California’s Latino and Asian American Vote: Dramatic Underrepresentation in 2014 and Expected Impact in 2016

California’s 2014 general election brought a record low turnout, increasing concerns about Californians’ lack of participation in political life. Since then, momentum has built among a cross-section of policy makers, voting advocates and civic leaders, all of whom are contemplating reforms to help engage citizens in the political process.

One key to engaging voters is identifying the factors that contribute to voting disparities between Latino and Asian American voters, and the rest of the California electorate.

Latinos and Asian Americans have historically voted in lower numbers than the rest of the electorate. In low-turnout elections, these groups typically participate even less, generating an even wider turnout gap between themselves and non-Latino and non-Asian American voters. The November 2014 election confirmed this pattern, resulting in extremely low turnout for Latinos and Asian Americans and increasing their underrepresentation among voters compared to their proportions of the population.

Currently, Latinos and Asian-Americans combined are over 50% of California’s total population. In the years to come, these groups will drive the state’s population growth. Because of population increases, they will constitute a larger share of the state’s voters in the future. However, if lower turnout rates are repeated in upcoming elections it will reduce the impact of Latino and Asian-American population growth on their political strength. Understanding the state of Latino and Asian American voters’ behavior in 2014 is critical in identifying the potential impact of these groups on California’s political landscape going forward.

Using the California Civic Engagement Project’s analysis of Latino and Asian-American voter registration data (measured by surname) from the Statewide Database, this brief addresses the following questions:

1. How did the Latino and Asian-American vote differ from that of the rest of the electorate in the 2014 general election?
2. What should one expect in the 2016 elections and beyond?
3. What can be done to improve Latino and Asian-American turnout in California and elsewhere?

1. How did the Latino and Asian-American vote differ from that of the rest of the electorate in the 2014 general election?

In the general election of 2014, registered voter turnout (the percent voted of those registered to vote) for California hit a record low for a statewide general election at 41.7%, declining from 58% in 2010. Breaking down registered turnout by population group, we see dramatic disparities in California voter participation. In the 2014 general election, Latino registered voter turnout was 27.5% (down 18 percentage points from 2010) and Asian-American registered turnout was 36.3% (a 12 percentage-point drop from 2010).

Highlights:

- Only 17.3% of eligible Latinos and 18.4% of eligible Asian Americans voted in the 2014 general election.
- Latinos made up only 15.4% of California’s 2014 vote but accounted for 39% of its population.
- Asian Americans made up only 7.4 percent of the state’s 2014 vote but were 13.3% of its population.
- Over the past decade, Latino and Asian American voter registration occurred at a faster pace than that of the total population.
- The Latino percent of California’s vote declined to 15.4% in 2014, down from 19.3% in 2012. This was the lowest share since 2006.
- A total of 37% of Asian Americans registered as No Party Preference (NPP) – the same percentage who registered Democratic, in 2014.
- For the first time, California is estimated to have a majority-minority electorate in 2016, with non-Latino whites constituting fewer than 50% of the state’s eligible voters.
- By 2040, Latinos and Asian Americans combined will make up a majority of voters in many areas of California, according to projections.

Author
Mindy Romero, Ph.D.
Founding Director,
California Civic Engagement Project
Meanwhile, registered voter turnout among non-Latino and non-Asian American voters combined (this group consists of 82% white and 14% African-American) was much higher, at 47.3%.

Registration rates vary across groups and communities, with some experiencing high registered voter turnout when only a small number of those actually registered. Participation is even lower, and disparities are even greater, when one measures the turnout of all those eligible to vote (the percent voted of adult citizens), not just the turnout of those who registered. In the 2014 general election, turnout for eligible Latinos and Asian Americans was lower than that of the overall electorate. The record-low eligible turnout rate for November 2014 was 30.8% (down from 43.7% in 2010). But only 17.2% of eligible Latinos (1,138,404) and 18.4% of eligible Asian-Americans (544,571) actually turned out for this election. The turnout of eligible non-Latino and non-Asian American voters combined was 39.6% - nearly 10 percentage points higher than the state’s general turnout.

a. Lower Latino and Asian-American voter registration rates

A key reason for low eligible voter turnout is the low registration rates of eligible citizens. Historically, registration rates for California Latinos and Asian Americans have run at levels far below that of the general population.²

The November 2014 election was no exception. For the state as a whole (and in every county), Latino and Asian-American registration rates were considerably lower than the general population’s rate of 73.9%. The Latino registration rate was over 10 percentage points lower at 62.8% and the Asian-American rate was lower still, at 50.7%.

