Dynamics of the New American Majority, 2010-2030: An Initial Look at Population Size, Growth, and Electoral Participation

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1 Introduction and Background

The Voter Participation Center (VPC) and Center for Voter Information (CVI) focus on the mobilization of the New American Majority (NAM), a diverse multi-group coalition that is poised to drive U.S. politics for decades to come. However, efforts to mobilize this population are less effective in the absence of robust data on where NAM populations live now, where they will live in the future, and their relative rates of voting participation. In this report, we outline how we improve and expand upon VPC's existing understanding of NAM population dynamics to better inform both potential partners regarding opportunities for increased efforts and VPC/CVI's own program location decisions. Using a combination of U.S. Census Bureau products, individual-level Current Population Survey data, and comprehensive voter file data as provided by a voter file vendor, we identify areas of high NAM concentrations, high NAM population growth, and trends of interest in NAM subpopulation turnout rates.

In our report, we define the NAM as the aggregation of individuals with the following demographic characteristics:

- 18+ U.S. Citizen, AND
- Black, AAPI, AIAN, Multiracial, OR
- Hispanic (any race), OR
- Under 35, OR
- Unmarried Woman

The population that does not qualify as part of the New American Majority, or non-NAM, was defined as the voting-eligible complement of the NAM, that is:

- 18+ U.S. Citizen, AND
- Non-Hispanic White alone Men 35+, OR
- Non-Hispanic White alone Women 35+ who are married

1.1 Existing Forecasts of the NAM Population

The New American Majority (NAM) population, in whole or in part, is of interest to demographers and civic engagement organizations alike. For example, in the enumerated mandate of the Center for American Progress, American Enterprise Institute, and Brookings Institution's "States of Change: Demographics and Democracy" project, the first goal is to "document and analyze the challenges to democracy posed by the rapid demographic evolution from the 1970s to 2060."[1] The initial (2015) States of Change report offers a thorough analysis of both national and state-level trends for NAM populations. This includes projections of the total population and voting eligible (i.e., citizen) population by race/ethnicity, age, and marital status (along with college vs. non-college) at the state and national level to 2060. While useful, the intersections of these demographic factors are not explored in great enough detail to project the aggregate NAM population (as defined above). Thus, while widely used,[2] and updated in 2020,[3] this report on its own is not sufficient for understanding current and future NAM population trends.

Going below the state level, recent work estimates the *county*-level population by race, age, and gender to 2100.[4] Again, this analysis is insightful, but does not provide information on Asian Americans, marital status, or citizenship rates, and is highly dependent on assumptions regarding climate change mitigation to avoid a large overestimation of the total population.

Finally, the U.S. Census Bureau itself produces projections of the population beyond the current year at the national level. This includes breakdowns by age group, sex, race/ethnicity, and nativity (i.e., foreign vs. native-born populations) to 2060.[5] However, the Census Bureau

[1] Teixeira, Ruy, William H. Frey, and Robert Griffin. (2015) "States of Change: The Demographic Evolution of the American Electorate, 1974-2060." p. 1.

[2] e.g., https://www.americanprogress.org/article/americas-electoral-future-3/

[3] https://www.americanprogress.org/press/release-2020-states-change-report-finds-generational-transformation-will-critical-americas-electoral-future/

[4] Hauer, Mathew E. (2019) "Data Descriptor: Population projections for U.S. counties by age, sex, and race controlled to shared socioeconomic pathway." *Nature: Scientific Data* 6:190005. https://doi.org/10.1038/sdata.2019.5.

[5] https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/publications/2020/demo/p25-1144.pdf

no longer produces population projections at the sub-national level, with the final state-level demographic projections produced in 1997.

1.2 Existing Analyses of NAM Voter Turnout

Voter turnout for NAM populations receives similar attention, though with greater constraints in data availability. The Census Bureau and Bureau of Labor Statistics collaborate to produce and administer the Current Population Survey Voting and Registration Supplement (CPS), which includes information on race/ethnicity, age, gender, marital status, and whether or not the respondent voted in the most recent election. The Census Bureau produces reports in the spring following each federal election year summarizing the survey's findings for major demographic categories, in particular, race/ethnicity[6]. While turnout for the NAM is not explicitly estimated in CPS reports, individual-level responses to the CPS are public and can be used to construct turnout rates by NAM/Non-NAM status as we discuss in the report.

The Current Population Survey informs much of our understanding of demographic differences in voter turnout. Indeed, CPS turnout estimates have been viewed as authoritative information for academics regarding racial/ethnic differences in voter turnout,[7] at least going back in time.[8] The Supreme Court also relied on CPS data to validate their assertion that "things have changed in the South" and that Section 4's Voting Rights Act preclearance coverage formula was no longer constitutional (*Shelby County v. Holder*, 2013). However, since the CPS is a survey (albeit a very large one), the possibility of bias due to differential non-response has increased,[9] and recent work indicates that racial/ethnic differences in overreporting of turnout undermine the use of the CPS for measuring racial/ethnic differences

[6]see, e.g., https://www.census.gov/library/publications/2018/demo/p20-582.html

[7]Ansolabehere, Stephen, Bernard L. Fraga, and Brian F. Schaffner. (2021) "The CPS Voting and Registration Supplement Overstates Minority Turnout." *Journal of Politics.* In Press.

[8]Fraga, Bernard L. (2018) *The Turnout Gap: Race, Ethnicity, and Political Inequality in a Diversifying America.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

[9]Hur, Aram and Christopher H. Achen. (2013) "Coding Voter Turnout Responses in the Current Population Survey." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 77 (4): 985-993.

in turnout like those cited in the *Shelby* decision.[10] Furthermore, and despite the relatively large sample size, published margins of error on turnout rates are very large for demographic intersections and most states.[11]

While the candidate an individual chooses is private, information about whether or not an individual voted is generally publicly available. As discussed in Eitan Hersh's 2015 book *Hacking the Electorate: How Campaigns Perceive Voters*,[12] candidates for public office have long used voter registration lists (or "voter files") as their primary source of information for identifying and mobilizing potential supporters. A recent resurgence in targeted GOTV operations, along with improvements in computing power, means that both partisan and non-partisan data aggregators work to compile national lists of all registered voters and their turnout behavior. Importantly, though, demographic data on registrants is limited to either information requested on voter registration forms (including name, sex/gender, date of birth, and address), or traits that can be modeled using this information (including race/ethnicity[13] and marital status).

Voter file aggregators have conducted analyses of turnout rates for NAM subpopulations as well. A prominent example is the "What Happened?" project by Catalist, LLC.[14] Using a combination of proprietary voter file-based modeling, analysis of Census demographics, and inferences regarding subgroup behavior based on the aforementioned CPS, they provide estimates of turnout and shares of the electorate by race/ethnicity, gender, and educational status. We use data from a voter file vendor to measure NAM subgroup behavior.

[10] Ansolabehere, Stephen, Bernard L. Fraga, and Brian F. Schaffner. (2021) "The CPS Voting and Registration Supplement Overstates Minority Turnout." *Journal of Politics.* In Press.

[11] Davern, Michael, Arthur Jones Jr., James Lepkowski, Gestur Davidson, and Lynn A. Blewett. (2006) "Unstable Inferences? An Examination of Complex Survey Sample Design Adjustments Using the Current Population Survey for Heath Services Research." *Inquiry* 43 (3): 283-297.

[12] Hersh, Eitan. (2015) *Hacking the Electorate: How Campaigns Perceive Voters* New York: Cambridge University Press. See also McDonald, Michael P. (2007) "The True Electorate: A Cross-Validation of Voter Registration Files and Election Survey Demographics." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 71 (4): 588-602.

[13] 10 southern states currently request information about race/ethnicity when a person registers to vote. This information is often used to calibrate race modeling procedures. See, e.g., Fraga, Bernard L. (2018) *The Turnout Gap: Race, Ethnicity, and Political Inequality in a Diversifying America.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

[14] https://catalist.us/wh-national/

1.3 Key Findings

In this report, we focus on understanding the size and electoral participation of the citizen voting-age New American Majority (NAM) population.[15] We rely on a combination of aggregate U.S. Census Bureau, individual-level CPS, and individual-level voter file data to provide an intial look at how the size and distribution of the NAM has changed over the previous decade (2010-2020), how it is poised to change over the next decade (2020-2030), and the registration and turnout rates of the NAM in the most recent midterm and presidential elections.

The data we have compiled indicates the following:

- The New American Majority population is predicted to make up a 2 percentage point larger share of the total voting-eligible population in 2030 than it did in 2020.
- 55% of the NAM today are People of Color, but we see significant geographic variation in the NAM share that is POC by state and by county within state.
- NAM growth from 2010-2030 is projected to be especially strong in New England states, and weaker than the national average in the South & Midwest
- Trends in voter turnout for young people and racial/ethnic minority groups do not indicate a closing of longstanding disparities, with the exception of Asian American turnout which surged in the 2020 election.
- We see no significant change in relative turnout by unmarried women versus married women from 2012-2020, but turnout for both groups is much closer than for married versus unmarried men based on CPS survey data.

