

Center for American Progress



A Dual Disenfranchisement

How Voter Suppression Denies Reproductive Justice
to Women of Color

Elizabeth Chen October 24, 2012

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new ideas for a
diverse america

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A joint effort between Progress 2050 and the Women's Health and Rights Program at the Center for American Progress.

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Introduction and summary

A slew of recent voter identification laws are increasingly threatening the voting rights of people of color. This erosion of our most basic civil right comes alongside historic levels of attacks on reproductive health services. The two are not unrelated. Women of color stand at the crossroads of what is in essence a double disenfranchisement. When they are denied the opportunity to participate in civic life, they also lose the ability to voice their opinions and hold lawmakers accountable on the reproductive health issues that directly affect them.

In the 2011 general election, Mississippi voters rejected an extreme ballot initiative that would have granted personhood status to embryos and fetuses, which could have outlawed a number of common medical services for women, including popular forms of birth control, treatments for miscarriage and infertility, and abortion. In the same election, voters approved an initiative restricting the ability of Mississippi residents to vote by requiring unnecessary photo identification.¹ As a result of this completely unwarranted voter identification initiative, nearly 75,000 women of color may be prevented from voting in Mississippi.² Such a large number can have a significant impact on electoral outcomes: for instance, it takes only 89,285 signatures to place an initiative on the ballot in Mississippi,³ not to mention that the margin of defeat for the state's personhood initiative was a mere 130,000 votes.⁴

Mississippi's voter identification law is just one example of the record number of voting restrictions that have been introduced and adopted throughout the country in advance of the 2012 election. But what Mississippi's 2011 election also teaches us is that the fundamental right to vote is only the first of many rights at stake.⁵ Women of color, by losing the ability to express themselves on the issues that directly impact them, will lose their ability to protect a range of constitutional rights, including the right to decide whether, when, and with whom to have children.

Here is a brief rundown of the facts:

- Women of color compose 18 percent of the U.S. population
- Women of color have been voting at steadily increasing rates over the last 12 years
- In the last year, 34 new laws requiring photo identification to vote have been proposed; four will be in effect on Election Day 2012
- In the last year, 17 new laws requiring proof of citizenship have been proposed; two will be in effect on Election Day 2012
- On Election Day 2012, between 596,000 and 959,000 women of color may be disenfranchised by voter identification laws
- Beyond November 2012, between 1.05 million and 1.86 million women of color stand to be disenfranchised by voter identification laws
- Twenty-two states passed 61 new measures restricting women's reproductive health in the first nine months of 2012
- The House of Representatives voted 55 times on anti-woman measures in the 112th Congress

Voter suppression is not just a civil rights issue—it is a matter of reproductive justice. Reproductive justice stands at the intersection of traditional reproductive rights concerns and social justice issues and centers the reproductive health needs of the most marginalized populations, including women of color, low-income individuals, and individuals with disabilities, among others. It has been defined as “the complete physical, mental, spiritual, political, economic, and social well-being of women and girls, and will be achieved *when women and girls have the economic, social and political power and resources to make healthy decisions about our bodies, sexuality and reproduction for ourselves, our families and our communities in all areas of our lives.*”⁶

This report will situate women of color in the United States today, their current electoral impact, and the methods being used to disenfranchise people of color throughout the country. Next, we determine how many women of color stand to be disenfranchised by these new methods. Lastly, we explore some of the histori-

cal regulation of women of color's reproduction along with present day attacks on reproductive health services to explain why it is crucial for women of color's voices to be heard on these issues.

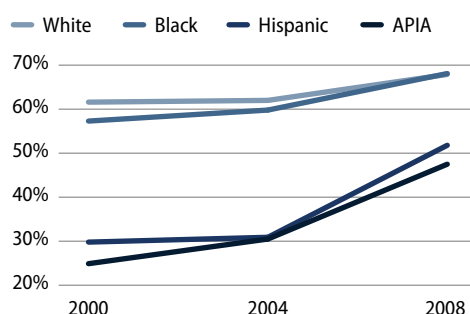
Despite these voter suppression efforts that attempt to silence the voices of women of color, it remains imperative that they vote on Election Day to ensure that their interests are represented.

