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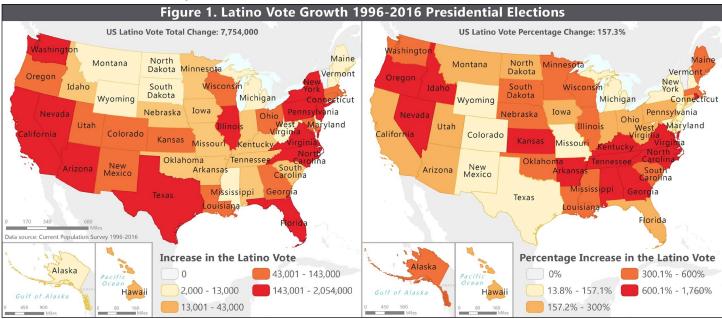
Midterm Elections: Latino Vote Hot Spots

Latinos are a powerful and growing political force in the U.S. Over the last two decades, Latinos have accounted for nearly a quarter of all voter growth in the U.S., or almost 8 million of 32.5 million new voters. This growth is nationwide, with the Latino voter population increasing in nearly every state in the U.S.¹

At times the Latino vote has been underestimated or dismissed by pundits and campaign strategists, especially during mid-term general elections. However, the influence of the Latino vote in the upcoming election is hard to deny. A substantial number of competitive congressional district races in the 2018 midterms consist of districts with large numbers of Latino eligible voters. According to the Cook Political Report, there are 57 congressional districts that are either a toss-up or lean toward one major party or the other.² A change in 23 seats determines who holds a majority. This means that the path to control the House of Representatives runs, at least in part, through the mobilization of Latino voters.

Still, despite their impressive gains in voter turnout, there is considerable room to strengthen Latinos' electoral engagement and expand their influence on the nation's political landscape. For this to happen, far more resources need to be devoted to mobilizing the sizable number of Latinos who are eligible to vote, but who are not yet doing so. Careful, strategic efforts to encourage Latino voter turnout could literally change the outcome of many political races at the local, state, and national levels. Indeed, unless corrected, the current underinvestment in the Latino electorate may well amount to a critical—and possibly unprecedented—lost opportunity. Effective strategies on the road to 2020 and beyond must include helping eligible immigrants become citizens, helping citizens register to vote, and continuing to invest in the meaningful engagement of registered voters to increase their turnout at the polls.

This research brief, the second in a series, examines the dynamics of the Latino vote in the U.S. Using Current Population Survey data and 2016 voter registration records, it analyzes variations by state and congressional district, revealing geographic voter hot spots, and identifying the most important areas of potential growth for the Latino vote.³ Its goal is to help inform strategies aimed at turning out the Latino vote, assessing both the opportunities and challenges that lay ahead.



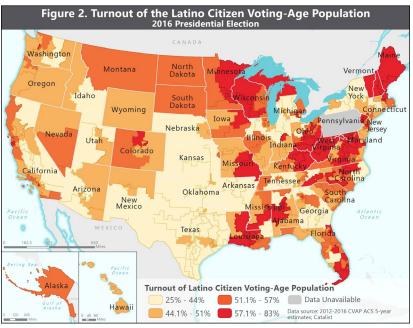
Latino Voter Growth by State

In just over two decades, from 1996 to 2016, the number of Latino voters in the U.S. has grown by 7.8 million voters, or nearly 160%. Latinos have experienced a much larger voter growth rate than White non-Latinos and African Americans have. Only Asian Americans have seen a larger rate of voter growth, though their growth in actual numbers is much smaller.⁴

During this period, every state in the nation (except Vermont) saw an increase in its number of Latino voters, as shown in Figure 1. The largest increases in the total number of Latinos casting a ballot were seen in states with large Latino populations, such as California, Texas, and Florida. However, the largest percent changes in the number of Latino voters took place in states with small to medium-size Latino populations, such as North Carolina and Kentucky, with 1,760% and 1,166% growth, respectively. This means that even states with small numbers of Latinos are contributing to the growth in the U.S. Latino voter population (see endnotes for limitations of CPS voter data).⁵

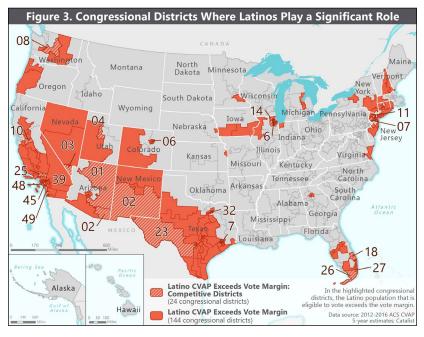
2016 Latino Voter Turnout by Congressional District

In many congressional districts, high rates of Latino voter turnout do not necessarily correlate with high percentages of Latino voting-age citizens. In Figure 2, we can see that the states with congressional districts that have the highest Latino turnout of the citizen votingage population are in the Midwestern and eastern United States, in parts of Minnesota, Wisconsin, Ohio, and West Virginia, and up through Vermont and Maine. With the exception of New York and New Jersey, these congressional districts are all in states that do not have large Latino citizen voting-age populations. In contrast, states that have the largest Latino citizen voting-age populations saw relatively low turnout of the citizen voting-age populations (with the notable exception of Florida). Of all congressional districts in the U.S, only 3% have both high Latino turnout, and a high proportion of their citizen voting-age population that is Latino. (See endnotes for limitations of data. Pennsylvania is excluded from the map due to their new congressional district boundaries ordered by the State's Supreme Court in 2018).6



For a discussion of Latino turnout rates at a statewide level, and a breakdown of turnout disparities by demographic group within the Latino electorate, see Brief 1 in this series, entitled *The Strength of the Latino Vote: Current and Future Impact on the US Political Landscape.*⁷

