Data from the Department of Homeland Security shows that in the three years prior to the 2000 elections (FY 1998-2000) nearly 2.2 million immigrants of all national origins were granted citizenship compared to 1.6 million in the three years after the 2000 vote (FY2001-2003). The pace of naturalization for immigrants of Hispanic origins mirrored this trend.

Both of the demographic factors analyzed above—the production of young people and immigration flows—have been in place long enough among Hispanics that the electorate is a much smaller share of the population than for the other major racial and ethnic groups.

Eligible voters made up 39 percent of the Latino population compared to 65 percent of the black population. The largest source of this difference is the much larger share of the Hispanic population made up of non-citizen foreign born (27%) compared to blacks (4%). The yield of eligible voters to population is even higher among whites (76%). In this case the comparative youthfulness of the Latino population is an additional factor as 34 percent of the Hispanic population is not eligible to vote due to age alone compared to 22 percent of the white population. (See figure 2.)

**Figure 2. Eligible Voters as a Share of Total Population for Major Racial/Ethnic Groups, 2004**



Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2004 November Current Population Survey.

## PARTICIPATION RATES

Of the 5.7 million Hispanics added to the U.S. population between the last two presidential elections, 1.7 million persons, or 30 percent, were less than 18 years old. Most are native-born U.S. citizens and hence will eventually become eligible voters. And, when they do, they will join the electorate at a rapid rate. The Latino under-18 population grew by 14 percent between the two elections. But, this is a fairly recent phenomenon. It is still literally a baby boom, and in political terms it will be a long time before these Latinos make their presence felt. About 80 percent of them still will be too young to vote in the next presidential election.

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The increase in the number of people under 18 only explains part of the reason that growth in the Hispanic electorate is so much smaller than growth in the Hispanic population. The other is immigration.

A third of the increase (1.9 million) in the Hispanic population between the two elections was due to growth in the number of foreign born non-citizens above the age of 18. According to estimates developed by the Pew Hispanic Center, two-thirds of all foreign-born Hispanics arriving in recent years have entered the country without authorization. Under current law some of those unauthorized migrants may eventually find a route to legal immigrant status and eventual citizenship, for example, by marrying a U.S. citizen, but the great majority will not. Even legislative proposals that would grant legal status to the unauthorized population envision a process that extends for several years at least.

In November 2004, 11 million of the 15.1 million foreign-born adults in the total Hispanic population reported that they were not U.S. citizens. The Pew Hispanic Center estimates that 6 to 7 million of them are unauthorized migrants. That leaves about 4 million legal immigrants who could potentially become U.S. citizens at some point in the future if they decided to pursue naturalization and meet the requirements.

But, the large proportion of undocumented migrants is not the only factor that produces a relatively low yield of eligible voters from the foreign-born Latino population; low rates of naturalization among Hispanic legal immigrants are an additional cause.

With the exception of Cuban exiles, who constitute a special case, naturalization rates historically have been lower for immigrants who hail from countries geographically close to the United States. This includes Mexico and several other major sources of legal immigrants from Latin America as well as Canada. In addition, older, more affluent and better educated immigrants are more likely to naturalize than their younger, less well-off counterparts, and each of those factors further reduces the share of Latino immigrants gaining citizenship (see Fix, Passel, and Sucher 2004 and Table 3 Appendix B). As a result of all these factors only 27 percent of the adult Latino foreign-born population in 2004 had gained U.S. citizenship compared to 54 percent of the adult non-Latino foreign born.

Population increase through immigration yields a relatively small share of eligible voters and that yield has shrunk in recent years. The number of adult foreign-born Latinos who had become U.S. citizens through naturalization and were thus eligible to vote increased by 668,000 between the two elections. That means that one-quarter of the adult immigrants added to the Latino population were citizens. This represents a drop in the number of eligible voters produced by the growth of the Latino foreign-born population compared to the period between the 1996 and 2000 elections when more than a third of the increase was added to the rolls of eligible voters, according to the CPS supplements.

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|   | Hispanic | White | Black | other | Total US |
|---|----------|-------|-------|-------|----------|
| <b>2004</b>   |          |       |       |       |          |
| REGISTRATION<br>(Registered voters as a percent of eligible voters) | 58       | 75    | 69    | 57    | 72       |
| VOTING<br>(Voters as a percent of registered voters)                | 82       | 89    | 87    | 84    | 89       |
| <b>2000</b>   |          |       |       |       |          |
| REGISTRATION  | 57       | 72    | 68    | 54    | 70       |
| VOTING  | 78       | 86    | 84    | 82    | 86       |
| <b>Change 2000 to 2004</b>  |          |       |       |       |          |
| REGISTRATION  | 1        | 3     | 1     | 4     | 3        |
| VOTING  | 3        | 3     | 3     | 2     | 3        |

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2000 and 2004 November Current Population Surveys.

How significant are the gaps between Hispanics and whites in registration and voting? If Hispanics had registered and voted in 2004 at the same rates as whites in their age brackets, Hispanics would have cast an additional 2.7 million ballots. That would have represented 36 percent more Hispanic votes than the 7.6 million that emerges from the CPS. Both the registration and voting gaps matter in this calculation, but the registration difference is of greater import. Of the hypothetical 2.7 million additional Latino votes, 2 million would have come from the registration differences and 700,000 can be attributed to the gap in turnout among those registered. This substantial shortfall in Latino registration occurred despite several extensive efforts by non-partisan groups as well as political players to register Hispanic eligible voters ahead of the 2004 election.

Another way of looking at the relative levels of political participation is to compare the number of people who actually voted to the number who were eligible to vote. In the Hispanic population 47 percent of the eligible voters went to the polls compared to 67 percent of whites and 60 percent of blacks. The 20 percentage point gap

between Hispanics and whites in this measure can be explained by three factors. The Latino electorate is somewhat younger than the white electorate, and all young people have lower rates of registration and voting. The difference in the age profiles explains 3 percentage points of the gap. Differences in reported voting turnout by registered voters accounts for another 5 percentage points. But, again in this calculation, lower rates of registration by eligible voters is by far the largest factor and is responsible for 12 percentage points of the gap between Latinos and whites.

Because whites are by far the largest segment of the enfranchised population, however, their 3 percentage point increase in registration and a 3 percentage point increase in turnout amounted to a very substantial increase in the number of votes cast compared to other groups. The number of whites voting increased by 10.2 million from 2000 to 2004, according to the CPS, even though the voting-eligible white population increased by just 4 million. Meanwhile, the number of Latino voters increased by 1.4 million even though the voting-eligible population grew by 2.1 million. (See Table 4.)

| Voters as a percent of... | Non-Hispanic |       |       |       | Total US |
|---------------------------|--------------|-------|-------|-------|----------|
|                           | Hispanic     | White | Black | other |          |
| Eligible Voters           | 47           | 67    | 60    | 48    | 64       |
| Total population          | 18           | 51    | 39    | 26    | 43       |

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2004 November Current Population Survey

Age, education and income all have an impact on registration and voting, but the CPS shows that the effects are uniform across all of the major racial and ethnic groups. Older, better educated and more affluent voters are uniformly more likely to participate in the electorate process regardless of whether they are Hispanic, white or black. However, while the patterns are the same, Hispanics uniformly participate at lower levels than their white and black counterparts. So, for example, lower-income adults are less likely to register or vote than the more affluent and this is true regardless of race or ethnicity. But, less affluent Hispanics register and vote at lower rates than whites and blacks at the same income levels. (See Appendix C)

