

William H. Frey

**Regional Shifts in America's Voting-Aged Population:
What Do They Mean for National Politics?**

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Abstract: The results of the November 2000 election, and those of several to come, will be shaped by sharp region-based shifts in America's voting-aged population, which can be tracked from 1990. These shifts involve the continued concentration of new immigrant minorities—Hispanics and Asians—into selected “melting pot states”; shifts of white middle-class suburbanites away from large coastal metropolises to fast-growing parts of the “New Sun Belt”; the return of African Americans to the South; and the *non-migration* of some of the most sought-after “swing” groups of voters that both major presidential candidates are vying for.

These trends are beginning to cement distinct regional differences in the demographic profiles of the country's voting-aged population. Although the new migration patterns would appear to exert a bigger impact on fast-growing migrant destination states, they also affect stagnating origin states by increasing the political clout of the groups left behind. In fact, three highly-prized constituencies in the 2000 presidential election—white working wives, white “forgotten majority” men, and white seniors—make up a disproportionate share of the residual populations in slow-growing interior states which form the “battleground” for this election.

Datasets used: 1990 US decennial census; US Census Bureau projections for November 2000 state voting-aged populations; US census Current Population Survey data for years 1990 through 1999.

Note: *State statistics on voting-aged populations by race and ethnicity; and key demographic segments, compiled by the author, are shown in the Appendix tables to this report*

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The results of the November 2000 election, and those of several to come, will be shaped by sharp region-based shifts in America's voting-aged population, which can be tracked since 1990. They involve: the continued concentration of new immigrant minorities, Hispanics and Asians, into selected "melting pot states"; shifts of white middle-class suburbanites away from large coastal metropolises to fast-growing parts of the "New Sun Belt"; the return of African Americans to the South and the *non-migration* of some of the most sought-after "swing" groups of voters that both Bush and Gore are vying for.

These trends are beginning to cement distinct regional differences in the demographic profiles of the country's voting-aged population. While the new migration patterns would appear to exert a bigger impact on fast-growing migrant destination states, they also affect stagnating origin states by increasing the political clout of the groups left behind. In fact, three highly-prized constituencies in the 2000 Presidential election—white working wives, white "forgotten majority" men, and white seniors—make up a disproportionate share of the residual populations in slow-growing interior states which form the "battleground" for this election.

The results discussed below are based on a new analysis of state and regional shifts in the voting-aged population for the period between the 1990 census and November 7, 2000 (Election Day). They also draw from our analysis of migration and distribution patterns for states and demographic groups based on the US Census Bureau's Current Population Survey for the years, 1990-1999.

Immigrant Melting Pot States

The most dramatic migration-related change in the nation's electorate since 1990 is the infusion of new immigrant minorities. Between the 1990 Census and Election Day 2000, the combined voting aged populations of Hispanics and Asians will increase by 9.6 million to 29.5 million overall. More significant is the concentration of this growth in only a few states. California, Texas, Florida and New York garnered 61 percent of these gains, and now house almost two-thirds of the combined Hispanic and Asian population. These states, combined with New Jersey, Hawaii, and New Mexico, can be considered "melting pot states" (see Map 1) and represent a very different constituency than those in other parts of the country. Non-Hispanic whites comprise only 61 percent of potential voters, while Hispanics and Asians constitute 29 percent of the voting-aged population in these states.

It is true that new immigrant minorities tend to vote in significantly lower numbers than the remaining population. Nonetheless, both George Bush and Al Gore pay attention to these changing demographics when visiting each of these melting pot states: both symbolically, by speaking Spanish when visiting Hispanic neighborhoods, and in their policy prescriptions, favoring efficiencies in the INS system, improved public education and support for family values. Both are aware of California's dramatic Republican-to-Democratic shift in state offices that was due, in part, to perceived anti-immigration sentiment attributed to Republican Governor Pete Wilson. And the Hispanic and Asian share of the Golden State's voting aged population is projected to increase from 40 percent in November, 2000 to 52 percent in 2015.

Immigration is not the only cause for the rise of Hispanic and Asian visibility in these melting pot states. New York, New Jersey and California exhibited a decline and out-migration of their white voting aged populations over the course of the 1990s. (See Table 1.) This movement, studies have shown, reflects the desire of white suburbanites in large congested metropolises like New York, Los Angeles and San Francisco to reside in smaller, less dense communities. Yet, in making these moves, they are changing the demographic constituencies of both origin and destination states.

