

MAPPING THE VOTE:
EXPANDING THE MINORITY YOUNG ADULT ELECTORATE
IN WASHINGTON STATE

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21 March 2014

Introduction

The act of voting represents both an affirmation of one's citizenship and one's formal ability to impact electoral outcomes. However, the electoral turnout rates of young voters and voters of color generally lag behind those of older voters and white voters. Despite an increase in turnout for the 2008 election and 2012 re-election of Barack Obama, estimates of electoral turnout of young adult voters (those aged 18-29) remained at or slightly below 50 percent for the 2012 general election, compared to approximately two-thirds of voters over age 30.¹ Additionally, while the turnout rate for Blacks (estimated at 66 percent) probably exceeded that of Whites (estimated at 64 percent) in 2012, the estimated rates for Hispanics and Asians remained below 50 percent.² These gaps are increasingly important as the minority electorate grows. The Hispanic electorate is projected to increase from 24 million people to 40 million between 2012 and 2030, which would represent 16 percent of the U.S. electorate; minorities as a whole are projected to increase to 36 percent of the electorate (growing from 61 million to 93 million people), including a large increase in young adult minority voters.³ In other words, the potential electoral power of minority groups is increasing, and this power will be more fully actualized the more people, particularly young adults, vote.

In recent years, surrounding President Obama's two victories and commensurate with the growth of the minority electorate, the issue of minority, young adult, and minority young adult political participation has increasingly entered into the national political consciousness. In particular, the Hispanic electorate is often referred to as a 'sleeping giant' with the power

¹ "America Goes to the Polls," Nonprofit Vote, accessed 16 February 2014, <http://www.nonprofitvote.org/documents/2013/09/america-goes-to-the-polls-2012-voter-participation-gaps-in-the-2012-presidential-election.pdf>; "Updated Estimate: Youth Turnout was 50% in 2012," The Center for Information & Research on Civic Learning and Engagement (CIRCLE), 9 November 2012, accessed 16 February 2014, <http://www.civicyouth.org/updated-estimate-50-of-youth-turnout-in-2012-youth-turnout-in-battleground-states-58/>.

² Thom File, "The Diversifying Electorate: Voting Rates by Race and Hispanic Origin in 2012 (and Other Recent Elections)," United States Census Bureau, May 2013, accessed 16 February 2014, <http://www.census.gov/prod/2013pubs/p20-568.pdf>.

³ Paul Taylor, Ana Gonzalez-Barrera, Jeffrey S. Passel, and Mark Hugo Lopez, "An Awakened Giant: The Hispanic Electorate is Likely to Double by 2030," PEW Hispanic, 14 November 2012, accessed 10 February 2014, <http://www.pewhispanic.org/2012/11/14/an-awakened-giant-the-hispanic-electorate-is-likely-to-double-by-2030/>.

to swing national elections towards the party that succeeds in attracting the bulk of its votes; at the same time, it is certainly not mere coincidence that a number of Hispanic politicians have become more prominent and recognizable within both of the major parties, including Republican senators Ted Cruz and Marco Rubio, and the Democratic mayor of San Antonio and 2012 DNC keynote speaker, Julian Castro.⁴ Additionally, various organizations, such as Pew (Pew Hispanic Trends Project) and Tufts University's CIRCLE (Center for Information and Research of Civic Learning and Engagement), study national trends in youth and minority political engagement, while organizations such as rockthevote.org actively seek to engage young adults in the electoral process.

Despite this expansion of attention and interest in minority and young adult political participation on the national level, in Washington State it seems that there are few efforts to politically engage and empower young minorities. Furthermore, there seems to be a dearth of information regarding where such efforts should focus their energies to achieve concrete political impact. Our research seeks to take a substantial step toward filling the latter void. Most generally, we ask “where, geographically, would efforts to inform, register, and mobilize young adults (age 18-29) of color, particularly Hispanics, be most effectively allocated to achieve the greatest impact on electoral outcomes?” To this end, we used geographic information system (GIS) software to compile and analyze (1) Census Bureau racial and ethnic demographic data at various geographic levels, in order to understand where young adults from different minority groups are most concentrated and in which areas they comprise a particularly large proportion of the voting age population (VAP); (2) voter registration data from 12 select counties, sorted by Hispanic ethnicity, in order to understand where Hispanics are registered at the lowest and highest rates; and (3) electoral turnout data provided by Washington's Secretary of State office sorted by age and Hispanic ethnicity, in order to

⁴ However, within Washington there is a lack of generally recognizable Hispanic figures. Current Hispanic representatives include U.S. representative Jaime Herrera Beutler (R-3rd District) and state representative Luis Moscoso (D-1st District); additionally, Phyllis Gutierrez Kenney served seven terms as a state representative for the 46th district, retiring from office in 2012.

understand where turnout rates are highest and lowest among young adult voters, Hispanic voters, and Hispanic young adult voters.

Furthermore, following recent scholarship highlighting the strong influence of sociocultural context and social networks on individuals' voting behavior and group voting trends, we investigate the three social environments of higher education, the criminal justice system, and employment. The sociocultural interactions that take place within these environments shape individual political behavior, and we presume that, as potentially prominent environments in the lives of many individuals, these three sectors may merit being targeted by engagement efforts, either specifically or in combination. Thus we ask, "where, within the social environments of higher education, the criminal justice system, and employment, would efforts to inform, register, and mobilize young adults of color achieve the greatest electoral impact?" For this purpose we examine (1) racial and ethnic enrollment data for higher education institutions in Washington in conjunction with a handful of interviews of faculty and members of campus organizations; (2) Washington Department of Corrections prison population and racial/ethnic demographic data, as well as two interviews, one with the director of a criminal re-entry program and one with an organizer for a criminal justice reform campaign; and (3) state and county industry employment data broken down by age, and state and county occupational data for Hispanics.

The following values animate our research:

- Every person can and should be included and engaged in all levels of politics in Washington State.
- Minority young adults should see themselves and be seen as legitimate and effective political actors.
- Entire communities are best served when all residents are included and empowered in the political process rather than alienated and marginalized.

We hope that the information and analysis here will strengthen and guide concrete, practical efforts to more closely realize these core values.

We conducted this project in partnership with Laura Flores Cantrell, Executive Director of the Latino Community Fund of Washington (LCF). Ms. Flores Cantrell specified the broad lines of inquiry for this report, including the investigation into the higher education, criminal justice, and employment environments; helped to guide and focus our research; provided important contacts for data collection; and shared with us the knowledge and perspective of somebody already working in the practical arena of community engagement and mobilization into which this report enters.

Literature Review

The substantially and consistently lower turnout rates of young voters and minority voters perhaps feeds a notion that these groups are not good targets for mobilization efforts. What is clear from previous scholarship, however, is that minority, young adult, and minority young adult individuals and populations who otherwise would rarely vote can be mobilized to vote at substantial rates through get-out-the-vote (GOTV) efforts. This finding is increasingly salient as the potential power of the minority electorate increases in relation to Whites⁵ and as organizations and political actors seek to actualize and capture this power. We believe it is in the broader public interest to include and, further, *empower* these large and growing categories of Americans within the mainstream U.S. political system; we believe that the inclusion and empowerment of these groups is a necessary piece of creating a more just

⁵ Seth Motel and Eileen Patten, “Statistical Portrait of Hispanics in the United States, 2011,” PEW Hispanic, 15 February 2013, accessed 16 February 2014, http://www.pewhispanic.org/files/2013/02/Statistical-Portrait-of-Hispanics-in-the-United-States-2011_FINAL.pdf.

society for all people in the United States; and we are optimistic that GOTV efforts can play a key part in this ongoing process of inclusion and empowerment.⁶

In the first section of the review, we briefly examine and link recent theories of voter turnout, accounts of how minorities are excluded from political participation in the United States, and a theorization of how GOTV can transform U.S. politics in normatively positive ways. Here we hope to work towards answering the questions, (1) essentially, what is the task of a GOTV interaction such that it will prompt an individual to vote?; (2) what structural and cognitive barriers particular to minority and youth political participation must GOTV efforts keep in mind and address when targeting these groups?; and (3) why is it normatively important and desirable to target these populations with GOTV mobilization programs? In the second section, we review the empirical literature on GOTV campaigns, aiming to offer insight into how organizations should carry out such efforts. In the third section, we review scholarship that explores or relates to the connection between minority voting behavior the social environments of higher education, criminal justice, and employment. We write this third section in light of the insights from the previous two in order to help conceptualize how and why organizations might want to hone in on these environments when conducting GOTV efforts.

Theories of Voting Behavior and Young Adult Minority Voters

Contemporary Theories: Sociocultural Cognition and Conditional Choice

⁶ Although throughout this review we refer to GOTV efforts, we suggest that many of the insights and principles we review apply to efforts to register voters, as well, though we acknowledge the differences.

Based on an extensive statistical and qualitative analysis, Garcia Bedolla and Michelson develop what they term a “Sociocultural Cognition Model of Voting Behavior.”⁷ The decision to vote, within this model, is rooted in cognitive conceptions and categorizations (schemata) formed by an individual *within* the context of “the social and cultural factors that frame experience, including... ethnoracial identifications.”⁸ According to Garcia Bedolla and Michelson, “schema[ta] provide the bridge between the individual and the social world. It is through cognitive schema[ta] that individuals organize their understanding of who they are and how they should act.”⁹ Thus, to successfully mobilize a previous non-voter, a GOTV interaction must introduce a new idea into the individual’s mind that taps into his or her existing schemata and leads to the development of a new or altered self-conceptualization as a voter.

Rolfe presents a similar theorization of voting behavior based on the conditional choice model.¹⁰ According to her, “conditional choice posits that individual choices are a function of the subjective social meaning of the situation and of the observed and/or expected choices of other people.”¹¹ Essentially, she argues individuals choose to vote largely from their perception of how members of their social network act or ought to act.¹² Thus, for Rolfe the fundamental task is not so much framed as altering the individual’s self-conceptions (although this is an essential outcome), as it is Garcia Bedolla and Michelson. Rather, she frames the fundamental task as altering both the individual’s (a) expectations of group

⁷ Lisa Garcia Bedolla and Melissa Michelson, *Mobilizing Inclusion: Transforming the Electorate Through Get-Out-the-Vote Campaigns*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 3. The authors statistically analyze 268 randomized field experiments carried out in partnership with community organizations from 2006-2008 as part of the California Votes Initiative. Additionally, they analyze qualitative findings based on 3,000 hours of field observation by trained assistants.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 3-6.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 7.

¹⁰ Meredith Rolfe, *Voter Turnout: A Social Theory of Political Participation*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 4.

¹² *Ibid.*

behavior, and (b) conceptions of the shared norms and meanings of those to which he or she is socially connected.¹³

It is not difficult to reconcile the two theories above; Garcia Bedolla and Michelson certainly see individual self-conceptions as reflecting the norms and behaviors of groups of which the individual identifies as a part. However, we note that in Rolfe's framework, the emphasis is more on the aggregate than the individual. As such GOTV becomes not only about many discrete, individual shifts but also about an interconnected and overlapping web of group-level shifts, a point to which we will return.

Structural and Cognitive Barriers to Minority Voting

In the theories summarized above, we see individual cognitive schemata and behavior situated firmly within and shaped heavily by the individual's social network and broader socio-cultural context. In turn, the broader circumstances that contextualize individual experience and behavior are shaped by historical, socio-political power structures and representations. Here, we briefly examine accounts of how racialized, exclusionary power structures and conceptions of who counts as a citizen have developed in the United States, and theorizations of how these impact the political participation and voting behavior of racial and ethnic minorities.

Garcia Bedolla and Michelson write, "structures of power... are especially important when considering... low-propensity... ethnoracial voters... belong[ing] to those social groups that have been most excluded from the polity, currently and historically."¹⁴ Omi and Winant argue that racial power structures and representations in the United States have been shaped

¹³ These theories supplant models that conceptualize political 'resources' as predictive of voting participation, which in turn built off of models which saw socioeconomic status at the root of voting. See, for example, Henry Brady, Sidney Verba, and Kay Lehman Schlozman, "Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation," *The American Political Science Review* 89, no. 2 (1995).

¹⁴ Garcia Bedolla and Michelson, *Mobilizing Inclusion*, 17.

by over two centuries of what they term “racial dictatorship,” ultimately resulting in two important social outcomes: (1) the equation of “Americanness” and citizenship with whiteness in contrast to “racialized ‘otherness’—at first largely African and indigenous, later Latin American and Asian as well”; and (2) race becoming the “fundamental division in U.S. society.. [driving] not only through institutions, but also through psyches, [and] extending up to our own time.”¹⁵ Garcia Bedolla and Michelson argue, “individuals in the United States possess common, historically based conceptions of what voters look like, which people should be engaged in this type of activity, and what political and social meanings are attached to this engagement.”¹⁶ What this means is that GOTV efforts targeting those from excluded racial and ethnic groups must overcome the powerful anti-participatory force of these racialized and exclusionary structures and schemata so prevalent in the United States. Under Rolfe’s framework this presents a particular challenge, because to accomplish this at the individual level efforts must change community-level expectations that, as we have seen, are in turn shaped by national structures and broad aggregate perceptions. However, it is this transformation of aggregate level perceptions and structures in which the theoretical power of GOTV efforts to positively transform American politics lies.

The Potential Transformative Power of GOTV

It follows from Rolfe’s framework and is explicitly argued by Garcia Bedolla and Michelson that the individual-level cognitive redefinition that leads a previous non-voter to vote is both a redefinition of the self *and* a reconceptualization of those social groups of which the individual identifies as a member. This in turn increases the possibility that others in the same group will experience a similar redefinition, and that those outside of the group

¹⁵ Omi and Winant, *Racial Formation*, 66; Joel Olson, *The Abolition of White Democracy*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2004).

¹⁶ Garcia Bedolla and Michelson, *Mobilizing Inclusion*, 18.

will change their conceptions of that group. Since the act of voting is a quintessential expression of citizenship in the United States, this transforms the “individual act of voting into a potentially transformative redefinition of the American electorate [and]... U.S. citizenship.”¹⁷ In essence, the potential theoretical power of GOTV is a reconceptualization, in the minds of many, of who counts as an American and who should have a say in political decisions. However, this power hinges upon the ability of efforts to make the jump from the individual level to shifting aggregate schemata and sparking collective, concerted action; this in turn suggests that efforts themselves must be substantial, concerted, and part of a larger coherent strategy.

GOTV Tactics and Campaign Quality

Evidence that ‘Personal Methods’ Beat ‘Impersonal Methods’

What tactics should GOTV efforts use to increase turnout and registration? Scholars have produced a large body of literature on this topic, and the consensus is that face-to-face and phone canvassing campaigns - ‘personal methods’ - can, when properly executed, be highly effective methods for increasing turnout; further, this finding holds for groups who

¹⁷ Garcia Bedolla and Michelson, *Mobilizing Inclusion*, 19-20.

typically do not vote at high rates, such as minorities and young adults.¹⁸ Conversely, more ‘impersonal’ methods, such as robo-calls, mailings and leaflets produce marginal gains at best.¹⁹ Garcia Bedolla and Michelson explain in their view the efficacy of personal methods over impersonal methods: “because the canvassing conversation is a narrative-based sociocultural interaction [it] provides a set of social cues” which can set in motion the processes described in the previous section.²⁰

Campaign Quality

¹⁸ Michelson and Garcia Bedolla *Mobilizing Inclusion*; Alan Gerber and Donald Green, “The Effects of Canvassing, Direct Mail, and Telephone Contact on Voter Turnout: A Field Experiment,” *American Political Science Review* 94, no. 3 (2000); Donald Green, Alan Gerber and David Nickerson, “Getting Out the vote in Local Elections: Results from Six Door-to-Door Canvassing Experiments,” *Journal of Politics* 65, no. 4 (Nov 2003); Melissa Michelson, “Meeting the Challenge of Latino Voter Mobilization,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 601 (Sept 2005); Ricardo Ramirez, “Segmented Mobilization: Latino Nonpartisan Get-Out-the-Vote Efforts in the 2000 General Election,” *American Politics Research* 35, no. 2 (March 2007); Ricardo Ramirez, “Giving Voice to Latino Voters: A Field Experiment on the Effectiveness of a National Nonpartisan Mobilization Effort,” *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 601 (2005); J. Ryan Lamare, “Union Influence on Voter Turnout: Results From Three Los Angeles County Elections,” *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 63, no. 3 (April 2010); J. Ryan Lamare, “The Interactive Effects of Labor-Led Political Mobilization and Vote Propensity on Turnout: Evidence from Five Elections,” *Industrial Relations* 49, no. 4 (Sept 2010); Richard Matland and Gregg Murray, “An Experimental Test of Mobilization Effects in a Latino Community,” *Political Research Quarterly* 65, no. 1 (2012).

¹⁹ Michelson and Garcia Bedolla *Mobilizing Inclusion*; Gerber and Green “The Effects of Canvassing”; Alan Gerber and Donald Green, “Do Phone Calls Increase Turnout?,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 65 (Spring 2001); David Nickerson, “Volunteer Phone Calls Can Increase Turnout: Evidence from Eight Field Experiments,” *American Politics Research* 34, (May 2006); David Nickerson, “Quality is Job One: Professional and Volunteer Voter Mobilization Calls,” *American Journal of Political Science* 51, no. 2 (April 2007); David Nickerson, “Can E-mail Boost Turnout?,” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 2, no. 4 (2007); Marisa Abrajano and Costas Panagopoulos, “Does Language Matter? The Impact of Spanish Versus English-Language GOTV Efforts on Latino Turnout,” *American Politics Research* 39, no. 4 (2011); Daron Shaw, Donald Green, James Gimpel, and Alan Gerber, “Can Robo-Calls from Reliable Sources Influence Voter Turnout or Vote Choice? Evidence from a Randomized Field Experiment,” *Journal of Political Marketing* 11, no. 4 (2012); Matland and Murray, “An Experimental Test”; Neil Malhotra, Melissa Michelson, and Ali Valenzuela, “Research Note: Emails from Official Sources Can Increase Turnout,” *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 7, no. 3 (2012).

²⁰ Michelson and Garcia Bedolla, *Mobilizing Inclusion*, 6.

The question, then, becomes how best to execute canvassing campaigns. Nickerson raises the notion of quality, providing convincing evidence that the tone and delivery of phone calls can be the difference between no increase in turnout and a substantial increase in turnout.²¹ Garcia Bedolla and Michelson build substantially on this topic of quality, drawing on over 3,000 hours of qualitative field observation to draw out important factors and organizational practices that determine the impact of GOTV campaigns.²² They identify four key areas:

1. *Recruitment*: effective canvassers are difficult to find and keep; organizations must have a dedicated strategy to recruit, train, motivate, and retain them. The most successful organizations are able to foster in their canvassers a spirit of camaraderie, mutual purpose, collective responsibility, and commitment to the organization.²³
2. *Training and Feedback*: Adequate training is crucial for canvassers to effectively deliver the GOTV message to targeted voters. Establishing strong communication channels both solidifies the commitment of canvassers by making them feel heard, and provides organizations with valuable critical feedback.²⁴
3. *Supervision*: Getting canvassers to deliver the GOTV message properly and accurately is the most ubiquitous challenge; organizations that engaged in ongoing training and supervision ran more consistent and effective campaigns.²⁵
4. *Language*: In heavily Hispanic areas, bilingual canvassers are extremely valuable.²⁶

Garcia Bedolla and Michelson conclude this discussion by emphasizing the tremendous amount of capacity, resources, and planning necessary for organizations to conduct effective

²¹ Nickerson, "Volunteer Phone Calls"; Nickerson, "Quality is Job One."

²² Garcia Bedolla and Michelson, *Mobilizing Inclusion*.

²³ *Ibid.*, 133-135.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 138.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 138-141.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 166.

and enduring GOTV efforts. “Specifically... three key areas of organizational capacity... must be *maintained between electoral cycles*... (1) growing and maintaining a volunteer base; (2) hiring and training staff; and (3) integrating GOTV efforts into a broad community-oriented policy program.”²⁷ The authors especially stress the importance that GOTV efforts both be a regular part of an organization and fit coherently into its broader goals, rather than being a temporary and poorly connected aspect.

Minority Young Adult Voting and the Social Environments of Higher Education, Criminal Justice, and Employment

Here we shift gears to focus on scholarship that relates to or examines the connection between minority young adult voting behavior and the social environments of higher education, the criminal justice system, and employment. As potentially prominent environments in the lives of many individuals, these environments contain and foster substantial social networks and represent important sociocultural contexts that GOTV campaigns may wish to tap into when seeking to mobilize minority young adults.

Higher Education

Access to higher education is frequently associated with political participation; for example, Long finds that, despite a diminishing correlation in the last thirty years, more exposure to a higher quality post-secondary education positively correlates with voter registration rates.²⁸ People often consider education a political “resource” that promotes political engagement;²⁹ however, Rolfe asks us to reconsider: “education may be intrinsically and instrumentally valuable in many ways, but it does not have an independent role in

²⁷ Ibid., 170. Our italics.

²⁸ Mark C. Long, “Changes in the Returns to Education and College Quality,” *Economics of Education Review* 29, no. 3 (2010): 341.

²⁹ For example, Sidney Verba, Kay Lehman Schlozman, Henry Brady and Norman H. Nie, “Race, Ethnicity, and Political Resources: Participation in the United States,” *British Journal of Political Science* 23, no. 4 (1993): 457; Brady, Verba, and Schlozman, “Beyond SES.”

encouraging voting, whether by making participation seem more desirable or less costly. Rather, education provides access to a world rich in social ties and the institutions that foster such ties.”³⁰ In essence, Rolfe finds that education is not itself the root causal factor, but rather the networks and relationships it gives access to, creates, and nurtures.

Affirmative action policies in education provide an example of how official state or institutional policies can impact minority political engagement. Blume and Long compare minority enrollment in higher education institutions in states that recently removed affirmative action policies, finding that minority enrollment in competitive public universities decreased by 23% after removal of such policies.³¹ The consequence is that substantially fewer minorities gain access to and develop the relationships these institutions can provide, which in turn contributes to perpetuating low minority political participation rates.

Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs) fill a particular niche in educating Hispanics. The federal government defines HSIs as institutions with at least a 25 percent Hispanic enrollment of undergraduate, full-time equivalent students, which the Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities (HACU) accredits.³² These institutions are noted as “the de facto starting point for most Hispanics [entering the higher education system],” and Hispanic students are disproportionately concentrated in these schools: HSIs enrolled only 17% of all students at non-profit post-secondary institutions in 2011; however these 353 institutions enrolled 57% of Latino college students.³³ These campuses offer a particular sociocultural context that might be tapped into to politically engage and empower Hispanic students. Besides enrolling

³⁰ Rolfe, *Voter Turnout*, 188.

