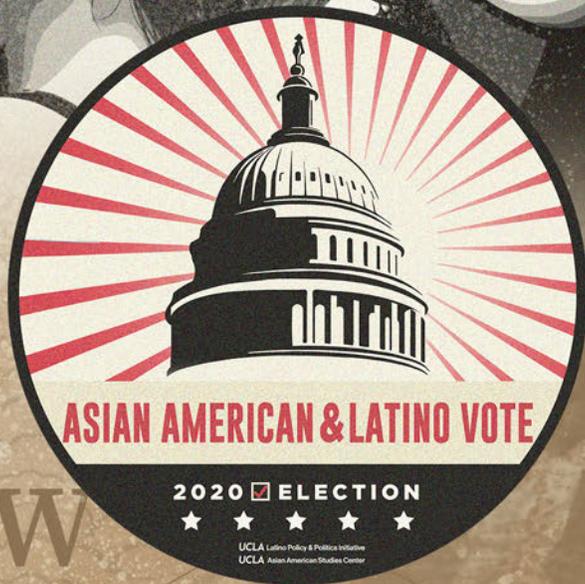


VOTE VOTE



ROAD  
TO A NEW  
NATION

# DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY 2020

ANALYSIS OF LATINO AND ASIAN AMERICAN VOTING IN 10 STATES

ANGELA GUTIERREZ, MICHAEL HERNDON, JESSICA LEE,  
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## PREFACE

All signs pointed to a historic year in voter engagement for the 2020 election. Latinos in early states were turning out in record numbers, campaigns launched efforts to target Asian American voters, there was enthusiasm about the youth vote and the Black vote would again be decisive.

As we prepared for Super Tuesday, COVID-19 threw our lives and economies into upheaval, and elections were not spared. States like Hawaii switched to a vote-by-mail election, New York suspended and rescheduled its primary, while Wisconsin forced in-person voting amid serious public health and safety concerns. As states finalize their runoff elections and we shift our focus to the November election, the ongoing concern about coronavirus infection means candidates, advocates, and political parties must get innovative with their outreach to fulfill the promise of engaged turnout, particularly among new voters of color. With this report, the UCLA Latino Policy and Politics (UCLA LPPI) aims to use data-driven research to inform the path forward by shining light on how the lessons learned from the primaries can drive investment in voter engagement for a successful November election

The report focuses on Latino and Asian American voters, two groups that data shows have the potential to transform elections. The data on their voting patterns during the 2020 primary election in ten diverse states tells important stories that are valuable lessons for campaigns, political parties, and candidates looking toward victory at the ballot box in November.

First, trusted messengers matter. The overwhelming Latino support for Senator Bernie Sanders' candidacy was a reflection of the investments his campaign made in grassroots engagement, turning everyday voters into campaign ambassadors within their networks, changing how entire families and communities turned out to vote.

Secondly, voters are driven by the quality of life issues. Even before the pandemic devastated the economy, Latino and Asian American voters, among others, wanted to hear from candidates about how to keep their families healthy, make hard work pay, lead with diversity, and make the American Dream fair and accessible. Campaigns up across the country need to engage voters in their vision for a prosperous future. Our data shows that electoral victory requires that campaigns and parties look to expand their base to a large subset of voters of color, rather than persuade those on the opposing side.

Lastly, UCLA LPPI has been supporting efforts to push for universal vote by mail through its advocacy arm, the UCLA Voting Rights Project. Yet, its implementation is not a guarantee that we will accomplish the promise of historic turnout, particularly for communities of color. Significant education efforts are needed on the ground to ensure that people fill out their ballots, those ballots are counted, and everyone is able to participate in shaping our democracy.

UCLA LPPI believes in the power of research and data in driving smart public policy, and we will continue to track voter behavior to inform strategy. The 2020 election will not only decide the White House and control of the United States Congress but key races that will determine education funding, public safety reform, economic recovery, and public health investments from city halls to governors' offices. There is still time to ensure that we are maximizing the potential of America's diverse electorate.

Sonja Francine Marie Diaz  
Founding Director, UCLA LPPI

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

The 2020 Presidential Election's first primaries and caucuses yield important insights into the participation rates and preferences of the nation's two fastest growing demographic groups—Asian Americans and Latinos. Asian American and Latino voters strongly support the Democratic Party and play a critical role in deciding the Party's presidential nominee. This report analyzes the vote participation and candidate vote choice of Asian American and Latino voters in 10 states through March 17, 2020, when Vice President Joe Biden became the presumptive presidential nominee. Unlike other modern elections, the 2020 primary has been uniquely impacted by the COVID-19 global pandemic, which has transformed traditional in-person campaign tactics, election administration, and the primary election calendar. The electoral trends and preferences of Asian American and Latino voters across these 10 important states offer a comprehensive glimpse at their preferences and participation for the November General Election. Given the high probability of a second wave of COVID-19 in the fall, coinciding with flu season, this analysis of primary elections can offer lessons on which candidates were most successful in mobilizing Latino and Asian American voters and, by extension, what strategies may increase voter participation in November.

### Key Findings for Latino Voters:

1. Latino voter mobilization appears weak in the 2020 primary in those states we analyze. Compared to the 2016 primary election, there was not a significant growth in the total number of ballots cast in the 2020 primary.
2. We find strong Latino support for Senator Bernie Sanders. In the Iowa and Nevada caucuses, precincts with large Latino electorates demonstrated an overwhelming vote share towards Senator Sanders. Senator Sanders also won the plurality of votes in high density Latino precincts in Iowa, Nevada, Massachusetts, California, Washington and Illinois (only Chicago). But Vice President Joe Biden wins the plurality of votes in high density Latino precincts in Virginia, North Carolina, Florida and some counties in Texas.
3. We find evidence that Latinos were more supportive of Senator Sanders than non-Latinos. Senator Sanders won a larger share of votes in high density Latino precincts compared to what he won, on average, in low density Latino precincts in all states we analyze with the exception of North Carolina.

### Key Findings for Asian American Voters:

1. Asian American voter mobilization appears weak in the 2020 primary in most states we analyzed. But notably, Asian American electorates are growing in Texas where the number of votes often doubled between the 2016 and 2020 primary elections in high density Asian precincts.
2. We find evidence that Asian Americans represented a core bloc of voters for Senator Sanders. Senator Sanders won a larger share of voters in high density Asian American precincts compared to what he won in low density Asian American precincts.
3. However, the Asian American vote was distributed across multiple candidates: while Senator Sanders often won the plurality of votes in high density Asian American precincts, he did not win the majority.

## INTRODUCTION

In February 2020, the Democrats began the selection process for their presidential nominee. At the start, there was a slate of twelve candidates,<sup>1</sup> with no clear front runner.<sup>2</sup> This competitive contest meant that all votes would be meaningful and, in particular, those votes from the two fastest growing electorates in the Democratic party: Asian American and Latino voters. Thanks to their youth and growing numbers of naturalized citizens, Asian American and Latino electorates have the potential to grow with every election. As such, they both are key to ensuring Democratic gains in elected offices. Previous research by the UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative (LPPI) shows that Latino voting is on the rise. In a report on the 2018 midterm elections, LPPI researchers found large and meaningful increases in ballots cast in high density Latino voting precincts when we compared 2018 ballots to 2014 ballots.<sup>3</sup> This was influenced by the increasing share of Latino voters in the electorate, as well as the historically low turnout of the 2014 midterm elections. Since different levels of elections attract different voters to turnout, we continue this research by examining ballots cast in the 2020 Democratic primary election for both Asian American and Latino voters across a set of critical early states.<sup>4</sup>

In 2020, diverse states with large Asian American and Latino populations such as California, Texas, Virginia and Massachusetts all held their primaries early in the election cycle, on Super Tuesday. Their early placement on the election calendar offered even greater influence of the Asian American and Latino vote on deciding the presidential nominee for the Democratic Party. Yet, at the same time, the COVID-19 health pandemic began to peak when a number of populous and diverse states planned to hold their primaries.<sup>5</sup> While the impacts of COVID-19 will need to be studied, it is without a doubt that the stay-at-home directives coupled with the threat of the virus dampened voter turnout particularly in states which held their elections in March and April.

In this report, we analyze official state primary election returns from a subset of states with large populations of Asian American and Latino voters to evaluate their candidate preferences and participation rates going into the 2020 general election.

## 10 STATES SELECTED FOR THIS REPORT

We began our analysis by identifying states with large Latino or Asian American populations that release election result data by voter precinct. The states covered in this report, in order of their election, are: Iowa, Nevada, Virginia, North Carolina, Massachusetts, Texas, California, Washington, Florida and Illinois (see **Table 1**). This sample of states we selected includes early nominating contests, Super Tuesday elections and the final wave of states that had held an election before Vice President Joe Biden became the presumptive presidential nomination. The ten states examined in this report vary with respect to racial and ethnic diversity, but all have a sizable or growing population of Asian American and/or Latino voters. These ten states add up to nearly one third of the total number of Democratic delegates cast (1483 out of 3979).

Table 1. 2020 Election Calendar of State Primaries and Caucuses Between February 3 and March 17, 2020

PRIMARY OR CAUCUS STATE	ELECTION DAY	NUMBER OF DEMOCRATIC DELEGATES
<b>IOWA</b>	FEB. 3	41
<b>NEW HAMPSHIRE</b>	FEB. 11	24
<b>NEVADA</b>	FEB. 22	36
<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>	FEB. 29	54
<b>ALABAMA</b>	MAR. 3	52
<b>ARKANSAS</b>	MAR. 3	31
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>	MAR. 3	415
<b>COLORADO</b>	MAR. 3	67
<b>MAINE</b>	MAR. 3	24
<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>	MAR. 3	91
<b>MINNESOTA</b>	MAR. 3	75
<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>	MAR. 3	110
<b>OKLAHOMA</b>	MAR. 3	37
<b>TENNESSEE</b>	MAR. 3	64
<b>TEXAS</b>	MAR. 3	228
<b>UTAH</b>	MAR. 3	29
<b>VERMONT</b>	MAR. 3	16
<b>VIRGINIA</b>	MAR. 3	99
<b>IDAHO</b>	MAR. 10	20
<b>MICHIGAN</b>	MAR. 10	125
<b>MISSISSIPPI</b>	MAR. 10	36
<b>MISSOURI</b>	MAR. 10	68
<b>NORTH DAKOTA</b>	MAR. 10	14
<b>WASHINGTON</b>	MAR. 10	89
<b>ARIZONA</b>	MAR. 17	67
<b>FLORIDA</b>	MAR. 17	219
<b>ILLINOIS</b>	MAR. 17	155

Note: States selected for this report are highlighted in red.

Voters of color are integral to the Democratic Party’s electoral success at the state and national levels given these voters’ outsized share of the Party’s electorate in large states that control the most party delegates and electoral college votes. In LPPi’s previous February 2020 report, *The Power of the New Majority*, a forecast of the racial/ethnic composition of each state’s electorate and Democratic delegate count found that Latino and Asian American voters, alongside Black voters, represent the core constituency of the Democratic party.<sup>6</sup> As we see in **Table 2**, the ten states analyzed in this report reflect the nation’s changing demographics and the increasing influence of the Asian American and Latino electorate.

Table 2. 2020 Share of Voters by Race/Ethnicity Across 10 States<sup>7</sup>

	<b>LATINOS</b>		<b>ASIAN AMERICANS</b>		<b>WHITE AMERICANS</b>		<b>BLACK AMERICANS</b>	
	% of Voters	% of Democrats	% of Voters	% of Democrats	% of Voters	% of Democrats	% of Voters	% of Democrats
<b>IOWA</b>	3%	6%	1%	2%	95%	88%	2%	4%
<b>NEVADA</b>	20%	28%	8%	11%	62%	43%	11%	18%
<b>VIRGINIA</b>	7%	10%	7%	9%	66%	45%	20%	36%
<b>NORTH CAROLINA</b>	5%	7%	3%	4%	66%	43%	27%	46%
<b>MASSACHUSETTS</b>	8%	11%	4%	6%	81%	67%	9%	16%
<b>TEXAS</b>	22%	29%	5%	6%	60%	39%	15%	26%
<b>CALIFORNIA</b>	26%	34%	15%	20%	53%	36%	7%	10%
<b>WASHINGTON</b>	7%	11%	6%	9%	83%	74%	3%	5%
<b>FLORIDA</b>	20%	23%	3%	4%	65%	49%	13%	24%
<b>ILLINOIS</b>	11%	16%	5%	7%	70%	51%	15%	26%
<b>NATIONAL AVERAGE</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>16%</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>7%</b>	<b>72%</b>	<b>52%</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>25%</b>

These ten states are critical for a Democratic win in the electoral college and control of the United States Congress, since over half of these states are considered swing states this cycle and Democratic strongholds Illinois and California have competitive House races.<sup>8</sup> This analysis of primary elections offers important lessons about which primary candidates were successful in mobilizing Asian American and Latino voters, insights that should inform the campaign tactics employed by candidates, parties, or campaigns interested in investing resources and attention to mobilizing these voters during a general election during the COVID-19 pandemic.

## METHODOLOGY

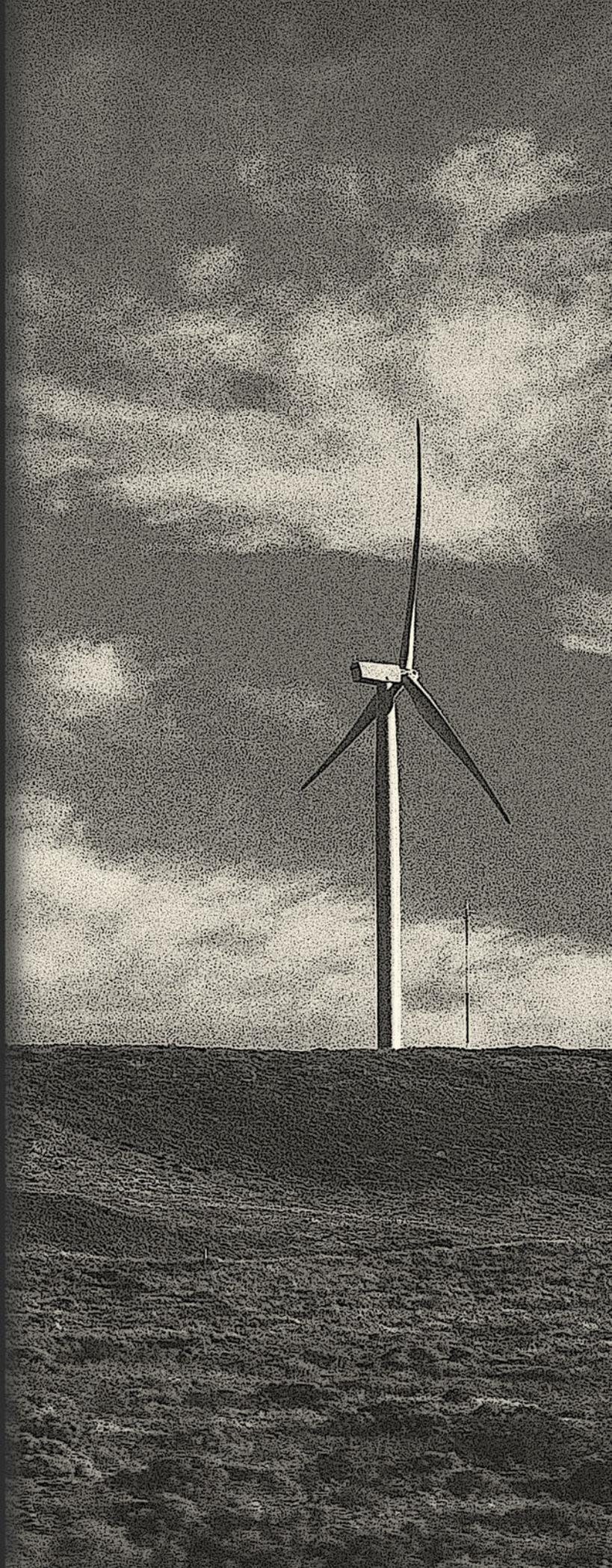
For this analysis, we collected election returns reported at the precinct level for each of the ten states. Election procedures vary by state, so we tailored our data collection and analysis to fit the data obtained in each state. Availability of state election data varies widely; some of our data was obtained directly from the state or county registrar of voters while other data was obtained from non-governmental sources, including the New York Times. For Virginia, Texas and California, we were able to collect precinct level election returns from both the 2016 primary election and the 2020 primary election. This allows us to offer two sets of analysis: we can estimate the growth of the electorate by calculating the percent change in the total number of ballots cast between 2016 and 2020 and we can offer an analysis of candidate preference in 2020 based on the total number of votes received by each candidate within a precinct. For the remaining states, Iowa, Nevada, North Carolina, Massachusetts, Washington, and Florida, we were only able to collect precinct election returns for 2020. For these seven states, we offer an analysis of candidate preference in 2020. Due to the variation in data collection procedures, we offer a description of the methodology for each state in our state-by-state analysis section.