For these groups to reach the registration rates of the general population in 2014, one would need to register an estimated additional 730,000 Latinos and 687,000 Asian Americans.
At the same time, from 2010-2014, the registration of Latinos and Asian Americans occurred at a faster pace than that of the total population. Latino registration increased by 12.9% in absolute numbers, Asian-American registration increased by 6.9%, while registration in absolute numbers among non-Latino and non-Asian Americans actually declined by 1.3% (the increase for the total general population, including Latinos and Asian Americans, was 2.4%).

However, over the past decade, this registration gap has narrowed. From 2002 to 2014, Latino and Asian-American registration outpaced that of the state’s general population in every general election. Since 2002, Latino registration has experienced an increase of 57.7%, while Asian-American registration has climbed by 49%. Meanwhile, registration by non-Latinos and non-Asian Americans combined has decreased 4.3%, while the rate for the total population hit 16.5%.

b. Decline in the Latino share of the vote

Between the 2002 and 2012 general elections, Latinos and Asian Americans increased their share of the state’s total votes cast (from comparable presidential to presidential-to-presidential or midterm-to-midterm). But in November 2014, Latino and Asian-American political representation took different paths. Despite increases in the Latino population and Latino registration, the Latino percentage of the California vote declined to 15.4%, the first decline since 2006. In 2014, Latinos thus actually became further underrepresented in our electoral process – meaning their share of the vote was even less representative when compared to the Latino share of the state’s overall population (39%) and the Latino share of the state’s eligible citizen voting population (28%).

In contrast, Asian Americans increased their share of California’s vote to 7.4% in 2014. Despite this gain, Asian Americans also remained underrepresented politically based on their share of the state’s eligible voter population (12.4%) and their share of the state’s population (13.3%).

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California has been a blue state since the early 1990's, but over the past decade it has seen a steady rise in the number of registrants choosing to not affiliate with a party – designated as No Party Preference (NPP).³

By the 2014 general election, 43.3% of all registered voters affiliated as Democrat, 28% registered as Republican, and 23.3% registered as No Party Preference (NPP).

Latino voter registration by party has also changed over the past decade, with fewer Latinos registering as Democrats and Republicans, and more registering as NPP. By 2014, 54.7% of all registered Latinos registered as Democrats and 17.3% registered as Republicans. Latinos registered as NPP at about the same percentage as did the general electorate, or 23.8%.

In 2014, Asian Americans registered Republican at a higher rate than Latinos did. For the general election, 37.1% of all registered Asian Americans registered as Democrats, 21.9% registered as Republicans, and 36.9% registered as NPP (almost the same percentage that registered as Democrats).

**d. Lower turnout rates for Latinos and Asian Americans registered as No Party Preference (NPP)**

In the November 2014 general election, the turnout of registered Republicans was 51.2%, while Democratic turnout was 42.8%. Turnout of those registered as NPP was only 30.8%, and the combined turnout for those registered with other, smaller parties was 34.7%.

Latino registered voter turnout rates, by party affiliation, were far lower than the party turnout of the general electorate. Latino Republican turnout was 30.2% and Democratic turnout was 30.9%. Voter turnout for Latinos who registered as NPP was only 18.8%. This low turnout for Latino NPP registrants is worth noting, considering the high percentage of Latinos (23.8%) who registered as NPP in the 2014 general election.

Asian-American registered voter turnout, by party affiliation, were also lower than the party turnout of the general electorate, but higher than the party turnout of Latinos. Asian-American Republican turnout was 42.8%, and Democratic turnout was 38.6%. Only NPP turnout was the same for both Asian Americans and the general electorate, at 30.8%.
e. Latino voters still Democratic but declining

Even though their turnout rate is lower, Latino voters registered as Democrat in California dominate in sheer numbers over Latino voters registered as Republican, as reflected in higher Democratic registration.

While the Democratic share of the states’s general vote has fluctuated little over the past decade and was 44.2% in 2014, the Republican share has declined from 39.4% in 2002 to 34.3% in 2014. There was a 10 percentage point gap between the parties for 2014 voters. NPP voters have increased their share of the general vote from 10.5% in 2002 to 17.1% in 2014.