Women of color vote

The demography of the United States is shifting rapidly. Currently, people of color account for 30 percent of the U.S. population, with women of color comprising 18 percent of the nation's population.⁷ By 2050 the Census Bureau projects that people of color will comprise 51 percent of the population, and there will no longer be one clear racial or ethnic majority.⁸ The number of women of color will rise, and they will make up 54 percent of women in the country, and 27 percent of the entire population.⁹

Likewise, voter turnout among women of color is growing, demonstrating that they are an increasingly substantial portion of the electorate. Between 2004 and 2008, their turnout increased drastically. Latinas' voter turnout increased by nearly 21 percent, while Asian American and black women increased their turnout by 17 percent and 8 percent, respectively.¹⁰ In 2008, for the first time, black women's voter turnout outpaced white women's, 68.1 percent compared with 67.9 percent.¹¹ Moreover, women of color are turning out to vote in larger numbers and almost always at greater rates than men of color.¹² Based on both numbers and turnout rates, women of color stand poised to make a significant impact on both the national and local political landscape—that is, if they are able to retain their right to vote.

FIGURE 1
Women of Color Vote



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, "Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2000 - Detailed Tables"; U.S. Census Bureau, "Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2004 - Detailed Tables"; U.S. Census Bureau, "Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2008 - Detailed Tables."

Methods of disenfranchisement

More and more, state legislators are requiring that voters show photo ID and proof of citizenship, ostensibly to prevent the nonexistent problem of voter fraud, but actually to disenfranchise voters of color. Many policymakers are aware of the disparate racial impact of these voter ID laws, but they persist in engaging in such tactics with the express intent of suppressing voters likely to support candidates from an opposing party. The result: silencing the voices of millions of voters across the country.¹³

We know that this is their intention because many political figures behind voter suppression efforts have been transparent about their animus toward the voters of color that they seek to disenfranchise. Indeed, a recent study found that those who express the strongest support for voter identification laws harbor racial resentment for African Americans.¹⁴

An Ohio elections board member, for example, in discussing his vote against weekend voting hours, stated: “I guess I really actually feel we shouldn’t contort the voting process to accommodate the urban — read African-American — voter -turnout machine.”¹⁵ Ohio has attempted to drastically limit both the periods for registering to vote and voting itself.

Meanwhile, in South Carolina, the legislature passed a photo identification requirement, but because South Carolina has a history of racial discrimination and voter suppression based on race, a panel of judges in the District Court in Washington, D.C. was required to approve the law before it can go into effect.¹⁶ There was available evidence of racial animus, including an email discussion involving a South Carolina lawmaker. In the email exchange, the lawmaker affirmed a constituent’s racially charged statement that if the legislature offered potential voters money to obtain identification cards, “it would be like a swarm of bees going after a watermelon,” by replying with an “Amen.”¹⁷ Despite that evidence, the court approved the law for 2013.¹⁸

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Finally, when listing the accomplishments of Republican officials in the state, a Pennsylvania official declared: “Voter ID, which is going to allow Governor Romney to win the state of Pennsylvania – done.”¹⁹ It is difficult not to see a racially charged meaning, given Philadelphia’s key role in a Democratic victory and the demographics of the city.

Since 2011, 34 states introduced legislation that would require voters to show photo identification designated by the state in order to vote. Of those, eight passed, but six have been suspended. When combined with laws passed in prior years, on Election Day 2012, Georgia, Indiana, Kansas, and Tennessee will be able to require such identification. Additionally, 17 states have recently introduced legislation that would require voters to show proof of citizenship. Three passed, but one has been suspended, so Arizona and Tennessee will have such laws in effect on Election Day 2012.

Voter identification

The most restrictive voter identification laws require that prospective voters show unexpired, government-issued identification. Making the requirement even more onerous is the fact that states often exclude certain forms of identification such as veteran’s identification cards, tribal identification, utility bills, student identification issued by state universities and colleges, social security cards, and expired driver’s licenses.²⁰ On the other hand, states like Tennessee permit gun permit cards as acceptable forms of identification.²¹

Proponents of “ballot security” claim that should immense levels of voter fraud occur, it would invalidate hundreds of votes.²² They emphasize the importance of maintaining the integrity of elections by preventing “cheating” at the ballot box²³ and argue that voting is a privilege, only extended to those who comply with identification requirements.²⁴

Voter advocates, however, have documented both the rarity of in-person voter fraud and also the vast detrimental impact that these laws will have on persons of color, as well as other populations such as students and the elderly. Moreover, requiring photo identification does not address voter fraud that takes place via absentee ballots. A study performed by News21 and the Carnegie-Knight Initiative on all of the known instances of voter fraud since 2000 has shown that of the 2,068 cases of alleged fraud, only 10 were cases of alleged in-person imper-

While voter impersonation is exceedingly rare, it is well documented that requiring photo identification has a disproportionate impact on voters of color.

sonation at the polls.²⁵ There were approximately 148 million voters during the measured time period, making instances of voter fraud through impersonation extraordinarily uncommon.