White Shifts to the "New Sunbelt"

Migration to the Sunbelt is now a familiar story. Yet what is new with the 1990s is a large component of "would-be suburbanites" who seem to be in a quest for more traditional suburban-like communities that are no longer available in the expensive, congested suburbs of the Northeast and California coastal metropolises. Beneficiaries of these moves are southeast coastal states (from New

York) and most western states (from California). Since 1990, the white voting aged population increased by more than 22 percent in each of the states: Nevada, Utah, Idaho, Arizona and Colorado. Thirty-six percent of the nation's gain in the white voting-aged population took place in the non-California west. Georgia, the Carolinas, and Tennessee increased their white voting aged populations by more than twice the national rate (5.5 percent).

The flows of voters to these "New West" and "New South" states arrive from all parts of the country, but dominant origins are California and metropolitan New York. (From 1990-1999, California contributed to 71 percent of the "rest of the West" net white migration gains; New York and New Jersey contributed to 65 percent of net white migration gains for South Atlantic division states.) They infuse new destinations with "suburban" demographic attributes that should reinforce middle class, moderate conservative voting constituencies that already exist in those areas. The West is also noted for its attraction of young, itinerant professionals who are "lone eagles" and who tend to be more independent-minded about politics. A third group of new arrivals to both the West and Southeast are white retirees with some resources and, while probably economically conservative, like to be assured of the solvency of the Social Security system.

While the white arrivees to both these New Sunbelt regions may share some suburban, middle-of-the-road values with the "homegrown" whites, their more cosmopolitan origins may make them more socially liberal and less supportive of such issues as gun control (in the West) or abortion and religion (in the South). In the latter region, the influx of new suburban whites is accompanied by another new influx which should serve to moderate the social tenor of political discourse: the return migration of Northern blacks.

Blacks Return to the South

The 1990s represented something of a full circle shift with respect to black migration, countering a trend that characterized most of the last century. Blacks from each other census region (Northeast, Midwest, and West) descended into the South in greater numbers than those who left. Between 1990 and 1999, the South received a net gain in black voting-aged migrants of 326,225 from the rest of the US. On Election Day 2000, 53 percent of the nation's black voting aged population will reside in the South. This movement is made up of middle-class blacks drawn to the booming New South economies; working-class blacks who were turned away from manufacturing restructuring in the North; and black retirees who are more likely to relocate in southern communities than those in the West.

Yet, it is the increasing numbers of baby boomer professional blacks who will help moderate the tone of both Republican and Democratic appeals toward middle-of-the-road economic issues and away from the more strident, thinly-disguised racial politics of the past. While African American newcomers will certainly be receptive to traditional black Democratic constituency issues like affirmative action, the more middle class, suburban segments of these newcomers will also be receptive to more moderate proposals like targeted tax cuts, school vouchers and partial privatization of Social Security. By the same token, the new white migrants will be less likely to side with long-time residents on cultural conservative issues.

The re-consolidation of blacks in the South, along with the new in-migration of northern suburban whites, will keep the South a distinct but more progressive region than in the past. While the old Democratic "Solid South" gave way to a sharp Republican sweep in the last 30 years, recent elections have shown some reversals (e.g., Republican-to-Democratic gubernatorial shifts in Alabama, South Carolina and Mississippi) which can be attributed in part to the new migrants' influences. The states we have classed as White-Black Gainers (see Map 1) are emblematic of these new trends. On Election Day 2000, their voting-aged population will be 22 percent black, 74 percent white, and less than 4 percent Hispanic and Asian.

States with Minimum Growth and Maximum Impact

Much attention has been given to the dominant destination states for immigrants, white suburbanites, and African Americans. Still, there is a broad swath of states in the interior part of the country whose gains in voting-aged populations have been relatively modest. (See “Slow Growth-Declining” states in Map 1.) The voting-aged population of each of these states has grown slower than the national rate (11.4 percent) between the 1990 Census and Election Day, 2000.

The importance of these slow growing and declining states for the upcoming election cannot be diminished. One reason is that they are strategic states. Many of the states already discussed have been attributed by the political pundits to either the columns of Democrat, Al Gore or Republican, George Bush -- given the strong Democratic allegiance of minorities and other constituencies that dominate “melting pot states” (Texas, Bush’s home state excepted), and the more conservative, Republican-oriented leanings of residents and newcomers to the fast-growing “New Sunbelt” states. The states that are the most up for grabs are part of this modestly growing group. Further, key demographic segments that seem to be prominent “swing-voter” groups have an accentuated presence within these states. This is because the demography of modestly -growing states exaggerates the importance of groups who have not moved out to faster-growing parts of the country. Thus, modestly-growing states have larger shares of older, more middle income and whiter populations than other parts of the country.