To offer an analysis of Asian American and Latino vote preferences, we compare the votes cast in precincts that are populated by large numbers of Latinos or Asian Americans against the votes cast in precincts with very few Latinos or Asian Americans. Most simply, our analysis reveals the vote preferences in Latino or Asian American neighborhoods. We use two different metrics for calculating the size of the Latino or Asian population: share of citizen voting age population or share of registered voter population, which offer the most accurate estimate of political influence. Given the immigrant and age distributions of Asian American and Latino populations, we must take into account citizenship status and age and cannot simply rely on estimates of the general population. The individual state methodology descriptions will offer further detail about these calculations, where necessary. Finally, the size of the Asian American and Latino populations in each state vary and so the thresholds for determining what we label a “high density” precinct and a “low density” precinct changes across each state in this report. The next section offers information about the state’s caucus or primary, a discussion of the specific methodology to collect and analyze data, and findings about the Asian American and Latino vote in the primary.

**IOWA**



**FEBRUARY 3, 2020**



### IOWA

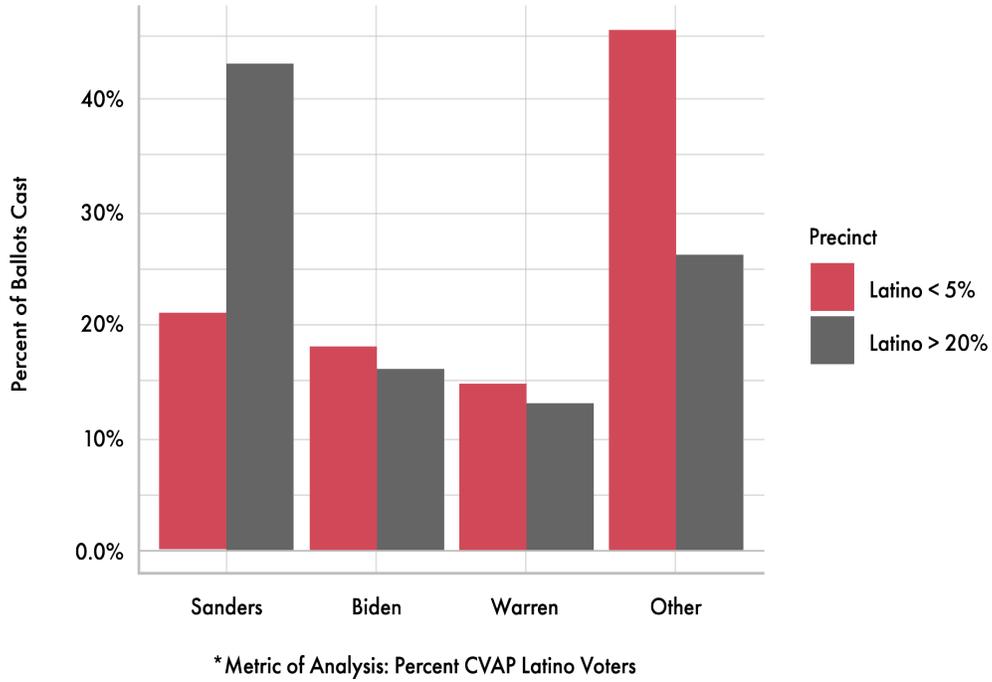
Arguably one of the most targeted electorates in the primary process, Iowa's voters - including Iowans of color - serve as an important bellwether for how the rest of the election will unfold. Although the state is predominantly white, the Latino electorate between 2004 and 2020 increased by more than 300 percent.<sup>9</sup> We estimate that Latinos make up 5 percent of all eligible voters in the state and 5.8 percent of the Democratic vote share. Asian Americans only make up a very small share of the eligible voters (1.3 percent). Therefore, our analysis of Iowa is limited to an analysis of Latino voters.

The Iowa caucuses are the first contest of the Democratic presidential primary and were held on February 3rd. Iowa has just 41 out of the 3,979 total delegates, but because of its first in the nation election status, each delegate is highly valued. In a crowded field of candidates, Senator Bernie Sanders had the most individual votes with 26.5 percent, followed by Pete Buttigieg who won 25.1 percent of the vote, Elizabeth Warren with 20.3 percent, and Joe Biden at fourth with 13.7 percent of the vote.

To analyze the 2020 election, we used reports of ballots cast for all voting precincts published by the Iowa Democratic Party on March 24, 2020 (100 percent reporting).<sup>10</sup> To calculate the size of the Latino citizen voting age population in each precinct, we took demographic data from the 2013-2017 American Community Survey and conducted a weighted spatial merge of census block group to the 2020 Iowa precinct map.<sup>11</sup> For this analysis, we compare two types of precincts: "high density" precincts which are voting precincts where at least **20 percent or more** of the citizen voting age population is Latino (n=16, which accounts for 1,119 ballots cast) and "low density" precincts which are voting precincts where **5 percent or less** of the citizen voting age population is Latino (n=1,454, which accounts for 142,997 ballots cast).

Our analysis of Latino voting finds that in high density precincts, Senator Sanders held a large advantage over the other candidates. In high density precincts, Senator Sanders received an average of 43 percent of the vote. Vice President Joe Biden received the second highest number of votes in high density precincts, with an average vote share of 16 percent. In low density precincts, Senator Sanders only received an average of 21 percent of the vote, which is much closer to Vice President Biden's average of 18 percent, and likely comparable to Mayor Pete Buttigieg's level of support which is included in the "Other" category. Over the course of the tallying and re-tallying of votes, Senator Sanders' lead among Latino voters helped keep the Senator neck and neck with Mayor Pete Buttigieg, Iowa's other top finisher.<sup>12</sup>

Figure 1: Share of Ballots Cast by High vs. Low Density Latino Precincts in Iowa, February 2020



# NEVADA



**FEBRUARY 22, 2020**



## NEVADA

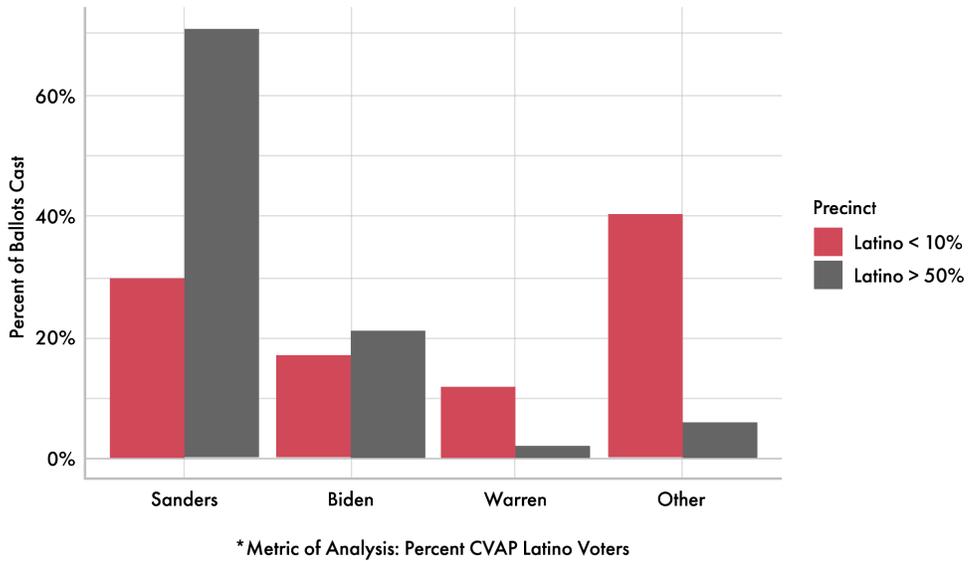
Nevada is the first Democratic primary contest where the electorate is not majority-white. We estimate that Latinos make up 20.6 percent of the citizen voting age population and 27.8 percent of the Democratic vote share. Similarly, we estimate that Asian Americans make up 9.5 percent of the citizen voting age population and 10.8 percent of the Democratic vote share.

Nevada held their caucus on February 22nd after closely contested elections in Iowa and New Hampshire. With 36 delegates at stake, Senator Bernie Sanders, Vice President Joe Biden, Senator Elizabeth Warren and most of the Democratic field, except for Mike Bloomberg, were on the ballot. Unlike the previous two contests where a .1 percent difference separated the top two finishers (Iowa) and the top two finishers were awarded the same number of delegates (New Hampshire), Nevada had a clear winner in Senator Sanders. Senator Sanders received 46.8 percent of the vote while the second-place candidate, Vice President Biden, received 20.2 percent of the vote. Mayor Buttigieg came in third with 14.3 percent and Senator Warren came in fourth with 9.7 percent of the vote. The outcome in Nevada, driven by the Latino electorate's support for Senator Sanders, is the inverse of the outcome in South Carolina, whereby the Black electorate's support for Vice President Biden created a critical turning point in the nomination process.

To analyze the 2020 election, we used reports of ballots cast for all voting precincts published on the New York Times website on February 22nd (100 percent reporting).<sup>13</sup> To calculate the size of the Asian American and Latino citizen voting age population in each precinct, we took demographic data from the 2013-2017 American Community Survey and conducted a weighted spatial merge of census block groups to the 2020 Nevada precinct map.<sup>14</sup> For this analysis, we compare two types of precincts: "high density" and "low density". High density precincts are voting precincts where **at least 50 percent** or more of the citizen voting age population is Latino (n=30, which accounts for 1,602 ballots cast) or **at least 25 percent** of the citizen voting age population is Asian American (n=48, which accounts for 3,124 ballots cast). Low density precincts are voting precincts where **10 percent or less** of the citizen voting age population is either Latino (n=531, which accounts for 35,992 ballots cast) or Asian American (n=1,178, which accounts for 71,443 ballots cast).

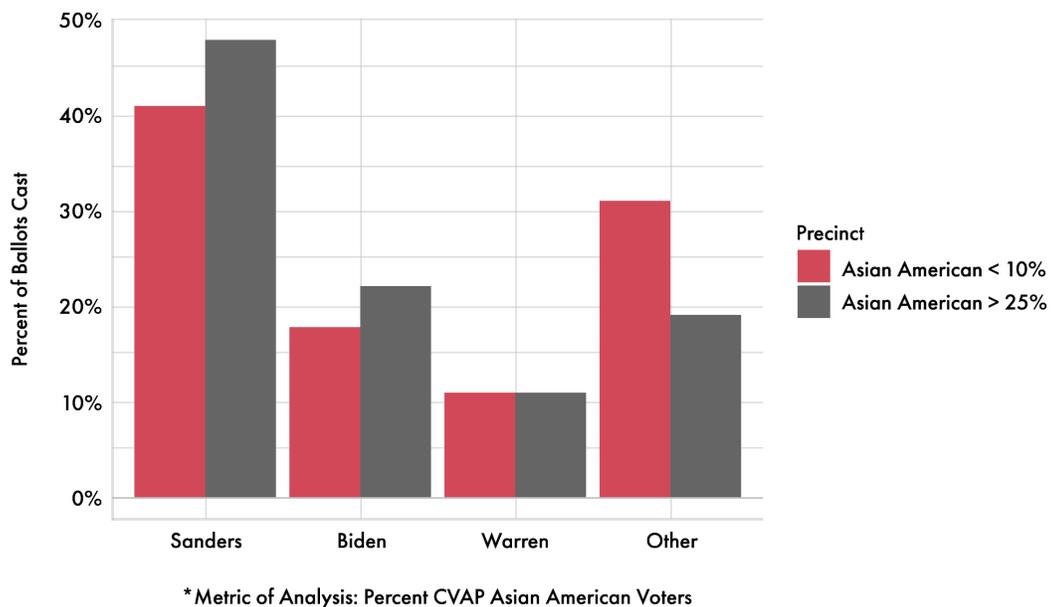
Our analysis of Latino voting finds that in high density precincts, Senator Sanders held a large advantage over the other candidates. In these precincts, Senator Sanders received an average of 71 percent of the vote. Vice President Biden was the next leading candidate receiving an average of 22 percent of the vote. Low density precincts told a much different story. Senator Sanders held a slimmer lead over the other candidates with 30 percent of the average vote share. Vice President Biden came in second with an average of 17 percent. A combination of Mayor Buttigieg and other candidates accounted for about 40 percent of the average vote share in low density Latino precincts.

Figure 2: Share of Ballots Cast by High v. Low Density Latino Precincts in Nevada, February 2020



In high density Asian American precincts, Senator Sanders led the field, receiving an average of 48 percent of the vote share. Vice President Biden placed second in these precincts, with an average vote share of 22 percent. High density Asian American precincts closely resembled high density Latino precincts, with Senator Sanders receiving an average of 48 percent of the vote share and Vice President Biden receiving 18 percent. A combination of Mayor Buttigieg and other candidates accounted for about 31 percent of the average vote share in these precincts.

Figure 3: Share of Ballots Cast by High v. Low Density Asian American Precincts in Nevada, February 2020



# VIRGINIA



**MARCH 3, 2020**



### VIRGINIA

Virginia controls 99 delegates in the Democratic primary, and is still considered a swing state in the 2020 election cycle. Virginia has a rapidly growing minority population,<sup>15</sup> that has helped transform the state's political landscape from reliably Republican to a battleground state for the last three consecutive presidential election cycles. Latinos make up 7 percent of the citizen voting age population while Asian Americans make up 6.9 percent of the citizen voting age population. We estimate that Latinos and Asian Americans make up 9.7 percent and 9.5 percent, respectively, of the Democratic vote share in Virginia.