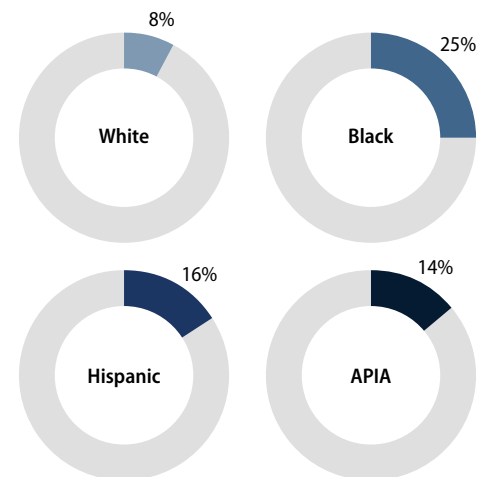
While voter impersonation is exceedingly rare, it is well documented that requiring photo identification has a disproportionate impact on voters of color. The Brennan Center for Justice has found that while 8 percent of white voters lack photo identification, 25 percent of black voters and 16 percent of Latino/a voters do not possess photo identification.²⁶ An additional study has found that approximately 14 percent of Asian American voters lack adequate photo identification for voting.²⁷ And in a study performed by the California Institute of Technology and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 78 percent of Asian Americans who did not vote in 2008 said that they did not do so because they did not have an accepted form of identification.²⁸

Citizenship proof and voter purges

Photo identification for voters is not the only method of disenfranchisement currently being employed. Some states have also called for voters to prove their citizenship prior to voting.

Under claims that noncitizens are fraudulently voting in our elections, some states are demanding proof of citizenship for prospective voters and have even removed voters from registration lists on suspicion that they may not be citizens. This fall, for example, voters in Arizona and Tennessee must prove their citizenship by presenting documents such as birth certificates, passports, naturalization documents, or tribal identification.²⁹ In addition, both Colorado and Florida have requested and received access to Department of Homeland Security databases to compare citizenship records against voter registration lists and driver's license registration lists. As the Advancement Project, a civil rights advocacy group, explains, these comparisons result in purging many recently naturalized citizens from voter rolls. Naturalized citizens who legally obtain driver's licenses before they become citizens, for example, may be marked in databases as noncitizens, even after they have obtained citizenship, and are purged as a result.³⁰

FIGURE 2
Percentage of voting age individuals who lack adequate photo identification for voting by race



Source: Brennan Center for Justice, "Citizens without Proof: A Survey of Americans' Possession of Documentary Proof of Citizenship and Photo Identification" (2006); Gabriel R. Sanchez, Stephen A. Nuño, and Matt A. Barreto, "The Disproportionate Impact of Photo-ID Laws on the Minority Electorate," *Latino Decisions*, May 24, 2011.

These and other laws are part of a larger regulatory scheme targeting immigrants. Through anti-immigrant coalitions like State Legislators for Legal Immigration, states have both proposed and passed a bevy of measures that are designed to crack down on undocumented immigrants and restrict the few benefits for which those individuals are eligible.³¹ But often the laws are just a pretext for discriminating against both naturalized citizens and lawful permanent residents.³²

Proponents of the proof-of-citizenship voting laws claim that noncitizens voting in American elections is a rampant problem. The Colorado Secretary of State, for example, has claimed that 11,805 noncitizens are registered to vote in the state. The Kansas Secretary of State claimed that 67 noncitizens are registered to vote in Kansas and that there were likely “hundreds more” to be found.³³ Florida alleged that at least 2,600 of its registered voters were not citizens, a claim that proved to be greatly exaggerated.³⁴

Again, voter advocates have documented both the rarity of the alleged problem of voting by noncitizens and the severity of the disparate racial impact of such laws. The News21 study showed that of the total 2,068 cases of alleged fraud since 2000, only 2.7 percent were cases of noncitizens voting.³⁵ The truth of the matter is that the majority of undocumented immigrants feel a high degree of anxiety about interacting with law enforcement.³⁶ In an attempt to stay under the radar of immigration enforcement agents, this population is by and large highly law-abiding.³⁷ Presenting false documentation in order to illicitly participate in the democratic election process is an act that would be very unlikely to be worth the unpleasant series of consequences—not to mention jeopardizing any future possibilities of earning legal status—that would stem from fraudulent voting.

