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Rock the (NATURALIZED) Vote

The Size and Location of the Recently Naturalized Voting Age Citizen Population

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CSII

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF IMMIGRANT INTEGRATION

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Introduction

While attention in the current presidential campaign is focused primarily on economic issues, immigration was a topic of heated debate during the Republican primaries and some analysts argue that the tone of that discussion may have alienated a significant number of immigrant voters. Others have suggested that President Obama's decision to provide administrative relief to so-called "DREAM Act" students – which may have made sense from a humanitarian and enforcement perspective – was partly motivated, at least in its timing, by a desire to send a signal to exactly the same bloc of voters.

Photo by Samantha Decker

How important is the immigrant vote – and how important will immigration be to that vote?

This policy brief seeks to address the first of these questions – the second of these questions remains to be seen – with a new empirical exercise: an attempt to ascertain the share of the voting age population that are recently naturalized (citizen) immigrants. Combining newly available summary data from the U.S. Census with individual-level answers to the questionnaires administered in the American Community Survey, we offer a detailed analysis of the geographic location, country-of-origin, and the race/ethnicity of the naturalized voting age population at a level of detail not seen before in the literature.

As it turns out, this group may be critical in a tight electoral season: naturalized citizens of voting age are just over 8 percent of the voting age citizen population. However, we focus in this brief on an even smaller group: those naturalized in the last decade. This is partly because evidence suggests that the recently naturalized may be the most motivated around immigration issues and partly because their registration rates may have the most room for improvement.[1]

Consisting of 3.6 percent of the overall voting age citizen population, these newly naturalized are also concentrated in key states and locations. The newly naturalized, for example, constitute 6.0 percent of the voting age citizen population in Florida and 5.1 percent in Nevada, both considered key "swing" states in the presidential election. In northern Virginia, an area also considered crucial to the outcome of the 2012 election, a detailed geographic examination shows a large concentration of voting age naturalized citizens.

Understanding the size and location of the newly naturalized may help with targeted voter registration efforts, both in this and future elections – and as we note below, once registered, naturalized citizens tend to vote at rates close to those of the U.S.-born. Registering and then mobilizing this vote may also help contribute to a more civil and balanced conversation about immigration – one in which political

leaders and parties propose realistic solutions on immigration policy so that both voters and political leaders can concentrate on other important issues such as the economy and healthcare.

In what follows, we lay out the analysis and the numbers. We start first with a discussion of the tendency of the recently naturalized to register and vote, and the degree to which polarized debates about immigration may motivate these potential voters. We then describe the methodology used to generate our estimates of the size and location of the recently naturalized, offering a first-of-its-kind look by state, within state, and by country of origin and ethnicity. We conclude with a discussion of what these data suggest for future efforts in the realms of voting registration, civic engagement, and policy change.

Naturalization, Registration, and Voting

We are focused in this brief on the voting potential of recently naturalized citizens. It is important to note, however, that naturalized voters have generally registered and voted at rates lower than that of the U.S.-born. The discrepancy seems to lie more with a difference in *registration* behavior than in *voting* behavior: once registered, immigrant and native-born voting rates are nearly identical, and this is one reason why many immigrant advocates have focused on improving registration rates.[2]

It is also the case that historically, the more recent the immigrant, the less likely that person is to register and vote. Part of the reason is that the more recently naturalized are also more likely to be young, lower-income, and from Latino and Asian groups considered to be "minority" ethnics in America, all of which demographers and political scientists have found to be associated with lower registration rates. The result is a "muted" immigrant voice in civic affairs, and not surprisingly, this has led some politicians to ignore the more recently naturalized in favor of the U.S.-born and those immigrants with a longer experience as citizens.

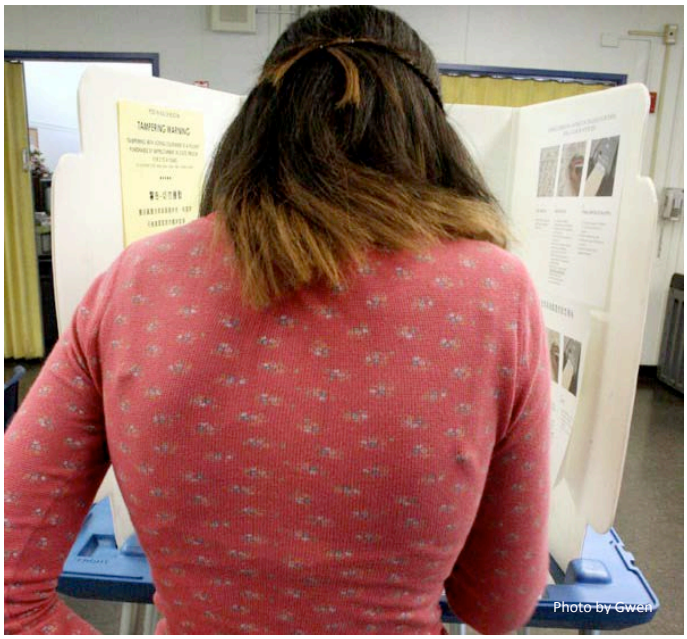
However, the relationship between registration and the length of time since naturalization may be changing. Every other November (in even-numbered years), the Current Population Survey (CPS) includes a supplement that asks respondents about registration and voting. The November 2008 Survey offered up the usual bad news: voter registration rates were about 12 percentage points higher for the

U.S.-born as compared to naturalized citizens (71.8 percent to 60.5 percent).[3] However, that gap had closed slightly since 2000 – and it may be the more recently naturalized who helped drive the improvement.

We say "may" because determining this is tough given that the CPS Supplement does not ask respondents the year of their naturalization. However, it does ask the year of arrival in the U.S. and if we assume that recency of arrival and recency of naturalization mirror each other, this then hints at the relationship between registration and recency of naturalization. Unfortunately, the CPS does not do this in the summary tables it provides, but it is possible for intrepid researchers – that would be us – to do the cross-tabulations with the underlying individual answers.

The results are shown in Figure 1 (all tables and figures from here on are at the end of the brief in Appendix A starting on page 10) for two presidential elections, 2000 and 2008. For each election, we cut off the period of arrival to be about five years before the election (since virtually all immigrants must reside legally in the country for five years before they can naturalize).[4] First, notice that long-term immigrants register at about the rate of the U.S.-born in both years: the reported U.S.-born registration rate was 70.2 percent in 2000, and 71.8 percent in 2008. Note, however, that in 2000 there was a rather steep gradient in registration rates, with the likelihood of registering falling dramatically for the most recent arrivals. But in 2008, the gradient was much less steep, with the most recent arrivals registering at rates not far below those who arrived just a decade earlier.[5]

Why might this be? The 2008 election came after a tumultuous few years in which restrictionist legislation being considered in Congress triggered a wave of mass demonstrations for immigrant rights. Research has shown that, at least for Latinos, those who naturalize in a politically charged environment on immigrant issues, as was the case in California in the mid-1990s and the early 2000s, vote at rates substantially higher than native-born or longer-term naturalized Latino citizens.[6] The relative improvement in registration among more recent immigrants in 2008 is consistent with the notion that the more recently naturalized may be more highly mobilized if they attain citizenship in a time period more charged by political tensions around immigration.



This is not a phenomenon limited to California in the 1990s or to what was surely an unusual election in which an African American (and son of an immigrant) was running for the presidency. Polling during the California gubernatorial race of 2010 by USC Dornsife College and the *Los*

Angeles Times suggested that a turning point came for Spanish-speaking voters when candidate Meg Whitman became increasingly perceived as hostile to undocumented immigrants. And polling done after the election indicated that those Latinos responding in Spanish – about one-third of the Latino oversample and more likely to be naturalized immigrants than the English-speaking Latinos in the sample – reported voting at a rate eight percentage points ahead of their English-dominant co-ethnics and about the same rate as African Americans.

Overall, this suggests that political context around immigrant policy may be influential in the decision of the newly naturalized to register and vote – although, interestingly enough, immigration policy itself may not necessarily be the priority issue. "Bread and butter" issues generally dominate for immigrants as they do for other voters – although this is a bit hard to prove because polling data on the relative importance of immigration policy is usually broken down by the race of respondents rather than their nativity. Using race/ethnicity as a "second-best" approach, a July 2012 *Wall Street Journal/NBC/Telemundo* poll suggests, for example, found that when Latinos were asked what one thing they would tell presidential candidates, dealing with immigration was the second most common answer (10 percent), with 11 percent saying they would mention the economy.[7] However, since not all Latino voters are immigrants and not all immigrants are Latinos, this is not the clearest evidence about how important immigration reform is to the naturalized voting public.

Still, there is evidence that having a heated debate about immigration – even if it is not the most important issue – is likely to have an impact on registration and voting. In 2000, for example, the registration rate for naturalized Latinos fell from 54.4 percent for those who arrived in the 1980s to 33.4 percent for those who arrived in the early part of the 1990s; in the 2008 election, the registration rate for naturalized Latinos actually rose from 46.6 percent for those who arrived in the 1990s to 58.0 percent for those who arrived in the early part of the 2000s. One possible explanation for the uptick (which likely explains the flattening of the gradient discussed in Figure 1 and is consistent with the research mentioned earlier): 2008 was an especially heated moment for immigration and many Latinos perceived that the debate had been "racialized" with them in mind.

This squares with pioneering work by political scientist Matt Barreto showing that foreign-born Latino voters – the vast bulk of whom are recently naturalized – outperformed U.S.-born Latinos in elections in Southern California in 2002 and indeed came very close to the participation rates of non-Latinos when looking at the raw figures. Moreover, when using multivariate analysis to control for other factors that predict voting, such as socioeconomic characteristics, foreign-born Latinos in this location and period were actually 10 percent more likely than non-Latino whites to vote.[8] And while there are important variations by state, since 1996, the voting participation of naturalized Latinos has exceeded the voting participation of U.S.-born Latinos in the nation, again suggesting the possibility of mobilization in more politically charged times.[9]

Given what has occurred politically since the last election, including fights about immigration policy in key states, arguments about the so-called "DREAM Act," and discussions about immigrants that have included calls for "self-deportation," it is quite possible that recently naturalized voting age citizens are indeed more likely to be engaged – or to be engage-able by immigrant advocates and others interested

in raising registration rates and guaranteeing an immigrant voice in this and other elections. So what do the numbers tell us about the potential that is out there?

Assembling the Data

It would be nice if the data were readily available to answer this question; then again, if it were, we would have little reason to write this brief. As it turns out, there is no handy information on the voting age naturalized and where they reside – but it has become possible to generate those estimates by combining a series of different Census-based data sources.