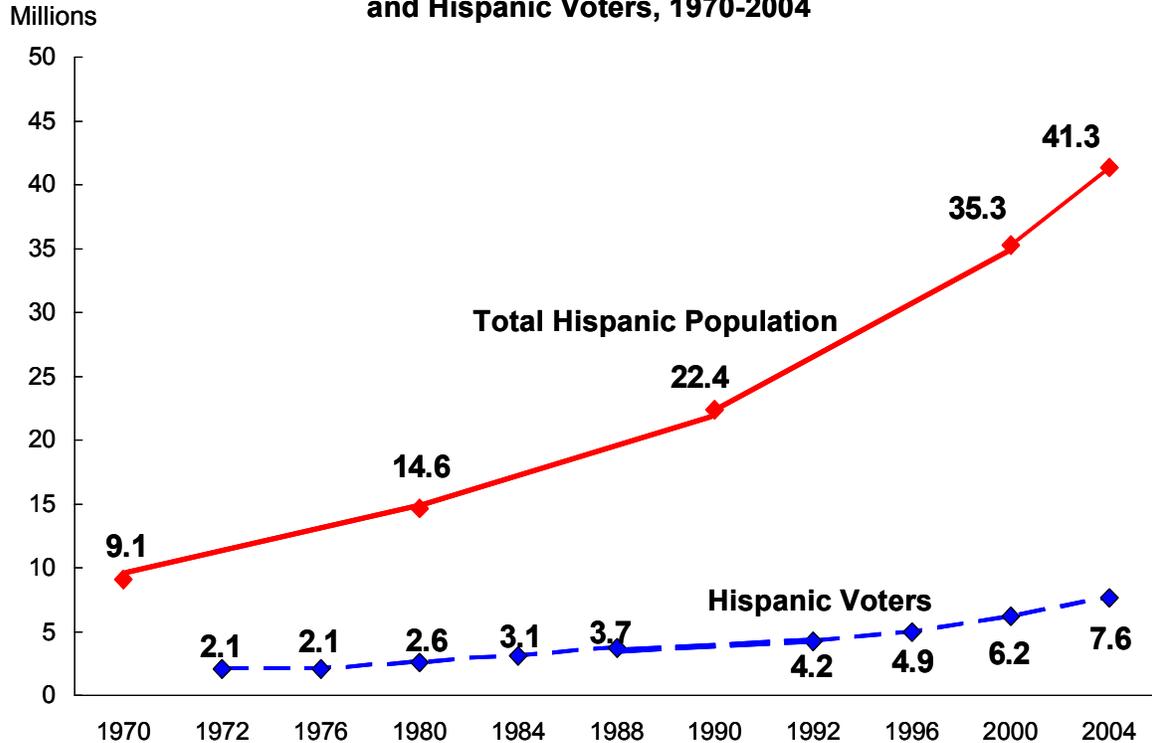
Demonstrating the zeal of converts, Latino immigrants who become citizens report somewhat higher rates of political participation than the native born. In 2004, foreign-born Latino citizens were more likely to report registering to vote than U.S.-born Latino adults (60% vs. 57%). Similarly, foreign-born Hispanics who registered to vote were also more likely to report voting than their native-born counterparts (87% vs. 80%). Citizenship is a major barrier to political participation for foreign-born adult Latinos. But, once citizenship is attained, foreign-born status does not dampen political engagement.

The demographic factors and political participation rates described above combine to create a situation in which the Hispanic population has considerably less representation at the ballot box than other major racial and ethnic groups. While 51 percent of all whites and 39 percent of all blacks voted in 2004, only 18 percent of the Hispanic population went to the polls in 2004. Put another way, in 2004, each white vote represented two white persons, whereas each Latino vote represented five Latinos. And, despite the very substantial growth of the Hispanic population since 2000, these

disparities only grew wider. In 2000, Latino voters were 17 percent of the Hispanic population compared to 47 percent among whites and 36 percent among blacks.

That gap population and voting strength has been growing for more than 30 years as can be seen in Figure 2 below which offers a historical comparison of the number of Latino voters, the voting age population and the total population. The difference between the vote and the population is now far larger than for either whites or blacks, and there is every indication that it will continue to grow as long as the demographic factors and the participation rates remain unchanged.

**Figure 3. The Growing Divergence in Size between the Hispanic Population and Hispanic Voters, 1970-2004**



Source: *Hispanic Americans: A Statistical Sourcebook* and Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2004 November Current Population Survey.

The large number of Hispanic young people will eventually add to the Latino electorate as they reach voting age. But, if immigration flows continue adding to the number of Latino females of child bearing years Hispanic fertility rates and immigration flows persist at current levels, even larger numbers of youth will be added each year to population not eligible to vote. And, if participation rates remain unchanged, the young people added to the electorate will register and vote at relatively low levels.

## II. The Characteristics of the Hispanic Population and Electorate

The differences between the Hispanic population and the Hispanic electorate are more than just a matter of size. Latinos who are eligible to vote and those who actually do vote have distinctly different characteristics than the Latino population as a whole. The demographic factors and the political behavior described above have created a situation in which one segment of the Hispanic population acts as a proxy in the democratic process for the rest, and the segment exercising that proxy is unlike the larger, non-

eligible, non-voting part of the population in many respects. To begin with, they do not necessarily speak the same language.

The most obvious difference involves nativity. Because so many Latino immigrants are not eligible to vote, a far greater share of the Hispanic adult population (56%) is foreign born than among those who voted in 2004 (28%) and, of course, the adult population that is not eligible to vote because it lacks citizenship is entirely foreign born. (See Table 5 below.)

Differences in nativity bring with them differences in language use. Surveys show that virtually all native-born Latinos speak English fluently while about a third are bilingual and almost none speak only Spanish. Meanwhile, virtually all of the foreign born speak Spanish, about a quarter are bilingual and almost none speak only English (Pew Hispanic Center & Kaiser Family Foundation, 2002). The CPS does not measure bilingualism, but it does identify people who live in households where only Spanish is spoken. Less than 11 percent of eligible voters and less than 9 percent of actual voters live in Spanish-only households compared to 27 percent of the entire adult population and 50 percent of the adult non-citizens.

Given that the growth of the immigrant population is fed by the arrival of young adults, it is not surprising that the population as a whole is somewhat younger than the electorate. In the entire adult population, 58 percent of Hispanics are less than 40 years old compared to 52 percent of the eligible voters. Two-thirds of adult non-citizen Hispanics are under 40.

Hispanic eligible voters are somewhat more affluent, for example 34 percent earn family incomes of more than \$50,000 a year compared to 27 percent of the Hispanic adult population as a whole. And the electorate is better educated. Among eligible voters 28 percent failed to complete high school compared to 40 percent of the entire adult population. These differences are more marked when one adds comparisons to the non-citizen adults, who are the least educated and least affluent, and to actual voters, who are more affluent and better educated. (See table 4 Appendix B.)

Table 5. Characteristics of the Hispanic Adult Population by Voting Eligibility, November 2004 CPS (percentages)

|   | Eligible Voters | 18 & over, non-citizen | All Hispanic Adults |
|---|-----------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| <b>Age</b>                              |                 |                        |                     |
| 18 to 29 years                          | 31              | 35                     | 32                  |
| 30 to 39 years                          | 21              | 32                     | 26                  |
| 40 to 49 years                          | 20              | 18                     | 19                  |
| 50 to 64 years                          | 18              | 11                     | 15                  |
| 65 years and over                       | 11              | 4                      | 8                   |
| <b>Sex</b>                              |                 |                        |                     |
| Male                                    | 49              | 55                     | 51                  |
| Female                                  | 51              | 45                     | 49                  |
| <b>Nativity</b>                         |                 |                        |                     |
| foreign born                            | 25              | 100                    | 56                  |
| native born                             | 75              | 0                      | 44                  |
| <b>Spanish only spoken in household</b> |                 |                        |                     |
| No                                      | 89              | 50                     | 73                  |
| Yes                                     | 11              | 50                     | 27                  |
| <b>Family income</b>                    |                 |                        |                     |
| under \$15,000                          | 17              | 24                     | 20                  |
| \$15,000 to 29,999                      | 22              | 33                     | 27                  |
| \$30,000 to 49,999                      | 26              | 27                     | 26                  |
| \$50,000 to 74,999                      | 19              | 10                     | 15                  |
| \$75,000 or more                        | 16              | 7                      | 12                  |
| <b>Education</b>                        |                 |                        |                     |
| less than 9th grade                     | 13              | 39                     | 23                  |
| 9th to 12th                             | 16              | 20                     | 17                  |
| hs grad or some college                 | 59              | 35                     | 49                  |
| bachelors degree or more                | 13              | 7                      | 10                  |

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2004 November Current Population Survey

### III. How Latinos Voted in 2004

Although the CPS does not ask respondents how they voted, it does help resolve an enduring disagreement over how Hispanics voted in the 2004 presidential race. The profile of Hispanic voters in the CPS allows a fresh assessment of data from exit polls, and suggests that Latino support for President George W. Bush may have been lower than initially estimated.

Much analysis of the 2004 election results has been based on the results of a nationwide exit poll which offered detailed information on the demographic and socio-economic characteristics, attitudes and beliefs of voters according to their choice for

president. The National Election Pool (NEP) was conducted on behalf of a consortium of news organizations utilizing a well-established methodology that involves interviewing voters at a sample of precincts chosen to be representative of all polling places across the nation. The NEP national exit poll showed that President George W. Bush had taken 44 percent of the Hispanic vote—a 10 percentage point increase over his share in 2000. This finding has proved controversial as a number of scholars and Latino advocates have claimed that it overstates Hispanic support for President Bush (NCLR, 2004; Leal, Barreto, Lee, and de la Garza, 2005; William C. Velasquez Institute, 2004). Some of these critics of the exit poll finding have noted that the 44 percent figure was considerably above the level measured in pre-election polls, and also above the prior record of Republican support attained in the 1984 election when Ronald Reagan won about 37 percent of Hispanic ballots.