It is estimated that 7 percent of all eligible American voters lack ready access to the documents they would need to prove their citizenship.³⁸ Women also disproportionately lack documents proving their citizenship with their current legal name due to marriage, divorce, and remarriage. Surveys show that 34 percent of voting age women who in fact do have ready access to their proof of citizenship lack official documents that reflect their current legal names.³⁹ In addition, these voting laws place increased scrutiny on Asian American names in particular, which can be inverted, have hyphens inserted, or have other changes that poll workers do not understand or with which they are not familiar.⁴⁰

As for voter purges, Florida officials originally claimed that as many as 2,600 registered voters were noncitizens, yet those officials were only able to verify that 207

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of those alleged noncitizen registered voters were indeed not citizens.⁴¹ A Miami Herald analysis found that nearly 60 percent of the alleged noncitizen voters in Florida are Latino/a.⁴² The situation is much the same in Colorado, where at least 88 percent of voters challenged on the basis of citizenship were found to be U.S. citizens, with the possibility that the other 12 percent may also be citizens.⁴³

Both photo identification and proof of citizenship requirements address a minuscule amount of actual, documented voter fraud and have disproportionately high impacts on people of color. But exactly how many are at risk of disenfranchisement? Let's turn to an analysis of the population of women of color to explore exactly what is at stake.

Scope of disenfranchisement

The disproportionate impact of these voter identification laws on people of color is vast and sweeping, in particular among women of color, as in recent years they are more likely to vote than their male counterparts. Some black women have recognized the problem of voter suppression and have worked to address it as it applies to them,⁴⁴ but it is crucial for us to see the larger picture of what is at stake.

Based on the methodology used by the Black Youth Project to estimate the potential demobilization of youth of color,⁴⁵ we conducted a similar analysis to calculate the disenfranchisement of women of color. As the Black Youth Project did, we included states that require photo identification as well as those that request photo identification from voters but permit a limited number of alternative forms of identification.

Election 2012

Columns 1, 3, and 5 in Appendix 2 show the likely number of Asian, black, and Latina female voters in each state, based on 2011 U.S. Census Bureau estimates and reported turnout rates. Because some claim that 2008 was an historic election, which resulted in higher turnouts of both black and youth populations,⁴⁶ we provided calculations based on turnout rates from both 2008 and 2004. Columns 2, 4, and 6 apply the potential demobilization levels to each population based on Brennan Center indications of the extent to which each population lacks photo identification. Because the Brennan Center study only looked at the racial impact of photo identification laws, and not that of citizenship laws, and because the Census does not track voter turnout rates for American Indian⁴⁷ and Alaska Native populations (Native Hawaiian and Pacific Islander turnout rates are aggregated into the “Asian” category), our estimates are necessarily conservative.

All told, between 596,000 and 959,000 women of color stand to lose their right to vote in the upcoming November 2012 election.⁴⁸

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Future elections

We also provide a separate tally of the voters who stand to be disenfranchised in states that have had their voter identification laws suspended and those where the laws are not yet slated to take effect. For the laws that have been suspended, most of the suspensions are temporary, and many of the laws will go into effect in 2013 and beyond. While these laws have potential demobilizing effects, we only include the impact on these voters in future elections to ensure that our estimates are as precise as possible.

It is worth noting that the suspended laws are still likely to have an effect on the voting process during the November 2012 election for a few reasons: (1) voters are likely to remain confused about what they need to bring to the polls on Election Day and either bring incorrect documentation, or forego the polls altogether⁴⁹ and (2) poll workers may also be confused about whether identification is required and improperly demand it of voters.