Three swing-voter groups that have a large presence in these states are: “white working wives,” “white ‘forgotten majority’ men” and “white seniors.” The first two groups have long been taken for granted by Democrats and Republicans. According to political analysts, Ruy Teixeira and Joel Rogers, authors of *America’s Forgotten Majority: Why the White Working Class Still Matters* (Basic Books, 2000), these groups seem to have gotten lost in the shuffle as more attention was paid to up-scale “soccer moms” in the 1992 and 1996 presidential races. Both major presidential contenders are courting these groups by emphasizing “compassionate” policies or a willingness to fight for “working class families.” The third group, white seniors, tends to vote in high percentages. Their vote is also courted by both candidates, who wish to assure them that Social Security will remain solvent and they will not have to absorb high prices for prescriptive drugs.

From a demographic perspective, the significance of all three of these groups is inflated because they reside in key “battleground states” from which disproportionate numbers of younger, minority or more up-scale groups have moved away. This can be seen by looking at the share of each of these three groups in the combined voting populations of six “battleground states” (Pennsylvania, Ohio, Michigan, Illinois, Wisconsin and Missouri). Together, the three groups represented 53 percent of the voting-aged population of these states. In contrast, they constitute only 36 percent of the voting-aged population of “melting pot states” (see Figure 1) and only 46 percent of the total U.S. voting-aged population. It is small wonder why both presidential candidates are paying so much attention to these demographic groups.

The arcane demographic calculus of the Electoral College system not only inflates the political impact of these demographic segments, but it also inflates the impact of these and other slow-growing states. Because we are at the end of the decade and ready for a new reapportionment of Congressional (and hence Electoral College) seats, states that have lost population over the 1990s will get full electoral voting value based on their 1990 populations. For example, of the six “battleground states” discussed above, Pennsylvania is likely to lose two electoral votes, and Ohio, Illinois and Wisconsin are likely to lose one each, based on the reapportionment that will take place from the 2000 Census. Thus, voting residents of these states, and especially white working women, “forgotten majority” men, and seniors will exert a disproportionate impact on the 2000 presidential election. (See Appendix D for likely gains and losses which will result from the next reapportionment, as well as their effects on voter impact.)

All Politics is “Regional”

Recent immigration and migration patterns are shaping new demographic divides now emerging across the country. The clustering of new ethnic minorities in “melting pot states,” the directed

destinations of middle-class and upscale suburbanites to the “New Sunbelt,” the consolidation of African Americans back to the South, and an expanded number of interior “slow-growth” states, with increasingly older, whiter populations, are creating sharp *regional* divides with distinct sets of constituencies and issues. More so than in the past, presidential candidates’ speeches, public service announcements and debates are seen nationwide, and thus “play” quite differently in one area than the other. No wonder the candidates for the presidency are careful in crafting their messages so as to appeal, but not to offend important groups within these different regions. Who would not agree with a candidate espousing to be “a uniter and not a divider”? Or one who is not afraid to display traditional family values, via frequent public displays of affection with his spouse? In the politics of the future, with the regions becoming more demographically distinct, national presidential campaigns will become ever more careful balancing acts.

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Table 1:

Changes in Voting-Aged Population

(in thousands)