³¹ Grant H. Blume and Mark C. Long, “Changes in Levels of Affirmative Action in College Admissions in Response to Statewide Bans and Judicial Rulings,” *Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis* (2013): 15. The authors analyze public university enrollment figures among schools with reported median SAT scores above 1,100 in Alabama, California, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, Texas, and Washington.

³² Emily Calderón Galdeano, Antonio R. Flores, and John Moder, “The Hispanic Association of Colleges and Universities and Hispanic-Serving Institutions: Partners in the Advancement of Hispanic Higher Education,” *Journal of Latinos and Education* 11, no. 3 (2012): 158.

³³ Galdeano, Flores, and Moder, “The Hispanic Association of Colleges.”

relatively high concentration of Hispanic students, these institutions deliberately provide curricula directly relevant to Hispanics, and explicitly seek to recruit and support Hispanic students.³⁴

Criminal Justice and Re-entry

Next, we examine the criminal justice system as it relates to the political involvement of young adult minority populations. Generally, scholars find that individuals are less likely to vote if they have a criminal record.³⁵ In a case study of the 2004 and 2005 elections in Erie County, New York, Haselswerdt concludes only five percent of the ex-felons legally able to vote actually did so.³⁶ Scholars note these individuals are largely young adults, minorities, and minority young adults—populations disproportionately represented in the U.S. criminal justice system.³⁷ In other words, any impact the criminal justice system has on voting directly affects minority youth. The extent of the criminal justice system on political involvement extends most significantly in two arenas—the political disenfranchisement of felons and the challenges facing re-entering citizens.

Laws restricting the right to vote (disenfranchisement policies) vary by state across the nation. Because they bar certain individuals, namely those with criminal records, from

³⁴ Deborah A. Santiago, "Public Policy and Hispanic-Serving Institutions: From Invention to Accountability," *Journal of Hispanics and Education* 11, no. 3 (2012): 165.

³⁵ Randi Hjalmarsson and Mark Lopez, "The Voting Behavior of Young Disenfranchised Felons: Would They Vote if They Could?," *American Law & Economics Review* 12, no. 2 (Fall 2010): 388; Marie Gottschalk, "Hiding in Plain Sight: American Politics and the Carceral State," *Annual Review Of Political Science* 11, no. 1:243.

³⁶ Michael V. Haselswerdt, "Con Job: An Estimate of Ex-Felon Voter Turnout Using Document-Based Data," *Social Science Quarterly* 90, no. 2 (June 2009): 268.

³⁷ E. Ann Carson, Ph.D., and William J. Sabol, Ph.D., "Prisoners in 2011," United States Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, December 2012, accessed 15 November 2013. <http://www.doc.wa.gov/aboutdoc/measuresstatistics/docs/BJReport.Prisonersin2011.pdf>; Ram A. Cnaan, Jeffrey Draine, Beverly Frazier, and Jill W. Sinha, "Ex-Prisoners' Re-Entry: An Emerging Frontier and a Social Work Challenge," *Journal of Policy Practice* 7, no.2-3 (2008): 182; Angela E. Oh and Karen Umemoto, "Asian Americans and Pacific Islanders: From Incarceration to Re-Entry," *Amerasia Journal* 31, no. 3 (2005): 47.

voting, these laws are inherently political.³⁸ Roach states that disenfranchisement policies deny about five million U.S. citizens the right to vote.³⁹ Scholars argue these laws, historically created to prevent African Americans from voting, act as a form of racial politics.⁴⁰ Demeo and Ochoa determine that while these laws prevented 4.12% of Washington State's total citizen voting age population from voting in 2002, they bared 10.59% of the Latino citizen voting age population.⁴¹ We can see that disenfranchisement policies are racialized structures; under Garcia Bedolla and Michelson's framework, we can infer how these racialized structures, which directly foreclose on voting opportunities, also contribute to individual and aggregate schemata that have a powerful impact on young minority participation.

Scholars note between 600,000 and 700,000 people a year are released for re-entry back into society, a significant number of individuals, of which we can infer, stand not only to benefit from the right to vote but potentially form a large group ready for political mobilization.⁴² Generally, scholars concur that these ex-offenders face a multitude of obstacles during the period of re-entry—drug and alcohol addictions, educational and occupational barriers, housing problems, and physical and mental health issues—for which re-

³⁸ Gottschalk, "Hiding in Plain Sight," 243.

³⁹ Ronald Roach, "Returning Home: Scholars Say More Research is Needed on the Societal Re-Entry of the Formerly Incarcerated," *Black Issues In Higher Education* 22, no. 1 (February 24, 2005): 36.

⁴⁰ Erika Wood, *Restoring the Right to Vote*, (New York: Brennan Center for Justice, 2008): 6; Robert R. Preuhs, "State Felon Disenfranchisement Policy," *Social Science Quarterly* 82, no. 4 (December 2001): 736.

⁴¹ Marisa J. Demeo and Steven A. Ochoa, *Diminished Voting Power in the Latino Community: The impact of Felony Disenfranchisement Laws in Ten Targeted States*, (Los Angeles: MALDEF, 2003): 13.

⁴² Carson and Sabol, "Prisoners in 2011," 1; Roach, "Returning Home."

entry programs offer support.⁴³ However, Oh and Umemoto note that re-entry programs often fail to provide specific help for the linguistic and cultural needs of minority groups.⁴⁴ Although the literature discusses many obstacles that face ex-offenders dealing with re-entry and some specifics of re-entry programs, there is a dearth of discussion pertaining to how these obstacles and programs affect voting behavior of the re-entering population.

Employment

Here, we look briefly at the literature on the social sector of employment for lessons relevant to mobilizing workers, particularly young minorities. Surprisingly, we found no studies directly examining voter mobilization occurring in specific workplaces or around specific occupations. However, there exists a body of literature examining the effects of unions, historically prevalent and recognizable institutions of workplace- and occupation-based organization, on voting behavior. Generally speaking, unions are associated with higher rates of voting by members.⁴⁵ Delaney et al. analyze quantitative and qualitative survey data, arguing that labor unions influence voting behavior through “alteration of members’ subjective norms via social cohesion and peer pressure” rather than technical political education,⁴⁶ which is consistent with the theories of voter turnout posited by Garcia Bedolla and Michelson as well as Rolfe. Based on this finding, Delany et al. suggest, “unions would

⁴³ Cnaan et al., “Ex-Prisoners’ Re-Entry”; Nicholas Freudenberg, Megha Ramaswamy, Jessie Daniels, Martha Crum, Danielle C. Ompad and David Vlahov, “Reducing Drug Use, Human Immunodeficiency Virus Risk, and Recidivism Among Young Men Leaving Jail: Evaluation of the REAL MEN Re-entry Program.” *Journal Of Adolescent Health* vol. 47, (2010); Cheryl G. Swanson, Glen Rohrer, and Matthew S. Crow, “Is Criminal Justice Education Ready for Reentry?,” *Journal Of Criminal Justice Education* 21, no. 1 (March 2010); Caroline Wolf Harlow Ph.D., “Education and Correctional Populations,” U.S. Department of Justice, Bureau of Justice Statistics, January 2003, Accessed 15 November 2013, <http://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/ecp.pdf>; Harry J. Holzer, Stephen Raphael, and Michael A. Stoll, “Employment Barriers Facing Ex-offenders,” (New York: Urban Institute Reentry Roundtable, 2003):12.

⁴⁴ Oh and Umemoto, 52.

⁴⁵ John Delaney, Marick F. Masters and Susan Schwochau, “Unionism and Voter Turnout,” *Journal of Labor Research* 9, no. 3; Roland Zullo, “Union Membership and Political Inclusion,” *Industrial and Labor Relations Review* 62, no. 1; Jake Rosenfeld, “Economic Determinants of Voting in an Era of Union Decline,” *Social Science Quarterly* 91, no. 2; Sieg Holger and Yu Wang, “The Impact of Unions on Municipal Elections and Urban Fiscal Policies,” *Journal of Monetary Economics* 60, no. 5.

⁴⁶ Delaney Masters and Schwochau, “Unionism and Voter Turnout,” 233.

benefit from combining political education with programs designed to promote social cohesion among members and their families.”⁴⁷

Prior scholarship suggests employment opportunity as a particular challenge when it comes to mobilizing minorities in the employment sphere. Von Lockette and Johnson find that Hispanics are spatially excluded from employment opportunities in metropolitan labor markets.⁴⁸ Similarly, Larson and Mohanty find that racially segregated neighborhoods negatively impact teen minority employment, as Hispanics and Blacks in particular often live in low-income, high-unemployment neighborhoods with few opportunities in sectors that typically employ teens.⁴⁹ Viewed within Garcia Bedolla and Michelson’s framework and Rolfe’s framework, it seems that young minorities are disproportionately unable to access the web of social ties potentially available and fostered within the world of employment, which impacts their particular schemata and sociocultural context.

Conclusion

Prior scholarship shows that young Hispanics and minorities can be mobilized at substantial rates to impact electoral politics and potentially change the state of their social and political world. Furthermore, the frameworks offered by Rolfe and by Garcia Bedolla and Michelson offer a way of thinking about individual voting behavior which emphasizes social networks and sociocultural context, and links individual schemata with aggregate schemata and structures; Garcia Bedolla and Michelson argue that the link between individual actions and aggregate conceptions situates GOTV efforts as potentially positive transformative agents in American politics.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Niki Dickerson Von Lockette, and Jacqueline Johnson, “Latino Employment and Residential Segregation in Metropolitan Labor Markets,” *Du Bois Review* 7, no. 1 (2010).

⁴⁹ Tom Larson and Madhu Mohanty, “Minority Youth Employment, Residential Location, and Neighborhood Jobs: a Study of Los Angeles County,” *The Review of Black Political Economy* 27, no. 2 (Fall 1999).

Although the literatures relating to the social environments of higher education, criminal justice, and employment do not necessarily directly explore voting behavior or mobilization, following from Garcia Bedolla and Michelson's work and Rolfe's work, these environments are plausible targets for mobilization efforts to focus on due to the social networks and interactions they contain and foster, as well as the particular, shared sociocultural contexts they represent.

In accordance with the values previously stated in the introduction, we believe efforts should seek to politically engage and mobilize young adult Hispanics and minorities in Washington State, and we are optimistic about the potential positive impacts of such efforts. However, there is a dearth of practical information as to geographically *where* organizations and community leaders should focus efforts, and it is this issue that our primary research addresses.

Methodology

In light of this scarcity of practical geographic information, our research seeks to identify where, geographically, young adult Hispanic and minority populations are located within the state of Washington so that resources can be appropriately allocated to inform, register, and mobilize these populations. Further, following Garcia Bedolla and Michelson's work as well as Rolfe's research, and at the request of our partner, we investigated three social environments - employment, education, and criminal justice - for specific opportunities

to engage young members of various communities of color, as these contexts and the interactions they contain potentially shape individual political behavior.

We sought to gather the following types of data:

- Statewide demographic data at various geographic levels to illustrate where Hispanic young adults and young adults from other minority groups are most concentrated.
- Countywide voter registration lists from select counties (chosen based on large Hispanic populations, large Hispanic population proportions, and geographic spread) to calculate Hispanic registration rates and compare them to those of non-Hispanics so as to highlight areas particularly in need of registration efforts or with large discrepancies between Hispanics and non-Hispanics.
- Voter turnout data from the 2012 and 2013 elections to determine where Hispanic and young adult voters are particularly in need of mobilization.
- Racial and ethnic enrollment figures from degree-granting institutions in Washington State, and specific insights from faculty and members of campus organizations relating to political engagement.
- Ethnic and age breakdowns of industry data to highlight industries or occupations that employ the highest concentrations of young Hispanic workers.
- Demographic data of daily inmate totals in Washington State's criminal justice system, geographical data regarding those re-entering society, and qualitative information from re-entry program officials and social justice advocates that work closely with the criminal justice system, so as to understand how the criminal justice system and re-entry environments impact voting behavior.

Statewide Demographic Data:

Procedures for Collection-

We downloaded demographic data for Washington State from American Factfinder on the U.S. Census Bureau's website. In particular, we downloaded tables breaking down the overall population and various race and ethnicity categories into age groups at the state, county, census tract, congressional district, state legislative district, and school district levels. Our state legislative district data comes from 2012 American Community Survey (ACS), while the rest is from 2010 Census data.⁵⁰ We also downloaded spatial data (shapefiles) from the Washington Office of Financial Management's (OFM) website at the same geographic levels with the intent of attaching (joining) the demographic data to the spatial data. We additionally downloaded a census block-level shapefile pre-joined with demographic data broken down by race/ethnicity and age from the OFM.

Procedures for Analysis-

We manipulated the demographic data tables in Excel to tabulate important statistics (total population, voting age population, youth population). We then joined the demographic data to the spatial data and used Geographical Information Systems (GIS) software to symbolize the demographic data visually and spatially. However, our findings are limited in that they do not take into account citizenship status, an important factor of an individual's eligibility to vote. Thus, we overestimate the potential electorate, most significantly the potential Hispanic electorate (calculating the voting age population [VAP] as opposed to the

⁵⁰ Specifically, we downloaded ACS tables B01001, B01001b, B01001c, B01001d, B01001e, B01001f, B01001g, B01001h, and B01001i; and Census tables P12, P12b, P12c, P12d, P12e, P12f, P12g, P12h, and P12i.

citizen voting age population [CVAP]) and therefore the disparities in Hispanic and non-Hispanic registration and turnout rates.

Countywide Voter Registration Data

Procedures for Collection

We filed requests with twelve counties in order to obtain countywide voter registration lists for the purpose of calculating Hispanic registration rates and comparing them to those of non-Hispanics so as to illuminate areas particularly in need of registration efforts or with large discrepancies between Hispanics and non-Hispanics.

Procedures for Analysis

To begin processing the voter registration lists, statistician Jo McGuire first separated the Hispanic registered voter data using the U.S. Census' Hispanic Surname list, a tool estimated to be 94% accurate.⁵¹ We then used GIS to pin-point the location of registered voters based on their address information (geocoding) and according to Washington roads shapefiles. We then removed any mismatched data, or data that addressed to the local zip code rather than a residential address, when geocoded, because these did not indicate precise locations.⁵² Additionally, we manipulated the data in order to form scatter plots and regressions relating Hispanic population proportion and Hispanic registration rate at the county and tract level.

⁵¹ David L. Word and R. Colby Perkins, Jr, "Building a Spanish Surname List for the 1990s, a New Approach to an Old Problem," Technical Working Paper No. 13 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1996).

⁵² This excluded a small range of Hispanics from our analysis, between .6% and 6.6% of the list of Hispanics registered to vote. The full list can be seen in Appendix B.

Voter Turnout Data

Procedures for Collection

The Washington Secretary of State's office supplied Excel files of the 2012 and 2013 elections regarding numbers of individuals at the county level who were registered and who voted, divided into four categories: all registered voters, Hispanic registered voters, registered voters aged 18-29, and Hispanic registered voters aged 18-29.

Procedures for Analysis

We formed bar graphs showing the gap between voter registration and turnout for each election by county and for the state as a whole in excel. Additionally, we joined the files from the Secretary of State with OFM shapefiles to map the number of votes cast over a visual representation of the registration rates by county across the state.

Higher Education Data

Procedures for Collection

In our investigation of the three social environments we aimed to determine to which institutions minority youth are most connected. For education, this included an exploration of higher education institutions that served minority populations particularly well. For this research, we collected undergraduate enrollment data from the National Center of Education Statistics classified by race/ethnicity, age, and full-time status from 2000 and 2011. We also conducted a handful of qualitative interviews with student organizations, faculty, and administrators of various Washington higher education institutions or non-profits associated

with collegiate young adults; such interviews covered effective strategies that promote student political engagement and lasted 15-60 minutes.

Procedures for Analysis

In Excel, we manipulated the enrollment totals to highlight various characteristics such as race, ethnicity, age, part-time/full-time status, as well as changes in these statistics from 2000-2011. Additionally, we plotted 81 higher education institutions using GIS geocoding capabilities. Lastly, we recorded and took notes of the phone interviews, which we reviewed to identify key themes to supplement the quantitative conclusions; some of the interviews were conducted via email correspondence.

Employment Data

Procedures for Collection

To better understand in which industries and occupations young adult Hispanics work in Washington, we downloaded 2012 ACS 5-year estimated occupation data by Hispanic ethnicity at the state and county level from American Factfinder, as well as state and county industry employment data by age group from the Washington Employment Security Department (ESD) web database.

Procedures for Analysis

We manipulated the ESD data in Excel to show data for those aged 14-24. Within each county, we compared the ESD data to the ACS data to determine in which industries minority youth are likely to be concentrated.

Criminal Justice Data

Procedures for Collection

In our investigation of the criminal justice sector we asked (1) whom did the criminal justice system marginalize and how, (2) in which counties do formerly incarcerated individuals live, (3) and what services supported the political engagement of these groups and individuals. Thus, we gathered criminal justice system demographic data from the Washington State Department of Corrections' (DOC) website. Additionally, from the DOC website, we obtained specific numbers of released prisoners by county. We supplemented these quantitative findings with insights regarding the relationship between criminal justice system and voting turnout from a re-entry program director and criminal justice reform campaign organizer; these select informative interviews lasted roughly forty minutes.

Procedures for Analysis

We joined the DOC data to OFM shapefiles and symbolized it in GIS to demonstrate differences between counties. We then geocoded addresses of twelve correctional facilities, sixteen work-release facilities, and three re-entry programs. Using Excel we made charts and graphs of the DOC demographic data. Lastly, we transcribed the supplemental interviews and read them closely in order to identify key ideas to incorporate along with the quantitative findings.

Conclusion

While previous scholarship addresses how to mobilize young minority voters, why it is desirable and worthwhile to do so, and what particular challenges mobilization efforts face, through our data collection and analysis we seek to provide an inventory of practical geographic information for agents to use when deciding where to execute efforts and allocate resources to mobilize young adult minorities, particularly Hispanics, in Washington State.

Primary Research Analysis

General Demographic Discussion, Tables, and Maps

This section begins by looking at the racial and ethnic demographics of Washington state, breaking down the total population, the voting age population (VAP), and the young adult (18-29) population. We then examine data comparing Washington's counties, federal congressional districts, and state legislative districts to identify electoral jurisdictions in which efforts to mobilize young adults, young adult minorities as a whole, and young adult Hispanics may have the greatest chance of impacting electoral outcomes.

Statewide Demographics

Table 1: Washington State Racial and Ethnic Demographic Data (2010 Census)		
Category	Population	% of Total Population
All	6,724,540	100.0%

White, Non-Hispanic	4,876,804	72.5%
Minority	1,847,736	27.5%
Hispanic	755,790	11.2%
Asian	481,067	7.2%
Multiracial	312,926	4.7%
Black	240,042	3.6%
AIAN	103,869	1.5%
NHPI	40,475	0.6%

Table 2: Washington State Voting Age Population: Racial and Ethnic Demographic Breakdown (2010 Census)

Category	Count	% of VAP
All	5,143,186	100.0%
White, Non-Hispanic	3,916,304	76.1%
Minority	1,226,882	23.9%
Hispanic	456,355	8.9%
Asian	377,550	7.3%
Black	174,258	3.4%
Multiracial	158,984	3.1%
AIAN	73,523	1.4%
NHPI	27,608	0.5%

Table 3: Washington State 18-29 Racial and Ethnic Demographic Data (2010 Census)

Category	18-29 Population	% of VAP	% of 18-29 Population
All	1,130,451	22.0%	100.0%
White, Non-Hispanic	750,923	14.6%	66.4%
Minority	379,528	7.4%	33.6%

Hispanic	166,854	3.2%	14.8%
Asian	91,124	1.8%	8.1%
Multiracial	61,905	1.2%	5.5%
Black	47,851	0.9%	4.2%
AIAN	20,199	0.4%	1.8%
NHPI	9,463	0.2%	0.8%

Table 4: Comparison of Racial and Ethnic Proportions of the Population, VAP, and 18-29 Population (2010 Census)

Category	% of Total Population	% of VAP	% of 18-29 Population
All	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
White, Non-Hispanic	72.5%	76.1%	66.4%
Minority	27.5%	23.9%	33.6%
Hispanic	11.2%	8.9%	14.8%
Asian	7.2%	7.3%	8.1%
Multiracial	4.7%	3.1%	5.5%
Black	3.6%	3.4%	4.2%
AIAN	1.5%	1.4%	1.8%
NHPI	0.6%	0.5%	0.8%

County Demographics

Hispanic Young Adults

Hispanic Population Aged 18-29 as a Proportion of the VAP.
Counties, 2010 Census Data.