Beginning in 2008, the American Community Survey has asked naturalized citizens the year that they were naturalized. The ACS reports the data to researchers and the public in two basic forms. The first is summary-level data in which the individual answers have been added up according to categories pre-determined by the Census, with this data available via "friendly" web-based tools such as American FactFinder – although some still find this site and the tool rather overwhelming. The second is a yearly sample equivalent to one percent of the U.S. population in which the actual individual answers are available; the latter file is called the Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS) – and PUMS and "friendly" are not usually words found in the same sentence.

While there is much available in the more accessible summary data, the key measures we need for this report were not pre-summarized: what we were interested in was the proportion of the citizen population (U.S.-born and naturalized) age 18 and older (and hence able to vote) that had naturalized and, in particular, had recently naturalized. The summary data does have period of naturalization but offers no breakdown by age, ethnicity, or country of origin – and there are holes in even the period of naturalization data when one goes below the state level.

Photo by Old Salem, Inc

The lack of an age breakdown in the summary data for period of naturalization is problematic: since naturalized immigrants have a higher median age than the U.S.-born, any comparison of the aggregate totals would understate the potential impact of naturalized immigrants on the vote.[10] The lack of ethnicity and country of origin is also problematic given that efforts to encourage registration and voting are often tailored by language and culture. And given variations in where the recently naturalized might reside within states – something also of particular interest to those encouraging the registration and voting of immigrant citizens – the lack of sub-state geography is frustrating.

On the other hand, the individual answers in the PUMS microdata offer great detail, including age, country of origin, immigration status, naturalization status, and year of arrival for naturalized citizens. Each individual is also tagged with a geographic location called a Public Use Microdata Area (or PUMA); these are collections of census tracts such that each PUMA has at least 100,000 people (with the minimum set at such a high number because the Census wants to preserve confidentiality of the responses by tagging the observation with a large geographic area). These PUMAs are definitely sub-state: for example, a big state like California has 233 such PUMAs, while Florida has 127, Virginia has 42, Colorado has 38, and Nevada has 15.

Thus, the basic task in this exercise is to exploit the rich detail of the individual-level microdata, including age, country of origin, and geographic location, and match that to the summary-level data that is available in order to generate reliable estimates of the voting age population, the immigrant share thereof, and the countries of origin for the most recently naturalized at a state and sub-state levels. It may sound easier than it was – believe us, it was not simple and the work involved thousands of lines of computer code to develop and cross-check our work – but we confine the gory details to an appendix and go on here to describe what the numbers show.

The Geography of Naturalized Voters

Photo by City of Bellevue, WA

Table 1 reports the share that voting age naturalized citizens comprise of all citizens for the United States as a whole and by state. Those naturalized in the last ten years – a period in which there has been arguably a great deal of tension about immigration issues – comprise about 3.6 percent of the citizen voting age population. Immigrants naturalized in earlier periods comprise another 4.5 percent of the potential electorate, but we concentrate here on the most recently naturalized since, according to the research and data cited earlier, they may be more likely to be motived by immigration as a sort of litmus test and are also the group where registration rates need to be improved the most.

While 3.6 percent is a relatively large share of the national voting age citizen population, particularly given the projected tightness of the upcoming presidential election, what may be more significant are the geographic locations of the newly naturalized. Perhaps unsurprisingly, California, New York, and New Jersey top the list in terms of the overall naturalized and recently naturalized share of the voting age citizen population – and certainly political figures have historically made plays for the immigrant

vote in these states. But more interesting is the sizable share of the recently naturalized as a percent of the voting age citizen population in places like Florida, Colorado, Nevada, and Virginia – all places considered key to "swinging" the electoral outcome (see Table 1).

Within the various states, immigrants from certain countries of origin may be key. To get at this, we used the available microdata to determine the top sending countries for each of the state's group of recently naturalized of voting age. The results, which also include the shares of potential voters from various periods of naturalization, are shown for eight key states in Table 2. We include California and Texas – neither "swing" states – because they offer a benchmark to understand the other states.

In addition, because much of the literature has focused on how Latino immigrant voters have been mobilized, Table 3 offers the ethnic breakdown of the overall naturalized voting age citizen population and the recently naturalized voting age citizen population. There may be some surprises for those less conversant with the literature or the reality: for example, Asians are a slightly higher share than Latinos of the naturalized citizens of voting age in California (although Latinos are a slightly larger share of the recently naturalized). This reflects not the underlying composition of the immigrant population – in California, Latinos are over half of all immigrants, naturalized and non-naturalized – but rather the fact the Latino immigrants are more likely to be unauthorized (and hence not eligible to naturalize) and that Mexicans, the largest Latino group in California and the U.S., have very low rates of naturalization.

While the view at the state level is interesting, those seeking to elevate registration rates and mobilize immigrant voters might also be interested in the view *within* as well as *across* states. To gauge more exactly where the newly naturalized might reside, we exploit the fact that the data we use for this exercise are available at a sub-state geographic level called the Public Use Microdata Area (remember that from just a few pages ago? Probably not, but recall that these are aggregations of at least 100,000 people and allow us a sub-state view).

Figures 2 through 5 do this, first taking a national view, then focusing on certain regions of the nation. As can be seen, a perhaps surprising finding – albeit one consistent with the state data – is the very large presence of the recently naturalized in the suburban areas of northern Virginia, a place where some pundits have said the presidential election may be won or lost.

Those interested in interactively mapping the data to zoom in on states and within states can (and should!) go to: http://csii.usc.edu/RockTheNaturalizedVote_maps.html. There, we provide information at the state level for the naturalized and recently naturalized as a share of the voting age citizen population, as well as detail on what percent of the recently naturalized come from the top ten sending countries for that particular state; we suspect such detail may help with targeting registration efforts for the last phase of this electoral cycle and for the future. At the PUMA level, we provide the shares of both the naturalized and recently naturalized in the voting age citizen population as well as a broad ethnic breakdown of those shares for PUMAs where the underlying sample sizes are large enough to be reliable. So happy mapping – and even better, happy registering and voting!

Immigrant Voters and the Vote

This policy brief suggests that recently naturalized immigrants constitute an important share of the voting age citizen population. While it is likely that the actual share of the newly naturalized in the November 2012 vote will be lower than their share of the citizen voting age population, it is also true that in recent elections, the recently naturalized (especially Latinos) have been registering and voting at rates that have exceeded historical levels. Thus, this may be a very important bloc in what most observers have predicted will be an extraordinarily close contest for the presidency.

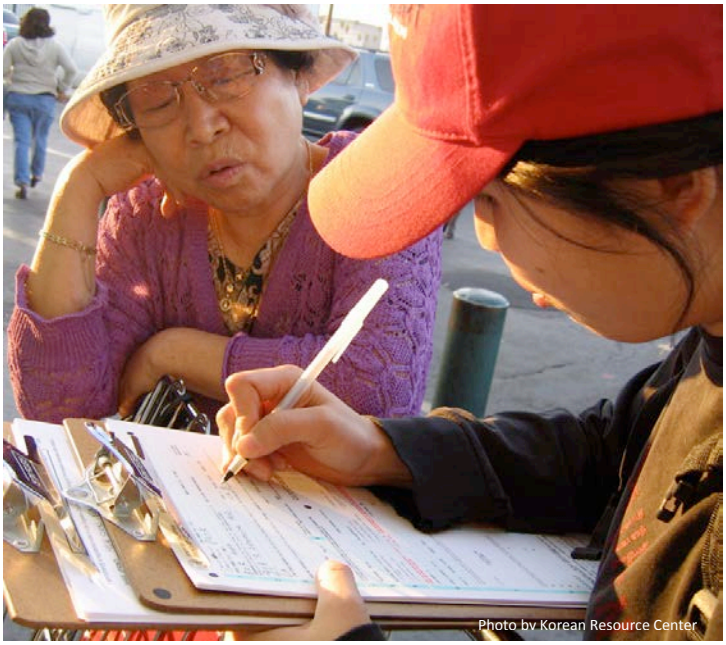


Photo by Korean Resource Center

This importance stems not just from size but from location. In the 2004 presidential election – the most recent with an incumbent running for reelection – several key states were decided by low margins of victory. For example, the margin of victory in that year was only 2.6 percent in Nevada – a state where 5.1 percent of the voting age citizen population now consists of recently naturalized immigrants.[11] The margins of victory in Florida and Colorado were around 5 percent – and the recently naturalized comprise 6 percent of the voting age citizen population in Florida and 2.1 percent in Colorado. Both of these states are considered to be key "swing" states in this electoral cycle, as is Virginia where new citizens constitute 3.5 percent of the voting age citizen population.

For those who hope to see a more civil, balanced, and solutions-oriented conversation about immigration policy, helping political figures understand the importance of the potential immigrant vote may be a good thing. For many immigrant voters, the tone of the discussion about immigration can affect their dispositions toward a candidate, party or platform. Candidates do not need to shift their basic positions, even on immigration policy, in order to placate immigrant voters, but the way they talk about immigrant issues – and the relative hardness or flexibility of their positions – may be important for political and policy futures.

While our hope is that the data here will have such an effect on the tone, the data may also be useful in an immediate sense. We are releasing this report just before the deadlines for registration close in many states (see Table 4) – and as noted earlier, the most important gap in electoral participation by naturalized citizens seems to come at the point of registration rather than voting; once registered, naturalized citizens vote at rates very close to that of the U.S.-born. The data – particularly the estimates

of race/ethnicity, country of origin, and sub-state location – could help target some last minute efforts in more effective and efficient ways.

There are already many effective efforts out there to register naturalized citizens. The National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials (NALEO) has a "Ya Es Hora - Ve y Vota" program that is one of the nation's most comprehensive bilingual voter information websites; it features detailed state-specific election information and an easy-to-use voter registration tool.[12] Ve y Vota is the second phase of NALEO's comprehensive civic participation strategy that links naturalization to voter participation and full civic engagement.[13] And gearing up for the 2012 election, in conjunction with Mi Familia Vota (a six-state Latino voter registration effort) and other local groups, NALEO has developed local 'citizenship forums' which are part of a years-long effort by immigrant-assistance organizations to increase naturalization rates and the number of immigrant voters.[14]

In northern Illinois, the New Americans Democracy Project (NADP) at the Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights includes a non-partisan voter mobilization program which has a goal of turning out almost 160,000 voters in the immigrant community to the polls on the 2012 election day.[15] Participants in the program unveiled plans to get-out-the-vote in diverse communities, including Latino, Muslim, Asian, Polish, and other areas of Chicago and suburbs with high concentrations of immigrant voters. As of June 2012, the NADP's field organizers had registered almost 12,000 citizens to vote in the broader northern Illinois immigrant community. [16]

But beyond the immediacy of the next election, the opportunity to register should be more closely linked with naturalization itself. The Oregon Voice New American Voters Project (NAVP), for example, offers new citizens the opportunity to register to vote at every single naturalization ceremony. NAVP has a unique role in that the organization actually participates in the ceremony, rather than just tabling outside. As a result, NAVP has registered (as of this month) 2,997 of the 3,298 Oregon and southwest Washington's newest citizens who have been naturalized at the 102 naturalization ceremonies held since February 2012.[17] Interviews across the country with these newly naturalized and newly registered suggest that immigration policy is a priority for them in the 2012 presidential election.[18]

Immigration will always be a hotly debated topic in American politics, particularly as the nation tries to reconcile competing imperatives, values, and points of view about the immigrant effect on our economy and society. But one thing virtually every American political leader can agree on is that that those who have joined this nation as citizens should participate as fully as possible in setting the direction for the country. Encouraging those who have naturalized to register and vote is surely critical to ensuring that the voices of all Americans – both those who are long-time citizens and those newer to our democracy – can contribute to a vibrant civic culture.