Census Day, 1990 thru Election Day, 2000

Hispanics and Asians-- Gains

1	CALIFORNIA	3,044
2	TEXAS	1,519
3	FLORIDA	715
4	NEW YORK	563
5	NEW JERSEY	410

Whites-- Gains*

1	TEXAS	851
2	FLORIDA	612
3	GEORGIA	580
4	ARIZONA	561
5	NORTH CAROLII	498

Whites-- Declines*

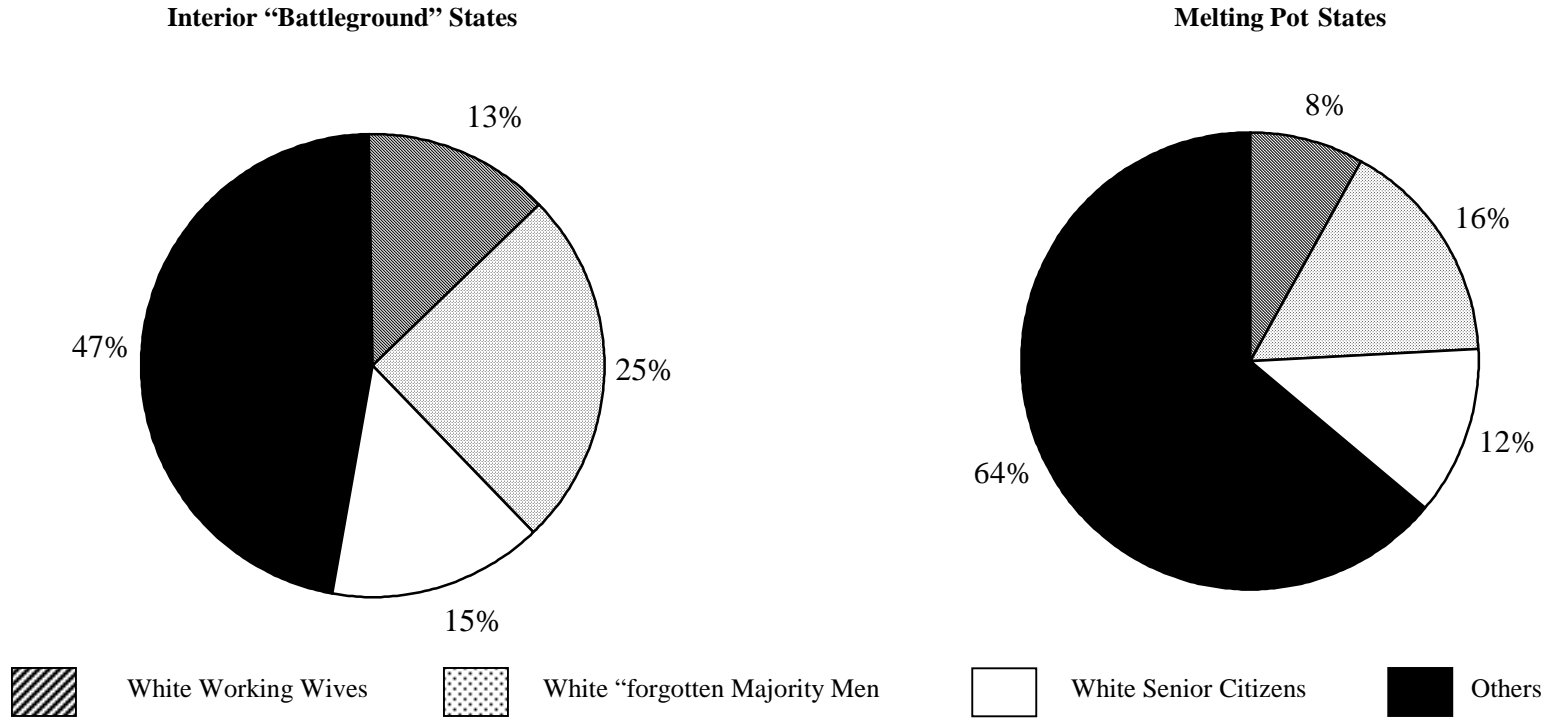
1	NEW YORK	-567
2	CALIFORNIA	-290
3	NEW JERSEY	-169
4	CONNECTICUT	-133
5	PENNSYLVANIA	-92

* Non-Hispanic Whites

Source: William H. Frey analysis of US Census sources

Figure 1. All Politics is “Regional”

How Shares of All Key Demographic Groups Differ across States
(Voting Aged Populations, 1999)



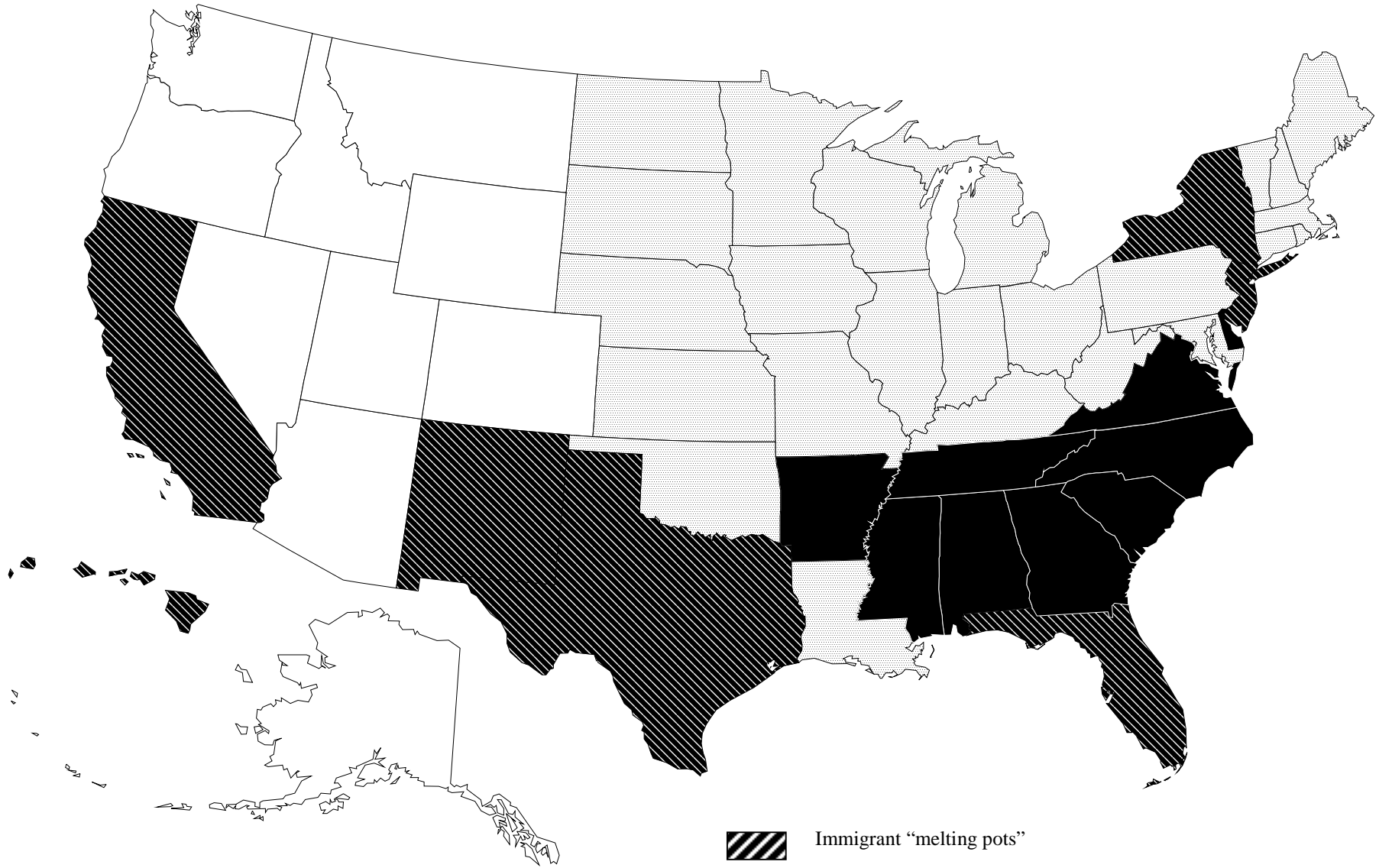
INTERIOR BATTLEGROUND STATES include: PA, OH, MI, IL, WI, MO