In contrast to the general electorate, over the same time period in California, substantially more Latino voters were registered Democratic over Republican and NPP. However, this Democratic dominance of Latino voters has actually declined by five percentage points, from 66.4% in 2002 to 61.3% in 2014. Similarly, the Republican share of the state’s Latino vote has declined over the decade, from 20.5% in 2002 to 18.9% in 2014, opening up a 1.6 percentage point gap in the Latino vote between the parties in 2014. While Latinos have decreased their proportion of actual voters who are registered with the two major parties, they have steadily increased the proportion of their voters registered as NPP. The second largest proportion of Latino voters is made up of those registered as NPP. These voters made-up 16.3% of all Latino voters in 2014, up from just 10.1% in 2002.

f. More Asian American voters are registered as NPP

Party affiliation of Asian American voters in California is more evenly distributed than the party registration of Latino voters. Also, in contrast to Latino trends, the proportion of Asian American voters registered as Republican has seen a larger decline than those Asian American voters registered as Democrat. However, the biggest change in vote share by party for Asian Americans has been with those registered as NPP. Beginning with the 2008 general election, Asian American NPP registration became the second largest registration designation for Asian American voters, increasing to 31.4%, with little fluctuation since.

The lower party identification of Asian-Americans as Democrat may help be explained by the fact that Asian-Americans are more likely to be first-generation immigrant, but stronger Democratic voting over time.4
2. What to expect in the 2016 presidential elections and beyond?

a. Latino voter population on the rise

Dramatic growth in California’s Latino and Asian-American populations will almost certainly impact California’s future political landscape. The growing numbers of these voters and how they are mobilized may change the outcome of a number of the state’s election contests in 2016 and beyond.

According to estimates by the California Department of Finance, Latinos became the most populous racial or ethnic group in the state, as of 2014.

Latinos are projected to steadily continue their large population gains in the state. From 2015 to 2040, the state’s total population growth is projected at 21.4%, while the Latino and Asian-American populations are projected to grow 41.5% and 33.8%, respectively. The Black population will increase 5.4% and non-Latino whites will actually decrease 4.2%. Because of their much larger population in absolute numbers, Latinos will drive the state’s population shifts, comprising 76% of its total growth over the next two and a half decades.

Latinos are projected to comprise 45.5% of the state’s total population in 2040. The non-Latino white population will decline to 30.4%.
Population change will also bring a significant increase in the proportion of Latinos and Asian Americans eligible to vote in California (adult citizens). By 2040, California’s eligible voter population will increase 31% (7.5 million), while the Latino eligible voter population will increase 77% (5.3 million). Asian-American eligible voters are projected to increase 37% (1.1 million), Black eligible voters by 12.4% (0.2 million) and non-Latino whites only 2.5% (.3 million). See CCEP policy brief seven for more discussion.7

The gap between the non-Latino white and Latino proportion of the eligible voter population remained large in 2012 but is projected to narrow over time. However, these two groups are not projected to approach parity until 2040. By the 2016 general election, non-Latino whites will fall to 49 percent of California’s eligible voters. Thus, for the first time, California will have a majority-minority of eligible voters.

Note: These are straight line citizen voting-age population projections developed by the California Department of Finance for the California Civic Engagement Project. These projections are based on assumptions that birth rates, death rates, and immigration rates follow current trends under existing laws. If immigration rates change beyond what is currently expected, these assumptions may over or understate population growth.

b. Future hot spots of Latino voters

Holding current eligible turnout rates constant, major changes in the state’s vote will be driven by projected shifts in the eligible non-Latino white and Latino voter populations. Looking forward to the presidential election of 2016, if Latinos maintain their 2012 California eligible turnout rate of 39.4%, their percent of the state’s vote is projected to rise to 21.2%, up from 19.3% in 2012.8

By the 2040 general election, the Latino share of the state’s actual vote is projected to rise considerably - to 29.2%, assuming their 2012 turnout rate constant. Latinos will have an increased influence on the state’s vote, driven by their increases in the eligible voter population.

In contrast, assuming their 2012 eligible turnout rate of 32.4% remains constant through 2040 general election, Asian Americans are projected to increase their share of the state’s vote slightly to 8% by 2040. Latinos and Asian Americans combined will reach 37.1% of California’s voters in the 2040 general election. They will be more than 50 percent of eligible voters in the state, as a whole, and in many of the state’s counties, given projected population growth (Colusa, Fresno, Imperial, Kerns, Kings, Los Angeles, Madera, Merced, Monterey, Orange, Riverside, San Benito, San Bernardino, San Joaquin, San Mateo, Santa Barbara, Santa Clara, and Tulare counties). For just the 2016 election, Latinos and Asian-Americans combined are the majority in Imperial, Los Angeles, San Benito, Santa Clara, and Tulare counties.