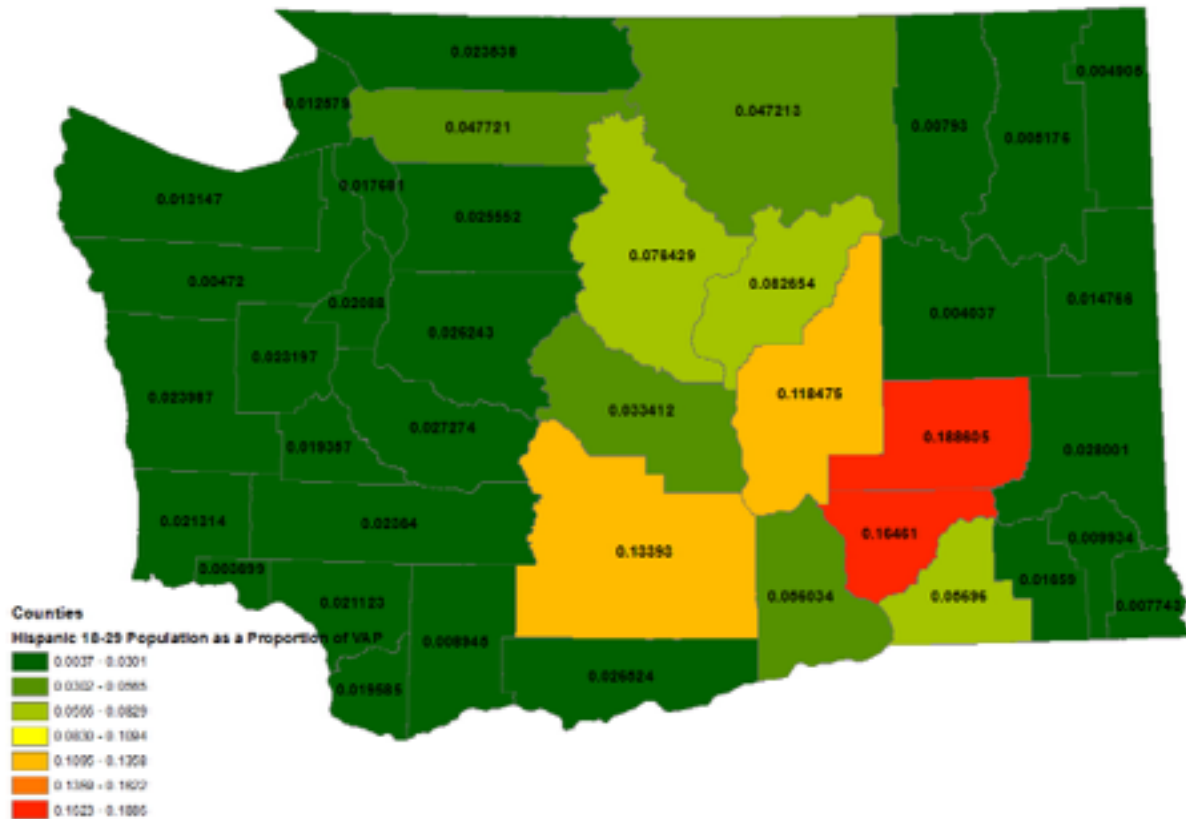


Table 5: Hispanic 18-29 Proportion of VAP - Top Ten Counties (2010 Census)

County	Hispanic 18-29 as a % of the VAP	Hispanic 18-29 Population	Hispanic % of VAP	Hispanic % of Total Population
Adams	18.9%	2,304	51.7%	59.3%
Franklin	16.5%	8,469	44.3%	51.2%
Yakima	13.4%	22,660	37.5%	45.0%
Grant	11.8%	7,333	31.7%	38.3%
Douglas	8.3%	2,311	22.6%	28.7%
Chelan	7.6%	4,157	20.4%	25.8%
Walla Walla	5.7%	2,594	15.4%	19.7%
Benton	5.6%	7,145	14.6%	18.7%

Hispanic young adults comprise the greatest proportion of the VAP in several rural counties in central and eastern Washington (see map above), particularly Adams, Franklin, Yakima, and Grant. These counties have low populations with the exception of Yakima County. Table 5 lists the ten counties in which Hispanic young adults comprise the greatest portion of the VAP.

Skagit	4.8%	4,255	12.7%	16.9%
Okanogan	4.7%	1,485	13.3%	17.6%

Hispanic Population Aged 18-29. Counties, 2010 Census Data.

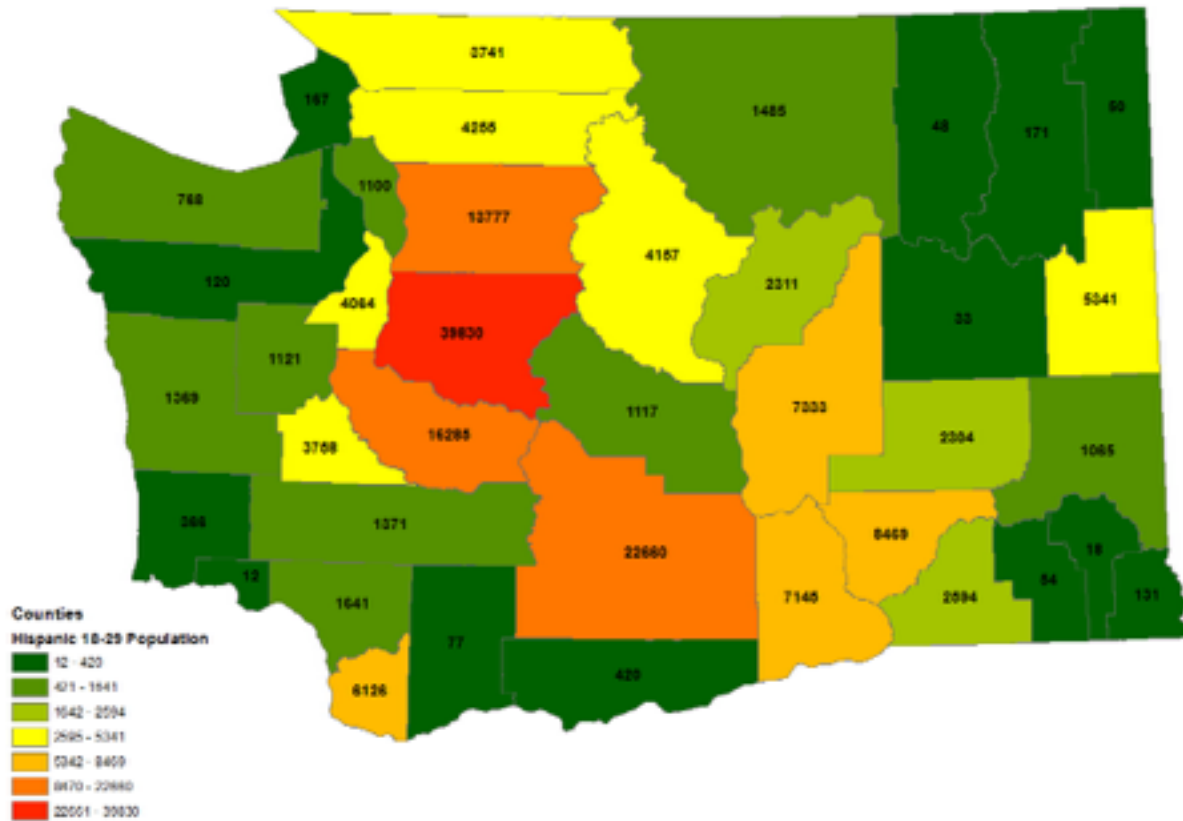


Table 6: Hispanic 18-29 Population - Top Ten Counties (2010 Census)

County	Hispanic 18-29 Population	Hispanic 18-29 As a % of VAP	Hispanic VAP	Hispanic Population
King	39,830	2.6%	113,079	172,378
Yakima	22,660	13.4%	63,528	109,470
Pierce	16,285	2.7%	43,161	72,849
Snohomish	13,777	2.6%	38,974	64,249

Franklin	8,469	16.5%	22,789	40,004
Grant	7,333	11.8%	19,650	34,163
Benton	7,145	5.6%	18,650	32,696
Clark	6,126	2.0%	18,594	32,166
Spokane	5,341	1.5%	13,080	21,260
Skagit	4,255	4.8%	11,292	19,709

Young Adults - All Minorities

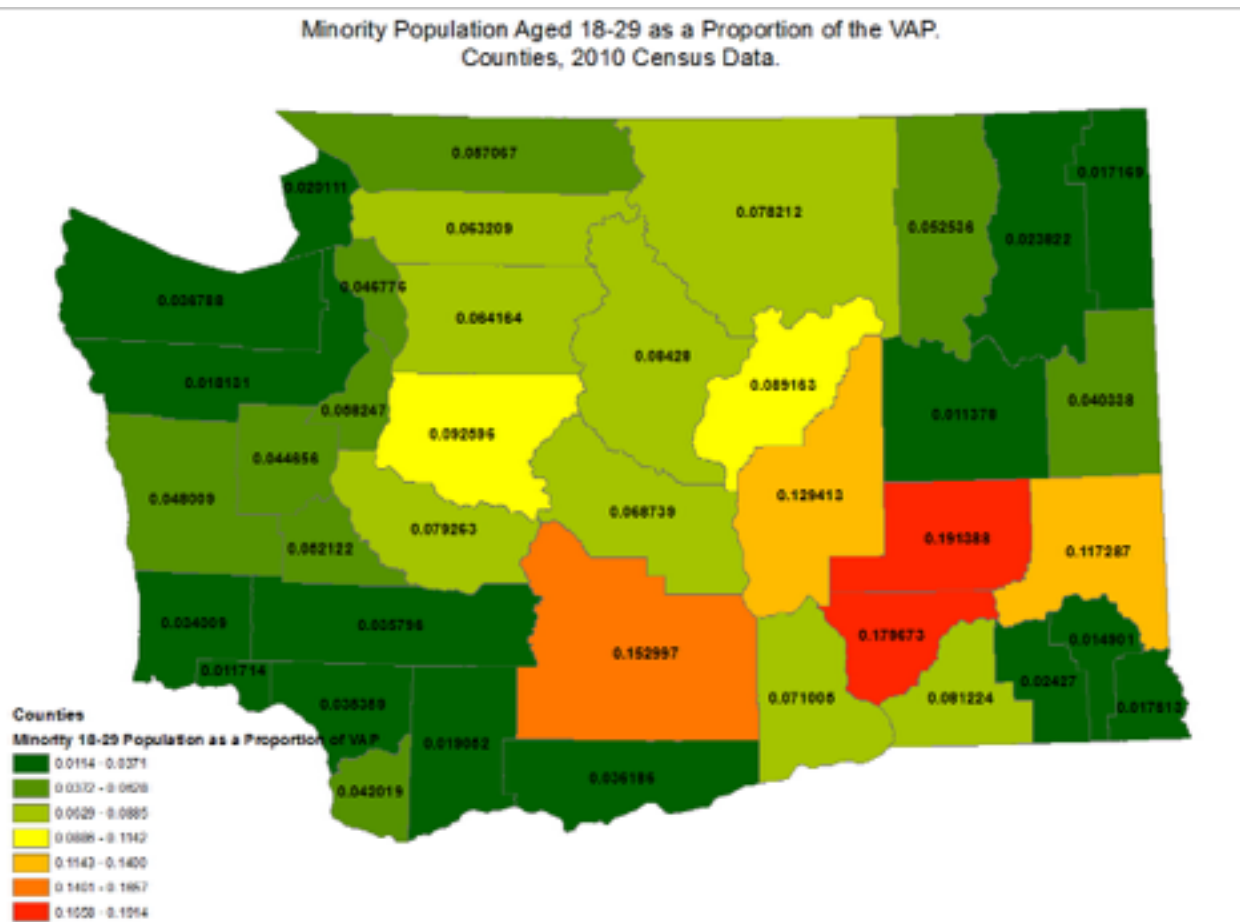


Table 7. Minority 18-29 as a Proportion of the VAP - Top Ten Counties (2010 Census)

County	Minority 18-29 as a % of VAP	Minority 18-29 Population	Minority % of VAP	Minority % of Total Population
Adams	19.1%	2,338	53.5%	61.2%
Franklin	18.0%	9,244	50.2%	56.8%
Yakima	15.3%	25,886	44.6%	52.3%
Grant	12.9%	8,010	36.0%	42.7%
Whitman	11.7%	4,461	17.4%	17.9%
King	9.3%	140,538	31.9%	35.2%
Douglas	8.9%	2,493	25.7%	32.2%
Chelan	8.4%	4,584	23.5%	29.3%
Walla Walla	8.1%	3,699	21.4%	25.8%
Pierce	7.9%	47,328	25.8%	29.7%

Minority Population Aged 18-29. Counties, 2010 Census Data.

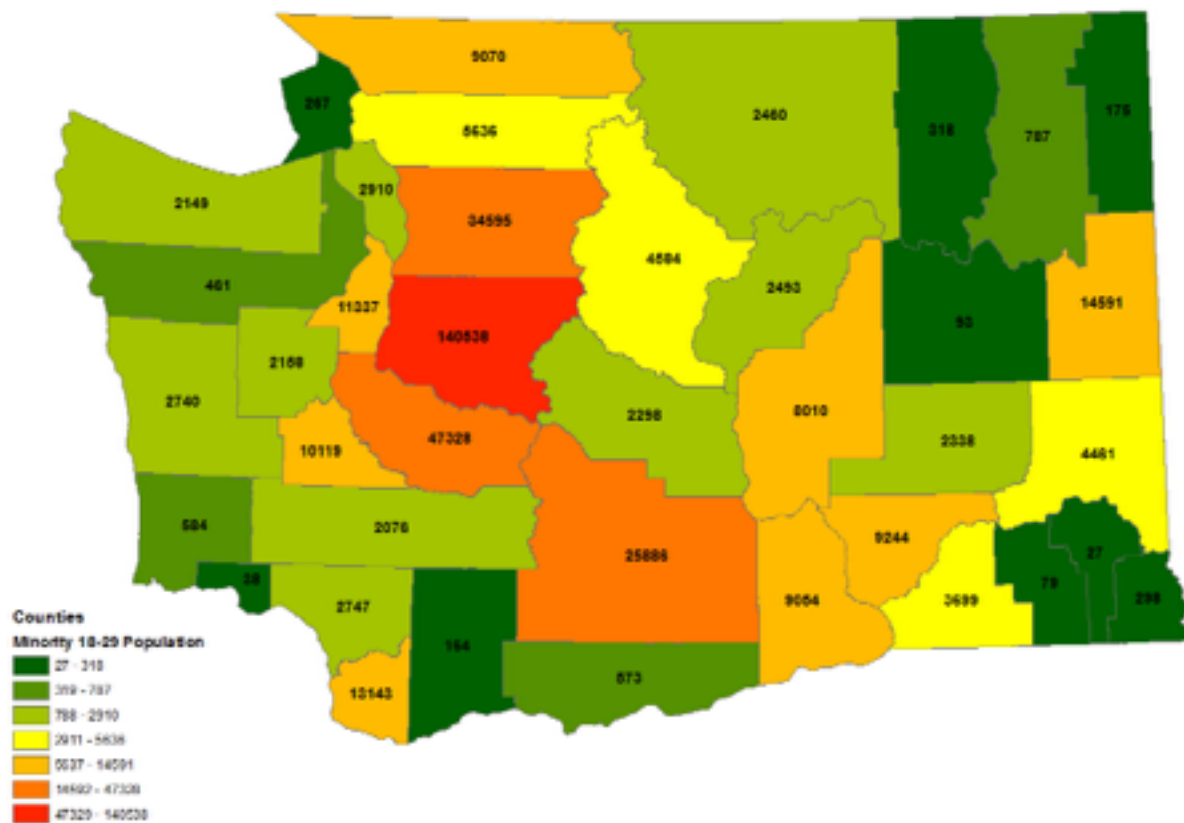
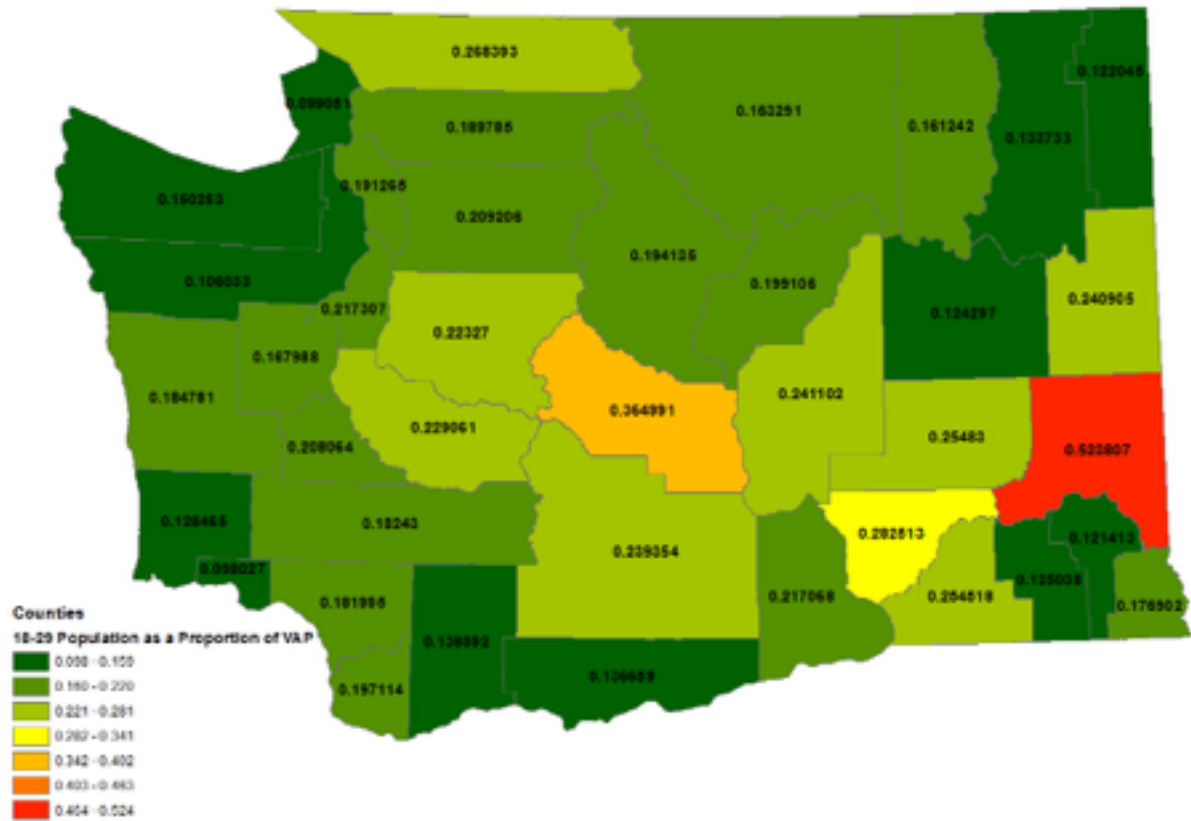


Table 8: Minority 18-29 Population - Top Ten Counties (2010 Census)

County	Minority Population 18-29	Minority 18-29 as a % of VAP	Minority VAP	Total Minority Population
King	140,538	9.3%	484,231	679,949
Pierce	47,328	7.9%	154,245	236,065
Snohomish	34,595	6.4%	121,785	183,521
Yakima	25,886	15.3%	75,398	127,207
Spokane	14,591	4.0%	40,274	62,592
Clark	13,143	4.2%	48,022	77,570
Kitsap	11,337	5.8%	35,093	52,388
Thurston	10,119	5.2%	34,844	53,245
Franklin	9,244	18.0%	25,844	44,359
Whatcom	9,070	5.7%	24,499	36,465

All Young Adults

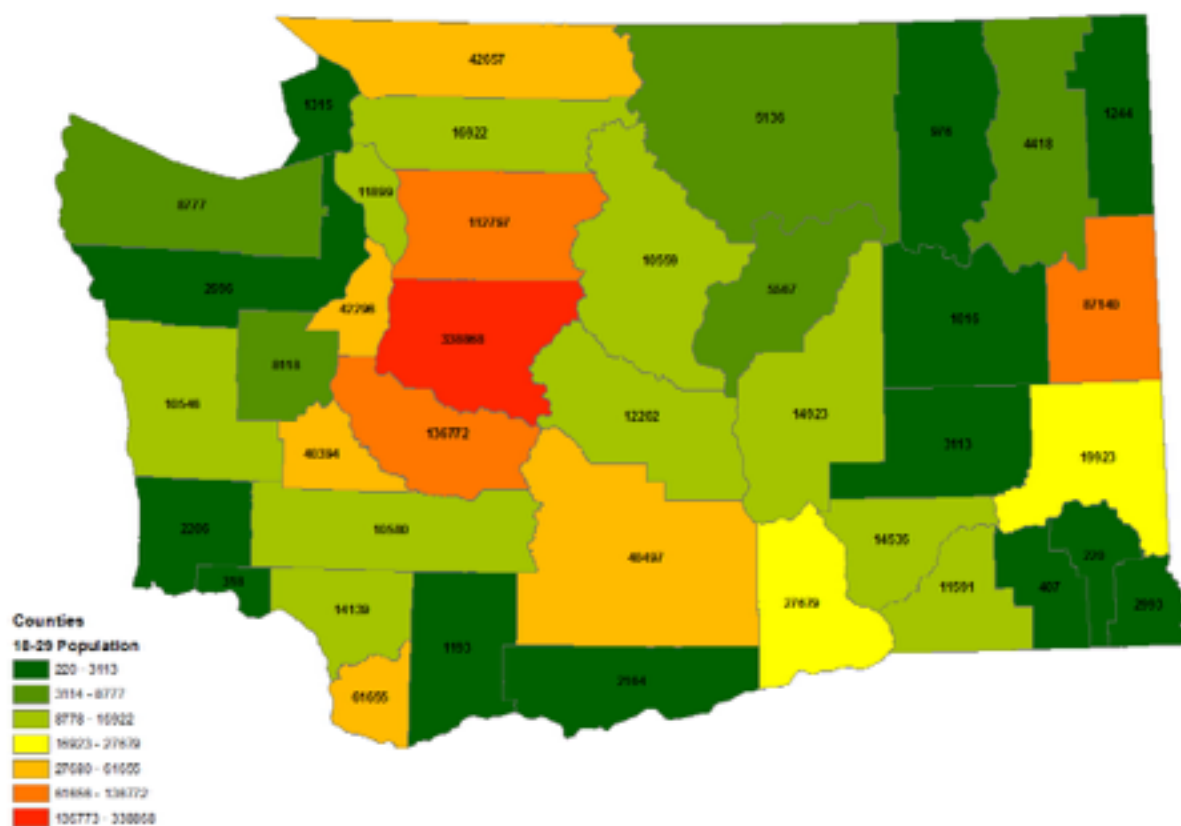
Population Aged 18-29 as a Proportion of the VAP.
Counties, 2010 Census Data.