MELTING POT STATES include: NY, NJ, FL, TX, NM, CA, HI

Notes: White Working Wives are currently married white (non-Hispanic) Women, Aged 18-64, who work 20+ hours per week
 White "Forgotten Majority" Men are white (non-Hispanic) men aged 18-64 who are not college graduates
 White Senior Citizens are white (non-Hispanic) persons aged 65 and over

Voters on the Move

A TYPOLOGY OF STATES BASED ON 1990 SHIFTS IN THE VOTING-AGED POPULATION



-  Immigrant "melting pots"
-  White & Black Gainers
-  Mostly White Gainers
-  Slow Growth/Decliners

Source: William H. Frey, Analysis of US Census Sources

APPENDIX A **Classification of States by Demographic Profiles of their Voting Aged Populations**
Projected for November 7, 2000

Classification of States*	Voting Age Population Nov. 7, 2000 (1000s)	Pcnt Change since 1990 Census	Group Share of State Voting Aged Population**			
			Hispanics	Asians	Whites#	Blacks
Immigrant Melting Pots						
CALIFORNIA	24,873	13.2	28	12	53	7
FLORIDA	11,774	17.1	15	2	70	14
HAWAII	909	10.0	7	61	31	3
NEW JERSEY	6,245	5.3	12	6	70	14
NEW MEXICO	1,263	18.5	37	2	52	3
NEW YORK	13,805	0.8	13	6	67	17
TEXAS	14,850	22.4	27	3	58	12
<i>Total</i>	73,719	12.3	22	7	61	12
White & Black Gainers						
ALABAMA	3,333	12.0	1	1	74	24
ARKANSAS	1,929	11.7	2	1	83	14
DELAWARE	582	15.9	3	2	76	19
GEORGIA	5,893	24.3	3	2	68	27
MISSISSIPPI	2,047	12.2	1	1	65	33
NORTH CAROLINA	5,797	15.6	2	1	75	20
SOUTH CAROLINA	2,977	16.2	1	1	70	27
TENNESSEE	4,221	15.5	1	1	83	15
VIRGINIA	5,263	12.5	4	4	73	19
<i>Total</i>	32,042	15.7	2	2	74	22
Mostly White Gainers						
ALASKA	430	14.0	4	4	75	4
ARIZONA	3,625	35.3	19	2	72	4
COLORADO	3,067	26.2	13	2	81	4
IDAHO	921	32.1	6	1	91	1
MONTANA	668	15.9	2	1	93	1
NEVADA	1,390	53.9	15	5	72	8
OREGON	2,530	19.6	5	3	89	2
UTAH	1,465	33.9	7	3	89	1
WASHINGTON	4,368	21.3	6	6	84	4
WYOMING			5	1	92	1
<i>Total</i>	18,822	27.3	10	3	82	3
Slow Growth/Decliners						
CONNECTICUT	2,499	-1.4	7	3	82	9
D.C.	411	-15.8	7	3	34	56
ILLINOIS	8,983	6.1	9	3	74	14
INDIANA	4,448	8.9	2	1	89	8
IOWA	2,165	5.3	2	1	95	2
KANSAS	1,983	9.3	5	2	87	6
KENTUCKY	2,993	9.7	1	1	91	7
LOUISIANA	3,255	8.9	3	1	67	29
MAINE	968	5.5	1	1	97	1
MARYLAND	3,925	8.6	4	4	65	27
MASSACHUSETTS	4,749	2.0	5	3	86	6
MICHIGAN	7,358	7.8	3	2	82	13
MINNESOTA	3,547	10.6	2	2	92	3
MISSOURI	4,105	8.1	2	1	87	10
NEBRASKA	1,234	7.5	4	1	90	4
NEW HAMPSHIRE	911	9.8	2	1	96	1
NORTH DAKOTA	477	3.0	1	1	94	1
OHIO	8,433	4.9	2	1	87	11
OKLAHOMA	2,531	9.8	4	1	82	7

