

UCLA

Latino Policy &
Politics Initiative



VOTE CHOICE OF LATINO VOTERS IN THE 2020 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION

JANUARY 19, 2021

**RODRIGO DOMÍNGUEZ-VILLEGAS, NICK GONZALEZ, ANGELA GUTIERREZ, KASSANDRA HERNÁNDEZ,
MICHAEL HERNDON, ANA OAXACA, MICHAEL RIOS, MARCEL ROMAN, TYE RUSH, AND DAISY VERA¹**

¹Rodrigo Domínguez-Villegas, Ph.D, Director of Research, UCLA Latino Policy and Politics Initiative (LPPI); Nick Gonzalez, Policy Analyst, LPPI; Angela Gutierrez, M.A., Senior Policy Fellow, LPPI; Cassandra Hernández, M.P.P, Research Analyst, LPPI; Michael Herndon, Doctoral Student, UCLA Political Science; Ana Oaxaca, Senior Policy Fellow, LPPI; Michael Rios, Policy Fellow, UCLA Voting Rights Project (VRP); Marcel Roman, Doctoral Student, UCLA Political Science; Tye Rush, M.A., Senior Policy Fellow, VRP; Daisy Vera, M.A., Doctoral Student, UCLA Political Science.

Acknowledgements

Core support for The UCLA Latino Policy and Politics Initiative (LPPI), provided by the California State Legislature, the California Latino Legislative Caucus, and the California Community Foundation, made this work possible.

The authors would like to thank Sonja Diaz for her editorial support, LPPI policy fellows for their support in collecting precinct-level data across states, and Dr. Natalie Masuoka and Jessica Lee for collecting the data for California as part of a separate study they directed. This project builds on LPPI's research on Democracy and Voting Rights and similar studies in 2018 and the 2020 primaries. LPPI faculty director Dr. Matt Barreto supervised this research but was not a report author. The authors would also like to thank Andrea Cannon for the report layout and design.

As a land grant institution, the Latino Policy and Politics Initiative and the Center for Neighborhood Knowledge at UCLA acknowledge the Gabrielino and Tongva peoples as the traditional land caretakers of Tovaangar (Los Angeles basin, Southern Channel Islands), and that their displacement has enabled the flourishing of UCLA.

About LPPI

The UCLA Latino Policy and Politics Initiative addresses the most critical domestic policy challenges facing Latinos and other communities of color through research, advocacy, mobilization, and leadership development to expand genuine opportunity for all Americans.

Disclaimer

The views expressed herein are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the University of California, Los Angeles as a whole. The authors alone are responsible for the content of this report.

Table of Contents

PREFACE	04
EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	06
INTRODUCTION	07
METHODOLOGY	08
ARIZONA	09
CALIFORNIA	11
COLORADO	13
FLORIDA	15
GEORGIA	18
ILLINOIS	20
NEVADA	22
NEW MEXICO	24
NEW YORK	26
PENNSYLVANIA	28
TEXAS	30
WASHINGTON	32
WISCONSIN	34
CONCLUSION	36
ENDNOTES	37



PREFACE

The year 2020 will go down in history as one of America's most challenging years. Not only did the American people have to weather a pandemic with leadership more concerned about political aspirations than saving lives and navigate an election in which the incumbent would not accept the results, but we were forced to finally confront the deep wounds that racism has lacerated across the body of America for centuries. In short, 2020 revealed our ugliest truths. It also revealed some of our deepest strengths.

Across the country, we saw marginalized voters — those who face the most barriers to accessing the ballot box — turnout in record numbers across the country fighting voter suppression and risking their health just to do so. We saw community organizers in states like Arizona and Georgia fight to do the impossible and win. We saw the largest global social movement in history squarely centered on racial justice coalesce into real, substantive changes in policy, law, and budget allocations.

This new year — which we are ushering in with a new president and Congress with new leadership — gives us the unprecedented opportunity to leverage these strengths and wins to do more, but that is only possible if we fully take stock of what and who our assets as a country are. That begins with fully recognizing that there is no American agenda without a Latino agenda.

Latinos are youthful and diverse, and projected to make up [27.5% of the American population](#) by 2060.¹ This translates into immense political power as more of that population grows into the electorate. In November 2020, Arizona showed just what that power could result in when Latinos act as a concentrated voting bloc, clenching victory for Joe Biden and flipping their second Senate seat blue in just two years. Further, in states like Georgia, the small but growing Latino electorate was part of a large, Black-led multi-racial coalition that added to Democrats' winning margins in both the 2020 presidential election as well as the two Senate runoffs. Yet, Latinos are often left out of the conversation when it comes to shaping policy and are seen as an afterthought when it comes to elections. But as the challenges of 2020 showed us, elections have consequences and cost lives.

UCLA Latino Policy and Politics Initiative (UCLA LPPI) research demonstrates the need for a new strategy and focus. Both the 2018 midterms and the 2020 presidential election point to a new way forward focused on the expansion of the electorate that builds winning coalitions of voters and achieves substantive representation through more diverse candidacy and an inclusive policy agenda.

This work begins with protecting the critical right to vote for all Americans that has been under attack since the Supreme Court gutted Section 5 of the Voting Rights Act in 2013. Since then, civil rights advocates across the country, including the UCLA Voting Rights Project, have been working tirelessly to ensure no person who is eligible and wants to vote is kept from casting a ballot.

We must also ensure that the policy agenda meets the moment. UCLA LPPI research throughout the pandemic has shown that Latinos are more likely to have lower wages and lack health insurance, and that they are often left behind when policy is made. Thus, to create effective and equitable solutions, it is imperative that we listen to frontline communities and ensure substantive representation at all levels of government — representation that deeply understands the challenges marginalized communities face, not just as abstract ideas, but through real lived experience.

With a new administration and new Congress coming into office, we can make bold change to achieve a more inclusive democracy, but only if we seize the opportunity.

Sonja Francine Marie Diaz
Founding Director, UCLA LPPI

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

As results for the presidential election started to pour in on November 3rd, 2020, the focus of the popular media on Latinos in Miami-Dade County created an incomplete narrative: Latinos delivered the state of Florida to the Republican candidate, Donald J. Trump. Exit polls with small Latino samples that showed a slight shift in Latino voter preference towards the Republican party relative to 2016 reinforced that narrative.ⁱⁱ After all, Miami-Dade represents only 3.1% of the overall U.S. Latino population and is not typical or representative of Latinos nationwide.ⁱⁱⁱ An inaccurate and one-dimensional account of the vote choice and the impact of the second-largest ethno-racial voting bloc in the country emerged that night. But zooming out from Miami-Dade, the vote choice of Latino voters across the country paints a very different picture.

In this report, we provide the most comprehensive analysis to date of how Latino voters, who are diverse across many geographies, voted in the 2020 presidential election. We analyze actual votes cast from 25,618 precincts to better understand the electoral choices of Latino voters in 13 states that together account for over 80% of all Latino registered voters in the United States. By analyzing ballots cast rather than relying on exit polls, we reduce errors that emerge in exit interviews due to small samples, unrepresentative selection of survey respondents, incomplete understanding of early and absentee voters, and language bias.^{iv} Therefore, this report provides a unique contribution to understanding the Latino vote in 2020, unlike what has been published elsewhere.

Our main findings are:

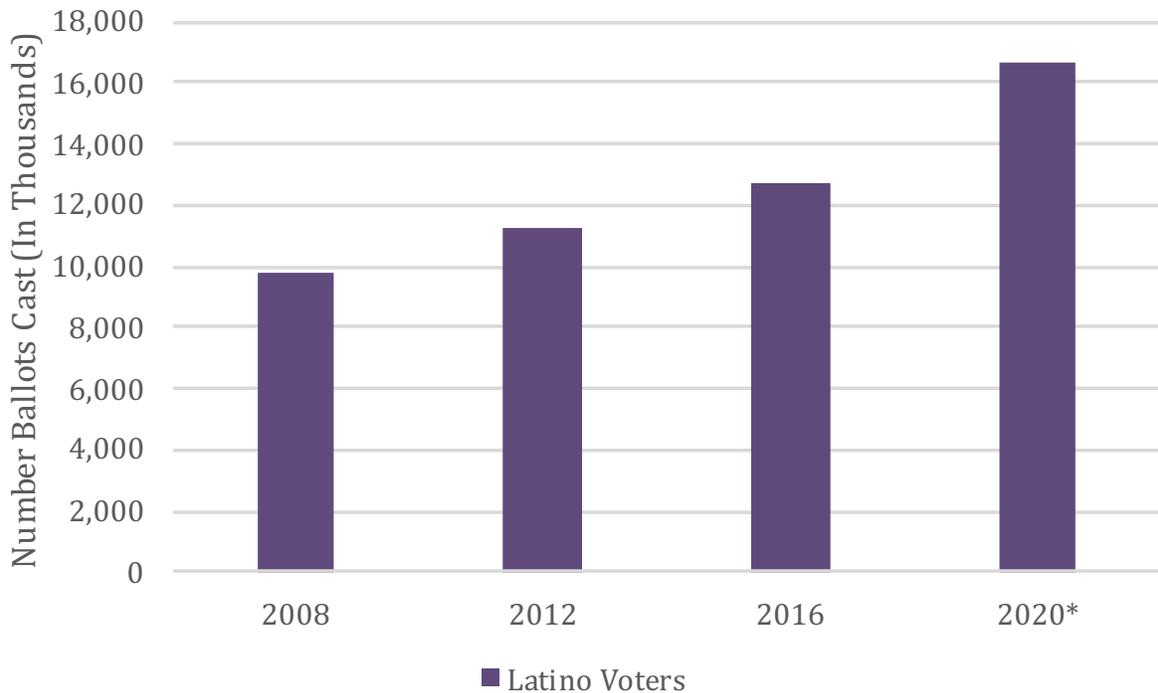
- 1. We estimate that 16.6 million Latino voters cast a ballot for the 2020 presidential election nationally. This represents a 30.9% increase, nearly double the nationwide 15.9% growth in ballots cast between the 2016 and 2020 presidential elections. This was the single largest 4-year increase in Latino vote ever.**
- 2. Latino voters supported the Democratic candidate, Joseph R. Biden, by very wide margins across the country, and consistent with margins won by Obama in 2008 and 2012.**
 - Latino voters supported Biden over Trump by a nearly 3 to 1 margin in the counties we analyzed in Arizona, California, Colorado, Illinois, New Mexico, Nevada, New York, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.
 - Latinos chose Biden over Trump with a 2 to 1 margin or larger in the counties we analyzed in Texas, Georgia, and Washington, and in Florida outside of Miami-Dade.
- 3. In Arizona, the size of the Latino electorate and their overwhelming support for Joe Biden flipped the state from Republican to Democrat for the first time since 1996.**
- 4. In Georgia and Wisconsin, where the difference between the winning and the losing candidate was roughly 12,000 and 21,000 votes, Latino voters' strong support for Biden and growth in votes cast helped tip the state in favor of the Democratic candidate.**
- 5. In Florida, the Latino vote is diverse and unique from the rest of the nation. Latinos in Miami-Dade supported Trump by a 2 to 1 margin, but Latinos in the rest of the state preferred Biden with a 2 to 1 margin. Overall, a majority of Latinos in Florida voted for Biden, not Trump.**

INTRODUCTION

The Latino electorate is frequently referred to as the “sleeping giant” of electoral politics. Citing the Latino turnout gap, whereby the index between the number of eligible voters, registered voters, and likely voters remains high compared to white and African American peers, Latino voters have been characterized by some pundits, the media, and political strategists as politically disengaged.^v Yet, the 2018 midterm elections provided a glimpse of the growing consequence of the Latino electorate as their turnout increased at higher rates than that of other groups.^{vi} On the heels of their 2018 record-breaking electoral engagement, Latino voters showed up to the polls and swayed electoral outcomes during the 2020 presidential election.