[15] There are two primary reasons why we focus on the citizen voting-age population (CVAP). First, unlike relying on the total adult population or total population, restricting the analysis to individuals who are adult citizens better reflects the pool of potential voters in state and federal elections. Second, while including some individuals who are ineligible to vote due to, e.g. felon disenfranchisement, data on the CVAP is more easily accessible and less subject to researcher interpretations of residency requirements, voting rights restoration procedures, and other state-level variation in eligibility restrictions.

- Voter file data likely provides more accurate estimates of turnout for the NAM and most NAM subgroups at the national level than CPS survey data, and provides the only suitable estimates of sub-state and intersectional turnout rates for these and other populations.
- Estimates of the unregistered voter population are highly contingent on difficult-to-quantify state variation in list maintenance procedures ("voter purging"), but there are at least 19 million NAM adult citizens who did not vote in 2020 and likely needed to update their registration or register to vote for the first time.

2 Data Sources

2.1 Population Estimates Program (PEP)

Our principal source of information about the NAM comes from the U.S. Census Bureau's Population Estimates Program (PEP).[16] The PEP provides yearly estimates of the U.S. resident population by incorporating administrative records on deaths, births, and (im)migration to project the population based on the most recent decennial census.[17] Publicly available PEP data includes estimates of the population by age, sex, and race/ethnicity for the nation, states, counties, and large municipalities. Today, the PEP is the primary reference for estimating the adult population in annual or sub-annual Census products, including the American Communities Survey and Current Population Survey. Estimates of the size of the voting eligible population often rely on the PEP, though augmenting these estimates with citizenship information not estimated by the PEP.[18]

The PEP publishes updated estimates of the population from the most recent past Census

[16] https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/popest.html

[17] Current PEP estimates use the 2010 Census as their base.

[18] See, e.g., McDonald, Michael. (2021) "How is the voting-age population (VAP) constructed?" *United States Elections Project: Voter Turnout.* Available at http://www.electproject.org/home/voter-turnout/faq/vap.; Fraga, Bernard L. (2018) *The Turnout Gap: Race, Ethnicity, and Political Inequality in a Diversifying America.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

to the preceding year, updating previous estimates with each new vintage. In this report, we rely on the Vintage 2020 data, which was released in the summer of 2021 and estimates the population from July 2010 to July 2020. The PEP uses a yearly additive cohort-component model, whereby yearly administrative records regarding births, deaths, international migration, and domestic migration by age, sex, and race/ethnicity are combined with baseline 2010 Census data to produce estimates of the population for a given postcensal year. We interpolate or extrapolate these modeled annual estimates to November of each year.[19] More information about our procedure for compiling PEP data may be found in the Technical Appendix.

2.2 American Communities Survey (ACS)

The PEP provides estimates of the voting-age population by sex, race/ethnicity, and age, but leaves out two key demographic factors necessary to quantify the NAM. To acquire information regarding citizenship and marital status by sex, age, and race/ethnicity, we rely on the American Communities Survey (ACS), a U.S. Census Bureau product that is the result of a large-scale household-level stratified random sample.[20]. The ACS replaced the "long form" version of the Census that was given to a sample of the enumerated population every 10 years prior to 2010. Importantly, the ACS asks a series of questions regarding individual demographics of all household members, including citizenship status and marital status. ACS citizenship estimates play a dominant role here, as the Census provides estimates of how many persons are citizens by age, race/ethnicity, and sex at the national, state, and substate level in their ACS 5-year tabulations. To calculate the citizen voting-age population of unmarried women, we adjust the counts for women citizens (by race/ethnicity and age where appropriate) for each geography by averaging the white female unmarried rate from

[19] We do not use the cohort-component approach given the lack of data on NAM-constituent intersections by birth cohort. See https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/popproj/about.html Importantly, the cohort-component technique likely yields slightly more accurate estimates, but requires numerous assumptions about changing economic trends and comes at the expense of the subgroup granularity necessary to estimate the entire NAM.

[20] https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/acs

the average of the three most recent respondent-level ACS 5-Year Public Use Microdata Samples (PUMS). More information about our procedure for compiling ACS data may be found in the Technical Appendix.

2.3 Current Population Survey (CPS)

Since 1964, the U.S. Census Bureau and Bureau of Labor Statistics have collaborated to produce and administer the Current Population Survey Voting and Registration Supplement (CPS), a biannual survey of over 55,000 households that is part of the broader, monthly survey series used to estimate adult labor force characteristics.[21]. The CPS sampling frame currently includes all civilian adults in noninstitutional housing,[22] and queries respondents regarding the voter turnout, voter registration, methods of voting, and reasons for non-participation of household members. Beyond the sample size and time series, the major useful feature of the CPS is the inclusion of a number of standard demographic characteristics, including self-reported race/ethnicity, age, gender, and marital status. In addition to public reports, the Census Bureau produces a series of tables estimating turnout by age, race, and sex at the state level.[23]

The Census Bureau also makes public individual-level data from the CPS, which we use to construct turnout rates by NAM/Non-NAM status. Consisting of approximately 140,000 observations, the public datasets represent the result of a monthly (in this case, November) multi-wave household- based stratified sampling scheme. While the Census Bureau does provide margins of error using generalized variance parameters for statistics in their reports, they do not make publicly accessible information about the sampling scheme required to validate these estimates or construct estimates for all subpopulations (e.g., the NAM population). We follow the procedure outlined by former Census Bureau researchers including

[21] https://www.census.gov/topics/public-sector/voting/about.html

[22] This excludes, for example, individuals who are currently imprisoned, residents of nursing homes, and (since 2018) college students living in dormitories.

[23] see, e.g., https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/voting-and-registration/p20-585.html

Michael Davern,[24] as implemented in recent political science work[25] to approximate the sampling scheme using respondent geographic indicators, and compute 95% confidence intervals for CPS rates of voter turnout.

2.4 Voter File Data

As noted above, surveys examining voter turnout have been important in political science work, but practicioners tend to rely on voter file data. Recent research indicates that this decision is warranted: the CPS systematically overestimates minority voter turnout to a degree greater than for non-Hispanic White voter turnout.[26] As a result, we also rely on individual-level voter turnout records from a data vendor specializing in voter file aggregation and demographic modeling. The vendor provided information on each individual they recorded as having voted in the 2018 and 2020 elections, including gender, age, geolocation, and modeled race/ethnicity. We aggregate these individual-level datapoints to our geographic units of interest. To accommodate potential error in race/ethnicity modeling, we rely on summing the probabilistic model scores instead of categorical indicators, a standard practice in the emerging literature on race modeling procedures.[27] This provides estimates of the modeled number of non-Hispanic White, non-Hispanic Black, Hispanic/Latinx, and non-Hispanic Asian American or Pacific Islander populations.

We also rely on the voter file vendor's coding of voter registration status as of November 2020. For individuals marked as having voted in the 2020 election, we assume that they were registered to vote. As noted by previous scholars, states vary in their list maintenance procedures to a large degree, such that estimating differences between the size of the registered and

[24]Davern, Michael, Arthur Jones Jr., James Lepkowski, Gestur Davidson and Lynn A. Blewett. (2007) "Estimating Regression Standard Errors with Data from the Current Population Survey's Public Use File." *Inquiry* 44(2): 211–224.

[25]Ansolabehere, Stephen, Bernard L. Fraga, and Brian F. Schaffner. (2021) "The CPS Voting and Registration Supplement Overstates Minority Turnout." *Journal of Politics.* In Press.

[26]Ansolabehere, Stephen, Bernard L. Fraga, and Brian F. Schaffner. (2021) "The CPS Voting and Registration Supplement Overstates Minority Turnout." *Journal of Politics.* In Press.

[27]For a more extended discussion, see Fraga, Bernard L. (2018) *The Turnout Gap: Race, Ethnicity, and Political Inequality in a Diversifying America.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

unregistered populations across states or for subgroups is necessarily tentative.[28] In some states, the number of registered voters mistakenly appears to exceed the number of voting-age citizens. However, we provide these estimates to suggest the geographic distribution of unregistered NAM adults with the best available administrative data.

3 NAM Population Size and Population Forecasts

We use the Census Bureau data discussed above to estimate both the NAM and NAM subgroup populations from 2010 to 2030. Since our interest is in making relatively short-term projections, we rely on the assumption that the trends witnessed over the past decade will carry forward over the next decade. Specifically, we model change in the population size for each NAM constituent group from 2020-2030 as a function of the change in the NAM constituent group population from 2010-2020, as estimated by the U.S. Census Bureau.[29]

We use an exponential smoothing state space model to make forecasting projections for 2020-2030. We assume an additive error and trend structure with no seasonality. We implement the forecasting in **R** using the `forecast` package.[30] The count of each demographic subgroup in each geography is forecast separately and then aggregated to the geography level to construct a forecast of the total citizen voting-age population. As an alternative robustness approach, we also generated forecasts of the total citizen voting age population for each geography. The resulting state-level citizen voting-age population forecasts exhibit a correlation greater than 0.999 with one another. The correlation is similarly high at the county-level.

[28] Merivaki, Thessalia (2021) *The Administration of Voter Registration: Expanding the Electorate Across and Within the States* Palgrave Macmillan.

[29] Importantly, the Census Bureau's PEP estimates use a cohort-component approach to modeling this change (See section 2.1 for more details). Therefore, our models reflect the cohort compositional change estimated over a 10 year period, and carry this forward to the subsequent 10 year period.