Appendix A: Tables and Figures

Figure 1. Registration Rate for Naturalized Immigrants by Period of Arrival in U.S. – Comparing Two Presidential Elections

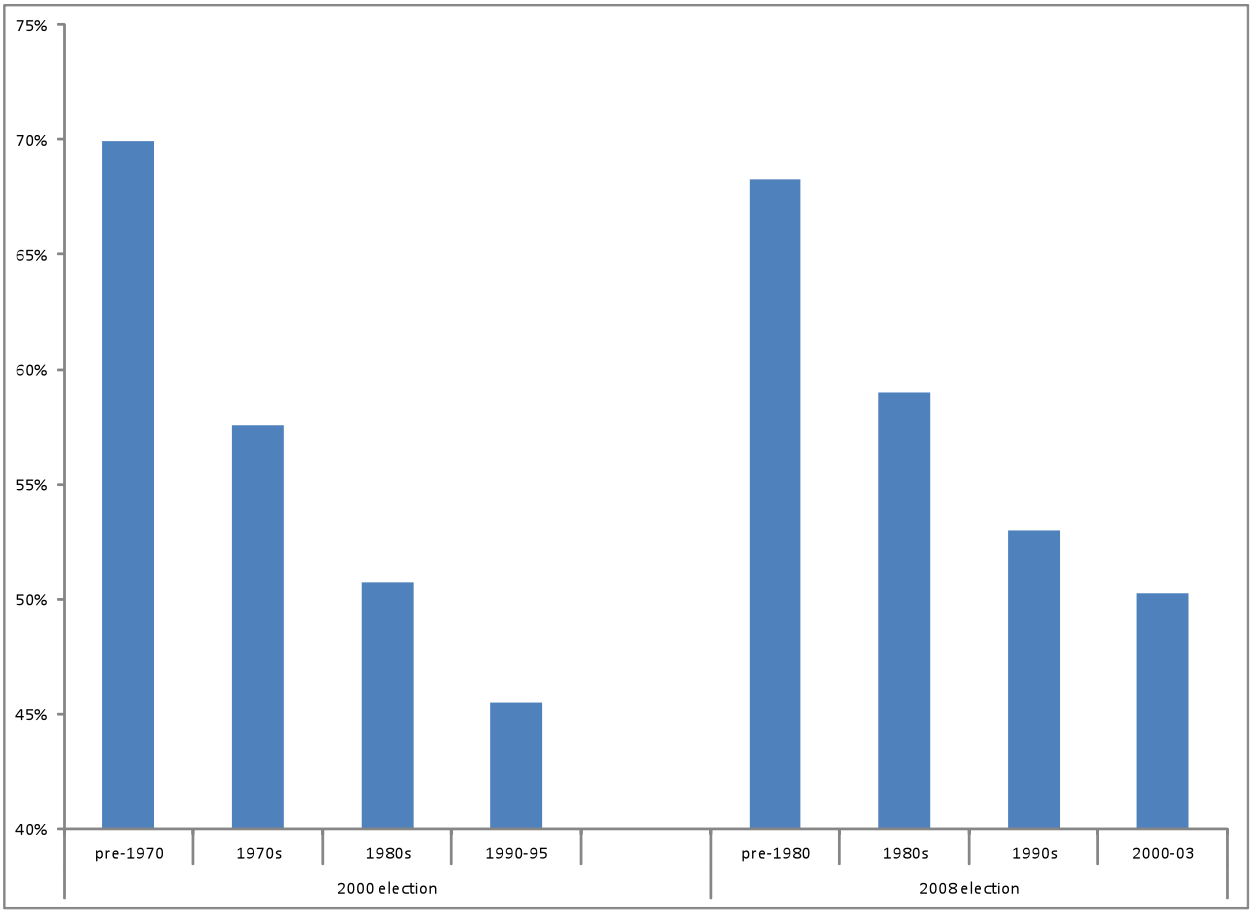


Table 1.Voting Age Naturalized Citizens as a Share of the Voting Age Citizen Population

	All Naturalized	Naturalized since 2000	Naturalized in 1990s	Naturalized in 1980s	Naturalized pre-1980
Alabama	1.5%	0.6%	0.4%	0.2%	0.3%
Alaska	4.9%	1.9%	1.3%	0.9%	0.8%
Arizona	7.4%	3.5%	1.7%	0.9%	1.3%
Arkansas	1.6%	0.6%	0.5%	0.2%	0.3%
California	20.2%	8.6%	6.1%	3.2%	2.3%
Colorado	4.7%	2.1%	1.1%	0.7%	0.8%
Connecticut	8.9%	3.5%	2.3%	1.1%	1.9%
Delaware	4.7%	2.2%	0.7%	0.7%	1.0%
District of Columbi	6.6%	3.2%	1.6%	0.8%	1.0%
Florida	13.5%	6.0%	3.1%	1.9%	2.6%
Georgia	5.2%	2.9%	1.2%	0.5%	0.5%
Hawaii	13.8%	4.3%	3.4%	3.1%	3.0%
Idaho	2.7%	1.3%	0.6%	0.3%	0.5%
Illinois	9.1%	4.3%	2.2%	1.3%	1.4%
Indiana	2.1%	0.9%	0.4%	0.3%	0.5%
Iowa	2.0%	1.1%	0.4%	0.2%	0.3%
Kansas	3.1%	1.5%	0.8%	0.5%	0.4%
Kentucky	1.4%	0.7%	0.3%	0.2%	0.3%
Louisiana	2.0%	0.8%	0.5%	0.3%	0.3%
Maine	2.1%	0.6%	0.5%	0.3%	0.8%
Maryland	8.8%	4.2%	2.4%	1.1%	1.0%
Massachusetts	10.2%	5.0%	2.3%	1.2%	1.7%
Michigan	4.0%	1.7%	0.9%	0.5%	0.9%
Minnesota	4.1%	2.3%	0.9%	0.5%	0.4%
Mississippi	0.9%	0.4%	0.2%	0.1%	0.2%
Missouri	2.1%	1.0%	0.4%	0.2%	0.4%
Montana	1.2%	0.3%	0.1%	0.1%	0.6%
Nebraska	2.9%	1.6%	0.6%	0.3%	0.4%
Nevada	11.8%	5.1%	3.1%	2.0%	1.6%
New Hampshire	3.5%	1.5%	0.7%	0.4%	1.0%
New Jersey	15.7%	7.0%	4.0%	2.2%	2.5%
New Mexico	4.6%	1.8%	1.3%	0.6%	0.9%
New York	16.4%	7.0%	4.5%	2.3%	2.6%
North Carolina	3.2%	1.6%	0.7%	0.5%	0.4%
North Dakota	0.9%	0.4%	0.2%	0.1%	0.3%
Ohio	2.5%	1.1%	0.5%	0.3%	0.6%
Oklahoma	2.5%	1.2%	0.6%	0.3%	0.3%
Oregon	5.0%	2.1%	1.2%	0.7%	1.0%
Pennsylvania	3.9%	1.8%	0.9%	0.5%	0.7%
Rhode Island	8.9%	4.0%	2.2%	1.2%	1.5%
South Carolina	2.0%	0.7%	0.4%	0.4%	0.5%
South Dakota	1.0%	0.5%	0.2%	0.1%	0.2%
Tennessee	2.1%	1.0%	0.4%	0.3%	0.3%
Texas	8.4%	3.9%	2.3%	1.2%	1.0%
Utah	4.5%	2.3%	1.0%	0.6%	0.7%
Vermont	2.8%	1.1%	0.4%	0.3%	0.9%
Virginia	7.0%	3.5%	1.7%	1.1%	0.8%
Washington	8.2%	3.9%	1.9%	1.1%	1.3%
West Virginia	0.7%	0.2%	0.2%	0.1%	0.2%
Wisconsin	2.6%	1.2%	0.5%	0.3%	0.6%
Wyoming	1.3%	0.7%	0.3%	0.1%	0.3%
United States	8.1%	3.6%	2.1%	1.2%	1.2%

Table 2. A Profile of Naturalized Voting Age Citizens for Eight Key State

Arizona

As shares of voting age citizens

92.6%	US-born
7.4%	Naturalized Immigrants
	Of the Naturalized
46.9%	Naturalized in 2000s
23.3%	Naturalized in 1990s
12.2%	Naturalized in 1980
17.7%	Naturalized before 1980
	Of those naturalized in 2000s
52.9%	Mexico
3.6%	Vietnam
3.5%	Philippines
3.2%	India
2.5%	Canada
2.4%	China
1.9%	Bosnia
1.3%	Iraq
1.2%	Romania
1.2%	Korea
26.3%	All other immigrants

California

As shares of voting age citizens

79.8%	US-born
20.2%	Naturalized Immigrants
	Of the Naturalized
42.9%	Naturalized in 2000s
30.1%	Naturalized in 1990s
15.9%	Naturalized in 1980
11.2%	Naturalized before 1980
	Of those naturalized in 2000s
31.2%	Mexico
9.4%	Philippines
7.6%	Vietnam
6.0%	China
4.3%	El Salvador
3.9%	India
3.6%	Korea
3.3%	Iran
2.3%	Taiwan
2.0%	Guatemala
26.2%	All other immigrants

Colorado

As shares of voting age citizens

95.3%	US-born
4.7%	Naturalized Immigrants
	Of the Naturalized
44.1%	Naturalized in 2000s
23.1%	Naturalized in 1990s
15.7%	Naturalized in 1980
17.1%	Naturalized before 1980
	Of those naturalized in 2000s
27.8%	Mexico
8.5%	Vietnam
3.6%	Philippines
3.3%	India
3.1%	Canada
3.1%	Other USSR/Russia
2.5%	Korea
2.4%	China
2.4%	Ukraine
2.3%	Ethiopia
41.0%	All other immigrants

Florida

As shares of voting age citizens

86.5%	US-born
13.5%	Naturalized Immigrants
	Of the Naturalized
44.1%	Naturalized in 2000s
23.2%	Naturalized in 1990s
13.8%	Naturalized in 1980
18.9%	Naturalized before 1980
	Of those naturalized in 2000s
20.9%	Cuba
8.7%	Haiti
7.7%	Jamaica
6.7%	Colombia
4.8%	Nicaragua
3.6%	Dominican Republic
3.6%	Mexico
2.9%	Peru
2.3%	Philippines
2.1%	Venezuela
36.9%	All other immigrants

Nevada

As shares of voting age citizens

88.2%	US-born
11.8%	Naturalized Immigrants
	Of the Naturalized
43.0%	Naturalized in 2000s
26.3%	Naturalized in 1990s
17.0%	Naturalized in 1980
13.7%	Naturalized before 1980
	Of those naturalized in 2000s
31.6%	Mexico
19.9%	Philippines
4.2%	El Salvador
3.2%	China
2.6%	Cuba
2.2%	Ethiopia
2.0%	Vietnam
1.9%	Guatemala
1.5%	India
1.4%	Korea
29.5%	All other immigrants

New Mexico

As shares of voting age citizens

95.4%	US-born
4.6%	Naturalized Immigrants
	Of the Naturalized
40.4%	Naturalized in 2000s
28.8%	Naturalized in 1990s
12.0%	Naturalized in 1980
18.8%	Naturalized before 1980
	Of those naturalized in 2000s
60.4%	Mexico
4.5%	Vietnam
4.0%	Philippines
2.6%	Guatemala
1.8%	China
1.6%	England
1.5%	Cuba
1.5%	Korea
1.5%	Germany
1.4%	India
19.1%	All other immigrants

Texas

As shares of voting age citizens

91.6%	US-born
8.4%	Naturalized Immigrants
	Of the Naturalized
47.1%	Naturalized in 2000s
27.1%	Naturalized in 1990s
14.3%	Naturalized in 1980
11.4%	Naturalized before 1980
	Of those naturalized in 2000s
44.5%	Mexico
7.5%	Vietnam
6.2%	India
3.8%	El Salvador
3.5%	Philippines
2.6%	Pakistan
2.5%	China
1.8%	Nigeria
1.3%	Korea
1.2%	Iran
25.1%	All other immigrants

Virginia

As shares of voting age citizens

93.0%	US-born
7.0%	Naturalized Immigrants
	Of the Naturalized
49.8%	Naturalized in 2000s
23.9%	Naturalized in 1990s
15.1%	Naturalized in 1980
11.3%	Naturalized before 1980
	Of those naturalized in 2000s
8.9%	India
6.9%	Vietnam
6.4%	Korea
5.9%	Philippines
5.6%	El Salvador
3.4%	China
3.3%	Mexico
3.3%	Peru
2.8%	Pakistan
2.6%	Iran
51.0%	All other immigrants

Table 3. Ethnic Composition of the Naturalized Voting Age Population

	All Naturalized as % of Voting Age Citizens	Of which:				Naturalized Since 2000 as % of Voting Age Citizens	Of which:			
		% Latino	%Asian	%Black	%White/ Other		% Latino	%Asian	%Black	%White/ Other
Alabama	1.5%	21.0%	34.6%	9.2%	35.2%	0.6%	26.5%	31.1%	14.0%	28.5%
Alaska	4.9%	15.8%	54.2%	3.3%	26.7%	1.9%	16.0%	56.4%	3.6%	24.0%
Arizona	7.4%	50.8%	18.7%	2.3%	28.2%	3.5%	58.7%	17.5%	3.2%	20.5%
Arkansas	1.6%	39.9%	28.4%	2.7%	28.9%	0.6%	52.6%	27.1%	3.6%	16.7%
California	20.2%	35.8%	42.7%	1.4%	20.0%	8.6%	41.8%	39.6%	1.7%	16.9%
Colorado	4.7%	31.6%	28.0%	4.0%	36.4%	2.1%	35.8%	27.2%	6.4%	30.7%
Connecticut	8.9%	16.4%	20.0%	15.8%	47.8%	3.5%	19.3%	24.0%	19.3%	37.3%
Delaware	4.7%	18.4%	32.6%	17.2%	31.8%	2.2%	25.0%	31.8%	22.6%	20.6%
District of Columbia	6.6%	24.7%	19.3%	27.7%	28.4%	3.2%	28.1%	17.9%	27.9%	26.2%
Florida	13.5%	51.5%	10.7%	16.1%	21.6%	6.0%	53.2%	10.4%	19.3%	17.2%
Georgia	5.2%	20.3%	30.9%	24.2%	24.6%	2.9%	20.4%	31.0%	25.4%	23.3%
Hawaii	13.8%	5.3%	83.9%	0.9%	9.9%	4.3%	7.5%	78.8%	1.8%	11.9%
Idaho	2.7%	44.2%	14.3%	1.3%	40.1%	1.3%	56.1%	12.7%	1.5%	29.7%
Illinois	9.1%	30.2%	28.1%	2.9%	38.8%	4.3%	32.1%	28.5%	3.5%	35.8%
Indiana	2.1%	28.9%	28.4%	5.0%	37.7%	0.9%	36.0%	27.0%	8.1%	28.8%
Iowa	2.0%	26.1%	35.1%	4.2%	34.6%	1.1%	30.8%	31.5%	7.0%	30.7%
Kansas	3.1%	37.8%	33.4%	3.8%	25.0%	1.5%	48.3%	28.9%	4.9%	17.9%
Kentucky	1.4%	18.5%	30.9%	6.4%	44.2%	0.7%	19.5%	29.9%	7.5%	43.2%
Louisiana	2.0%	35.2%	36.2%	5.0%	23.5%	0.8%	32.4%	41.0%	6.2%	20.4%
Maine	2.1%	5.1%	21.4%	6.0%	67.5%	0.6%	7.6%	29.9%	13.7%	48.8%
Maryland	8.8%	17.1%	35.5%	22.2%	25.2%	4.2%	18.2%	32.4%	27.9%	21.5%
Massachusetts	10.2%	15.6%	25.4%	12.5%	46.5%	5.0%	20.1%	26.8%	16.4%	36.7%
Michigan	4.0%	8.3%	28.7%	3.1%	59.9%	1.7%	8.8%	34.7%	5.0%	51.5%
Minnesota	4.1%	12.6%	44.0%	17.5%	25.9%	2.3%	13.4%	39.5%	25.8%	21.3%
Mississippi	0.9%	19.4%	38.9%	4.2%	37.5%	0.4%	22.6%	39.7%	7.5%	30.2%
Missouri	2.1%	16.3%	34.0%	7.1%	42.6%	1.0%	17.3%	31.7%	10.6%	40.5%
Montana	1.2%	14.9%	14.5%	0.5%	70.1%	0.3%	26.8%	23.2%	0.0%	50.0%
Nebraska	2.9%	41.9%	28.1%	6.7%	23.3%	1.6%	48.6%	24.8%	10.8%	15.8%
Nevada	11.8%	37.4%	36.9%	3.3%	22.4%	5.1%	45.2%	31.1%	4.6%	19.1%
New Hampshire	3.5%	14.4%	23.1%	4.6%	57.9%	1.5%	14.3%	30.0%	8.6%	47.0%
New Jersey	15.7%	26.8%	30.3%	10.1%	32.7%	7.0%	29.8%	33.6%	11.5%	25.1%
New Mexico	4.6%	63.0%	15.1%	1.0%	20.9%	1.8%	68.5%	15.9%	0.7%	14.9%
New York	16.4%	22.4%	24.2%	20.1%	33.3%	7.0%	25.4%	26.6%	20.7%	27.3%
North Carolina	3.2%	25.1%	32.8%	10.2%	31.8%	1.6%	29.3%	32.0%	12.2%	26.5%
North Dakota	0.9%	13.6%	24.2%	12.5%	49.7%	0.4%	15.1%	19.8%	30.7%	34.4%
Ohio	2.5%	9.9%	30.9%	8.7%	50.5%	1.1%	11.9%	34.4%	14.8%	38.8%
Oklahoma	2.5%	34.7%	37.3%	6.0%	22.0%	1.2%	40.8%	34.8%	9.3%	15.1%
Oregon	5.0%	21.2%	37.6%	2.1%	39.1%	2.1%	28.7%	36.4%	3.2%	31.7%
Pennsylvania	3.9%	13.3%	34.8%	10.0%	41.9%	1.8%	16.5%	37.0%	11.9%	34.6%
Rhode Island	8.9%	28.2%	14.4%	12.7%	44.6%	4.0%	38.7%	15.0%	18.2%	28.1%
South Carolina	2.0%	21.0%	31.3%	5.9%	41.9%	0.7%	30.2%	31.6%	6.2%	32.0%
South Dakota	1.0%	14.1%	29.0%	12.4%	44.5%	0.5%	14.0%	26.0%	20.2%	39.8%
Tennessee	2.1%	18.4%	35.5%	10.4%	35.7%	1.0%	20.3%	32.7%	15.6%	31.4%
Texas	8.4%	54.4%	26.9%	4.5%	14.3%	3.9%	55.2%	27.5%	5.5%	11.9%
Utah	4.5%	38.3%	25.9%	1.5%	34.3%	2.3%	43.8%	25.0%	2.2%	29.0%
Vermont	2.8%	4.7%	19.0%	2.7%	73.5%	1.1%	5.8%	21.0%	6.9%	66.3%
Virginia	7.0%	19.1%	43.3%	10.4%	27.3%	3.5%	22.7%	40.4%	13.2%	23.7%
Washington	8.2%	14.8%	47.7%	5.0%	32.5%	3.9%	17.6%	43.1%	8.7%	30.6%
West Virginia	0.7%	16.1%	39.6%	5.1%	39.2%	0.2%	20.0%	44.6%	3.9%	31.5%
Wisconsin	2.6%	19.5%	38.8%	3.1%	38.7%	1.2%	23.3%	47.0%	4.3%	25.5%
Wyoming	1.3%	45.4%	14.9%	1.5%	38.3%	0.7%	56.8%	14.4%	3.0%	25.7%

Figure 2. A National View of the Recently Naturalized

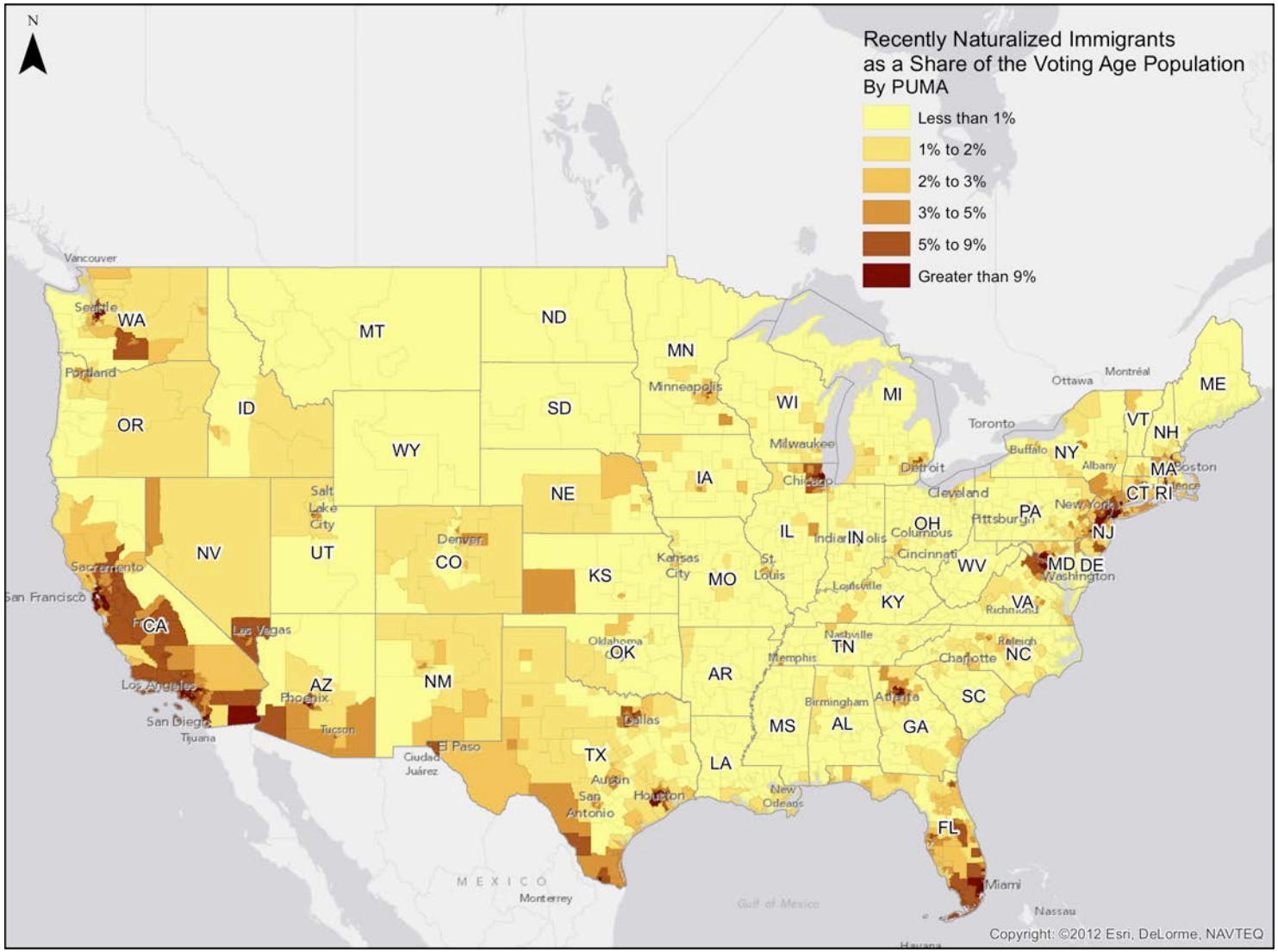


Figure 3. A View of the Recently Naturalized in Maryland, the District of Columbia and Virginia

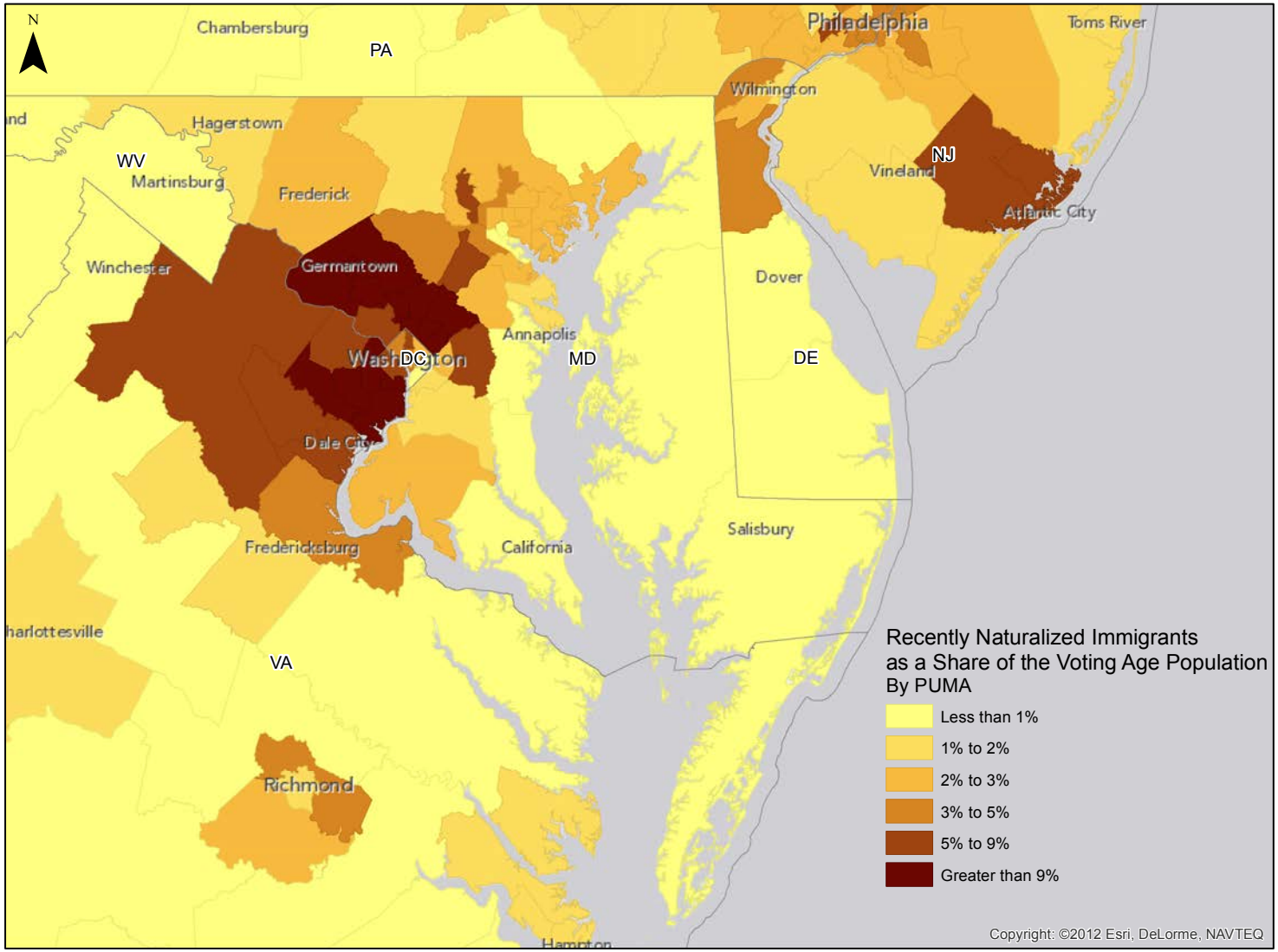


Figure 4. A View of the Recently Naturalized in California, the Southwest, and the Mountain West

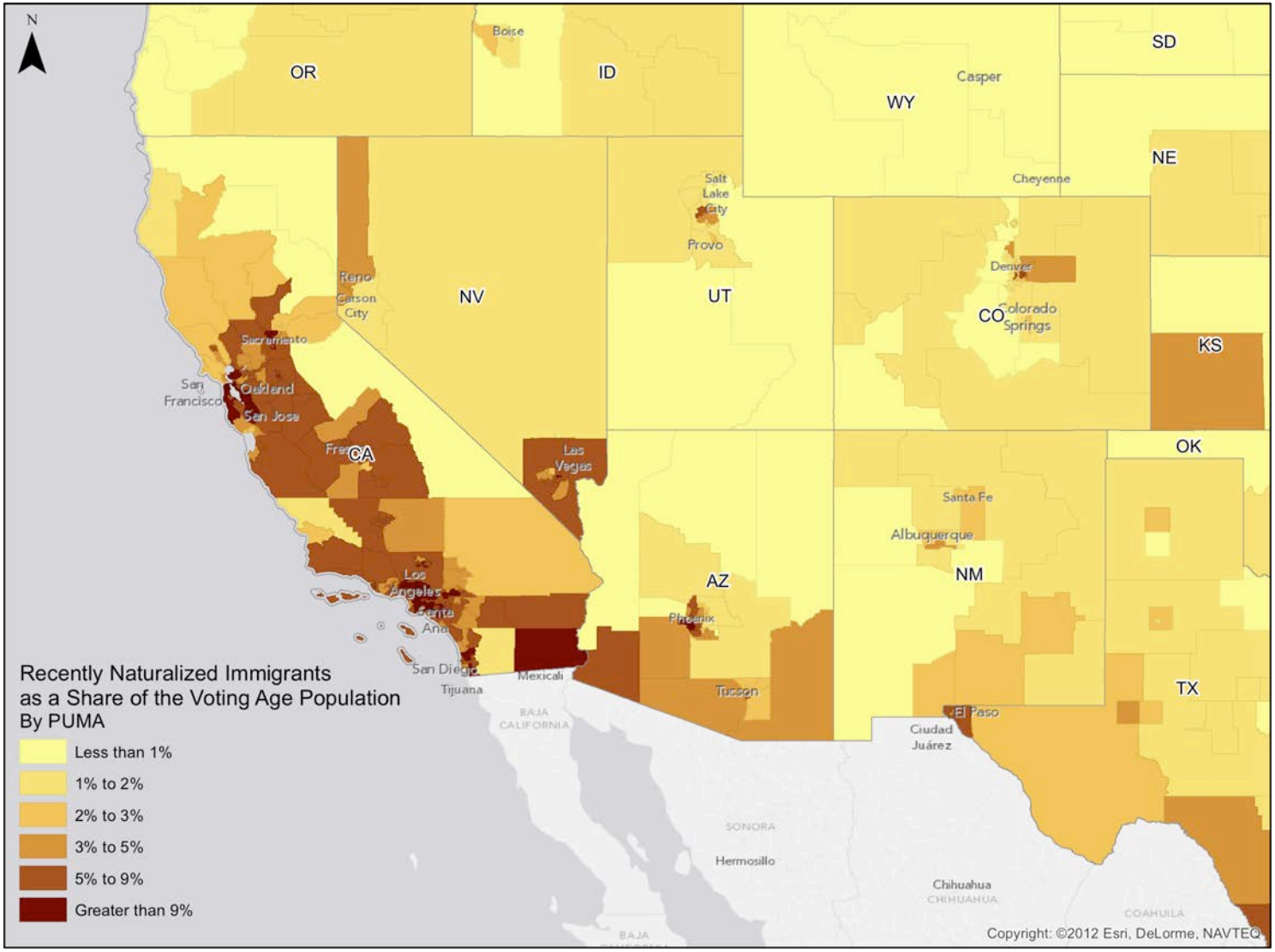


Figure 5. A View of the Recently Naturalized in Florida

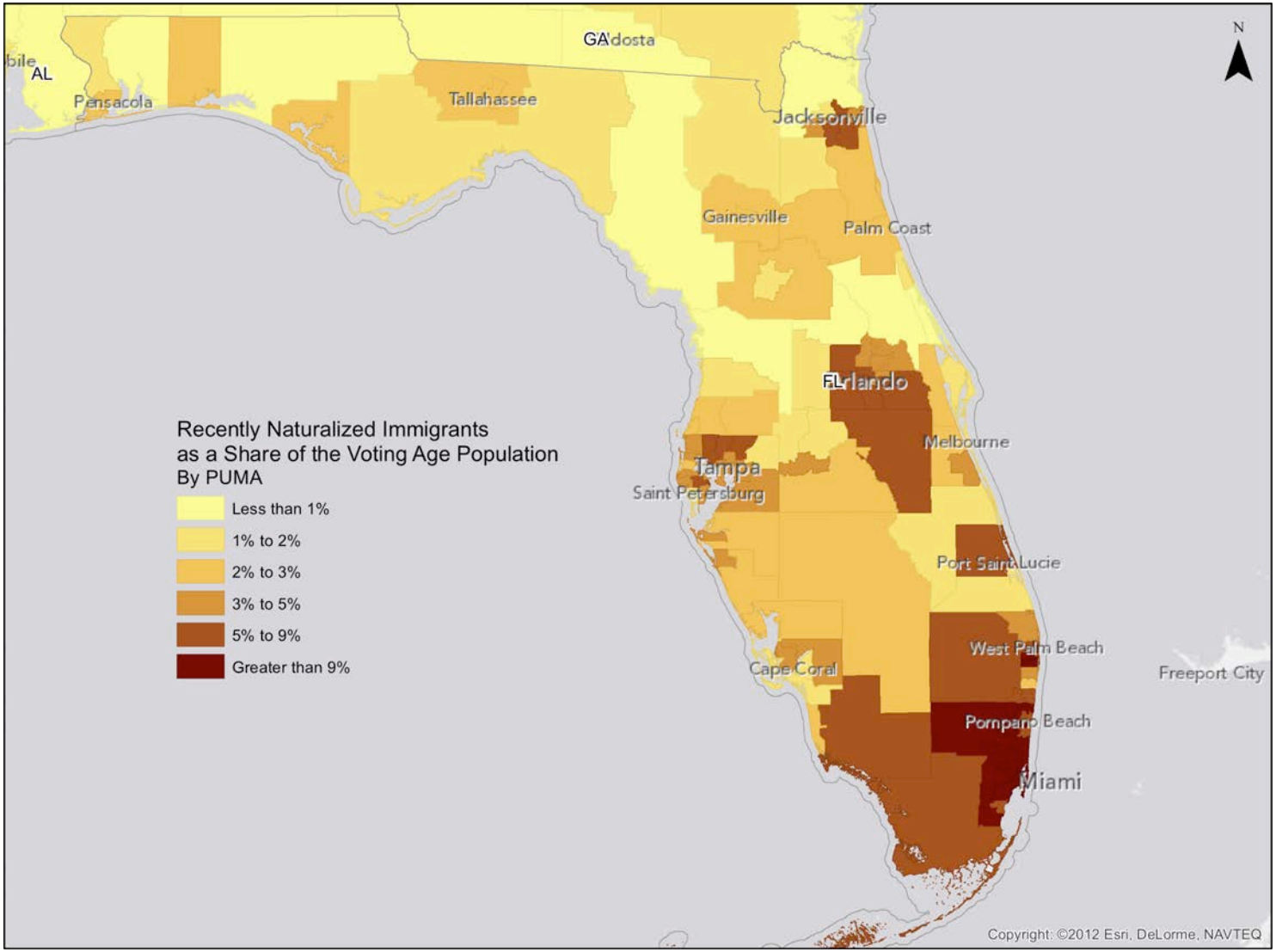


Table 4. Voter Registration Deadlines, 2012

State	Voter Registration Deadline	2012 General Election Deadline
Alabama	Postmarked 11 days before the election	October 26, 2012
Alaska	Received 30 days before the election	October 6, 2012
Arizona	Postmarked 29 days before the election	October 9, 2012
Arkansas	Postmarked 30 days before the election	October 6, 2012
California	Postmarked 15 days before the election	October 22, 2012
Colorado	Received 29 days before the election	October 9, 2012
Connecticut	Postmarked 14 days before the election (by mail). Received 7 days before the election (in person)	October 23, 2012 (mailed). October 30, 2012 (in person)
Delaware	Postmarked by the fourth Saturday before a general or primary election. Postmarked 10 days before a special election	October 13, 2012
District of Columbia	Postmarked 30 days before the election. You may also register in person on Election Day as long as you can provide proof of residency.	October 9, 2012 (by mail) November 6, 2012 (in person)
Florida	Postmarked 29 days before the election	October 9, 2012
Georgia	Postmarked by the fifth Monday before the election	October 6, 2012
Hawaii	Received at least 30 days before the election	October 9, 2012
Idaho	Postmarked 25 days before the election You may also register in person on Election Day.	October 12, 2012 (by mail) November 6, 2012 (in person)
Illinois	Postmarked 28 days before the election	October 9, 2012
Indiana	Postmarked 29 days before the election	October 9, 2012
Iowa	Postmarked 15 days before an election (by mail). Received 10 days before General and Primary Elections (in person). Received 11 days before all other elections (in person). You may also register in person on Election Day.	October 22, 2012 (by mail) October 27, 2012 (in person)
Kansas	Postmarked 21 days before the election (if mailed). Received 21 days before the election (in-person or online).	October 16, 2012
Kentucky	Postmarked 29 days before the election	October 9, 2012
Louisiana	Received 30 days before the election	October 9, 2012
Maine	Received 21 days before the election. You may also register in person on Election Day.	October 16, 2012 (by mail) November 6, 2012 (in person)
Maryland	Postmarked 21 days before the election.	October 16, 2012
Massachusetts	Postmarked 20 days before the election.	October 17, 2012
Michigan	Postmarked 30 days before the election	October 9, 2012
Minnesota	Received 21 days before the election. You may also register in person on Election Day as long as you can provide proof of residency.	October 16, 2012 (by mail) November 6, 2012 (in person)
Mississippi	Postmarked 30 days before the election	October 6, 2012
Missouri	Received 5pm or the normal close of business 28 days before the election	October 10, 2012
Montana	Postmarked 30 days before the election (by mail). You may also register in person at the County Clerk's office up to - and including - Election Day.	October 9, 2012 (by mail) November 6, 2012 (in person)
Nebraska	Postmarked the third Friday before the election (by-mail). Received by 6pm on the second Friday before the election (in-person).	October 19, 2012 (by mail). October 26, 2012 (in person)
Nevada	Postmarked the third Tuesday before election day.	October 16, 2012
New Hampshire	Received 10 days before the election (by mail). You may also register in person on Election Day.	October 27, 2012 (by mail) November 6, 2012 (in person)
New Jersey	Received 21 days before the election	October 16, 2012
New Mexico	Postmarked 28 days before the election	October 9, 2012
New York	Postmarked 25 days before the election.	October 12, 2012
North Carolina	Received 25 days before the election (by mail) You can also register in person and vote early during the "one-stop" voting period from October 18 - November 3, 2012.	October 12, 2012. (by mail)
North Dakota	North Dakota does not have voter registration	N/A
Ohio	Received 30 days before election.	October 9, 2012
Oklahoma	Postmarked 25 days before the election	October 12, 2012
Oregon	Postmarked 25 days before the election	October 16, 2012
Pennsylvania	Received 30 days before the election	October 9, 2012
Rhode Island	Received 30 days before the election. You may register in person on election day, but only for Presidential elections.	October 6, 2012 (by mail) November 6, 2012 (in person)
South Carolina	Postmarked 30 days before the election	October 6, 2012
South Dakota	Received 15 days before the election	October 22, 2012
Tennessee	Postmarked 30 days before the election	October 6, 2012
Texas	Postmarked 30 days before the election	October 9, 2012
Utah	Postmarked 30 days before the election (by mail). Received 15 days before the election (in person and online)	October 9, 2012 (by mail) October 22 (in person or online)
Vermont	Received 5pm on the Wednesday before the election	October 31, 2012
Virginia	Received 22 days before the election	October 15, 2012
Washington	Postmarked the Monday four weeks before the election (by mail) Received the Monday one week before the election (in person)	October 6, 2012 (by mail) October 29, 2012 (in person)
West Virginia	Postmarked 21 days before the election	October 16, 2012
Wisconsin	Postmarked 20 days before the election. You may also register in person on Election Day.	October 17, 2012 (by mail) November 6, 2012 (in person)
Wyoming	Received 14 days before the election. You may also register in person on Election Day.	October 22, 2012 November 6, 2012 (in person)

Source: http://www.longdistancevoter.org/voter_registration_deadlines#.UEkkCo1lT18

Appendix B: Technical Documentation

As noted in the text, the basic empirical work in this paper involved combining the summary-level data available from American FactFinder and other Census tools with the detail available in the Public Use Microdata Sample (PUMS).

To do this required some degree of data "fitting" for several reasons. While we wanted to use the 2011 summary data from American FactFinder to get as close as possible to the population that will be participating in the 2012 election, that summary data was released on September 20, 2012, and the 2011 PUMS will not be available for some time. Even if it had been, using just one year of the PUMS microdata would not allow us a sufficiently large sample to have confidence about the share estimates generated from the microdata. While the Census weights the individual observations in the PUMS to ensure that they will add up to the summary totals, this is generally done with some basic controls for gender and race, and not for immigration experience. Thus, a straightforward summary from the microdata might not perfectly match the summary-level data.