The political impact of growing proportions of Latinos and Asian Americans in California will be felt in the state’s local and legislative districts and in the state’s contribution to the battle for party control of congress.

While population shifts will be felt everywhere in California, they will be larger in the San Joaquin Valley and the Los Angeles regions. By 2040, Latinos will make up 49 percent of the San Joaquin Valley’s eligible voter population. Many of the state’s competitive electoral districts are currently in these regions, including four of the state’s six hotly contested congressional districts – the 21st, 7th, 26th and 36th. In many other areas of the state, the Latino and Asian-American populations combined will reach a political tipping point, giving them a much larger voice, and possibly impacting the political affiliation of some districts – although still not yet to a degree that is commensurate with their population share.

c. Midterm elections

Voter projections for future midterm elections need to account for the low turnout rates (for all groups) in the recent midterms. The Latino and Asian-American share of California’s vote will grow at a slower rate (holding 2014 turnout rates constant) for midterm elections through 2038, increasing to 22.2% and 7.9%, respectively. Conversely, non-Latino whites will lose less of their vote share in midterm elections going forward due to their higher midterm turnout rates relative to Latinos and Asian Americans. The vote share of non-Latinos and non-Asian-Americans combined is projected to be 68.9% in 2038, higher than their 62.5% share of the vote in the presidential election year of 2040.
3. What can be done to improve Latino and Asian-American turnout in California and elsewhere?

a. Why is turnout lower for Latinos and Asian Americans?

Institutional barriers

Latinos and Asian-Americans share many of the same barriers to voting. Both groups are disproportionately disadvantaged by the structures of our electoral system, from registration requirements, to language access, to voter information. Voting is a two-step process in the United States and California that requires voters to navigate a set of registration deadlines and residence rules that are less familiar to low-voting communities (who tend to also be more geographically mobile). According to the 2012 Post Election Survey of Asian American and Pacific Islander Voters, registered Asian voter turnout in 2012 was 9 percentage points lower among those Asians who had some difficulty speaking English versus those who did not. For Latinos who speak little English, access to Spanish-language ballots and language assistance has been found to increase turnout and influence election outcomes. Addressing the enduring gaps in Latino and Asian-American registration (particularly at a county and sub-county level) is a critical step in expanding engagement in California’s political landscape.

Lack of outreach

Generally, both Latinos and Asian-Americans are mobilized less and receive less outreach than white non-Latinos, particularly in midterm elections, greatly impacting their turnout rates. The context of the 2014 midterm election produced even less outreach than a typical midterm. The election was characterized by uncompetitive statewide contests, few ballot initiatives considered salient to voters and low media coverage. Candidates themselves outreach less to voters, with little of the outreach that did occur reaching Latinos and Asian-Americans. When Latinos and Asian-Americans are contacted and encouraged to vote, they are much more likely to participate. For instance, get-out-the-vote field experiments found that well-conducted mobilization efforts using door-to-door canvassing or live telephone calls successfully mobilized Latino voters. Voter registration efforts by Asian-American organizations that involve education about the election process and voting rights resulted in significant increases in Asian-American voter participation. For both groups, targeted messages designed to resonate with issues in their communities can greatly change low turnout.

Declining party affiliation

Significant portions of California’s Latino, and particularly Asian-American voters, do not identify with a political party. If these numbers continue to rise, they will likely impact group turnout rates going forward, given the lower turnout of NPP registrants in recent elections in California. It’s critical that parties and candidates seek new ways to reach Latino and Asian-American NPP registrants whose relative lack of party connection and mobilization is compounded by other barriers to voting.

Demographics

Large sub-populations of Latinos and Asian Americans are from demographic groups that are less likely to vote (i.e. younger, lower-income, lower-educated and have, more limited English proficiency). For instance, according to research by the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement at Tufts University (CIRCLE), youth of color and lower-income youth vote at much lower rates than older and high-income group members. Understanding the characteristics of eligible non-voting Latinos and Asian Americans will be key to mobilization and reform efforts aimed at increasing their participation in California’s electoral system. Targeting young, low-income Latino and Asian Americans with few educational opportunities and bringing their perspectives into the electoral system has the potential to have a significant impact on policy change and to boost overall group turnout rates.

b. Solutions should address Latino and Asian-American experiences

As Latinos and Asian Americans constitute an increasing share of California’s population, this will mean a greater voice in the state’s political process, but it does not ensure the state will have a representative democracy. If disparities in eligible voter turnout rates endure, then Latinos and Asian Americans will continue to hold a share of California’s vote that is not commensurate with their proportions of the state’s eligible voting population.