[30] The code to implement the national-level forecasts is located at: Census_Data/Data_Processing/us_processing.R. State and county forecasting code may be found in state_processing.R and county_processing.R, respectively.

3.1 National

In Table 1 we report our national-level estimates and forecasts of the citizen NAM share of the citizen voting-age population (CVAP) in November 2010, November 2020, and November 2030. For the forecasts in November 2020 and November 2030 we provide 95 percent forecast error lower and upper bounds. The NAM has grown substantially from 2010 to 2020 and our forecasting results anticipate that this will continue over the next decade. In the final column we report the estimate and forecasts in the share of the NAM population that consists of persons of color (i.e., persons who are not non-Hispanic White race alone). Examining this column we see that at the same time the NAM has increased, the proportion of the NAM that is made up of people of color has increased at an even faster rate. Thus, at the national level, the growing NAM share overall is largely a function of the growing POC population relative to other non-POC NAM groups.

Table 1: U.S. New American Majority (NAM) Population Share, 2010-2030

	NAM Share	95% FE LB	95% FE UB	POC % of NAM
2010	0.570			0.493
2020	0.614	0.596	0.631	0.555
2030	0.634	0.592	0.676	0.603

3.2 State

In Table 2 we report the top 10 and bottom 10 states by NAM share of the citizen voting-age population in November 2010. The second column reports the ratio of citizens in NAM groups and the state CVAP. Hawaii had the highest share NAM population among all states in 2010 while New Hampshire had the lowest share. Slow-growing states with a larger rural population in the Northeast and West tend to have lower NAM shares. The third column reports the share of the state's NAM that are people of color. There is enormous heterogeneity across states in the share of the NAM population that consists of persons of color. Persons of color tend to compose a larger share of the NAM population in States with large NAM population shares. The fourth column reports the total CVAP in each state in 2010.

Table 2: Nov. 2010 NAM Population for States

State	NAM %	POC % of NAM	CVAP
Top 10			
HI	0.847	0.864	969,086
DC	0.835	0.716	461,613
NM	0.700	0.737	1,430,586
CA	0.676	0.711	23,163,812
TX	0.647	0.674	15,986,660
MS	0.638	0.599	2,184,704
LA	0.636	0.561	3,343,977
MD	0.624	0.614	4,063,998
GA	0.622	0.600	6,727,350
NY	0.611	0.546	13,220,203
Bottom 10			
NE	0.477	0.235	1,313,413
ID	0.473	0.209	1,094,169
WI	0.469	0.246	4,228,980
MN	0.466	0.226	3,861,069
MT	0.465	0.212	762,041
IA	0.453	0.146	2,254,813
WV	0.452	0.123	1,456,776
VT	0.440	0.093	489,304
ME	0.425	0.088	1,039,033
NH	0.423	0.114	1,004,009

In Table 3 we report forecasts for NAM shares in November 2020. The figure layout is identical to the previous table except with the addition of a 95 percent forecast error lower bound in column 3 and a 95 percent forecast error upper bound in 2020. These forecast errors account for estimation error from extrapolating out Census population estimates from July 2020 to November 2020. The NAM share of the CVAP increased in all states except for Arkansas from 2010 to 2020.

In Table 4, we report the forecasts for 2030. The uncertainty intervals around the forecast point estimates are significantly larger than for the 2020 forecasts. With the important exceptions of Arkansas and Alabama, given their already relatively large NAM populations,

Table 3: Nov. 2020 NAM Population for States

State	NAM %	95% FE LB	95% FE UB	POC % of NAM	CVAP
Top 10					
HI	0.855	0.818	0.892	0.879	1,029,717
DC	0.825	0.768	0.881	0.707	539,374
CA	0.752	0.734	0.771	0.767	25,621,146
NM	0.752	0.729	0.775	0.782	1,509,748
TX	0.723	0.708	0.738	0.730	18,454,185
MD	0.672	0.649	0.696	0.666	4,342,335
GA	0.668	0.650	0.686	0.650	7,589,473
NV	0.664	0.636	0.691	0.667	2,105,201
MS	0.656	0.636	0.676	0.627	2,245,231
NY	0.653	0.637	0.668	0.598	13,787,093
Bottom 10					
MN	0.488	0.473	0.504	0.309	4,162,543
SD	0.486	0.463	0.508	0.284	655,566
WI	0.485	0.471	0.499	0.300	4,373,193
WY	0.479	0.445	0.514	0.268	432,710
MT	0.473	0.456	0.489	0.244	840,425
IA	0.472	0.456	0.488	0.217	2,327,665
VT	0.457	0.439	0.475	0.127	500,465
WV	0.453	0.440	0.467	0.148	1,419,184
NH	0.450	0.433	0.467	0.168	1,080,371
ME	0.434	0.423	0.446	0.118	1,089,886

the NAM share is forecasted to increase in all states from 2010 to 2030.

In Table 5 we report the 10 states with the highest growing NAM share between 2010 and 2030 based on our forecasting exercise. The second and third columns report the NAM share in 2010 and 2030 respectively and the fourth column reports the growth rate of this share. The fifth column reports the forecasted change in the count of NAM citizens from 2010 to 2030. California, Texas, and Florida have the highest growth in the number of NAM citizens.

Table 4: Nov. 2030 NAM Population for States

State	NAM %	95% FE LB	95% FE UB	POC % of NAM	CVAP
Top 10					
HI	0.867	0.788	0.951	0.890	1,074,083
DC	0.800	0.675	0.925	0.712	620,125
CA	0.777	0.711	0.844	0.815	28,971,332
NM	0.770	0.730	0.809	0.816	1,651,454
TX	0.745	0.707	0.783	0.766	22,085,317
MD	0.701	0.645	0.756	0.707	4,736,281
NV	0.692	0.656	0.727	0.724	2,541,024
GA	0.685	0.658	0.711	0.684	8,707,627
NJ	0.676	0.641	0.710	0.667	6,393,080
FL	0.672	0.630	0.714	0.696	17,933,393
Bottom 10					
ID	0.500	0.450	0.549	0.315	1,531,177
WI	0.498	0.441	0.556	0.356	4,423,996
SD	0.491	0.455	0.527	0.329	712,251
IA	0.485	0.453	0.518	0.280	2,423,530
MT	0.478	0.442	0.513	0.266	917,865
WY	0.474	0.418	0.531	0.308	445,481
NH	0.473	0.443	0.503	0.211	1,162,061
VT	0.473	0.438	0.509	0.159	511,029
WV	0.454	0.426	0.482	0.174	1,378,819
ME	0.437	0.404	0.470	0.146	1,169,464

Table 5: 10 Fastest Growing NAM Shares from Nov. 2010 to Nov. 2030, State-level

State	NAM % 2010	NAM % 2030	Growth of NAM %	Change in NAM Count
NJ	0.570	0.676	0.186	950,977
NV	0.587	0.692	0.179	716,853
FL	0.577	0.672	0.165	4,414,845
CT	0.519	0.603	0.162	293,372
RI	0.516	0.596	0.155	110,419
TX	0.647	0.745	0.151	6,109,259
CA	0.676	0.777	0.149	6,861,677
MA	0.517	0.589	0.139	894,249
AZ	0.574	0.646	0.125	1,474,661
MD	0.624	0.701	0.123	781,663

3.3 County

In Table 6 we report the top 10 and bottom 10 counties by citizen NAM share of the CVAP in November 2010. In all of our county level results, we restrict attention to counties with more than 50,000 residents in 2010 to ensure we are focusing on electorally-important counties and counties where population projections are likely to be more accurate. The fourth column reports the NAM share, the fifth column the person of color share of the NAM population, and the sixth column the count of the CVAP. Most of the top 10 NAM counties are located in large metropolitan areas. The largest city and county seat of Dougherty County, Georgia is Albany, Georgia and the county has a large Black population. Imperial County, California is a largely rural county with a large Latino population. The lowest NAM counties are concentrated in the Midwest and Northeast. Sumter County, Florida is famously the location of The Villages retirement community that has been the site of multiple Republican presidential candidate visits.

Table 6: Nov. 2010 NAM Population For Counties > 50,000 Total Population

County	State	FIPS	NAM %	POC % of NAM	CVAP
Top 10					
Bronx	NY	5	0.931	0.921	776,583
Miami Dade	FL	86	0.917	0.917	1,305,224
Prince George's	MD	33	0.912	0.907	542,698
El Paso	TX	141	0.912	0.919	437,396
Clayton	GA	63	0.907	0.916	160,104
Imperial	CA	25	0.892	0.930	87,847
Honolulu	HI	3	0.885	0.878	677,884
Dougherty	GA	95	0.876	0.834	63,595
Baltimore City	MD	510	0.863	0.793	457,431
District of Columbia	DC	1	0.856	0.716	449,192
Bottom 10					
Medina	OH	103	0.387	0.092	126,014
Washington	WI	131	0.386	0.088	95,712
Waukesha	WI	133	0.384	0.157	284,716
Carver	MN	19	0.382	0.141	60,991
Rockingham	NH	15	0.380	0.106	224,223
Williamson	TN	187	0.375	0.248	125,213
Hunterdon	NJ	19	0.363	0.249	92,758
Lenawee	MI	93	0.359	0.093	133,274
Sumter	FL	119	0.353	0.383	83,546
Geauga	OH	55	0.339	0.090	67,497

In Table 7 we report our NAM forecasts for Nov. 2020. The format is identical to the prior table with the addition of measures of forecast error uncertainty in the fifth and sixth columns. Counties in Texas' Rio Grande Valley, such as Cameron and Hidalgo counties, experienced large NAM increases relative to 2010.