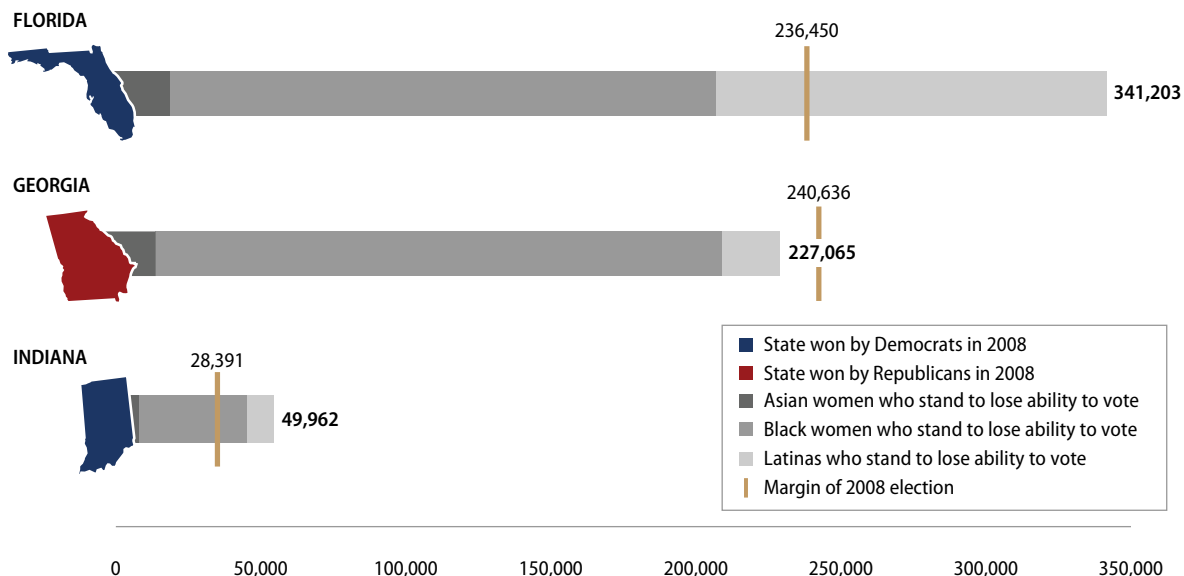
In elections beyond November 2012, an additional 449,000 to 895,000 women of color may lose their right to vote,⁵⁰ resulting in a total of 1.05 million to 1.86 million women of color being disenfranchised.

FIGURE 3

3 key states with high disenfranchisement potential for women of color

Women of color who lose the ability to vote could swing elections

In some key states, the number of women of color who stand to be disenfranchised by the new increasingly stringent photo identification laws number in the thousands. This infographic looks at states where the impact of the voter identification laws will be strongest, comparing the number of disenfranchised voters to the margin of victory (the number of votes by which either candidate won each state) in the 2008 presidential election.



Source: Elizabeth Chen, "A Dual Disenfranchisement" (Washington: Center for American Progress, 2012); Appendix 2, Table 1. "CNN Election Center 2008: President, Full Results," available at <http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2008/results/president/> (last accessed October 2012).

The views of women of color matter

These significant restrictions on the ability for women of color to vote—to make their voices heard—come at a particularly important and historic time. Women’s voices matter more than ever, as they and their reproductive rights are under attack like never before. The right to vote is not only about the ability to have a say about those who govern us; it is also about the ability to have a say in how they govern. Without the right to vote, we lose our voice on laws that directly impact constitutional rights, including the right to decide whether and when to parent and to be able to parent with dignity.

A number of studies have already examined the impact of these new voter suppression tactics on other demographics, including youth of color and the Latino population.⁵¹ But women of color offer important, distinct perspectives that contribute to the political process.

Too often, women of color are subsumed under the general categories of “woman” or “person of color.” Race and gender are treated, as University of California, Los Angeles law professor Kimberlé Crenshaw puts it, as “mutually exclusive categories of experience and analysis.”⁵²

Crenshaw notes, for instance, a tendency among antiracist and Black Nationalist political leaders subsuming and speaking on behalf of a universal black voice, without particular attention paid to the multiple oppressions suffered by women within the community. Angela Harris, University of California, Davis law professor, documents a similar tactic employed within the feminist movement, in which white women have purported to speak for all women.⁵³ This phenomenon is not unique to organizing among the black or feminist communities—University of Florida Levin College of Law professor Berta Esperanza Hernandez-Truyol, too, explains how Latina women are treated as *olvidadas*, forgotten women, subsumed under the general, male-gendered category of “Latino.”⁵⁴

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And yet women of color experience the workplace wage gap, health disparities, and political leadership not only differently from white women, but also from their male peers.⁵⁵ It is simply not enough to assume that the disenfranchisement of women of color can be accounted for in general terms along with the men in their communities, or to be satisfied with white women speaking for all women on reproductive rights.

Historical restrictions on reproduction and responses

Due to vastly different experiences, women of color's attitudes about reproduction can differ dramatically from both white women's opinions and from the views of women in other communities of color.⁵⁶

The dominant society has long intervened in women of color's reproduction. For black women, for example, there is the history of slavery, when slaveowners harnessed black women's bodies to birth children for the purposes of increasing their capital.⁵⁷ In contrast, during the 1800s, the Chinese American community was effectively prevented from having children. While Chinese men built the nation's railroad system, Chinese women were deemed prostitutes and denied visas that would have permitted them to join their husbands.⁵⁷ And as recently as the 1970s, physicians paid by the state routinely sterilized African American, American Indian, Alaska Native, Mexican American, and Puerto Rican women without their knowledge or consent, to serve the political end of "reducing welfare rolls,"⁵⁹ among other objectives.