**Table 9: 18-29 Population as a Proportion of VAP
(2010 Census)**

County	18-29 as a % of the VAP	18-29 Population
Whitman	52.4%	19,923
Kittitas	36.5%	12,202
Franklin	28.3%	14,535
Whatcom	26.8%	42,647
Adams	25.5%	3,113
Walla Walla	25.5%	11,591
Grant	24.1%	14,923
Spokane	24.1%	87,140
Yakima	23.9%	40,497
Pierce	22.9%	136,772

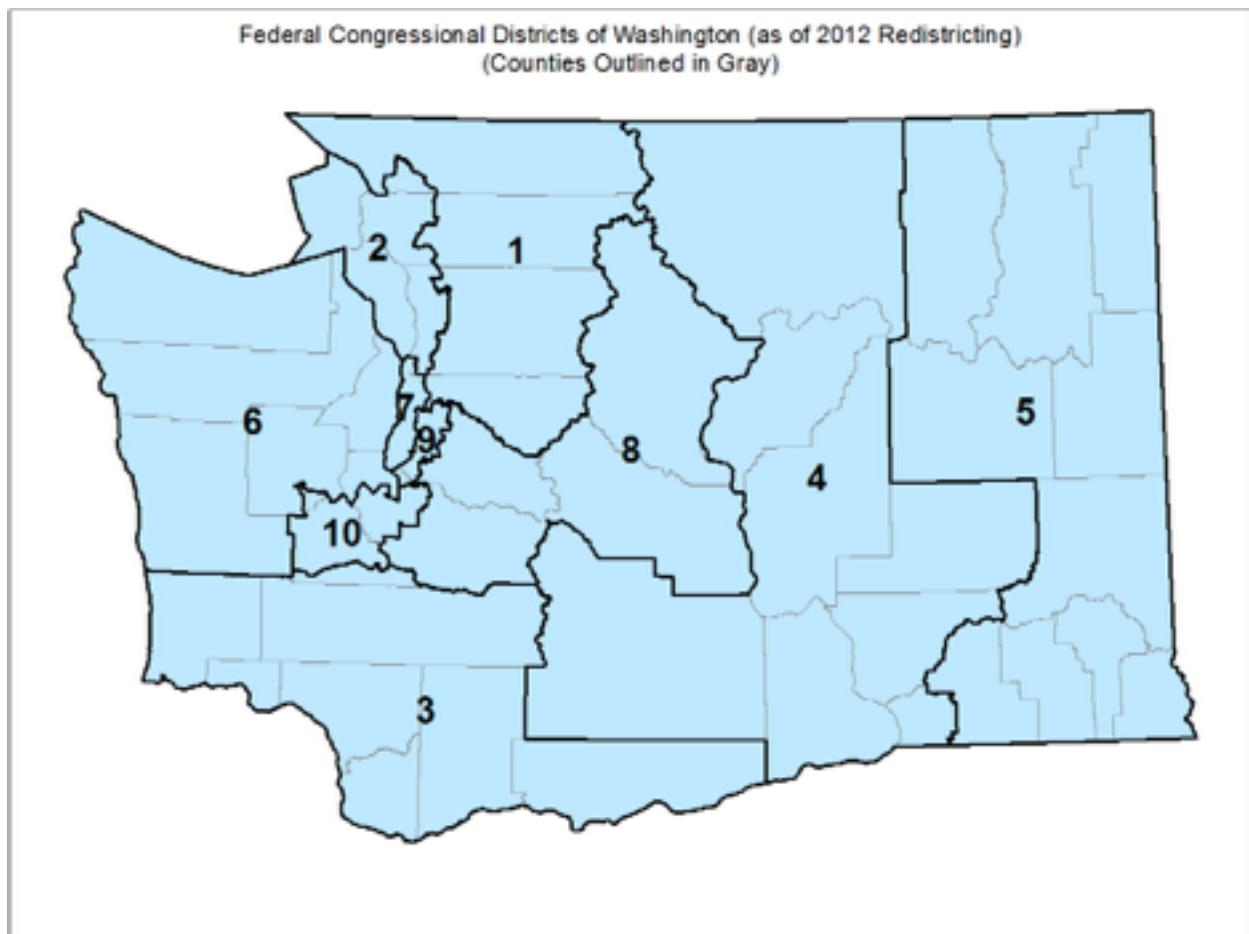
Population Aged 18-29. Counties, 2010 Census Data.

**Table 10: 18-29 Population - Top Ten Counties (2010 Census)**

County	18-29 Population	18-29 as a % of VAP
King	338,868	22.3%
Pierce	136,772	22.9%
Snohomish	112,797	20.9%
Spokane	87,140	24.1%
Clark	61,655	19.7%
Whatcom	42,657	26.8%
Kitsap	42,296	21.7%
Yakima	40,497	23.9%

Thurston	40,394	20.8%
Benton	27,679	21.7%

Federal Congressional Districts



Hispanic Young Adults

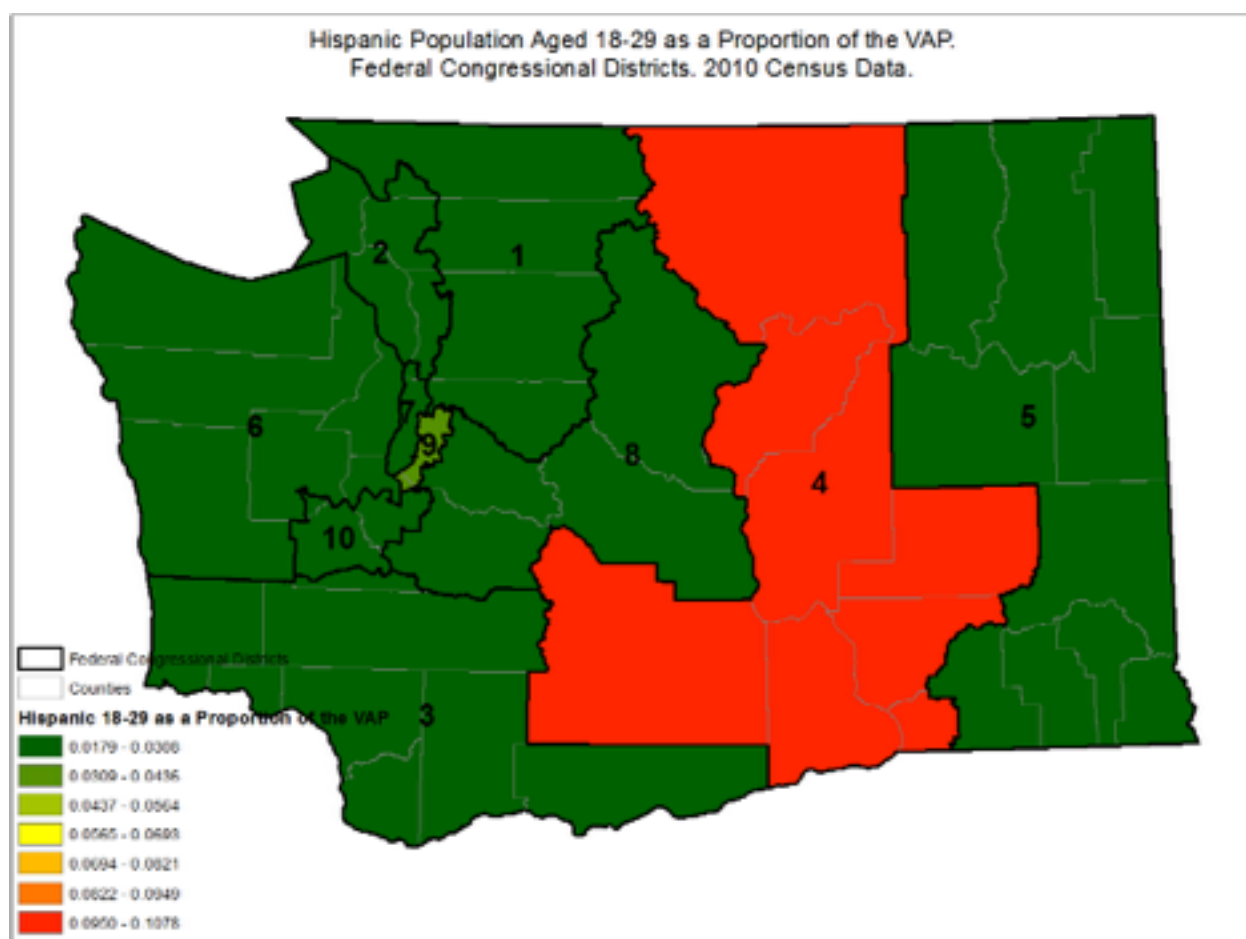


Table 11: Congressional Districts: the Hispanic Electorate (2010 Census)

Congressional District	Hispanic 18-29 as a % of VAP	Hispanic 18-29 Population	Hispanic as a % of VAP	Hispanic VAP
District 4	10.8%	50,989	29.5%	139,786

Table 11 lists Washington's ten federal congressional districts by Hispanic 18-29 proportion of the VAP. District 4 (see map above) stands out as by far the best opportunity for efforts mobilizing Hispanic young adults to impact an election for the U.S. House of Representatives.

District 9	3.6%	18,675	9.8%	50,970
District 10	3.0%	14,887	7.7%	38,657
District 2	2.8%	14,860	7.5%	39,060
District 8	2.7%	13,412	7.8%	38,522
District 1	2.3%	11,423	6.7%	33,916
District 7	2.2%	12,649	6.3%	35,363
District 3	2.0%	10,217	5.9%	29,749
District 6	2.0%	10,391	5.2%	27,376
District 5	1.8%	9,351	4.4%	22,956

Young Adults - All Minorities

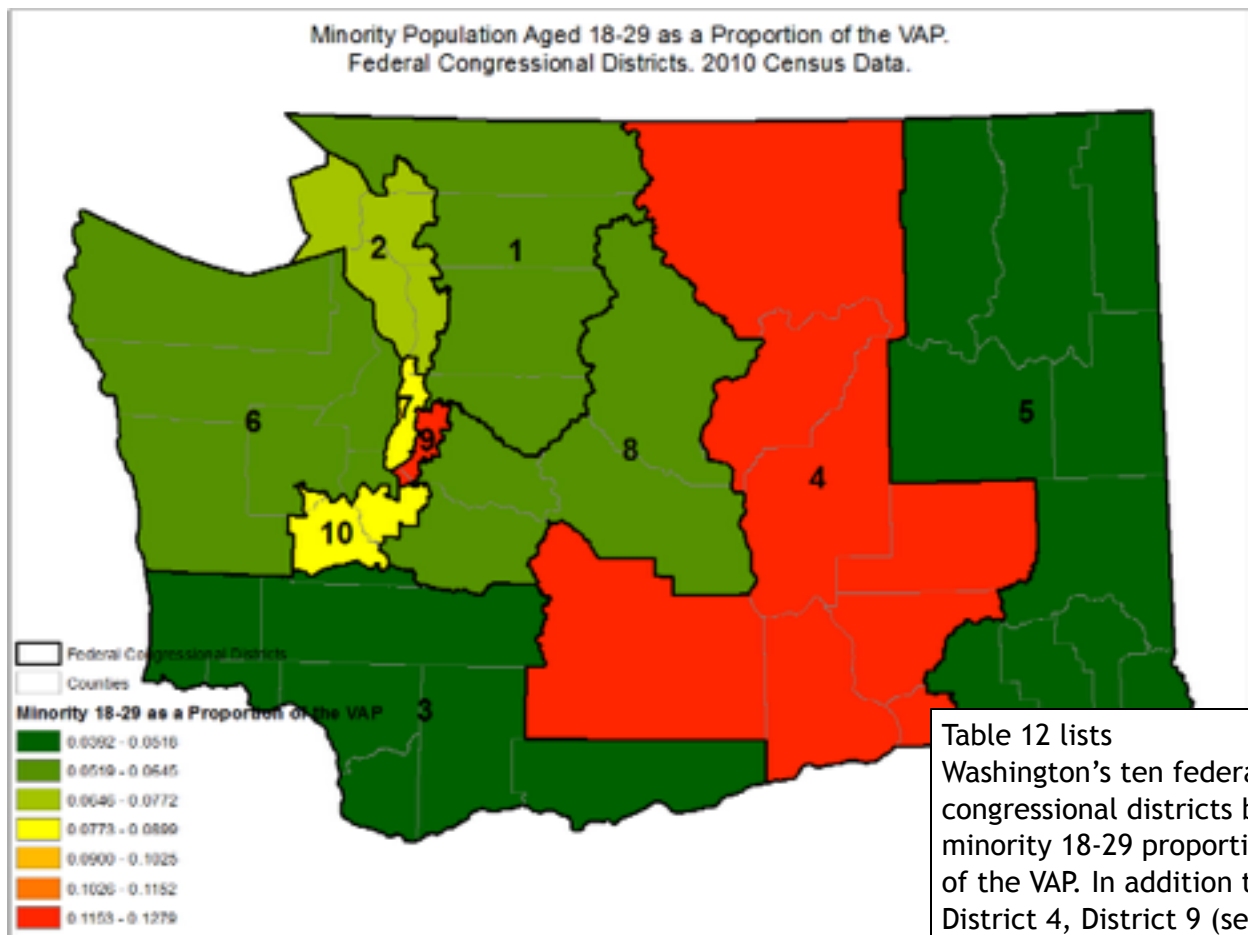


Table 12 lists Washington's ten federal congressional districts by minority 18-29 proportion of the VAP. In addition to District 4, District 9 (see map above) stands out as an opportunity for efforts mobilizing minority young adults to impact elections for the U.S. House of Representatives.

Table 12: Congressional Districts: the Minority Electorate (2010 Census)

Congressional District	Minority 18-29 as a % of VAP	Minority 18-29 Population	Minority as a % of VAP	Minority VAP
District 9	12.8%	66,356	46.3%	240,215
District 4	12.4%	58,709	36.0%	170,077
District 7	8.5%	48,183	25.0%	141,100
District 10	8.1%	41,011	26.0%	131,420
District 2	6.9%	36,249	21.7%	113,357
District 8	5.7%	28,418	20.5%	102,052
District 6	5.6%	29,785	18.3%	96,810
District 1	5.3%	26,768	19.6%	99,294
District 5	4.7%	24,350	12.2%	63,291
District 3	3.9%	19,699	13.8%	69,266

All Young Adults

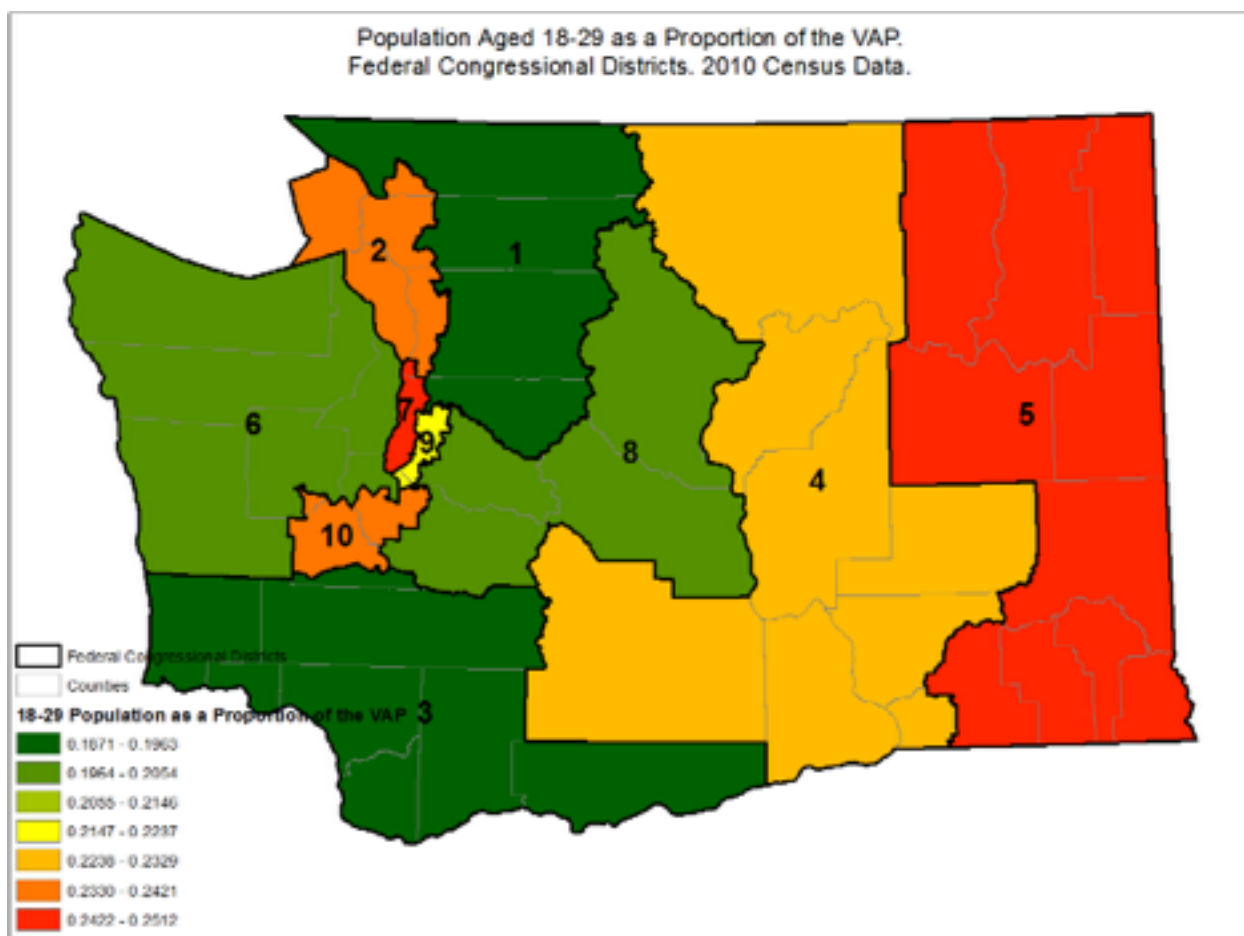


Table 13: Federal Congressional Districts: Young Adult Electorate (2010 Census)

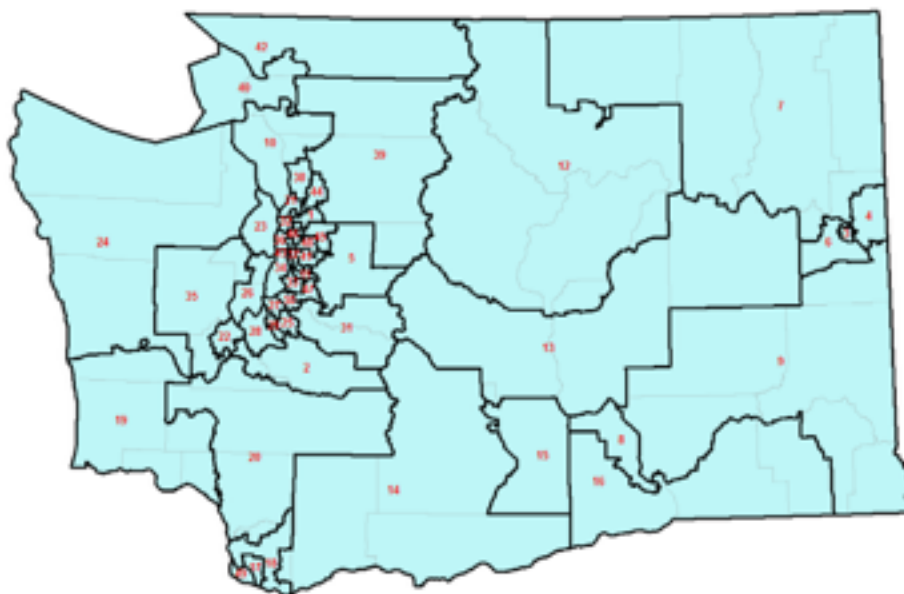
Congressional District	Youth % of VAP	Youth 18-29 Population
District 7	25.1%	141,839
District 5	24.8%	129,297
District 2	23.5%	123,144
District 10	23.5%	118,672
District 4	23.1%	109,427
District 9	22.3%	115,613
District 8	19.8%	98,561
District 6	19.7%	104,533

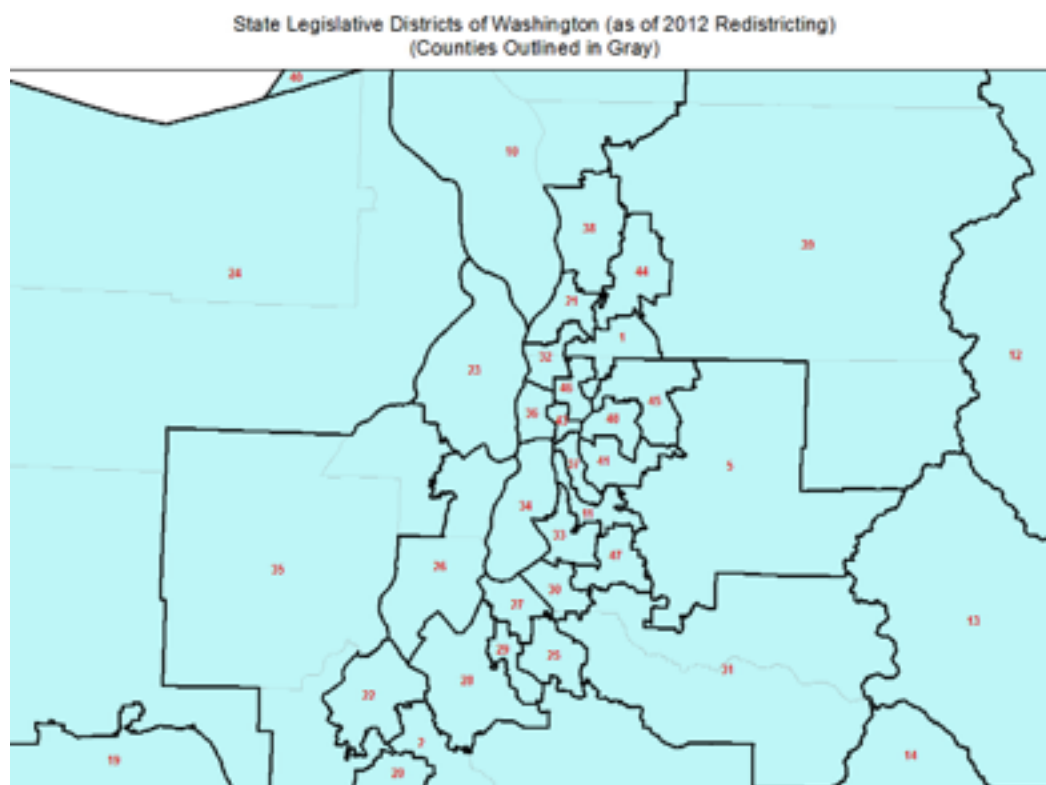
Table 13 lists Washington's ten federal congressional districts by 18-29 proportion of the VAP. It is hard to say how much these figures are skewed by universities - District 5 contains three major universities; District 7 contains the University of Washington; District 2 contains Western Washington University. It is worth noting, though, that some districts' electorates may be significantly younger than others.

District 1	18.8%	95,264
District 3	18.7%	94,101

State Legislative Districts

State Legislative Districts of Washington (as of 2012 Redistricting)
(Counties Outlined in Gray)





Hispanic Young Adults

Puget Sound area Districts

Hispanic Population Aged 18-29 as a Proportion of the VAP.
State Legislative Districts. 2012 ACS 5-Year Estimates.