Table 7: Nov. 2020 NAM Population For Counties > 50,000 Total Population

County	State	FIPS	NAM %	95% FE LB	95% FE UB	POC % of NAM	CVAP
Top 10							
Webb	TX	479	0.977	0.943	1.000	0.980	143,138
Clayton	GA	63	0.953	0.900	1.000	0.960	195,203
Hidalgo	TX	215	0.950	0.925	0.975	0.975	440,067
Bronx	NY	5	0.949	0.911	0.988	0.944	823,107
Miami Dade	FL	86	0.936	0.899	0.973	0.934	1,564,303
El Paso	TX	141	0.934	0.899	0.969	0.934	516,803
Cameron	TX	61	0.932	0.904	0.960	0.964	235,326
Prince George's	MD	33	0.927	0.889	0.966	0.927	591,766
Imperial	CA	25	0.926	0.881	0.972	0.957	103,516
Honolulu	HI	3	0.897	0.863	0.932	0.894	691,391
Bottom 10							
St. Croix	WI	109	0.400	0.378	0.421	0.118	70,081
Carver	MN	19	0.396	0.369	0.424	0.219	77,959
Charlotte	FL	15	0.395	0.373	0.416	0.328	167,075
Brunswick	NC	19	0.395	0.370	0.420	0.353	131,449
Manitowoc	WI	71	0.390	0.365	0.415	0.166	60,621
Lenawee	MI	93	0.389	0.371	0.407	0.133	152,153
Washington	WI	131	0.383	0.363	0.402	0.149	106,859
Armstrong	PA	5	0.382	0.363	0.401	0.066	51,154
Geauga	OH	55	0.366	0.341	0.391	0.110	71,539
Sumter	FL	119	0.340	0.323	0.357	0.358	131,887

In Table 8 we report our NAM forecasts for Nov. 2030. Clayton County, Georgia located in the Atlanta metropolitan area is projected to have the highest NAM share of any county (among those with over 50,000 residents in 2010) in the United States.

In Table 9 we use our forecasts to report the top 10 fastest growing NAM counties from 2010 to 2030. Counties located in suburban and exurban areas of large metropolitan areas, such as Atlanta, Dallas, and New York, are projected to have some of the largest NAM increases in the country by 2030.

Table 8: Nov. 2030 NAM Population For Counties > 50,000 Total Population

County	State	FIPS	NAM %	95% FE LB	95% FE UB	POC % of NAM	CVAP
Top 10							
Clayton	GA	63	0.988	0.886	1.000	0.983	228,359
Webb	TX	479	0.977	0.911	1.000	0.980	168,177
Bronx	NY	5	0.964	0.712	1.000	0.965	790,714
Hidalgo	TX	215	0.962	0.902	1.000	0.981	526,331
Imperial	CA	25	0.949	0.786	1.000	0.972	116,654
Cameron	TX	61	0.949	0.863	1.000	0.972	263,548
El Paso	TX	141	0.948	0.857	1.000	0.945	590,108
Miami Dade	FL	86	0.946	0.683	1.000	0.940	1,652,950
Prince George's	MD	33	0.940	0.705	1.000	0.938	609,990
Rockdale	GA	247	0.915	0.703	1.000	0.939	70,884
Bottom 10							
Charlotte	FL	15	0.403	0.353	0.459	0.360	203,507
Carver	MN	19	0.403	0.277	0.530	0.282	90,991
Lenawee	MI	93	0.401	0.305	0.528	0.170	161,052
Manitowoc	WI	71	0.400	0.275	0.531	0.218	58,712
Butler	PA	19	0.399	0.339	0.464	0.123	166,349
Wright	MN	171	0.395	0.313	0.479	0.226	116,458
Armstrong	PA	5	0.394	0.329	0.466	0.090	46,211
Brunswick	NC	19	0.392	0.299	0.487	0.360	179,188
Washington	WI	131	0.378	0.269	0.489	0.209	113,799
Geauga	OH	55	0.377	0.271	0.566	0.131	71,256
Sumter	FL	119	0.338	0.314	0.364	0.349	174,490

Table 9: 10 Fastest Growing NAM Shares from Nov. 2010 to Nov. 2030, County-level

County	State	FIPS	NAM % 2010	NAM % 2030	Growth of NAM %	Change in NAM Count
Whitfield	GA	313	0.424	0.641	0.512	9,094
Forsyth	GA	117	0.388	0.547	0.410	70,453
Kaufman	TX	257	0.545	0.727	0.334	70,211
Somerset	NJ	35	0.524	0.695	0.326	54,306
Fayette	GA	113	0.483	0.638	0.321	26,924
Rockdale	GA	247	0.698	0.915	0.311	25,388
Henry	GA	151	0.650	0.851	0.309	86,970
Douglas	GA	97	0.674	0.876	0.300	42,100
Bergen	NJ	3	0.547	0.702	0.283	120,158
Nassau	NY	59	0.536	0.681	0.271	149,469

4 NAM Voter Turnout Rates

4.1 Current Population Survey-based estimates, 2012-2020

Figure 1 presents estimates of NAM and non-NAM turnout by election year. The Black intervals at the top and bottom of each bar indicate a 95% confidence interval on the estimates, which is relatively small compared to the much larger disparities between midterm and presidential elections. Consistent with prior studies, the NAM population votes at substantially lower rates than the non-NAM population, across election cycles, and with relatively little change in the gap within election type over time. In 2020, for example, the NAM turnout rate was 61% according to the CPS, while the non-NAM turnout rate was 75%.