In the 2020 presidential election, the growth in Latino voters outpaced that of other demographic groups. As seen in Figure 1, the number of Latino voters has been rapidly increasing since 2008. Between the 2016 and 2020 presidential elections, the number of ballots cast by Latinos increased by 30.9%, from 12.7 million votes to an estimated 16.6 million votes.^{vii} Latinos’ 31% growth in votes cast is almost double the national average of 15.9% in overall ballots cast during the same time period.^{viii}

Figure 1. Number of Ballots Cast by Latino Voters in the Past Four Presidential Elections



Source: Michael Herndon, Sonja Diaz, Bryanna Ruiz, and Natalie Masuoka, *The Power of the New Majority: A 10 State Analysis of Voters of Color in the 2020 Election* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative, 2020), [available online](#).

In this report, we analyze Latino vote choice from 25,618 precincts, in 86 counties across 13 states in the United States. The states selected provide a mix between battleground states with substantial Latino electorates (Arizona, Nevada, Florida, and Texas), battleground states where narrow margins result in an outsized role for emerging Latino electorates (Georgia, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin), and traditionally Democrat-leaning states with large and/or rapidly growing Latino electorates (California, Colorado, Illinois, New Mexico, New York, and Washington). Together, the counties that we analyze in these 13 states account for over 80% of all Latino registered voters across the country.^{ix}

METHODOLOGY

We merge two datasets and analyze precinct-level data to approximate the vote preference of Latino voters as closely as possible. In the first dataset, we estimated the percent of all registered voters that are Latino at each precinct. Most simply, voting precincts represent neighborhoods; precincts with a high percentage of Latino voters allow us to approximate the candidate preference of Latino voters. The second dataset is a compilation of election results at the precinct level, collected directly from county clerks and boards of elections. Merging these two datasets, we can ascertain the relationship between the concentration of Latino voters in a precinct and the vote preference for the two main presidential candidates.

For each state, we offer two analyses. First, we provide a plot that shows the relationship between the percent of Latino registered voters in a precinct and the proportion of the vote that each candidate gained at each precinct. Second, we compare the votes cast in precincts that have a very high concentration of Latino voters to the votes cast in precincts with a very low concentration of Latino voters (referred to as “high” and “low-density precincts,” respectively). Because of inconsistencies in election results reporting across counties and difficulty merging demographic data with voting data, we selected a few counties in each state. We selected counties with high concentrations of Latino voters in each state, representing the majority of Latinos in all states except for Georgia, Washington, and Wisconsin.

Finally, because the size of the Latino population varies greatly across the states presented here, the thresholds for determining “high-density” and “low-density” precincts are not uniform across this analysis and instead vary across states. We define high- and low-density thresholds based on the distribution of precincts by percent Latino in each state. Within each state, we describe individual state methodology to further detail these calculations where necessary.



In Arizona, one of the most hotly contested states in the 2020 election, Latino voters were decisive. Joe Biden, the first Democratic candidate to win the state since 1996, won by less than 11,000 votes.^x Approximately 809,000 Latino registered voters, about 4.5% of all U.S. Latino registered voters, live in Arizona.^{xi} Latino voters represent over a quarter (25.2%) of the state's overall registered voters, making them the second-largest racial/ethnic voting bloc after non-Hispanic whites.^{xii}

We present precinct-level data from 1,466 precincts in all fifteen Arizona counties: Apache, Coconino, Cochise, Gila, Graham, Greenlee, La Paz, Maricopa, Mohave, Navajo, Pima, Pinal, Santa Cruz, Yavapai, and Yuma Counties.

Figure 2 shows that Latino voters in precincts with a greater concentration of Latino registered voters overwhelmingly voted in support of Joe Biden, while those in precincts with lower concentrations of Latino registered voters generally supported Donald Trump. Specifically, the shift in presidential support occurs within precincts where Latino voters form close to 15% or more of the total precinct registered voters.

Vote Choice of Latino Voters in the 2020 Presidential Election

Figure 2. 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by Percent of Latino Registered Voters in all Arizona Precincts

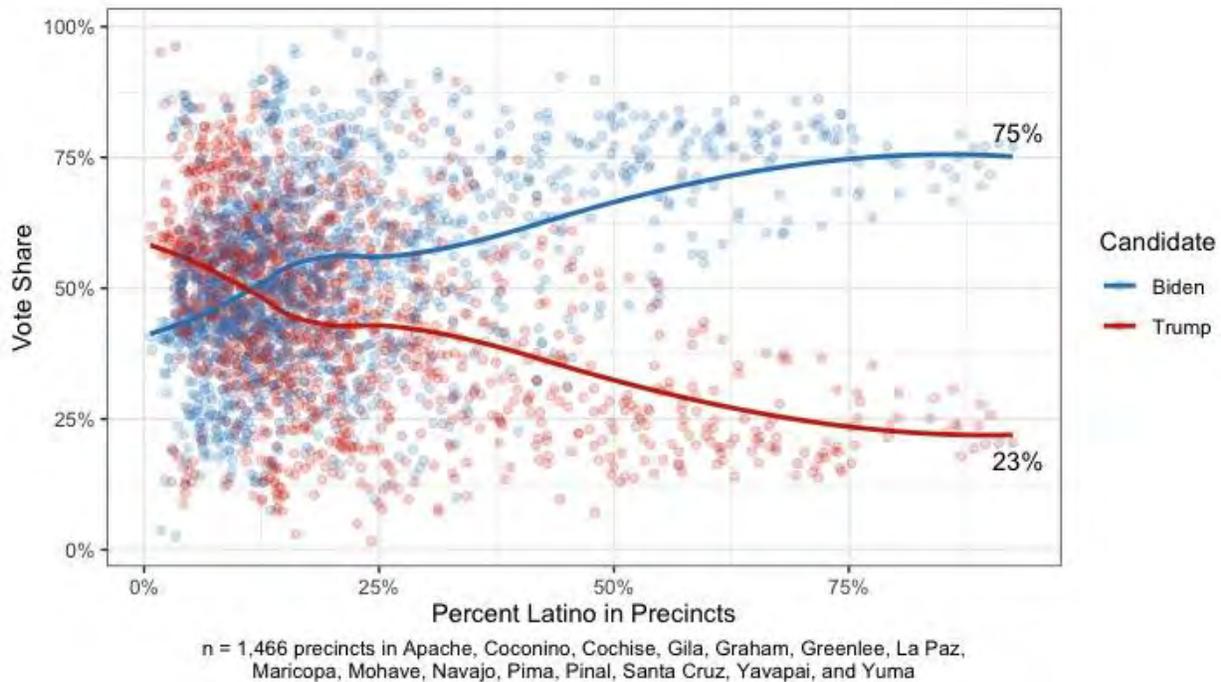


Table 1 displays the 2020 presidential vote choice by high- and low-density Latino precincts across the state of Arizona (75% or more and less than 5% of all registered voters are Latino, respectively).^{xiii} In high-density precincts, Biden received almost 74% of the votes compared to the almost 46% support he received in low-density precincts. Precincts with less than 5% Latino voters favored Trump by a 7.8 percentage point difference.

Table 1. 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by High and Low-density Latino Precincts in all Arizona Counties

PRESIDENT	HIGH-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS		LOW-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS	
	Biden (D)	Trump (R)	Biden (D)	Trump (R)
	73.3%	24.4%	45.8%	53.6%

Notes: High density: 75% Latino or above (n=25 precincts); Low density: 5% Latino or below (n=102 precincts) in Apache, Coconino, Cochise, Gila, Graham, Greenlee, La Paz, Maricopa, Mohave, Navajo, Pima, Pinal, Santa Cruz, Yavapai, and Yuma Counties.



For decades, Latino voters have been fundamental in the electoral results of California, the state with the largest number of Latino voters in the country.^{xiv}

An estimated 4.4 million Latinos in California were registered to vote during the 2020 election. Latino registered voters in California represent 26.7% of the state's total registered voter population and 24.6% of all U.S. Latino registered voters.^{xv}

In California, we collected data from all 3,236 precincts in six counties: Alameda, Los Angeles, Orange, San Diego, San Francisco, and San Mateo Counties. In total, these counties account for over 50% of all Latinos in California.^{xvi}

Figure 3 shows that California voters overwhelmingly supported Biden over Trump, with Latino density positively related to support for Biden. Voters in precincts with high concentrations of Latino voters were more likely to support Biden, while those with lower concentrations voted in favor of Trump. Biden reached 79% of support in the precincts with the highest concentration of Latino registered voters in California.

Vote Choice of Latino Voters in the 2020 Presidential Election

Figure 3. 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by Percent of Latino Registered Voters in California Precincts

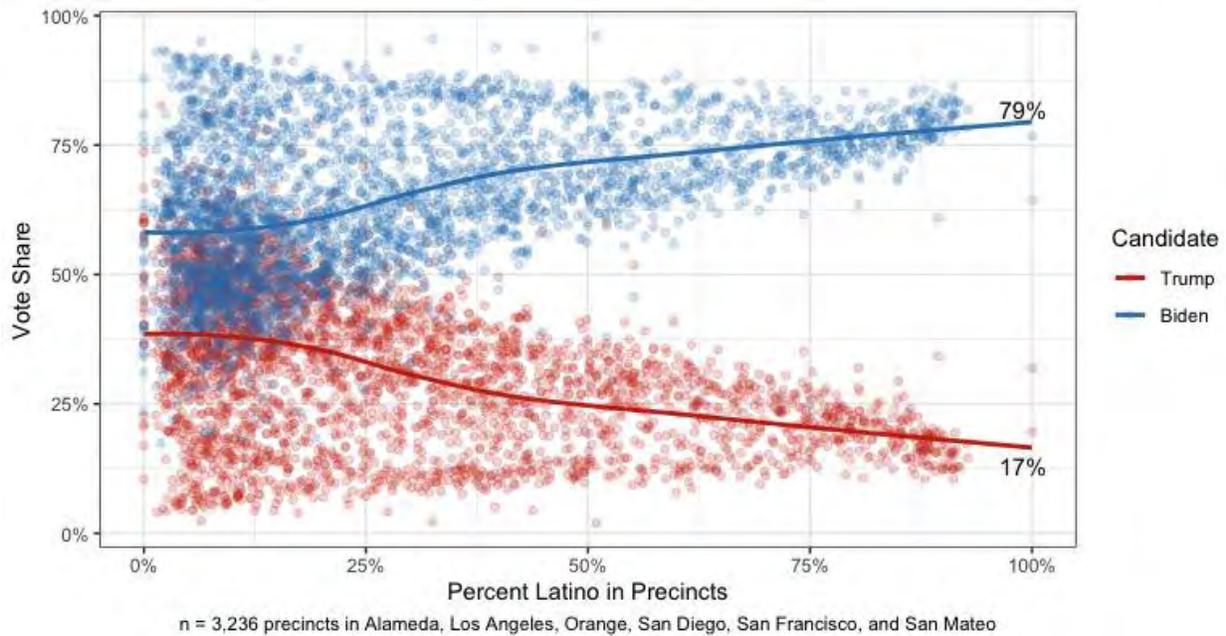


Table 2 displays 2020 presidential vote choice by high- and low-density Latino precincts in California. In line with Figure 3, we see that voters in precincts with high concentrations of Latinos (85% Latino or higher) were more likely to vote for Biden over Trump: 79.0% and 17.2%, respectively. Though voters in precincts with less than 15% Latino voters also favored Biden, the difference in candidate preference is much smaller than the difference in high-density Latino precincts. 58.4% of voters in low-density Latino precincts voted for Biden, with a 20.3 percentage point difference in support of Trump.^{xvii}