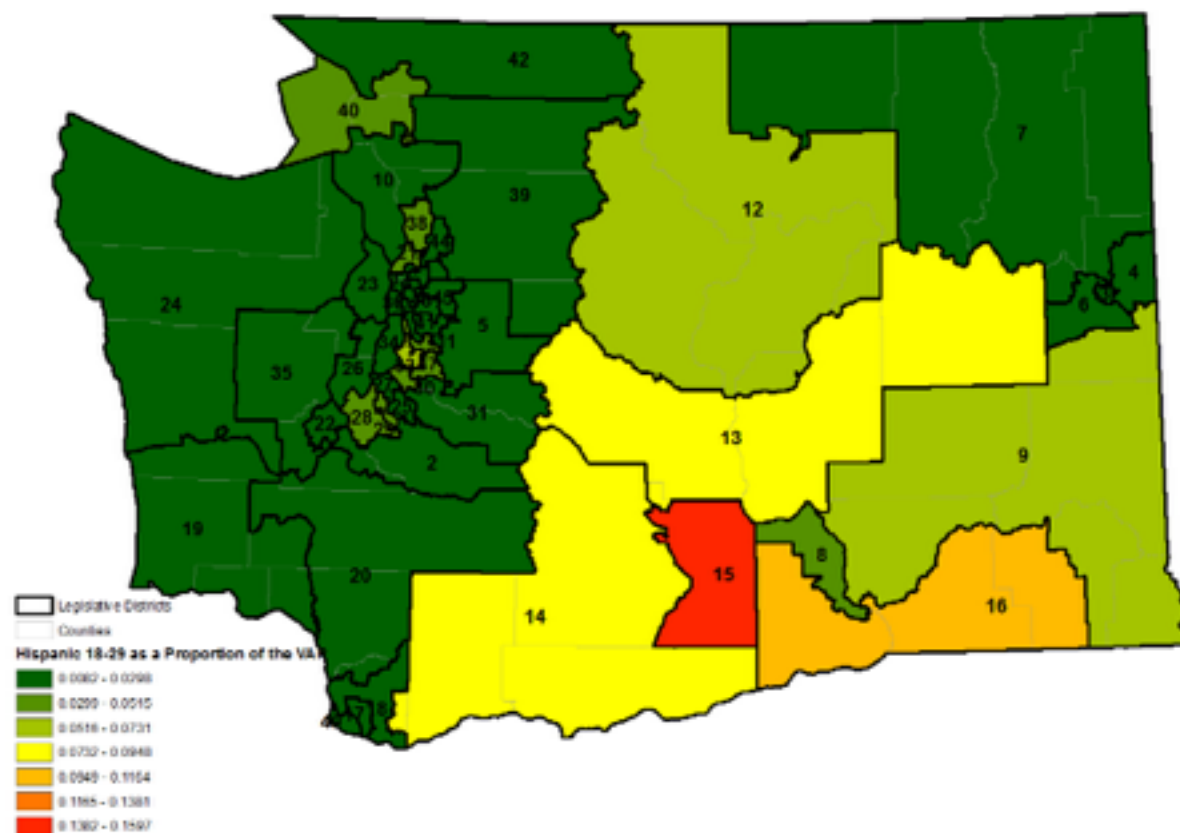
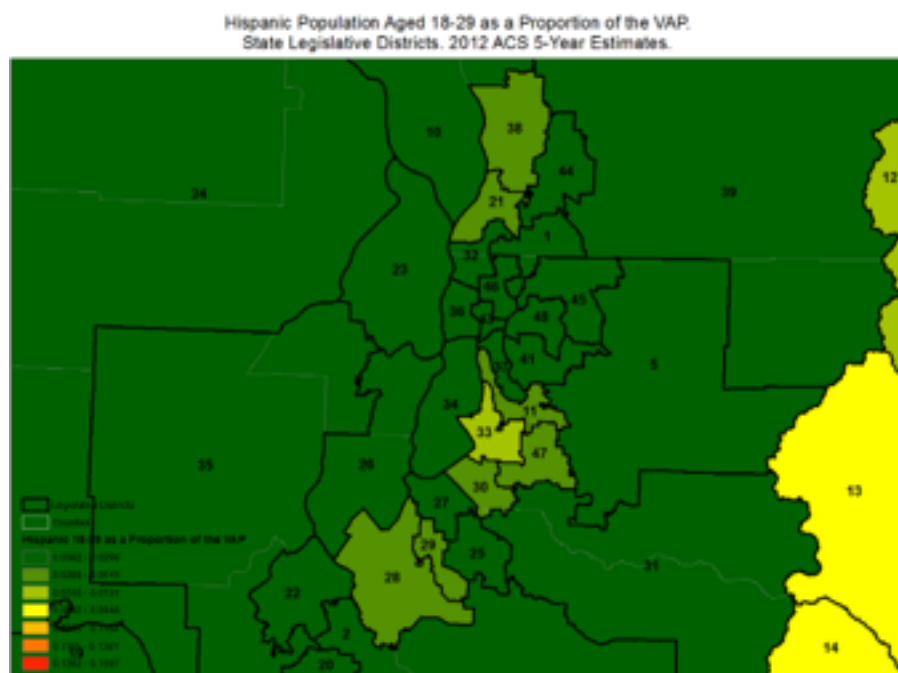


Table 14: State Legislative Districts: The Hispanic Electorate
(2012 ACS 5-Year Estimates)

State Legislative District	Hispanic 18-29 as a % of the VAP	Hispanic 18-29 Population	Hispanic as a % of the VAP	Hispanic VAP
District 15	15.9%	14,547	47.1%	42,898
District 16	10.5%	10,489	28.6%	28,644
District 13	8.2%	8,329	21.5%	21,700
District 14	8.2%	8,459	21.3%	21,874
District 12	7.2%	7,383	19.5%	19,795
District 9	6.1%	6,385	15.4%	16,028
District 33	5.9%	6,041	16.2%	16,450
District 8	4.8%	4,812	12.4%	12,418
District 29	4.4%	4,597	11.7%	12,068

District 11	4.4%	4,717	12.0%	12,832
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Young Adults - All Minorities

Minority Population Aged 18-29 as a Proportion of the VAP,
State Legislative Districts. 2012 ACS 5-Year Estimates.

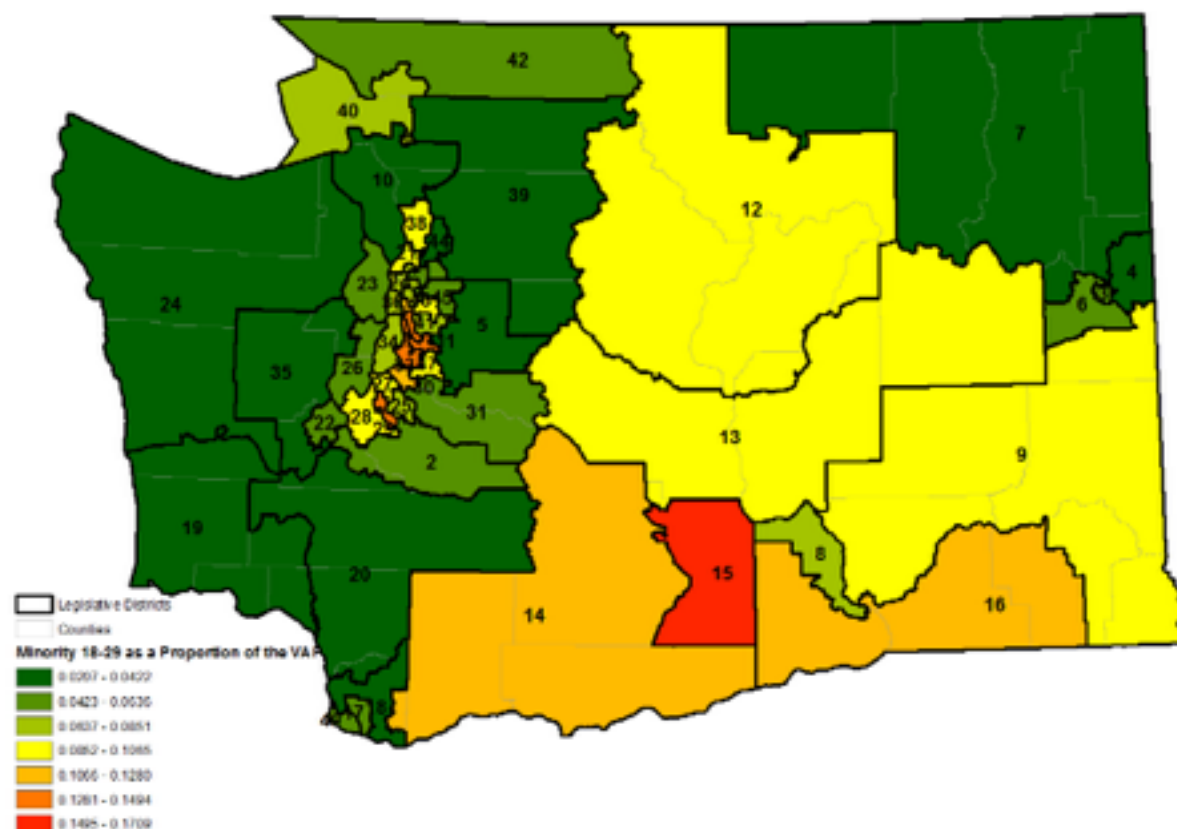
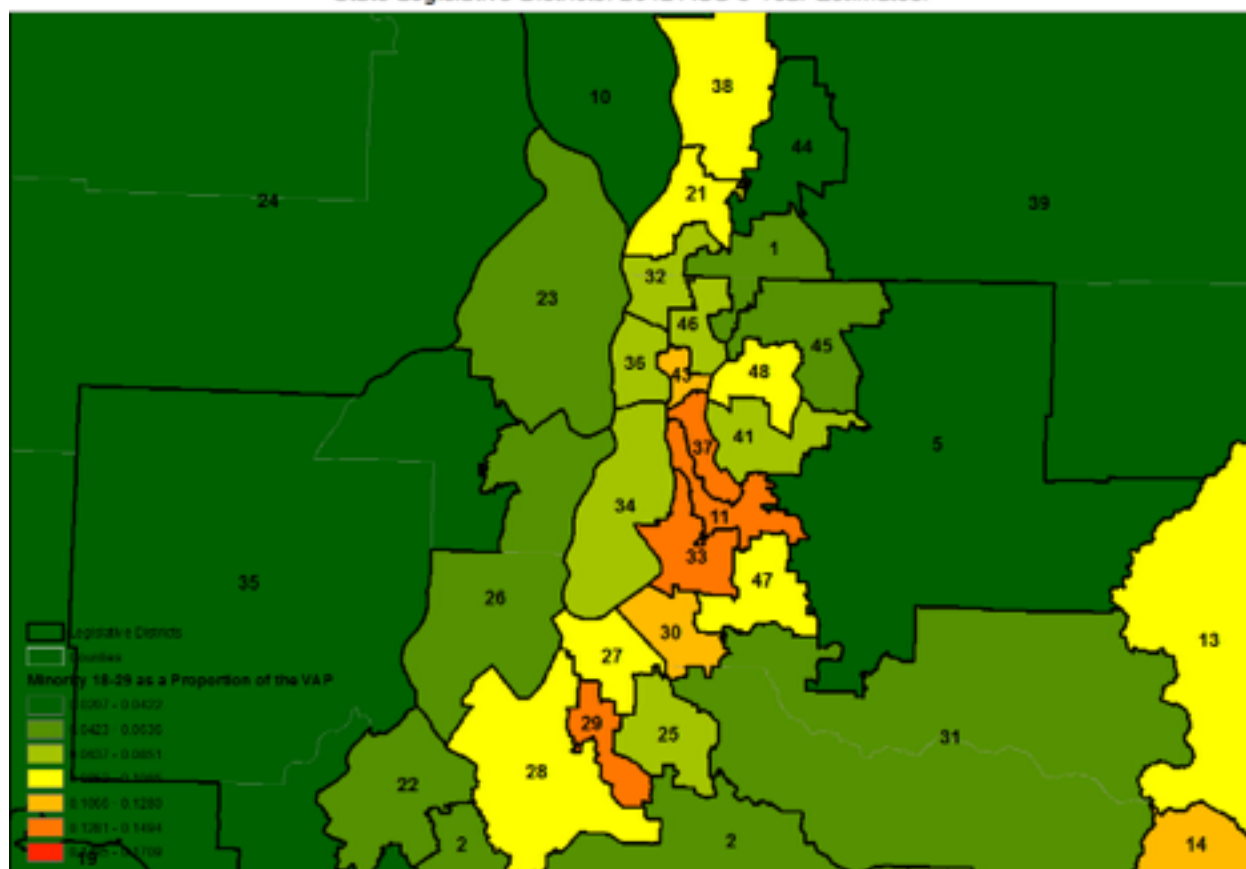


Table 15: State Legislative Districts: the Minority Electorate
(2012 ACS 5-Year Estimates)

State Legislative District	Minority 18-29 as a % of the VAP	Minority 18-29 Population	Minority as a % of the VAP	Minority VAP
District 15	17.1%	15,562	52.3%	47,611
District 33	14.8%	14,968	45.4%	45,832
District 37	14.6%	16,124	59.7%	65,959
District 11	14.2%	15,144	50.7%	53,979
District 29	13.7%	14,108	42.8%	43,951
District 43	12.2%	15,565	23.2%	29,679
District 16	11.8%	11,821	33.5%	33,442
District 14	10.8%	11,017	29.9%	30,586
District 30	10.7%	11,156	37.0%	38,557

District 48	10.6%	11,420	34.6%	37,361
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Minority Population Aged 18-29 as a Proportion of the VAP.
State Legislative Districts. 2012 ACS 5-Year Estimates.



All Young Adults

Population Aged 18-29 as a Proportion of the VAP.
State Legislative Districts. 2012 ACS 5-Year Estimates.

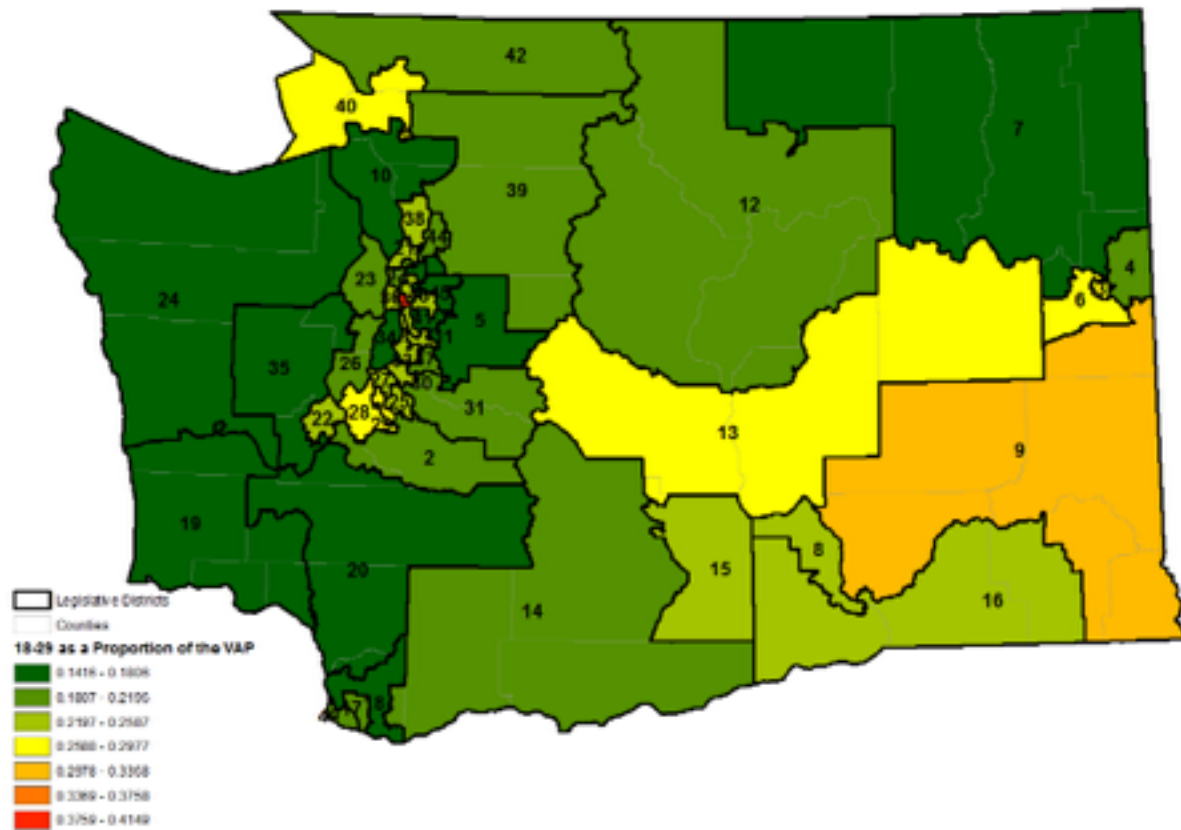
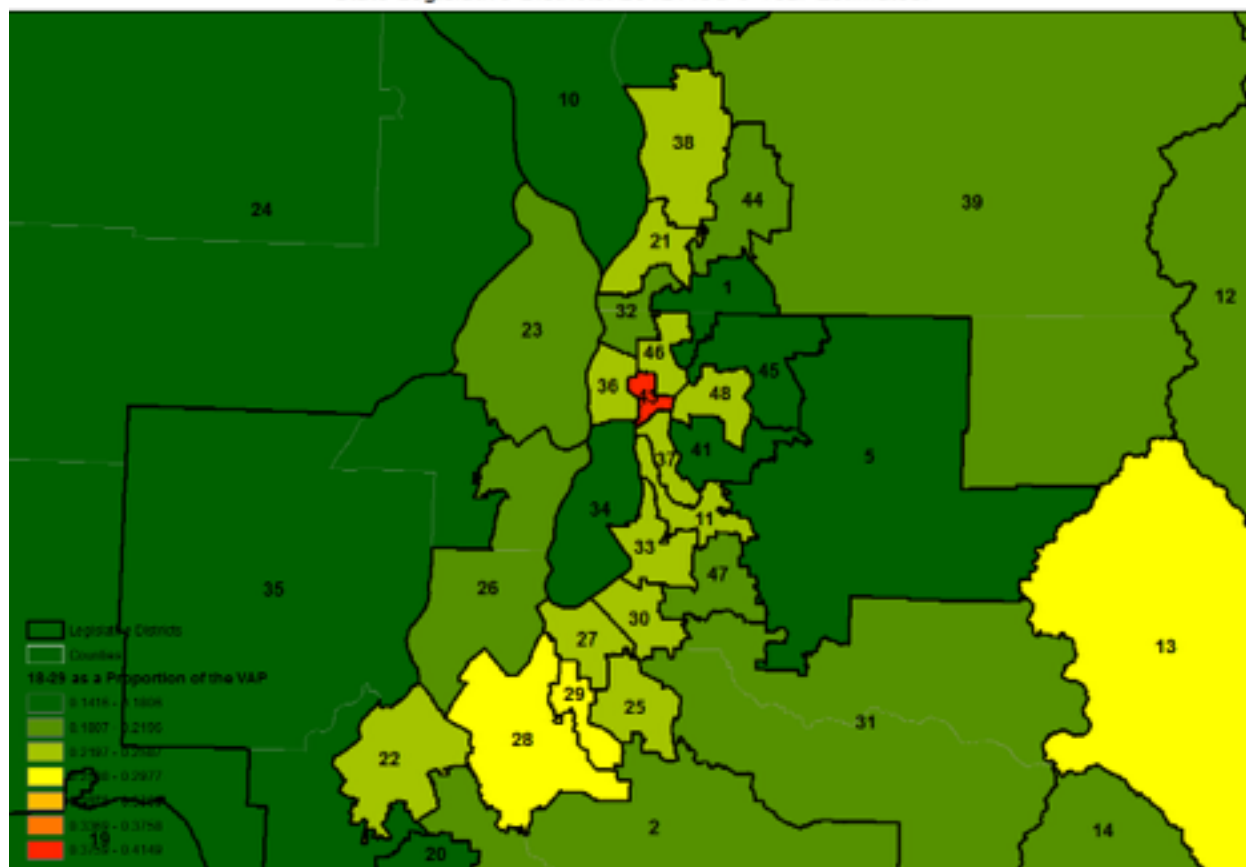


Table 16: State Legislative Districts: the 18-29 Electorate (2012 ACS 5-Year Estimates)

State Legislative District	18-29 as a % of the VAP	18-29 Population
District 43	41.5%	53,156
District 9	33.5%	34,661
District 3	28.9%	30,553
District 29	28.1%	28,911
District 40	27.4%	30,304
District 13	27.3%	27,474
District 28	26.5%	28,488
District 6	26.0%	27,973
District 36	25.7%	30,579

District 38	25.3%	26,648
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Population Aged 18-29 as a Proportion of the VAP.
State Legislative Districts. 2012 ACS 5-Year Estimates.



Voter Registration and Turnout

In this section, we examine voter registration data and electoral turnout data in order to identify broad trends in Hispanic, young adult, and Hispanic young adult electoral participation in Washington. For registration, we gathered voter registration data for twelve selected counties based on a high Hispanic 18-29 proportion of the population and/or high Hispanic 18-29 population count and/or our partner's requests. We were able to separate Hispanic voters (though not young adults) and thus are able to compare Hispanic registration rates against non-Hispanic registration rate. For analysis on voter turnout, we received county turnout data (for all counties) from the Washington Secretary of State's Office for the 2012 and 2013 elections covering (1) registered voters, (2) registered Hispanics, (3) registered young adults, and (4) registered Hispanic young adults, and thus are able to compare across these categories. We also compare across counties in order to identify where efforts to register and mobilize young adults and young adult Hispanics may have the greatest electoral impact.

Registration

General Trends

Table 1 breaks down the VAP by Hispanic ethnicity in the twelve counties for which we studied registration data. We see that the Hispanic proportion of the VAP is particularly high in Adams, Franklin, Yakima, and Grant, while King, Yakima, Pierce, and Snohomish contain the most Hispanics above 18.

Table 1: Hispanics in the VAP for Studied Counties (2010 Census and Original Research)				
County	VAP	Hispanic VAP	Non-Hispanic VAP	Hispanic % of VAP
Adams	12,216	6,319	5,897	52%
Benton	127,513	18,650	108,863	15%
Clark	312,788	18,594	294,194	6%
Franklin	51,449	22,789	28,660	44%
Grant	61,895	19,650	42,245	32%
King	1,517,747	113,079	1,404,668	7%
Pierce	597,098	43,161	553,937	7%
Skagit	89,164	11,292	77,872	13%
Snohomish	539,168	38,974	500,194	7%

Walla Walla	45,541	7,001	38,540	15%
Whatcom	158,935	9,645	149,290	6%
Yakima	169,193	63,528	105,665	38%

The columns in table 2 are analogous to those in table 1, but instead break down all registered voters. We see that the Hispanic proportion of registered voters in table 2 is, across the board, significantly lower than the Hispanic proportion of the VAP in table 1; to put this plainly, Hispanics are exceptionally underrepresented in the pool of registered voters as compared to the VAP; no county stands out as an area where efforts to register and mobilize Hispanics would be misplaced due to an already high registration rate.