Figure 1: CPS Turnout for NAM vs. Non-NAM CVAP

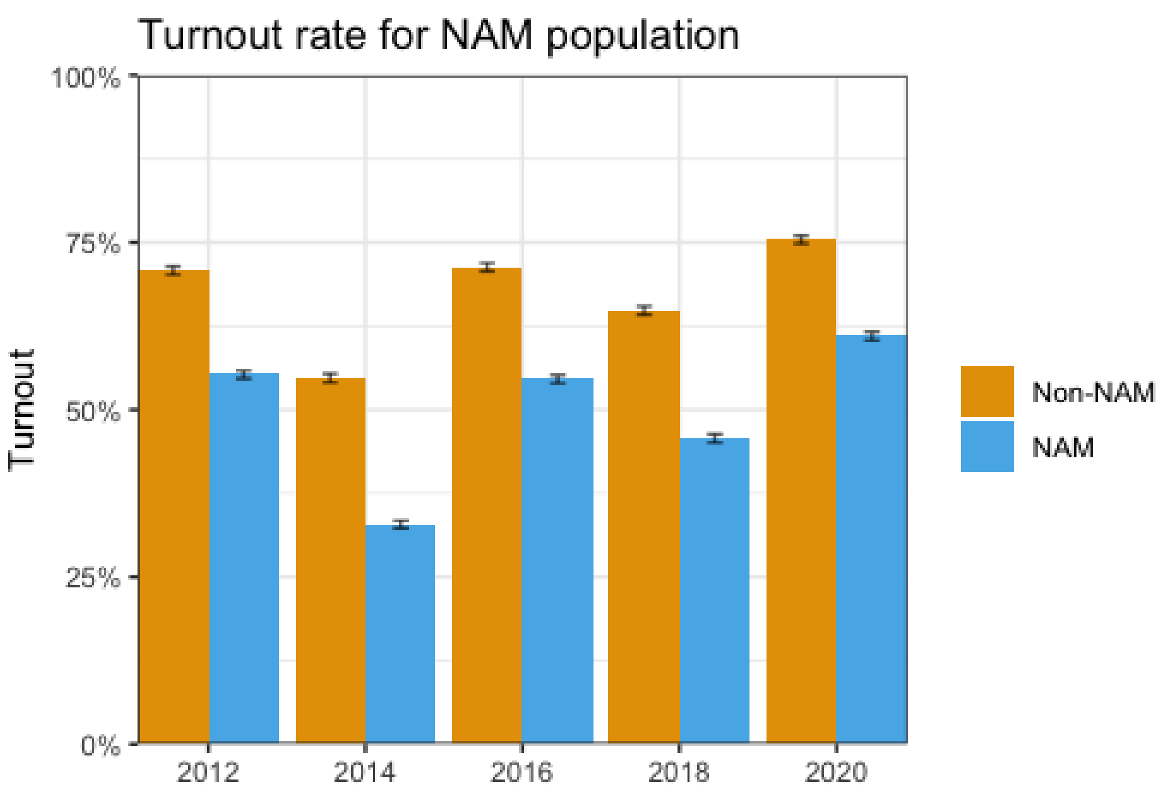


Figure 2: CPS Turnout for POC vs. non-Hispanic Whites

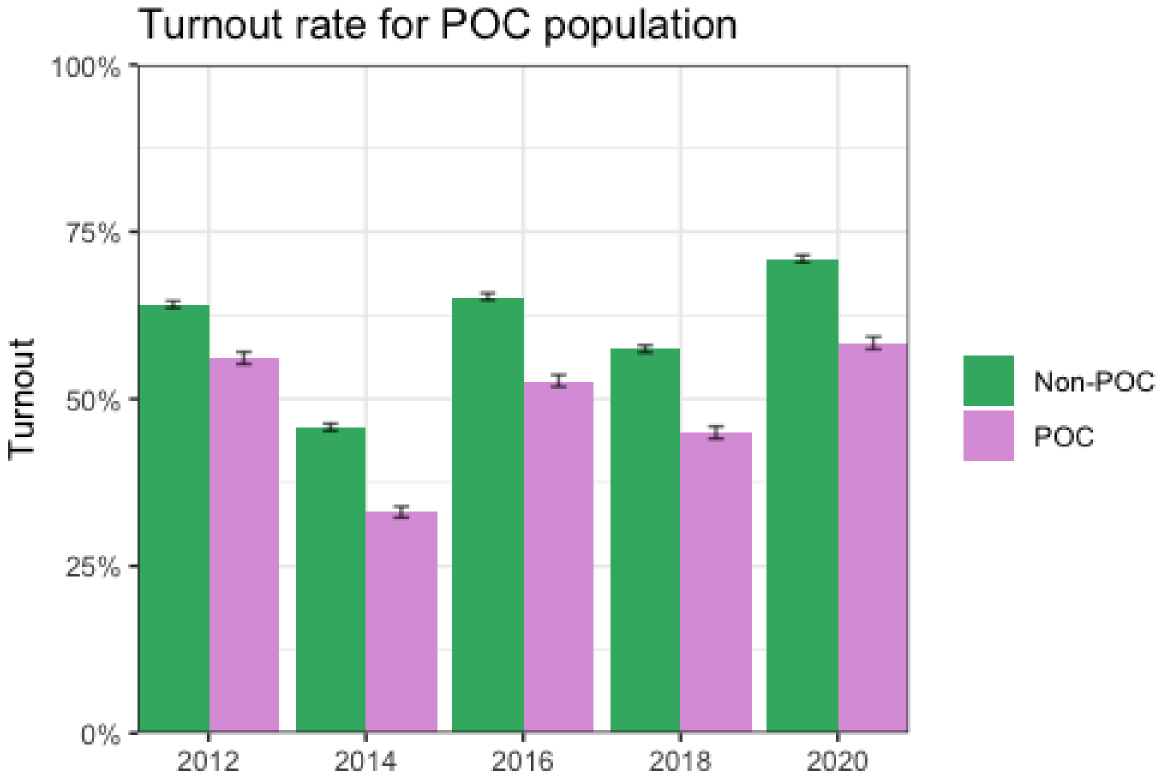
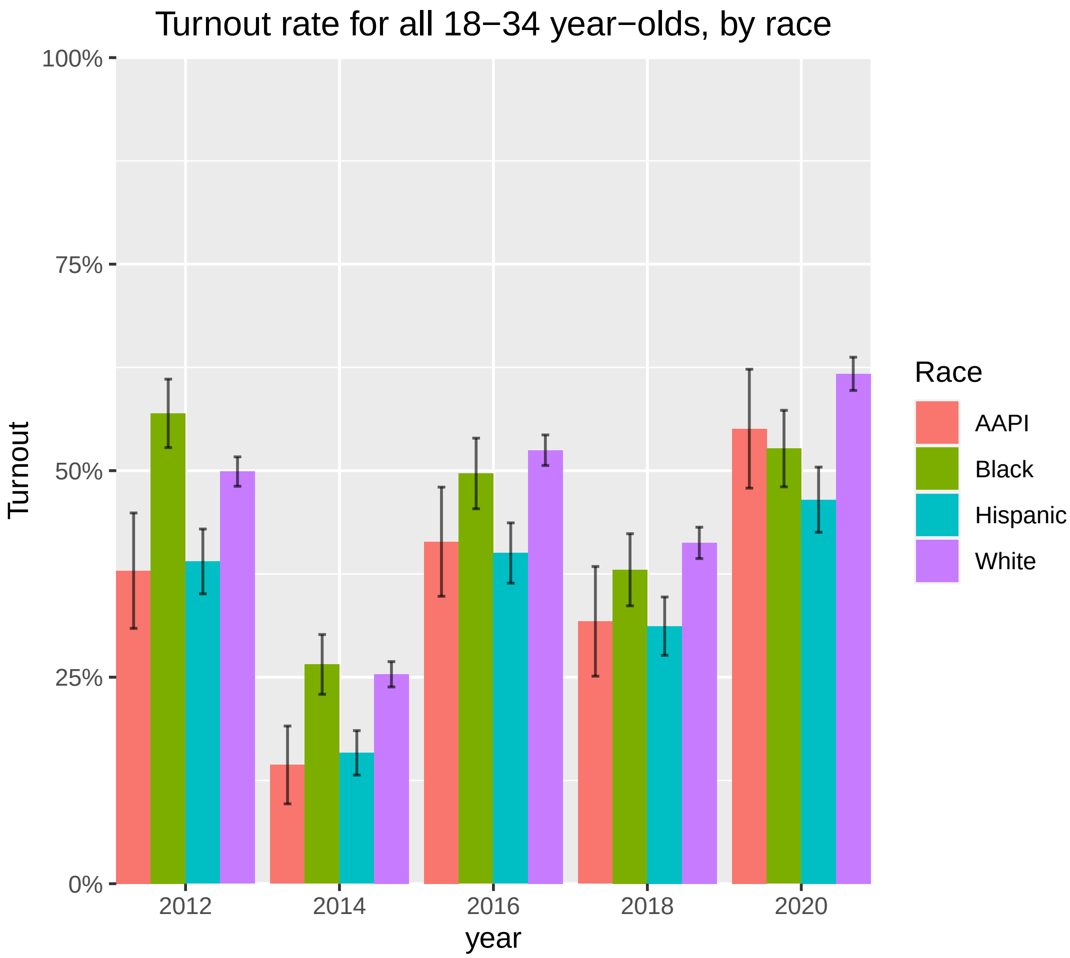


Figure 2 presents estimates of turnout for People of Color and non-Hispanic Whites alone. Again consistent with prior work, and with the NAM/non-NAM estimates in Figure 1, people of color display significantly lower turnout according to the CPS. However, here we see more variation in the size of the gap. The CPS reports that the smallest (though still significant) gap in turnout between 2012 and 2020 was in the 2012 election, roughly 6 percentage points. Largely because of high Black voter turnout, this election stands in stark contrast to more recent trends where high turnout overall did not reduce turnout disparities.

While national-level CPS statistics with binary classifications imply relatively little random survey error, uncertainty in turnout estimates is more substantial for smaller subgroups. For instance, in Figure 3, we break down turnout by race/ethnicity for individuals 18-34 using CPS data. The 95% confidence intervals on the turnout estimates are large enough here that it is difficult to make firm conclusions regarding change in turnout over time in pres-

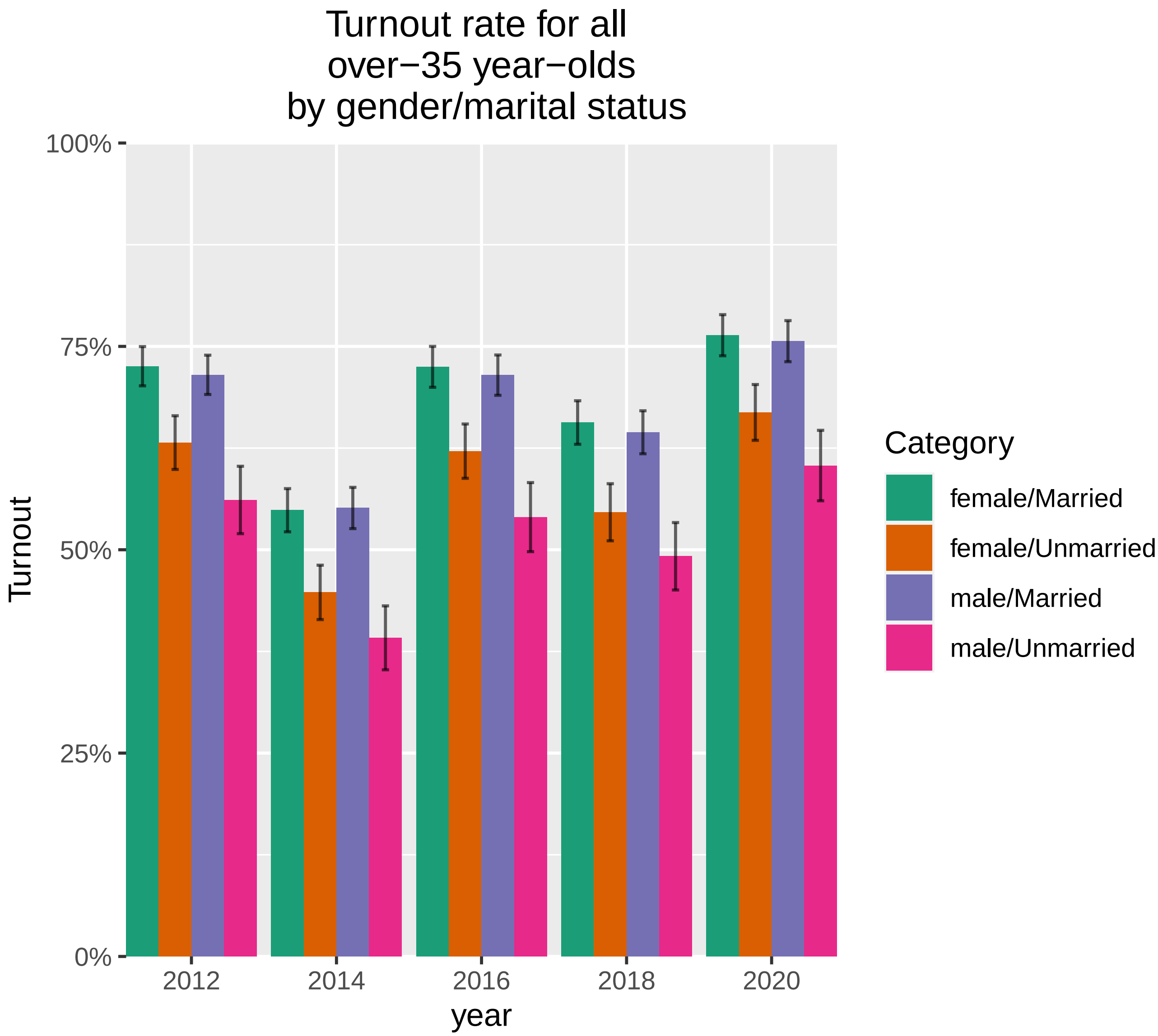
Figure 3: CPS Turnout by Race/Ethnicity, 18-34 year olds only