Competitive Congressional Districts for Latinos: The 2016 General Election



This study determined the top 25 competitive congressional districts in the 2018 midterms where Latinos will likely play a significant role and thus impact the current battle for control of the House of Representatives (see Table A in appendix). These districts are identified as competitive by the Cook Political Report, and have a Latino share of the citizen voting-age population that is currently 6% or larger. From Figure 3, we can see that 24 of the 25 competitive districts have a Latino voter population that is larger than the margin of victory between the top two candidates in the 2016 presidential election. Six of these districts are in California, with three each in Florida and Texas.⁸

Still, data from recent elections highlight the challenges on the horizon, in terms of mobilizing the Latino vote. While significant, the Latino share of the 2016 vote in each of these congressional districts was still lower than the Latino share of the citizen votingage population.⁹ This means that Latinos have so far

remained underrepresented among voters in these districts, creating what is effectively a Latino representation gap.¹⁰

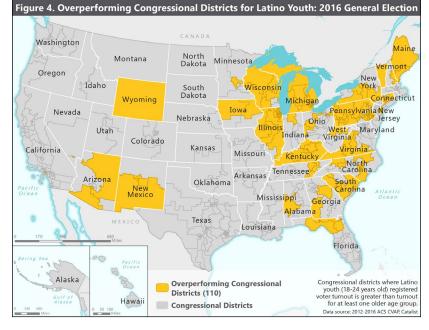
This gap has critical consequences, not only at local and state levels, but on the national stage as well. However, it also offers an opportunity to further expand the Latino vote. Closing the Latino representation gap by increasing Latino voter turnout should constitute a key strategic priority for organizing efforts in these districts. Key groups to focus on will be Latinos who are not registered, those who were newly registered in 2016, and those who have so far only voted in presidential years. This means undertaking aggressive outreach and voter registration efforts to prevent drop off in turnout between the 2016 presidential and 2018 midterm elections and to increase turnout overall on Election Day.

Hot Spots in Congressional District Turnout: Young, Spanish-Speaking and Low-Income Voters

Strong Latino Youth Voter Turnout

Young voters (age 18–24) from all ethnic and racial groups, in every state of the nation, tend to have lower voter turnout rates than older voters do. Latino youth are no exception.¹¹ In 2016, Latino youth 18–24 years old saw a 34.3% turnout rate of their citizen voting-age population. The turnout rate among registered youth in this same age cohort was 74.5%.¹²

However, there are congressional districts where Latino youth actually outperform older Latino voters. Figure 4 shows that in the 2016 general election, in 110 U.S. congressional districts, or just over a quarter of the nation's total, voter turnout of registered Latino youth was higher than the turnout for at least one other registered age group (Turnout data for the Latino youth citizen voting-age population, which includes those not registered, was not available at the congressional district level. See endnotes for limitations on data). In other words, in these districts, Latino youth did not have the lowest turnout of all registered age groups. Sixteen of the



districts where Latino youth outperformed older Latino adults are competitive in 2018.¹³ (See Table B in appendix for a complete list of the congressional districts where the turnout of registered Latino youth was stronger than that of older Latino voters.)

Table 1: Congressional Districts Where Registered Voter Turnout is Higher for Spanish-Speaking Voters than Non-Spanish Speaking Voters										
Arizona	California	Florida	Georgia	Montana	New Jersey	Nevada	New York	Oregon	Rhode Island	Washington
AZ 7	CA 41, CA 46	FL 1, FL 6, FL 12, FL 13, FL 15, FL *18, FL 19	GA 2, GA 3, GA *6, GA 10, GA 14	MO 2, MO 4	NJ 8	NV 1, NV 2	NY 5, NY 6, NY 7, NY 14, NY 15, NY 22*	OR 5	RI 1	WA 9

Strong Spanish-Speaking Voter Turnout

Competitive districts:

Red shading: Designated "Lean Republican" or "Toss-Up Republican" by the Cook Political Report.

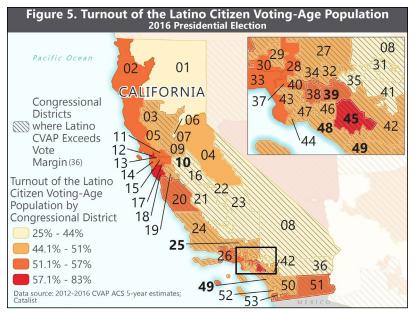
Data Source: Catalist LLC

In Table 1, we see the congressional districts in 2016 where registered Latino Spanish-speaking citizens experienced higher turnout than registered Latino non-Spanish speakers. These include 29 districts in 11 states, including three competitive districts: FL-18, GA-6 and NY-22. (Turnout data for the Latino citizen voting-age population by language, including those not registered, was not available at the congressional district level. See endnotes for limitations on data).¹⁴

Strong Low-income Latino Voter Turnout

Income disparities in voter turnout are entrenched in the U.S. Low-income voters consistently vote at lower rates than voters with higher incomes, across race and ethnic lines.¹⁵ This pattern was repeated in the 2016 general election. There were no congressional districts in 2016 where registered low-income Latino voters (defined as having a yearly household income of less than \$30,000) clearly demonstrated greater voter turnout than registered Latino voters in higher income groups. These findings at the congressional district level demonstrate another significant opportunity gap experienced by Latinos, underscoring the importance of registration and get-out-the vote efforts that focus on the low-income Latino community. (Turnout data for the Latino citizen voting-age population by income, including those not registered, was not available at the congressional district level. See endnotes for limitations on data).¹⁶