The controversy grew more complex when Ana Maria Arumi, a polling specialist then of NBC, which was a member of the NEP consortium, offered fresh insight on the exit poll at an event hosted by the National Association of Hispanic Journalists (NAHJ) on December 2, 2004, and in a brief news item about the event on MSNBC.COM. Arumi said that the selection of sample precincts in the NEP produced an overrepresentation of Cuban respondents in Miami-Dade County, a population that is typically the most pro-Republican segment of the Hispanic electorate. A better assessment of the Hispanic vote, she said, could be developed by aggregating exit polls conducted individually in the 50 states and the District of Columbia. That analysis showed that Bush had drawn 40 percent of the Hispanic votes, she said. Arumi's comments appear to be the most extensive analysis of the state exit poll findings regarding the Hispanic vote that have been made public by members of the NEP consortium. Full data from both the national and the 51 state polls has become publicly available, and in conjunction with data from the CPS it is now possible to assess these findings.

The national exit poll was based on a sample of 250 precincts designed to be representative of the nation as a whole, and 1,037 respondents at those precincts identified themselves as Hispanics. At the same time as the national poll was being conducted on election day, the NEP was also conducting 51 individual polls designed to produce results representative in each of the 50 states and the District of Columbia. These polls were taken at 1,469 precincts at which 4,469 Hispanics were interviewed. The Pew Hispanic Center has aggregated data from the 51 state polls and weighted the results to produce results for the nation as a whole. As Arumi noted, the 51 state polls show that Bush drew 40 percent of the Hispanic vote rather than the 44 percent in the national poll.

Aside from the overrepresentation of Cuban voters in the Miami area noted by Arumi, a comparison of the Hispanic voters in the national and the state polls offers further indications of why the national poll might have produced a higher level of Latino support for President Bush. Compared to the combined sample in the 51 state polls, the national NEP data has relatively fewer young Latino voters, fewer voters residing in cities with more than 50,000 residents, fewer women, fewer voters who identified themselves as Democrats and fewer who said they disapproved of the war in Iraq. All of these characteristics are shared by Hispanics who voted for Sen. John F. Kerry, the Democratic candidate.

It is impossible to definitively determine whether the national or the 51 state exit polls more accurately captured Hispanic voter preferences. However, the Latino voter

profile in the 51 state polls more closely matches the CPS on a few important points. For example, the CPS has 27 percent of the Hispanic vote coming from California which is in line with the 26 percent state exit poll rather than the 21 percent in the national poll. And, both the CPS and the state polls have the male share of the Hispanic vote at about 46 percent compared to the more than 48 percent in the national exit poll (table 6). The state polls (7.5 percent) come closer to the CPS finding on the Hispanic share of the total vote (6 percent) than the national exit poll (8.4 percent).

|                            |    |                             |    |
|----------------------------|----|-----------------------------|----|
| <b>Sex</b>                 |    | <b>Political Party ID</b>   |    |
| Male                       | 47 | Democrat                    | 49 |
| Female                     | 53 | Republican                  | 27 |
|                            |    | Independent                 | 24 |
| <b>Age</b>                 |    | <b>Political Philosophy</b> |    |
| 18 to 29 years             | 32 | Liberal                     | 26 |
| 30 to 39 years             | 20 | Moderate                    | 45 |
| 40 to 49 years             | 22 | Conservative                | 30 |
| 50 to 64 years             | 19 |                             |    |
| 65 years and over          | 7  | <b>Size of place</b>        |    |
| <b>Family income</b>       |    | City over 50,000            | 44 |
| under \$15,000             | 10 | Suburbs                     | 42 |
| \$15,000 to 29,999         | 18 | Small city or rural         | 14 |
| \$30,000 to 49,999         | 24 |                             |    |
| \$50,000 to 74,999         | 22 | <b>State</b>                |    |
| \$75,000 or more           | 25 | Arizona                     | 3  |
| <b>Religion</b>            |    | California                  | 26 |
| Protestant/other Christian | 32 | Florida                     | 13 |
| Catholic                   | 55 | Illinois                    | 5  |
| Jewish                     | 1  | New Jersey                  | 4  |
| Something else             | 4  | New York                    | 7  |
| None                       | 8  | Texas                       | 17 |
|                            |    | other                       | 26 |

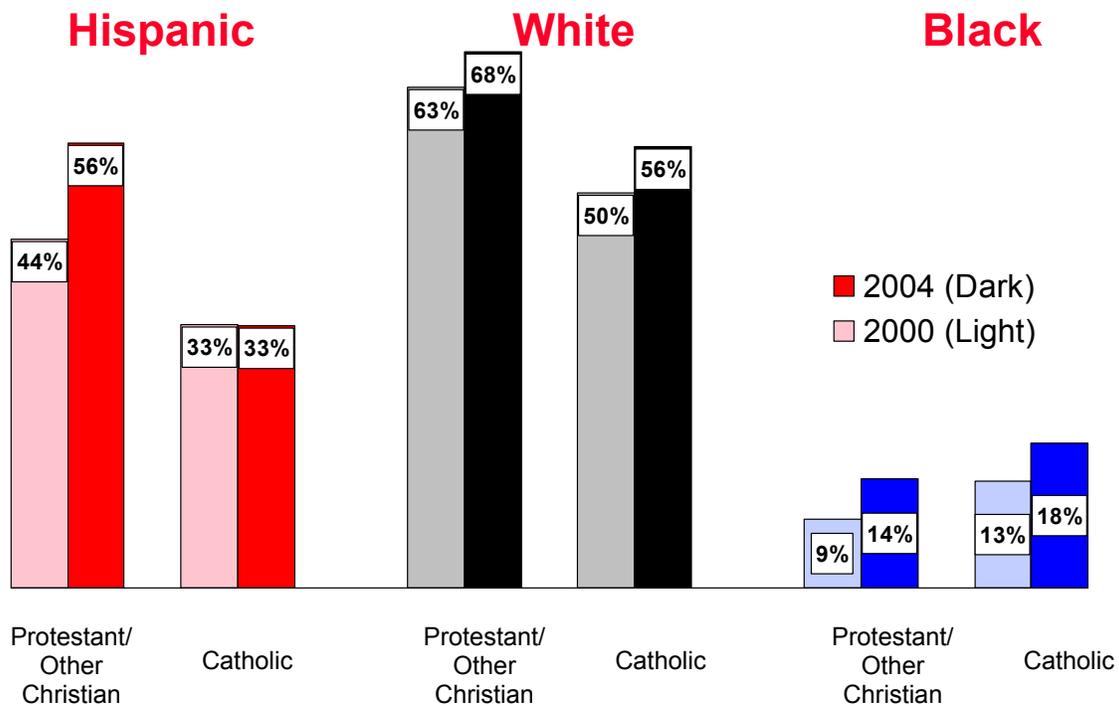
Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2004 Combined State Exit Polls, National Election Pool

#### PRESIDENT BUSH'S GAINS AMONG HISPANICS

Data from the combined state exit polls suggests that religion may have played a role in President Bush's greater success with Hispanic voters in 2004 compared to 2000. On this subject the CPS offers no information because it asks no questions regarding religion. Hispanic Protestants, who are mostly evangelicals rather than members of mainline Protestant denominations, made up 25 percent of the Latino vote in 2000 but four years later their share was up to 32 percent, according to the 51 state polls conducted during

those elections.<sup>1</sup> In addition, this segment of the Latino electorate tilted more heavily for Bush in 2004, giving him 56 percent of their votes compared to 44 percent in 2000. Thus, Hispanic Protestants were both a growing and increasingly pro-Republican constituency between the two elections. Meanwhile, Bush’s share of the Hispanic Catholic vote held steady at 33 percent in the state exit polls. The split between Latino Protestants and Catholics (23 percent) was larger than in the white vote in which 68 percent of Protestants and 56 percent of Catholics voted for Bush.

**Figure 4. Percentage of Votes Cast for President Bush, by Christian Affiliation and Race: 2000 and 2004**



Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2000 and 2004 combined state Edison/Mitofsky National Election Pool exit polls.

Aside from his strong support from Hispanic Protestants, President Bush also gained some ground among nearly all segments of the Hispanic vote (Table 7). His share of the vote increased among female Hispanic voters and across all age categories and income groups. He did better among big-city Hispanic voters. The only Hispanic vote segments of the Hispanic electorate where his share did not increase were among Catholics, political independents, conservatives, and rural voters.

<sup>1</sup> The combined state NEP exit poll data does not reveal whether the voter was a “born-again or evangelical” Christian. The Protestant designation in the text refers to non-Catholic Christians; that is, it includes Hispanics identifying as Protestant, Mormon/Latter Day Saints, and “other Christian,” excluding Hispanics identifying as Catholic. Pre-election surveys reveal that the bulk of the Hispanic non-Catholic Christian registered voters are evangelical or born-again Christians. Five out of six Hispanic non-Catholic Christian registered voters are evangelical Christians, as opposed to mainline Protestants (Leal, Barreto, Lee, and de la Garza, 2005).