idential elections for most racial/ethnic groups, or differences within a single election year across some racial/ethnic groups. While it looks like turnout for non-Hispanic whites under 35 was higher than for AAPI young adults in 2020, uncertainty is high enough that this could be due to sampling error. Similarly, the confidence intervals on AAPI turnout are too large with CPS data to make firm conclusions regarding a significant increase between the 2016 and 2020 elections.

A breakdown by gender and marital status again demonstrates a limitation of the CPS data. Figure 4 presents turnout for 35 and older married women, unmarried women, married men, and unmarried men. Overall, married individuals are more likely to vote than unmar-

Figure 4: CPS Turnout by Gender and Marital Status, 35+ Only



ried persons, ignoring gender. However, in several recent presidential elections married men and women vote at almost exactly the same rate according to the CPS. Unmarried women also appear to vote more than unmarried men across recent elections. Yet, while the unmarried gender gap has not changed substantially in presidential years from 2012 to 2020, the difference in turnout between unmarried men and women is no longer statistically significant in 2020.

4.2 Voter File-based estimates, 2012-2020

Turning to Voter File-based estimates of voter turnout rates, we see a more detailed portrait of political participation for key NAM subgroups. Table 10 presents the turnout rate (number of voters divided by the CVAP) for elections from 2012-2020 broken down by race/ethnicity, gender, and age group.

Table 10: Census + Voter File-based Turnout Rate Estimates, 2012-2020

	2012	2014	2016	2018	2020
Total	57.5	37.2	59.5	51.3	67.7
POC	45.5	24.0	44.1	36.4	50.7
Non-POC	61.8	43.5	67.7	59.5	77.5
Women	59.8	38.0	62.8	53.5	70.3
Men	55.0	36.3	56.1	49.0	64.9
White	61.8	43.5	67.7	59.5	77.5
Black	54.4	29.3	48.3	40.4	52.5
Hispanic	35.8	17.0	37.3	29.9	43.7
AAPI	42.1	23.7	46.6	39.7	60.5
18-24	30.3	10.0	34.0	22.5	45.2
25-34	42.6	18.6	45.2	33.9	52.9
35-44	53.9	29.4	55.6	44.9	64.3
45-54	63.5	40.6	64.9	53.2	69.9
55-64	71.4	52.6	72.3	64.2	75.8
65+	71.8	59.5	74.1	73.9	84.2

Similar to both published CPS estimates and Figures 1 - 4 in the previous section, Table 10 indicates many substantial disparities in rates of turnout between NAM groups and non-NAM groups. Overall, the combination of Census CVAP estimates and the voter file vendor's records produces an estimate of Total turnout in the 2018 election (51.3%) that is quite close to the leading estimate of actual turnout of voting-eligible persons, as produced by Michael McDonald (50.0%).[31]. For 2020, the figure for the turnout rate of all voting-age citizens (67.7%) is strikingly similar to the 66.8% turnout rate estimated by McDonald.[32] Yet we see a gap between POC and non-POC turnout that is approximately twice as larger as what is

[31]http://www.electproject.org/2018g
[32]http://www.electproject.org/2020g

found in the CPS in 2018, with POC turnout 12.5 percentage points below non-POC turnout in this midterm election. In 2020, the difference between voter file-based estimates and the CPS is even larger, at 17 percentage points. With voter file data, we also see that turnout for 18-34 year olds is less than half that of those 55 and older, with less than a quarter of 18-24 year olds turning out to vote versus somewhat higher estimates in the CPS.

Table 10 indicates that these trends are longstanding, but turnout rates have shifted more for some groups than for others. 2018 and 2020 saw record levels of turnout for midterm and presidential elections, respectively. Across all groups we saw an increase in turnout relative to 2014 and 2016. However, Black and Hispanic turnout increased significantly less (approximately 4 and 6 percentage points) than for other racial/ethnic groups from 2016-2020, and while youth turnout surged 18-24 year old turnout still lagged behind voting rates for all other age groups. That said, we do see some indications of the gap between youth turnout and turnout of older individuals being smaller than in 2018, and AAPI turnout rates increased more than for any other racial/ethnic group in both the 2018 midterm (relative to 2014) and 2020 presidential (relative to 2016) elections.

Table 11 provides a more detailed breakdown of turnout by age group and race, disaggregating national turnout data with more precision than would be possible with CPS data alone (see Figure 3.) The table makes it clear that the aforementioned increase in youth turnout was also a story about racial/ethnic group differences. AAPI and White 18-24 year olds saw large increases in turnout rates in 2020 relative to 2016, including an over 20 percentage point increase for the youngest group of AAPIs. However, AAPI turnout grew dramatically across age groups as well, complicating a story about age in isolation. Similarly, while turnout for Black 18-24 year olds lagged behind every other racial/ethnic group, Black turnout also saw relatively small increases in all age categories except for those 65 or older. In every age category, as in every election examined here, White turnout rates were higher than Black, Latinx, and AAPI turnout rates.

These national trends present a picture of NAM subgroup voter turnout that can be

Table 11: Voter File-based Turnout Rate Estimates, Age x Race, 2012-2020

	2012	**2014**	**2016**	**2018**	**2020**
18-24					
AAPI	20.9	6.4	31.0	23.9	51.6
Black	30.9	8.3	26.6	16.6	31.4
Hispanic	18.7	5.2	23.8	16.9	34.3
White	32.9	12.5	41.0	27.0	54.6
25-34					
AAPI	26.0	9.5	31.1	25.4	43.3
Black	45.4	16.6	38.1	26.7	38.7
Hispanic	24.0	7.7	27.8	21.2	36.1
White	47.2	23.2	54.4	41.3	64.4
35-44					
AAPI	37.8	17.7	41.4	32.4	51.4
Black	53.0	26.2	47.5	38.0	51.7
Hispanic	30.4	11.9	31.2	23.6	36.3
White	56.9	34.6	62.1	52.1	75.0
45-54					
AAPI	52.3	29.3	56.5	46.3	68.8
Black	58.4	33.5	53.3	44.6	56.3
Hispanic	44.1	20.4	41.0	30.6	42.2
White	65.1	46.1	69.9	59.3	78.1
55-64					
AAPI	57.6	36.7	61.5	53.8	74.7
Black	67.0	43.4	59.9	53.1	61.9
Hispanic	60.6	33.9	56.0	45.8	57.7
White	72.2	57.6	75.6	68.9	80.3
65+					
AAPI	58.0	42.8	60.4	57.2	75.2
Black	72.7	51.4	65.2	63.8	73.4
Hispanic	67.4	46.0	65.7	60.5	71.7
White	75.2	66.8	79.5	81.1	89.7

further enhanced by examining state trends. In Table 12, we present a sampling of 2020 turnout data for core NAM groups at the state level. We identify the five states with the greatest (positive) difference from the turnout rate for Whites (compared to POC, Black, Hispanic, and AAPI turnout) and adults 35 or older (compared to 18-24 and 25-34 year olds).[33]