Opportunities by State: California and Florida



California

In the 2016 elections. California had the largest number of Latino voters (3.4 million) and the second largest Latino share of voters (23%) of all 50 U.S. states.¹⁷ Latinos made up at least 10% of the voters in each of the six competitive districts (Figure 5 labels in bold) in the state (CA-10, CA-25, CA-39, CA-45, CA-48, and CA-49). Due to its large number of competitive districts, California is a battleground for control of the House of Representatives. Both the 39th and 49th congressional districts have open seats in 2018. In the state's 10th congressional district, located in the northern San Joaquin Valley, in 2016, Latinos made up nearly a quarter (24%) of all voters. In Southern California's 25th and 39th congressional districts, the Latino share of voters was close behind, at 22% and 23%, respectively. (The 39th district election is one of the most closely watched House races in the nation.)¹⁸

While Latinos play a critical role in each of these highly

competitive California districts, their turnout has been mostly low to moderate (ranking in the bottom half of all congressional districts in the nation for Latino turnout). Figure 5 shows that in 2016, high Latino turnout was limited to just three districts in the state (CA-12, CA-18, and CA-45), only one of which is competitive in 2018. Table A (see appendix) shows the number of citizen voting-age Latinos who did not vote in each congressional district in 2016. In CA-45, for example, we see that 29,958 eligible Latinos did not vote. The margin of victory was 53,387. Mobilizing these potential voters would mean that Latino residents would have a much greater voice in their district's choice of elected representatives.¹⁹

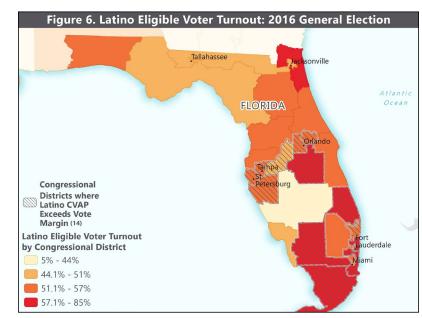
There are also many other California districts where Latino voters can play a critical role in the upcoming elections. Here, again, Latino turnout clearly has room to grow. Several large regions, including the San Joaquin Valley, the Inland Empire, and the Northstate region of California, are home to congressional districts with some of the lowest turnout for Latino citizens of voting age in the nation. According to Figure 5, most of the congressional districts in these regions (including the Los Angeles region) have a Latino citizen voting-age population that is larger than the margin of victory between the top two presidential candidates in 2016.²⁰

Given the substantial size of the Latino citizen voting-age population throughout the state's congressional districts, mobilizing more Latinos could help transform a number of non-competitive districts into competitive ones in the 2018 and 2020 elections.

Florida

Florida is a perennial swing state. Here, the Latino vote plays a pivotal role in deciding the outcome of presidential elections. Because of this, it is also a state that has received greater investments in registration and get-out-the-vote efforts focused on Latinos. In 2016, Latinos were 18%, or 1.6 million of the state's voters.²¹

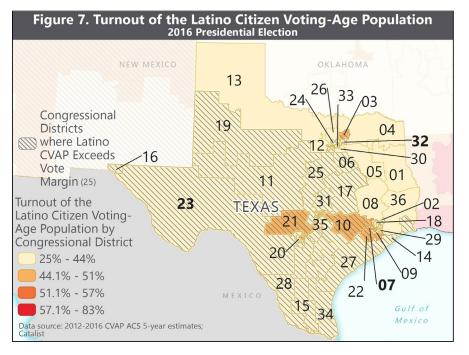
Latinos played a significant role in each of the state's three competitive congressional districts (FL-18, FL-26, and FL-27). In southern Florida's 26th and 27th congressional districts (FL-27 is an open seat), Latinos made up almost 60% of each district's voters in 2016, at 58% and 56%, respectively. Figure 6 shows us that in each of these districts, the Latino citizen voting-age population is larger than the margin of victory between the top two presidential candidates in 2016. This means that candidates simply cannot be elected in these districts without significant support from the Latino electorate.²²



With regard to turnout, at a state-wide level in Florida, turnout for Latino citizens of voting age (54.1%) was higher than in most other states, including California. In Figure 6 we see that, in 2016, Florida also had some of the highest-performing congressional districts for Latino turnout in the nation. All three of its competitive districts were in the top 25% of U.S. congressional districts with regard to the turnout of the Latino citizen voting-age population. High turnout rates, coupled with the large Latino voting-age populations in these Florida districts (see appendix Table A), will ensure that Latinos continue to help shape Florida's congressional delegation in 2018 and beyond.²³

However, at the same, additional mobilization is needed in Florida. The size of the Latino population that was eligible to vote (registered and unregistered) but did not do so in the 2016 general election was substantial in every district in the state. At a statewide level, the number was 1.3 million. This was 12 times larger than the vote margin (112,911 votes) between the top two presidential candidates.²⁴

Opportunities by State: Texas, Nevada, and Arizona



Texas

In Texas, the Latino vote may also prove critical in the 2018 midterm elections. Texas had 1.9 million Latino voters in the 2016 general election, making Latinos 20% of the state's voters. Texas also has the third-highest Latino share of the citizen voting-age population (nearly 28%) of all U.S. states.²⁵

In 2016, all three of Texas's competitive congressional districts (TX-7, TX-23, TX-32) had a large Latino proportion of their voting population—14%, 47%, and 10%, respectively. Additionally, Figure 7 shows that in each of these competitive districts, the size of the Latino citizen voting-age population is larger than the margin of victory between the top two presidential candidates in 2016.²⁶

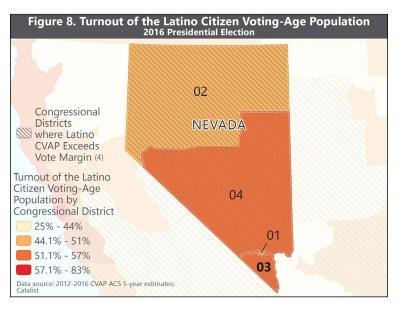
However, we also see in Figure 7 that nearly every congressional district in Texas had low Latino turnout, putting nearly every Texas

congressional district in the bottom quarter of U.S. congressional districts for Latino turnout. Indeed, none of the state's districts saw high Latino turnout in the 2016 election.²⁷

While Latinos undoubtedly impacted election outcomes in each of the state's congressional districts due to their large share of voters (at least 10% in 75% of the state's districts), we can see from Table A that Latinos were underrepresented among voters in these districts compared to their share of the citizen voting-age population. Thus, there were large numbers of Latinos in these districts who were eligible to vote, but were in need of registration and mobilization.²⁸

At a statewide level, because the turnout of Texas's substantial Latino citizen voting-age population was only 41% in 2016, there was a potentially transformative number of 2.8 million Latinos who were either eligible to vote but were not registered, or were registered but did not vote.