Virginia held their primary on March 3rd's Super Tuesday election. Two days before Super Tuesday, Mayor Buttigieg dropped out of the race, followed by Senator Amy Klobuchar on Monday, leaving four viable candidates in the race: Senator Sanders, Vice President Biden, Senator Warren, and Mayor Bloomberg. Bernie Sanders came into Super Tuesday as the frontrunner, but Joe Biden had just dominated among Black voters in South Carolina's primary on February 29th. Biden also received endorsements from Pete Buttigieg, Amy Klobuchar, and Beto O'Rourke in the days leading up to Super Tuesday. Joe Biden won the Virginia primary with 53.2 percent of the vote. Bernie Sanders came in second with 23.1 percent, and Elizabeth Warren came in third with 10.7 percent.

To analyze the 2020 election, we used reports of ballots cast for all voting precincts published on the New York Times website which was published on March 3, 2020 (94 percent reporting).<sup>16</sup> For the 2016 election results we used Virginia's historical election database.<sup>17</sup> To calculate the size of the Asian American and Latino citizen voting age population in each precinct, we took demographic data from the 2013-2017 American Community Survey and conducted a weighted spatial merge of census block group to the Virginia precinct map from 2016.<sup>18</sup> For this analysis, we compare two types of precincts: "high density" precincts which are voting precincts where **at least 30 percent** or more of the citizen voting age population is either Asian American (n=19, which accounts for 14,055 ballots cast) or Latino (n=7, which accounts for 4,356 ballots cast) and "low density" precincts which are voting precincts where **5 percent or less** of the citizen voting age population is either Asian American (n=1,862, which accounts for 746,580 ballots cast) or Latino (n=233, which accounts for 31,606 ballots cast).

Virginia is one of three states in this study where we can evaluate voter participation by comparing the total number of ballots cast in the 2016 primary election to the number cast in the 2020 primary election. For the entire state, turnout was higher in 2020 when compared to 2016. According to the state of Virginia,<sup>19</sup> 23.3 percent of the electorate voted in the 2020 Democratic primary. We find that the rate of change in total ballots between 2016 and 2020 was higher in low density precincts compared to high density precincts for both Latino and Asian American voters. In 2020, there were more ballots cast in low density Latino/Asian American precincts than there were in high density Latino/Asian American precincts. We are cautious not to overemphasize this finding because the difference between high and low density precincts is small with a difference of 1.42 percent between high and low Latino precincts and a difference of 1.89 percent between high and low Asian American precincts.

Table 3. Virginia Percent Change in Ballots Cast Latino Precinct Comparison

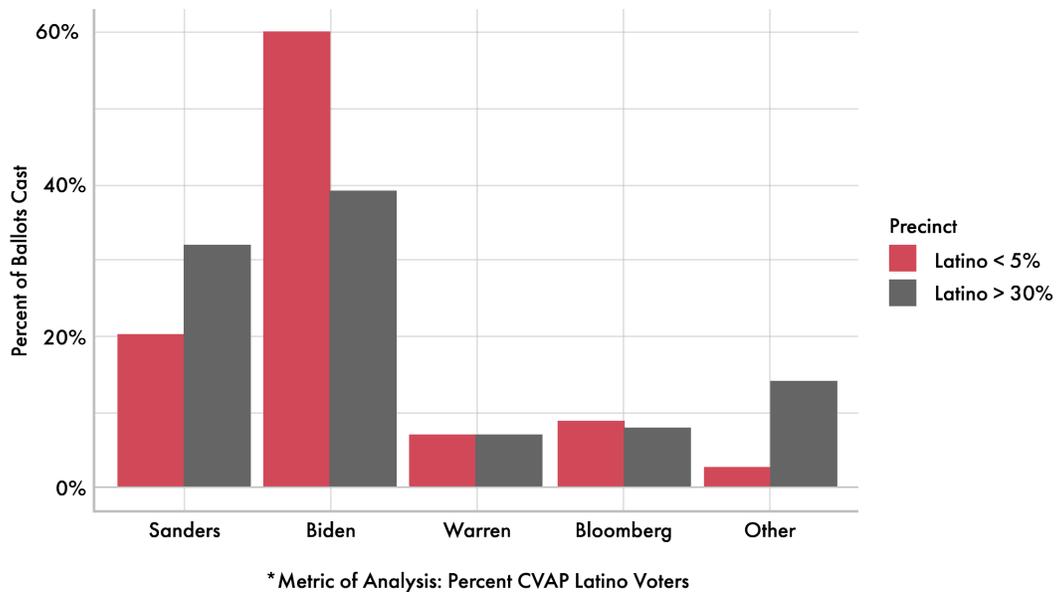
	<b>HIGH DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS (&gt;30% OF CVAP)</b>	<b>LOW DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS (&lt;5% OF CVAP)</b>
<b>CHANGE IN BALLOTS CAST</b>	3.02%	4.44%

Table 4. Virginia Percent Change in Ballots Cast Asian American Precinct Comparison

	<b>HIGH DENSITY ASIAN AMERICAN PRECINCTS (&gt;30% OF CVAP)</b>	<b>LOW DENSITY ASIAN AMERICAN PRECINCTS (&lt;5% OF CVAP)</b>
<b>CHANGE IN BALLOTS CAST</b>	3.19%	5.08%

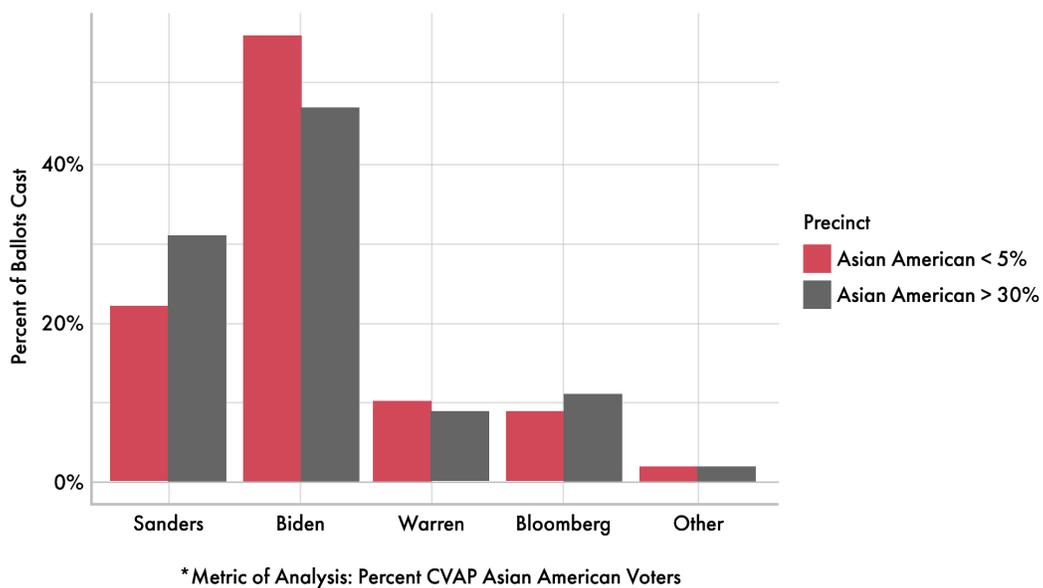
Turning to candidate vote choice, our analysis of Latino voting finds that there were clear differences in candidate preference between Virginia's high and low density precincts. In high density precincts there was a near tie between Senator Sanders and Vice President Biden (averaging 32 percent and 39 percent respectively). In contrast, Vice President Biden was the clear winner in low density precincts, averaging 60 percent of ballots cast. In high density precincts, a larger share of the votes (29 percent) went to other candidates besides Vice President Biden and Senator Sanders, compared to the share won by other candidates in low density precincts (19 percent). This shows that Latino candidate preferences in high density precincts were more varied across the different candidates whereas low density precincts preferred Vice President Biden.

Figure 4: Share of Ballots Cast by High Density v. Low Density Latino Precincts in Virginia, March 2020



Our analysis of Asian American voting finds that in high density precincts, the contest was most competitive between Vice President Biden and Senator Sanders. Vice President Biden received the most votes, averaging 47 percent of votes in high density precincts. However, Senator Sanders was more competitive in high density Asian American precincts, averaging 31 percent of the votes while taking only 22 percent of the votes in low density Asian American precincts.

Figure 5: Share of Ballots Cast by High Density v. Low Density Asian American Precincts in Virginia, March 2020



# **NORTH CAROLINA**



**MARCH 3, 2020**



### NORTH CAROLINA

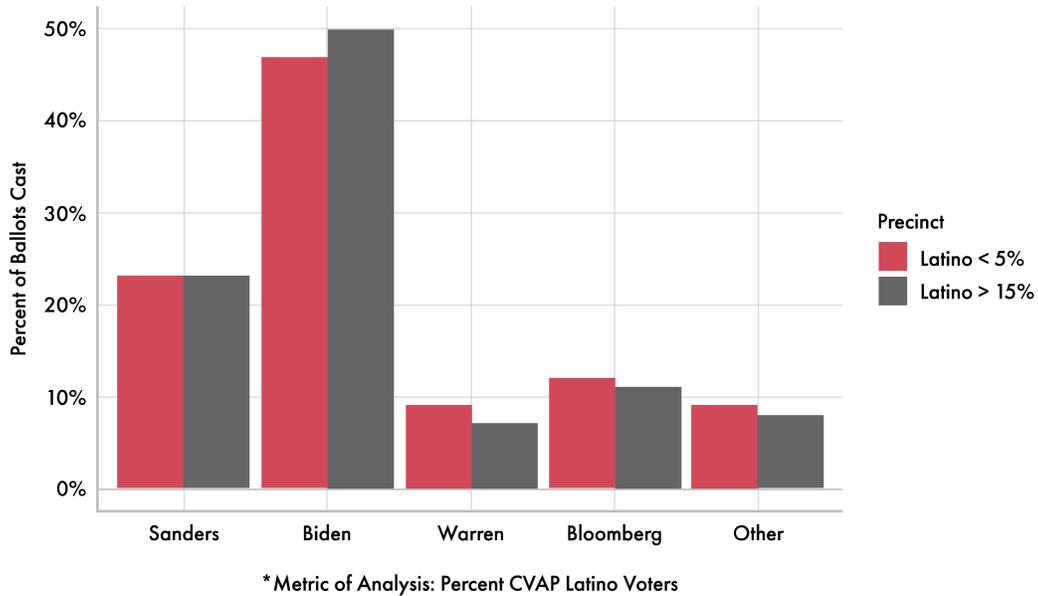
North Carolina has 110 delegates to allocate to the Democratic primary contest and is a critical swing state in both presidential and midterm elections. In North Carolina, Latinos make up 6.5 percent of the citizen voting age population and Asian Americans account for 3.5 percent of the citizen voting age population. We estimate that Latinos make up roughly 7 percent of Democratic voters in North Carolina while Asian Americans account for 3.9 percent.

North Carolina held their Democratic primary on March 3, 2020, as one of the contests scheduled on Super Tuesday. Vice President Biden won first place with 43.7 percent of the votes, Senator Sanders came in second with 24.5 percent, Mayor Bloomberg came in third with 13.2 percent, and Senator Warren came in fourth with 10.6 percent.

For this analysis, we use precinct election return data from the New York Times which was downloaded on the day of the election, March 3, 2020 (93 percent reporting).<sup>20</sup> To calculate the size of the Asian American and Latino citizen voting age population in each precinct, we took demographic data from the 2013-2017 American Community Survey and conducted a weighted spatial merge of census block group to the 2020 precinct maps that were downloaded from the North Carolina State Board of Elections.<sup>21</sup> For this analysis, we compare two types of precincts: “high density” precincts which are voting precincts where **at least 15 percent** or more of the citizen voting age population is either Asian American (n=11, which accounts for 5,995 ballots cast) or Latino (n=17, which accounts for 13,486 ballots cast) and “low density” precincts which are voting precincts where **5 percent or less** of the citizen voting age population is either Asian American (n=2,451, which accounts for 2,467,344 ballots cast) or Latino (n=2,073, which accounts for 2,121,685 ballots cast).

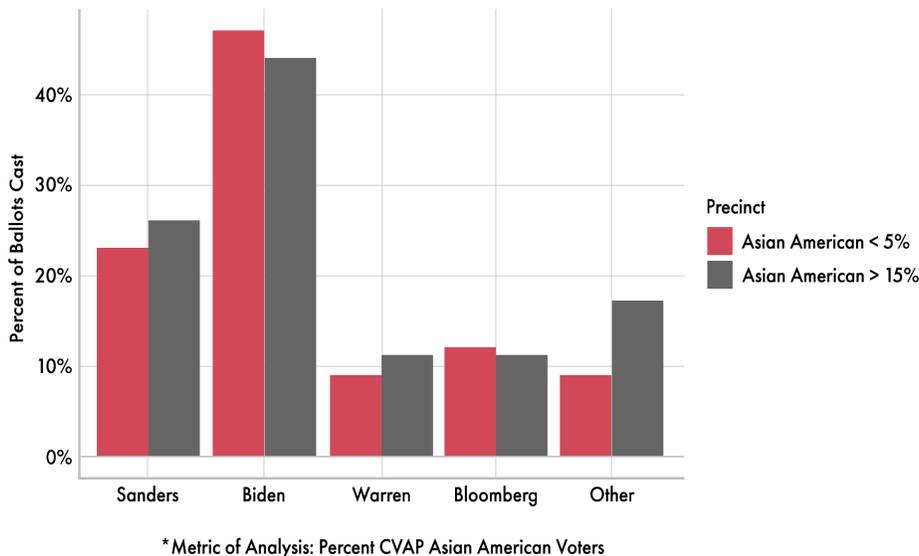
Our analysis of Latino voting finds that there is a similar pattern of votes in both high density and low density Latino precincts. In both types of precincts, Vice President Biden received a plurality of votes with 50 percent in high density Latino precincts and 47 percent in low density Latino precincts. Senator Sanders was the second-place candidate and received on average 23 percent of the vote share in both high and low density Latino precincts. This finding may be due to the limited size of North Carolina’s Latino population; the state’s 15 percent or more high density threshold is the lowest threshold for “high density” precincts of all ten states examined in this report.

Figure 6: Share of Ballots Cast by High v. Low Density Latino Precincts in North Carolina, March 2020



Our analysis for Asian American voting in North Carolina finds that there is a similar pattern of average vote support levels when comparing high and low density precincts. For both types of precincts, Vice President Biden received a plurality of votes, averaging 44 percent in high density and 47 percent in low density precincts. However, we find that in high density Asian American precincts, the mean vote share for Sanders in high density precincts 3 percentage points higher than in low density precincts (26 percent vs 23 percent).