To work through these issues, we first pooled the currently available three years (2008, 2009, and 2010) of the PUMS microdata. Recall from the text that 2008 was the first time the year of naturalization is recorded in the data, so this includes all the microdata available.[19] We then generated estimates at the PUMA level for those individuals born in the U.S., immigrated but not naturalized, and immigrated and naturalized in seven different time periods. Aside from nativity, we also pulled data on age, race/ethnicity and country of origin; we did a run for those over 18 and naturalized in the last ten years in order to generate a list of the top ten countries of origin for each state in the U.S., a bit of data used later in the process.

The eventual naturalization periods we were working to fit to were those specified in the 2011 summary data: 2005-2011, 2000-2004, 1995-1999, 1990-1994, 1985-1989, 1980-1985, and pre-1980. To do this, we used five-year bands for each yearly sample to categorize the naturalization periods (we eventually used ten-year bands in our reporting and mapping, but using the five year bands *first* allowed for more accuracy before aggregating to the ten year bands). Another alternative would have been to cut the data for each time period strictly (using 2005 for all three years) but that would have been non-representative: in the 2008 sample, naturalization in 2005 covered only the past three years, not the past five years as in 2010. We confirmed with a phone call to the Census that the strict dating procedure is what is used by the Census in generating its three-year (2008-2010) ACS summary data. As a result, the total for naturalization by period for the 2008-2010 summary available on American FactFinder, for example, seriously understates the actual level for 2010 and certainly for 2011 summary data. Since we are trying to estimate the most recent numbers available, our procedure is more sensible.

This led a complete dataset which had, for every PUMA in the U.S., the total population, the total U.S.-born, the total non-naturalized, the total naturalized by seven time periods, and the percent of each of these groups that was above the age of 18. We also obtained that same level of detail for the top 30 countries represented by people in the voting age population who had naturalized in the last five years nationwide, and, as noted above, a separate listing for the top ten countries of origin by state, with that

order determined by the largest share of voting age population who had naturalized in the last ten years. We also programmed in an ethnic breakdown for the different time periods of naturalization.

The next task was to ensure that this set of PUMA-based estimates was consistent with the most recent 2011 summary data.[20] Unfortunately, the 2011 summary file is missing some key data points: it lacks data for 15 PUMAs on the basic citizen/immigrant split and lacks information on the period of naturalization for 422 PUMAs. Such missing summaries are typical of summary data – if the Census feels the underlying sample is not large enough, they will not populate the cells.

To fill in the data (or populate the missing cells), we did a series of "iterative proportional fits," with all data fitted to the state level; we chose the state as the fitting brackets since all summary data *was* available at the state level and this would allow for a greater degree of accuracy given state differences in immigrant patterns. To understand what an iterative proportional fit is, consider a table where one knows the totals for all the rows and columns but has less reliable information for the individual cell entries – say a state when you know the total number of Blacks and whites in the state but have that detailed demographic information for only 50 of the 52 counties. To fill in the gap, you start with your best guess for each cell – hopefully, not a wild guess but one informed by other data points – and you then "rake" the data, adjusting first to fit the rows, then the columns, and over and over again, until each successive rake has less impact and the rows and columns add up perfectly.

In this exercise, we took the 2011 summary data and populated the missing observations (we took our "best guess") with data from the microdata as this was available for all PUMAs; we first filled in for the very small number of missing citizen/immigrant breaks, fit that, and then filled in for the larger number of missing observations for the year of naturalization categories, and fit and raked that. As noted, the fit was not to the entire U.S. (although it eventually fit that) but rather to the respective states as we knew those totals and this allowed for more accuracy. The easiest "rakes" were when only one PUMA was missing from a state – the totals obviously had to be the state total minus the total obtained from adding up all the non-missing observations. The states missing multiple PUMA summaries required more raking, but the data was easily made consistent with the state-level totals available in the summary data.[21]

A final adjustment was made with regard to voting age. Our initial estimates of the voting age population relative to the total population for citizens, non-naturalized immigrants, and naturalized immigrants came from the microdata. When we compared the ratio of the citizen voting age population relative to citizen population from this data to the ratio shown in the official CVAP data for 2006-2010, our estimate was within 0.22 percent (about one-fifth of one percent) of the national total, although our maximum deviation for a state was 0.68 percent (about two-thirds of one percent). To tighten this up, we applied a ratio based on our estimate relative to the CVAP, and we wound up with an estimate of 0.01 percent (one-hundredths of a percent) for the national total with a maximum deviation of 0.03 percent (three-hundredths of a percent) for any state.[22]

As for the shares of each population band from each country of origin and from each ethnic group, these are entirely derived from the microdata (since they are not summarized by the Census) and those

percentages are applied to the final fitted totals to obtain our estimates for various national-origin and ethnic groups by state and PUMA. Our PUMA-level estimates for totals by period of naturalization are quite reliable -- they are either taken directly from the summary data or emerge from the fitting procedure – and our state-level estimates of the national origin and ethnic composition for the different periods of naturalization are also generally reliable, as these are based on relatively large samples from the microdata. Because PUMA-level estimates for the national origin would have a wider margin of error, we instead calculate the ethnic breakdown of the recently naturalized (and all naturalized) of voting age and that is what is in the maps that are online (see http://csii.usc.edu/RockTheNaturalizedVote_maps.html); if the underlying sample size was too small in any particular PUMA, we do not report the ethnic breakdown in those maps.

Appendix C: Resources

National

Asian Pacific American Legal Center (APALC)
http://apalc.org/
Your Vote Matters! 2012 campaign is a project of the Asian Pacific American Legal Center with the purpose of empowering, mobilizing, and protecting the rights of Asian American, Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander Voters.

Asian Pacific Islander American Vote (APIAVote)
http://www.apiavote.org/
APIAVote is a national nonpartisan organization that works with partners to mobilize Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders in electoral and civic participation. APIAVote envisions a world that is inclusive, fair, and collaborative, and where Asian Americans and Pacific Islander communities are self-determined, empowered, and engaged.

Center for Citizenship and Immigrant Communities
http://cliniclegal.org
The Catholic Legal Immigration Network, Inc. strengthens immigrant rights community by preparing charitable immigration programs to expand their service-delivery capacity and establishing a coordinated service-delivery and legal support architecture.

Mi Familia Vota
http://www.mifamiliavota.us/mifamiliavota/
Mi Familia Vota is a national organization working to unite the Latino community and its allies to ensure social and economic justice through increased civic participation. Provided information includes citizenship, voting, and general civic engagement.

League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC)
http://lulac.org/programs/civic/
LULAC advances the economic condition, educational attainment, political influence, housing, health and civil rights of the Hispanic population of the United States.

Movimiento Hispano (Hispanic Movement)
http://www.movimientohispano.org/
Movimiento Hispano (Hispanic Movement) is a project of Latinos for Democracy (LFD) aimed at increasing Latino civic engagement and voter turnout. LFD is a coalition comprised of the Hispanic Federation (HF), The Labor Council for Latin American Advancement (LCLAA) and the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC). LFD has launched this website in order to create a nonpartisan, culturally competent virtual tool that will guide citizens on how to register to vote and engage civically online. LFD aims to register 200,000 new voters by the end of 2012.

National Association of Latino Elected Officials (NALEO)
http://veyvota.yaeshora.info/
Ya es hora ¡Ve y vota! is a non-partisan voter information and education infrastructure that consists of both the campaign's *1-888-Ve-Y-Vota* bilingual national hotline and the *www.veyvota.yaeshora.info* website. These tools provide Latino voters nationwide with vital information on every aspect of the electoral process, from registering to vote, to voter ID requirements, to finding their polling place on Election Day.

National Partnership for New Americans
http://www.partnershipfornewamericans.org/
The National Partnership for New Americans (NPNA) advances the integration and active citizenship of immigrants to achieve a vibrant, just, and welcoming democracy for all. Identifying itself as a national multiethnic, multiracial partnership that harnesses its collective power and resources to mobilize millions of immigrants for integration and transformative social change, NPNA facilitates community voices, many that have previously been excluded, to speak on their own behalf.

PICO National Network
http://www.piconetwork.org
Let My People VOTE is an effort led by African American and Latino congregations within the PICO National Network to register voters and combat voter suppression. Resources offered include information about voter suppression, toolkits for faith-based community involvement.

United States Citizen and Immigration Services (USCIS)
http://www.uscis.gov
Offers resources and information to inform and encourage eligible permanent legal residents to naturalize. Among its tools for preparing for the naturalization process, USCIS also offers information on the rights and responsibilities of citizens, in which voter registration is included.

Voto Latino
http://www.votolatino.org/
Voto Latino is a dynamic and growing non-partisan organization whose civic engagement campaigns have reached an estimated 55 million Latino households nationwide. Voto Latino is dedicated to bringing new and diverse voices into the political process by engaging youth, media, technology and celebrities to promote positive change.

We are American Alliance
http://waaa.crossroadscampaigns.com
Formed in 2006 to advance immigration policy that respects the rights and fundamental dignity of all who call America home, the mission of the Alliance is to create a unique space for collaboration between national, state, and local groups that work on immigration rights and civic engagement in various ethnic communities.

Regional:

California

California Common Cause
http://www.commoncause.org
California Common Cause works for various issues to hold "higher power accountable." Their efforts for voting rights and registration include protecting the vote through access, accuracy and accountability.

Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA)
http://www.chirla.org/
The Coalition for Humane Immigrant Rights of Los Angeles (CHIRLA) was formed in 1986 to advance the human and civil rights of immigrants and refugees in Los Angeles; promote harmonious multi-ethnic and multi-racial human relations; and through coalition-building, advocacy, community education and organizing, empower immigrants and their allies to build a more just society.

Mobilize the Immigrant Vote (MIV)
http://mivcalifornia.org
In California, Mobilize the Immigrant Vote (MIV) advocates for an approach to electoral organizing that emphasizes elections work as one component of a larger movement for social and economic justice. This movement-building approach to elections focuses not only on short-term increases in voter turnout and wins on specific ballot initiatives, but also on: building leadership and capacity within low-income immigrant communities and organizations; catalyzing and strengthening diverse multi-ethnic alliances; and connecting electoral work to ongoing organizing for social justice.

National Korean American Service & Education Consortium (NAKASEC)
http://nakasec.org/blog/
The National Korean American Service & Education Consortium (NAKASEC) was founded with the purpose of projecting a national progressive voice on major civil rights and immigrant rights issues and promoting the full participation of Korean Americans with the greater goal of building a national movement for social change. The components of the campaign include: voter registration, voter education, voter mobilization, voter assistance, voter research, and voting rights advocacy.