Table 7. Characteristics of Hispanic voters cast for George W. Bush, 2000 and 2004, 51 State Exit Polls (percentages)

|   | 2004 | 2000 | Change<br>To 2004 |
|---|------|------|-------------------|
| <b>All</b>  | 40   | 34   | 6                 |
| <b>Sex</b>  |      |      |                   |
| Male  | 43   | 39   | 3                 |
| Female  | 37   | 30   | 7                 |
| <b>Age</b>  |      |      |                   |
| 18 to 29 years  | 34   | 33   | 1                 |
| 30 to 39 years  | 40   | 39   | 1                 |
| 40 to 49 years  | 43   | 33   | 10                |
| 50 to 64 years  | 43   | 33   | 10                |
| 65 years and over   | 45   | 26   | 20                |
| <b>Family income</b>  |      |      |                   |
| under \$15,000  | 28   | 26   | 2                 |
| \$15,000 to 29,999  | 30   | 25   | 6                 |
| \$30,000 to 49,999  | 37   | 32   | 5                 |
| \$50,000 to 74,999  | 45   | 40   | 5                 |
| \$75,000 or more  | 47   | 46   | 0                 |
| <b>Religion</b>   |      |      |                   |
| Protestant/other Christian  | 56   | 44   | 12                |
| Catholic  | 33   | 33   | 0                 |
| <b>Political Party ID</b>   |      |      |                   |
| Democrat  | 12   | 10   | 2                 |
| Republican  | 90   | 84   | 6                 |
| Independent   | 39   | 42   | -3                |
| <b>Political Philosophy</b>   |      |      |                   |
| Liberal   | 17   | 12   | 5                 |
| Moderate  | 35   | 33   | 2                 |
| Conservative  | 66   | 66   | 0                 |
| <b>Size of place</b>  |      |      |                   |
| City over 50,000  | 36   | 26   | 10                |
| Suburbs   | 43   | 38   | 4                 |
| Small city or rural   | 43   | 50   | -8                |
| Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2004 Combined State Exit Polls, National Election Pool |      |      |                   |

The exit polling data also shed some light on the issue of Latino realignment in political party leanings. Surveys of registered Latino voters typically reveal that Latinos identify with the Democratic Party by at least a two-to-one advantage (Pew Hispanic Center & Kaiser Family Foundation, 2004). This advantage is not apparent in the NEP exit poll. In the 2004 exit poll, 49 percent of Hispanic voters identified with the Democrats, 27 percent with the Republicans, and 24 percent indicated independent leanings. Hispanic Democratic affiliation declined from the 2000 election, wherein the comparable NEP exit poll data indicate a Democratic vs. Republican split of 55 percent

versus 24 percent. Whether the decline in the fortunes of the Democrats among Hispanic voters from 2000 to 2004 simply reflects the relative popularity of George Bush among Hispanic voters or a more permanent shift in Hispanic party loyalties remains an open question.

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## Appendix A

The concepts and methods used to measure race changed between the Current Population Surveys (CPS) of November 2000 and November 2004. While these changes have no impact on the definition and measurement of the Hispanic population, they do affect the comparability of the nonHispanic white, nonHispanic black, and other nonHispanic populations between 2000 and 2004. To assess changes in the racial composition of the electorate, we employed techniques to map the racial categories from 2004 into the definitions used in 2000. This appendix describe the methods and rationale for developing the alternative racial groupings for the November 2004 CPS.

The November 2000 CPS used the racial concepts and definitions that had been in place since the late 1970s and had been used in the CPS for more than two decades and in the decennial censuses of 1980 and 1990. Respondents could choose among four major race groups: white; black; American Indian, Alaska Native (AIAN); or Asian or Pacific Islander (API). The respondent could choose only one racial identity and all respondents were placed in one of the four categories.<sup>2</sup>

In the 1990s, the Office of Management and Budget reviewed the race designations used in federal statistics. As a result of this review process, the racial categories and concepts used were altered for Census 2000 and for the CPS beginning with the March supplement of 2002 and all other CPSs beginning with January 2003. The November 2004 supplement used these new concepts that basically included two significant changes. First, the number of major race categories was increased to five by splitting the API category into “Asian” and “Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander.”<sup>3</sup> Of greater significance, however, was the option that allowed respondents to identify themselves as being of two or more racial identities. As a result, there are 31 possible categories of responses to the race question—5 single races, 10 combinations of 2 races,

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<sup>2</sup> In the 1980 and 1990 Censuses, respondents were allowed to choose a fifth category of “Other” but this option was not permitted in the CPS.

<sup>3</sup> Again, Census 2000 had an additional category of “some other race” but this response is not permitted in the CPS.

10 combinations of 3 races, 5 combinations of 4 races, and a response choosing membership in all 5 race groups.

In November 2004, approximately 4.0 million nonHispanic respondents chose more than one race. Although these respondents represent only about 1.6 percent of the nonHispanic population, they can affect comparisons of changes in the racial distribution of the population and of voters between 2000 and 2004. One alternative for comparing nonHispanic white, black, and Asian populations in 2004 with 2000 is simply to report the number of nonHispanics choosing white alone, black alone, and Asian alone plus Hawaiian/Pacific Islander alone for 2004. Any persons that identified as multiracial would not appear in the single race categories. Appendix Table A1 reports the size of nonHispanic single race populations using this methodology; the “other” category includes all nonHispanics reporting more than one race and all persons reporting AIAN alone. This alternative is used for most tabulations in this report except those measuring changes in racial distributions because it is not comparable to the 2000 racial categories, since the multiracial persons in 2004 had identified themselves as being a single race in 2000.

Appendix Tables B1 and B2 compare racial distributions in 2000 with data from 2004 in which multiracial responses are reassigned to single race categories. The assignment proceeds with a hierarchical reassignment algorithm designed to reproduce as closely as possible a historically consistent set of demographic categories:

- First, the multiracial categories that include black racial identity are categorized as black. (7 CPS categories)
- Next, if the multiracial category does not include black, but does include Asian or Hawaiian/Pacific Islander, the person is categorized as Asian or Hawaiian/Pacific Islander. (6 CPS categories)
- Then, if the multiracial response includes white, the person is categorized as white. (This option has the effect of assigning persons reporting white and American Indian as white.)

- Finally, because the CPS includes only 14 of the 26 possible multiracial categories, it has two residual multiracial categories—'2 or 3 Races' and '4 or 5 Races'. Persons in these two residual categories are assigned as black.<sup>4</sup>

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Note that this procedure can be used for classifying the Hispanic population by race as well. However, the total Hispanic count is unaffected by this algorithm. Appendix Table A1 reports the size of the November 2004 nonHispanic race groups using the “single race alone” method and according to the reassignment algorithm that reallocates multirace persons to a single race category. The reassignment shifts about 4 million persons from the “other” category, reducing it by about 70 percent. The white population is increased by about 1.8 million or 0.9 percent relative to the single race categorization; the black, by 1.3 million or 3.6 percent; and the Asian/Pacific Islander by 0.9 million or 7.3 percent. For the adult population, the total reassignment is 2.3 million but the percentage changes are slightly smaller, reflecting the greater prevalence of multiracial responses among children.

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<sup>4</sup> This decision is based on an analysis of Census 2000 data which shows that most persons falling in these two residual groups would be assigned as black under the hierarchical rules described.

## Appendix B

| Table A1: U.S. Racial/Ethnic Populations under Alternative Classification Methods: November 2004 |            |             |             |              |            |             |
|--|------------|-------------|-------------|--------------|------------|-------------|
| Procedure and Population   | Hispanic   | nonHispanic |             |              |            | Total       |
|  |            | white alone | black alone | Asian* alone | other      |             |
| <b>All Ages</b>  |            |             |             |              |            |             |
| 16 multiracial categories  |            |             |             |              |            |             |
| unallocated  | 41,300,000 | 194,664,000 | 35,125,000  | 12,564,000   | 5,708,000  | 289,362,000 |
|  |            | white       | black       | Asian*       | other      |             |
| multirace individuals  | 41,300,000 | 196,499,000 | 36,405,000  | 13,478,000   | 1,679,000  | 289,362,000 |
| allocated to single race   |            |             |             |              |            |             |
| Difference:  |            |             |             |              |            |             |
| Amount   | (x)        | 1,835,000   | 1,279,000   | 914,000      | -4,029,000 | (x)         |
| percent of unallocated   | (x)        | 0.9%        | 3.6%        | 7.3%         | -70.6%     | (x)         |
|  |            |             |             |              |            |             |
| <b>Age 18 and over</b>   |            | white alone | black alone | Asian* alone | other      | Total       |
| 16 multiracial categories  |            |             |             |              |            |             |
| unallocated  | 27,129,000 | 151,410,000 | 24,134,000  | 9,605,000    | 3,415,000  | 215,694,000 |
|  |            | white       | black       | Asian*       | other      |             |
| multirace individuals  | 27,129,000 | 152,742,000 | 24,641,000  | 10,016,000   | 1,165,000  | 215,694,000 |
| allocated to single race   |            |             |             |              |            |             |
| Difference:  |            |             |             |              |            |             |
| Amount   | (x)        | 1,331,000   | 508,000     | 411,000      | -2,250,000 | (x)         |
| percent of unallocated   | (x)        | 0.9%        | 2.1%        | 4.3%         | -65.9%     | (x)         |
|  |            |             |             |              |            |             |
| Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2004 November Current Population Survey.              |            |             |             |              |            |             |
| See Appendix A for definitions. All figures rounded independently.                               |            |             |             |              |            |             |
|  |            |             |             |              |            |             |
| (x) -- not applicable.   |            |             |             |              |            |             |