The term "citizen voting-age population" is commonly used to refer to people who are U.S. citizens and have reached the required voting age of 18. The term includes people who are not registered to vote. "Turnout of the citizen voting-age population" is defined as the percent of U.S. citizens 18 or over who voted.



Nevada

The consistently competitive state of Nevada is an example of how a growing Latino population, combined with effective on-the-ground registration and mobilization efforts at the local, congressional, and statewide levels, can lead to greater political influence for Latinos. In 2016, Latinos were 16% (196,000) of the state's voters, the sixth-highest proportion out of all the states in the nation. This was up from 8.3% of voters (72,000) in the 2004 general election, meaning a doubling of the Latino percent of the state's vote in just 12 years. At the same time, the number of Latinos who were either eligible to vote, but were not registered, or were registered but did not vote (150,000) in the 2016 election was much larger than the vote margin (27,202 votes) between the top two presidential candidates.²⁹

The state's sole competitive congressional district (NV-3) encompasses the Las Vegas region: it is an open seat in the 2018 midterm election. In this district, Latinos were 9% of voters in 2016 and are currently 13% of the citizen voting-

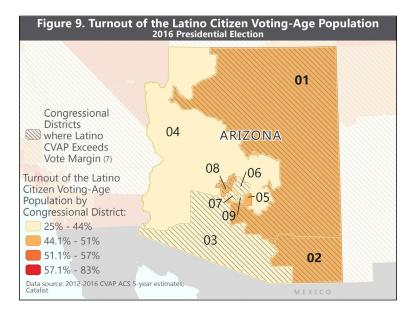
age population. Figure 8 shows that in 2016, this district saw a moderately high turnout of the Latino citizen voting-age population. It also had a citizen voting-age population that was larger than the district's vote margin between the top two candidates in the presidential race.³⁰

Arizona

To some casual political observers, in 2016, Arizona seemed to become a more politically competitive state in the presidential race overnight. But Arizona has seen a surge in Latino community activism and grassroots mobilizing since 2010, when controversial racial profiling legislation in the form of Senate Bill 1070 became law. These efforts included significant and ongoing registration and get-out-the-vote campaigns.³¹

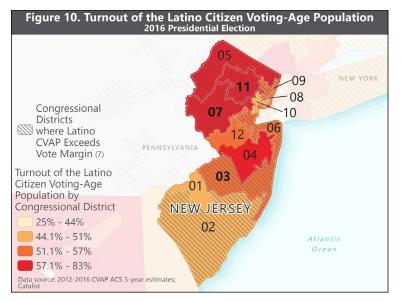
In the 2016 general election, Latinos made up 20% (543,000) of the state's voters, giving Arizona the fourthlargest proportion of Latino voters of any U.S. state. Two of the state's eastern congressional districts, the 1st and 2nd (an open seat) are competitive in 2018. In 2016, the two districts had a 12% and 14% Latino share of voters, respectively.³²

Figure 9 shows that none of Arizona's congressional districts, including these two critical districts, have a high Latino turnout compared to the Latino turnout in other



congressional districts in the country. However, in both the 1st and 2nd congressional districts, the current Latino citizen voting-age population exceeds the vote margin in the 2016 presidential race. The influence of Latinos in Arizona's house delegation can likely be increased with additional mobilization.³³

At a statewide level, the size of the Latino population that was eligible to vote but was not registered, or was registered but did not vote (603,000 people), was larger than the vote margin (91,234 votes) between the top two presidential candidates in 2016. Had even a small percentage of these non-voters actually cast a ballot, they would have potentially had enough power to change the distribution of the state's 11 electoral votes.³⁴



Opportunities by State: New Jersey, and Virginia, and Pennsylvania

New Jersey

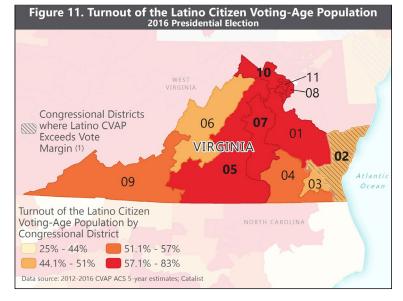
New Jersey is a state with many politically active and mobilized Latinos. In the 2016 general election, the state had the ninth-largest Latino share of voters at 10.8% (395,000) of all U.S. states. Latinos also made up 6% of the voters in two of the state's three competitive districts (NJ-7 and NJ-11).³⁵

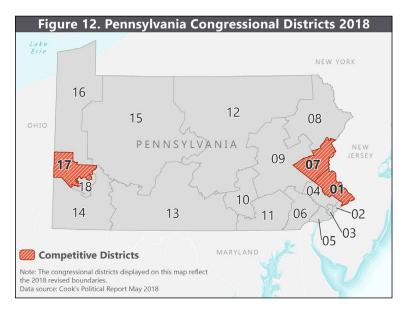
Figure 10 shows us that in 2016, in both the 7th and 11th congressional districts, the state saw high turnout among its Latino citizen voting-age population. Additionally, in both of these districts, the size of the Latino citizen voting-age population exceeded the districts' margin of victory between the top two candidates in the 2016 presidential race (see Table A in the appendix). This translates into opportunities for Latinos to further influence the congressional map in New Jersey. In particular, in the coming 2018 elections, the 11th congressional district is an open seat, which includes the Morris County area of northern New Jersey.³⁶