Table 12: Top 5 States for NAM Subgroup Relative Turnout, 2020

	CVAP	**Voters**	**Turnout**	Comparison Turnout	**Diff**
POC					
AL	1,176,274	617,249	52.5	67.0	-14.5
SC	1,271,058	688,394	54.2	68.7	-14.5
KY	415,435	205,052	49.4	65.2	-15.8
NC	2,453,369	1,441,558	58.8	77.5	-18.7
LA	1,330,667	684,596	51.4	70.2	-18.8
Black					
AL	989,568	571,611	57.8	67.0	-9.2
SC	1,037,585	617,214	59.5	68.7	-9.2
NC	1,722,331	1,133,689	65.8	77.5	-11.7
KY	267,827	137,812	51.5	65.2	-13.7
LA	1,114,101	620,470	55.7	70.2	-14.5
Hispanic					
FL	3,369,634	1,890,435	56.1	83.4	-27.3
UT	211,877	48,145	22.7	50.2	-27.5
IN	228,814	86,381	37.8	65.6	-27.8
MO	135,111	54,989	40.7	69.1	-28.4
GA	399,041	173,324	43.4	74.6	-31.2
AAPI					
MI	164,388	137,427	83.6	79.0	+4.6
OH	141,586	99,694	70.4	71.6	-1.2
PA	248,718	178,261	71.7	75.5	-3.8
GA	233,241	151,059	64.8	74.6	-9.8
MN	158,495	113,430	71.6	82.9	-11.3
18-24					
NV	208,337	132,930	63.8	74.8	-11.0
CA	2,967,641	1,764,384	59.5	73.2	-13.7
MD	469,197	275,772	58.8	75.3	-16.5
NJ	648,502	393,822	60.7	81.5	-20.8
GA	922,343	466,314	50.6	72.8	-22.2
25-34					
NJ	990,056	653,499	66.0	81.5	-15.5
CA	4,984,208	2,852,674	57.2	73.2	-16.0
NY	2,538,103	1,275,397	50.3	67.5	-17.2
MD	753,161	436,828	58.0	75.3	-17.3
IA	375,084	229,893	61.3	78.7	-17.4

With regard to voters of color, several southern states stand out as driving high POC

[33] The table only includes states with 100,000 or more voting-age citizens from the specified group.

turnout in Table 12. North Carolina and Florida see the highest rates of POC turnout on average, driven by relatively high turnout among Black voters North Carolina and Black and Hispanic voters in Florida. However, some of this has to do with relatively high rates of turnout overall. Relative to Whites, Alabama and South Carolina have the smallest disparities between POC and White or Black and White turnout rates.

Geographic variation in turnout rates by age are particularly striking. Though missing age data accounts for some of the high variance, in Nevada nearly two-thirds of adult citizens under 25 turned out to vote, while less than half did nationwide. High turnout overall can account for some of this story. Relative to the over 35 year old turnout rate, California and New Jersey instead make appearances as states with the smallest (though still large at 10-15 percentage points) disparities between youth and non-youth turnout rates.

4.3 Discrepancies between CPS and Voter File-based Estimates

In this section, we take a closer look at discrepancies between the CPS-based estimates of turnout for NAM groups and the estimates derived from the voter file vendor. Tables 13 and 14 present national estimates of turnout in the CPS and voter file, the 95% confidence interval for the CPS estimate, and an indicator (*) for significant differences assuming no survey error for the voter file quantities.

In both years, we see significant differences in turnout rates between the two datasets for nearly all of the NAM (and non-NAM) constituent demographic categories. For the most part, the CPS seems to slightly *overestimate* turnout rates. Some of the discrepancies between the CPS and voter file-based analyses may thus stem from the target population in the CPS sample. For instance, the CPS appears to consistently *underestimate* the size of the NAM CVAP population, which would produce higher rates of turnout even if the number of voters stayed constant. In 2020, this undercount was approximately 7 million persons, and while the non-NAM is also undercounted, the disparities are not proportionate. About half of the NAM undercount is due to the fact that the CPS excludes college students in dorms

Table 13: Comparison of CPS and Voter File Turnout Estimates, 2018

	Current Population Survey				
	Turnout	95% LB	95% UB	**VF Turnout**	
Total	53.4	53.0	53.9	51.3	*
POC	45.0	44.1	45.9	34.6	*
Non-POC	57.5	56.9	58.0	59.6	*
White	57.5	56.9	58.0	59.5	*
Black	51.4	49.9	52.9	40.4	*
Hispanic	40.4	39.0	41.8	29.9	*
AAPI	40.3	38.1	42.6	39.7	
18-24	32.4	31.1	33.6	22.5	*
25-34	42.1	41.0	43.2	33.9	*
35-44	51.0	49.9	52.0	44.9	*
45-54	57.0	55.9	58.0	53.2	*
55-64	61.8	60.8	62.7	64.2	*
65+	66.1	65.3	67.0	73.9	*
Women	55.0	54.4	55.5	53.5	*
Men	51.8	51.2	52.4	49.0	*

Table 14: Comparison of CPS and Voter File Turnout Estimates, 2020

	Current Population Survey				
	Turnout	95% LB	95% UB	**VF Turnout**	
Total	66.8	66.3	67.3	67.7	*
POC	58.4	57.4	59.3	48.1	*
Non-POC	70.9	70.4	71.5	77.6	*
White	70.9	70.4	71.5	77.5	*
Black	62.8	61.3	64.3	52.5	*
Hispanic	53.7	52.2	55.2	43.7	*
AAPI	59.3	56.8	61.7	60.5	
18-24	51.4	50.0	52.8	45.2	*
25-34	60.3	59.2	61.4	52.9	*
35-44	65.1	64.0	66.2	64.3	
45-54	69.0	68.0	70.1	69.9	
55-64	72.7	71.8	73.6	75.8	*
65+	74.5	73.7	75.3	84.2	*
Women	68.4	67.9	68.9	70.3	*
Men	65.0	64.4	65.6	64.9	

(since 2018) and people who are incarcerated, even if they are eligible to vote. Nursing home residents are also excluded, although this population skews non-NAM and would produce a countervailing bias.

However, in general discrepancies between the CPS and voter file are clearest when studying communities of color. In recent work, Ansolabehere, Fraga, and Schaffner (2021)[34] demonstrate that the CPS systematically overestimates minority voter turnout, even after accounting for the aforementioned differences in sample composition and random survey error. This study also isolates states in the south where race is on the voter registration list, so modeling challenges cannot account for all of the discrepancies. We see a similar pattern in our comparison, whereby minority turnout is systematically higher at the national and state level in the CPS, relative to the voter file, in most states and for most groups.

5 Unregistered NAM Population

As a final study, we also sought to use the voter file vendor data to study the unregistered NAM population, with an eye toward identifying states with relatively large unregistered NAM adult populations. In Tables 15 and 16 we present the top 10 states in terms of the percent of unregistered adult citizens who are POC, and the raw number of unregistered POC adult citizens, respectively. Texas, Louisiana, and Arizona are the only states to make both lists, with large absolute and relative numbers of potential NAM voters who were unable to vote as of November 2020. A full table examining the unregistered Total and POC population in every state may be found in Table 19 in the Appendix.

Table 17 identifies where low registration rates are having an especially large impact on the underrepresentation of people of color. Here we present the raw number of voting-age citizens and active registered voters who are people of color in 2020, along with the percent of the total CVAP and total registered voter populations that are people of color. The difference between these shares, indicated by the "Diff" column, is a measure of how underrepresented people of color are among registrants versus the eligible population; in other words, how

[34] Ansolabehere, Stephen, Bernard L. Fraga, and Brian F. Schaffner. (2021) "The CPS Voting and Registration Supplement Overstates Minority Turnout." *Journal of Politics.* In Press.

Table 15: States with Highest Unregistered POC Shares, 2020

	CVAP	Voters	Unregistered	% Unreg.
WY	55,202	21,688	30,809	55.8
OK	831,146	267,199	461,726	55.6
LA	1,330,667	684,596	646,071	48.6
AR	509,587	196,618	247,125	48.5
MT	96,164	41,852	46,445	48.3
ID	171,001	73,724	75,041	43.9
NM	881,361	349,657	373,425	42.4
AZ	1,950,271	817,928	776,201	39.8
TX	9,625,254	3,804,826	3,693,620	38.4
KS	386,881	160,251	147,743	38.2

Table 16: States with Largest Unregistered POC Populations, 2020

	CVAP	Voters	Unregistered	% Unreg.
CA	14,636,063	7,146,228	4,961,668	33.9
TX	9,625,254	3,804,826	3,693,620	38.4
NY	5,340,570	2,262,942	1,356,311	25.4
FL	6,295,529	3,639,223	1,134,571	18.0
AZ	1,950,271	817,928	776,201	39.8
IL	2,990,790	1,424,765	769,839	25.7
LA	1,330,667	684,596	646,071	48.6
PA	1,950,531	973,674	627,906	32.2
NC	2,453,369	1,441,558	559,262	22.8
NJ	2,371,907	1,286,474	541,080	22.8

much POC electoral power is weakened by low registration rates. Some states on the list are also found in Tables 16 and 15: California, Texas, Arizona, and New Mexico. However, these states are joined by places with relatively large NAM populations that are hampered by low registration rates, including Nevada and New Jersey.