Table B1. Voting Populations by Major Racial/Ethnic Group (according to Alternative Definitions), 2000 and 2004

|           |                 | 2000        | 2004        | Increase<br>2000<br>to<br>2004 | Percent<br>Increase |
|-----------|-----------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| Hispanics | Total           | 35,560,000  | 41,300,000  | 5,740,000                      | 16.1                |
|           | Voting Eligible | 13,940,000  | 16,088,000  | 2,148,000                      | 15.4                |
| White*    | Total           | 193,117,000 | 196,499,000 | 3,382,000                      | 1.8                 |
|           | Voting Eligible | 145,406,000 | 149,481,000 | 4,075,000                      | 2.8                 |
| Black*    | Total           | 34,435,000  | 36,405,000  | 1,970,000                      | 5.7                 |
|           | Voting Eligible | 21,958,000  | 23,373,000  | 1,415,000                      | 6.4                 |
| other*    | Total           | 14,757,000  | 15,158,000  | 400,000                        | 2.7                 |
|           | Voting Eligible | 6,870,000   | 8,064,000   | 1,194,000                      | 17.4                |
| Total     | Total           | 277,869,000 | 289,362,000 | 11,492,000                     | 4.1                 |
|           | Voting Eligible | 188,173,000 | 197,005,000 | 8,832,000                      | 4.7                 |

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2000 and 2004 November Current Population Surveys

Note: Race group definitions differ from those used in other tables. See Appendix A.

All figures rounded independently.

\* NonHispanic.

Table B2. Registration and Voting by Major Racial/Ethnic Group (according to Alternative Definitions), 2000 and 2004

|           |            | 2000        | 2004        | Increase<br>2000<br>to<br>2004 | Percent<br>Increase |
|-----------|------------|-------------|-------------|--------------------------------|---------------------|
| Hispanics | Registered | 7,909,000   | 9,308,000   | 1,399,000                      | 17.7                |
|           | Voted      | 6,174,000   | 7,587,000   | 1,413,000                      | 22.9                |
| White*    | Registered | 104,316,000 | 112,288,000 | 7,972,000                      | 7.6                 |
|           | Voted      | 90,178,000  | 100,378,000 | 10,200,000                     | 11.3                |
| Black*    | Registered | 14,883,000  | 16,118,000  | 1,235,000                      | 8.3                 |
|           | Voted      | 12,532,000  | 14,086,000  | 1,553,000                      | 12.4                |
| other*    | Registered | 3,694,000   | 4,355,000   | 662,000                        | 17.9                |
|           | Voted      | 3,027,000   | 3,685,000   | 658,000                        | 21.7                |
| Total     | Registered | 130,803,000 | 142,070,000 | 11,267,000                     | 8.6                 |
|           | Voted      | 111,911,000 | 125,736,000 | 13,825,000                     | 12.4                |

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2000 and 2004 November Current Population Surveys

Note: These vote totals are based on the November Current Population Survey, which are self-reported vote totals, not the official vote totals. Race group definitions differ from those used in other tables. See Appendix A. All figures rounded independently.

\* NonHispanic.

Table B3. Citizenship Rates of Adult Hispanic Immigrants<sup>a</sup>, 2004

|                        | Percent<br>Citizens |
|------------------------|---------------------|
| All                    | 26.7                |
| Age                    |                     |
| 18 to 29 years         | 10.4                |
| 30 to 39 years         | 20.1                |
| 40 to 49 years         | 35.9                |
| 50 to 64 years         | 42.6                |
| 65 years and over      | 61.4                |
| Sex                    |                     |
| Male                   | 23.9                |
| Female                 | 29.9                |
| Family income          |                     |
| under \$15,000         | 17.3                |
| \$15,000 to 29,999     | 21.5                |
| \$30,000 to 49,999     | 27.8                |
| \$50,000 to 74,999     | 39.6                |
| \$75,000 or more       | 48.6                |
| Education              |                     |
| less than 9th grade    | 18.4                |
| 9th to 12th            | 20.4                |
| hs grad or some coll   | 33.3                |
| bachelors deg or more  | 44.6                |
| National origin        |                     |
| Mexican                | 20.7                |
| Cuban                  | 56.1                |
| Central/South American | 31.9                |
| Other Hispanic         | 43.8                |
| Area type              |                     |
| central city           | 24.7                |
| other metropolitan     | 29.0                |
| nonmetropolitan        | 26.5                |
| State of residence     |                     |
| California             | 25.6                |
| Texas                  | 24.4                |
| New York               | 40.1                |
| Florida                | 41.1                |
| Illinois               | 31.2                |
| Arizona                | 16.1                |
| New Jersey             | 30.7                |
| other                  | 19.2                |

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2004 November Current Population Survey.

<sup>a</sup> Citizenship rate is the percent of foreign-born persons who have naturalized. Persons born in Puerto Rico are U.S. natives and are not included.

Table B4. Characteristics of the Hispanic Adult Population, by Voting Status, 2000 and 2004 (in percent)

|   | 2004      |            |                 |                      |           | 2000      |            |                 |                      |           |
|---|-----------|------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------|
|   | Voter     | Registered | Voting Eligible | 18 but not a citizen | All       | Voter     | Registered | Voting Eligible | 18 but not a citizen | All       |
| <b>Age</b>                              |           |            |                 |                      |           |           |            |                 |                      |           |
| 18 to 29 years                          | 23        | 25         | 31              | 35                   | 32        | 22        | 25         | 32              | 39                   | 35        |
| 30 to 39 years                          | 20        | 21         | 21              | 32                   | 26        | 23        | 24         | 23              | 30                   | 26        |
| 40 to 49 years                          | 22        | 21         | 20              | 18                   | 19        | 20        | 19         | 18              | 18                   | 18        |
| 50 to 64 years                          | 22        | 20         | 18              | 11                   | 15        | 21        | 19         | 16              | 10                   | 14        |
| 65 years and over                       | <u>13</u> | <u>13</u>  | <u>11</u>       | <u>4</u>             | <u>8</u>  | <u>14</u> | <u>13</u>  | <u>10</u>       | <u>3</u>             | <u>8</u>  |
|   | 100       | 100        | 100             | 100                  | 100       | 100       | 100        | 100             | 100                  | 100       |
| <b>Sex</b>                              |           |            |                 |                      |           |           |            |                 |                      |           |
| Male                                    | 46        | 47         | 49              | 55                   | 51        | 46        | 46         | 48              | 56                   | 51        |
| Female                                  | <u>54</u> | <u>53</u>  | <u>51</u>       | <u>45</u>            | <u>49</u> | <u>54</u> | <u>54</u>  | <u>52</u>       | <u>44</u>            | <u>49</u> |
|   | 100       | 100        | 100             | 100                  | 100       | 100       | 100        | 100             | 100                  | 100       |
| <b>Nativity</b>                         |           |            |                 |                      |           |           |            |                 |                      |           |
| foreign born                            | 28        | 26         | 25              | 100                  | 56        | 27        | 24         | 24              | 100                  | 54        |
| native born                             | <u>72</u> | <u>74</u>  | <u>75</u>       | <u>0</u>             | <u>44</u> | <u>73</u> | <u>76</u>  | <u>76</u>       | <u>0</u>             | <u>46</u> |
|   | 100       | 100        | 100             | 100                  | 100       | 100       | 100        | 100             | 100                  | 100       |
| <b>Spanish only spoken in household</b> |           |            |                 |                      |           |           |            |                 |                      |           |
| No                                      | 91        | 92         | 89              | 50                   | 73        | 89        | 90         | 89              | 54                   | 75        |
| Yes                                     | <u>9</u>  | <u>8</u>   | <u>11</u>       | <u>50</u>            | <u>27</u> | <u>11</u> | <u>10</u>  | <u>11</u>       | <u>46</u>            | <u>25</u> |
|   | 100       | 100        | 100             | 100                  | 100       | 100       | 100        | 100             | 100                  | 100       |
| <b>Family income</b>                    |           |            |                 |                      |           |           |            |                 |                      |           |
| under \$15,000                          | 13        | 15         | 17              | 24                   | 20        | 16        | 17         | 22              | 25                   | 23        |
| \$15,000 to 29,999                      | 19        | 20         | 22              | 33                   | 27        | 22        | 24         | 25              | 39                   | 31        |
| \$30,000 to 49,999                      | 24        | 25         | 26              | 27                   | 26        | 25        | 25         | 24              | 23                   | 24        |
| \$50,000 to 74,999                      | 22        | 21         | 19              | 10                   | 15        | 18        | 17         | 16              | 8                    | 13        |
| \$75,000 or more                        | <u>21</u> | <u>19</u>  | <u>16</u>       | <u>7</u>             | <u>12</u> | <u>19</u> | <u>17</u>  | <u>13</u>       | <u>5</u>             | <u>10</u> |
|   | 100       | 100        | 100             | 100                  | 100       | 100       | 100        | 100             | 100                  | 100       |