Services Immigrant Rights & Education Network (SIREN)
http://www.siren-bayarea.org
Services Immigrant Rights & Education Network (SIREN) focuses on the area of Santa Clara County, CA. SIREN's platform includes aspects to articulate and share their positions on the core issues that affect the ability of immigrants to integrate and participate in American society and to have a greater voice in their social and political life. SIREN launched a "New Citizens Vote"

campaign in partnership with Asian Law Alliance in July 2012 to outreach, educate, register, and mobilize new citizen voters in Spanish- and Vietnamese-speaking communities for the November 2012 elections. The goals of this campaign are to register 300 to 400 new citizens to vote, inform 300 people about their rights as American voters, and have 875 individuals commit to vote on November 6th.

Colorado

Colorado Immigrant Rights Coalition (CIRC)

http://www.coloradoimmigrant.org/

The Colorado Immigrant Rights Coalition (CIRC) is a statewide, membership-based coalition of immigrant, faith, labor, youth, community, business and ally organizations founded in 2002 to improve the lives of immigrants and refugees by making Colorado a more welcoming, immigrant-friendly state. CIRC achieves this mission through non-partisan civic engagement, public education, and advocating for workable, fair and humane immigration policies.

Florida

Florida New Americans

http://www.flnewamericans.org

Florida New Americans works for the full integration of immigrants in the social, cultural and economic of Florida and the country. The organization helps Legal Permanent Residents not only to become Citizens but also to participate actively in the civic life by exercising their right to vote. The Florida Immigrant Coalition (FLIC) is launching its first citizenship program in the sunshine state, aiming to provide opportunities of full integration for Florida's largest immigrant communities. In 2012, the goal is to aid 300 qualified LPRs in their application for the naturalization process. FLIC will help them submit their applications, get access to English and civic classes needed to pass the citizenship test, and prep them for the final interview.

Illinois

Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights

http://icirr.org/

Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights, in partnership with its member organizations, educates and organizes immigrant and refugee communities to assert their rights; promotes citizenship and civic participation; monitors, analyzes, and advocates on immigrant-related issues; and, informs the general public about the contributions of immigrants and refugees.

Maryland

Casa de Maryland
http://www.casademaryland.org/
Casa de Maryland is a member of the Maryland New American Partnership (MNAP), which launched the New Americans Citizenship Project of Maryland in October 2009. The Project is aimed at building the capacity and effectiveness of existing community-based organizations that assist Legal Permanent Residents (LPRs) in the naturalization process through integrated citizenship services. The Project, a statewide AmeriCorps program, addresses the unique reasons why priority immigrant groups are not naturalizing through a comprehensive and coordinated citizenship promotion plan.

Massachusetts

The Massachusetts Immigrant and Refugee Advocacy Coalition (MIRA)
http://www.miracoalition.org
New Americans Vote Campaign aims to empower communities registering, educating, and turning out voters on a state-level electoral work as well as coalition work resulting in responsive and large *Get Out The Vote* (GOTV) operations.

New York

New York Immigration Coalition
http://www.thenyic.org/new-citizen-voters
New York Immigration Coalition builds immigrant voting power through its nationally-recognized New Citizen Voter Registration Project. The largest voter registration project in New York State and the most successful initiative of its kind in the country, the volunteer-run project has registered more than 280,000 new citizens to vote over the past ten years.

Oregon

Asian Pacific American Network of Oregon (APANO)
http://apano.onefireplace.com/
Asian Pacific American Network of Oregon (APANO) is a statewide, grassroots organization, uniting Asian and Pacific Islanders to achieve social justice. They use their collective strengths to advance equity through empowering, organizing and advocating with APIA communities. APANO and the Oregon Commission on Asian Affairs have joined together in a statewide Asian Pacific American Voter Education Project in order to Close the Gap by increasing API voter participation, and educate our community about how election issues will impact us.

Causa Oregon
http://causaoregon.org/
Causa is Oregon's statewide Latino immigrant rights organization. Causa works to defend and advance immigrant rights by coordinating with local, state, and national coalitions and allies. We are the largest Latino civil and human rights organization in the Pacific Northwest.

The Oregon Voice New American Voters Project
http://www.oregonvoice.org/
The Oregon Voice New American Voters Project (NAVP) offers new citizens the opportunity to register to vote at every single naturalization ceremony. NAVP is a part of the ceremony, rather than tabling outside. Their level of integration into the state's naturalization process in unprecedented.

Tennessee

Tennessee Immigrant and Refugee Rights Coalition (TIRRC)
http://www.tnimmigrant.org/
The Tennessee Immigrant and Refugee Rights Coalition (TIRRC) is a statewide, immigrant and refugee-led collaboration whose mission is to empower immigrants and refugees throughout Tennessee to develop a unified voice, defend their rights, and create an atmosphere in which they are recognized as positive contributors to the state.

Washington

Washington New Americans Program
http://www.wanewamericans.org/
The Washington New Americans Program (WNA) is a partnership between the State of Washington and OneAmerica (formerly Hate Free Zone), a non-profit dedicated to advancing justice and equality. Their goal is to promote successful immigrant integration by connecting eligible Legal Permanent Residents ("green card" holders) to the information and services they need to successfully pursue citizenship and become active members of our community.

Wisconsin

Voces de la Frontera
http://www.vdlf.org/
Voces de la Frontera is Wisconsin's leading immigrant rights group - a grassroots organization that believes power comes from below and that people can overcome injustice to build a better world. Voces de la Frontera's campaigns on civil rights and social justice issues have mobilized thousands to take collective action - and their members have become leaders in community organizing for: legalization with a path to citizenship, advancing workers' rights, organizing against No Match letters, Get Out The Vote, education rights and youth organizing, new Sanctuary Movement.

Endnotes

[1] In addition, when breaking the naturalized voting age population into broad groupings by decade of naturalization, the recently naturalized is the largest group of naturalized citizens, constituting, as noted in the text, 3.6 percent of the total voting age population (although they likely constitute somewhat less of the voters because of lower registration rates).

[2] See Tova Andrea Wang and Youjin B. Kim, From Citizenship to Voting: Improving Registration for New Americans, *Dēmos*, 2012. Available at http://www.demos.org/publication/citizenship-voting-improving-registration-new-americans.

[3] These numbers may seem a bit high overall, but there is a reason: respondents tend to over-report their own registration and voting in surveys. There is, however, no reason to expect that this over-reporting will differ by group and so analysts tend to focus on the relative differences.

[4] There are exceptions for spouses. Refugees also must spend five years in the country, although many have a shorter period from their date of naturalization since they will adjust status after several years in the country.

[5] Using other reasonable cuts of the time periods – like, for the 2008 election, stretching the most recent period back to 1998, including later data from the 1990s and 2000s for each comparison, etc.– did not yield very different results. In all cases, the registration drop-off gradient has flattened.

[6] For example, a study by Adrian Pantoja, Ricardo Ramírez, and Gary Segura looked at the turnout of Latino citizens in California, Florida, and Texas for the 1996 national election, and, using a multivariate logit analysis, found that recently naturalized Latino citizens in California were more likely to vote than their newly naturalized counterparts in Florida and Texas. Those two states had no parallel salient and divisive state ballot measures on immigration (like California's Proposition 187) in the same time period. Their results show that Latino "citizens naturalized in this politically charged environment appeared to participate in politics at rates substantially higher than those naturalized in other environment and those born in the United States;" see Adrian Pantoja, Ricardo Ramírez, and Gary Segura, Citizens by Choice, Voters by Necessity: Patterns in Political Mobilization by Naturalized Latinos, *Political Research Quarterly 54*(4):729-750, 2001. Ricardo Ramírez also found that California Latinos who first registered to vote between 1994 and 1996 consistently had higher rates of turnout in 1996 and 2000 than Latinos who first registered before or after this politicized period of time; see Ricardo Ramírez, The Changing Landscape of California Politics, 1990–2000, Doctoral Dissertation, Stanford University, 2002.

[7] See http://msnbcmedia.msn.com/i/MSNBC/Sections/A_Politics/_Today_Stories_Teases/Hispanic-oversample.pdf.

[8] See Matt Barreto, Latino Immigrants at the Polls: Foreign-born Voter Turnout in the 2002 Election, Political Research Quarterly, Vol. 58, No. 1 (March 2005): pp. 79-86. See also Ricardo Ramírez's *Mobilizing Opportunities: State Contexts, Mobilization, and the Evolving Latino Electorate*, a forthcoming volume from the University of Virgina that explores the interplay between mobilizing issues and organizational context, and helps to explain why the mobilization effect has been seen most sharply for Latinos and in particular states.

[9] See also the national figures for naturalized and U.S.-born Latinos in the *NALEO 2012 Latino Election Handbook*, available from the National Association of Latino Elected and Appointed Officials at: http://www.naleo.org/downloads/NALEO_2012_LEH_final.pdf.

[10] While the Census does have a set of files estimating Citizen Voting Age Population (CVAP), which is available by race and ethnicity, it does not have a U.S.-born versus naturalized immigrant breakdown for that data. We do, however, use the CVAP numbers to adjust our estimates as explained in the Technical Appendix.

[11] See http://www.fec.gov/pubrec/2000presgeresults.htm.

[12] See http://veyvota.yaeshora.info/english.

[13] Interview with Evan Bacalao, Senior Director of Civic Engagement, NALEO.

[14] See http://blog.pe.com/multicultural-beat/2012/09/13/citizenship-efforts-aim-to-increase-immigrants-voice/.

[15] Interview with Abdelnasser Rashid, Program Manager, New Americans Democracy Project, Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Interview with Nate Gulley, Civic Engagement Coordinator, Oregon Voice. Its 91 percent rate is just over 15 percent higher than they anticipated at the start of the project.

[18] See Allie Shah, "Proud new U.S. citizens," Star Tribune, 6 Sept 2012 http://www.startribune.com/local/168822996.html?refer=y.

[19] In the microdata, three PUMAs that once represented separate parts of New Orleans have been collapsed into one PUMA in light of the depopulation subsequent to Hurricane Katrina. In our fitting procedure, we collapsed those PUMAs in the summary data into one single PUMA as well.

[20] We first did this entire exercise with the 2010 summary data to get the programming and cross-checks ready for the release of the 2011 data on September 20, 2012.

[21] We initially tried to "fit" the data to the 2008-2010 pooled summary data because it had fewer missing cells but, as noted earlier, this under-reports the most recently naturalized in any particular PUMA because of the dating procedure used in the 2008-2010, summary and it is also not the most current data. However, we used those results (and the earlier fit on the 2010 summary data) as a cross-check on the 2011 summary data.

[22] While the procedure was repeated with the 2011 data, the tolerance figures here are for our fit with the 2010 summary data since that is the most direct comparison with the available CVAP figures.

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