Figure 7: Share of Ballots Cast by High v. Low Density Asian American Precincts in North Carolina, March 2020



# MASSACHUSETTS



**MARCH 3, 2020**



## MASSACHUSETTS

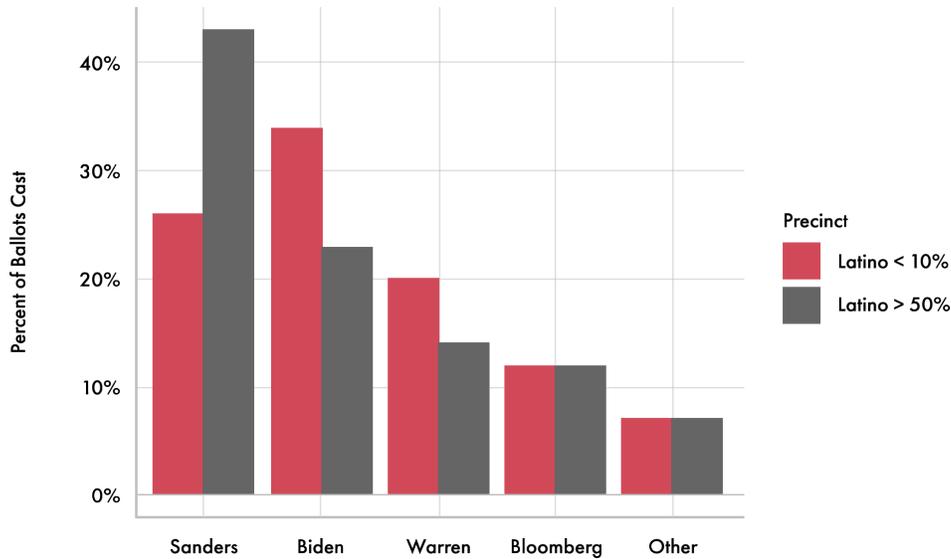
Massachusetts has long been an immigrant-receiving state and the size of the Latino and Asian American populations in this state continue to grow. Latinos make up 10.3 percent of the citizen voting age population in 2020 and Asian Americans account for 5.5 percent. We estimate that Latinos make up roughly 11 percent of Democratic voters in Massachusetts while Asian Americans account for 5.8 percent of Democratic voters. Massachusetts will allocate 91 Democratic delegates.

Massachusetts held their primary on Super Tuesday, March 3rd. Given that Senator Elizabeth Warren is from Massachusetts, many were looking to see if she would be able to take first place in her home state. Ultimately, Vice President Biden won first place with 33.5 percent of the vote, Senator Sanders came in second with 26.7 percent of the vote, and Senator Warren came in third with 21.5 percent of the vote.

To analyze the 2020 election, we downloaded precinct data provided by the Massachusetts Secretary of the Commonwealth on March 19th (100 percent of reporting).<sup>22</sup> To calculate the size of the Asian American and Latino citizen voting age population in each precinct, we took demographic data from the 2013-2017 American Community Survey and conducted a weighted spatial merge of census block group to the 2020 precinct maps that were provided by the state secretary. For this analysis, we compare two types of precincts: “high density” precincts, and “low density” precincts. Latino high density precincts are voting precincts where **50 percent or more** of the citizen voting age population is Latino (n=52, which accounts for 12,288 ballots cast) and “low density” precincts which are voting precincts where **10 percent or less** of the citizen voting age population is Latino (n=1,597, which accounts for 1,169,353 ballots cast). Asian American high density precincts are precincts where Asian Americans make up **25 percent or more** of the precinct (n=24, which accounts for 9,335 ballots cast). Low density precincts are precincts where Asian Americans make up **10 percent or less** of the precinct (n=1,849 which accounts for 1,193,373 ballots cast).

Our analysis of Latino voting finds that in heavily Latino precincts, there is clear support for Senator Sanders. In high density Latino precincts, Senator Sanders received on average 43 percent of the vote compared to 26 percent in low density Latino precincts. Vice President Biden came in second in high density Latino precincts with an average 23 percent of the vote. In contrast, Vice President Biden performed better in low density Latino precincts with an average of 34 percent of the vote. Senator Warren’s support was greater in low density Latino precincts, where she captured 20 percent of the vote. However in high density Latino precincts she only received 14 percent of the ballots cast. Mayor Bloomberg received 12 percent of the vote in both high density and low density Latino precincts.

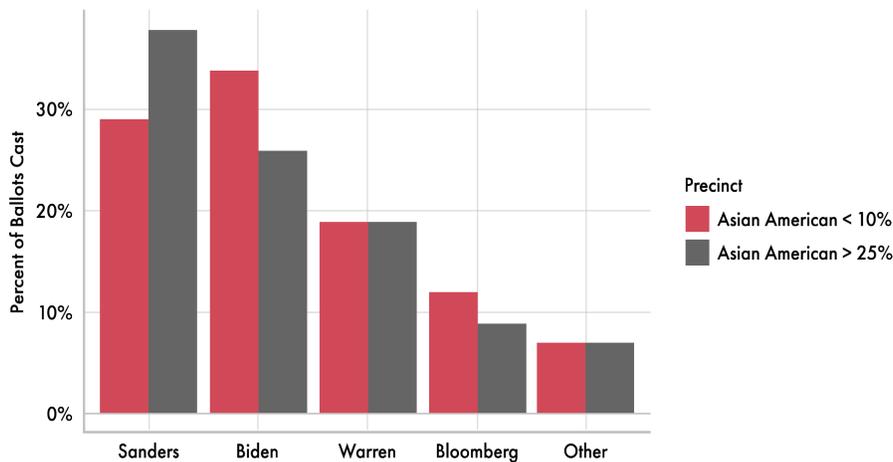
Figure 8: Share of Ballots Cast by High v. Low Density Latino Precincts in Massachusetts, March 2020



\* Metric of Analysis: Percent CVAP Latino Voters

Our analysis of Asian American voting finds that there are differences between high and low density precincts. In high density precincts, Senator Sanders received a plurality of votes (average of 38 percent) with Vice President Biden coming in second (average of 26 percent). In low density Asian American precincts Vice President Biden received the largest share of votes (average of 34 percent) with Sanders coming in second (average of 29 percent). Senator Warren’s support was the same across high and low density precincts, both averaging at 19 percent.

Figure 9: Share of Ballots Cast in High v. Low Asian American Precincts in Massachusetts, March 2020



\* Metric of Analysis: Percent CVAP Asian American Voters

**TEXAS**



**MARCH 3, 2020**



## TEXAS

With the second highest Latino population in the country and considerable Black and Asian American populations, Texas is crucial in analyzing minority voting behavior. The Lone Star state has experienced growing Democratic vote shares and massive mobilization efforts in recent elections. Latino and other voters of color have been at the forefront of this change, perhaps best displayed in the 2018 U.S. Senate race between Ted Cruz and Beto O'Rourke. Our LPPI analysis of the 2018 election found strong support for O'Rourke in heavily Latino precincts.<sup>23</sup> Today, we estimate that Latinos make up 28.4 percent of the citizen voting age population and 29.1 percent of the Democratic vote share in Texas. Similarly, we estimate that Asian Americans make up 4.9 percent of the citizen voting age population and 5.9 percent of the Democratic vote share.

Texas held their primary on March 3rd's Super Tuesday election. With 228 highly sought-after delegates, Texas serves as a key contest that could easily swing the nomination process one way or the other. Ultimately, Vice President Biden won the Texas primary with 34.5 percent of the vote, Senator Sanders came in second with 30 percent, and Mayor Bloomberg came in third with 14.4 percent.

To analyze the 2020 election, we examined counties that have large Latino and/or Asian American populations. For our Latino analysis, the counties were: Dallas, Fort Bend, Harris, Hidalgo, El Paso, and Tarrant. For our Asian American analysis, the counties were: Dallas, Fort Bend, Harris, and Tarrant. For 2020 election results, we used reports of ballots cast for all voting precincts published by each county's department of elections website.<sup>24</sup> We were also able to collect precinct level data on the total number of ballots cast during the 2016 Democratic primary election from the same websites. This allows us to calculate any growth in the electorate by comparing the total number of ballots cast between 2016 and 2020. To calculate high and low density Latino or Asian American precincts, we took demographic data from the 2013-2017 American Community Survey and conducted a weighted spatial merge of census block groups to the 2020 Texas precinct map. Since the racial diversity of each county varies, we do not use the same thresholds to designate "high" and "low" density Latino or Asian American precincts across all counties. For more information about the thresholds we use for "high" and "low" density, please see **Table A1** in the Appendix.

To offer a measure of voting participation, we compare the total number of ballots cast in the 2016 primary election and in the 2020 primary election. Across all 6 counties we see a positive increase in ballots cast. In high density Latino precincts, the growth is relatively small (less than 15 percent). However, in Dallas and Fort Bend was there significant growth at 34 percent and 48 percent respectively. Conversely, the change in ballots cast is very large in low density Latino precincts. Dallas, Fort Bend, Harris, and Tarrant counties all see at least a 70 percent increase in ballots cast from 2016 to 2020. These four counties all include or are a part of the Dallas-Fort Worth area or Houston, which may have had more targeted campaigning than Hidalgo and El Paso. Together, these findings paint a picture of stagnation for Latino Texans and growth for non-Latino Texans. The stark contrast in voting growth between high density Latino precincts and low density Latino precincts within counties could be the result of heterogeneous campaigning, mobilizing, access to resources, or any other inequality in the sociopolitical landscape. Whatever the reason, this disparity in growth is concerning given the existing turnout gap between white voters and voters of color.<sup>25</sup>

**Table 5.** Change in Ballots Cast Between 2016 and 2020 in High Density and Low Density Latino Precincts in 6 Texas Counties

<b>CHANGE IN BALLOTS CAST, 2016–2020</b>			
	High Density Latino Precincts	Low Density Latino Precincts	County Average
<b>DALLAS</b>	34%	78%	67%
<b>FORT BEND</b>	48%	96%	86%
<b>HARRIS</b>	10%	77%	51%
<b>HIDALGO</b>	12%	18%	12%
<b>TARRANT</b>	12%	80%	51%
<b>EL PASO</b>	12%	49%	22%

Our analysis of Asian American precincts finds that for each of the four counties examined, the percent increase in ballots cast was larger in high density precincts than in low density precincts. For high density precincts in Dallas, Fort Bend, and Harris county, the percent increase in ballots cast is about 20 points higher than the low density precincts in those same counties. In Tarrant county, the trend is even more pronounced, with high density precincts seeing nearly triple the growth in ballots cast than in low density precincts. Voter mobilization of high density Asian American precincts in Texas appears to be strong.

**Table 6.** Change in Ballots Cast Between 2016 and 2020 in High Density and Low Density Asian American Precincts in 4 Texas Counties

<b>CHANGE IN BALLOTS CAST, 2016–2020</b>			
	High Density Asian American Precincts	Low Density Asian American Precincts	County Average
<b>DALLAS</b>	68%	54%	67%
<b>FORT BEND</b>	100%	73%	86%
<b>HARRIS</b>	72%	50%	51%
<b>TARRANT</b>	129%	44%	51%

In our analysis of Latino vote choice, we found two main trends. First, Senator Sanders did best on average in high density Latino precincts whereas Vice President Biden did best on average in low density Latino precincts. This finding is in line with results from Nevada and Iowa prior to Super Tuesday, where Senator Sanders dominated the Latino vote. In Dallas, Harris, Tarrant, and El Paso counties, Senator Sanders won on average, about 10-20 percent more of the vote share than Vice President Biden. Fort Bend and Hidalgo counties also saw Senator Sanders perform better in high density precincts, but the contest was much closer between Senator Sanders (26 percent in Fort Bend, 29 percent in Hidalgo) and Vice President Biden (41 percent in Fort Bend, 27 percent in Hidalgo). In low density Latino precincts, Vice President Biden won on average, about 10-20 percent more of the vote share than Sanders in all counties except El Paso, where the two candidates took equal shares of the vote.

The second trend that we found was the amount of support for Mayor Bloomberg in Hidalgo and El Paso counties. In both high and low density precincts, Mayor Bloomberg was particularly competitive, receiving average vote shares comparable to Vice President Biden and Senator Sanders, suggesting high levels of investment in these areas by the Mayor Bloomberg campaign.

**Table 7. Comparison of 2020 Vote Choice in High Density and Low Density Latino Precincts in 6 Texas Counties**

	HIGH DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS					LOW DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS				
	Sanders	Biden	Warren	Bloomberg	Others	Sanders	Biden	Warren	Bloomberg	Others
<b>DALLAS</b>	41%	29%	7%	12%	11%	20%	43%	10%	17%	10%
<b>FORT BEND</b>	26%	41%	8%	17%	8%	25%	41%	10%	17%	7%
<b>HARRIS</b>	42%	28%	8%	14%	8%	20%	43%	10%	19%	8%
<b>HIDALGO</b>	29%	27%	7%	25%	12%	25%	31%	6%	25%	13%
<b>TARRANT</b>	48%	27%	6%	11%	8%	23%	39%	11%	15%	11%
<b>EL PASO</b>	39%	22%	5%	23%	12%	31%	31%	7%	21%	9%

In our analysis of Asian American vote choice, results were fairly similar across both high and low density precincts. In high density precincts, Vice President Biden received the most support except in Tarrant county where Sanders won the plurality. However, in the three counties where Vice President Biden was the winner, the contest was close between him and Senator Sanders. Vice President Biden's support over Senator Sanders is most pronounced in Fort Bend county, but the difference is on average only 8 points.

Figure 10: Share of Ballots Cast by High v. Low Density Latino Precincts in Dallas County, Texas, March 2020

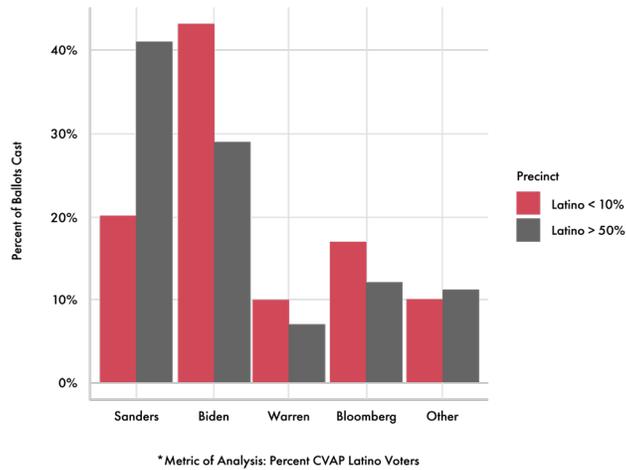
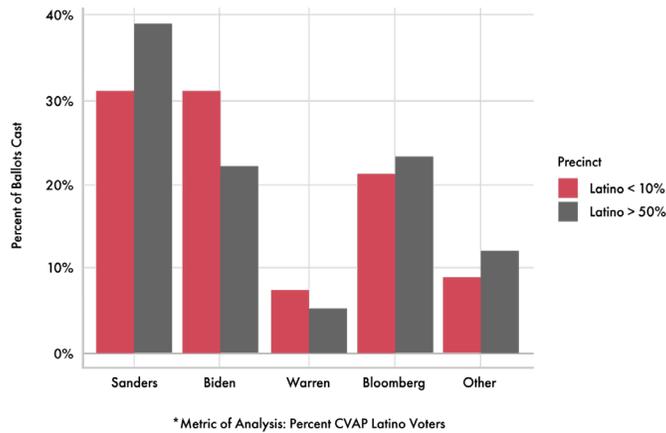


Figure 11: Share of Ballots Cast by High v. Low Density Asian American Precincts in El Paso County, Texas, March 2020



In our analysis of Asian American vote choice, results were fairly similar across both high and low density precincts. In high density precincts, Vice President Biden received the most support except in Tarrant county where Sanders won the plurality. However, in the three counties where Vice President Biden was the winner, the contest was close between him and Senator Sanders. Vice President Biden's support over Senator Sanders is most pronounced in Fort Bend county, but the difference is on average only 8 points.