Table B4 . Characteristics of the Hispanic Adult Population, by Voting Status, 2000 and 2004 (in percent) (cont.)

|                     | 2004      |            |                 |                      |           | 2000      |            |                 |                      |           |
|---------------------|-----------|------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------|-----------|------------|-----------------|----------------------|-----------|
|                     | Voter     | Registered | Voting Eligible | 18 but not a citizen | All       | Voter     | Registered | Voting Eligible | 18 but not a citizen | All       |
| <b>Education</b>    |           |            |                 |                      |           |           |            |                 |                      |           |
| less than 9th grade | 10        | 11         | 13              | 39                   | 23        | 12        | 11         | 14              | 39                   | 24        |
| 9th to 12th         | 10        | 12         | 16              | 20                   | 17        | 11        | 13         | 17              | 20                   | 18        |
| hs grad or some col | 61        | 61         | 59              | 35                   | 49        | 59        | 60         | 58              | 34                   | 48        |
| bachelors deg or m  | <u>19</u> | <u>17</u>  | <u>13</u>       | <u>7</u>             | <u>10</u> | <u>18</u> | <u>16</u>  | <u>12</u>       | <u>7</u>             | <u>10</u> |
|                     | 100       | 100        | 100             | 100                  | 100       | 100       | 100        | 100             | 100                  | 100       |

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2000 and 2004 November Current Population Surveys

Table B5. Characteristics of the Hispanic Adult Population, by Voting Status, 2000 and 2004

|   | 2004             |                  |                  |                      |                   | 2000             |                  |                  |                      |                   |
|---|------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------------|-------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
|   | Voter            | Registered       | Voting Eligible  | 18 but not a citizen | All               | Voter            | Registered       | Voting Eligible  | 18 but not a citizen | All               |
| <b>Age</b>                              |                  |                  |                  |                      |                   |                  |                  |                  |                      |                   |
| 18 to 29 years                          | 1,752,000        | 2,347,000        | 4,936,000        | 3,873,000            | 8,809,000         | 1,339,000        | 1,990,000        | 4,528,000        | 3,536,000            | 8,064,000         |
| 30 to 39 years                          | 1,533,000        | 1,919,000        | 3,387,000        | 3,542,000            | 6,929,000         | 1,422,000        | 1,875,000        | 3,197,000        | 2,796,000            | 5,993,000         |
| 40 to 49 years                          | 1,655,000        | 1,993,000        | 3,209,000        | 1,993,000            | 5,202,000         | 1,227,000        | 1,537,000        | 2,519,000        | 1,624,000            | 4,142,000         |
| 50 to 64 years                          | 1,660,000        | 1,865,000        | 2,823,000        | 1,217,000            | 4,039,000         | 1,311,000        | 1,517,000        | 2,248,000        | 923,000              | 3,171,000         |
| 65 years and over                       | <u>988,000</u>   | <u>1,184,000</u> | <u>1,733,000</u> | <u>417,000</u>       | <u>2,150,000</u>  | <u>875,000</u>   | <u>991,000</u>   | <u>1,448,000</u> | <u>297,000</u>       | <u>1,745,000</u>  |
|   | 7,587,000        | 9,308,000        | 16,088,000       | 11,041,000           | 27,129,000        | 6,174,000        | 7,909,000        | 13,940,000       | 9,176,000            | 23,115,000        |
| <b>Sex</b>                              |                  |                  |                  |                      |                   |                  |                  |                  |                      |                   |
| Male                                    | 3,510,000        | 4,359,000        | 7,840,000        | 6,105,000            | 13,945,000        | 2,844,000        | 3,629,000        | 6,635,000        | 5,125,000            | 11,760,000        |
| Female                                  | <u>4,077,000</u> | <u>4,949,000</u> | <u>8,248,000</u> | <u>4,936,000</u>     | <u>13,185,000</u> | <u>3,330,000</u> | <u>4,280,000</u> | <u>7,305,000</u> | <u>4,050,000</u>     | <u>11,355,000</u> |
|   | 7,587,000        | 9,308,000        | 16,088,000       | 11,041,000           | 27,129,000        | 6,174,000        | 7,909,000        | 13,940,000       | 9,176,000            | 23,115,000        |
| <b>Nativity</b>                         |                  |                  |                  |                      |                   |                  |                  |                  |                      |                   |
| foreign born                            | 5,489,000        | 6,890,000        | 12,062,000       | 0                    | 12,062,000        | 4,535,000        | 5,989,000        | 10,581,000       | 0                    | 10,581,000        |
| native born                             | <u>2,098,000</u> | <u>2,418,000</u> | <u>4,026,000</u> | <u>11,041,000</u>    | <u>15,067,000</u> | <u>1,640,000</u> | <u>1,921,000</u> | <u>3,358,000</u> | <u>9,176,000</u>     | <u>12,534,000</u> |
|   | 7,587,000        | 9,308,000        | 16,088,000       | 11,041,000           | 27,129,000        | 6,174,000        | 7,909,000        | 13,940,000       | 9,176,000            | 23,115,000        |
| <b>Spanish only spoken in household</b> |                  |                  |                  |                      |                   |                  |                  |                  |                      |                   |
| No                                      | 6,933,000        | 8,519,000        | 14,366,000       | 5,474,000            | 19,840,000        | 5,493,000        | 7,119,000        | 12,379,000       | 4,928,000            | 17,307,000        |
| Yes                                     | <u>654,000</u>   | <u>789,000</u>   | <u>1,722,000</u> | <u>5,567,000</u>     | <u>7,289,000</u>  | <u>682,000</u>   | <u>790,000</u>   | <u>1,560,000</u> | <u>4,248,000</u>     | <u>5,808,000</u>  |
|   | 7,587,000        | 9,308,000        | 16,088,000       | 11,041,000           | 27,129,000        | 6,174,000        | 7,909,000        | 13,940,000       | 9,176,000            | 23,115,000        |
| <b>Family income (refused omitted)</b>  |                  |                  |                  |                      |                   |                  |                  |                  |                      |                   |
| under \$15,000                          | 881,000          | 1,206,000        | 2,292,000        | 2,165,000            | 4,456,000         | 880,000          | 1,239,000        | 2,633,000        | 1,983,000            | 4,616,000         |
| \$15,000 to 29,999                      | 1,277,000        | 1,611,000        | 2,975,000        | 3,002,000            | 5,977,000         | 1,250,000        | 1,680,000        | 3,101,000        | 3,023,000            | 6,124,000         |
| \$30,000 to 49,999                      | 1,587,000        | 2,034,000        | 3,421,000        | 2,428,000            | 5,849,000         | 1,369,000        | 1,767,000        | 2,897,000        | 1,835,000            | 4,732,000         |
| \$50,000 to 74,999                      | 1,468,000        | 1,728,000        | 2,486,000        | 883,000              | 3,368,000         | 985,000          | 1,243,000        | 1,919,000        | 651,000              | 2,570,000         |
| \$75,000 or more                        | <u>1,382,000</u> | <u>1,528,000</u> | <u>2,087,000</u> | <u>611,000</u>       | <u>2,698,000</u>  | <u>1,074,000</u> | <u>1,219,000</u> | <u>1,635,000</u> | <u>356,000</u>       | <u>1,991,000</u>  |
|   | 6,595,000        | 8,107,000        | 13,261,000       | 9,088,000            | 22,348,000        | 5,558,000        | 7,148,000        | 12,186,000       | 7,848,000            | 20,034,000        |

Table B5 . Characteristics of the Hispanic Adult Population, by Voting Status, 2000 and 2004 (in percent) (cont.)