6 Takeaways and Next Steps

In this report, we present an initial look at population and participation trends for the diverse, multi-group coalition known as the New American Majority (NAM). Using various data sources, we identify a large, growing NAM population that has the potential to shape

Table 17: States with Largest Difference between POC Share of CVAP and POC Share of Registrants, 2020

	CVAP	% of CVAP	Registered	% of Registered	Diff
HI	772,151	75.1	749,790	55.9	-19.2
NM	881,361	58.6	507,937	40.8	-17.8
AK	188,012	35.2	123,982	20.7	-14.5
TX	9,625,254	52.6	5,931,634	38.1	-14.4
CA	14,636,063	57.4	9,674,396	43.7	-13.8
NV	917,935	44.0	571,130	31.1	-12.9
AZ	1,950,271	38.6	1,174,070	27.3	-11.3
OK	831,146	29.4	369,419	18.1	-11.3
MD	1,928,895	44.6	1,457,979	35.0	-9.6
NJ	2,371,907	39.1	1,830,827	30.6	-8.5

politics in many states going forward, but is hampered by relatively low rates of voter turnout. Several states that have relatively high shares of the NAM today are *not* poised to have as substantial NAM growth as, e.g., New England states. However, at the substate level we do see that NAM growth in suburban counties, driven by increases in the Black, Latinx, and AAPI populations, is occurring in many states and urban areas where voters of color already play a significant role in shaping politics.

Next steps for this project and related efforts point in three directions. First, it is important to further vet sources of data regarding voter turnout. We find that commonly-used data sources like the Current Population Survey have pitfalls that suggest voter file data may be a superior option. Second, county and other sub-state analyses may provide additional information about where voter file lists are accurate and how a young, diverse, geographically mobile NAM population can be best measured. Finally, our research suggests that areas of NAM population growth are changing rapidly, necessitating a closer, neighborhood-level look to determine if pre-COVID pandemic trends are still valid and how neighborhood change intersects with electoral participation. While the analyses we provide are in some ways tentative, it is clear that the NAM population is too critical to our future to leave these questions unanswered.

7 Supplementary Tables

Table 18: Top 5 States for NAM Subgroup Turnout, relative to national subgroup rate, 2020

	CVAP	**Voters**	**Turnout**	National Turnout	**Diff**
POC					
NC	2453369	1441558	58.8	48.1	10.7
FL	6295529	3639223	57.8	48.1	9.7
GA	3262810	1816778	55.7	48.1	7.6
VA	2094178	1152900	55.1	48.1	7.0
DC	312954	169853	54.3	48.1	6.2
Black					
CO	168458	115084	68.3	52.5	15.8
NC	1722331	1133689	65.8	52.5	13.3
WA	204289	132868	65.0	52.5	12.5
FL	2312089	1444217	62.5	52.5	10.0
SC	1037585	617214	59.5	52.5	7.0
Hispanic					
FL	3369634	1890435	56.1	43.7	12.4
MD	255659	129490	50.6	43.7	6.9
NV	441143	221435	50.2	43.7	6.5
NJ	994057	493883	49.7	43.7	6.0
VA	377214	184579	48.9	43.7	5.2
AAPI					
MI	164388	137427	83.6	60.5	23.1
NJ	477676	358698	75.1	60.5	14.6
PA	248718	178261	71.7	60.5	11.2
MN	158495	113430	71.6	60.5	11.1
CO	113765	80135	70.4	60.5	9.9
18-24					
NV	208337	132930	63.8	45.2	18.6
NJ	648502	393822	60.7	45.2	15.5
CA	2967641	1764384	59.5	45.2	14.3
MD	469197	275772	58.8	45.2	13.6
WA	574294	333250	58.0	45.2	12.8
25-34					
MN	718792	481354	67.0	52.9	14.1
NJ	990056	653499	66.0	52.9	13.1
CO	857123	557560	65.1	52.9	12.2
OR	556338	351228	63.1	52.9	10.2
ME	161548	100091	62.0	52.9	9.1

Table 19: Voter File-based Estimates of the Unregistered Population, 2020

	Total				**POC Only**			
	CVAP	Voters	**Unregistered**		CVAP	Voters	**Unregistered**	
			w/Inactive	*Any Status*			*w/Inactive*	*Any Status*
AK	534,150	361,006	-64,059	-64,059	188,012	64,217	64,030	64,030
AL	3,730,346	2,328,865	-287,355	-491,369	1,176,274	617,249	-23,275	-91,350
AR	2,210,469	1,207,757	700,272	380,911	509,587	196,618	247,125	166,329
AZ	5,054,473	3,382,825	749,585	311,072	1,950,271	817,928	776,201	649,461
CA	25,481,555	17,446,809	3,323,680	3,323,680	14,636,063	7,146,228	4,961,668	4,961,668
CO	4,225,814	3,272,137	477,741	201,535	1,104,799	546,652	418,769	361,654
CT	2,605,800	1,819,581	288,173	99,930	727,273	307,154	267,669	214,020
DC	536,018	343,321	12,318	12,318	312,954	169,853	40,286	40,286
DE	719,353	508,139	5,469	-20,548	231,441	114,678	53,464	44,841
FL	15,214,837	11,076,103	703,508	-22,088	6,295,529	3,639,223	1,134,571	892,557
GA	7,542,883	5,011,872	274,157	-114,737	3,262,810	1,816,778	293,636	146,320
HI	1,027,869	578,405	-313,660	-391,071	772,151	319,310	22,361	-9,269
IA	2,323,671	1,686,185	208,836	66,379	234,925	114,270	72,051	53,314
ID	1,282,563	857,060	240,902	240,902	171,001	73,724	75,041	75,041
IL	8,916,392	6,022,783	559,805	2,421	2,990,790	1,424,765	769,839	587,971
IN	4,956,734	3,063,923	649,287	193,471	835,095	356,976	250,902	169,442
KS	2,070,059	1,381,506	267,679	132,471	386,881	160,251	147,743	125,176
KY	3,367,002	2,130,898	-169,155	-169,155	415,435	205,052	28,145	28,145
LA	3,445,957	2,169,209	1,276,747	1,276,747	1,330,667	684,596	646,071	646,071
MA	5,086,693	3,577,706	621,512	286,564	1,151,352	545,814	374,891	280,798
MD	4,325,920	3,049,186	158,023	-61,497	1,928,895	1,003,044	470,916	406,282
ME	1,086,570	822,828	-46,297	-49,992	55,232	34,503	1,218	995
MI	7,541,332	5,529,408	-576,605	-576,605	1,625,627	855,008	152,169	152,169
MN	4,147,536	3,260,953	440,722	440,722	617,998	331,309	204,076	204,076
MO	4,657,704	3,032,992	458,214	458,214	810,078	372,629	219,719	219,719
MS	2,241,690	1,315,007	116,347	-27,301	920,032	434,101	166,654	108,388
MT	837,198	613,257	157,586	85,804	96,164	41,852	46,445	38,493
NC	7,697,185	5,508,971	1,042,386	341,861	2,453,369	1,441,558	559,262	295,557
ND*	570,452	360,881	164,330	92,720	70,918	23,665	41,982	35,319
NE	1,361,367	964,064	187,681	93,628	201,242	88,091	75,355	59,347
NH	1,076,968	807,871	-10,057	-10,057	80,231	44,329	14,625	14,625
NJ	6,071,996	4,660,221	86,809	-388,522	2,371,907	1,286,474	541,080	388,936
NM	1,503,843	928,683	258,991	150,939	881,361	349,657	373,425	334,526
NV	2,087,042	1,466,843	248,492	51,797	917,935	420,142	346,805	284,286
NY	13,742,976	8,386,688	1,296,521	119,092	5,340,570	2,262,942	1,356,311	974,249
OH	8,880,778	5,966,661	1,396,669	894,565	1,603,366	752,390	518,779	412,982
OK	2,830,491	1,567,319	790,486	575,511	831,146	267,199	461,726	414,415
OR	3,129,658	2,407,231	189,562	-317,502	576,014	285,862	185,813	108,282
PA	9,787,969	6,905,252	1,505,243	907,737	1,950,531	973,674	627,906	481,126
RI	797,044	514,508	91,796	8,619	176,560	68,346	62,135	41,845
SC	3,922,454	2,509,791	431,251	267,170	1,271,058	688,394	238,549	188,420
SD	653,204	426,375	73,349	18,366	89,466	35,102	33,212	26,680
TN	5,110,173	3,063,977	862,428	656,452	1,132,946	495,099	355,563	320,052
TX	18,302,887	11,159,797	2,752,543	2,013,767	9,625,254	3,804,826	3,693,620	3,419,685
UT*	2,133,192	992,065	1,011,972	870,323	350,300	95,537	233,638	212,323
VA	6,202,673	4,467,195	450,957	248,998	2,094,178	1,152,900	519,113	459,430
VT	500,025	370,443	41,021	-5,310	28,644	15,452	8,320	5,316
WA	5,425,262	4,101,005	546,788	188,984	1,318,591	646,308	476,478	406,496
WI	4,371,077	3,300,333	558,332	-2,818	629,520	314,035	226,015	145,673
WV	1,420,866	794,120	349,450	282,875	94,558	49,943	22,372	16,098
WY	432,178	274,468	131,078	131,078	55,202	21,688	30,809	30,809

Note: * indicates states where registration data is especially unreliable. In Utah, over 10% of voters in 2020 opted out of having their information available in the public voter file. North Dakota does not have a permanent voter registration list.