Table 8. Comparison of 2020 Vote Choice in High Density and Low Density Asian American Precincts in 4 Texas Counties

	HIGH DENSITY ASIAN AMERICAN PRECINCTS					LOW DENSITY ASIAN AMERICAN PRECINCTS				
	Sanders	Biden	Warren	Bloomberg	Others	Sanders	Biden	Warren	Bloomberg	Others
<b>DALLAS</b>	32%	33%	11%	14%	10%	30%	38%	9%	14%	9%
<b>FORT BEND</b>	30%	38%	9%	15%	8%	23%	46%	8%	16%	7%
<b>HARRIS</b>	33%	35%	9%	16%	7%	31%	37%	10%	15%	7%
<b>TARRANT</b>	41%	35%	11%	8%	6%	34%	36%	9%	12%	9%

Figure 12: Share of Ballots Cast by High v. Low Density Latino Precincts in Fort Bend County, Texas, March 2020

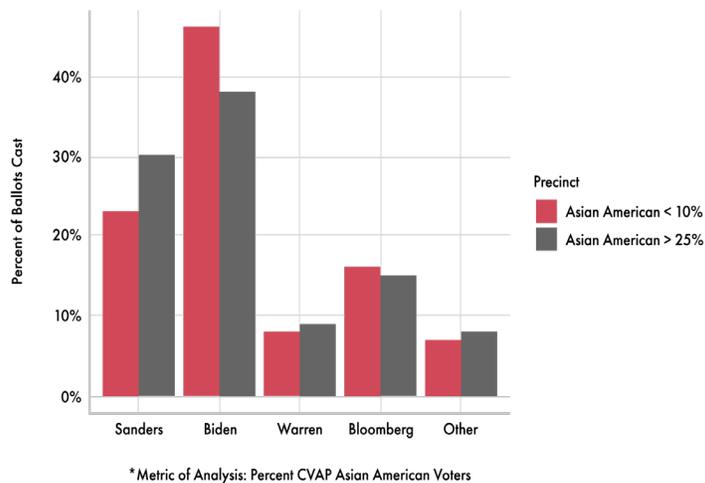
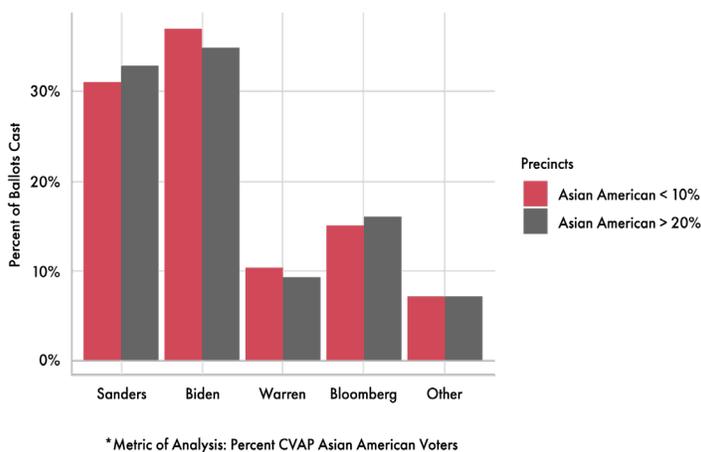


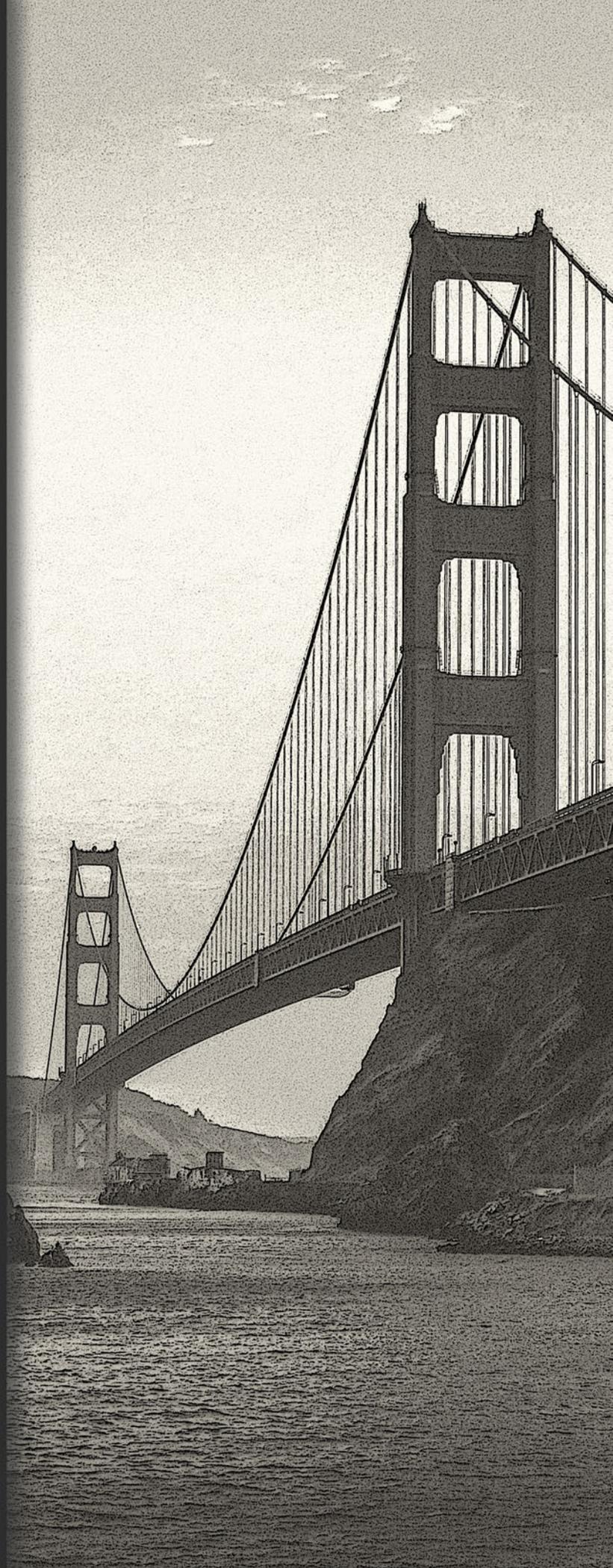
Figure 13: Share of Ballots Cast by High v. Low Density Asian American Precincts in Harris, Texas, March 2020



# CALIFORNIA



**MARCH 3, 2020**



### CALIFORNIA

California is arguably the most important state to analyze Latino and Asian American voting trends; both demographic groups have long been the state's fastest growing populations, a trend that is now national in scope. California is a bellwether state whose politics shape those of other states, particularly on those issues that are important to voters of color and Democratic voters.<sup>26</sup> It is the nation's most populous and diverse state and has been a majority-minority state since 2014 when Latinos became plurality with 39.3 percent, surpassing whites as the largest racial group in California according to the census population estimates.<sup>27</sup> Today, Latinos make up 32.4 percent of the citizen voting age population and Asian Americans make up 16.2 percent of the citizen voting age population. Latino and Asian American voting power trends along their growing population size: 26.7 percent of the registered voters are Latinos and 15.1 percent are Asian American. We estimate that Latinos make up roughly 33.9 percent of Democratic voters in California while Asian Americans account for 19.6 percent of Democratic voters.

To analyze the 2020 election, it is important to note that California moved its primary election to occur earlier in the nomination contest than it had in previous election cycles, and held its election on Super Tuesday, March 3rd. By moving its primary from June to March, California's sizable 415 delegates in the Democratic primary would be critical in narrowing the field of candidates. At the time, Senator Sanders, Vice President Biden, Senator Warren, and Mayor Bloomberg were all still in the race. Going into Super Tuesday, it appeared that Senator Sanders was the state's front runner at the time of the California primary.<sup>28</sup> In California, Senator Sanders won first place with 36 percent of the votes, Vice President Biden came second with 27.9 percent, Senator Warren came in third with 13.2 percent, and Mayor Bloomberg came in fourth with 12.1 percent.

Due to the many sources of voting data in California, we were able to conduct a detailed analysis of specific counties in the state. We identified six counties which have large Latino and Asian American populations; Los Angeles, Merced, Orange, San Diego, San Francisco, and San Mateo. Precinct returns for the 2020 primary election were downloaded from each county's registrar of voters website.<sup>29</sup> We were also able to collect precinct level data on the total number of ballots cast during the 2016 Democratic primary election from the Statewide database housed at U.C. Berkeley.<sup>30</sup> This allows us to calculate any growth in the electorate by comparing the total number of ballots cast between 2016 and 2020. To calculate high and low density Latino or Asian American precincts, we use estimates of the total number of Latino or Asian American registered voters in each precinct provided by the Statewide database. The size of the registered voter population was estimated using a surname analysis of registered voter records in each county. Since the racial diversity of each county varies, we do not use the same thresholds to designate "high" and "low" density Latino or Asian American precincts across all counties. For more information about the thresholds we use for "high" and "low" density, please see **Table A2** in the Appendix.

To offer a measure of voting participation, we compare the total number of ballots cast in the 2016 primary election and in the 2020 primary election. Overall, we find that there were more ballots cast in the 2020 primary compared to the 2016 primary, which is expected given the growth in population over those four years. However, the rate of change in ballots cast varied across the counties we examined. We generally find that the rate of change in low density Latino and Asian American precincts is higher than their respective high density precincts. This means that there were more votes cast in low density precincts compared to what occurred in high density precincts. For Latinos, we find that the rate

of change in ballots cast was higher in low density precincts compared to high density precincts in most of the counties we studied: Merced,<sup>31</sup> Orange, San Diego, and San Mateo.<sup>32</sup> Only in San Francisco county did we find that the growth of votes in high density Latino precincts (34 percent) was higher than that in low density precincts (26 percent).

Strikingly, in Los Angeles county, the rate of change was larger in magnitude in high density Latino precincts (-19.21 percent) compared to low density Latino precincts (4.55 percent). This change in ballots cast is actually negative, which means there was a decrease in the number of votes between the 2016 and 2020 primaries in these precincts. In 2020, Los Angeles implemented a new election procedure that eliminated neighborhood polling locations and redirected voters to submit ballots either by mail or casting a vote at a polling center. There were problems with these new procedures, which may explain the significant decline in voting in high density Latino precincts. Even more alarmingly, while the rate of change is negative in high density Latino precincts, it is positive in low density Latino precincts which means that the new election procedures more negatively impacted Latino neighborhoods compared to non-Latino neighborhoods.

**Table 9. Change in Ballots Cast Between 2016 and 2020 in High Density and Low Density Latino Precincts in 6 California Counties**

	<b>CHANGE IN BALLOTS CAST, 2016–2020</b>	
	<b>High Density Latino American Precincts</b>	<b>Low Density Latino American Precincts</b>
<b>LOS ANGELES</b>	-19.21%	4.55%
<b>MERCED</b>	134%	662%
<b>ORANGE</b>	-2%	56%
<b>SAN DIEGO</b>	47%	54%
<b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	34%	26%
<b>SAN MATEO</b>	112%	222%

For Asian Americans, we find that the rate of change was higher in low density precincts compared to high density precincts in Orange, San Diego, San Francisco and San Mateo.<sup>33</sup> On the other hand, we find that the rate of change in ballots was higher in high density precincts in Los Angeles and Merced counties. The new voting procedures in Los Angeles did not appear to negatively affect high density Asian American precincts like they did in high density Latino precincts. We report the results for Merced county with reservation since the difference between high and low density precincts may be explained by the small sample size of “high” Asian American density precincts.<sup>34</sup>

**Table 10. Change in Ballots Cast Between 2016 and 2020 in High Density and Low Density Asian American Precincts in 6 California Counties**

<b>CHANGE IN BALLOTS CAST, 2016–2020</b>		
	<b>High Density Asian American Precincts</b>	<b>Low Density Asian American Precincts</b>
<b>LOS ANGELES</b>	4.88%	-11.59%
<b>MERCED</b>	1850%	61%
<b>ORANGE</b>	6%	41%
<b>SAN DIEGO</b>	29%	37%
<b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	13%	24%
<b>SAN MATEO</b>	42%	214%

Turning to candidate vote choice, our analysis of Latino voters finds that there were clear differences in candidate preference between high and low density precincts. In high density precincts, Senator Sanders was the clear winner in all six counties (with 62 percent in Orange, 53 percent in Los Angeles, 52 percent in San Francisco, 49 percent in San Diego, 46 percent in San Mateo, and 40 percent in Merced). The general pattern we found in the high density Latino precincts was that Senator Sanders came in first, Vice President Biden second, Mayor Bloomberg third, followed by the other candidates. There was one exception to this pattern: in San Francisco, Senator Warren came in third. In contrast, in low density precincts for all six counties except Merced, Vice President Biden came in first place with Senator Sanders in second. Vice President Biden had the average support of 31 percent in Los Angeles, 31 percent in Merced, 39 percent in Orange, 32 percent in San Diego, 30 percent in San Francisco, and 30 percent in San Mateo. As we can see, even though Vice President Biden won the plurality of votes in most of these counties, the difference in the average support between him and Senator Sanders is narrow. In high density Latino precincts, Senator Sanders won by a significant margin.

**Table 11. Comparison of 2020 Vote Choice in High Density and Low Density Latino Precincts in 6 California Counties**

	<b>HIGH DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS</b>					<b>LOW DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS</b>				
	Sanders	Biden	Warren	Bloomberg	Others	Sanders	Biden	Warren	Bloomberg	Others
<b>LOS ANGELES</b>	53%	19%	5%	9%	9%	24%	31%	16%	15%	13%
<b>MERCED</b>	40%	26%	5%	18%	12%	31%	31%	8%	14%	17%
<b>ORANGE</b>	62%	20%	7%	11%	8%	33%	39%	14%	20%	16%
<b>SAN DIEGO</b>	49%	24%	7%	11%	9%	25%	32%	14%	15%	13%
<b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	52%	17%	16%	8%	6%	24%	30%	20%	17%	8%
<b>SAN MATEO</b>	46%	33%	10%	13%	9%	20%	30%	17%	19%	13%

Figure 14: Share of Ballots Cast by High v. Low Density Latino Precincts in Los Angeles County, California, March 2020