Classification of States*	Voting Age Population Nov. 7, 2000 (1000s)	Pent Change since 1990 Census	Group Share of State Voting Aged Population**			
			Hispanics	Asians	Whites#	Blacks
PENNSYLVANIA	9,155	0.9	2	2	87	9
RHODE ISLAND	753	-3.0	6	2	88	5
SOUTH DAKOTA	542	9.0	1	1	92	1
VERMONT	460	9.7	1	1	97	1
WEST VIRGINIA	1,416	5.0	1	0	96	3
WISCONSIN	3,930	9.2	2	1	91	5
<i>Total</i>	81,231	5.9	3	2	84	10
Total US	205,814	11.4	10	4	74	12

Source: William H. Frey analysis of US Census Sources

* Immigrant "Melting Pots" have Nov. 7, 2000 voting populations, where whites comprise no more than 70%, and where Asians and Hispanics (combined) exceed 14%
White & Black Gainers show a 1990-2000 growth in voting aged populations above the national growth (11.4%), do not qualify as Immigrant "Melting Pots" and have Nov 7, 2000 voting aged populations where blacks exceed 12%
Mostly White Gainers show a 1990-2000 growth in voting aged populations above the national growth (11.4%) and have Nov 7, 2000 voting aged populations exceeding 70% white, and do not qualify as White & Black Gainers
Slow Growth/Decliners show a 1990-2000 growth below the national growth (11.4%) and do not qualify as Immigrant "Melting Pots"

** Percentages do not exactly sum to 100% because American Indians are not shown, and because Blacks include Hispanic Blacks

Non-Hispanic Whites

**APPENDIX B Key Demographic Groups as Shares of Voting Aged Populations
States and State Categories****

Classification of States*	Group Share of State Voting Aged Population***				Total
	White Working Wives	White "Forgotten" Majority" Men	White Seniors	All Others	
Immigrant Melting Pots					
CALIFORNIA	7	14	10	68	100
FLORIDA	9	19	19	53	100
HAWAII	4	8	3	85	100
NEW JERSEY	10	18	12	59	100
NEW MEXICO	8	13	12	68	100
NEW YORK	10	18	14	59	100
TEXAS	8	15	9	67	100
<i>Total</i>	8	16	12	63	100
White & Black Gainers					
ALABAMA	13	23	13	52	100
ARKANSAS	12	26	18	44	100
DELAWARE	12	20	16	52	100
GEORGIA	11	19	11	59	100
MISSISSIPPI	10	20	14	55	100
NORTH CAROLINA	12	22	13	53	100
SOUTH CAROLINA	13	21	14	52	100
TENNESSEE	13	28	13	47	100
VIRGINIA	10	20	13	57	100
<i>Total</i>	12	22	13	53	100
Mostly White Gainers					
ALASKA	13	27	6	55	100
ARIZONA	8	20	14	58	100
COLORADO	14	21	10	55	100
IDAHO	14	30	15	41	100
MONTANA	13	30	14	42	100
NEVADA	10	23	13	54	100
OREGON	13	26	13	48	100
UTAH	14	28	11	47	100
WASHINGTON	13	26	13	49	100
WYOMING	14	31	15	40	100
<i>Total</i>	12	24	12	51	100
Slow Growth/Decliners					
CONNECTICUT	12	18	16	54	100
D.C.	4	2	4	91	100
ILLINOIS	12	21	13	54	100
INDIANA	15	32	14	40	100
IOWA	16	31	19	33	100
KANSAS	14	23	20	43	100
KENTUCKY	13	30	15	41	100
LOUISIANA	9	20	12	59	100
MAINE	15	31	17	37	100
MARYLAND	12	14	13	61	100
MASSACHUSETTS	13	24	16	48	100
MICHIGAN	11	27	15	47	100
MINNESOTA	16	26	15	43	100
MISSOURI	16	27	15	41	100
NEBRASKA	17	28	16	39	100
NEW HAMPSHIRE	17	30	14	39	100
NORTH DAKOTA	17	29	19	35	100
OHIO	13	25	15	47	100
OKLAHOMA	13	24	16	47	100