Table 2. 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by High- and Low-density Latino Precincts in California

PRESIDENT	HIGH-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS		LOW-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS	
	Biden (D)	Trump (R)	Biden (D)	Trump (R)
	79.0%	17.2%	58.4%	38.1%

Notes: High density: 85% Latino or above (n=99 precincts); Low density: 15% Latino or below (n=1,318 precincts) in Alameda, Los Angeles, Orange, San Diego, San Francisco, and San Mateo Counties.



Colorado has the eighth largest Latino population in the U.S.^{xviii} An estimated 323,000 Latinos in Colorado were registered to vote during the 2020 election, forming 10.4% of the state's registered voter population and 1.8% of all U.S. Latino registered voters.^{xix}

In Colorado, we collected data from a total of 1,205 precincts in four counties: Adams, Arapahoe, Denver, and El Paso Counties. These four counties contain over 54% of the state's Latino population.^{xx}

Figure 4 shows that Colorado voters overwhelmingly supported Biden. Latino density is positively related to support for Biden; voters in precincts with higher concentrations of Latino voters were more likely to vote for Biden. He received over 80% of the vote in the precincts with the highest concentrations of Latino registered voters.

Vote Choice of Latino Voters in the 2020 Presidential Election

Figure 4. 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by Percent of Latino Registered Voters in Colorado Precincts

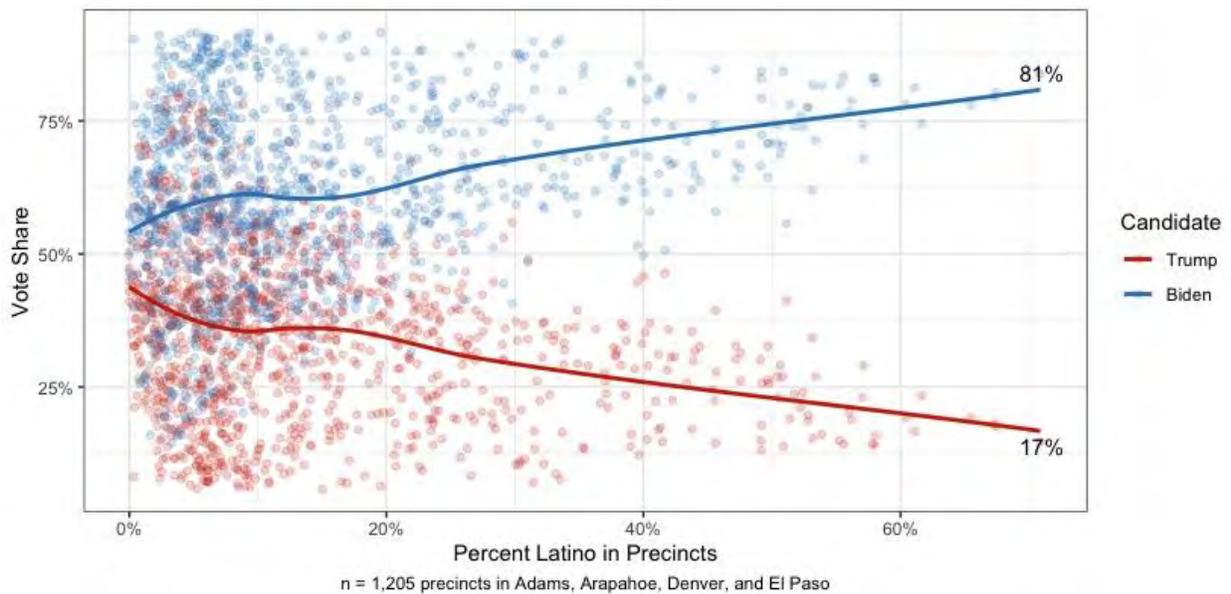


Table 3 displays the 2020 presidential vote choice by high- and low-density Latino precincts in Colorado. Voters in precincts with high concentrations of Latino voters (60% or higher) were more likely to vote for Biden over Trump: 79.4% and 18.4%, respectively. Voters in precincts with less than 5% Latino voters also favored Biden, but the difference in candidate preference is not as stark. 57.1% of voters in low-density Latino precincts voted for Biden, while 40.4% supported Trump.^{xxi}

Table 3. 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by High- and Low-density Latino Precincts in Colorado

PRESIDENT	HIGH-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS		LOW-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS	
	Biden (D)	Trump (R)	Biden (D)	Trump (R)
	79.4%	18.4%	57.1%	40.4%

Notes: High density: 60% Latino or above (n=7 precincts); Low density: 5% Latino or below (n=303 precincts) in Adams, Arapahoe, Denver, and El Paso Counties.



Florida exemplifies the diversity in Latino voter preference. Analyzing candidate preference across Florida, it is clear that Latino voters of distinct nationalities and ideologies voted differently in the 2020 election. To show this diversity, we split up our analysis between Miami-Dade County, where the majority of Latinos are Cuban-Americans who have traditionally supported the Republican Party, and counties around Orlando and Tampa with a more diverse Latino population, including sizable Puerto Rican communities.^{xxii}

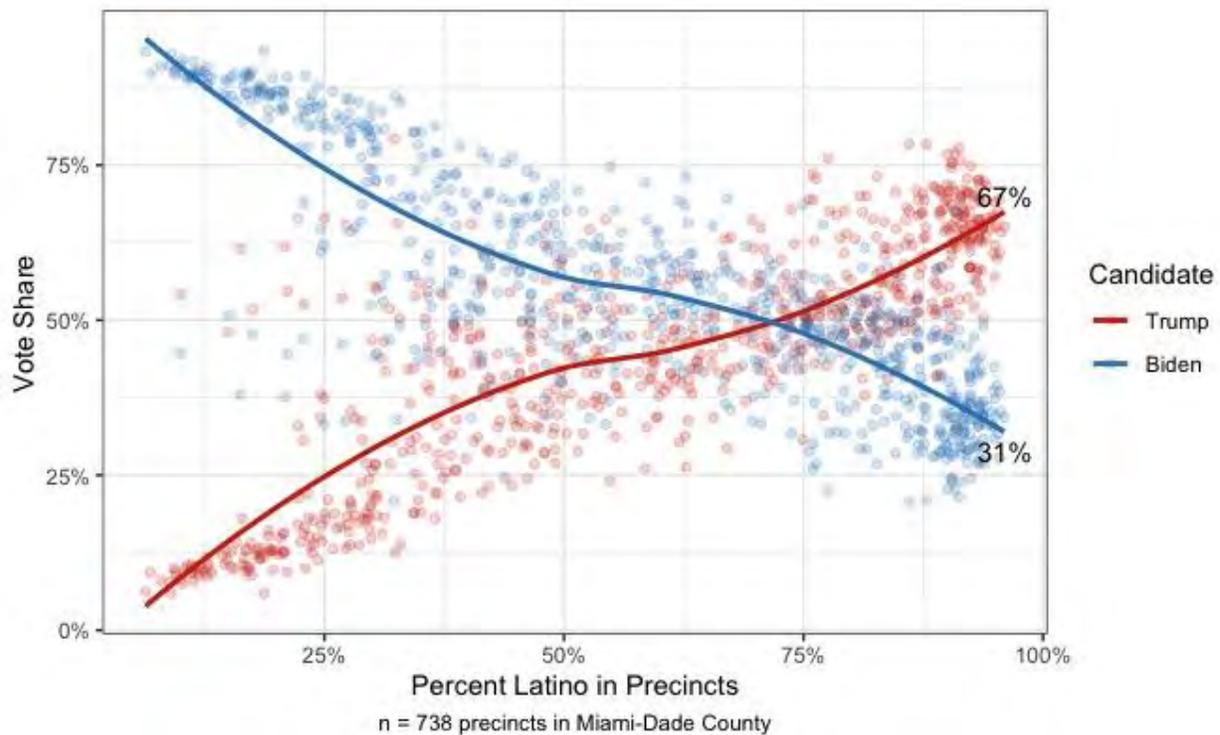
Over 2 million Latinos in Florida were estimated to have registered to vote during the 2020 election. Latinos in Florida comprise over a fifth of the state's registered voter population and 11.6% of all U.S. Latino registered voters.^{xxiii}

Within the state, we collected data from 738 precincts in Miami-Dade County, the state's most populous county with close to 70% Latino density.^{xxiv} We contrast Miami-Dade to 1,305 precincts in four other Florida counties: Broward, Hillsborough, Orange, and Osceola. In total, these five counties represent 63.5% of Florida's Latino population.^{xxv}

Figure 5 shows that a shift in candidate preference occurs in Miami-Dade precincts where Latino voters represent close to 75% or more of the voter population. At that cutoff, voters in precincts with a greater concentration of Latino registered voters increasingly supported Trump over Biden, while those with lower concentrations of Latino voters generally voted in the opposite manner.