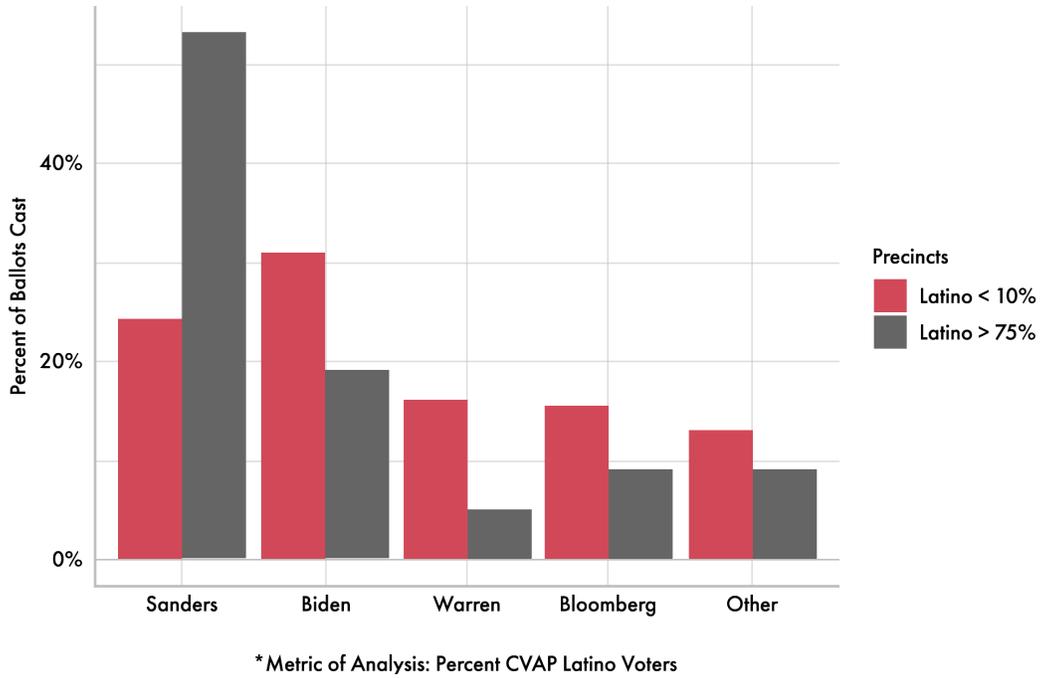
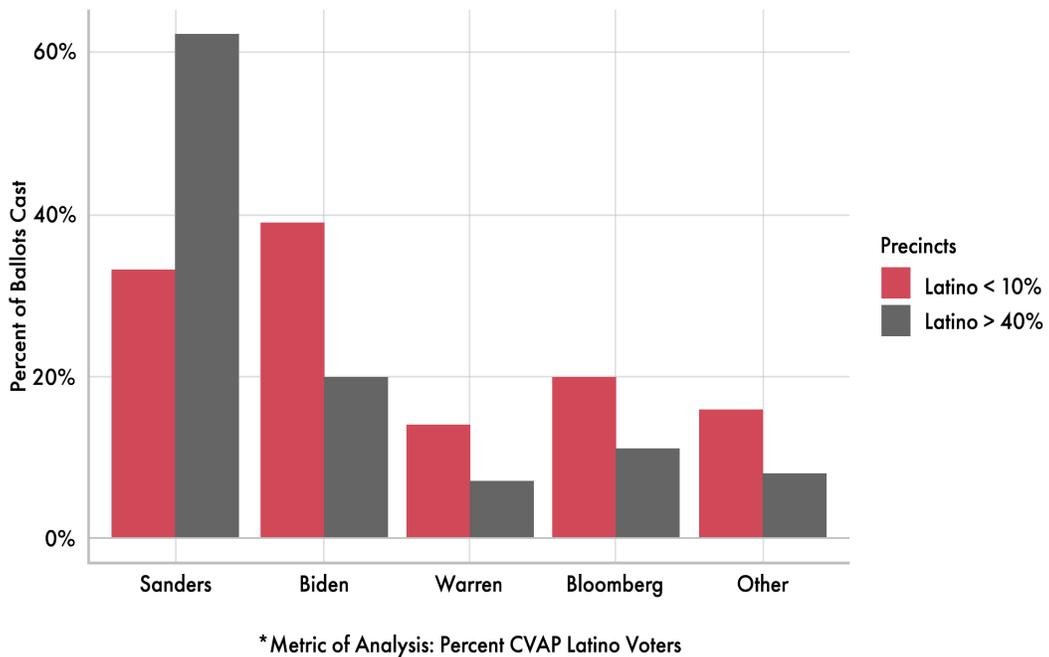


Figure 15: Share of Ballots Cast by High v. Low Density Latino Precincts in Orange County, California, March 2020



Our analysis of Asian American voting finds that there were slight differences in candidate preference between high and low density precincts across different counties. In high density Asian American precincts in all six counties, Senator Sanders was the winner who received the plurality of votes (with 49 percent in San Diego, 45 percent in Orange, 40 percent in San Francisco, 34 percent in Los Angeles, 36 percent in San Mateo, and 31 percent in Merced). However, in high density precincts, the differences between the average support for Senator Sanders and Vice President Biden were greater than what we found in low density precincts. Biden came in second place in all high density precincts across the counties.

One interesting difference between the high and low density Asian American precincts across different counties is how their preferences diverge between Senator Warren and Mayor Bloomberg. In high density precincts, Mayor Bloomberg came in third place while Senator Warren received less votes than all of the remaining four candidates combined in all counties except San Diego and San Francisco. On the other hand, in low density precincts, Senator Warren was more likely to be the third place candidate.

**Table 12.** Comparison of 2020 Vote Choice in High Density and Low Density Asian American Precincts in 6 California Counties

	HIGH DENSITY ASIAN AMERICAN PRECINCTS					LOW DENSITY ASIAN AMERICAN PRECINCTS				
	Sanders	Biden	Warren	Bloomberg	Others	Sanders	Biden	Warren	Bloomberg	Others
<b>LOS ANGELES</b>	34%	26%	8%	14%	13%	36%	26%	12%	11%	11%
<b>MERCED</b>	31%	29%	4%	21%	15%	37%	28%	7%	13%	15%
<b>ORANGE</b>	45%	25%	8%	17%	12%	40%	35%	13%	16%	14%
<b>SAN DIEGO</b>	49%	24%	12%	8%	7%	34%	28%	13%	13%	12%
<b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	40%	23%	15%	12%	10%	30%	25%	27%	11%	7%
<b>SAN MATEO</b>	36%	25%	11%	17%	11%	26%	28%	17%	16%	12%

Figure 16: Share of Ballots Cast by High v. Low Density Latino Precincts in Los Angeles County, California, March 2020

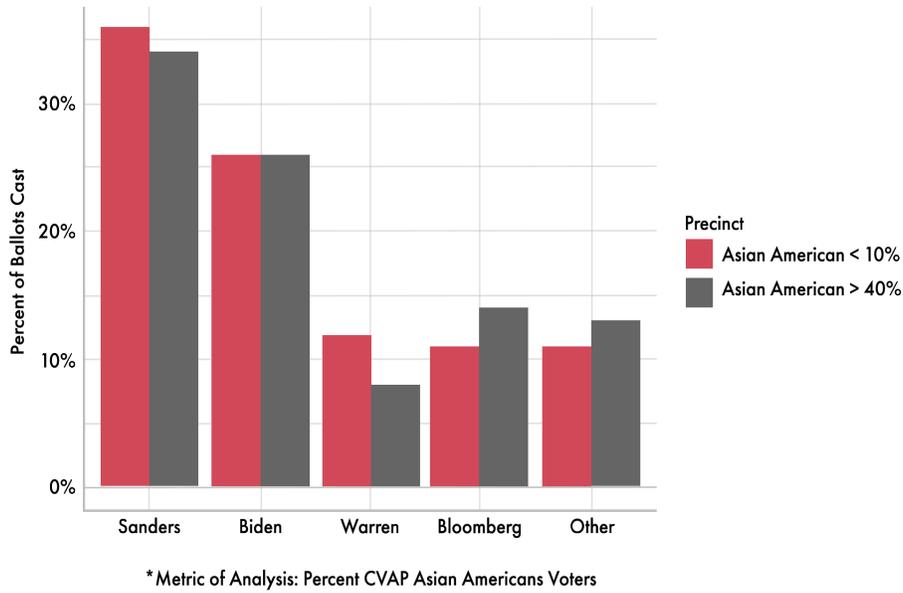
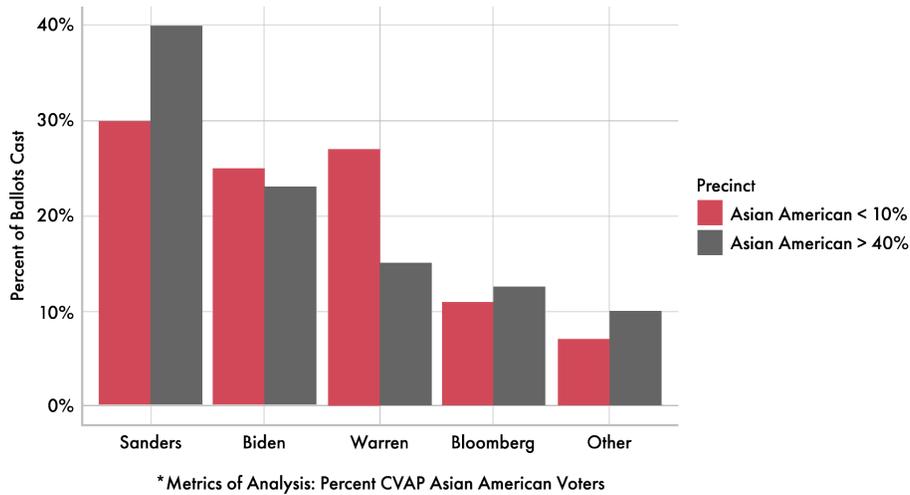


Figure 17: Share of Ballots Cast by High v. Low Density Latino Precincts in Orange County, California, March 2020



# WASHINGTON



**MARCH 10, 2020**



## WASHINGTON

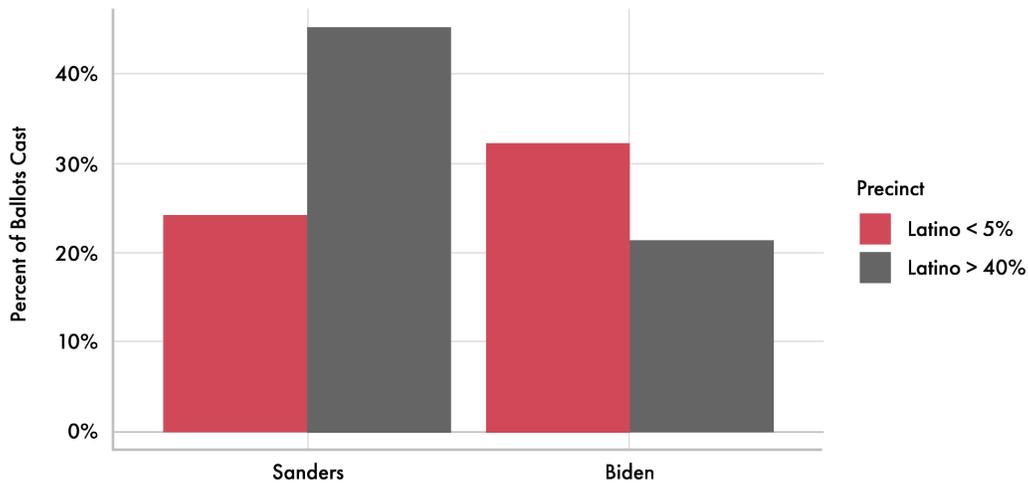
Washington has sizable Asian American and Latino populations. Latinos make up 10.5 percent of the state's citizen voting age population and Asian Americans make up 5.4 percent of the state's citizen voting age population. We estimate that Latinos make up 7.2 percent of Democratic voters while Asian Americans make up 6.4 percent.

Washington held their primary on March 10th, and controls 89 Democratic delegates. At the time of the Washington primary, there were only two Democratic candidates still in the race, Vice President Biden and Senator Sanders. Washington had a very close primary with Vice President Biden winning first place with 37.9 percent of the vote and Senator Sanders coming in second with 36.5 percent of the vote. We will report only the vote share of these two candidates given that there were only two viable candidates at this time.

To analyze the 2020 election, we calculate candidate vote choice by combining voting returns in two sets of counties: those with a high proportion of Asian Americans (King, Pierce, Snohomish, Thurston) and those with a high proportion of Latinos (Yakima, Franklin, Grant, Adams and Benton). We obtained precinct level vote returns from Washington's state election website on March 13th (100 percent reported).<sup>35</sup> Demographic data on the citizen voting age population were obtained from the 2013-2017 American Community Survey via Social Explorer. Demographic data was generated at the precinct level by spatial weighted merging census block group geographies with 2018 precinct geographies.<sup>36</sup> We compare two types of precincts: "high density" precincts which are voting precincts where at least **40 percent or more** of the citizen voting age population is either Asian American (n=37, which accounts for 2,920 ballots cast) or Latino (Latino n=70, which accounts for 4,484 ballots cast) and "low density" precincts which are voting precincts where **5 percent or less** of the citizen voting age population is either Asian American (n=745, which accounts for 108,363 ballots cast) or Latino (n=108, which accounts for 6,642 ballots cast).

Our analysis of Latino voting finds that in high density Latino precincts, there is strong support for Senator Sanders. In these high density precincts, Senator Sanders received an average of 45 percent of the vote compared to Vice President Biden's average of 21 percent. In low density Latino precincts, we see a reverse trend with Vice President Biden winning a greater share (32 percent) than Senator Sanders (24 percent).

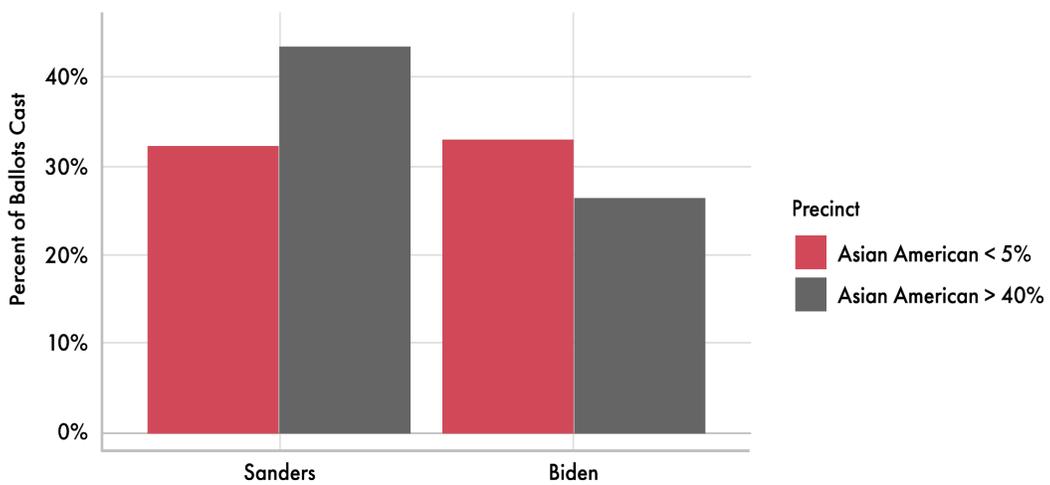
Figure 18: Share of Ballots Cast by High v. Low Density Latino Precincts in Washington, March 2020



\* Metric of Analysis: Percent CVAP Latino Voters

Our Asian American voting analysis finds that voters in high density Asian American precincts were more likely to support Senator Sanders than Vice President Biden. Support for Senator Sanders is on average 43 percent in high density Asian American precincts, compared to the 32 percent average in low density Asian American precincts. Vice President Biden performed better in low density Asian American precincts, capturing 33 percent of the vote compared to 26 percent in high density Asian American precincts.

Figure 19: Share of Ballots Cast by High v. Low Asian American Precincts in Washington, March 2020



\* Metric of Analysis: Percent CVAP Latino Voters

# FLORIDA



**MARCH 17, 2020**



### FLORIDA

Florida has long been considered a crucial swing state in national elections. One of the more distinctive characteristics of the Florida electorate is its large and longstanding bloc of Latino voters. Latinos make up 22 percent of Florida's citizen voting age population and is home to the largest Cuban American population in the country. We estimate that Latinos make up nearly a quarter (22.8 percent) of the Democratic electorate.<sup>37</sup> Asian Americans comprise only 2.5 percent of the citizen voting age population and are spread across the state. Because of this we were not able to conduct a precinct level analysis of Asian American precincts in the state.