By 2040, the state will gain 7.5 million residents who are eligible to vote – 7.2 million of whom will be non-white. Our political institutions will need to create new and aggressive strategies to reach the state’s growing segment of non-white voters. These new strategies must take into account the differing barriers to voting experienced by Latinos and Asian-Americans in the state. They should also take into account the differing choices Latinos and Asian-American voters make when they do cast their ballots, such as their different use rates of vote-by-mail and polling sites in California. Strategies should also account for the particularly wide range of economic, cultural and political experiences within Asian-American communities. If new potential voters aren’t mobilized to cast ballots, then the state’s voting electorate will become even less representative, and general turnout rates may decline further. The resulting weakened democracy will hurt all Californians. Welcoming these new potential voters into the state’s electoral system is a critical step in expanding opportunities for every Californian.
Registration data was acquired from the Statewide Database and aggregated to the county and state level. These data are the actual registration records and not representative samples. Because of this, the level of confidence in the data is not susceptible to estimates as are survey or exit poll results. Latinos and Asian-Americans are distinguished in the registration data from the general population by the use of Spanish and Asian surname lists which identify registrants with commonly occurring Spanish and Asian surnames. The Passel-Word Spanish surname list, published by the US Census Bureau, was utilized to identify Latinos. For Asian Americans, the US Census Bureau’s surname lists for six major Asian-American ethnic groups were utilized: Chinese, Japanese, Filipino, Korean, Asian Indian, and Vietnamese. Surname matching for Latinos is a commonly utilized methodology. However, confidence levels for Asian can be lower as it has generally been found to be more difficult to achieve accurate identification of Asian surnames. Surname matching is not reliable for white, non-Hispanic, and African-American populations, and thus registration data is not available for these groups. Note: Some additional Latinos and Asian-Americans may be registered to vote and not flagged by surname databases. For more information on methodology and limitations, please see: http://swdb.berkeley.edu/d10/Creating%20CA%20Official%20Redistricting%20Database.pdf.

No Party Preference (NPP) includes all registrants identified in the California Secretary of State’s registration records as decline to state or no party preference. We do not present data for “other party” registrants in this brief.

Wong (2000), studying Asian American and Latino immigrants, finds that length of time in the U.S., citizenship status, and English proficiency—which allow for greater assimilation—are correlated with developing a partisan identification.

Regions are defined to include the following counties: Sacramento Region: Sacramento, El Dorado, Placer, Sutter, Yolo, Yuba; San Francisco Region: Alameda, Contra Costa, Marin; Napa, San Francisco, San Mateo, Santa Clara, Santa Cruz, Solano, Sonoma; LA Region: Los Angeles, Orange, Riverside, San Bernardino, Ventura; San Joaquin Valley: San Joaquin, Stanislaus, Merced, Madera, Fresno, Kings, Kern, Tulare; North State: Butte, Del Norte, Lassen, Modoc, Siskiyou, Humboldt, Shasta; Central Coast: Monterey, San Benito, San Luis Obispo, Santa Barbara; San Diego: San Diego.

CVAP analysis is based on straight line citizen voting-age populations (CVAP) projections developed by the California Department of Finance for the California Civic Engagement Project. If immigration rates change beyond what is currently expected, these assumptions may over or understate population growth. If there are any significant changes in immigration, birth, or death rates, projections will need to be adjusted accordingly. For more information on the CVAP projections, see the CCEP website: http://regionalchange.ucdavis.edu/projects/california-civic-engagement-project-ccep. For more information on the base population projections, please consult: http://www.dof.ca.gov/research/demo/#IC/2013/pdf/

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CCEP voter projections utilized straight line CVAP projections developed by the California Department of Finance for the California Civic Engagement Project (CCEP). Baseline eligible voter turnout rates were generated by CCEP analysis of Statewide Database voter registration data.


See: Mobilizing Inclusion: Transforming the Electorate through Get-Out-the-Vote Campaigns, by Lisa Garcia Bedolla and Melissa R. Michelson.


Please see: Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement: Youth Voting. See: http://www.civicyouth.org/quick-facts/youth-voting/

For more information about this research study and the California Civic Engagement Project, contact Mindy Romero, CCEP Director, at 530-665-3010 or msromero@ucdavis.edu. Visit our website at: http://regionalchange.ucdavis.edu/ccep

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