Vote Choice of Latino Voters in the 2020 Presidential Election

Figure 5. 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by Percent of Latino Registered Voters in Miami-Dade County Precincts



In high-density Latino precincts in Miami-Dade (80% Latino or more), Trump received 61.1% of the votes, on average. This stands in sharp contrast with precincts with less than 15% Latino voters, where Trump only received 10.9% of the vote (see Table 4).^{xxvi}

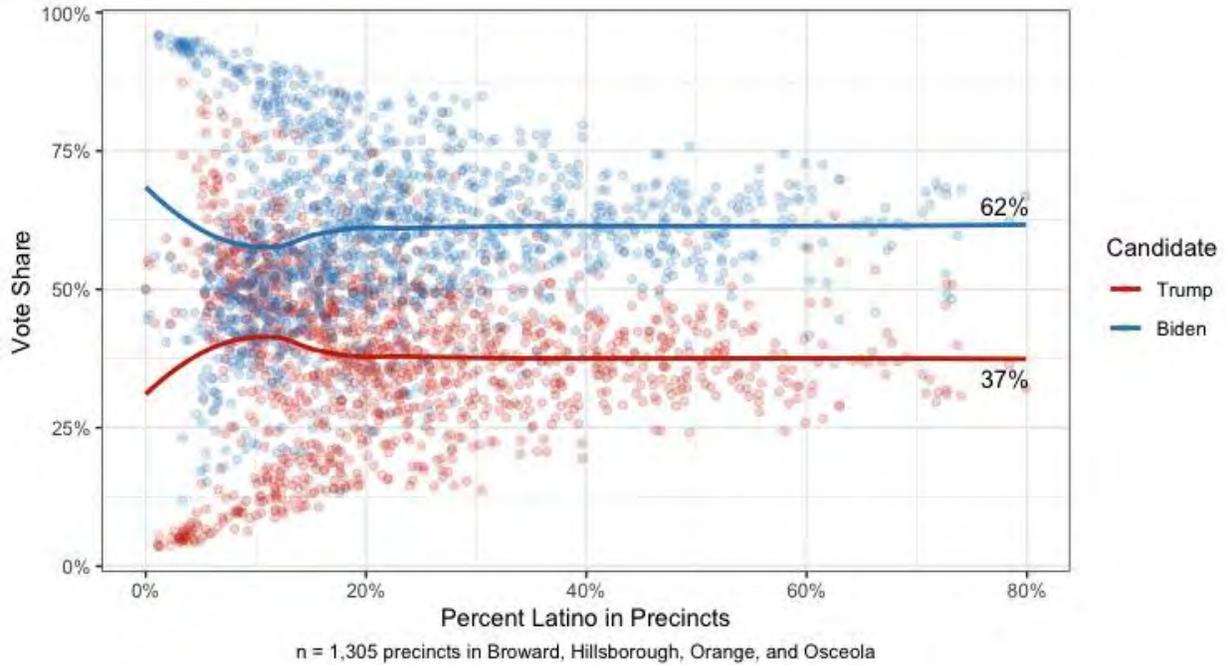
Table 4. 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by High- and Low-density Latino Precincts in Miami-Dade County

	HIGH-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS		LOW-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS	
PRESIDENT	Biden (D)	Trump (R)	Biden (D)	Trump (R)
	38.3%	61.1%	88.3%	10.9%

Notes: High density: 80% Latino or above (n=231 precincts); Low density: 15% Latino or below (n=32 precincts) in Miami-Dade County.

Unlike the precincts in Miami-Dade County, Latino density was positively correlated with voting for Biden in Broward, Hillsborough, Orange, and Osceola Counties. Latino voters in these counties, where Puerto Rican voters make up the largest number of Latinos, favored Biden over Trump. In precincts with the highest concentrations of Latinos, Biden gathered 62% of the vote compared to only 37% for Trump (refer to Figure 6).

Figure 6: 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by Percent of Latino Registered Voters in Precincts in Broward, Hillsborough, Orange, and Osceola Counties



Outside of Miami-Dade, Biden received a higher share of the votes in high-density precincts than in low-density precincts. In precincts where Latinos comprise 70% or more of the total vote share, 63% of the votes cast went to Biden; in precincts with less than 15% Latino voters 58% of ballots cast were for the Democratic candidate (refer to Table 5).^{xxvii}

Table 5. 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by High and Low-density Latino Precincts in non-Miami-Dade Counties

	HIGH-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS		LOW-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS	
PRESIDENT	Biden (D)	Trump (R)	Biden (D)	Trump (R)
	62.6%	36.6%	58.0%	41.0%

Notes: High density: 70% or above (n=14 precincts); Low density: 15% or below (n=475 precincts) in Broward, Hillsborough, Orange, and Osceola Counties.

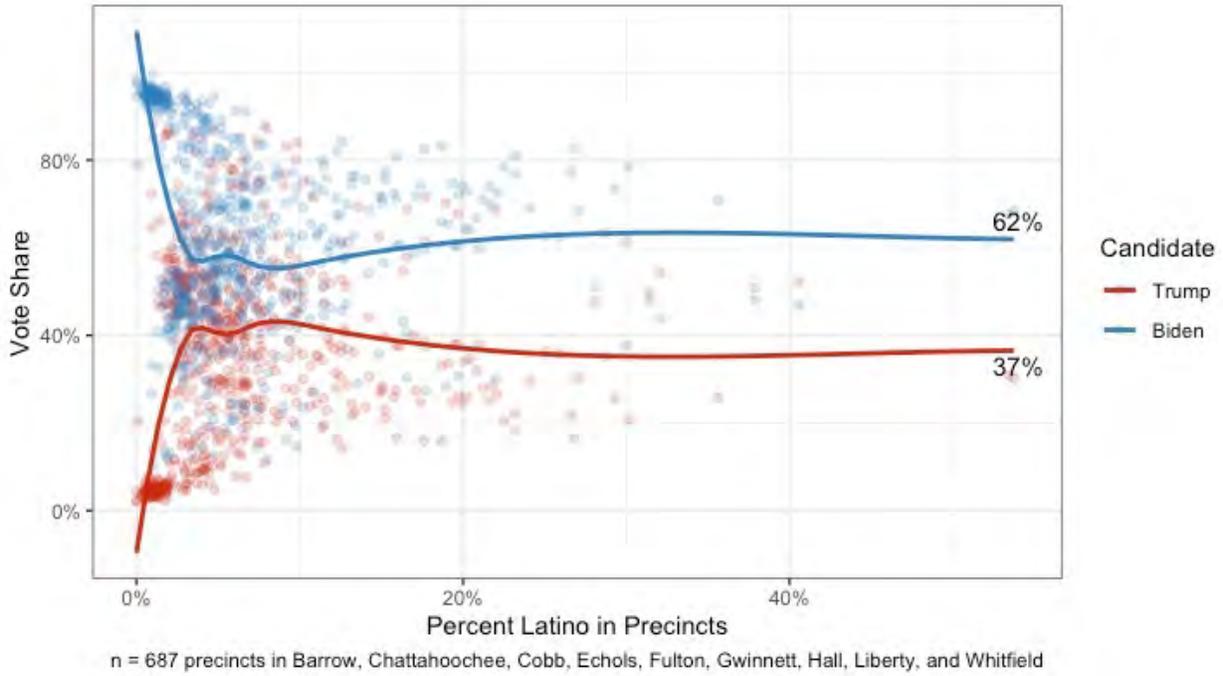


Georgia was one of the most hotly contested races in the 2020 election, and less than 12,000 votes made Joe Biden the first Democratic presidential candidate to win the State since 1992. An estimated 179 thousand Latinos in Georgia were registered to vote during the 2020 election, representing 3.6% of the state's voter population and 1% of the United States Latino registered voter population.^{xxviii}

In Georgia, we collected data from 687 precincts in nine Georgia counties: Barrow, Chattahoochee, Cobb, Echols, Fulton, Gwinnett, Hall, Liberty, and Whitfield Counties. In total, these nine counties represent 47.5% of Georgia's Latino population.^{xxix}

Figure 7 shows that Joe Biden received overwhelming support in precincts that have low-Latino densities, which, in the counties included in our analysis, means precincts with a high-density of African American voters. In the counties with the highest concentrations of Latinos, voters preferred Joe Biden with a 2 to 1 margin.

Figure 7: 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by Percent of Latino Registered Voters in Georgia Precincts



In Georgia, voters in precincts with high concentrations of Latino registered voters (30% or higher) were more likely to vote for Biden over Trump: 59.2% and 39.1%, respectively.^{xxx} Voters in precincts with less than 2.5% Latino voters, which have large concentrations of African Americans, also favored Biden, with a much greater difference in candidate preference: 79.3% of registered voters in low-density Latino precincts voted for Biden, while 19.9% supported Trump.

Table 6. 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by High- and Low-density Latino Precincts in Georgia

PRESIDENT	HIGH-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS		LOW-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS	
	Biden (D)	Trump (R)	Biden (D)	Trump (R)
	59.2%	39.1%	79.3%	19.9%

Notes: High density: 30% or above (n=8 precincts); Low density: less than 2.5% (n=170 precincts) in Barrow, Chattahoochee, Cobb, Echols, Fulton, Gwinnett, Hall, Liberty, and Whitfield Counties.



Illinois has the sixth-largest Latino population in the United States.^{xxxii} An estimated 763 thousand Latinos in Illinois were registered to vote during the 2020 election, which constitutes 11% of the state's registered voters and 4.2% of the United States Latino registered voter population.^{xxxii}

In Illinois, we collected data from 1,599 precincts in two counties: Cook and Lake Counties. Together, these two counties represent 66.5% of the state's Latino population.^{xxxiii}

Figure 8 shows that Illinois voters overwhelmingly supported Biden. Latino density is positively related to support for Biden, meaning that precincts with higher concentrations of Latino registered voters were more likely to vote for him, and in the precincts with the highest concentrations of Latino voters, Biden received 83% of the vote.

Figure 8: 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by Percent of Latino Registered Voters in Illinois Precincts

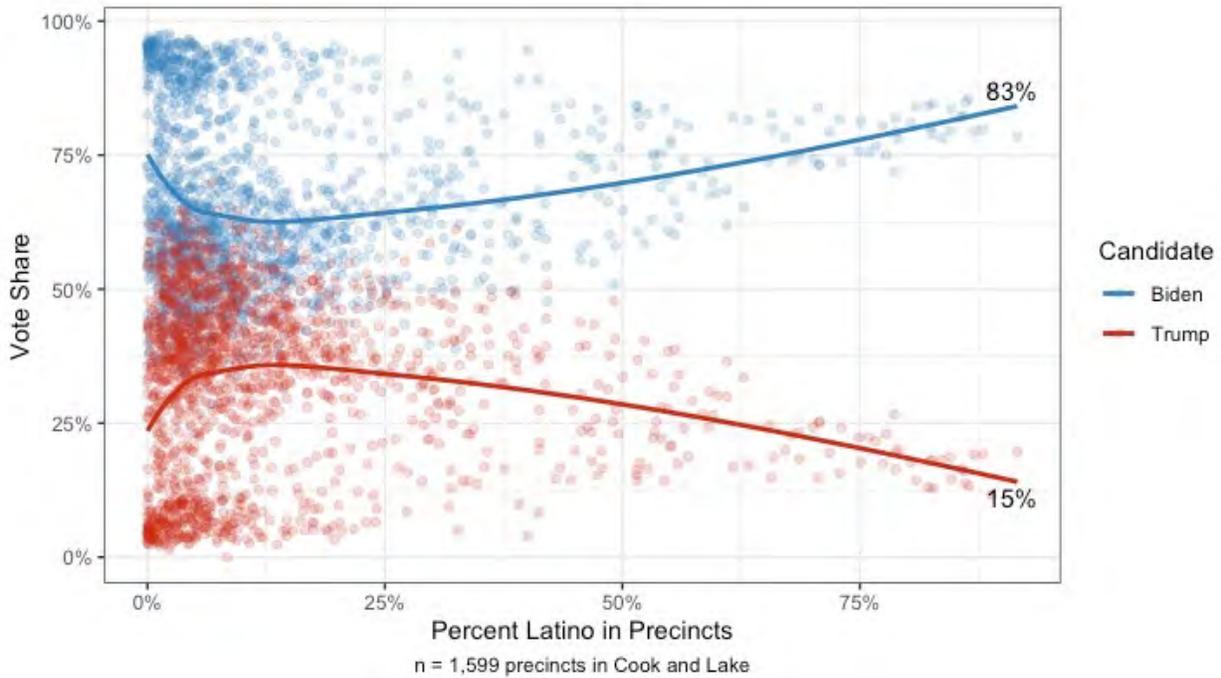


Table 7 shows that voters in Illinois precincts with high concentrations of Latino voters (75% or higher) were more likely to vote for Biden over Trump: 80.5% and 17.7%, respectively. Voters in precincts with less than 5% Latino voters also favored Biden, but the difference between the two candidates is smaller: 68.7% of voters in low-density Latino precincts voted for Biden, while 29.9% supported Trump.^{xxxiv}

Table 7. 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by High- and Low-density Latino Precincts in Illinois

PRESIDENT	HIGH-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS		LOW-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS	
	Biden (D)	Trump (R)	Biden (D)	Trump (R)
	80.5%	17.7%	68.7%	29.9%

Notes: High density: 75% or above (n=26 precincts); Low density: 5% or below (n=604 precincts) in Cook and Lake Counties.

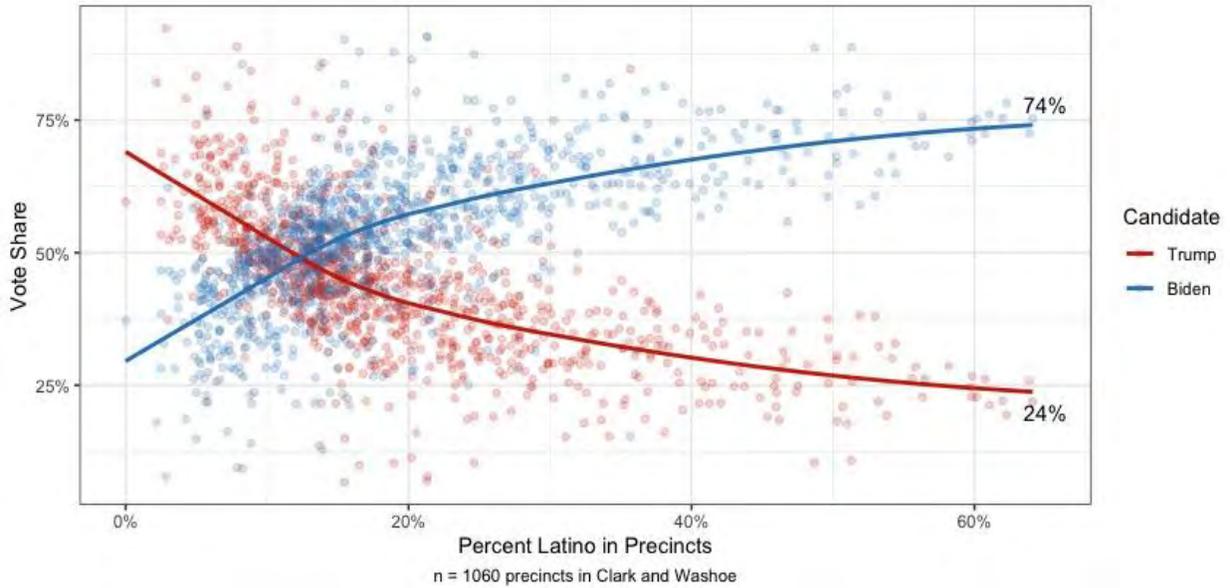


Nevada has the fifth largest proportion of Latino residents in the United States.^{xxxv} An estimated 299 thousand of Nevada's Latinos were registered to vote in 2020, comprising 20.6% of the state's total voters and 1.7% of all Latino registered voters in the U.S.^{xxxvi}

In Nevada, we collected data from 1,060 precincts in the state's two most populous counties: Clark and Washoe Counties.^{xxxvii} Together, these counties represent 92.7% of Nevada's Latino population.^{xxxviii}

Figure 9 shows that support for Biden is positively correlated with Latino density. A shift in candidate preference occurs in precincts where Latino registered voters represent less than approximately 12.5% of the voter population. At that cutoff, voters in precincts with lower concentrations of Latino registered voters supported Trump over Biden, despite the state's general outcome.

Figure 9: 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by Percent of Latino Registered Voters in Nevada Precincts



In line with Figure 9, Table 8 shows that voters in precincts with high concentrations of Latino voters (60% or higher) were more likely to vote for Biden over Trump: 75% and 22.8%, respectively. In contrast, voters in low-density precincts, (10% Latino or less), favored Trump over Biden by more than 17 percentage points (57.6% for Trump vs. 40.5% for Biden).^{xxxixi}

Table 8. 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by High- and Low-density Latino Precincts in Nevada

	HIGH-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS		LOW-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS	
PRESIDENT	Biden (D)	Trump (R)	Biden (D)	Trump (R)
	75.0%	22.8%	40.5%	57.6%

Notes: High density: 60% or above (n=7 precincts); Low density: 10% or below (n=207 precincts) in Clark and Washoe Counties.



New Mexico has the largest proportion of Latino residents of any state and ranks #11 in the U.S. in terms of number of Latino residents.^{xi} An estimated 356 thousand Latinos were registered to vote in New Mexico during the 2020 election. Latino registered voters in New Mexico form 38.9% of the state's total registered voters and 1.97% of the country's Latino registered voters.^{xii}

In New Mexico, we collected data from 3,082 precincts in fourteen counties: Bernalillo, Chaves, Doña Ana, Eddy, Lea, Lincoln, Sandoval, McKinley, Rio Arriba, Santa Fe, San Juan, Taos, Torrance, and Valencia Counties. Together, these counties account for over 70% of all Latinos in New Mexico.^{xiii}

Figure 10 shows that while voters in all precincts were more likely to vote for Biden, Latino vote share was positively correlated with a preference for Biden when Latinos made up more than 50% of total vote share.

Figure 10: 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by Percent of Latino Registered Voters in New Mexico Precincts

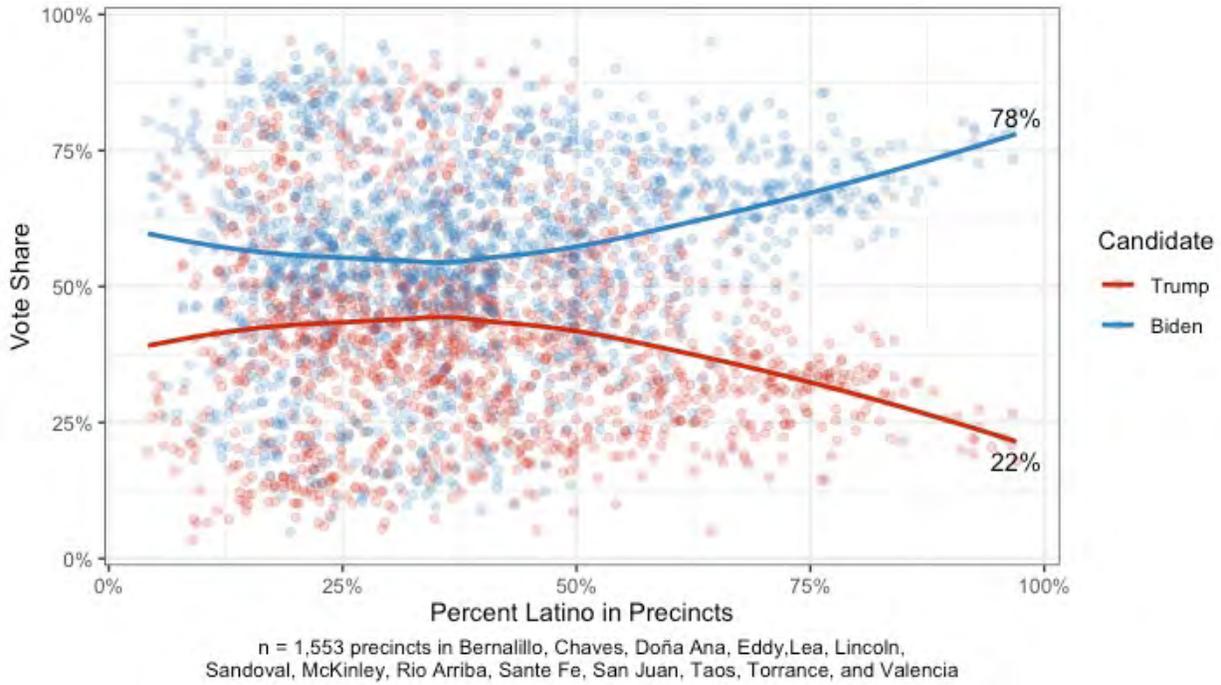


Table 9 shows that voters in high-density precincts (75% Latino registered voters or more) favored Biden with 70.5% of the vote, while only 59.2% of the voters in low-density Latino precincts (less than 15% Latino) supported Biden.^{xliii}

Table 9. 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by High- and Low-density Latino Precincts in New Mexico

PRESIDENT	HIGH-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS		LOW-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS	
	Biden (D)	Trump (R)	Biden (D)	Trump (R)
	70.5%	29.0%	59.2%	39.6%

Notes: High density: 75% Latino or above (n= 60 precincts); Low density: less than 15% Latino (n=49 precincts) in Bernalillo, Chaves, Doña Ana, Eddy, Lea, Lincoln, Sandoval, McKinley, Rio Arriba, Santa Fe, San Juan, Taos, Torrance, and Valencia Counties.

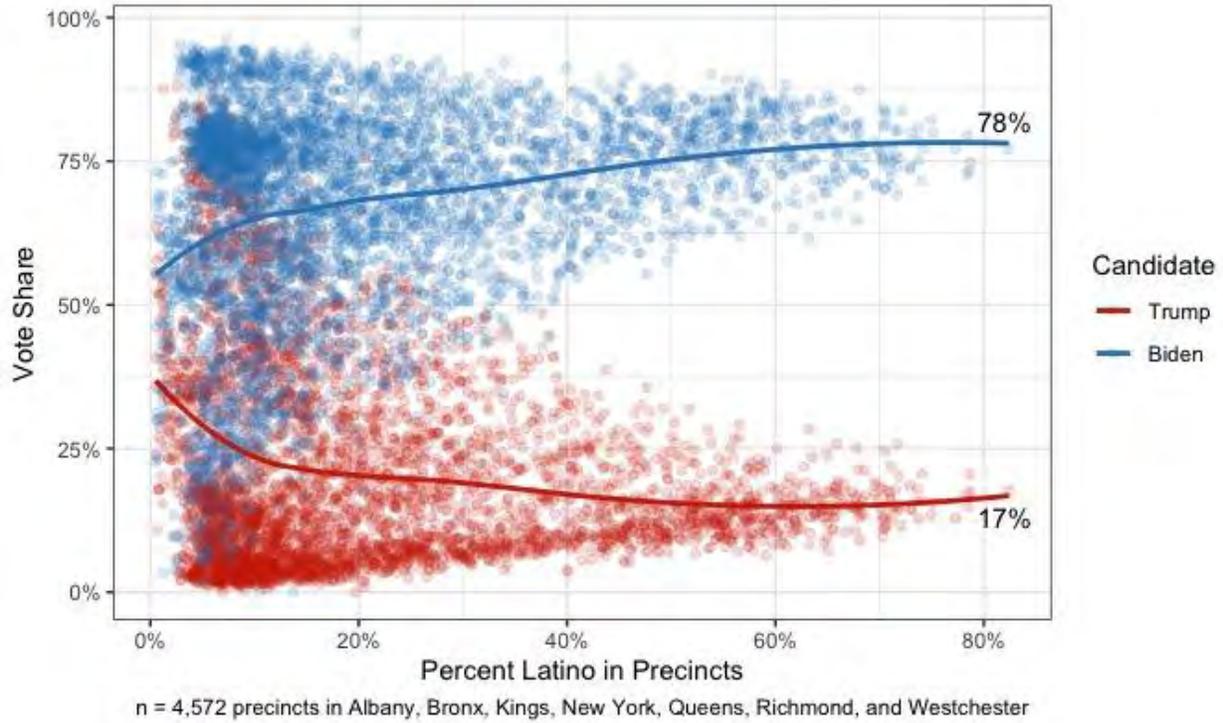


New York has the fifth largest Latino population in the United States.^{xiv} An estimated 1.2 million Latinos in New York were registered to vote in the 2020 election, forming 6.24% of the state's voting population and 6.8% of the total Latino registered voting population in the United States.^{xiv}

In New York, we collected data that represent a total of 4,572 precincts in seven New York counties: Albany, Bronx, Kings, New York, Queens, Richmond, and Westchester Counties. In total, these seven counties represent close to 72% of the state's Latino population.^{xvi}

Figure 11 shows that New York voters across the state overwhelmingly voted for Biden, with Latino density positively related with his support. In the precincts with the highest concentrations of Latino registered voters, Biden received 78% of the votes.

Figure 11: 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by Percent of Latino Registered Voters in New York Precincts



Voters in high-density precincts (where 70% or more of registered voters are Latino) supported Biden in higher proportions than voters in low-density precincts (10% or less Latino). In high-density precincts, Biden received 76.7% of the votes compared to the 62.8% he received in low-density precincts (see Table 10).^{xvii}

Table 10. 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by High and Low-density Latino Precincts in New York

PRESIDENT	HIGH-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS		LOW-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS	
	Biden (D)	Trump (R)	Biden (D)	Trump (R)
	76.7%	15.9%	62.8%	26.8%

Notes: High density: 70% or above (n=40); Low density: 10% or below (n=1,533) in Albany, Bronx, Kings, New York, Queens, Richmond, and Westchester Counties.

Vote Choice of Latino Voters in the 2020 Presidential Election



An estimated 337 thousand Latinos in Pennsylvania were registered to vote in the 2020 presidential election, making up 4.7% of registered voters in the state and 1.9% of Latino registered voters in the United States overall.^{xlviii}

In Pennsylvania, we collected data that represent a total of 3,879 precincts in eight counties: Allegheny, Berks, Lancaster, Lebanon, Lehigh, Luzerne, Northampton, and Philadelphia Counties. In total, these eight counties represent over 51% of Pennsylvania's Latino population.^{xlix}

Figure 12 shows that Pennsylvania voters across the state overwhelmingly voted for Biden, with Latino density positively related with his support. Precincts with greater concentrations of Latino registered voters were more likely to vote for Biden over Trump.

Figure 12: 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by Percent of Latino Registered Voters in Pennsylvania Precincts

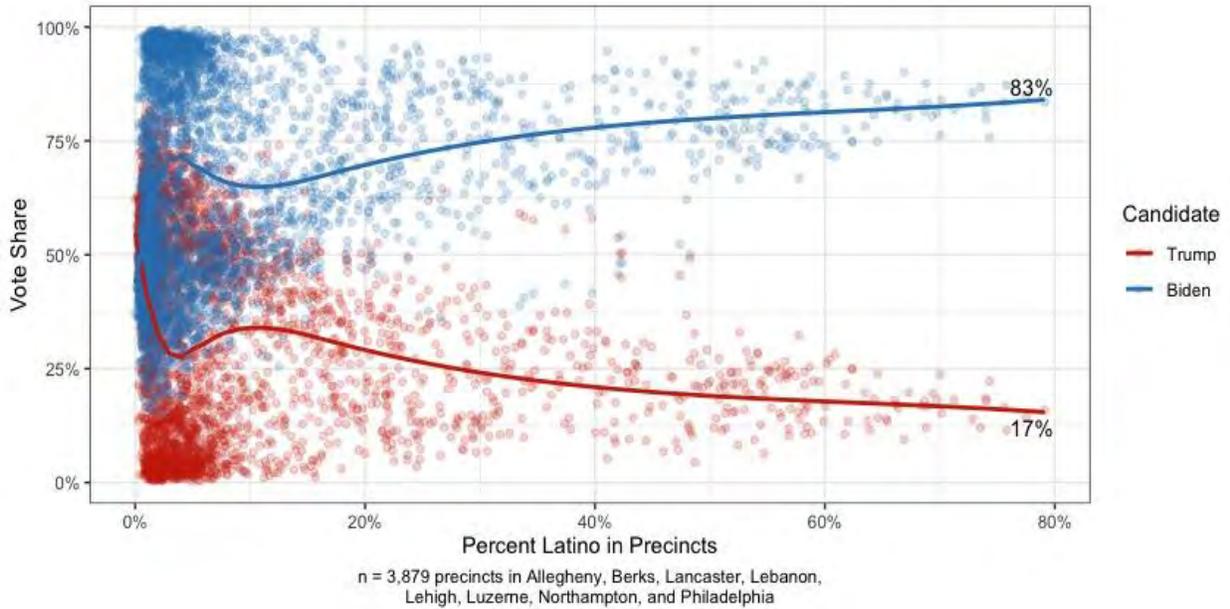


Table 11 shows that voters in precincts with high concentrations of Latino registered voters (70% or higher) were more likely to vote for Biden over Trump: 82.6% and 16.7%, respectively. Voters in precincts with less than 2.5% Latino registered voters also favored Biden. 61.1% of registered voters in low-density Latino precincts voted for Biden, while 37.7% supported Trump.¹

Table 11. 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by High- and Low-density Latino Precincts in Pennsylvania

PRESIDENT	HIGH-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS		LOW-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS	
	Biden (D)	Trump (R)	Biden (D)	Trump (R)
	82.6%	16.7%	61.1%	37.7%

Notes: High density: 70% or above (n=12 precincts); Low density: 2.5% or below (n=1,551 precincts) in Allegheny, Berks, Lancaster, Lebanon, Lehigh, Luzerne, Northampton, and Philadelphia Counties.



Just under 3 million Latinos were registered to vote in Texas during the 2020 election, representing 23.5% of the state's registered voter population and 16.3% of all Latino registered voters.ⁱⁱ

In Texas, we collected data from 3,420 precincts in nine counties: Dallas, Denton, El Paso, Harris, Hidalgo, Lubbock, Montgomery, Tarrant, and Travis Counties. Together, these counties represent 53.2% of the state's Latino population.ⁱⁱⁱ

Figure 13 shows that Latino vote share correlated positively with support for Biden in these counties—voters in precincts with greater than 10 percent Latino vote share were more than 50% likely to vote for Biden. At above 25 percent Latino vote share, vote preference stabilized, with a majority of voters preferring Biden to Trump (63% Biden to 36% Trump).

Figure 13: 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by Percent of Latino Registered Voters in Texas Precincts

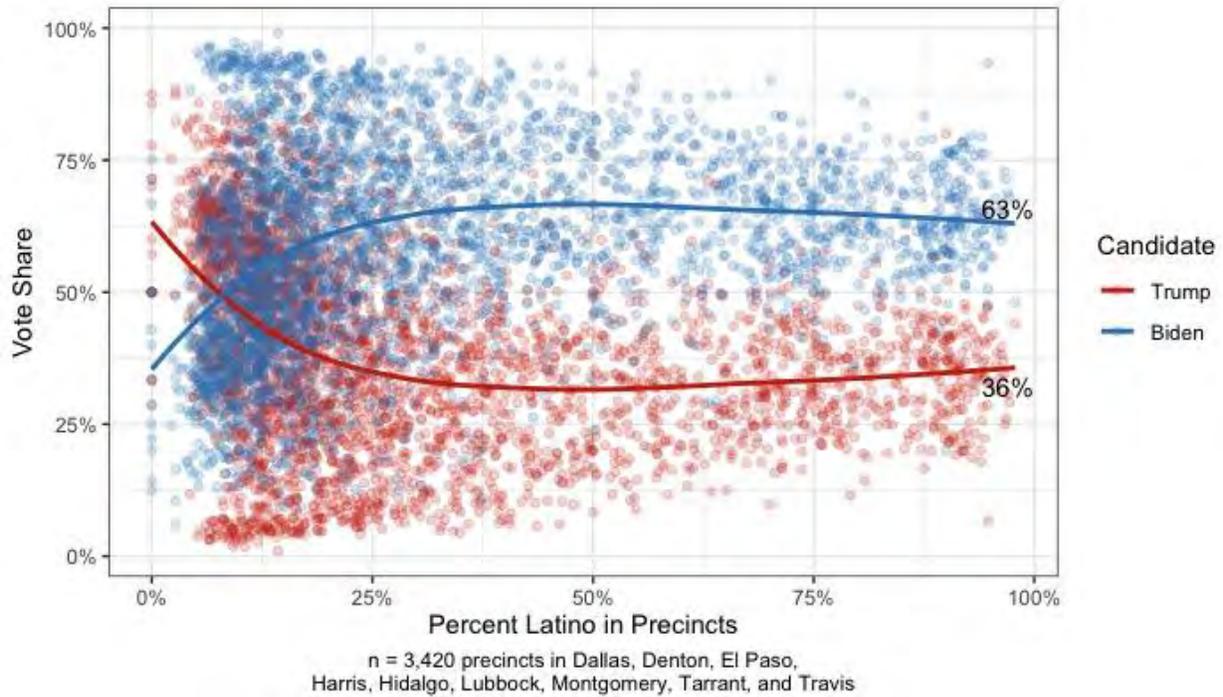


Table 12 displays that voters in precincts with greater than 85% Latino registered voters were nearly twice as likely to vote for Biden (64.1%) than for Trump (34.5%). In contrast, voters in precincts with less than 10% Latino voters were slightly more likely to vote for Trump (50.5%) than for Biden (47.9%).ⁱⁱⁱ

Table 12. 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by High- and Low-density Latino Precincts in Texas

PRESIDENT	HIGH-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS		LOW-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS	
	Biden (D)	Trump (R)	Biden (D)	Trump (R)
	64.1%	34.5%	47.9%	50.5%

Notes: High density: 85% Latino or above (n=190 precincts); Low density: less than 10% Latino (n=553 precincts) in Dallas, Denton, El Paso, Harris, Hidalgo, Lubbock, Montgomery, Tarrant, and Travis Counties.

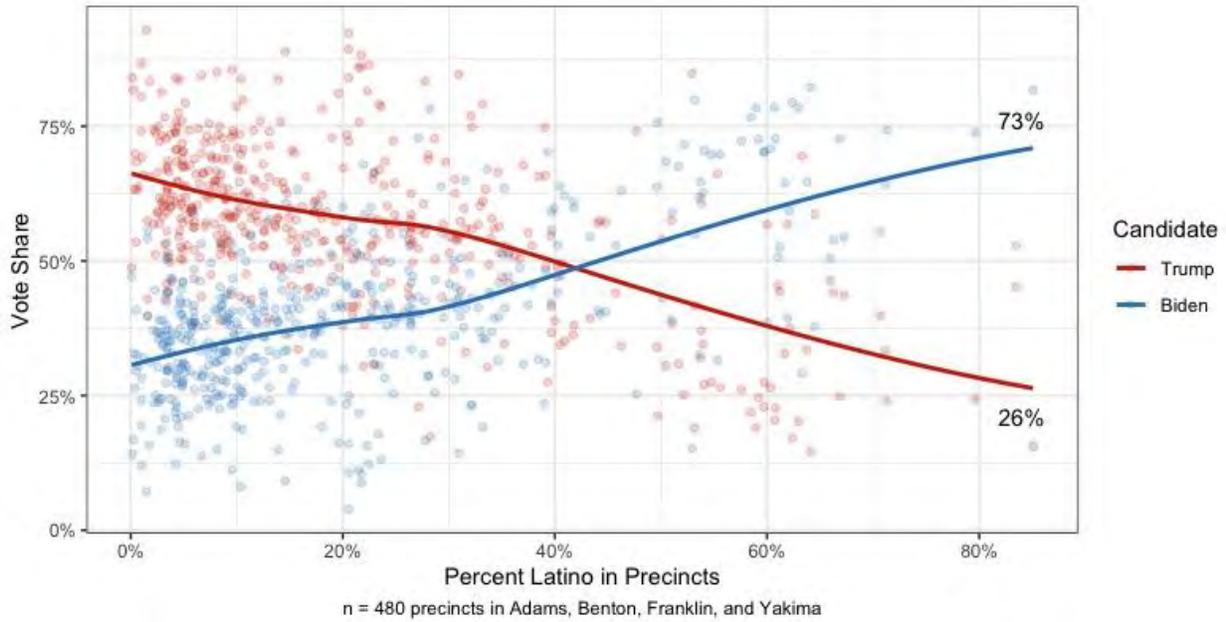


Washington has a rapidly growing Latino population, particularly in the central Washington counties of Adams, Franklin, and Yakima.^{iv} An estimated 357 thousand Latinos in Washington were registered to vote during the 2020 election, representing 8.5% of registered voters in the state and 1.98% of all Latino registered voters in the country.^{iv}

In Washington, we analyze data that represent 480 precincts in four counties: Adams, Benton, Franklin, and Yakima Counties. In sum, these counties represent close to 24% of Washington's Latino population.^{vi}

Figure 14 shows that a shift in candidate preference occurs in Washington precincts where Latino voters represent just over 40% of the registered voter population. At that cutoff, voters in precincts with greater concentrations of Latino registered voters increasingly supported Biden over Trump, while those with lower concentrations of Latino registered voters generally voted in the opposite manner.

Figure 14: 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by Percent of Latino Registered Voters in Washington Precincts



Voters in high-density precincts (where 60% or more of registered voters are Latino) supported Biden in higher proportions than voters in low-density precincts (10% or less Latino). In high-density precincts, Biden received 61.3% of the votes. In contrast, almost the exact opposite occurred in low-density precincts—Trump received 63.4% of the votes (see Table 13).^{lvii}

Table 13. 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by High- and Low-density Latino Precincts in Washington

PRESIDENT	HIGH-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS		LOW-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS	
	Biden (D)	Trump (R)	Biden (D)	Trump (R)
	61.3%	35.9%	33.3%	63.4%

Notes: High density: 60% or above (n=25 precincts); Low density: 10% or below (n=184 precincts) in Adams, Benton, Franklin, and Yakima Counties.



Wisconsin was one of the most hotly contested states, and less than 21 thousand votes decided the election for Joe Biden in 2020.^{lviii} An estimated 163 thousand Latinos in Wisconsin were registered to vote in the 2020 election, forming 4.7% of the state's registered voter population and 0.9% of all Latino registered voters in the United States.^{lix}

In Wisconsin, we collected data from 418 precincts in Milwaukee County. That county alone represents close to 36% of the state's Latino population.^{lx}

Figure 15 shows that registered voters across the state of Wisconsin generally voted for Biden. Support for Biden is positively related to Latino density in precincts where Latinos make up 20% or more of the registered voter population.

Figure 15: 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by Percent of Latino Registered Voters in Wisconsin Precincts

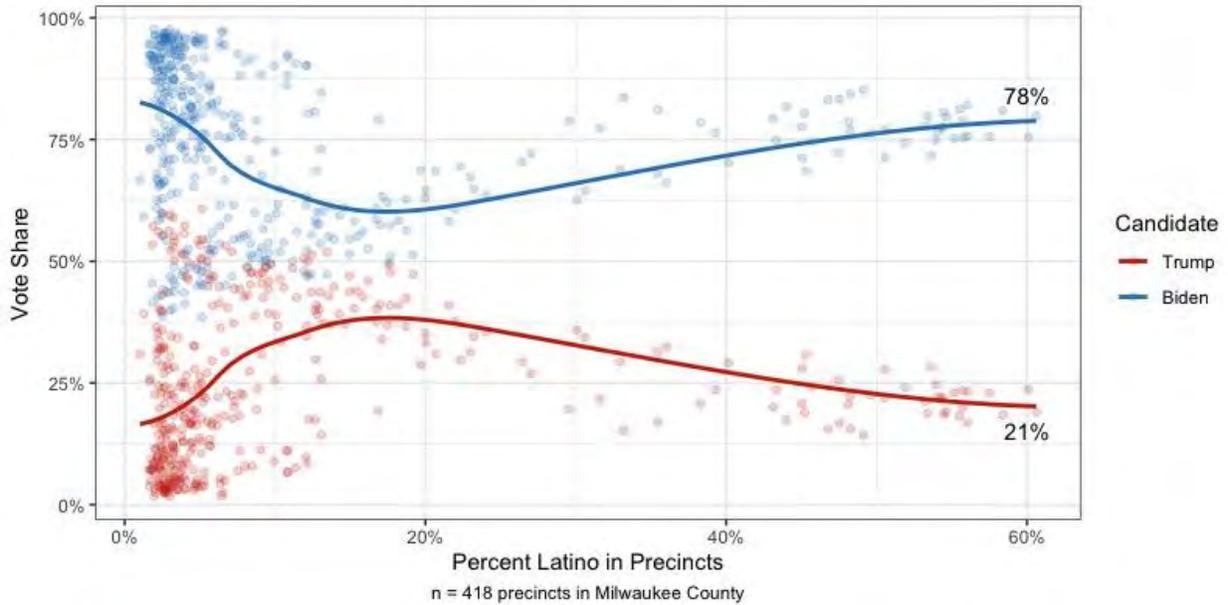


Table 14 displays that voters in precincts with greater than 50% Latino registered voters were close to four times as likely to vote for Biden (77.3%) than for Trump (21.7%). The difference is even greater in precincts with less than 5% Latino voters: 80.3% of voters supported Biden, with a 61.9 percentage point difference in support of Trump.^{ix} As we see in Figure 15, support for Biden begins to fall in precincts with over 5% Latino density, stabilizes around 15%, and begins to rise again at 20% Latino density.

Table 14. 2020 Presidential Vote Choice by High- and Low-density Latino Precincts in Wisconsin

PRESIDENT	HIGH-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS		LOW-DENSITY LATINO PRECINCTS	
	Biden (D)	Trump (R)	Biden (D)	Trump (R)
	77.3%	21.7%	80.3%	18.4%

Notes: High density: 50% or above (n=22 precincts); Low density: 5% or below (n=212 precincts) in Milwaukee County.

CONCLUSION

This report provides the most updated and accurate analysis of the impact of the Latino electorate on the 2020 presidential election. By looking at votes cast rather than exit polls, the report offers an updated analysis of Latino voters' vote choice that rebukes the inaccurate perception that Latino voters had made a significant shift towards Trump, handing him victories in some states.

Our precinct-level data shows that Latino voters not only supported the Democratic candidate overwhelmingly across the country, but their historical growth in turnout and the narrow margins that decided elections in swing states make it clear that they were a decisive force in the outcome of the 2020 presidential election. In Arizona, where Latinos represent over a quarter of all registered voters, the size and turnout of the Latino electorate led to a Democrat winning the state for the first time since 1996. Even in places like Wisconsin and Georgia —where Latinos make up less than five percent of registered voters— the Latino electorate tipped the results in favor of Biden, who won by less than one percentage point.

This report's findings show the need for analysts and the media to be both patient and critical when analyzing the impact of specific voting blocs on election results. Similar to what happened in 2016, many reporters, pundits, and analysts based their commentaries on Latino voters on the flawed National Exit Poll, which under-samples Spanish-speaking voters, voters with lower education, and voters in majority-Latino precincts. As the Latino electorate continues to grow, analyses of this critical voting bloc need to be based on accurate and reliable data.