Virginia

Latinos currently comprise 6% of Virginia's total citizen voting-age population. In the 2016 general election, 219,000 of them cast ballots, making up 5.5% of the state's total voters. Four of the state's congressional districts (VA-2, VA-5, VA-7, and VA-10) are competitive in 2018. Figure 11 shows that in 2016, in three of these districts, the turnout of the Latino citizen voting-age population was high. In one of these, Virginia's 10th district (located in the northern tip of the state), the Latino share of the state's citizen voting-age population is currently tallied at 7% (35,000 voters). In 2016, nearly 25,000 Latinos voted in this district, accounting for 5% of all its voters.³⁷

Latinos are well positioned to impact Virginia's 10th congressional district race, as well as other district and local races in 2018. This is due largely to the number of Latinos who are citizens of voting age. However, it is also aided by the growing voter grassroots mobilization efforts and successful minority candidate recruitment that has been carried out in the state since the 2016 election.





Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania is a hard-fought swing state in presidential elections. Figure 12 shows the newly redrawn congressional district boundaries with the state's competitive congressional districts noted—PA-1, PA-7, and PA-17. With a congressional district map now newly redrawn by the state's Supreme Court, it is not appropriate to apply previous turnout rates to the upcoming midterms in Pennsylvania. But we do know Latinos will almost certainly impact the state's congressional races in 2018.³⁸ At 3.8%, the Latino percentage of the state's voters in the 2016 general election was considerably smaller than that of Florida and the states of the southwest. Still, this small percentage represented 229,000 Latinos who cast a ballot in the state. Meanwhile, 214,000 Latinos were eligible to vote, either did not register, or did not vote. This figure was larger than the vote margin (44,292 votes) between the top two presidential candidates in 2016.39

Action Steps

The data in this report demonstrate the strength, influence, and potential of the Latino vote across the United States, at both the state and congressional district level. Come November 2018, Latinos will be significant players in the battle to control the House of Representatives.

The impact of Latino voters in states and congressional districts where Latinos reside in large numbers is clear. But their impact in smaller communities across the United States should not be underestimated. Many organizations, political strategists and philanthropic investors do not always fully recognize these areas as being hot spots for Latino mobilization.

Numbers matter, but so does investment. Latino influence on the U.S. political landscape is not only a function of the size of the growing Latino population. It also depends on the amount and type of resources that are put forth to meaningfully engage and mobilize the Latino vote. Small Latino communities can play pivotal roles in close races. At the same time, large Latino communities are crucial. All too often, these communities are undermobilized, and do not reach their full potential in terms of influence at election time. To guarantee successful outreach efforts, resources need to be allocated across Latino communities both small and large. Otherwise, there can be negative consequences for the political participation of Latinos, particularly in competitive elections.

States such as Nevada, Arizona and Florida, are good examples of how strong investment and outreach, coupled with communitydriven, ongoing efforts, can lead to greater Latino political influence. The lessons from these states provide guidance on what is possible in other Latino communities, both large and small, across the nation.

In the next briefs in this series, we take a detailed look at Latino voter participation by gender, and examine party affiliation trends. We also identify processes and practices that have contributed to the growing impact of Latinos at the state level. Finally, we examine the kinds of efforts that will be needed to fully realize the potential of Latino voters in the 2018 elections, and beyond.

Appendix

Table A: Top 25 Competitive Congressional Districts (CDs) for Latinos in 2018										
CD #	Latino % of CVAP	Latino % of 2016 Vote	# of CVAP Latinos	Presidential Race 2016 Margin of Victory	CVAP Who Did Not Vote	CD Race 2016 Margin of Victory	# of Latinos Registered in 2016	# of Latinos Who Voted in 2016	Incumbent	Type of Race
AZ 1	17%	12%	90,410	3,054	49,461	2,474	62,201	40,949	O'Halleran (D)	Lean Dem
AZ 2	21%	14%	113,120	15,480	60,377	43,933	75,262	52,743	Open (R)	Lean Dem
CA 10	31%	24%	140,165	7,190	77,967	8,201	85,812	62,198	Denham (R)	Rep Toss
CA 25	29%	22%	135,170	18,242	67,886	16,349	92,005	67,284	Knight (R)	Rep Toss
CA 39	27%	23%	129,250	23,448	62,022	38,098	81,965	67,228	Open (R)	Rep Toss
CA 45	14%	11%	71,510	17,736	29,958	53,387	46,355	41,552	Walters	Lean Rep
CA 48	14%	11%	73,600	5,440	36,630	50,986	42,125	36,970	Rohrabacher (R)	Rep Toss
CA 49	18%	12%	91,295	23,505	47,117	1,621	51,131	44,178	Open (R)	Lean Dem
CO 6	12%	8%	63,290	33,984	26,546	31,254	48,150	36,744	Coffman (R)	Rep Toss
FL 18	10%	7%	54,535	35,213	23,133	39,570	43,181	31,402	Mast (R)	Lean Rep
FL 26	63%	58%	290,615	47,047	112,187	33,054	248,685	178,428	Curbelo (R)	Rep Toss
FL 27	65%	57%	282,940	58,318	102,441	28,157	236,083	180,499	Open (R)	Lean Dem
IL 6	6%	4%	41805	24,669	23,982	64,964	26,374	17,823	Roskam (R)	Rep Toss
IL 14	7%	5%	36,120	13,359	16,629	62,919	29,488	19,491	Hultgren (R)	Lean Rep
NJ 7	8%	6%	41,805	4,144	15,553	37,662	33,846	26,252	Lance (R)	Rep Toss
NJ 11	8%	6%	42,230	3,362	16,301	64,137	33,155	25,929	Open (R)	Lean Dem
NM 2	45%	34%	214,225	23,849	121,219	58,283	142,087	93,006	Open (R)	Lean Rep
NV 3	13%	9%	69,385	3,263	31,292	3,943	47,000	38,093	Open (D)	Lean Dem
NY 11	13%	11%	64,150	24,425	34,155	57,677	48,240	29,995	Donovan (R)	Lean Rep
TX 7	19%	14%	83,280	3,518	44,391	31,551	61,806	38,889	Culberson (R)	Rep Toss
TX 23	62%	47%	281,735	7,878	164,641	3,051	226,194	117,094	Hurd (R)	Lean Rep
TX 32	14%	10%	67,805	5,194	37,685	162,868	48,480	30,120	Sessions (R)	Lean Rep
UT 4	9%	6%	43,495	18,625	24,428	34,184	25,762	19,067	Love (R)	Lean Rep
VA 10*	7%	5%	35,060	40,112	10,258	23,079	29,907	24,802	Comstock (R)	Rep Toss
WA 8	6%	4%	29,745	9,764	14,953	65,425	21,474	14,792	Open (R)	Rep Toss