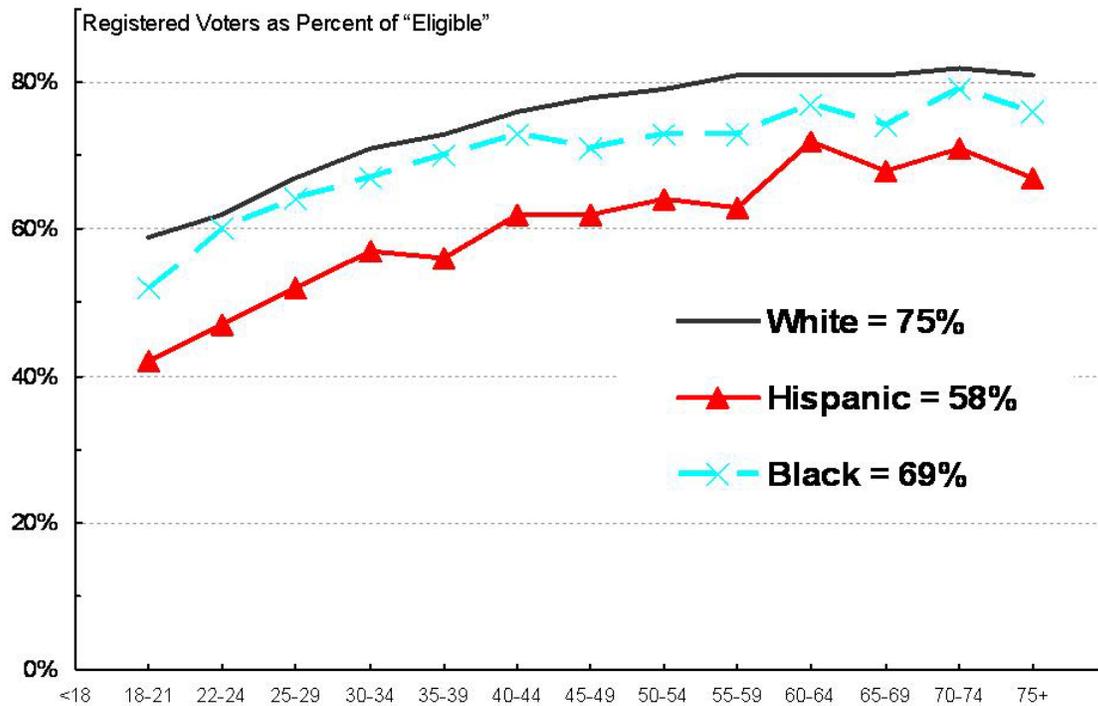
|                     | 2004             |                  |                  |                      |                  | 2000             |                  |                  |                      |                  |
|---------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|------------------|----------------------|------------------|
|                     | Voter            | Registered       | Voting Eligible  | 18 but not a citizen | All              | Voter            | Registered       | Voting Eligible  | 18 but not a citizen | All              |
| <b>Education</b>    |                  |                  |                  |                      |                  |                  |                  |                  |                      |                  |
| less than 9th grade | 749,000          | 1,000,000        | 2,012,000        | 4,286,000            | 6,298,000        | 719,000          | 896,000          | 1,915,000        | 3,578,000            | 5,492,000        |
| 9th to 12th         | 768,000          | 1,074,000        | 2,522,000        | 2,190,000            | 4,712,000        | 698,000          | 1,036,000        | 2,386,000        | 1,865,000            | 4,250,000        |
| hs grad or some col | 4,637,000        | 5,673,000        | 9,497,000        | 3,829,000            | 13,326,000       | 3,649,000        | 4,731,000        | 8,029,000        | 3,134,000            | 11,163,000       |
| bachelors deg or m  | <u>1,434,000</u> | <u>1,560,000</u> | <u>2,057,000</u> | <u>736,000</u>       | <u>2,793,000</u> | <u>1,108,000</u> | <u>1,246,000</u> | <u>1,611,000</u> | <u>599,000</u>       | <u>2,210,000</u> |
|                     | 7,587,000        | 9,308,000        | 16,088,000       | 11,041,000           | 27,129,000       | 6,174,000        | 7,909,000        | 13,940,000       | 9,176,000            | 23,115,000       |

Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2000 and 2004 November Current Population Surveys

All figures rounded independently.

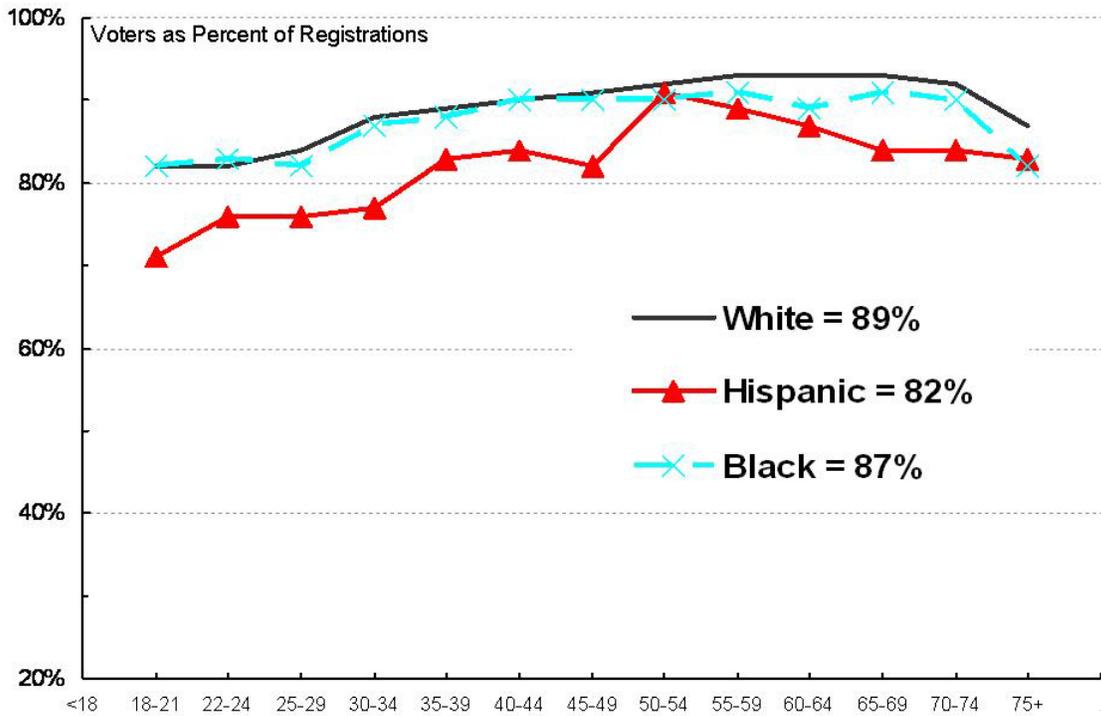
## Appendix C

Figure C-1. Voter Registration Rate by Age and Race/Ethnicity: 2004



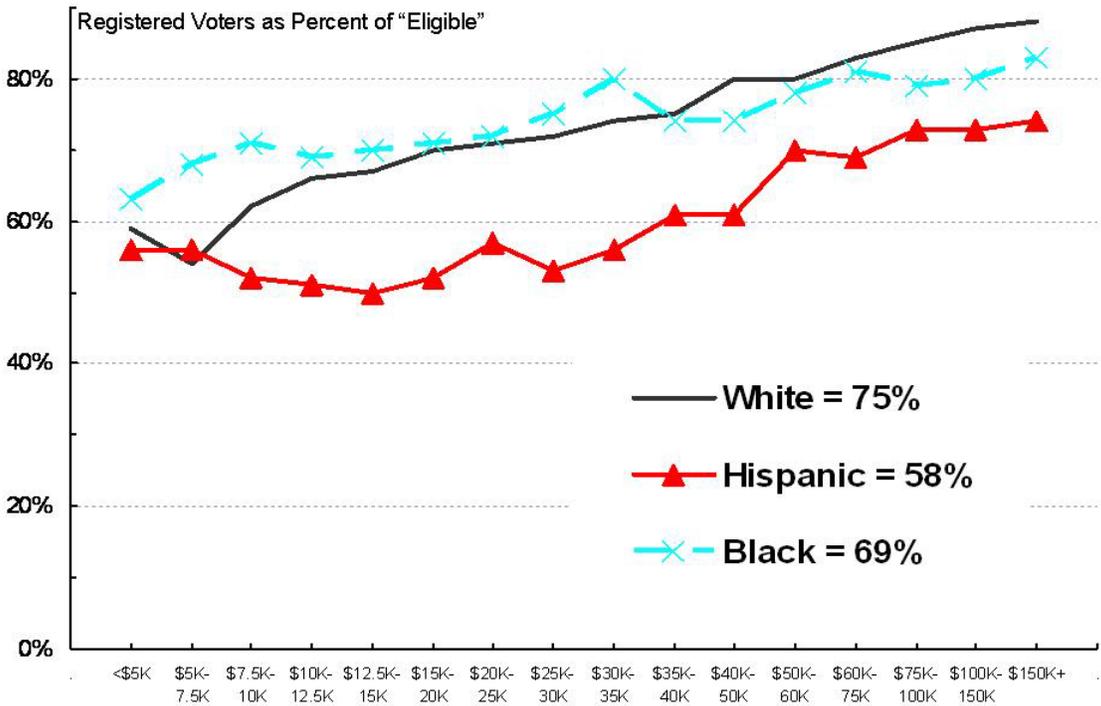
Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2004 November Current Population Survey.