ENDNOTES

- ⁱ Jonathan Vespa, Lauren Medina, and David M. Armstrong, *Demographic Turning Points for the United States: Population Projections for 2020 to 2060*, Current Population Reports, P25-1144 (Washington DC: U.S. Census Bureau, 2020), [available online](#).
- ⁱⁱ Robert Griffin, “Don’t Trust the Exit Polls. This Explains Why.”, *Washington Post*, November 10, 2020, [available online](#).
- ⁱⁱⁱ U.S. Census Bureau, “Quick Facts (July 2019): Miami-Dade County, United States,” accessed January 11, 2021, [available online](#).
- ^{iv} Paul Waldman, “Why the exit polls are wrong on Latino votes,” *Washington Post*, November 15, 2016, [available online](#). See also Matt Barretto and Gary Segura, “Understanding Latino voting strength in 2016 and beyond: Why culturally competent research matters.” *Journal of Cultural Marketing Strategy* 2, no. 2 (2017): 190-201.
- ^v Matt Barretto and Gary Segura, “Understanding Latino voting strength in 2016 and beyond: Why culturally competent research matters.” *Journal of Cultural Marketing Strategy* 2, no. 2 (2017): 190-201.
- ^{vi} Jordan Misra, Voter Turnout Rates Among All Voting Age and Major Racial and Ethnic Groups Were Higher Than in 2014, (Washington D.C.: U.S. Census Bureau, 2019), [available online](#).
- ^{vii} Matt Barreto, “Myth of the Monolith: The Latino Vote in Texas and Beyond,” Brennan Center for Justice, December 17, 2020.
- ^{viii} David Wasserman, Sophie Andrews, Leo Saenger, Lev Cohen, Ally Flinn, and Griff Tatarsky, “2020 National Popular Vote Tracker,” *The Cook Political Report*, accessed January 8, 2021, [available online](#).
- ^{ix} U.S. Census Bureau, “Quick Facts (July 2019),” accessed January 11, 2021, [available online](#).
- ^x Arizona Secretary of State, “2020 General Election Results,” accessed January 8, 2020, [available online](#).
- ^{xi} Michael Herndon, Sonja Diaz, Bryanna Ruiz, and Natalie Masuoka, *The Power of the New Majority: A 10 State Analysis of Voters of Color in the 2020 Election* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative, 2020), [available online](#).
- ^{xii} [ibid.](#)
- ^{xiii} In Arizona, high density Latino precincts are understood as those that house 75% or more Latino registered voters (n= 25 precincts). Contrastingly, low density Latino precincts are those where Latino registered voters make up less than 5% of the precinct’s total registered voter population (n= 102 precincts).
- ^{xiv} U.S. Census Bureau, “Quick Facts (July 2019): California, United States,” accessed January 11, 2021, [available online](#).
- ^{xv} Michael Herndon, Sonja Diaz, Bryanna Ruiz, and Natalie Masuoka, *The Power of the New Majority: A 10 State Analysis of Voters of Color in the 2020 Election* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative, 2020), [available online](#).
- ^{xvi} U.S. Census Bureau, “Quick Facts (July 2019): Alameda County, Los Angeles County, Orange County, San Diego County, San Francisco County, and San Mateo County,” accessed January 8, 2020, [available online](#).
- ^{xvii} Because of the large numbers of Latinos in California, we defined high-density Latino precincts as those where 85% or more of their registered voters were Latino (n=99 precincts) and low-density Latino precincts as those with 15% or less Latino registered voters (n=1,318 precincts).
- ^{xviii} U.S. Census Bureau, “Quick Facts (July 2019): Colorado, United States,” accessed January 11, 2021, [available online](#).

Vote Choice of Latino Voters in the 2020 Presidential Election

^{xix} Michael Herndon, Sonja Diaz, Bryanna Ruiz, and Natalie Masuoka, *The Power of the New Majority: A 10 State Analysis of Voters of Color in the 2020 Election* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative, 2020), [available online](#).

^{xx} U.S. Census Bureau, “Quick Facts (July 2019): Adams County, Arapahoe County, Denver County, and El Paso County,” accessed January 8, 2020, [available online](#).

^{xxi} In Colorado, we defined high-density Latino precincts as those where 60% or more of their registered voters were Latino (n=7 precincts) and low-density Latino precincts as those with 5% or less Latino registered voters (n=303 precincts).

^{xxii} U.S. Census Bureau, “American Community Survey Demographic and Housing Estimates: 2019 5-Year Estimates Data Profiles, Broward County, FL; Hillsborough County, FL; Miami-Dade County, FL; Orange County, FL; Osceola County, FL,” accessed January 11, 2021, [available online](#).

^{xxiii} Michael Herndon, Sonja Diaz, Bryanna Ruiz, and Natalie Masuoka, *The Power of the New Majority: A 10 State Analysis of Voters of Color in the 2020 Election* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative, 2020), [available online](#).

^{xxiv} Florida Demographics, “Florida Counties by Population, using 2019 U.S. Census Bureau data,” accessed January 8, 2020, [available online](#).

^{xxv} U.S. Census Bureau, “Quick Facts (July 2019): Miami-Dade County, Orange County, Osceola County, Hillsborough County, and Broward County,” accessed January 8, 2020, [available online](#).

^{xxvi} Because of the large number of Latinos in Miami-Dade County, we defined high-density Latino precincts as those where 80% or more of their registered voters were Latino (n=231 precincts) and low-density Latino precincts as those with 15% or less Latino registered voters (n=32 precincts).

^{xxvii} Because of the large numbers of Latinos in non-Miami-Dade Counties, we defined high-density Latino precincts as those where 70% or more of their registered voters were Latino (n=14 precincts) and low-density Latino precincts as those with 15% or less Latino voters (n=475 precincts).

^{xxviii} Michael Herndon, Sonja Diaz, Bryanna Ruiz, and Natalie Masuoka, *The Power of the New Majority: A 10 State Analysis of Voters of Color in the 2020 Election* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative, 2020), [available online](#).

^{xxix} U.S. Census Bureau, “Quick Facts (July 2019): Barrow County, Chattahoochee County, Cobb County, Echols County, Fulton County, Gwinnett County, Hall County, Liberty County, and Whitfield County,” accessed January 8, 2020, [available online](#).

^{xxx} In Georgia, we defined high-density Latino precincts as those where 30% or more of their registered voters were Latino (n=8 precincts) and low-density Latino precincts as those with less than 2.5% Latino registered voters (n=170 precincts).

^{xxxi} U.S. Census Bureau, “QuickFacts (July 2019): Illinois,” accessed January 8, 2021, [available online](#).

^{xxxii} Michael Herndon, Sonja Diaz, Bryanna Ruiz, and Natalie Masuoka, *The Power of the New Majority: A 10 State Analysis of Voters of Color in the 2020 Election* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative, 2020), [available online](#).

^{xxxiii} U.S. Census Bureau, “Quick Facts (July 2019): Cook County and Lake County,” accessed January 8, 2020, [available online](#).

^{xxxiv} Because of the large numbers of Latinos in Illinois, we defined high-density Latino precincts as those where 75% or more of their registered voters were Latino (n=26 precincts) and low-density Latino precincts as those with 5% or less Latino voters (n=604 precincts).

^{xxxv} U.S. Census Bureau, “Quick Facts (July 2019): Nevada, United States,” accessed January 11, 2021, [available online](#).

xxxvi Michael Herndon, Sonja Diaz, Bryanna Ruiz, and Natalie Masuoka, *The Power of the New Majority: A 10 State Analysis of Voters of Color in the 2020 Election* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative, 2020), [available online](#).

xxxvii Nevada Demographics, "Nevada Counties by Population, using 2019 U.S. Census Bureau data," accessed January 8, 2020, [available online](#).

xxxviii U.S. Census Bureau, "QuickFacts (July 2019): Clark County and Washoe County," accessed January 8, 2020, [available online](#).

xxxix In Nevada, we defined high-density Latino precincts as those where 60% or more of their registered voters were Latino (n=7 precincts) and low-density Latino precincts as those with 10% or less Latino voters (n=207 precincts).

xi U.S. Census Bureau, "Quick Facts (July 2019): New Mexico, United States," accessed January 11, 2021, [available online](#).

xii Michael Herndon, Sonja Diaz, Bryanna Ruiz, and Natalie Masuoka, *The Power of the New Majority: A 10 State Analysis of Voters of Color in the 2020 Election* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative, 2020), [available online](#).

xiii U.S. Census Bureau, "Quick Facts (July 2019): Bernalillo County, Chaves County, Doña Ana County, Eddy County, Lea County, Lincoln County, Sandoval County, McKinley County, Rio Arriba County, Santa Fe County, San Juan County, Taos County, Torrance County, and Valencia County," accessed January 8, 2020, [available online](#).

xliii Because of the large numbers of Latinos in New Mexico, we defined high-density Latino precincts as those where 75% or more of their registered voters were Latino (n=60 precincts) and low-density Latino precincts as those with less than 15% Latino registered voters (n=49 precincts).

xliv U.S. Census Bureau, "Quick Facts (July 2019): New York, United States," accessed January 11, 2021, [available online](#).

xlv Michael Herndon, Sonja Diaz, Bryanna Ruiz, and Natalie Masuoka, *The Power of the New Majority: A 10 State Analysis of Voters of Color in the 2020 Election* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative, 2020), [available online](#).

xlvi U.S. Census Bureau, "Quick Facts (July 2019): Albany County, Bronx County, Kings County, New York County, Queens County, Richmond County, and Westchester County," accessed January 8, 2020, [available online](#).

xlvii Because of the large numbers of Latinos in New York, we defined high-density Latino precincts as those where 70% or more of their registered voters were Latino (n=40 precincts) and low-density Latino precincts as those with 10% or less Latino voters (n=1,533 precincts).

xlviii Michael Herndon, Sonja Diaz, Bryanna Ruiz, and Natalie Masuoka, *The Power of the New Majority: A 10 State Analysis of Voters of Color in the 2020 Election* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative, 2020), [available online](#).

xlix U.S. Census Bureau, "Quick Facts (July 2019): Allegheny County, Berks County, Lancaster County, Lebanon County, Lehigh County, Luzerne County, Northampton County, and Philadelphia County," accessed January 8, 2020, [available online](#).

ⁱ In Pennsylvania, we defined high-density Latino precincts as those where 70% or more of their registered voters were Latino (n=12 precincts) and low-density Latino precincts as those with 2.5% or less Latino voters (n=1,551 precincts).

ⁱⁱ Michael Herndon, Sonja Diaz, Bryanna Ruiz, and Natalie Masuoka, *The Power of the New Majority: A 10 State Analysis of Voters of Color in the 2020 Election* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative, 2020), [available online](#).

ⁱⁱⁱ U.S. Census Bureau, "Quick Facts (July 2019): Dallas County, Denton County, El Paso County, Harris County, Hidalgo County, Lubbock County, Montgomery County, Tarrant County, and Travis County," accessed January 8, 2020, [available online](#).

Vote Choice of Latino Voters in the 2020 Presidential Election

ⁱⁱⁱ Because of the large numbers of Latinos in Texas, we defined high-density Latino precincts as those where 85% or more of their registered voters were Latino (n=190 precincts) and low-density Latino precincts as those with less than 10% Latino registered voters (n=553 precincts).

^{iv} Office of Financial Management of Washington State, “Hispanic population as a percent of total population”, accessed January 11, 2021, [available online](#).

^{lv} Michael Herndon, Sonja Diaz, Bryanna Ruiz, and Natalie Masuoka, *The Power of the New Majority: A 10 State Analysis of Voters of Color in the 2020 Election* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative, 2020), [available online](#).

^{lvi} U.S. Census Bureau, “Quick Facts (July 2019): Adams County, Benton County, Franklin County, and Yakima County,” accessed January 8, 2020, [available online](#).

^{lvii} In Washington, we defined high-density Latino precincts as those where 60% or more of their registered voters were Latino (n=25 precincts) and low-density Latino precincts as those with 10% or less Latino voters (n=184 precincts).

^{lviii} Wisconsin Elections Commission, “2020 Fall General Election Results”, December 01, 2020, [available online](#).

^{lix} Michael Herndon, Sonja Diaz, Bryanna Ruiz, and Natalie Masuoka, *The Power of the New Majority: A 10 State Analysis of Voters of Color in the 2020 Election* (Los Angeles: UCLA Latino Policy & Politics Initiative, 2020), [available online](#).

^{lx} U.S. Census Bureau, “QuickFacts (July 2019): Milwaukee County,” accessed January 8, 2020, [available online](#).

^{lxi} In Wisconsin, we defined high-density Latino precincts as those where 50% or more of their registered voters were Latino (n=22 precincts) and low-density Latino precincts as those with 5% or less Latino voters (n=212 precincts).



 [UCLAatino](#)

 [UCLAatino](#)

latino@luskin.ucla.edu