* CDs where Latino the citizen voting-age population is <u>not</u> greater than the margin of victory in the 2016 presidential race. Letters in parentheses denotes party affiliation of incumbent. D=Democratic and R=Republican.

Competitive districts:

Blue shading: Designated "Lean Democratic" or Toss-Up Democratic" by the Cook Political Report. Red shading: Designated "Lean Republican" or "Toss-Up Republican" by the Cook Political Report.

Table B: Congressional Districts Where Registered Voter Turnout is Higher for Youth (Age 18 to 24) Voters than Non-Youth										
Alabama	Arizona	California	Connecticut	Florida	Georgia	lowa	Illinois	Indiana	Kentucky	Maine
AL 7	AZ 1, AZ 3, AZ 7	CA 40	CT 2, CT 3, CT 4, CT 5	FL 2, FL 3, FL 5	GA 2, GA 10	IA1, IA 4	IL 1, IL 2, IL 3, IL 4, IL 6, IL 8, IL 10, IL 11, IL 13, IL 14, IL 15, IL 16, IL 17, IL 18	IN 2	KY 1, KY 2, KY 4, KY 5, KY 6	ME 1, ME 2
Michigan	Minnesota	North Carolina	New Hampshire	New Jersey	New Mexico	Nevada	New York	Ohio	Pennsylvania	South Carolina
MI 1, MI 2, MI 3, MI 4, MI 5, MI 6, MI 7, MI 8, MI 10, MI 11, MI 12, MI 13, MI 14	MN 6	NC 1, NC 5, NC 7, <mark>NC 13</mark>	NH 1	NJ 6	NM 1, NM 2	NV 1	NY 5, NY 6, NY 7, NY 8, NY 9, NY 10, NY 11, NY 12, NY 14, NY 19, NY 22, NY 23, NY 24	OH 4, OH 8 OH 13	PA 2, PA 3, PA 5, PA 6, PA 7, PA 8, PA 9, PA 10, PA 11, PA 12, PA 14, PA 15, PA 16, PA 18	SC 2, SC 3, SC 4, SC 6, SC 7
Tennessee	Virgina	Vermont	Wisconsin	West Virgina	Wyoming					
TN 2, TN 3	VA 4, <mark>VA 5</mark> , VA 6, VA 9	VT 1	WI 2, WI 3, WI 6, WI 7, WI 8	WV 1	WY 1					

Competitive districts:

Blue shading: Designated "Lean Democratic" or Toss-Up Democratic" by the Cook Political Report. Red shading: Designated "Lean Republican" or "Toss-Up Republican" by the Cook Political Report. Data Source: Catalist LLC

Data Source: Cook Political Report, Daily Kos Elections, Catalist LLC

American Community Survey

Notes

1. CCEP analysis of Current Population Survey (CPS), November Supplement on Voting and Registration: 1996 -2016. See: https://www.census.gov/ data/tables/time-series/demo/voting-and-registration/p20-580.html. In 1996, data reported by the CPS for the White population included figures for Asian Americans, as well as Latinos. Latino data alone was also reported.

CPS data is the most utilized estimate of voter turnout in the U.S., aside from state voter records (which do not provide demographic identification). However, CPS data can be problematic because of the overreporting (and occasional underreporting, by some groups) inherent in survey data involving self-reported rates of turnout, and also due to its methodology in treating non-responses. These issues often produce higher state turnout rates than those reported by state voter records, and the findings are not comparable to those utilizing state voter records. When comparing voter turnout across states and by demographic group, CPS voter data has the most consistent data collection methods and is the most reliable source available for historical analyses.

For more information on CPS methodology, see: https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/ cps/technical-documentation/complete.html. For more information on the CPS overreporting bias, see: http://www.electproject.org/home/. For an analysis of CPS data corrected for overreporting bias, see the United States Elections Project: http://www.electproject.org/home/voter-turnout/cps-methodology/.