Reproductive justice activists have recognized that their struggles for reproductive health are often different from those of white women. While women of color were targets of coercive sterilization and advocated for increased regulation of its practice, white women fought to have access to voluntary sterilization as part of acceptable routine medical care.⁶⁰ The groups were campaigning for the same goal at heart—increasing the opportunities that women had for self-determination and consent-based medical care—but their disparate experiences led them to advocate for divergent policy outcomes.

The dominant society has long intervened in women of color's reproduction.

Contemporary regulations of reproduction of women of color

The practices described above are not merely remnants of the past. Women of color have a lot at stake in this upcoming election. Governmental efforts to control how and when they have children still take place today.

More than twenty years ago, University of Pennsylvania law professor Dorothy Roberts documented how laws were being used to punish women, a majority of whom are black, whose babies tested positive for drugs.⁶¹ Studies have shown that the babies of African American women are 1.5 times more likely to be tested for drugs than those of white women, even though positive tests occurred at equal rates among the groups.⁶² And while one might think that the policing of black women who choose to have children are historical relics, these practices are ongoing.⁶³ Black mothers are still stereotyped as drug addicts and their babies are still being tested for drugs, even though there is no evidence that shows that black women are more likely to use drugs than white women.

Earlier this year, American women of East and South Asian descent were targeted by House Republicans with the “Prenatal Nondiscrimination Act,” which relied on a stereotype that these women use abortion to select their children based on sex.⁶⁴ While the bill failed to pass, it placed the health choices of these women under increased scrutiny, potentially turning even ordinary conversations with physicians about sonograms into inquisitions.

Conservatives have even attacked the Fourteenth Amendment’s guarantee of birthright citizenship, believing that undocumented immigrants cross borders to “drop” and “anchor” children and thereby gain citizenship and social services for their offspring.⁶⁵ But it is the promise of work and security, not citizenship, that brings women to the United States, where some end up having children⁶⁶ and many continue to support children in their home countries. The cost and danger of entering the United States without proper documentation has led undocumented immigrants to deepen their roots, instead of continuing the once circular flow of economic migration. The attacks on birthright citizenship on both the federal and state levels have been overt assaults on pregnant immigrant women and their children.⁶⁷

Attacks on all women

On the state level, in the first nine months of 2012 alone, 22 states passed a total of 61 new provisions restricting women's access to reproductive health care.⁶⁸ These measures range from cutting family planning funding to undermining contraceptive coverage protections to requiring HIV testing of pregnant women to forcing women to submit to ultrasounds prior to an abortion. These new laws threaten women's ability to access needed health services and, in some circumstances, even criminalize them for seeking services such as substance abuse treatment.

On the federal level, the House of Representatives took 55 anti-woman votes in the last two years.⁶⁹ While the Senate defeated harmful legislation, the breadth of the attacks on women is astounding. The House tried to allow insurance companies to discriminate against women, deny affordable coverage for preventive services, restrict abortion access, remove key nutrition plans for women and children, upend programs that protect women from violence, take away guaranteed coverage for maternity care, cut back Medicare and Medicaid, and undermine the implementation of protections against toxic mercury pollution thereby threatening women's pregnancies.⁷⁰

Many of these policies would have disproportionately affected women of color, who represent 53.2 percent of uninsured women⁷¹ and who suffer from a number of health disparities due to economic inequities and structural racism, which have led to high rates of diabetes, heart disease, hypertension, maternal mortality, unintended pregnancy, abortion, and sexually transmitted infections.⁷²

These are merely the most recent iterations of attempts to regulate women's bodies, but they highlight the importance of maintaining women of color's ability to protect their constitutional rights by protecting their right to vote.

Conclusion

A substantial amount of debate has been devoted to voter identification laws and their disenfranchising effect. A similar amount of analysis has been conducted on the increasing attacks on women's reproductive rights. And yet, almost nothing has been said about how these two issues tie together and affect women of color. It's clear that the disenfranchisement of women of color has a twofold effect: First it removes them from the political process and then it denies them a voice on matters that directly affect their lives, including their ability to access reproductive health care, make decisions about whether, when, and how to parent, and ultimately shape the course of their lives.

This analysis shows that women of color stand to be disenfranchised at unprecedented rates due to the new voter identification laws in effect for Election 2012 and beyond. They are at risk of losing their fundamental right to vote and as a consequence their ability to speak out to protect their constitutional right to reproductive autonomy.