**Figure C-2. Voter Turnout Rate by Age and Race/Ethnicity: 2004**



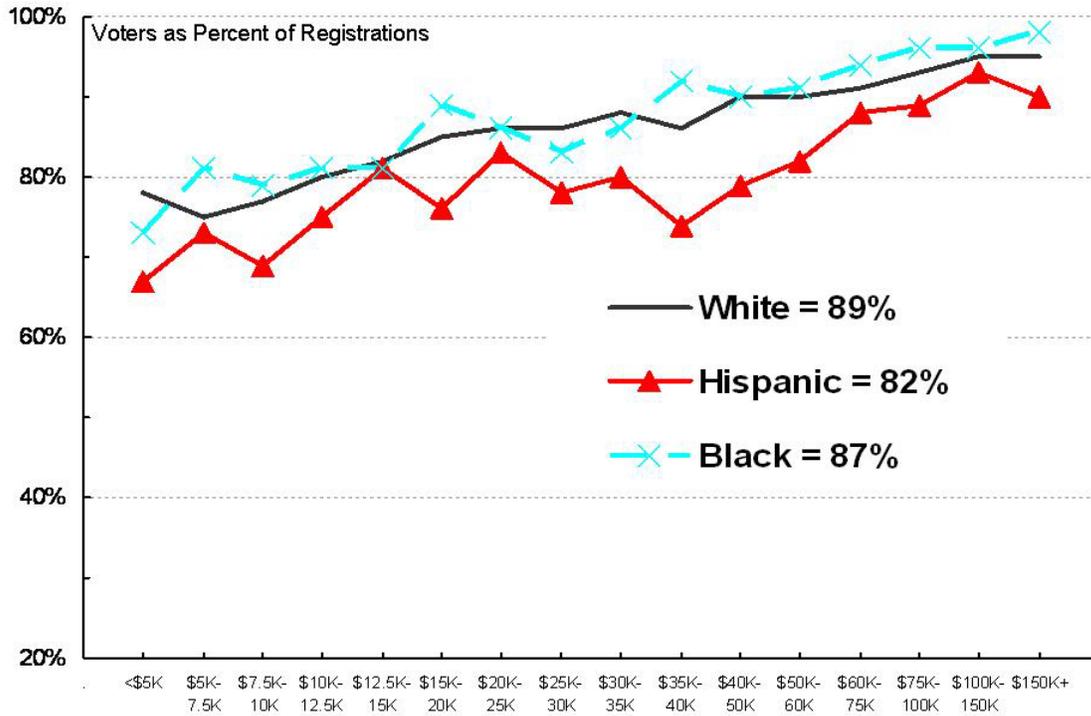
Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2004 November Current Population Survey.

**Figure C-3. Voter Registration Rate by Family Income and Race/Ethnicity: 2004**



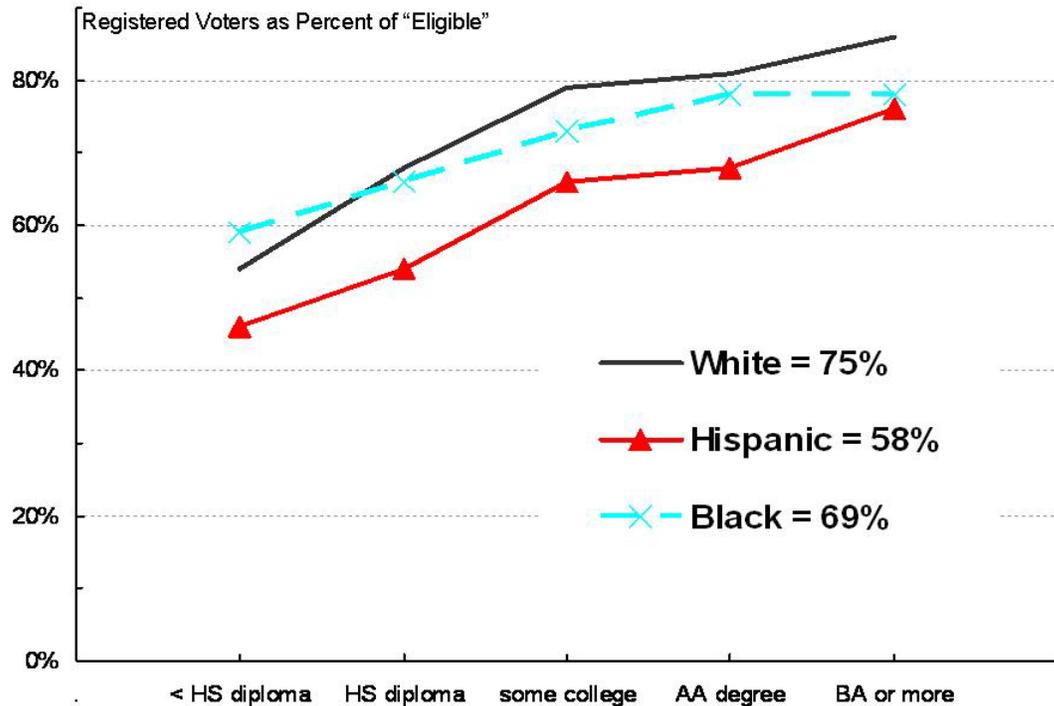
Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2004 November Current Population Survey.

**Figure C-4. Voter Turnout Rate by Family Income and Race/Ethnicity: 2004**



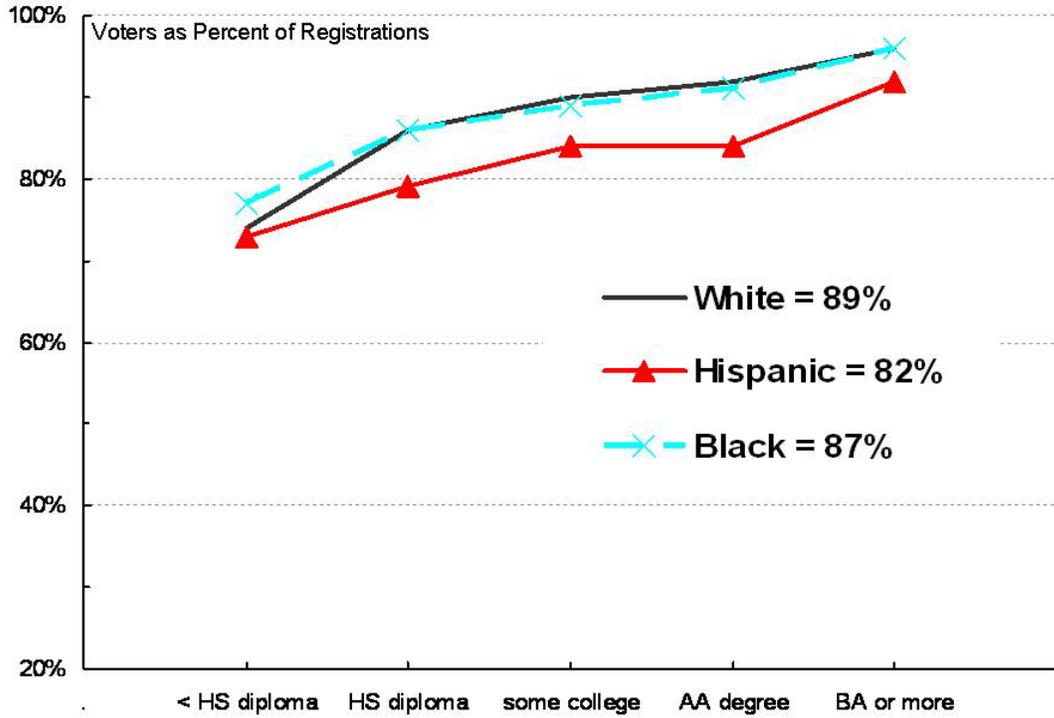
Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2004 November Current Population Survey.

**Figure C-5. Voter Registration Rate by Education and Race/Ethnicity: 2004**



Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2004 November Current Population Survey.

Figure C-6. Voter Turnout Rate by Education and Race/Ethnicity: 2004



Source: Pew Hispanic Center tabulations of 2004 November Current Population Survey.