- 2. For this study, we define a congressional district as competitive if it has been designated "Lean Democratic," "Lean Republican," "Toss-Up Democratic," or "Toss-Up Republican" by the Cook Political Report. Districts labeled "lean" face competitive races in which one party has an advantage. Districts labeled "toss-up" are highly competitive, meaning that either of the two main parties has a good chance of winning. For more information on the methodology used by the Cook Political Report in its 2018 house ranking system, see: https://www.cookpolitical.com/ratings/house-race-ratings.
- 3. See CCEP Brief 1 (June 2018), entitled The Strength of the Latino Vote: Current and Future Impact on the US Political Landscape, for an overview of the growing Latino electorate in the U.S, at http://ccep.ucdavis.edu/policy-briefs.
- 4. CCEP analysis of Current Population Survey, November Supplement on Voting and Registration: 1996-2016 General Election.
- 5. CCEP analysis of Current Population Survey, November Supplement on Voting and Registration: 1996-2016 General Election. See note #1 for limitations of CPS voter data.
- 6. Voter turnout of the citizen voting-age population calculated using: Citizen Voting Age Population (CVAP) Special Tabulation, American Community Survey (ACS) 2012-2016, 5-Year Estimates, and CCEP analysis of Catalist registration and voting records for the 2016 general election. These ACS data are the only published source of current CVAP data at a congressional district level. For information about the limitations of the ACS Special Tabulation methodology, please see: https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial/rdo/technical-documentation/special-tabulation/CVAP_2012-2016_ACS_documentation.pdf.

Catalist is a political data vendor that sells detailed registration and microtargeting data to campaigns. It collects voter registration data from all states, cleans the data, and makes the records uniform across geographies. It appends hundreds of variables to each voter record. Latinos are distinguished in the registration data primarily from the general population by the use of Spanish surname lists, which identify registrants with commonly-occurring Spanish surnames. Note: Due to methodological differences, using actual voter registration data can produce a more conservative calculation of voter turnout rates than turnout rates reported by the Current Population Survey. National and state level turnout analysis using Current Population Survey data should not be directly compared with congressional district level analysis of turnout calculated with actual voter registration data.

- 7. See CCEP Brief 1 (June 2018), entitled The Strength of the Latino Vote: Current and Future Impact on the US Political Landscape, for an overview of the growing Latino electorate in the U.S, at http://ccep.ucdavis.edu/policy-briefs.
- Citizen voting-age population data source: American Community Survey 2012-2016, 5-Year Estimates, and CCEP analysis of Catalist registration and voting records for the 2016 general election. The results provided for presidential elections by congressional district are from Daily Kos Elections, and exclude write-ins. See: https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/10Rl7vxEJUUDWJCyrjo62cELJD2ONIVI-D9TSUKiK9jk/edit#gid=1178631925.
- 9. Citizen voting-age population data source: American Community Survey 2012-2016, 5-Year Estimates, and CCEP analysis of Catalist registration and voting records for the 2016 general election.
- 10. The term "representation gap" is used by William H. Frey, "The Voter Representation Gap," The Avenue, Brookings Institution, January 8, 2015, https://www.brookings.edu/blog/the-avenue/2015/01/08/the-voter-representation-gap/, as adapted from his book, Diversity Explosion: How Racial Demographics Are Remaking America (Washington D.C.: Brookings Institution, 2014).
- Mindy S. Romero, As California Goes, So Goes the Nation? US Demographic Change and the Strength of the Latino Vote, CCEP, January 2016. See: https://static1.squarespace.com/static/57b8c7ce15d5dbf599fb46ab/t/5a5f8def9140b75ef1465a11/1516211764434/ucdavisccepjan2016report.pdf.
- 12. CCEP analysis of Current Population Survey, November Supplement on Voting and Registration: 2016 General Election.
- 13. CCEP analysis of Catalist registration and voting records for the 2016 general election. Youth data for congressional districts NH-1, WI-2. WI-3, WI-6. WI-7, WI-8 and WY-1 should be considered with caution due to limitations in the data.
- 14. CCEP analysis of Catalist registration and voting records for the 2016 general election. Data for congressional districts NH-1, NH-2, WI-1, W-2. WI-3, WI-4, WI-5, WI-6. WI-7, WI-8 and WY-1 were removed from the analysis due to limitations in the data.
- 15. See Jan Leighley and Jonathan Nagler, Who Votes Now? Demographics, Issues, Inequality, and Turnout in the United States (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013).
- 16. CCEP analysis of Caatlist registration and voting records for the 2016 general election. Data for congressional districts NH-1, NH-2, WI-1, W-2. WI-3, WI-4, WI-5, WI-6. WI-7, WI-8 and WY-1 were removed from the analysis due to limitations in the data.