The solutions are simple: Stop disenfranchising voters and stop attacking women's reproductive rights. Women of color are a growing population, highly invested in their right to vote. We must protect that right and ensure that their voices are heard.

Appendix 1

Gender differences in voter turnout by race

2008

	Percentage who reported voting		Number who reported voting	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
APIA	47.5	47.6	1.8 million	1.6 million
Black	68.1	60.5	9.4 million	6.7 million
Hispanic	51.8	47.9	5.1 million	4.6 million
White	67.9	64.2	53.0 million	46.9 million

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, "Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2008 - Detailed Tables," available at <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/socdemo/voting/publications/p20/2008/tables.html> (last accessed October 2012).

2004

	Percentage who reported voting		Number who reported voting	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
APIA	30.5	29.0	1.5 million	1.3 million
Black	59.8	51.8	8.3 million	5.7 million
Hispanic	30.9	25.2	4.1 million	3.5 million
White	62.0	58.6	56.2 million	50.4 million

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, "Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2004 - Detailed Tables," available at <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/socdemo/voting/publications/p20/2004/tables.html> (last accessed October 2012).

2000

	Percentage who reported voting		Number who reported voting	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
APIA	24.9	26.0	1.1 million	1.0 million
Black	57.3	50.0	8.3 million	5.7 million
Hispanic	29.8	25.1	4.1 million	3.5 million
White	61.6	59.2	56.2 million	50.4 million

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, "Voting and Registration in the Election of November 2000 - Detailed Tables," available at <http://www.census.gov/hhes/www/socdemo/voting/publications/p20/2000/tables.html> (last accessed October 2012).

Appendix 2

TABLE 1

Possible voter suppression in 2012 of women of color's turnout based on 2008 turnout levels

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
States	Predicted number of 2012 Asian American women voters	Possible reduction in Asian American women turnout with 86 percent photo ID possession rate	Predicted number of 2012 black women voters	Possible reduction in black women turnout with 75 percent photo ID possession rate	Predicted number of 2012 Latina voters	Possible reduction in Latina turnout with 84 percent photo ID possession rate	Total possible reduction in turnout among women voters of color
<i>Florida</i>	97,442	13,642	762,909	190,727	855,215	136,834	341,203
Georgia	61,504	8,611	793,044	198,261	126,210	20,194	227,065
<i>Hawaii</i>	112,628	15,768	4,695	1,174	20,472	3,276	20,217
<i>Idaho</i>	4,019	563	1,587	397	26,310	4,210	5,169
Indiana	19,781	2,769	151,015	37,754	58,992	9,439	49,962
Kansas	13,079	1,831	39,597	9,899	45,269	7,243	18,973
<i>Louisiana</i>	13,673	1,914	381,979	95,495	32,531	5,205	102,614
<i>Michigan</i>	45,652	6,391	370,907	92,727	70,129	11,221	110,339
<i>New Hampshire</i>	5,441	762	2,887	722	6,566	1,051	2,534
<i>South Dakota</i>	1,465	205	1,741	435	3,248	520	1,160
Tennessee	18,129	2,538	284,157	71,039	42,927	6,868	80,446
Total	698,803	97,832	4,991,533	1,247,883	3,186,668	509,867	959,682

Sources: Columns 1, 3, 5: Author's calculations from U.S. Census Bureau, 2011 population estimates and tables in Appendix 1.

Columns 2, 4, 6: Author's calculations based on percentages from Brennan Center's "Citizens without Proof" and Latino Decisions reports.⁷³

States in bold have strict photo identification laws in place for November 2012; voters are required to show photo identification prior to voting. States in italics request photo identification from voters, but will permit a limited number of alternative forms of identification.⁷⁴

TABLE 2

Additional voter suppression beyond 2012 of women of color's turnout based on 2008 turnout levels

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
States	Predicted number of 2012 Asian American women voters	Possible reduction in Asian American women turnout with 86 percent photo ID possession rate	Predicted number of 2012 black women voters	Possible reduction in black women turnout with 75 percent photo ID possession rate	Predicted number of 2012 Latina voters	Possible reduction in Latina turnout with 84 percent photo ID possession rate	Total possible reduction in turnout among women voters of color
Alabama*	10,761	1,506	343,822	85,955	26,617	4,259	91,721
Mississippi*	5,286	740	288,308	72,077	11,596	1,855	74,672
Pennsylvania*	68,463	9,585	358,155	89,539	122,584	19,613	118,737
South Carolina*	12,213	1,710	352,292	88,073	35,098	5,616	95,398
Texas*	186,806	26,153	769,753	192,438	1,652,286	264,366	482,957
Wisconsin*	22,461	3,145	84,686	21,171	50,618	8,099	32,415
Total	698,803	97,832	4,991,533	1,247,883	3,186,668	509,867	895,900

Sources: Columns 1, 3, 5: Author's calculations from U.S. Census Bureau, 2011 population estimates and tables in Appendix 1.