Table 2: Hispanics within the Pool of Registered Voters in Studied Counties (2010 Census and Original Research)

County	Total Registered Voters	Total Hispanic Registered Voters	Total Non-Hispanic Registered Voters	Hispanic Proportion of Registered Voters
Adams	6,383	1,675	4,708	26%
Benton	97,316	6,479	90,837	7%
Clark	243,330	7,626	235,704	3%
Franklin	29,767	6,998	22,769	24%
Grant	37,127	4,724	32,403	13%
King	1,276,263	46,973	1229,290	4%
Pierce	439,499	16,712	422,787	4%
Skagit	67,065	3,347	63,718	5%
Snohomish	449,733	16,172	433,561	4%
Walla Walla	34,878	2,854	32,024	8%
Whatcom	137,250	4,643	132,607	3%
Yakima	106,487	23,468	83,019	22%

Table 3 looks at this trend more closely by comparing Hispanic and non-Hispanic registration rates in the twelve counties. What it shows is a tremendous disparity in the registration rates of Hispanics and non-Hispanics. The Hispanic registration rate seems to be particularly low in counties such as Adams, Grant, and Franklin in which Hispanics comprise a relatively large proportion of the VAP.

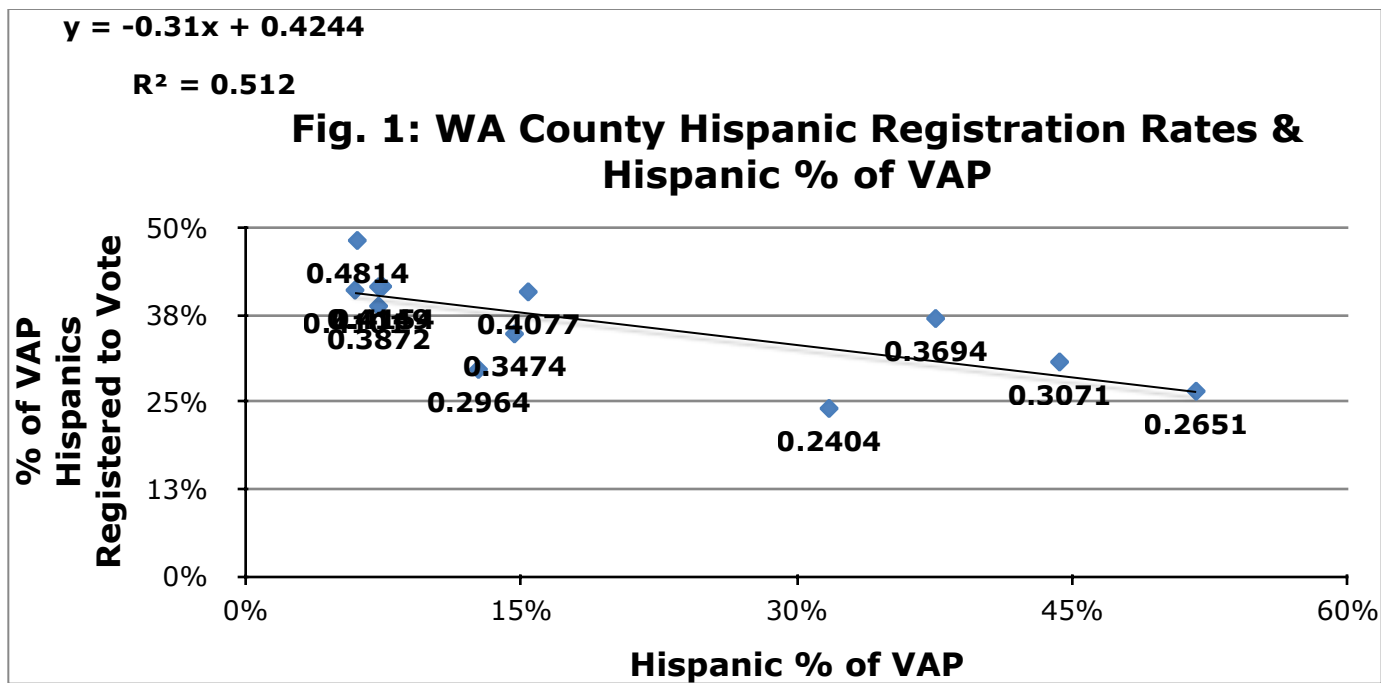
Table 3: Comparing the Hispanic and Non-Hispanic Registration Rates in Studied Counties (2010 Census and Original Research)

County	% of VAP Registered to Vote	% of Hispanic VAP Registered to Vote	% of Non-Hispanic VAP Registered to Vote
Adams	52%	27%	80%
Benton	76%	35%	83%
Clark	78%	41%	80%
Franklin	58%	31%	79%
Grant	60%	24%	77%
King	84%	42%	88%
Pierce	74%	39%	76%
Skagit	75%	30%	82%
Snohomish	83%	41%	87%
Walla Walla	77%	41%	83%
Whatcom	86%	48%	89%
Yakima	63%	37%	79%

We ran a linear regression to determine the extent of a relationship between the Hispanic proportion of the VAP and the Hispanic registration rate, which shows a moderate ($r^2=.512$) negative (slope=-.31)⁵³ relationship between these two variables (see figure 1). At least among our study counties, we can generally say that a higher Hispanic proportion of the VAP is correlated with a lower Hispanic registration rate. We cannot say exactly *why* this is and, unfortunately, our data does not take into account citizenship rates, which are likely a large factor.

(2010 Census and Original

⁵³ For every 1% increase in the Hispanic proportion of the VAP, we see, generally, a .31% reduction in the Hispanic registration rate.



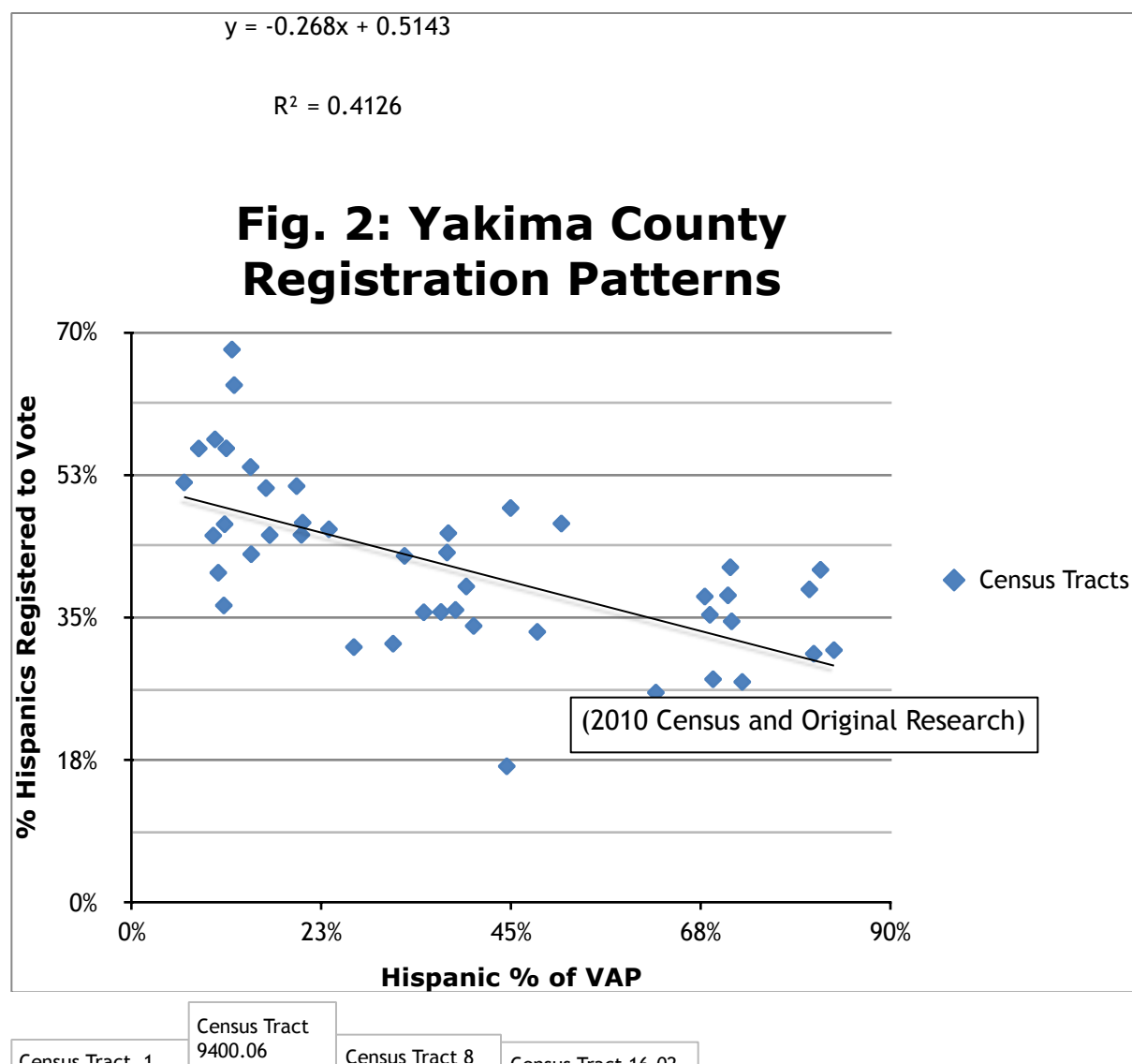
To see if this relationship holds *within* counties, we used census tract-level data to run correlations for each of the twelve counties. Table 4 shows the slope of the regression and the r^2 value for each county. Generally speaking we see the same negative relationship with a weak to moderate correlation. Thus, we can generally say that areas within counties with higher Hispanic proportions of the VAP have lower Hispanic registration rates.

Table 4: Linear Regression Results Within Counties		
County Name	Slope of Line	R^2
Adams	0.0698	0.4111
Benton	-0.5342	0.1068
Clark	-0.31	0.512
Franklin	-0.4878	0.7124
Grant	-0.2007	0.2614
King	-2.3624	0.4603
Pierce	-2.2023	0.3695
Skagit	-0.4121	0.3751
Snohomish	-2.5578	0.4857
Walla Walla	-0.1199	0.0092
Whatcom	-2.9869	0.3812

Yakima	-0.268	0.4126
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Honing in on Areas within Counties: Yakima County as a Case Study

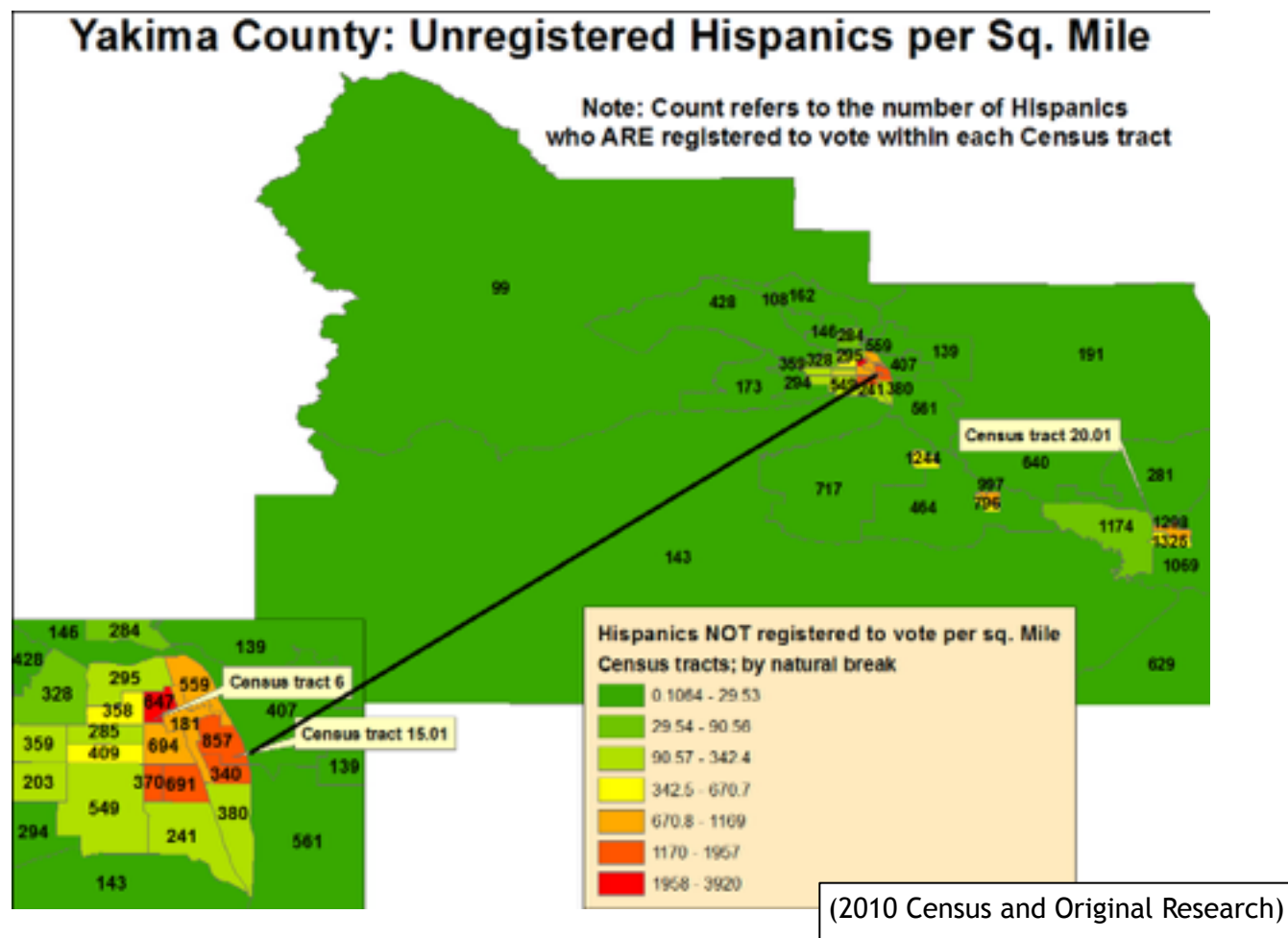
More generally speaking, different areas within counties vary in their population density, Hispanic proportion of the VAP, and Hispanic registration rate, which all impact how advantageous these areas are as targets for registration and mobilization efforts. Here we explore Yakima County at the census tract level as an example; specific findings for other counties will be discussed in the county summaries section.



Census Tracts 8 and 16.02, for example, show a low Hispanic proportion of the VAP and high Hispanic registration rate (see figure 2); thus, efforts are probably not as necessary in these areas beyond making sure the Hispanics who do live there vote. Tract 1 shows a moderate

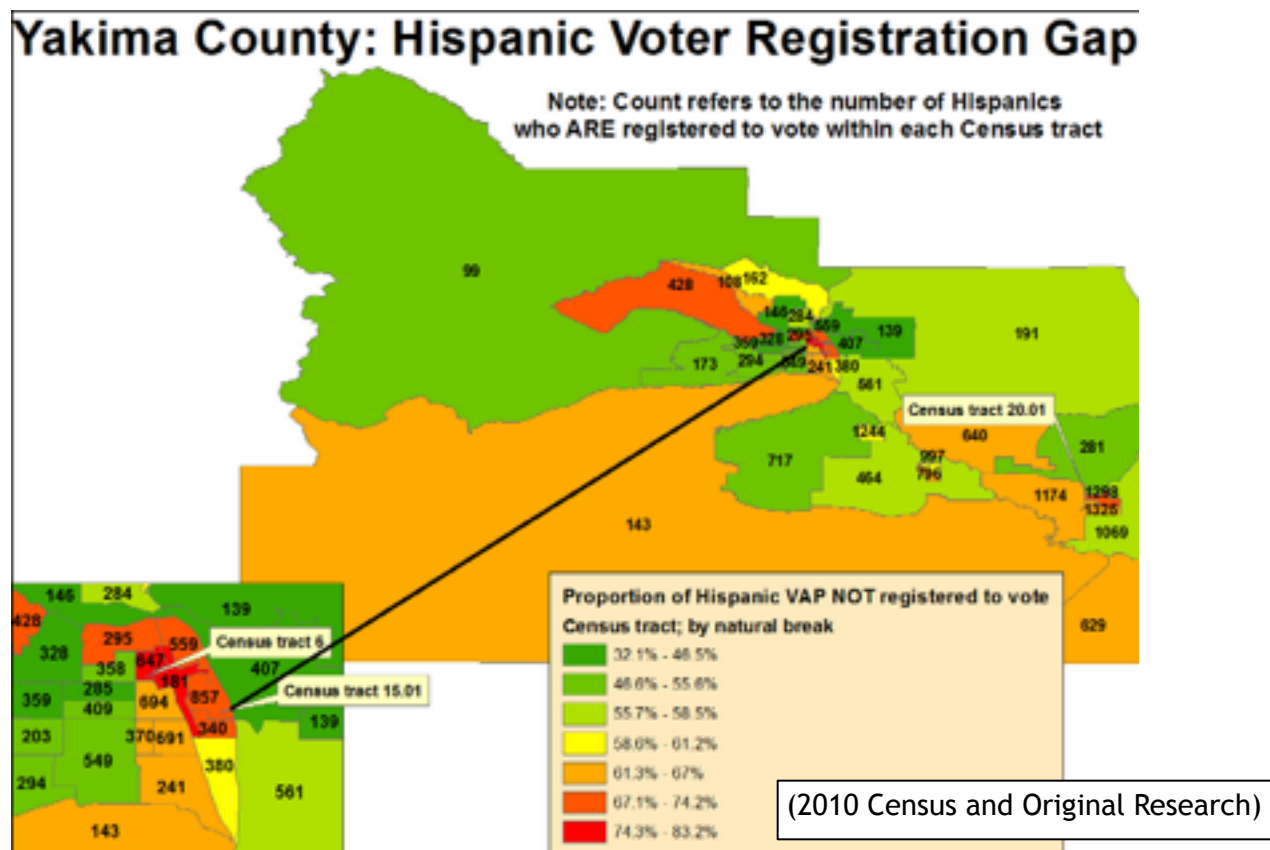
Hispanic proportion of the VAP and very low Hispanic registration rate; thus efforts in this area to register Hispanics would probably be valuable. Tract 9400.06 shows a very high Hispanic proportion of the VAP and a (relatively) moderate Hispanic registration rate (see figure 2); thus efforts here to either register Hispanics or mobilize those already registered to vote (or both) would be valuable. Those tracts lying at the bottom right of figure 2 have perhaps the most potential to expand the Hispanic electorate, as areas with a high Hispanic proportion of the population and very low registration rates.

Using GIS maps is helpful for pinpointing specific areas. The first map below shows, by color gradient, the geographic density (per square mile) of unregistered Hispanics in census tracts. Those with the highest density are ostensibly places where efforts to register Hispanics would be most efficiently undertaken. Additionally, we can see by the counts on the map that these areas also have relatively high numbers of Hispanics already registered, which makes them useful targets for efforts to mobilize registered voters, as well. These areas are, not surprisingly, typically within cities; census tract 6 and 15.01, for example, lie within the city of Yakima, while 20.01 is in the city of Sunnyside. Thus we can say that Yakima and Sunnyside are key areas in Yakima County for registering and mobilizing Hispanics.



The above map does somewhat undersell less urban counties, so it is also useful to show the tracts by percentage of Hispanics not registered. The map below shows that some less densely

populated areas have very low Hispanic registration rates and high enough VAP counts to be useful targets for registration and mobilization.



Voter Turnout

This last portion of our general examination of demographic and voting trends looks at Hispanic young adult electoral turnout in the 2012 and 2013 elections, and in comparison to overall turnout, Hispanic turnout, and overall young adult turnout.

2012 and 2013 Elections

Table 5 and figure 3 break down voter turnout in the 2012 election. Strikingly, Hispanic young adults accounted for only 22,886 of the 3,154,828 votes cast. Only half of registered Hispanic young adults voted, which is equal to only 13.72% of Hispanic young adults. Turnout for Hispanics as a whole and young adults as a whole also lagged well behind that for the entire VAP. However, these numbers look relatively good when compared to data from the 2013 election, which is summarized in table 6 and figure 4. Only 2.7% of Hispanic young adults as a whole voted, and only 10% of registered Hispanic young adults voted in 2013. In all, these numbers most simply suggest that Hispanic young adults are not achieving nearly the impact they could in electoral politics. There is nowhere to go but up, and mobilization efforts have

the potential to spark vast gains in Hispanic young adult participation (not to mention Hispanic and young adult participation as a whole).