- 17. CCEP analysis of Current Population Survey, November Supplement on Voting and Registration: 2016 General Election.
- 18. CCEP analysis of Catalist registration and voting records for the 2016 general election.
- 19. Citizen voting-age population data source: American Community Survey 2012-2016, 5-Year Estimates. CCEP analysis of Catalist registration and voting records for the 2016 general election.
- 20. Citizen voting-age population data source: American Community Survey 2012-2016, 5-Year Estimates. CCEP analysis of Catalist registration and voting records for the 2016 general election. The results provided for presidential elections by congressional district are from Daily Kos Elections, and exclude write-ins. See: https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/10Rl7vxEJUUDWJCyrjo62cELJD2ONIVI-D9TSUKiK9jk/edit#gid=1178631925.
- 21. CCEP analysis of Current Population Survey, November Supplement on Voting and Registration: 2016 General Election.
- 22. Citizen voting-age population data source: American Community Survey 2012-2016, 5-Year Estimates. CCEP analysis of Catalist registration and voting records for the 2016 general election. The results provided for presidential elections by congressional district are from Daily Kos Elections, and exclude write-ins. See: https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/10RI7vxEJUUDWJCyrjo62cELJD2ONIVI-D9TSUKiK9jk/edit#gid=1178631925.
- 23. CCEP analysis of Current Population Survey, November Supplement on Voting and Registration: 2016 General Election. Citizen voting-age population data source: American Community Survey 2012-2016, 5-Year Estimates. CCEP analysis of Catalist registration and voting records for the 2016 general election.
- 24. Citizen voting-age population data source: American Community Survey 2012-2016, 5-Year Estimates. CCEP analysis of Catalist registration and voting records for the 2016 general election. The results provided for presidential elections by congressional district are from Daily Kos Elections, and exclude write-ins. See: https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/10RI7vxEJUUDWJCyrjo62cELJD2ONIVI-D9TSUKiK9jk/edit#gid=1178631925.
- 25. CCEP analysis of Current Population Survey, November Supplement on Voting and Registration: 2016 General Election.
- 26. Citizen voting-age population data source: American Community Survey 2012-2016, 5-Year Estimates. CCEP analysis of Catalist registration and voting records for the 2016 general election. The results provided for presidential elections by congressional district are from Daily Kos Elections, and exclude write-ins. See: https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/10RI7vxEJUUDWJCyrjo62cELJD2ONIVI-D9TSUKiK9jk/edit#gid=1178631925.
- 27. Citizen voting-age population data source: American Community Survey 2012-2016, 5-Year Estimates. CCEP analysis of Catalist registration and voting records for the 2016 general election.
- 28. Citizen voting-age population data source: American Community Survey 2012-2016, 5-Year Estimates. CCEP analysis of Catalist registration and voting records for the 2016 general election.
- CCEP analysis of Current Population Survey, November Supplement on Voting and Registration: 2004 and 2016 General Elections. The results provided for presidential elections by congressional district are from Daily Kos Elections, and exclude write-ins. See: https://docs.google.com/ spreadsheets/d/1oRI7vxEJUUDWJCyrjo62cELJD2ONIVI-D9TSUKiK9jk/edit#gid=1178631925.
- 30. Citizen voting-age population data source: American Community Survey 2012-2016-5-Year Estimates. CCEP analysis of Catalist registration and voting records for the 2016 general election. The results provided for presidential elections by congressional district are from Daily Kos Elections, and exclude write-ins. See: https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/10Rl7vxEJUUDWJCyrjo62cELJD2ONIVI-D9TSUKiK9jk/edit#gid=1178631925.
- 31. To review Arizona Senate Bill 1070, see: https://www.azleg.gov/legtext/49leg/2r/bills/sb1070s.pdf.
- 32. CCEP analysis of Current Population Survey, November Supplement on Voting and Registration: 2016 General Election. CCEP analysis of Catalist registration and voting records for the 2016 general election.
- 33. Citizen voting-age population data source: American Community Survey 2016, 5-Year Estimates. CCEP analysis of Catalist registration and voting records for the 2016 general election. The results provided for presidential elections by congressional district are from Daily Kos Elections, and exclude write-ins. See: https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1oRI7vxEJUUDWJCyrjo62cELJD2ONIVI-D9TSUKiK9jk/edit#gid=1178631925.
- Citizen voting-age population data source: American Community Survey 2016, 5-Year Estimates. CCEP analysis of Catalist registration and voting records for the 2016 general election. The results provided for presidential elections by congressional district are from Daily Kos Election and exclude write-ins. See: https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1oRI7vxEJUUDWJCyrjo62cELJD2ONIVI-D9TSUKiK9jk/edit#gid=1178631925.
- 35. CCEP analysis of Current Population Survey, November Supplement on Voting and Registration: 2016 General Election. CCEP analysis of Catalist registration and voting records for the 2016 general election.
- 36. Citizen voting-age population data source: American Community Survey 2016, 5-Year Estimates. CCEP analysis of Catalist registration and voting records for the 2016 general election. The results provided for presidential elections by congressional district are from Daily Kos Elections, and exclude write-ins. See: https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1oRI7vxEJUUDWJCyrjo62cELJD2ONIVI-D9TSUKiK9jk/edit#gid=1178631925.
- 37. CCEP analysis of Current Population Survey, November Supplement on Voting and Registration: 2016 General Election. Citizen voting-age population data source: American Community Survey 2012-2016, 5-Year Estimates. CCEP analysis of Catalist registration and voting records for the 2016 general election.
- See Adam Liptak, "Supreme Court Won't Block New Pennsylvania Voting Maps," The New York Times, March 19, 2018, at https://www.nytimes. com/2018/03/19/us/politics/supreme-court-pennsylvania-voting-maps.html.
- 39. CCEP analysis of Current Population Survey, November Supplement on Voting and Registration: 2016 General Election. The results provided for presidential elections by congressional district are from Daily Kos Elections, and exclude write-ins. See: https://docs.google.com/spreadsheets/d/1oRI 7vxEJUUDWJCyrjo62cELJD2ONIVI-D9TSUKiK9jk/edit#gid=1178631925.

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Research for a Stronger, More Inclusive Democracy

About the California Civic Engagement Project (CCEP)

The California Civic Engagement Project (CCEP) is part of the USC Sol Price School of Public Policy in Sacramento. The CCEP conducts research to inform policy and on-the-ground efforts for a more engaged and representative democracy, improving the social and economic quality of life in communities. The CCEP is engaging in pioneering research to identify disparities in civic participation across place and population. Its research informs and empowers a wide range of policy and organizing efforts aimed at reducing disparities in state and regional patterns of well-being and opportunity. Key audiences include public officials, advocacy groups, media and communities themselves. To learn about the CCEP's national advisory committee, or review the extensive coverage of the CCEP's work in the national and California media, visit our website at http://ccep.usc.edu

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About Unidos US

UnidosUS, previously known as NCLR (National Council of La Raza), is the nation's largest Hispanic civil rights and advocacy organization. Through its unique combination of expert research, advocacy, programs, and an Affiliate Network of nearly 300 community-based organizations across the United States and Puerto Rico, UnidosUS simultaneously challenges the social, economic, and political barriers that affect Latinos at the national and local levels. For 50 years, UnidosUS has united communities and different groups seeking common ground through collaboration, and that share a desire to make our country stronger. For more information on UnidosUS, visit www.unidosus.org or follow us on Facebook and Twitter.

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