Columns 2, 4, 6: Author's calculations based on percentages from Brennan Center's "Citizens without Proof" and Latino Decisions reports.⁷⁵

States in bold have strict photo identification laws in place for November 2012; voters are required to show photo identification prior to voting. States in italics request photo identification from voters, but will permit a limited number of alternative forms of identification. States with an asterisk (*) have passed photo identification requirements, but as of this writing, their laws will not be in effect in November 2012.⁷⁶

TABLE 3

Possible voter suppression in 2012 of women of color's turnout based on 2004 Turnout Levels

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
States	Predicted number of 2012 Asian American women voters	Possible reduction in Asian American women turnout with 86 percent photo ID possession rate	Predicted number of 2012 black women voters	Possible reduction in black women turnout with 75 percent photo ID possession rate	Predicted number of 2012 Latina women voters	Possible reduction in Latina women turnout with 84 percent photo ID possession rate	Total possible reduction in turnout among women voters of color
<i>Florida</i>	62,568	8,759	456,219	114,055	264,261	42,282	165,096
Georgia	39,492	5,529	793,044	198,261	38,999	6,240	210,030
<i>Hawaii</i>	72,319	10,125	2,807	702	6,326	1,012	11,839
<i>Idaho</i>	2,581	361	949	237	8,130	1,301	1,899
Indiana	12,702	1,778	90,307	22,577	18,229	2,917	27,272
Kansas	8,398	1,176	23,679	5,920	13,988	2,238	9,334
<i>Louisiana</i>	8,779	1,229	228,423	57,106	10,052	1,608	59,943
<i>Michigan</i>	29,314	4,104	221,803	55,451	21,670	3,467	63,022
<i>New Hampshire</i>	3,493	489	1,726	432	2,029	325	1,245
<i>South Dakota</i>	941	132	1,041	260	1,004	161	553
Tennessee	11,641	1,630	169,926	42,481	13,264	2,122	46,233
Total	448,705	62,819	3,303,740	825,935	984,680	157,549	596,466

Source: Columns 1, 3, 5: Author's calculations from U.S. Census Bureau, 2011 population estimates and tables in Appendix 1.

Columns 2, 4, 6: Author's calculations based on percentages from Brennan Center's "Citizens without Proof" and Latino Decisions reports.⁷⁷

States in bold have strict photo identification laws in place for November 2012; voters are required to show photo identification prior to voting. States in italics request photo identification from voters, but will permit a limited number of alternative forms of identification.⁷⁸

TABLE 4

Additional voter suppression beyond 2012 of women of color's turnout based on 2004 turnout levels

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
States	Predicted number of 2012 Asian American women voters	Possible reduction in Asian American women turnout with 86 percent photo ID possession rate	Predicted number of 2012 black women voters	Possible reduction in black women turnout with 75 percent photo ID possession rate	Predicted number of 2012 Latina voters	Possible reduction in Latina turnout with 84 percent photo ID possession rate	Total possible reduction in turnout among women voters of color
Alabama*	6,909	967	205,606	51,401	8,225	1,316	53,685
Mississippi*	3,394	475	172,408	43,102	3,583	573	44,151
Pennsylvania*	43,960	6,154	214,177	53,544	37,878	6,061	65,759
South Carolina*	7,842	1,098	210,670	52,668	10,845	1,735	55,501
Texas*	119,949	16,793	460,313	115,078	510,556	81,689	213,560
Wisconsin*	14,422	2,019	50,642	12,661	15,641	2,503	17,182
Total	448,705	62,819	3,303,740	825,935	984,680	157,549	449,838

Source: Columns 1, 3, 5: Author's calculations from U.S. Census Bureau, 2011 population estimates and tables in Appendix 1.

Columns 2, 4, 6: Author's calculations based on percentages from Brennan Center's "Citizens without Proof" and Latino Decisions reports.⁷⁹

States in bold have strict photo identification laws in place for November 2012; voters are required to show photo identification prior to voting. States in italics request photo identification from voters, but will permit a limited number of alternative forms of identification. States with an asterisk (*) have passed photo identification requirements, but as of this writing, their laws will not be in effect in November 2012.⁸⁰

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