Table 5: Washington State Turnout Statistics for 2012 Election

Sources: WA Secretary of State; 2010 Census Data

Group	Total	Registered	Voted	Voted/Total	Voted/Registered
Voting Age Population	5,143,186	3,909,270	3,154,828	61.34%	80.70%
Young Adult Population	1,130,451	698,503	442,967	39.18%	63.42%
Hispanic Voting Age Population	456,355	156,232	103,250	22.62%	66.09%
Hispanic Young Adult Population	166,854	45,006	22,886	13.72%	50.85%

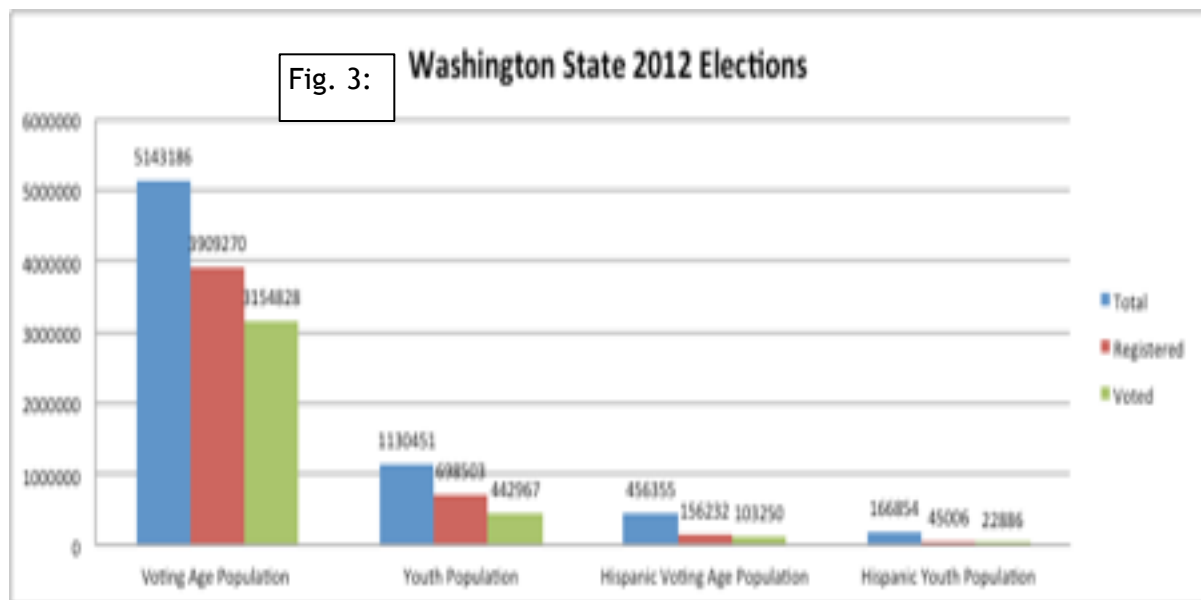
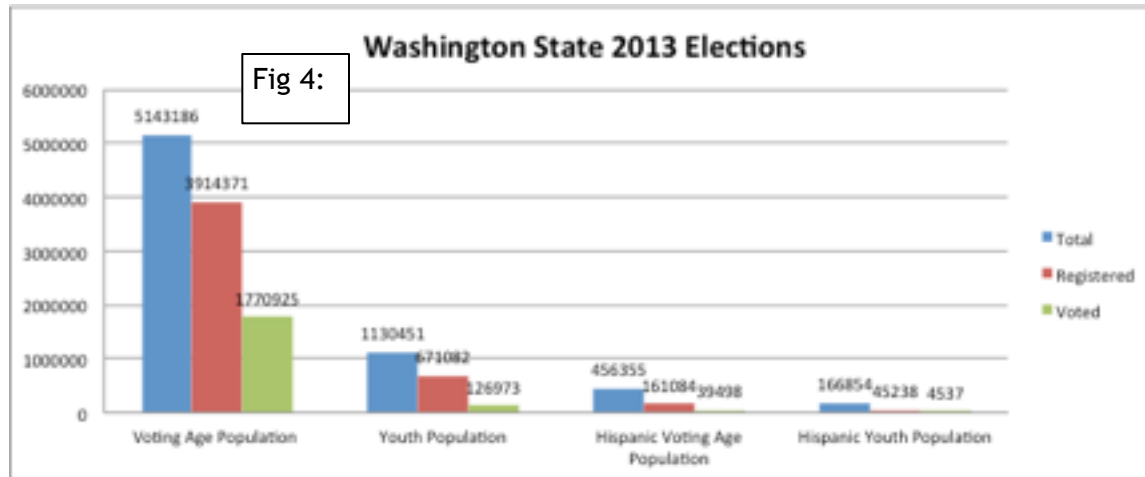


Table 6: Washington State Turnout Statistics for 2013 Election

Sources: WA Secretary of State; 2010 Census Data

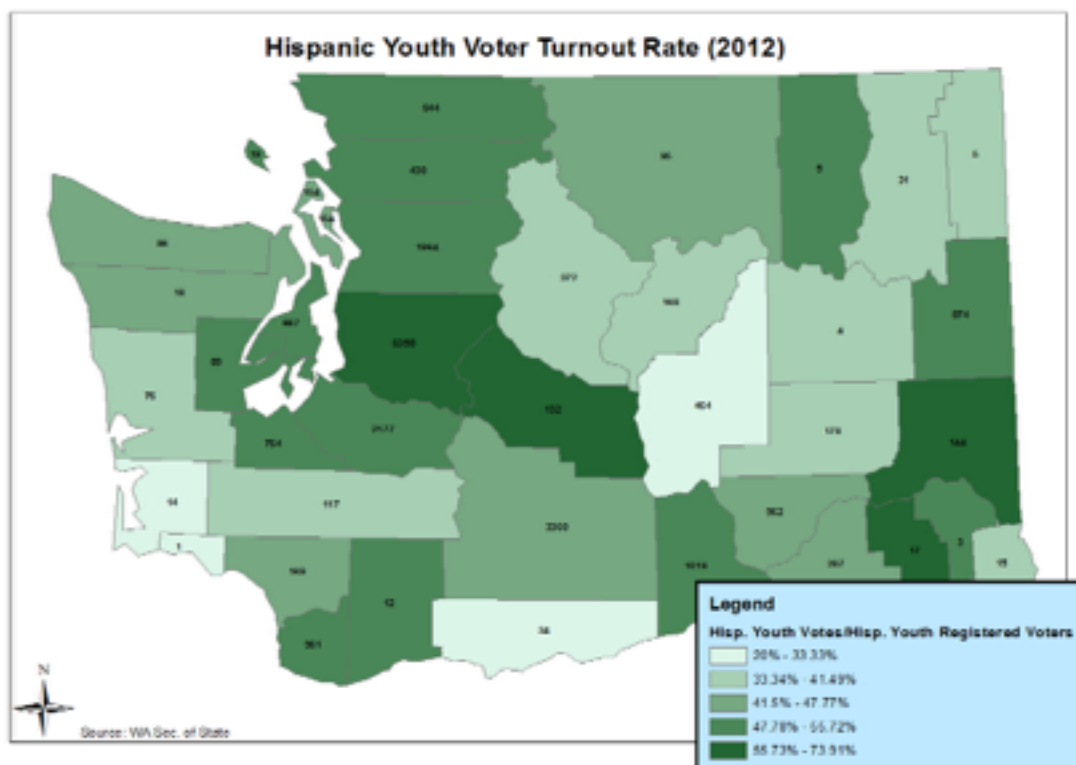
Group	Total	Registered	Voted	Voted/Total	Voted/Registered
Voting Age Population	5,143,186	3,914,371	1,770,925	34.43%	45.24%

Young Adult Population	1,130,451	671,082	126,973	11.23%	18.92%
Hispanic Voting Age Population	456,355	161,084	39,498	8.66%	24.52%
Hispanic Young Adult Population	166,854	45,238	4,537	2.72%	10.03%



Lastly, we used GIS to see if any counties in particular stand out as advantageous for mobilization efforts. The map below shows, by color gradient, Hispanic young adult voter turnout (of registered voters), as well as the total number of Hispanic young adults who voted in the 2012 elections. Yakima County stands out as having a low turnout but a relatively high number of votes cast; Yakima County has perhaps the highest potential for mobilization efforts targeting Hispanic young adults to produce more votes. Grant County also shows a remarkably low turnout rate. However, given all that we know about Hispanic registration and turnout rates, it is safe to say that mobilization efforts can't go wrong in any county with a high Hispanic young adult population or population proportion. Analysis of 2013 turnout data

yields generally the same conclusions.



Examining Social Environments: Higher Education, Criminal Justice, and Employment

In this section, we examine data pertaining to Hispanic and minority young adults within the social environments of higher education, the criminal justice system, and employment. We also use a small number of qualitative interviews as a supplement for the higher education and criminal justice sections. We look to these sectors presuming that, as potentially prominent environments in the lives of many individuals, interactions that take place within them shape individual action, including political behavior. This section discusses general trends; more specific information is included in the county summaries.

Higher Education

Enrollment Trends

Overall, in the 11 year span from 2000-2011, Hispanics increased as a percentage of those enrolled as undergraduates in Washington higher education institutions from 4% to 8.5%; minorities as a whole increased from 30.1% to 39.1%. (In this time, total enrollment has increased 22.3%.) Table 1 summarizes the racial and ethnic breakdown of undergraduates in Washington in 2011.

Table 1: Racial and Ethnic Breakdown of Undergraduates (National Center for Educational Statistics 2011)	
Race/Ethnicity	Percentage of Undergraduates
White	60.9%
Hispanic	8.5%
Asian	5.8%
Black	5.5%
AIAN	2.5%
NHPI	.7%
Unknown	9.6%
International Student/ Nonresident Alien	2.6%

Regarding Hispanic enrollment rates, though, it is instructive to note that growth has not occurred evenly at campuses across the state; rather, the percentage of Hispanics enrolled increased most at four colleges (see table 2). These four colleges, along with Heritage University, also shown in table 2, constitute the five institutions with the largest proportion of Hispanics in the student body.

Table 2: Hispanic Growth in Enrollment Proportion 2000-2011 - Select Colleges (National Center for Educational Statistics 2011)			
Institution	Location	Hispanic % of Undergraduates, 2011	Percentage Point Change in Hispanic % of Undergraduates, 2000-2011
Big Bend Community College	Moses Lake, Grant County	32%	15.90%
Columbia Basin College	Pasco, Franklin County	25%	14.90%
Wenatchee Valley College	Wenatchee, Chelan County	25%	13.10%

Yakima Valley Community College	Yakima and Grandview, Yakima County	39%	16.80%
Heritage University	Toppenish, Yakima County	51%	-3.30%
Rest of Washington Higher Education Institutions	NA	7%	3.10%

This mirrors a national trend in which 56% of Hispanic college students are enrolled at 356 Hispanic Serving Institutions (HSIs; schools at which Hispanic students account for at least 25% of enrollment), which enroll only 17% of students at non-profit higher education institutions.⁵⁴ It is also worth noting that four of these five colleges are community colleges; indeed, nationally, 47.5% of HSIs are community colleges.⁵⁵ It seems that while, as a whole, Hispanics are increasingly accessing higher education in Washington, this is the case disproportionately at the community college level and at a handful of heavily Hispanic institutions.

The colleges above enroll the highest proportion of Hispanics within degree-granting institutions in Washington State. We suggest that these five institutions in particular are advantageous targets for mobilization and registration efforts due to their high Hispanic enrollment proportions and the opportunity that the college environment offers for shaping individual political behavior. In addition, Washington State University and the University of Washington enroll the highest overall number of Hispanics in the state (see table 3, below), and may also be viable targets.

Table 3. Institutions Enrolling the Most Hispanics (National Center for Educational Statistics 2011)		
Institution Name	Hispanics Enrolled	Hispanic % of Enrollment
Washington State University	1,804	8%
University of Washington-Seattle Campus	1,797	6%

⁵⁴HACU, "Fact Sheet: Hispanic Higher Education and HSIs." Accessed 12 Feb 2013. http://www.hacu.net/hacu/HSI_Fact_Sheet.asp

⁵⁵ HACU.

Yakima Valley Community College	1,659	39%
Columbia Basin College	1,613	25%
Eastern Washington University	1,089	10%

Interviews

The variety of groups and events that exist and occur on college campuses make them a space with uniquely powerful political potential. Most basically, student affairs departments can serve campuses by facilitating student activities, improving student retention, and establishing connections between students and local organizations.⁵⁶ Yakima Valley Community College hosts “volunteer fairs” which involve students in community organizations.⁵⁷ Student organizations can also facilitate engagement in political issues. We were able to contact the Heritage Justice Circle (Heritage University), the University of Washington Third-Wave Feminists, and M.E.Ch.A (Yakima Valley CC). All these groups host events on their campuses, which include bringing in outside speakers in order to inform and engage the student body. M.E.Ch.A, also, has previously ran registration drives at Yakima Valley Community College.

We also spoke with representatives from two non-profit organizations that work with college students in the state: the Washington Bus and Washington PIRG. The “Bus” runs a summer fellowship for college-age students, providing hands-on training in political leadership and organizational skills to help them to empower and engage communities; the Bus particularly focuses on engagement programs in underrepresented communities.⁵⁸ PIRG has worked with students on the Evergreen State College campus to coordinate events and rallies regarding progressive political issues.⁵⁹

Criminal Justice

Mapping Criminal Justice Facilities in Washington

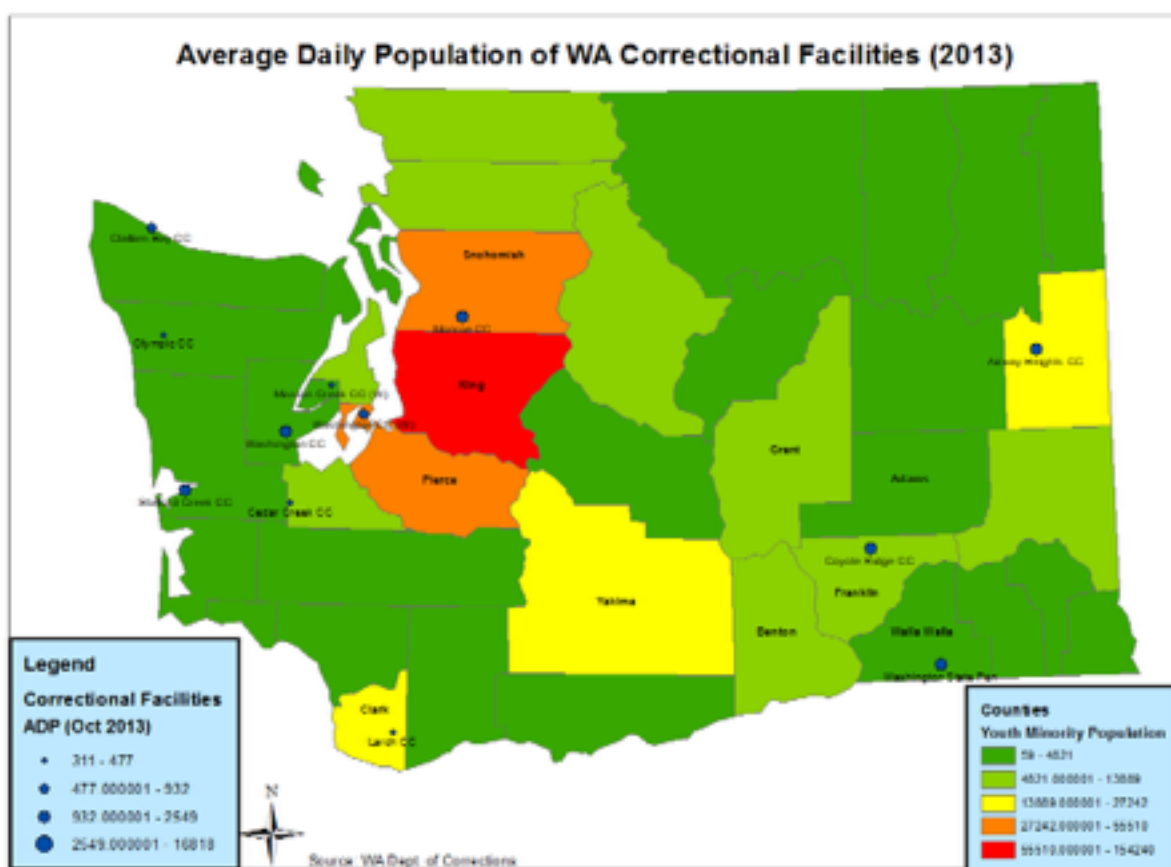
⁵⁶ Erica Macias Tait, interview by M. Augustine, Jacksonville, Florida and Toppenish, Washington (phone), November 27, 2013.

⁵⁷ Maria Cuevas, interview by M. Augustine, Walla Walla, Washington and Yakima, Washington (email correspondence), December 20, 2013. All further references to Ms. Cuevas refer to this interview.

⁵⁸ Lauren McCullough, interview by I. Nardie-Warner and M. Augustine, Walla Walla, Washington and Seattle, Washington (phone), October 30, 2013.

⁵⁹ Hillary Larson, interview by M. Augustine, Jacksonville, Florida and Evergreen, Washington (phone), November 27, 2013.

The map above shows the location of Washington's twelve correctional facilities, sixteen work release facilities, and three re-entry programs (the STAR Project, Open Gate Re-entry, and three Pioneer Human Services locations). The map below shows the relative size of the correctional facilities. Each shows the minority young adult population by county by color gradient. We see relatively large facilities in Snohomish County (Monroe Correctional Center), Spokane County (Airway Heights Correctional Center), Franklin County (Coyote Ridge Correctional Center), Walla Walla County (Washington State Penitentiary), Grays Harbor County (Stafford Creek Correctional Center), and Mason County (Washington Correctional Center). Of these, Snohomish and Spokane Counties have the largest minority young adult populations, Walla Walla and Franklin Counties have relatively high minority young adults population proportions; Mason and Grays Harbor Counties are relatively low in both categories. We suggest, then, that the Washington State Penitentiary, Coyote Ridge, Airway Heights, and Monroe may be the best sites for politically mobilizing young minorities.

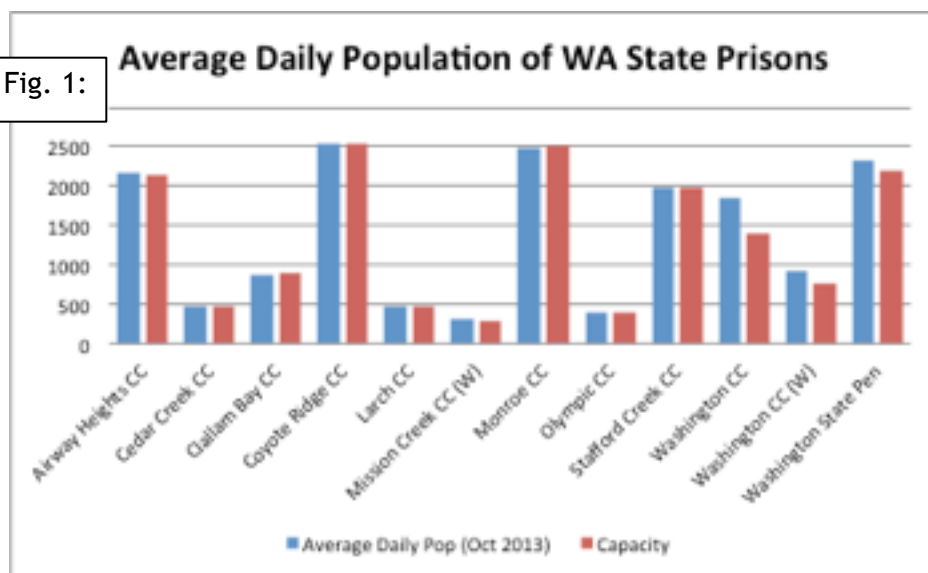


The Incarcerated Population in Washington State

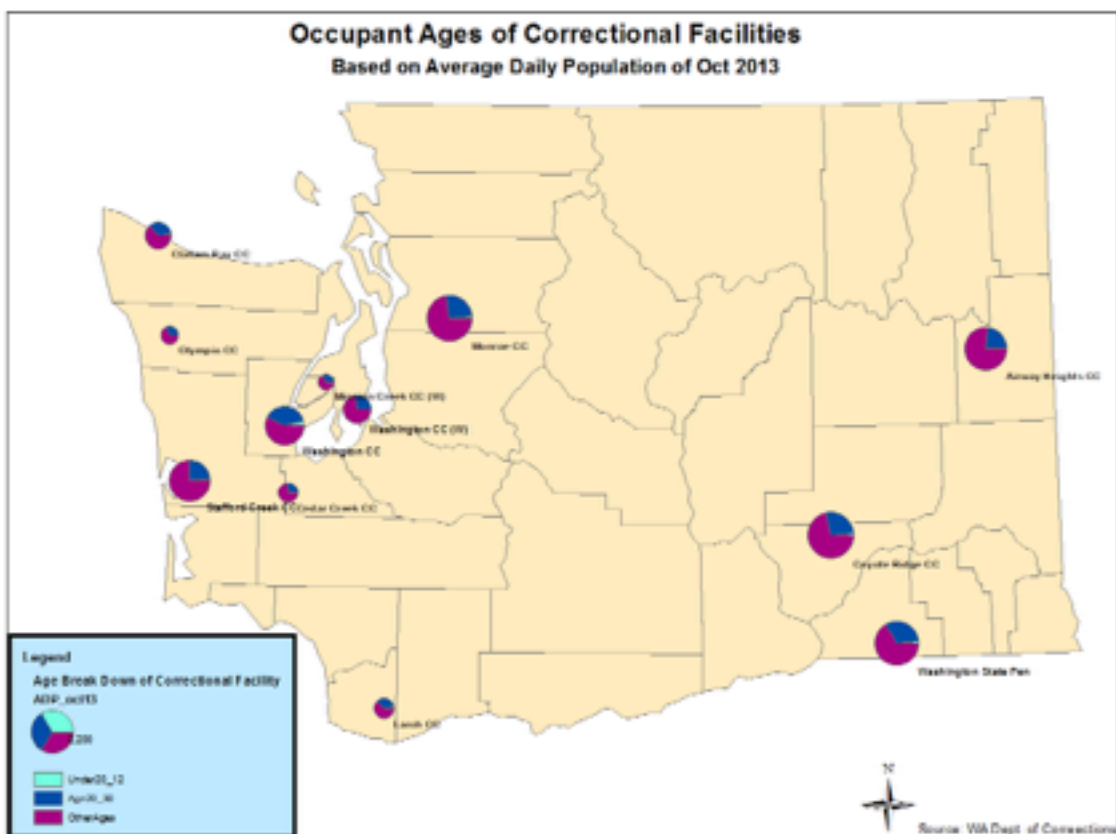
The average daily population (ADP) at all correctional facilities in October 2013 was 16,818 individuals.⁶⁰ Before we proceed, it is worth noting that this amounts to only .3% of the VAP in Washington State. Thus, it seems unlikely that mobilization efforts centered on the criminal justice system will have a significant direct impact on electoral outcomes. However, as part of a concerted, multifaceted effort, the symbolic value and possible synergies of political mobilization centered on the criminal justice system may be worthwhile from the standpoint of impacting elections, particularly local elections. Figure 1 shows the ADP at Washington's various correctional facilities.

⁶⁰ Parenthetically, this is about 5% over the capacity of 16,033.

Fig. 1:



The map below shows the age distribution at each correctional center. Generally speaking, we see that young adults - in this case, those aged 20-30, make up about a quarter to a half of the population in these facilities whereas, on the whole, those 18-29 only comprise 22% of the VAP. In other words, younger adults are overrepresented in Washington's prison population.



Figures 2 and 3 break down the race and ethnicity of the incarcerated population. Blacks are overrepresented in the prison population by a factor of 5.6, comprising 19% of those incarcerated, versus just 3.4% of the VAP in the state. American Indians are overrepresented by a factor of 2.9, comprising 4% of the prison population versus 1.4% of the VAP. Hispanics are overrepresented in the prison population by a factor of about 1.4, comprising 12.2% of the prison population and 8.9% of the VAP. In addition to young adults, certain minorities, especially Blacks and American Indians and, to a lesser degree, Hispanics, are overrepresented in the prison population of Washington State. From this we can guess that Black, American Indian, and Hispanic young adults are particularly overrepresented.

Fig. 2:

Races of Washington Criminal Justice System

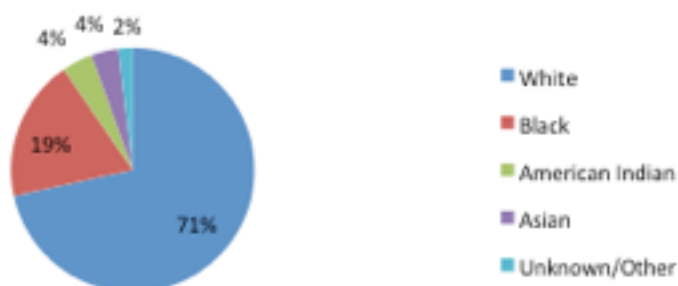
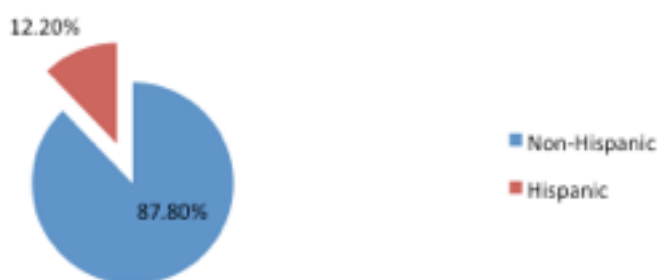


Fig. 3:

Ethnicity in Washington Criminal Justice System



Criminal Re-entry

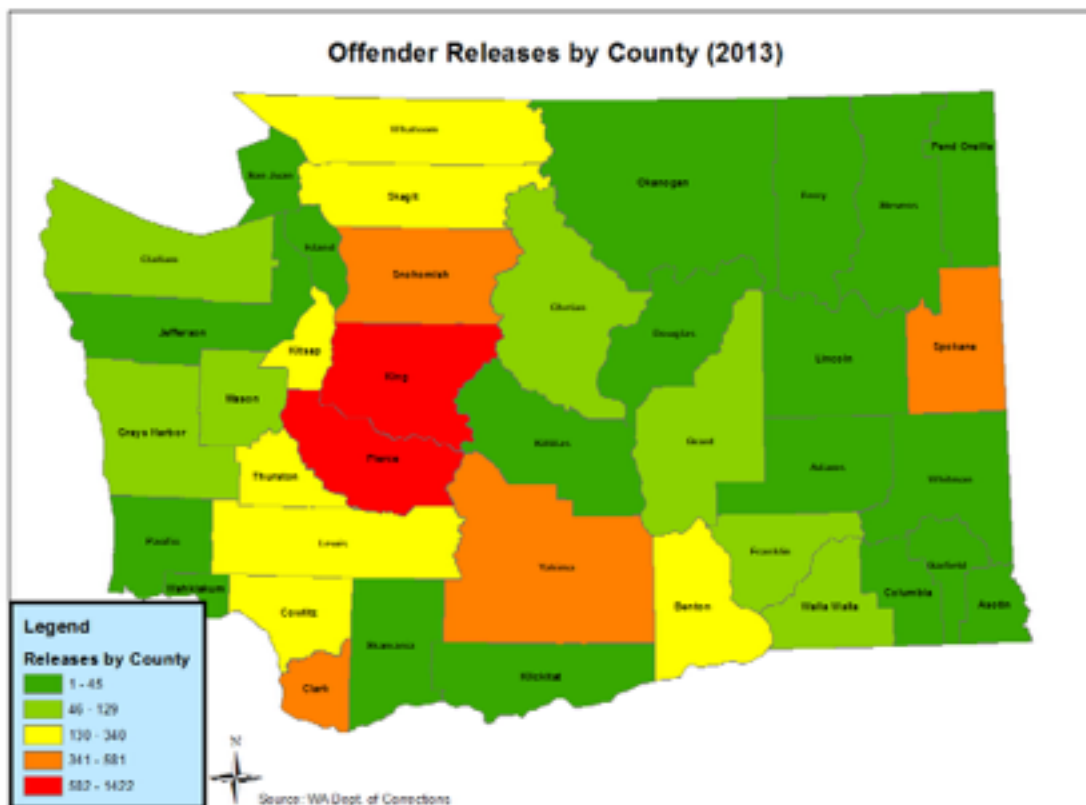
In Washington State, those incarcerated cannot vote. However, since a change in state law in 2009, those completed with all terms of their sentence are eligible to register and vote in Washington.⁶¹ Thus, we aim to locate these re-entering populations and understand what

⁶¹ Washington State passed a law in 2009 stipulating that individuals' right to vote may be reinstated upon completion of their sentence, with some exceptions.

factors influence their voting behavior in order to suggest strategies to promote the political engagement of re-entering individuals.

Mapping Re-entry

The map below shows, by color gradient, the number of ex-offenders released to each county in 2013. The highest numbers of re-entrants were released into Yakima, Spokane, Clark, Snohomish, and, especially, King and Pierce Counties. These are likely the counties in which efforts to register and mobilize re-entrants would show the greatest impact.



Understanding Washington's Re-entry Programs

Following studies discussing the challenges faced by ex-offenders reentering society, we also spoke with Glenna Awbrey, director of the STAR Project in Walla Walla, and Angela Webster, campaign organizer for Smart Justice and a board member of Spokane's Open Gate re-entry program, to better understand what barriers and supports exist for re-entering citizens to participate in politics in Washington. Although these two interviews are by no means exhaustive, we can generally take away from them that a lack of information, communication, and efforts targeting re-entrants factor into low political participation rates for such individuals. Additionally, while the Open Gate program works to register re-entrants, voting may simply be a relatively low immediate priority in the daily operations of re-entry programs operating with limited funding.

When we asked why re-entering individuals, particularly minority young adults, might not exercise their right to vote, Ms. Awbrey recounted hearing ex-offenders saying things along the lines of: *“I can’t vote, I am a felon.”*⁶² Ms. Webster echoed similar sentiments, recalling several conversations. Indeed, it seems that there is generally not great awareness and communication of the 2009 legal change. According to Ms. Awbrey, re-entrants are typically *“certainly not [aware of the change]. I haven’t had a single person, even the folks that go into the penitentiary and talk to them, the volunteers, no one has said anything... Because that would be a huge thing for [volunteers] to talk to them about.”* Re-entrants will not vote if they do not know they can and nobody tells them otherwise; nobody can tell them otherwise if they themselves are unaware.

Furthermore, re-entry programs prioritize housing, employment, education, and mentoring for their participants in order to help them overcome typical obstacles of re-entry. While the Open Gate program does work to register re-entrants, Ms. Webster noted that what a program can do *“comes down to funding, often times.”*⁶³ It seems likely that voter registration is not a top priority for funding in all re-entry programs. Although the STAR Project does not currently register re-entrants, Ms. Awbrey seemed optimistic, suggesting that after further research of state policies, the program *“could have [re-entrants] register here. You know, if that’s an opportunity for them.”* Although potentially - almost inevitably - limited by funding, re-entry programs do have the potential to reach out to re-entrants and facilitate their political participation.

⁶² Glenna Awbrey, interview by I. Nardie-Warner, Walla Walla, Washington, October 31, 2013. All further references to Ms. Awbrey refer to this interview.

⁶³ Angela Webster, interview by I. Nardie-Warner, Spokane, Washington and St. Louis, Missouri (Skype), January 6, 2014. All further references to Ms. Webster refer to this interview.

Employment

In this section we examine employment data in order to identify opportunities within this social environment to mobilize and engage Hispanic young adults. No data exists specific to Hispanic young adults, so we examine data pertaining to young workers (aged 14-24) and data pertaining to Hispanics separately.

Table 4: Average Young (14-24) Adult Employment Across NAICS Industrial Sectors in Washington (Employment Security Department)			
Sector (NAICS Code)	Average Young Adults Employed	Young Adults as a % of Sector Workers	%of Employed Young Adults Working in Sector
All	352,223	12.6%	100.0%
72	76,592	35.2%	21.7%
44-45	76,283	24.3%	21.7%
62	33,334	9.1%	9.5%
81	19,836	13.4%	5.6%
31-33	19,643	7.4%	5.6%
56	19,097	13.9%	5.4%
11	14,468	17.4%	4.1%
71	13,492	21.3%	3.8%
54	11,803	7.1%	3.4%
23	11,767	9.7%	3.3%
61	10,765	4.3%	3.1%
42	8,951	7.3%	2.5%
51	8,095	7.0%	2.3%
48-49	7,013	7.2%	2.0%
52	6,520	7.3%	1.9%
92	5,245	4.0%	1.5%
53	4,744	10.4%	1.3%
55	3,997	10.5%	1.1%
22	452	2.8%	0.1%
21	127	6.0%	0.0%

Table 4 breaks down the workforce aged 14-24 by NAICS industry category. Here we see that by far the largest numbers of young workers are employed in the Accommodation & Food Services (AFS) sector and the Retail sector, followed by the Health Care and Social Assistance (HCSA) sector. Additionally, young workers comprise a particularly high proportion of those employed in the Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation (AER) sector, Retail, and, especially, AFS. Indeed, these findings typically hold across the 14 individual counties in which we examined young adult employment trends. Thus, we suggest efforts to target young adults within the social environment of employment would most advantageously target AFS, followed by Retail, AER, and HCSA. A couple of qualifications should be noted, however. First, individual AFS businesses tend to be relatively small establishments (e.g., restaurants, hotels) that employ relatively few individuals. In contrast, more HCSA firms tend to be large establishments, such as medical centers, employing large numbers of individuals in one place and thus may be more attractive targets in that measure. Second, many of the individual counties in which we studied employment trends have high Hispanic population proportions and as such are rural, agricultural counties with low populations; in these counties, the Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing, and Hunting (AFFH) sector tends to be a major employer of young workers.

Table 5 breaks down the Hispanic workforce in Washington State by occupational category. We see that, statewide, Hispanics are spread fairly evenly across occupational categories. The greatest numbers of Hispanics work in Service occupations, followed by Natural Resources, Construction, and Maintenance (NRCM) occupations. Roughly equal numbers work in Management, Business, Science, and Arts (MBSA) occupations, Sales and Office occupations, and Production, Transportation, and Material Moving (PTMM) occupations. It is worth noting that significantly fewer Hispanic women work than Hispanic men, and that men are weighted more towards physical occupations (NRCM and PTMM), while relatively few women work in these occupations. Efforts to mobilize Hispanic workers in Washington State thus should ideally focus on a variety of occupational categories (and industry sectors), and be cognizant of the significantly gendered patterns of labor in the Hispanic population.

Table 5: Hispanic Workforce by Occupational Category (2011 ACS 5-Year Estimates)						
Occupational Category	Hispanic Workers	Proportion of Hispanics in Category	Hispanic Female Workers	Proportion of Hispanic Females in Category	Hispanic Male Workers	Proportion of Hispanic Males in Category
All	292,847	100.0%	120,239	100.0%	172,608	100.0%
Service	76,470	26.1%	39,107	32.5%	37,363	21.6%
MBSA	52,926	18.1%	27,255	22.7%	25,671	14.9%
Sales&Office	49,640	17.0%	31,090	25.9%	18,550	10.7%
NRCM	67,473	23.0%	9,936	8.3%	57,537	33.3%
PTMM	46,338	15.8%	12,851	10.7%	33,487	19.4%

Synthesized Index

Here, we synthesize the various aspects of our analysis in order to illustrate more clearly particularly good counties and locations to target registration and GOTV efforts. Table 1 shows studied counties ranked by relevant statistics from our analysis. The counties are ordered by average rank with low numbers indicating greater opportunity for registration and mobilization efforts to impact electoral outcomes.

Table 1: County Statistics and Rankings					
County Name	Hispanic 18-29 Population (Rank)	Hispanic 18-29 as % of VAP (Rank)	% of Hispanic VAP Registered to Vote (Rank)	2012 Hispanic 18-29 Turnout Rate [% of Registered Voters] (Rank)	County Average Ranking
Grant	7,333 (6)	11.8 (4)	24.0 (1)	32.7 (1)	3
Franklin	8,469 (5)	16.5 (2)	30.7 (4)	43 (6)	4.25
Yakima	22,660 (2)	13.4 (3)	36.9 (6)	45.4 (8)	4.75
Adams	2,304 (15)	18.9 (1)	26.5 (2)	41.1 (4)	5.5
Chelan	4,157 (11)	7.6 (6)	Not Studied	40.2 (3)	6.67
Douglas	2,311 (14)	8.3 (5)	Not Studied	34.7 (2)	7
Benton	7,145 (7)	5.6 (8)	34.7 (5)	50 (11)	7.75
Skagit	4,255 (10)	4.8 (9)	29.6 (3)	48.1 (9)	7.75
Pierce	16,285 (3)	2.7 (11)	38.7 (7)	50.8 (12)	8.25

Walla Walla	2,594 (13)	5.7 (7)	40.8 (8)	43.8 (7)	8.75
King	39,830 (1)	2.6 (12)	41.5 (11)	61 (16)	10
Snohomish	13,777 (4)	2.6 (13)	41.5 (10)	54.4 (14)	10.25
Okanogan	1,485 (16)	4.7 (10)	Not Studied	42.2 (5)	10.33
Clark	6,126 (8)	2.0 (15)	41.0 (9)	51.1 (13)	11.25
Spokane	5,341 (9)	1.5 (16)	Not Studied	49.6 (10)	11.67
Whatcom	3,741 (12)	2.4 (14)	48.1 (12)	55.1 (15)	13.25

Table 2 shows, by county, prominent locations to target and institutions to target within the three social environments. The table is ordered by the average county ranking shown in table 1.

Table 2: Places, Higher Education Institutions, Industry Sectors, and Criminal Justice and Re-Entry Institutions to Target by County				
County Name	Possible Places to Target	Possible Higher Education Institutions to Target	Industry Sectors to Target	Current Criminal Justice and Re-entry Institutions
Grant	Cities and Towns: Mattawa, Royal City, George, Quincy, Warden, Moses Lake, Ephrata; CDPs: Desert Aire, Moses Lake North	Big Bend Community College	AFFH, AFS, Retail, Manufacturing	
Franklin	Cities and Towns: Pasco, Mesa, Connell; CDPs: Basin City	Columbia Basin College	AFFH, AFS, Retail	Coyote Ridge Correctional Facility

Yakima	Cities and Towns: Yakima, Mabton, Granger, Toppenish, Sunnyside, Wapato, Grandview, Tieton, Harrah, Union Gap, Zillah, Moxee	Heritage University, Yakima Valley Community College	AFFH, AFS, Retail, HCSA, AER	Ahtanum View Work Release
Adams	Cities and Towns: Othello		AFFH, AFS, Retail, Manufacturing, HCSA	
Chelan	Wenatchee, Cashmere, Chelan. CDPs: South Wenatchee, Chelan Falls, Manson	Wenatchee Valley College	AFFH, AFS, Retail	
Douglas	Cities and Towns: Bridgeport, Rock Island, East Wenatchee		AFFH, AFS, Retail	
Benton	Cities and Towns: Kennewick, Prosser, Benton City		AFS, Retail, HCSA, AFFH, AER	Tri-Cities Work Release
Skagit	Cities and Towns: Mount Vernon, Burlington	Skagit Valley College	AFS, Retail	
Pierce	Lakewood, Fife, Auburn, Tacoma. CDPs: Parkland, Fort Lewis, Midland	Bates Technical College, University of Washington (Tacoma), Clover Park Technical College, Pacific Lutheran University, Pierce College	AFS, Retail, HCSA, AER, Other Services	Washington Women's Correction Facility, Progress House Work Release, Rap/Lincoln Park Work Release, Tacoma Residential Re-entry Center
Walla Walla	Cities and Towns: Walla Walla, College Place	Walla Walla Community College, Walla Walla University, Whitman College	AFS, Retail, AFFH	Washington State Penitentiary, STAR Project Re-entry Program

King	Cities and Towns: Burien, SeaTac, Kent, Tukwila, Federal Way, Renton, Auburn, Seattle	Bellevue College, Green River Community College, Seattle Central Community College, Seattle University, University of Washington	AFS, Retail, HCSA, Administrati ve Services, Other Services, AER	Bishop Lewis Work Release, Helen B. Ratcliff Work Release, Madison Inn Work Release, Reynolds Work Release, Seattle Pioneer Fellowship House
Snohomis h	Monroe, Everett, Lynnwood, Marysville	Everett Community College, Edmonds Community College	AFS, Retail, Manufacturi ng, HCSA	Monroe Correctional Facility
Okanoga n	Cities and Towns: Brewster, Pateros		AFFH, AFS, Retail	
Clark	Cities and Towns: Vancouver	Clark College	AFS, Retail, HCSA, Administrati ve Services, Construction , Other Services, AER	Larch Correctional Facility, Clark County Work Release, Longview Work Release
Spokane	Cities and Towns: Spokane, Spokane Valley, Cheney	Eastern Washington University, Gonzaga University, Spokane Falls Community College, Spokane Community College	Not Studied	Airway Heights Correctional Facility, Brownstone Work Release, Eleanor Chase House Work Release, Spokane Residential Re- entry House, Open Gate Re-entry Program
Whatcom	Cities and Towns: Everson, Bellingham	Whatcom Community College, Bellingham Technical College, Western Washington University, Northwest Indian College	Not Studied	Bellingham Work Release

Conclusion and Recommendations

Substantially increasing the political participation of young Hispanic and minority voters in Washington will require sustained and concerted effort from many parties. Here, based on our primary research findings, secondary research findings, and the core values guiding this report, we offer our recommendations for future action. We hope that our findings and recommendations will assist organizations in the state that seek to engage, register, and mobilize these groups.

We urge the Latino Community Fund and other organizations and groups to continue and further promote political participation among young minority voters, particularly Hispanics, through registration and GOTV efforts. GOTV efforts should be guided but not constrained by the insights we review from the secondary literature. In particular, campaigns should contact targeted voters in person or by phone; seek to maintain high quality, and be an ongoing part of a coherent and concerted strategy of civic and political engagement. We are optimistic that such efforts will contribute to a positive transformation of politics and society in Washington State to the benefit of both marginalized groups and the broader public.

We recommend that organizations and activists focus GOTV and voter registration efforts on areas in which young adult Hispanics and minorities comprise a large proportion of the VAP. In particular, Hispanic young adults constitute a large proportion of the VAP in Adams, Yakima, Franklin, and Grant counties; Washington's 4th Congressional District;⁶⁴ and Washington's 16th, 13th, 14th, and especially 15th State Legislative Districts. Hispanic young adults also make up a particularly large proportion of the VAP in a number of specific cities

⁶⁴ Washington's 4th Congressional District contains Adams, Franklin, Yakima, and Grant counties, as well as Douglas, Okanogan, and Benton Counties.

and towns within our studied counties.⁶⁵ In addition to the areas listed above, young adult minorities comprise a large proportion of the VAP in Washington's 9th Congressional District; Washington's 33rd, 37th, 11th, 29th, 43rd, 16th, 14th, 30th, and 48th State Legislative districts. Also, while Hispanic young adults comprise a relatively small proportion of the VAP in Washington's most populous counties of King, Pierce, and Snohomish, these counties contain the largest numbers of young adult Hispanics and minorities, and their relatively high racial diversity means that minority young adults as a whole make up a significant part of the VAP. The above areas should be the focus of efforts hoping to impact elections in Washington through increasing Hispanic young adult registration and turnout.

We also suggest, following previous scholarship, that organizations may want to focus on specific social environments, particularly higher education, the criminal justice system, and employment. These environments are prominent sociocultural contexts in the lives of many individuals and contain and potentially foster social networks and relationships that impact voting behavior. As such, they represent environments where there may be greater potential for GOTV conversations to tap into and shift individual self-definitions and for many individual shifts to interact and coalesce into larger, sustained, group-level shifts.

Focusing first on higher education, we find five higher educational institutions that (1) enroll a large number of Hispanic students, (2) enroll Hispanics as a large proportion of the student body, and (3) are located in areas in which Hispanics comprise a large proportion of the VAP. These five are Big Bend Community College (Moses Lake, Grant County), Columbia Basin College (Pasco, Franklin County), Heritage University (Toppenish, Yakima County), Wenatchee Valley College (Wenatchee, Chelan County), and Yakima Valley Community College (Yakima, Yakima County). We urge both higher education institutions and community

⁶⁵ Hispanics 18-29 comprise over 10% of the VAP in the following cities and towns: in Adams County: Othello; in Yakima County: Mabton, Granger, Toppenish, Sunnyside, Wapato, Grandview, Tieton, Harrah, Union Gap, Yakima, Zillah, and Moxee; in Franklin County: Mesa, Pasco, and Connell; in Grant County: Mattawa, Royal City, George, Quincy, and Warden; in Douglas County: Bridgeport and Rock Island; in Benton County: Prosser; in Skagit County: Mount Vernon and Burlington; in Okanogan County: Brewster and Pateros; In Whatcom County: Everson.

organizations to work together in an ongoing manner to allocate resources and efforts towards voter registration drives and GOTV campaigns to engage and mobilize both students and members of surrounding communities.

Second, we have found the issue of voting rights for citizens reentering from the criminal justice sector is not communicated clearly throughout the state. We ask that state and local governments promote clear communication of voting rights to all people within the state, including those people who will be able to reinstate their voting rights, and support organizations or programs that work to clarify policy for residents of Washington. We suggest that re-entry programs utilize volunteers as clear communication channels to inform exiting inmates as well as program participants of their voting rights, and additionally support and facilitate voting re-registration when capable. We see re-entry programs as the most direct way of increasing registration and turnout among the re-entering population because they interact directly with this group. Re-entry programs can help to conveniently register re-entrants, inform them of important political issues, and encourage them to vote.

Third, we find that a large portion of young workers employed in Washington State work within the Accommodation and Food service and Retail sectors, consistent across all counties. Further, in many of the counties we studied, particularly more rural, eastern Washington counties with large Hispanic population proportions, we find that the Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing, and Hunting sector employs a large number and proportion of young workers, while Hispanics concentrate in Natural Resources, Construction, and Maintenance occupations. We encourage community organizations, labor organizers, and community leaders to work within industry sectors that employ large numbers and proportions of young workers in largely minority communities to promote political engagement and efficacy of these populations.

Additionally, governmental agencies can play a crucial role in mobilizing young adults of color. We encourage the Washington State government to facilitate and support, via

funding and/or capacity-lending, efforts by community organizations to register and mobilize young adults of color. Additionally, we recommend that the Secretary of State include race and ethnicity information on voter registration data to enable tracking and analysis of registration and turnout patterns among minority groups other than Hispanics; this would allow further research that would aid efforts to increase the political voice of all minority populations.

Further, we call for continued research exploring the relationship between political engagement and specific groups, programs, institutions, and firms within the studied social environments.

Finally, we note that a significant portion of the responsibility for creating a more equal and just society rests on individuals and communities. We urge community leaders to work to make political engagement, including voting, a norm and expectation among young people in Hispanic and minority communities.

Again, we see three core values at stake in this research:

- Every person can and should be included and engaged in all levels of politics in Washington State.
- Minority young adults should see themselves and be seen as legitimate and effective political actors.
- Entire communities are best served when all residents are included and empowered in the political process rather than alienated and marginalized.

We hope that our research and recommendations strengthen and guide concrete, practical efforts by community organizations, state and local government, community leaders, and everyday citizens to more closely realize these values.

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