Group Share of State Voting Aged Population***

Classification of States*	White Working Wives	White "Forgotten" Majority" Men	White Seniors	All Others	Total
PENNSYLVANIA	12	26	17	45	100
RHODE ISLAND	13	24	19	44	100
SOUTH DAKOTA	17	28	17	38	100
VERMONT	19	31	14	36	100
WEST VIRGINIA	12	30	21	37	100
WISCONSIN	15	30	16	40	100
<i>Total</i>	13	25	15	47	100
Total US	11	21	14	54	100

Source: William H. Frey analysis of 1999 Current Population Survey

- * Immigrant "Melting Pots" have Nov. 7, 2000 voting populations, where whites comprise no more than 70%, and where Asians and Hispanics (combined) exceed 14%
- White & Black Gainers show a 1990-2000 growth in voting aged populations above the national growth (11.4%), do not qualify as Immigrant "Melting Pots" and have Nov 7, 2000 voting aged populations where blacks exceed 12%
- Mostly White Gainers show a 1990-2000 growth in voting aged populations above the national growth (11.4%) and have Nov 7, 2000 voting aged populations exceeding 70% white, and do not qualify as White & Black Gainers
- Slow Growth/Decliners show a 1990-2000 growth below the national growth (11.4%) and do not qualify as Immigrant "Melting Pots"

** Statistics pertain to March, 1999; as determined from 1999 Current Population Survey March Supplement

***: White Working Wives are currently married white (non-hispanic) Women, Aged 18-64, who work 20+ hours per week
 White "Forgotten Majority" Men are white (nonhispanic) men aged 18-64 who are not college graduates
 White Senior Citizens are white(non-Hispanic) persons aged 65 and over
 (Whites pertain to Non-Hispanic Whites)

Non-Hispanic Whites

APPENDIX C

State Voting Aged Populations for Race Ethnic Groups, Projected for Nov. 7, 2000
and Changes since Census Day (April 1st), 1990 *

STATES	Populations in 1000s							
	HISPANICS		ASIANS		WHITES**		BLACKS	
	Population Nov. 7th 2000	Change since 1990 census	Population Nov. 7th 2000	Change since 1990 census	Population Nov. 7th 2000	Change since 1990 census	Population Nov. 7th 2000	Change since 1990 census
ALABAMA	34	17	20	4	2,472	212	800	124
ALASKA	16	5	19	5	324	35	17	2
ARIZONA	700	279	76	34	2,601	561	137	62
ARKANSAS	38	26	14	5	1,595	134	276	39
CALIFORNIA	6,995	2,064	3,072	980	13,185	-290	1,853	254
COLORADO	391	120	74	31	2,470	453	132	40
CONNECTICUT	182	47	64	28	2,046	-133	221	28
DELAWARE	19	9	13	7	442	34	108	31
DC	29	4	14	4	140	-11	230	-76
FLORIDA	1,784	606	221	109	8,252	612	1,600	445
GEORGIA	168	92	125	71	4,026	580	1,577	409
HAWAII	67	17	559	46	278	7	27	8
IDAHO	58	28	11	5	838	187	7	5
ILLINOIS	837	267	313	105	6,618	54	1,249	104
INDIANA	110	48	44	16	3,939	238	353	64
IOWA	42	22	25	8	2,051	65	45	14
KANSAS	97	40	35	13	1,732	102	112	17
KENTUCKY	25	10	21	8	2,738	219	207	27
LOUISIANA	91	25	39	12	2,166	109	956	121
MAINE	7	3	7	3	943	41	7	4
MARYLAND	150	62	160	58	2,566	-12	1,058	207
MASSACHUSETTS	255	75	164	61	4,093	-82	270	48
MICHIGAN	187	63	122	51	6,051	316	977	103
MINNESOTA	62	31	81	38	3,270	222	106	48
MISSISSIPPI	18	7	14	5	1,336	111	675	97
MISSOURI	68	28	46	16	3,558	209	425	56
MONTANA	11	4	4	1	618	80	4	2
NEBRASKA	52	30	15	7	1,115	40	49	12
NEVADA	214	132	67	38	1,000	268	105	52
NEW HAMPSHIRE	14	7	11	4	876	67	9	4
NEW JERSEY	750	229	375	180	4,344	-169	856	101
NEW MEXICO	473	98	20	10	651	63	37	16
NEW YORK	1,833	302	789	261	9,244	-567	2,309	161
NORTH CAROLINA	121	68	79	42	4,373	498	1,173	165
NORTH DAKOTA	4	1	4	2	449	7	4	2
OHIO	130	43	98	33	7,306	212	895	108
OKLAHOMA	91	40	33	9	2,063	139	185	31
OREGON	138	69	80	31	2,241	294	51	21
PENNSYLVANIA	221	76	152	56	7,979	-92	820	44
RHODE ISLAND	46	17	16	4	659	-50	36	8
SOUTH CAROLINA	41	20	27	11	2,091	258	816	126
SOUTH DAKOTA	6	3	3	1	498	34	5	3
TENNESSEE	51	29	41	19	3,491	410	635	110
TEXAS	4,012	1,301	447	217	8,681	851	1,800	423
UTAH	99	50	37	15	1,304	300	16	8
VERMONT	4	1	4	2	447	35	4	3
VIRGINIA	197	84	201	86	3,867	239	1,005	180
WASHINGTON	242	114	253	104	3,675	491	154	53
WEST VIRGINIA	9	3	7	2	1,354	58	45	5
WISCONSIN	96	42	50	19	3,571	223	193	46
WYOMING	19	4	3	1	328	35	4	2
TOTAL	21,304	6,762	8,169	2,879	151,955	7,699	24,635	3,968