Florida held a primary election on March 17th to allocate their 107 delegate votes. The contest was between Vice President Biden and Senator Sanders. Vice President Biden won the state with 62 percent of the vote share while Senator Sanders received 22.8 percent. Our analysis of Florida will be limited to those voting for these two candidates.

To evaluate the 2020 election, we were able to present results disaggregated by county. We selected six counties: Miami-Dade, Osceola, Hendry, Orange, Broward, and Hillsborough, which are home to the largest Latino populations in the state. We downloaded precinct level election return data from the New York Times Florida 2020 primary election results webpage<sup>38</sup> on March 17, 2020 (80 percent reporting).<sup>39</sup> Demographic data on the citizen voting age population was obtained from the 2013-2017 American Community Survey via Social Explorer. To calculate the size of the Latino citizen voter population in a precinct, we employed a spatial weighted merge combining census block group geographies with 2016 precinct geographies.<sup>40</sup> Since the size of the Latino population varies across the six counties we selected, the thresholds for determining a "high" and a "low" density Latino precinct differ for each county. For more information about the thresholds we use for "high" and "low" density, please see **Table A3** in the Appendix.

We found that Vice President Biden outperformed Senator Sanders in high density Latino precincts in all counties that we analyzed. While Senator Sanders' share of the vote is higher among high density Latino precincts than in low density Latino precincts, his support is much lower than we might expect given the trends in other states. This might be attributed to the fact that Florida has more Cuban American voters, who tend to be more politically conservative. Given this, it might be the case that Latinos would be less supportive of Senator Sanders who had framed his campaign as far left. Alternatively, since Vice President Biden became the front runner after Super Tuesday, Latino voters may have been influenced by earlier election results.

Table 13. Comparison of 2020 Vote Choice in High Density and Low Density Latino Precincts in 6 Florida Counties

	<b>HIGH DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS</b>		<b>LOW DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS</b>	
	Sanders	Biden	Sanders	Biden
<b>MIAMI-DADE</b>	27%	54%	12%	76%
<b>OSCEOLA</b>	30%	51%	29%	51%
<b>HENDRY</b>	22%	50%	19%	53%
<b>ORANGE</b>	34%	52%	25%	64%
<b>BROWARD</b>	27%	60%	15%	72%
<b>HILLSBOROUGH</b>	29%	48%	20%	59%

# ILLINOIS



**MARCH 17, 2020**



## ILLINOIS (CHICAGO)

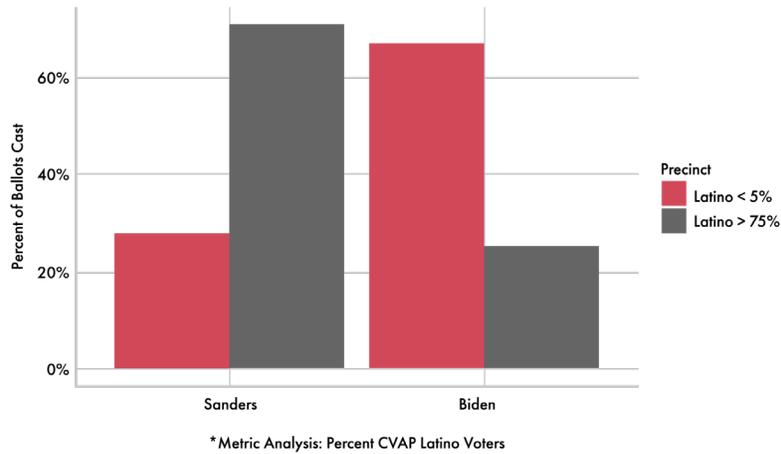
The final state selected for this analysis was Illinois. Due to data limitations, our Illinois analysis is limited to vote patterns in the city of Chicago. Chicago is the third largest city in the United States and long known for its diverse population, including a large number of Mexican Americans. Latinos make up 21.7 percent of the citizen voting age population and Asian Americans account for 5.5 percent of the citizen voting age population according to the 2018 census estimates.

Illinois held their Democratic primary on March 17, 2020. Out of the 115 delegates to allocate, it was expected that 79.3 (51.2 percent) would be decided by white voters, 24.4 (15.8 percent) by Latino voters, 40.6 (26.2 percent) by Black voters, and 10.6 (6.9 percent) by Asian American voters, showing the important role voters of color would play.<sup>41</sup> Joe Biden and Bernie Sanders were running at this time and Biden won with 58.9 percent of the votes and Sanders lost with 36.1 percent of the votes. In this analysis, we only analyze ballots cast for these two candidates.

For this analysis, we obtained precinct level election returns from those areas included in the city of Chicago from the Chicago Board of Election Commissioners webpage<sup>42</sup> on March 18, 2020 (100 percent reporting). To calculate the size of the Latino and Asian American citizen voting age population in each precinct, we collected data from the 2013-2017 American Community Survey via Social Explorer. We used a spatial weighted merge that combined census block group geographies with 2020 precinct geographies.<sup>43</sup> A “high” density Asian American precinct were those where Asian Americans made up **40 percent or more** of the citizen voting age population (n=18, which accounts for 2,602 ballots). A “high” density Latino precinct were those where Latinos make up **75 percent or more** of the citizen voting age population (n=114, which accounts for 18,813 ballots). A “low” density precinct are those with **5 percent or less** of Latinos (n=747 which accounts for 158,206 ballots) or of Asian Americans (n=1,437, which accounts for 300,545 ballots).

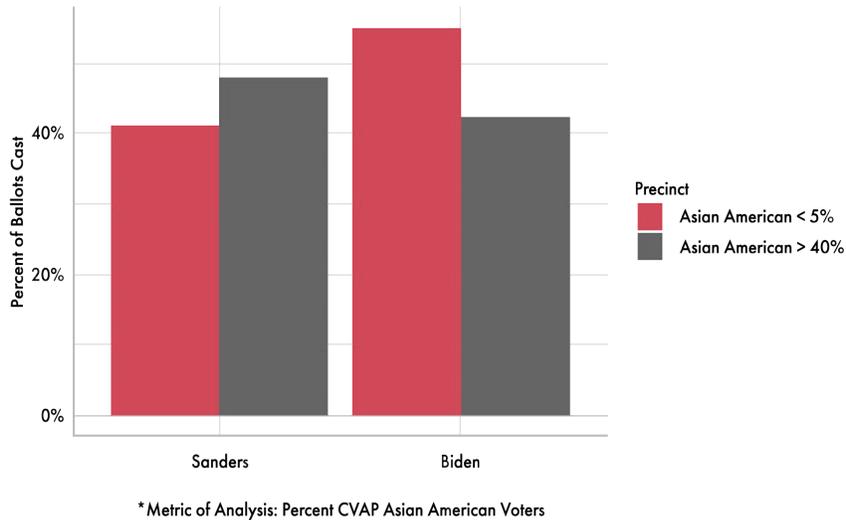
Our analysis finds that there was high Latino support for Senator Sanders in Chicago. In high density Latino precincts, the mean support for Senator Sanders is 71 percent whereas the mean support for him in low density precincts was 28 percent. In contrast, Vice President Biden receives high support in low density Latino precincts (67 percent on average) whereas the vote share for him in high density precincts was only 25 percent.

Figure 20: Share of Ballots Cast by High v. Low Density Latino Precincts in Illinois, March 2020



For Asian Americans, we also find there to be higher support for Senator Sanders in high density Asian American precincts compared to that in low density precincts. However, the vote share between Senator Sanders and Vice President Biden is more evenly split: in high density Asian American precincts, an average 48 percent voted for Senator Sanders and 42 percent voted for Biden. The vote split between the two candidates was larger in low density Asian American precincts with the mean support for Senator Sanders at 41 percent and for Vice President Biden at 55 percent.

Figure 21: Share of Ballots Cast in High v. Low Density Asian American Precincts in Illinois, March 2020



## CONCLUSION

Latino and Asian American voters are the nation's fastest growing demographic groups, and with every election, they exert greater influence on electoral contests given new voters from these communities that age into the electorate each year. This ten state analysis of high density Latino and Asian American voting precincts offers valuable insights into the preferences and participation of these electorates going into the November election. For example, our report found that Senator Bernie Sanders was more likely to capture, on average, a larger share of the vote in high density Latino and Asian American precincts compared to his share in low density precincts. This suggests that Senator Sanders commanded higher levels of support among Latino and Asian American voters compared to what he was able to mobilize from other voters. At the same time, among those states in which we have data, the Latino and Asian American electorates did not grow significantly when comparing ballots cast between the 2016 and 2020 primary elections. The exception to this pattern was among high density Asian American precincts in Texas where the growth of new voters was strong. While the COVID-19 pandemic may partially explain the slow growth of voters, it does suggest that the Democratic party can do more to mobilize Latino and Asian American voters for the general election. Given the fact that Vice President Biden is the presumptive Democratic nominee when Latino and Asian American voters had offered strong support for Sanders in state primaries, Democrats will need to make solid efforts to encourage Latino and Asian American voters to turnout in November.

## POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A SUCCESSFUL AND SAFE 2020 ELECTION

### 1. Ensuring Access to the Ballot During COVID-19

- a. Increase access to voter registration by sending all voting-eligible citizens a voter registration form or allow for online voter registration.
- b. States that still require an excuse to request an absentee ballot should immediately pass legislation to allow any voter, without regard to age or need, to sign-up to receive a mail ballot in any election.
- c. States should allow voters to sign up as permanent absentee voters online and not require in-person registration for mail in ballots.
- d. All states should affirmatively comply with Section 203 of the Voting Rights Act, and ensure language access to any and all election materials, including notifications of changes to the November election, vote by mail information, and other election related information.
- e. States should allocate special funds for targeted outreach and messaging to language minority communities, racial/ethnic minority communities, and eligible first-time voters about the November election, including how and where to vote.

### 2. Modifications to In-Person Voting During COVID-19

- a. States should modify in-person polling places to maintain physical distance, minimize density, and protect the health and safety of voters, workers, volunteers, and election monitors.
- b. States that do not have early voting opportunities for in-person voting should expand early voting opportunities to decrease density and maintain public safety.
- c. States should ensure that precincts with substantial first-time voters (20 percent or more)

and/or a sizable share of voters that vote in-person (40 percent) retain access to a polling location in the event there are decreases to in-person polling locations in any jurisdiction.

### **3. Engaging Voters of Color During COVID-19**

- a. Parties, candidates, and campaigns should dedicate sizable investments in digital marketing and community organizing to target and engage voters of color, namely Asian American, Black, and Latino voters.
- b. Parties, candidates, and campaigns should allocate sizable resources to civil society organizations, including community based organizations and trusted messengers, to expand education and awareness of how to vote in November, given the implications of COVID-19 to the administration of the general election.
- c. Parties, candidates, and campaigns should adopt and scale best practices from the 2020 primary to engage Asian American and Latino voters, including digital marketing, grassroots organizing, diversity and inclusion across staff positions, and centering policy agendas to align with these voter's preferences.

## APPENDIX

Table A1. 2020 Ballots Cast in Texas' High Density and Low Density Latino and Asian American Precincts

HIGH DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS				LOW DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS		
	CVAP is Greater Than or Equal To	Sample Size	Total Ballots Cast That This Accounts For	CVAP is Less Than or Equal To	Sample Size	Total Ballots Cast That This Accounts For
<b>DALLAS</b>	50%	89	14,601	10%	172	69,215
<b>FORT BEND</b>	25%	39	12,170	10%	32	17,596
<b>HARRIS</b>	50%	174	29,536	10%	130	51,008
<b>HIDALGO</b>	75%	202	48,659	60%	7	2,946
<b>EL PASO</b>	90%	64	19,030	50%	16	4,589
<b>TARRANT</b>	50%	76	77,885	10%	146	36,736

HIGH DENSITY ASIAN AMERICAN PRECINCTS				LOW DENSITY ASIAN AMERICAN PRECINCTS		
	CVAP is Greater Than or Equal To	Sample Size	Total Ballots Cast That This Accounts For	CVAP is Less Than or Equal To	Sample Size	Total Ballots Cast That This Accounts For
<b>DALLAS</b>	20%	18	7,581	10%	621	195,095
<b>FORT BEND</b>	25%	41	20,373	10%	76	29,871
<b>HARRIS</b>	20%	43	15,354	10%	760	237,151
<b>TARRANT</b>	20%	12	2,593	5%	372	77,710

Table A2. 2020 Ballots Cast in California's High Density and Low Density Asian American/Latino Precincts

HIGH DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS				LOW DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS		
	CVAP is Greater Than or Equal To	Sample Size	Total Ballots Cast That This Accounts For	CVAP is Less Than or Equal To	Sample Size	Total Ballots Cast That This Accounts For
<b>LOS ANGELES</b>	75%	239	60,669	10%	404	135,697
<b>MERCED</b>	75%	9	555	10%	17	370
<b>ORANGE</b>	40%	124	33,529	10%	396	105,624
<b>SAN DIEGO</b>	40%	181	42,790	10%	449	136,181
<b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	30%	20	8,150	5%	118	49,637
<b>SAN MATEO</b>	40%	255	11,086	10%	126	52,060

HIGH DENSITY ASIAN AMERICAN PRECINCTS				LOW DENSITY ASIAN AMERICAN PRECINCTS		
	CVAP is Greater Than or Equal To	Sample Size	Total Ballots Cast That This Accounts For	CVAP is Less Than or Equal To	Sample Size	Total Ballots Cast That This Accounts For
<b>LOS ANGELES</b>	40%	68	15,439	10%	404	454,659
<b>MERCED</b>	40%	4	75	10%	205	15,876
<b>ORANGE</b>	40%	55	12,436	10%	613	152,980
<b>SAN DIEGO</b>	30%	10	2,981	10%	1035	291,040
<b>SAN FRANCISCO</b>	40%	49	15,752	10%	175	85,776
<b>SAN MATEO</b>	30%	16	6,024	10%	130	53,337

Table A3. 2020 Ballots Cast in Florida’s High Density and Low Density Latino Precincts

	<b>HIGH DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS</b>			<b>LOW DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS</b>		
	CVAP is Greater Than or Equal To	Sample Size	Total Ballots Cast That This Accounts For	CVAP is Less Than or Equal To	Sample Size	Total Ballots Cast That This Accounts For
<b>MIAMI-DADE</b>	50%	414	69,123	10%	18	6,568
<b>OSCEOLA</b>	50%	35	13,396	20%	23	4,419
<b>HENDRY</b>	15%	8	3,315	5%	9	3,125
<b>ORANGE</b>	50%	25		10%		
<b>BROWARD</b>	50%	22	7,759	10%	15	29,885
<b>HILLSBOROUGH</b>	40%	27	8,623	10%	48	13,047

## ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> The twelve candidates running for the Democratic nomination were: Michael Bennet, Joseph Biden, Michael Bloomberg, Pete Buttigieg, John Delaney, Tulsi Gabbard, Amy Klobuchar, Deval Patrick, Bernie Sanders, Tom Steyer, Elizabeth Warren, Andrew Yang.
- <sup>2</sup> The contest appeared to be close, but in the weeks leading to the Iowa Caucus, polling data showed Sanders in the lead (Pfannenstiel, Brianne. 2020. "Bernie Sanders Leads Iowa Poll for the First Time, Just Weeks Before the Iowa Caucuses." Des Moines Register. January 10. <https://www.desmoinesregister.com/story/news/politics/iowa-poll/caucus/2020/01/10/iowa-poll-2020-bernie-sanders-lead-iowa-caucus-president-election/4426492002/>
- <sup>3</sup> Wilcox-Archuleta, Brian, Angie Gutierrez, Matt Barreto, Sonja Diaz and Ana Oaxaca. 2018. 2018 Midterm Elections and the Latino Vote. Los Angeles: Latino Policy and Politics Initiative. November 19. [https://latino.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/UCLA-LPPI-6-State-2018-Midterm-Election-Report\\_V3.pdf](https://latino.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/UCLA-LPPI-6-State-2018-Midterm-Election-Report_V3.pdf)
- <sup>4</sup> Comparing 2018 which was the first national election since the election of Donald Trump to 2014 when we experienced record lows certainly set high expectations for changes in ballots cast. This year, we once again analyzed ballots cast, this time comparing 2016 primary turnout to 2018. While the change in ballots cast is much more moderate this election, it is important to take into account the higher levels of enthusiasm in the 2016 election, which establishes a higher baseline comparison for changes in ballots cast. Smaller shifts in ballots cast does not necessarily mean that Latino and Asian American voters are not engaging in elections.
- <sup>5</sup> Corasanti, Nick and Stephanie Saul. 2020. "16 States Have Postponed Primaries During the Pandemic. Here's a List." New York Times. May 27, 2020, available at: <https://www.nytimes.com/article/2020-campaign-primary-calendar-coronavirus.html> noting "fifteen states and two territories—Alaska, Connecticut, Delaware, Georgia, Hawaii, Indiana, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maryland, New Jersey, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, West Virginia and Wyoming, and Guam and Puerto Rico—have either pushed back their presidential primaries or switched to voting by mail with extended deadlines."
- <sup>6</sup> Herndon, Michael, Sonja Diaz, Bryanna Ruiz and Natalie Masuoka. 2020. The Power of the New Majority: A Ten State Analysis of Voters of Color in the 2020 Election. Los Angeles, CA: Latino Politics and Policy Institute. February 27. <https://latino.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/10-state-report.pdf>
- <sup>7</sup> Data for this table was adopted from Herndon, Diaz, Ruiz and Masuoka, 2020.
- <sup>8</sup> Battleground states reviewed in this report include Arizona, Florida, Iowa, North Carolina, Texas, and Virginia.
- <sup>9</sup> Michael Herndon, Marcel Roman and Sonja Diaz. 2020. "Iowa Caucus and the 2020 Latino Vote." Los Angeles: Latino Policy and Politics Institute. February 6. <https://latino.ucla.edu/wp-content/uploads/2020/02/LPPI-IOWA-report-low-res.pdf>
- <sup>10</sup> Iowa Democratic Party. "IDP Caucus 2020 Results." <https://results.thecaucuses.org/>
- <sup>11</sup> Voting and Election Science Team, 2020. "2020 Precinct Shapefiles", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/XPW7T7>, Harvard Dataverse, V4
- <sup>12</sup> Bernal, Rafael. 2020. "Analysis: Sanders Ran the Table with the Latino Vote in Iowa." The Hill. February 7. <https://thehill.com/latino/482030-analysis-sanders-ran-the-table-with-latinos-in-iowa>
- <sup>13</sup> Smart, Charlie, Denise Lu, Matthew Bloch, Miles Watkins. 2020. "Results: The Most Detailed Map of the Nevada Democratic Caucus." New York Times. March 3. [https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/02/22/us/elections/results-nevada-caucus-precinct-map.html?action=click&module=ELEX\\_results&pgtype=Interactive&region=Navigation](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/02/22/us/elections/results-nevada-caucus-precinct-map.html?action=click&module=ELEX_results&pgtype=Interactive&region=Navigation)
- <sup>14</sup> Voting and Election Science Team, 2020, "2020 Precinct Shapefiles", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/XPW7T7>, Harvard Dataverse, V4.
- <sup>15</sup> Griffin, Rob, William Frey, and Guy Teixeira. 2015. "The Demographic Evolution of the American Electorate." Washington D.C.: Center for American Progress. February 24. <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/democracy/news/2015/02/24/107166/interactive-the-demographic-evolution-of-the-american-electorate-1980-2060/>
- <sup>16</sup> Smart, Charlie, Denise Lu, Matthew Bloch, Miles Watkins. 2020. "Results: The Most Detailed Map of the Virginia Democratic Primary." New York Times. March 3. [https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/03/03/us/elections/precinct-map-virginia-primary.html?action=click&auth=login-email&login=email&module=ELEX\\_results&pgtype=Interactive&region=Navigation](https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/03/03/us/elections/precinct-map-virginia-primary.html?action=click&auth=login-email&login=email&module=ELEX_results&pgtype=Interactive&region=Navigation)
- <sup>17</sup> Data was obtained from the website: <https://historicalelections.virginia.gov/>
- <sup>18</sup> Data was obtained from the website: <https://github.com/vapublicaccessproject/va-precinct-maps-2016>
- <sup>19</sup> Data was obtained from the website: <https://www.vpap.org/visuals/visual/comparing-march-primary-turnout-2020-v-2016/>
- <sup>20</sup> Smart, Charlie, Denise Lu, Matthew Bloch, Miles Watkins. 2020. "Results: The Most Detailed Map of the North Carolina Democratic Primary." New York Times. March 3. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/03/03/us/elections/precinct-map-north-carolina-primary.html>
- <sup>21</sup> Data was obtained from the website: <https://d1.ncsbe.gov/?prefix=PrecinctMaps/>
- <sup>22</sup> Data was obtained from the website: <https://electionstats.state.ma.us/elections/view/136227/>
- <sup>23</sup> Wilcox-Archuleta et al. 2018.
- <sup>24</sup> Data on Dallas County was downloaded on March 5, 2020 (100 percent reporting) from the website: <https://www.dallascountyvotes.org/election-results-and-maps/election-results/>; Data for Fort Bend County was downloaded on March 5, 2020 (100 percent reporting) from the website: <https://www.fortbendcountytx.gov/government/departments/county-services/elections-voter-registration/election-results/>; Data for Harris County was downloaded on March 5, 2020 (100 percent reporting) from the website: <https://www.harrisvotes.com/ElectionResults?lang=en-US#ElectionArchives>; Data for Hidalgo County was downloaded on March 5, 2020 (100 percent reporting) from the website: <https://www.hidalgocountyus/557/>

[Primary-Elections](#); Data for El Paso County was downloaded on March 13, 2020 (100% reporting) from the website: [https://epcountyvotes.com/election\\_archives](https://epcountyvotes.com/election_archives); Data for Tarrant County was downloaded on March 13, 2020 (100% reporting) from the website: <https://www.tarrantcounty.com/en/elections/election-archives.html?linklocation=Voter%20Resources&linkname=Election%20Archives>

<sup>25</sup> Fraga, Bernard L. 2018. *The Turnout Gap: Race, Ethnicity, and Political Inequality in a Diversifying America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

<sup>26</sup> Barreto, Matt, Ricardo Ramírez, Luis Fraga and Fernando Guerra. 2009. "Why California Matters: How California Latinos Influence the Presidential Election." In Rodolfo de la Garza, Louis DeSipio and David Leal (eds.) *Beyond the Barrio: Latinos in the 2004 Elections*. South Bend, ID: University of Notre Dame Press.

<sup>27</sup> US Census Bureau. 2015. "Millennials Outnumber Baby Boomers and Are Far More Diverse." Washington D.C.: Department of Commerce. June 25. <https://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-releases/2015/cb15-113.html>

<sup>28</sup> FiveThirtyEight. 2020. "Latest Polls: Who's Ahead in California?" May 11. <https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/polls/president-primary-d/california/>

<sup>29</sup> Los Angeles county was downloaded on March 5, 2020 from the website: <https://www.lavote.net/home/voting-elections/current-elections/election-results>; Merced was downloaded on March 16, 2020 from the website: <https://results.enr.clarityelections.com/CA/Merced/102793/web245375/#/summary>; Orange County was downloaded on March 15, 2020 from the website: <https://www.ocvote.com/results/detailed-data-and-reports/results-by-precinct/>; San Diego was downloaded on March 19 2020 from the website: [https://www.livevoterturnout.com/SanDiego/LiveResults/en/Index\\_8.html](https://www.livevoterturnout.com/SanDiego/LiveResults/en/Index_8.html); San Francisco was downloaded on March 13 2020 from the website: <https://sfelections.sfgov.org/march-3-2020-election-results-detailed-reports>, and San Mateo was downloaded on March 13, 2020 from the website: [https://www.livevoterturnout.com/SanMateoCA/LiveResults/en/Index\\_3.html](https://www.livevoterturnout.com/SanMateoCA/LiveResults/en/Index_3.html). These results do not reflect the final and official number of votes cast for each county and so it is likely that there are uncounted votes are still outstanding.

<sup>30</sup> Data for the 2016 Primary election was obtained from: <https://statewidedatabase.org/>

<sup>31</sup> The change in ballots cast in Merced County are driven up by 2 outliers that showed 300 percent increase and 733% increase in high density precincts and 2 extreme outliers that showed 3,600 percent increase and 1,800 percent increase in low density precincts.

<sup>32</sup> In San Mateo county there were several outliers that showed greater than 300 percent increase that drove up the results for the high density precincts and one extreme outlier that showed a 1,250% increase due to ballots cast increasing from 4 to 54 votes in low density precincts.

<sup>33</sup> In San Mateo county, there are couple outliers that drive up the result but the two extreme outliers are one that went from having 20 ballots cast in 2016 to 216 in 2020, resulting in a 980 percent increase and another that went from having 21 ballots cast in 2016 to 211 in 2020, resulting in a 905 percent increase.

<sup>34</sup> There are only two precincts that we can analyze, one with a 3,600 percent increase and another with a 100 percent increase, averaging out to 1,850 percent increase. The 3,600 percent increase in the ballots cast is due to the precinct going from having 1 Democratic vote in 2016 to 37 votes in 2020.

<sup>35</sup> Data was obtained from the website: <https://results.vote.wa.gov/results/20200310/Turnout.html>

<sup>36</sup> Data was obtained from the website: [https://www.sos.wa.gov/\\_assets/elections/research/Statewide\\_Splits\\_20191022.zip](https://www.sos.wa.gov/_assets/elections/research/Statewide_Splits_20191022.zip)

<sup>37</sup> According to our calculations, Latinos make up 20.4 percent of the Republican vote share, with white voters making up 65.2 percent of the Republican voting bloc.

<sup>38</sup> Smart, Charlie, Denise Lu, Matthew Bloch, Miles Watkins. 2020. "Results: The Most Detailed Map of the Nevada Democratic Caucus." New York Times. March 17. <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2020/03/17/us/elections/precinct-map-florida-primary.html>

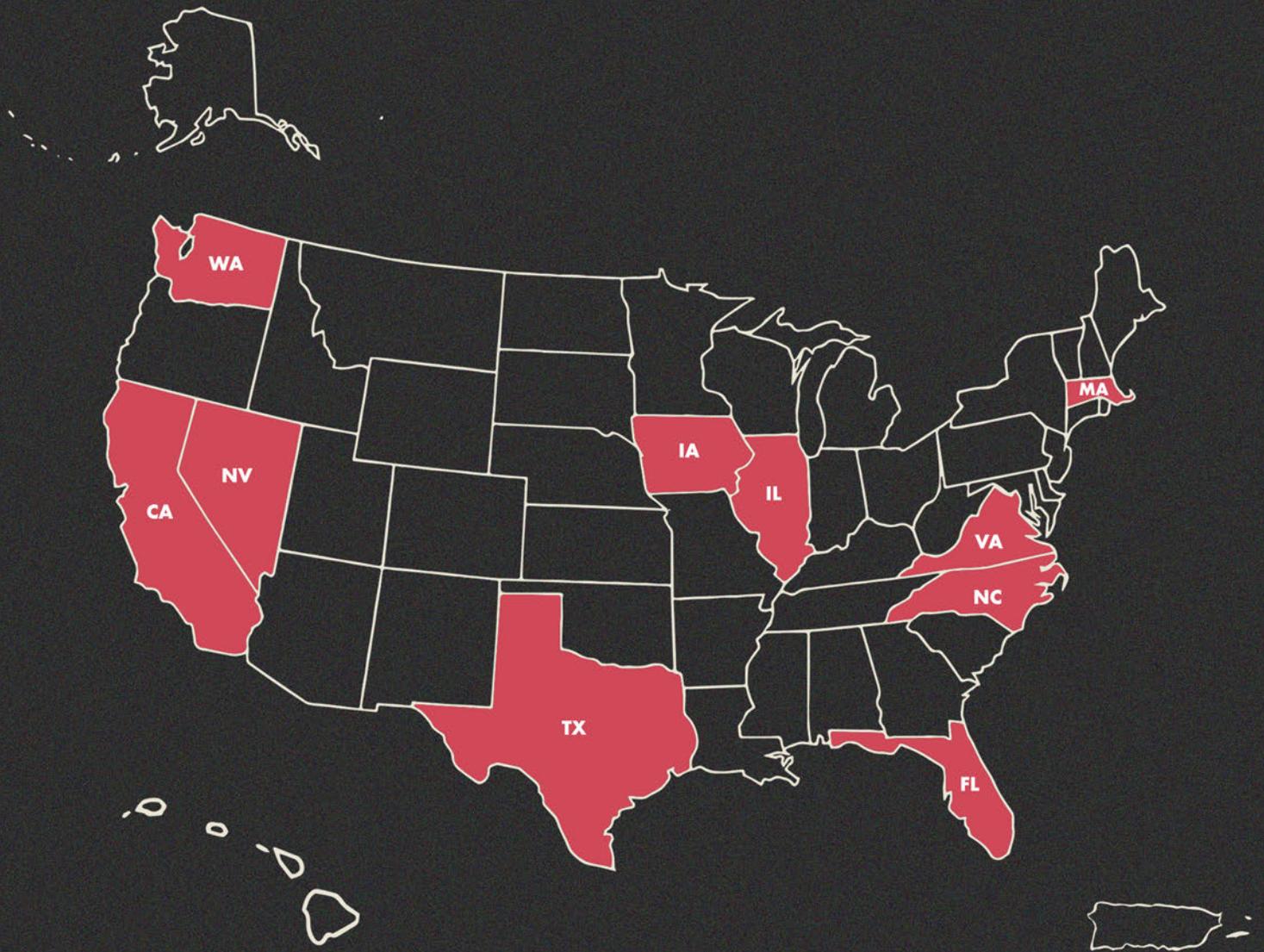
<sup>39</sup> For Orange County, we downloaded election results from the county's Supervisor of elections website. This was a report of the percent shares each candidate received in each precinct level. The total number of votes or the total number of voters for each candidate was not disclosed.

<sup>40</sup> Voting and Election Science Team, 2018, "2016 Precinct-Level Election Results", <https://doi.org/10.7910/DVN/NH5S2I>, Harvard Dataverse, V38.

<sup>41</sup> Herndon, Diaz, Ruiz, and Masuoka. 2020.

<sup>42</sup> Data obtained from website: <https://chicagoelections.gov/en/election-results.html>

<sup>43</sup> Data was obtained from the website: <https://data.cityofchicago.org/Facilities-Geographic-Boundaries/Precincts-current-/uvpq-qeeq>



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