Source: William H. Frey analysis of US Census Sources

* Race-Ethnic totals do not exactly sum to totals in Appendix D because American Indians are not shown,
and because Blacks include Hispanic Blacks

**Non-Hispanic Whites

**APPENDIX D State Voting Aged Populations projected for Nov. 7, 2000 , Changes since 1990*;
Voting Aged Population per Electoral College Vote;
Expected Changes as a result of 2000 Census Reapportionment****

STATES	Populations in 1000s		Electoral College Votes		Voting Aged Population (in 1000s) per Electoral College Vote	
	<u>Voting Aged Population</u>		Current based on 1990 Census Apportionment	Expected Change 2000 census Apportionment	Current	Expected (for states with changes)
	Population Nov. 7th 2000	Change since 1990 census				
ALABAMA	3,333	357	9		370	
ALASKA	430	53	3		143	
ARIZONA	3,625	946	8	2	453	363
ARKANSAS	1,929	202	6		322	
CALIFORNIA	24,873	2,909	54	1	461	452
COLORADO	3,067	637	8	1	383	341
CONNECTICUT	2,499	-34	8	-1	312	357
DELAWARE	582	80	3		194	
DC	411	-77	0			
FLORIDA	11,774	1,720	25	1	471	453
GEORGIA	5,893	1,151	13	1	453	421
HAWAII	909	83	4		227	
IDAHO	921	224	4		230	
ILLINOIS	8,983	514	22	-1	408	428
INDIANA	4,448	365	12		371	
IOWA	2,165	109	7		309	
KANSAS	1,983	169	6		331	
KENTUCKY	2,993	264	8		374	
LOUISIANA	3,255	266	9		362	
MAINE	968	50	4		242	
MARYLAND	3,925	312	10		393	
MASSACHUSETT	4,749	94	12		396	
MICHIGAN	7,358	531	18		409	
MINNESOTA	3,547	341	10		355	
MISSISSIPPI	2,047	222	7	-1	292	341
MISSOURI	4,105	307	11		373	
MONTANA	668	92	3	1	223	167
NEBRASKA	1,234	86	5		247	
NEVADA	1,390	487	4	1	348	278
NEW HAMPSHIR	911	82	4		228	
NEW JERSEY	6,245	314	15		416	
NEW MEXICO	1,263	197	5		253	
NEW YORK	13,805	106	33	-2	418	445
NORTH CAROLIN	5,797	780	14		414	
NORTH DAKOTA	477	14	3		159	
OHIO	8,433	394	21	-1	402	422
OKLAHOMA	2,531	225	8	-1	316	362
OREGON	2,530	415	7		361	
PENNSYLVANIA	9,155	79	23	-2	398	436
RHODE ISLAND	753	-23	4		188	
SOUTH CAROLIN	2,977	416	8		372	
SOUTH DAKOTA	542	45	3		181	
TENNESSEE	4,221	566	11		384	
TEXAS	14,850	2,721	32	2	464	437
UTAH	1,465	371	5		293	
VERMONT	460	41	3		153	
VIRGINIA	5,263	585	13		405	
WASHINGTON	4,368	768	11		397	
WEST VIRGINIA	1,416	68	5		283	
WISCONSIN	3,930	331	11	-1	357	393
WYOMING	358	40	3		119	
TOTAL	205,814	20,990	535	0	385	385

Source: William H. Frey analysis of US Census Sources

* based on 1990 Census enumeration

** estimated changes based on 2000 census reapportionment as reported in: