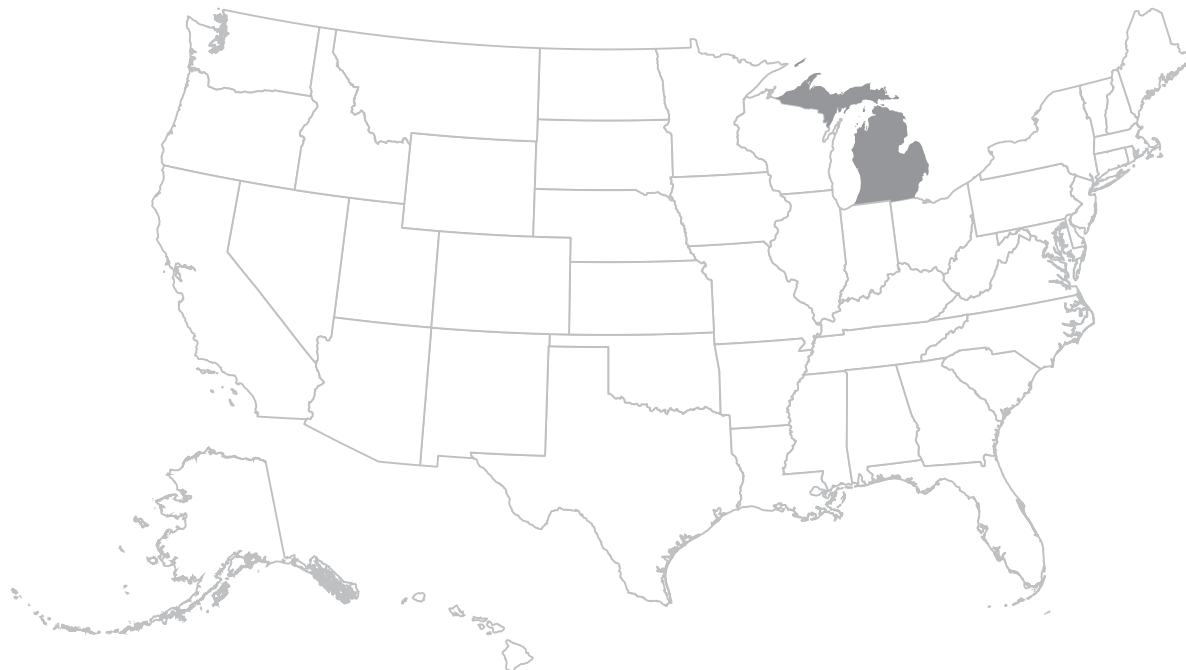CENTER FOR
INCLUSIVE
DEMOCRACY

The New Electorate:
The Strength of the Latino, Black and Asian-American Vote

**2024**
BATTLEGROUND
STATES

OPPORTUNITIES
FOR VOTER
MOBILIZATION IN
**MICHIGAN**

## About the Center for Inclusive Democracy (CID)

The Center for Inclusive Democracy's mission is to improve the social and economic quality of life in U.S. communities by producing non-partisan academic research that informs policy and on-the-ground organizing efforts through education and outreach for a more engaged, transparent, and representative democracy. CID conducts pioneering research that explores voting behavior, civic engagement, as well as electoral and economic issues at the intersection of social justice and democracy.

## Research Team

Anna Meier, CID Research Associate and Project Lead
Mindy Romero, Ph.D., Director, Center for Inclusive Democracy (CID)

## Acknowledgments

We would like to thank Dr. Bernard Fraga and Clarissa Martinez for their review of this research brief series.

We thank Matt Gong for his graphic design services.

**For more information about this report, contact Dr. Romero at msromero@usc.edu**

**August 2024**

# Table of Contents

# 2024 Battleground States:
# Opportunities for Voter Mobilization in Michigan

With the 2024 presidential election rapidly approaching, election officials, researchers, and advocates are seeking to gain insights into how and where Americans will turn out to vote.  Battleground states, or swing states, will play a major role in the election outcomes. Similar to the U.S., as a whole, battleground states have seen notable demographic shifts over the past decade with Asian-American, Black, and Latino population growth outpacing that of white, non-Latinos and the general population. In addition, the number of Latino, Asian-American, and Black voters grew notably between the last two presidential elections, and voters of color were a substantial share of those casting a ballot in 2020 and a major factor in the election's outcomes. Despite gains in the eligible voter population, people of color have continued to be underrepresented in elections. There is an important opportunity for these potential voters to add their voice to the electoral process. Mobilizing these politically diverse groups in battleground states could impact local and national elections.

Looking forward to the 2024 presidential election and beyond, it is critical to identify opportunities to register and turn out voters of color in order to see a more equitable and robust U.S. democracy. To identify these opportunities, CID analyzed the demographic changes in battleground states in recent years, as well as turnout and voter representation in the 2020 presidential general election.

This brief is part of a series presenting findings from the Center for Inclusive Democracy's battleground state analysis. It provides an up-to-date profile of the Latino, Black, and Asian-American voting power in 2024 battleground states by examining the following four topics for Michigan, a 2024 battleground state:

1.  The changing Michigan demographic landscape
2.  Voter turnout rates in recent elections
3.  The voter representation gap
4.  Opportunities for voter mobilization in Michigan

Other briefs in this series examine Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Nevada, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Wisconsin.

**2024 Battleground States**
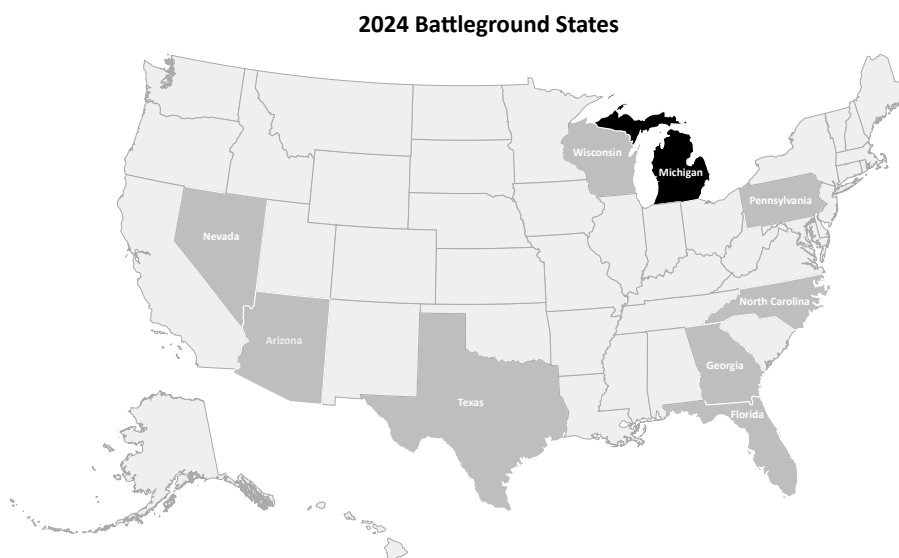


This brief is a companion to the national research report by the Center for Inclusive Democracy, USC Sol Price School of Public Policy: The New Electorate: The Strength of the Latino, Black and Asian-American Vote.
For the research methodology and data sources used in this brief see page 12.

# Michigan Key Highlights

▶ Asian-American and Latino populations were the only group to grow in Michigan between 2010 and 2020. As the total population increased by 2.0% between census years, the Asian-American population increased over 40% and the Latino population increased over 29%.

▶ Eligible voters of color were nearly one-fifth of Michigan's electorate in the 2020 general election. While the majority of eligible voters in Michigan were white, non-Latino (78.9%) in 2020, eligible voters of color totaled over 1.4 million people.

▶ Eligible voters of color in Michigan were underrepresented in the 2020 general election as white, non-Latinos represented more voters than their share of eligible voters. For example, over 13% of Michigan's electorate was Black at the time of the 2020 general election, yet they only represented 10.3% of votes cast.

▶ Even among racial and ethnic groups with relatively small populations, mobilization could have tremendous electoral impact. In total, over 687,000 eligible voters of color did not vote in Michigan's previous presidential election, which is more than four times the vote margin of victory (154,000).

While the vast majority of Michigan's population is white, non-Latino, their population has been declining in recent years and Asian-American and Latino populations have sharply risen. Between 2010 and 2020, Michigan's Asian-American eligible voter population increased by over 23% and the state's Latino eligible voter population increased by nearly 17%. Despite this growth, eligible voter turnout was notably lower among people of color compared white, non-Latinos.

While representing over one-fifth of Michigan's electorate, eligible voters of color have large potential electoral power throughout the state and mobilizing these diverse groups of potential voters could influence both national and local elections. The following sections detail how Michigan's demographic landscape has changed since 2010 and identifies opportunities to mobilize these politically diverse groups in the 2024 election and beyond.
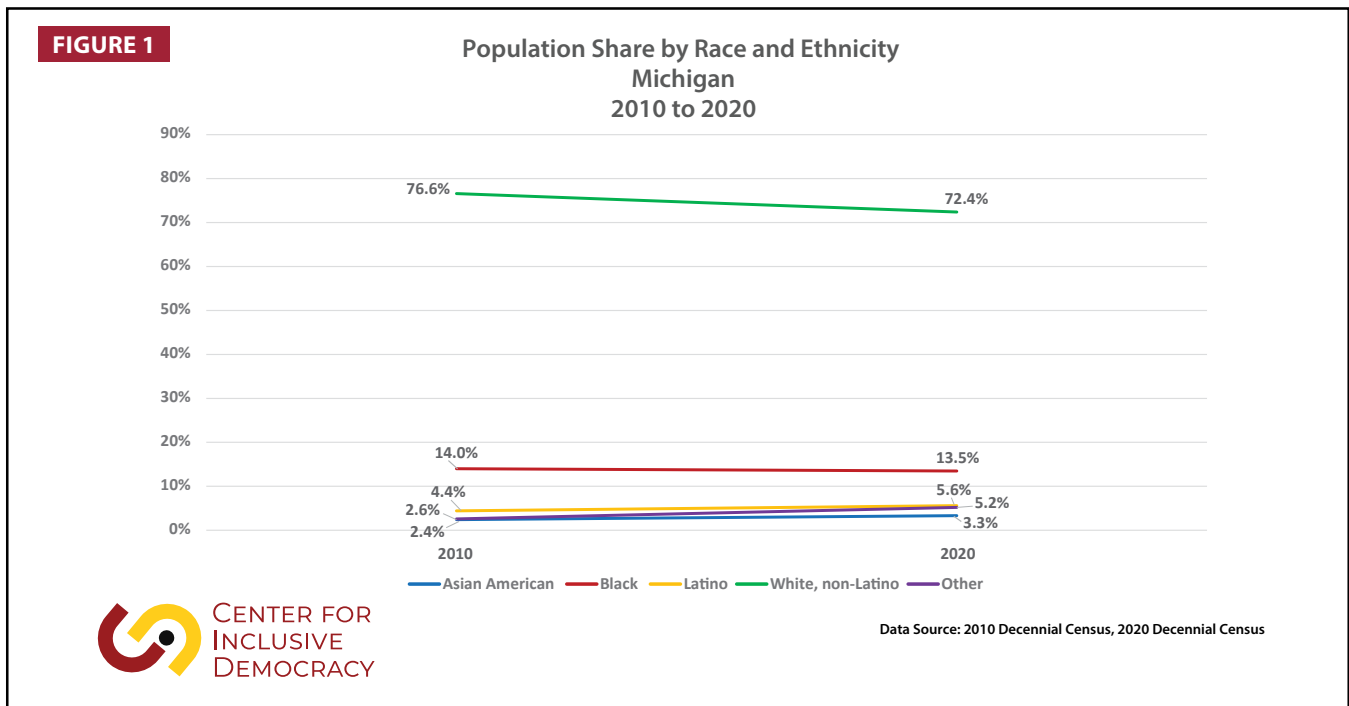
# Michigan's Demographic Change

**Asian-American and Latino populations were the only group to grow in Michigan between 2010 and 2020.** As the total population increased by 2.0% between census years, the Asian-American population increased over 40% and the Latino population increased over 29% (Table 1). In contrast, the Black population decreased by 1.8% and the white, non-Latino population decreased by 3.6%.

| Table 1: Population Percent Growth Michigan 2010 to 2020 | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **2010 Population** | **2020 Population** | **Population Change** | **Percent Change** |
| **Asian American** | 238,660 | 334,891 | +96,231 | 40.3% |
| **Black** | 1,383,756 | 1,358,458 | -25,298 | -1.8% |
| **Latino** | 436,358 | 564,422 | +128,064 | 29.3% |
| **White, non-Latino** | 7,569,939 | 7,295,651 | -274,288 | -3.6% |
| **Total Population** | 9,883,640 | 10,077,331 | +193,691 | 2.0% |

Data Source: 2020 Decennial Census

**As Asian-American and Latino population growth outpaced that of Black and white, non-Latino populations, the demographics of Michigan have been changing.** In 2010, white, non-Latinos represented 76.6% of Michigan's population, which decreased to 72.4% in 2020, although still very much the majority racial and ethnic group (Figure 1). The Black population also decreased, although to a lesser extent, from 14.0% to 13.5%. Instead, Latinos represented 5.6% of the state's population in 2020, up from 4.4% in 2010. Additionally, Asian Americans represented 3.3% of the population in 2020, a 0.9 percentage point increase from 2010 (2.4%).



**FIGURE 1** — Population Share by Race and Ethnicity, Michigan, 2010 to 2020

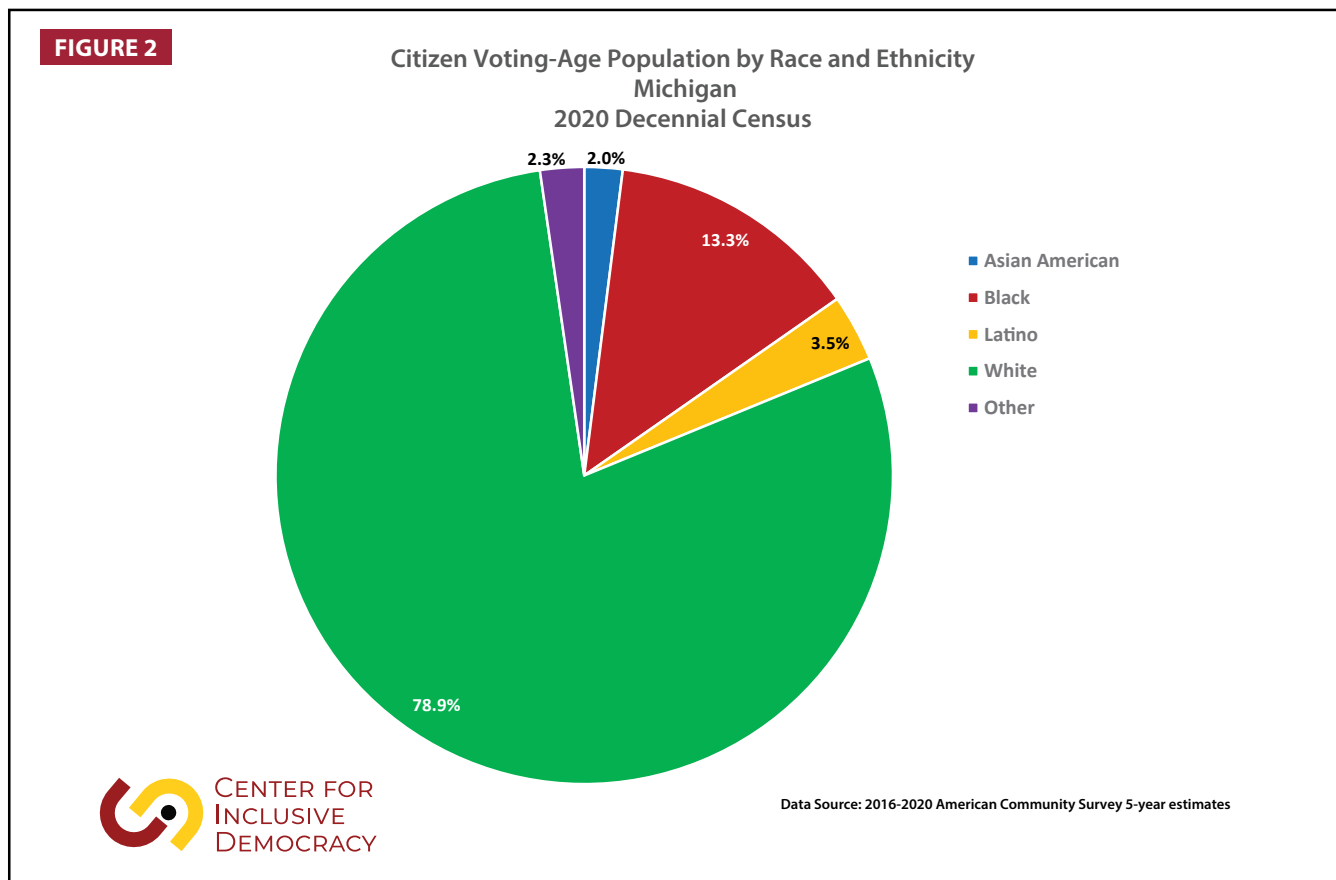Data Source: 2010 Decennial Census, 2020 Decennial Census

**Similar to population growth, Asian-American and Latino eligible voters saw their populations notably grow in Michigan between presidential elections.** Between 2016 and 2020, the number of Asian-American eligible voters in Michigan grew 23.2%, while the number of Latino eligible voters grew 16.8% (Table 2). White, non-Latino eligible voters saw minor growth in their population (0.5%) that was less than one-third the growth seen among all eligible voters. Black eligible voters, however, were the only group to see a decline in their eligible voter population, falling 0.2% between presidential elections.

| Table 2: Citizen Voting-Age Population Percent Growth Michigan 2016 to 2020 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | **2016 Citizen Voting-Age Population** | **2020 Citizen Voting-Age Population** | **Citizen Voting-Age Population Change** | **Percent Change** |
| **Asian American** | 123,015 | 151,505 | +28,490 | 23.2% |
| **Black** | 1,001,265 | 999,010 | -2,255 | -0.2% |
| **Latino** | 226,695 | 264,865 | +38,170 | 16.8% |
| **White, non-Latino** | 5,909,575 | 5,937,465 | +27,890 | 0.5% |
| **Total Population** | 7,408,625 | 7,528,995 | +120,370 | 1.6% |

Data Source: 2016-2020 American Community Survey 5-year estimates,
2012-2016 American Community Survey 5-year estimates

**Eligible voters of color were nearly one-fifth of Michigan's electorate in the 2020 general election.** While the majority of eligible voters in Michigan were white, non-Latino (78.9%) in 2020, eligible voters of color totaled over 1.4 million people (Figure 2). Over 13% of Michigan's electorate was Black, while 3.5% were Latino, and 2.0% were Asian American.



**FIGURE 2**

Citizen Voting-Age Population by Race and Ethnicity
Michigan
2020 Decennial Census

- Asian American
- Black
- Latino
- White
- Other

2.3%  2.0%  13.3%  3.5%  78.9%

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Data Source: 2016-2020 American Community Survey 5-year estimates

*Note: To learn more about Michigan's eligible voter population by race/ethnicity and county, see the appendix.*
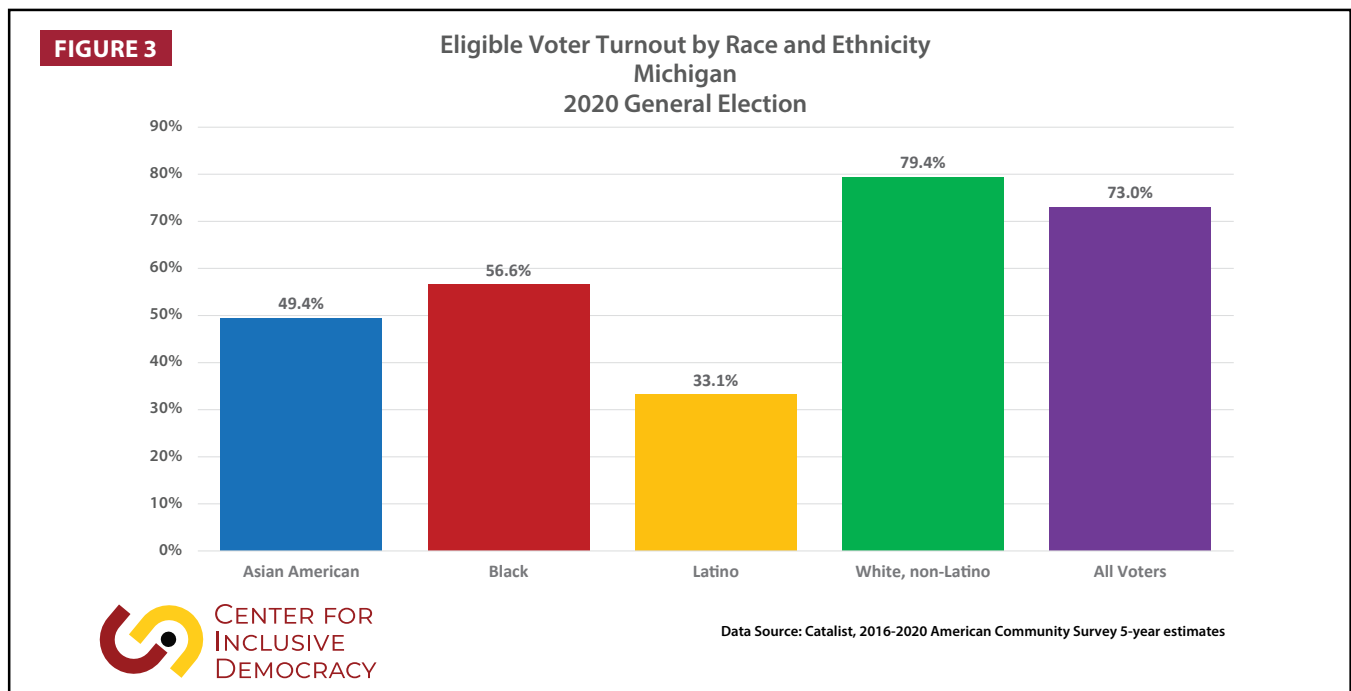
# Eligible Voter Turnout in the 2020 General Election

**The number of Asian-American and Latino voters in Michigan notably increased between 2016 and 2020, outpacing growth seen among the general population.** Under 50,000 Asian Americans cast a ballot in 2016, which grew 53.5% to nearly 75,000 in 2020 (Table 3). Similarly, nearly 88,000 Latinos voted in 2020, up 41.3% from 2016 (62,000 votes). In comparison, the number of votes cast by white, non-Latinos increased 13.2% from 4.1 million 2016 to 4.7 million in 2020. The number of Black voters grew the least between presidential elections, growing 9.1%.

| Table 3: Total Voters and Turnout Michigan 2016 to 2020 General Elections | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Total Voters** | | | | **Eligible Voter Turnout** | | |
| | **2016** | **2020** | **Change** | **Percent Change** | **2016** | **2020** | **Percentage Point Change** |
| **Asian American** | 48,735 | 74,790 | +26,055 | 53.5% | 39.6% | 49.4% | +9.8 ppt |
| **Black** | 517,981 | 565,139 | +47,158 | 9.1% | 51.7% | 56.6% | +4.9 ppt |
| **Latino** | 62,114 | 87,797 | +25,683 | 41.3% | 27.4% | 33.1% | +5.7 ppt |
| **White, non-Latino** | 4,163,582 | 4,714,515 | +550,933 | 13.2% | 70.5% | 79.4% | +8.9 ppt |
| **All Voters** | 4,822,222 | 5,494,658 | +672,436 | 13.9% | 65.1% | 73.0% | +7.9 ppt |

Data Source: Catalist, 2012-2016 American Community Survey 5-year estimates, 2016-2020 American Community Survey 5-year estimates

**In Michigan's 2020 general election, historical eligible voter turnout gaps between eligible voters of color and white, non-Latinos persisted.** A little under 57% of Black eligible voters in Michigan cast a ballot in 2020, nearly 23 percentage points below white, non-Latino turnout (79.4%, Figure 3). With under half of Asian-American eligible voters voting, there was a thirty-percentage point gap between them and white, non-Latinos. The eligible voter turnout gap was most stark among Latinos (46.3 percentage points), with one-third Latino eligible voters casting a ballot in 2020.



**FIGURE 3**

Eligible Voter Turnout by Race and Ethnicity
Michigan
2020 General Election

Data Source: Catalist, 2016-2020 American Community Survey 5-year estimates
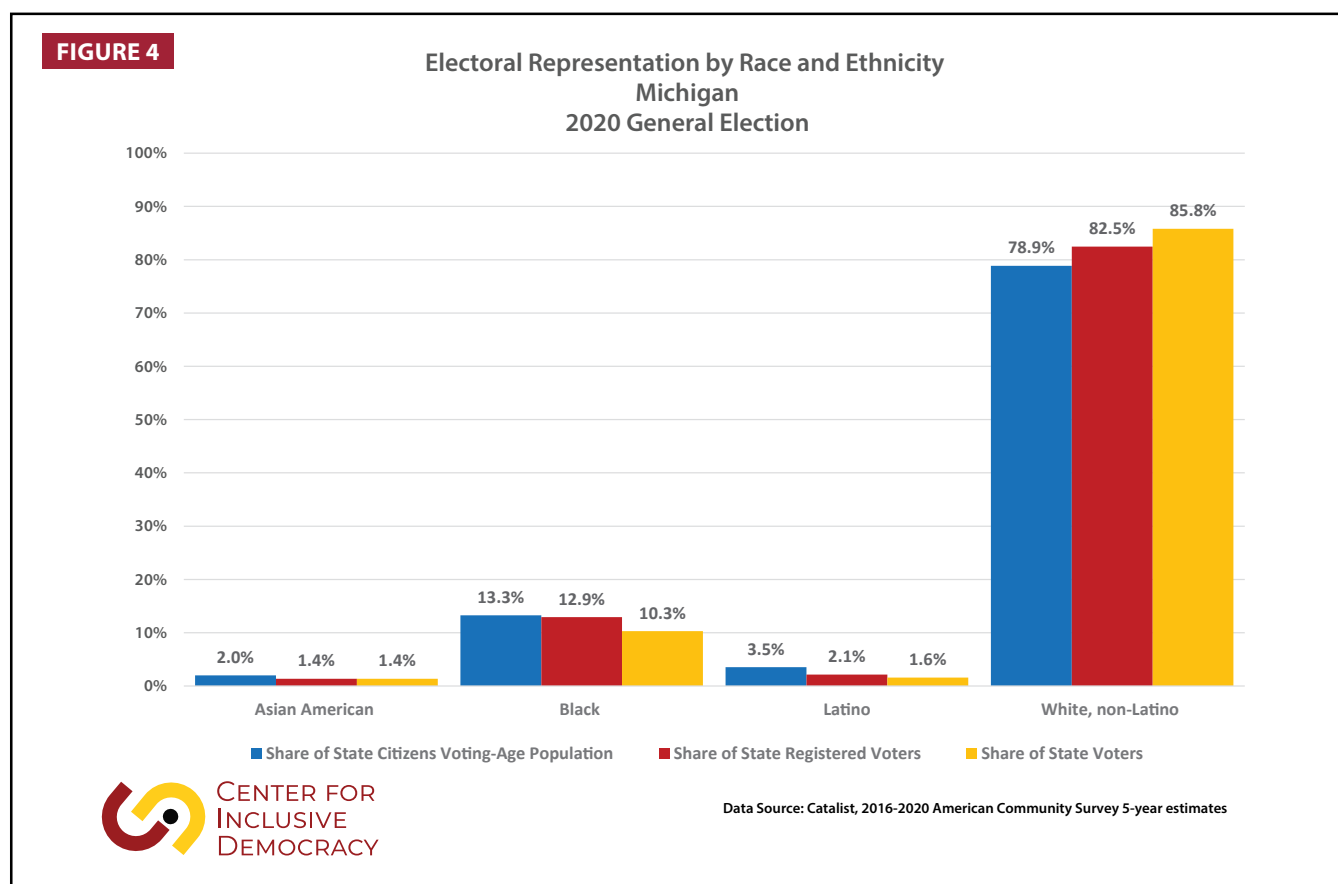
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*Note: To learn more about Michigan's eligible voter turnout by race/ethnicity and county, see the appendix.*

# The Voter Representation Gap in the 2020 General Election

**Eligible voters of color in Michigan were underrepresented in the 2020 general election as white, non-Latinos represented more voters than their share of eligible voters.** Over 13% of Michigan's electorate was Black at the time of the 2020 general election, yet they only represented 10.3% of votes cast (Figure 4). Latinos represented 1.6% of votes cast, less than half of their share of eligible voters (1.6%), while Asian Americans represented 1.4% of voters and 2.0% of eligible voters. Instead, over 85% of votes in the state were cast by white, non-Latinos while they were under 79% of the electorate.
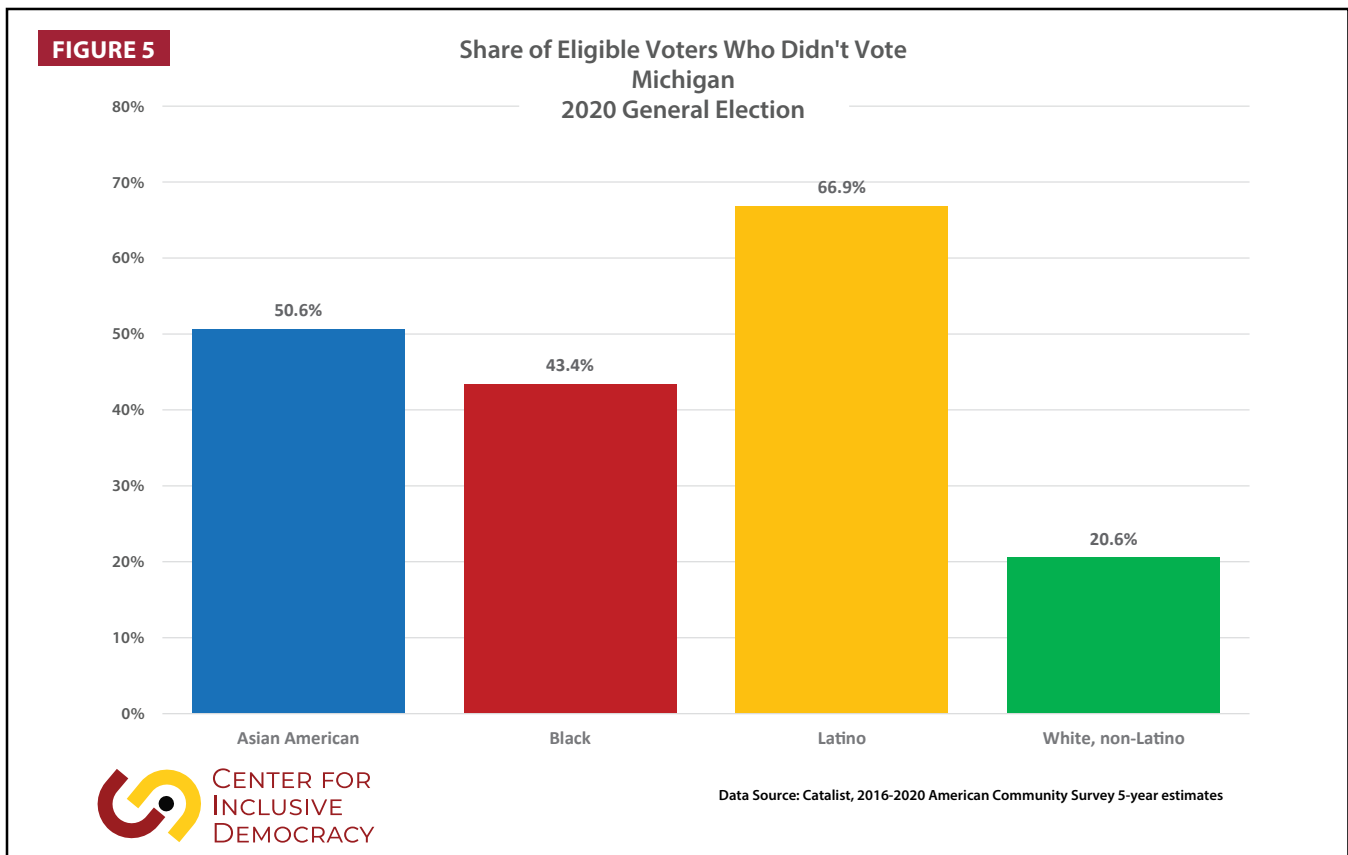


**FIGURE 4**

Electoral Representation by Race and Ethnicity
Michigan
2020 General Election

Data Source: Catalist, 2016-2020 American Community Survey 5-year estimates

# Opportunities for Voter Mobilization

**The vote margin of victory in Michigan's 2020 presidential race was less than three percent of votes cast.** With over five and a half million votes cast, the vote margin of victory was a little over 154,000, representing 2.8% of all votes (Table 4). With just over 2.8 million votes, Joe Biden received 50.6% of the votes in Michigan, while Donald Trump received 47.8%.

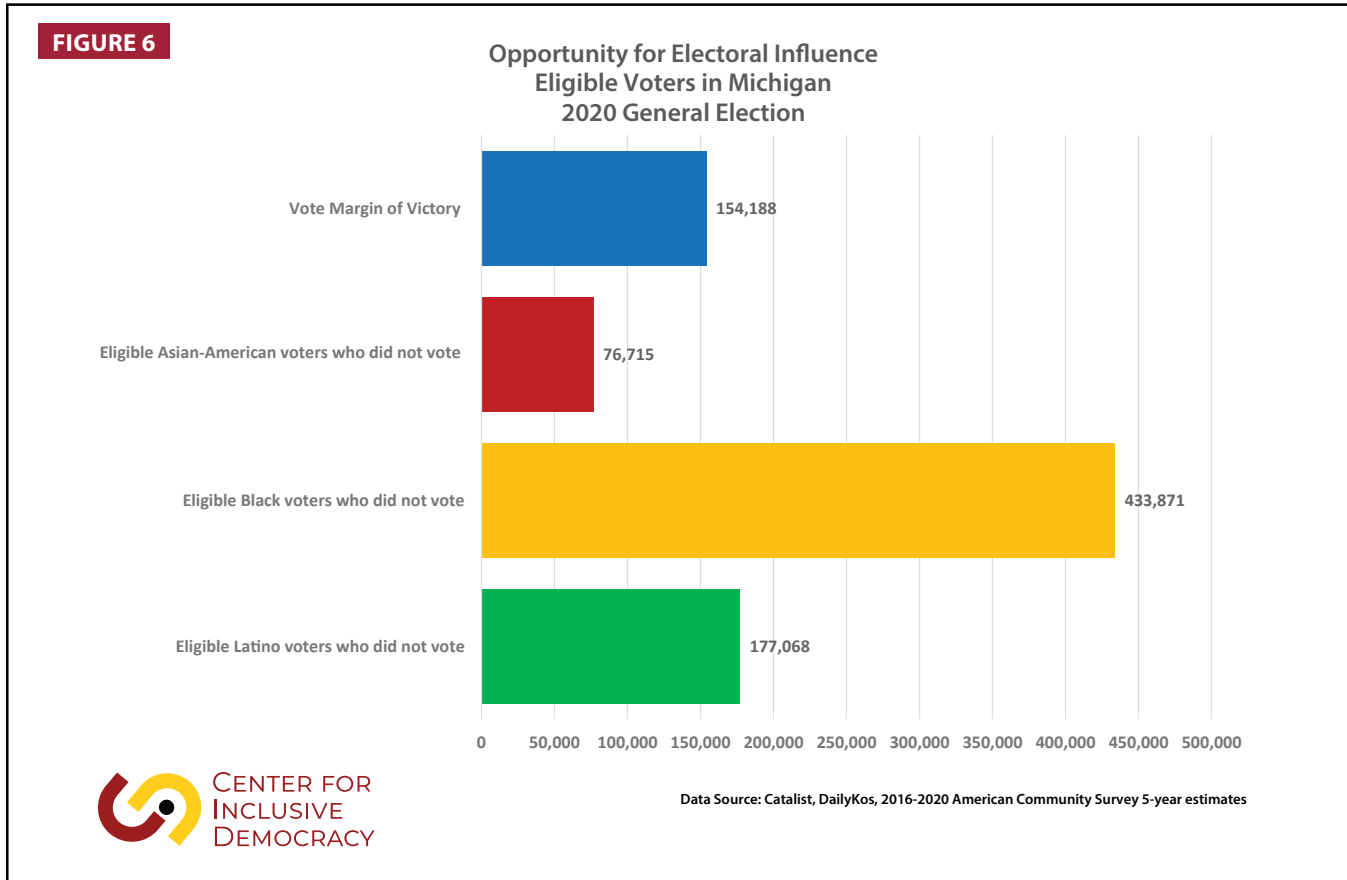| Table 4: Presidential Vote Margin of Victory Michigan 2020 General Election | | |
|---|---|---|
| | **Number of Votes** | **Share of Votes** |
| **Joe Biden** | 2,804,040 | 50.6% |
| **Donald Trump** | 2,649,852 | 47.8% |
| **Other Candidate** | 85,410 | 1.5% |
| **Vote Margin of Victory Between Top Two Candidates** | 154,188 | 2.8% |
| **Total Votes** | 5,539,302 | - |

Data Source: DailyKos

**Eligible voters of color in Michigan have tremendous opportunity for electoral influence, with at least twice the share of eligible voters of color not casting a ballot in 2020 compared to white, non-Latinos.** Over 43% of Black eligible voters did not vote in Michigan's previous presidential election, more than twice the rate of white, non-Latino eligible voters who did not vote (20.6%, Figure 5). The difference is even larger among other racial and ethnic groups who represented a smaller share of the state's electorate. Over half of Asian-American eligible voters didn't vote, two and half times the rate seen among white, non-Latinos, while nearly 67% of Latino eligible voters did not cast a ballot, more than three times the rate among whites.



**FIGURE 5** Share of Eligible Voters Who Didn't Vote
Michigan
2020 General Election

- Asian American: 50.6%
- Black: 43.4%
- Latino: 66.9%
- White, non-Latino: 20.6%

Data Source: Catalist, 2016-2020 American Community Survey 5-year estimates

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*Note: To learn more about the share of eligible votes how did not vote by race/ethnicity and county, see the appendix.*

**Even among racial and ethnic groups with relatively small populations, mobilization could impact election results.** In total, over 687,000 eligible voters of color did not vote in Michigan's previous presidential election, which is more than four times the vote margin of victory (Figure 6). Over 430,000 Black eligible voters, nearly three times the vote margin of victory, did not vote, while over 177,000 Latino eligible voters didn't vote. The number of Asian-American eligible voters who did not vote was about half the margin of victory and mobilization could make a big impact on final vote counts.

**FIGURE 6**

### Opportunity for Electoral Influence
### Eligible Voters in Michigan
### 2020 General Election

| | |
|---|---|
| Vote Margin of Victory | 154,188 |
| Eligible Asian-American voters who did not vote | 76,715 |
| Eligible Black voters who did not vote | 433,871 |
| Eligible Latino voters who did not vote | 177,068 |

Data Source: Catalist, DailyKos, 2016-2020 American Community Survey 5-year estimates

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# Summary

While the majority of Michigan's population is white, non-Latino, Asian-American and Latino populations were the only groups to see growth between 2010 and 2020, further increasing their influence in the state. Asian-American and Latino eligible voter populations also notably grew compared to white, non-Latino eligible voters. In total, over one-fifth of Michigan's electorate in 2020 was non-white. Eligible voter turnout among people of color, however, was notably lower than white, non-Latinos and Black and Latino eligible voters were underrepresented among those who cast ballots in the state.

Even among racial and ethnic groups with relatively small populations, mobilization could impact election results. In total, over 687,000 eligible voters of color did not vote in Michigan's previous presidential election, which is more than four times the vote margin of victory (154,000). This fact emphasizes the electoral power of eligible voters of color.

While the Asian-American, Black, and Latino eligible voter populations are politically diverse with unique viewpoints and experiences, mobilizing eligible voters of color could impact election outcomes in Michigan, both at the national and local level. Greater and more sustained non-partisan investments (from governmental, philanthropic and community sources) to register and reach out to Latino, Asian-American, and Black potential voters can result in substantially more voters of color having a voice in U.S. elections. In tandem with addressing historic and current policies that have created barriers to voting in communities of color, mobilizing people of color to vote will not only increase these voters' political power, but it will also help create a more representative and healthy democracy.

# Methodology

For this report, CID used voter files and publicly available eligible voter estimates. National aggregated voter files for the 2020 general election were provided by Catalist. Citizen voting-age population (CVAP) estimates, commonly used as a measure of the eligible voter population, were sourced from the American Community Survey Citizen Voting Age Population (CVAP) Special Tabulation, 5-year 2012-2016, 5-year 2014-2018, 5-year 2016-2020, and 5-year 2018-2022 estimates. For Asian-American CVAP, Asian alone estimates and Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander estimates were combined. We utilize the available five-year estimates (versus one year-estimates) due to their greater stability for Latino, Black and Asian Americans across smaller population states, as well as their comparability across national, state, and sub-state geographic levels. Population counts were sourced from the 2010 and 2020 Decennial Census. U.S. population projections were sourced from the U.S. Census Bureau's 2023 National Population Projection Tables.

Voter turnout of the citizen voting-age population is calculated using American Community Survey Special Tabulation data and CID analysis of Catalist registration and voting records. Catalist is a political data vendor that sells detailed registration and microtargeting data to campaigns. It collects voter registration data from all states, cleans the data, and makes the records uniform across geographies. It appends hundreds of variables to each voter record.

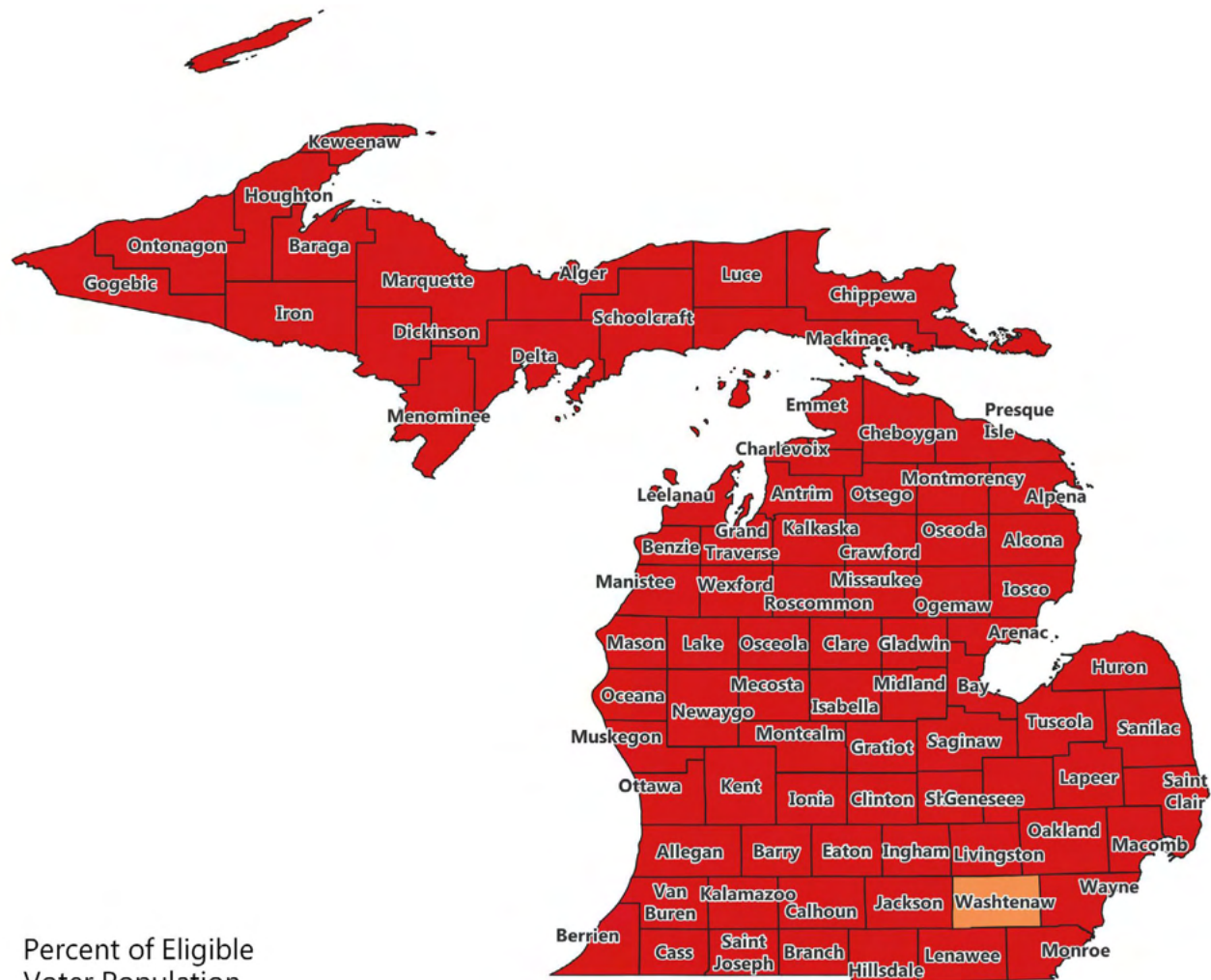Presidential vote margins of victory counts were provided by DailyKos.

**Data Limitations: Identification of Race and Ethnicity**
The commonly applied research method in election science to identify a voter's race and ethnicity from state voter records uses a combination of the registrant's name (surname analysis) and neighborhood characteristics (geocoding with census tract or census block data) to infer a voter's race and ethnicity based on population distributions. This method is less reliable for identifying some demographic groups, including Indigenous/Native and Asian-American subgroup populations. Due to the limited reliability of available research methods in identifying race and ethnicity in voter files, this report is restricted to examining Latino, Black, and Asian-American (as a pan-ethnic identity) voters. However, some error in measurement for these groups particularly for Black registrants, is present and caution is appropriate when interpreting small effects. Caution is additionally suggested when interpreting voter data identified for Black registrants at a county level. For our national analysis, we utilize the same data source for voter files across states and over multiple election cycles for methodological consistency.

# Michigan County Map Appendix

## Share of Eligible Voter Population

Michigan
2020 General Election
Asian American



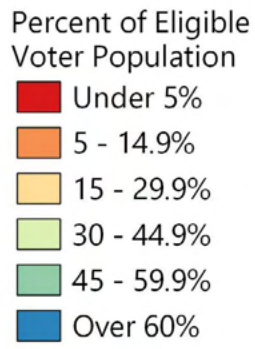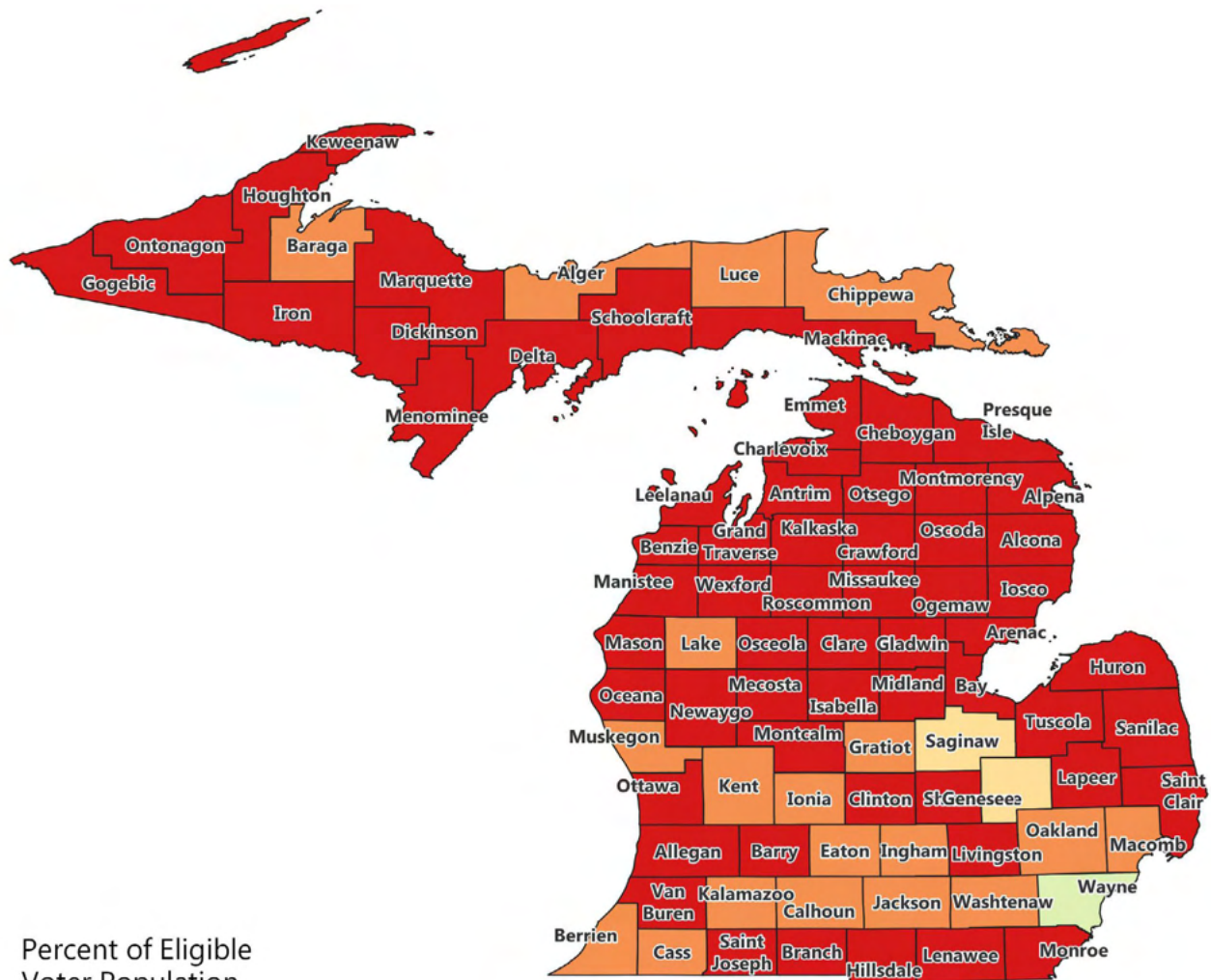Percent of Eligible Voter Population

- Under 5%
- 5 - 14.9%
- 15 - 29.9%
- 30 - 44.9%
- 45 - 59.9%
- Over 60%

Data Source: ACS 2016 to 2020 5-year estimates

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# Share of Eligible Voter Population

Michigan
2020 General Election
Black

Keweenaw
Houghton
Ontonagon
Baraga
Alger
Luce
Gogebic
Marquette
Chippewa
Iron
Dickinson
Schoolcraft
Delta
Mackinac
Menominee

Emmet
Presque
Isle
Cheboygan
Charlevoix
Montmorency
Leelanau
Antrim
Otsego
Alpena
Grand
Kalkaska
Oscoda
Alcona
Benzie
Traverse
Crawford
Manistee
Wexford
Missaukee
Iosco
Roscommon
Ogemaw
Mason
Lake
Osceola
Clare
Gladwin
Arenac
Huron
Mecosta
Midland
Bay
Oceana
Isabella
Newaygo
Tuscola
Sanilac
Muskegon
Montcalm
Saginaw
Gratiot
Lapeer
Saint
Clair
Ottawa
Kent
Ionia
Clinton
St Genesee
Oakland
Macomb
Allegan
Barry
Eaton
Ingham
Livingston
Wayne
Van
Buren
Kalamazoo
Jackson
Washtenaw
Berrien
Calhoun
Monroe
Cass
Saint
Joseph
Branch
Lenawee
Hillsdale

## Percent of Eligible Voter Population

- Under 5%
- 5 - 14.9%
- 15 - 29.9%
- 30 - 44.9%
- 45 - 59.9%
- Over 60%

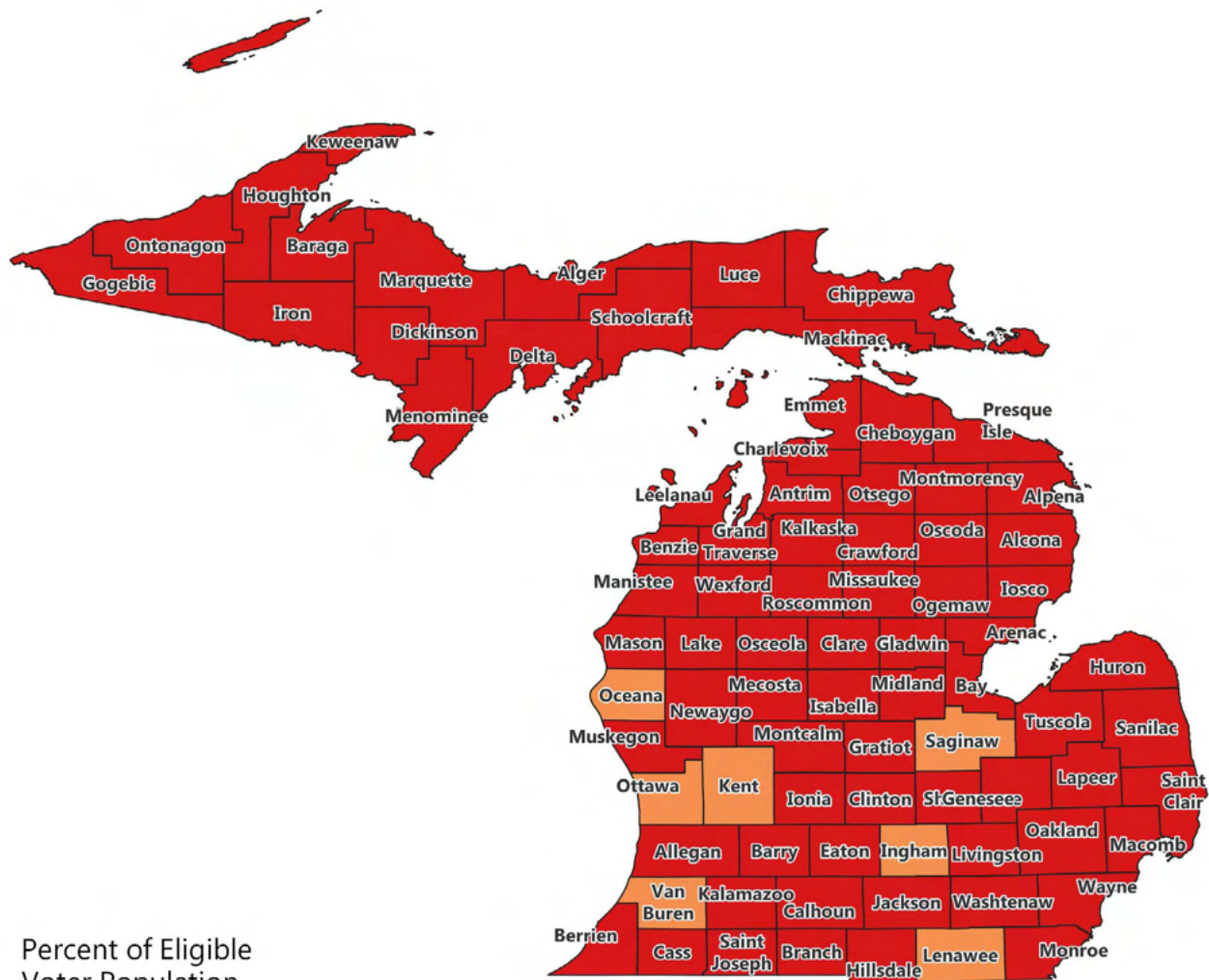Data Source: ACS 2016 to 2020 5-year estimates

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# Share of Eligible Voter Population

Michigan
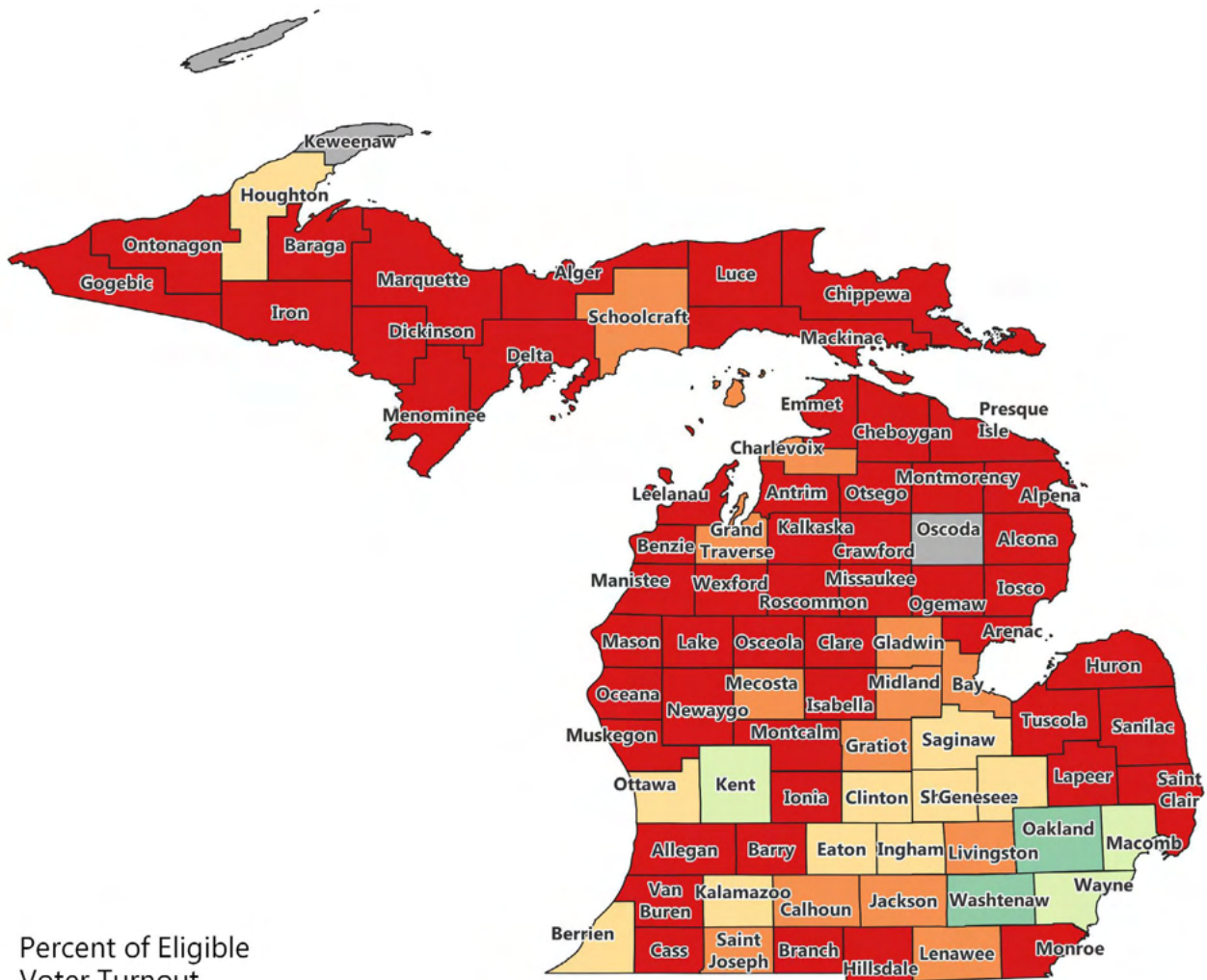2020 General Election
Latino



**Percent of Eligible Voter Population**

- Under 5%
- 5 - 14.9%
- 15 - 29.9%
- 30 - 44.9%
- 45 - 59.9%
- Over 60%

Data Source: ACS 2016 to 2020 5-year estimates

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# Eligible Voter Turnout

Michigan
2020 General Election
Asian American



Percent of Eligible Voter Turnout

- Under 10%
- 10 - 24.9%
- 25 - 39.9%
- 40 - 54.9%
- 55 - 69.9%
- Over 70%
- No Data

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Data Source: Catalist, ACS 2016 to 2020 5-year estimates

# Eligible Voter Turnout

Michigan
2020 General Election
Black



**Percent of Eligible Voter Turnout**

- Under 10%
- 10 - 24.9%
- 25 - 39.9%
- 40 - 54.9%
- 55 - 69.9%
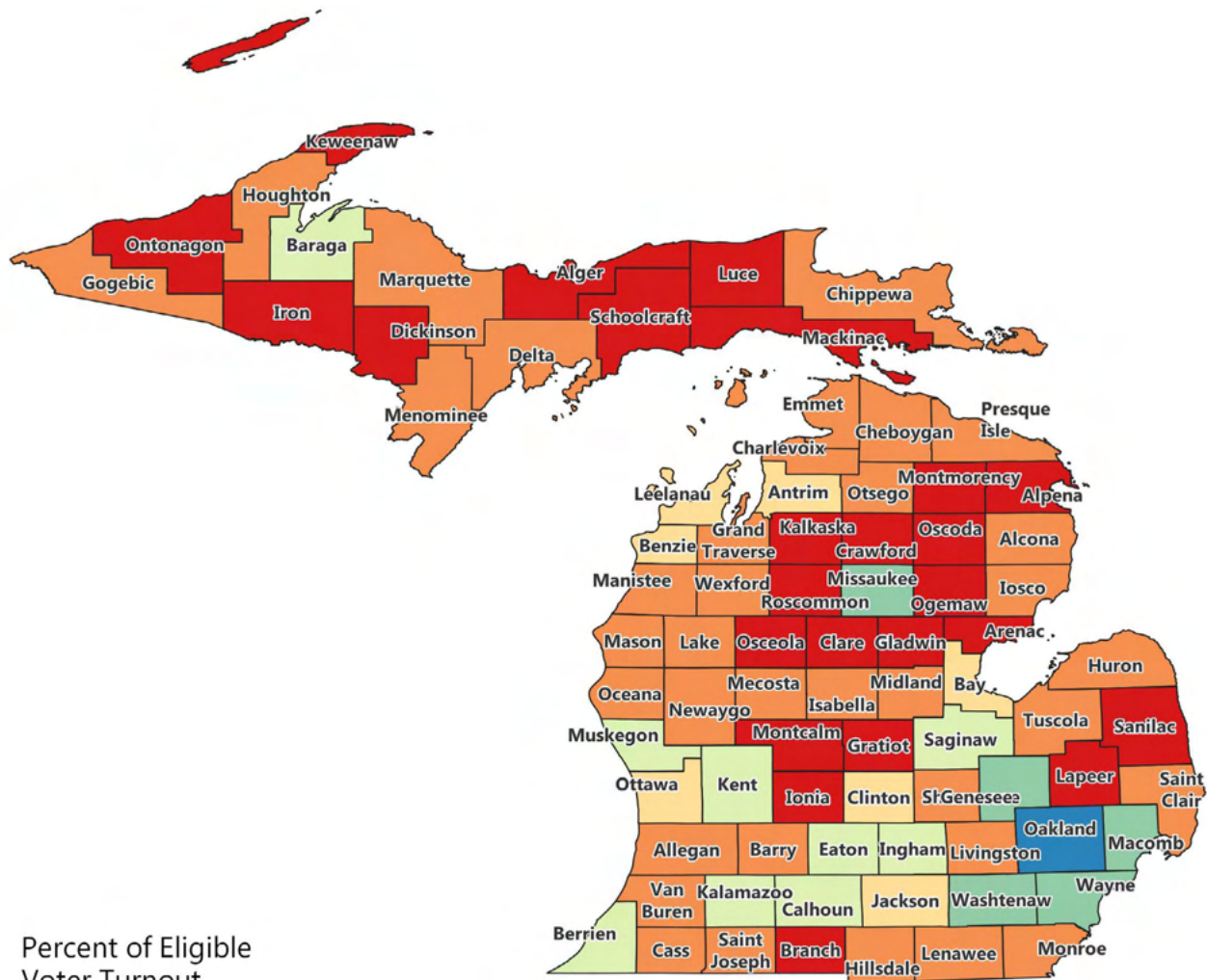- Over 70%
- No Data

CENTER FOR INCLUSIVE DEMOCRACY

Data Source: Catalist, ACS 2016 to 2020 5-year estimates

# Eligible Voter Turnout

Michigan
2020 General Election
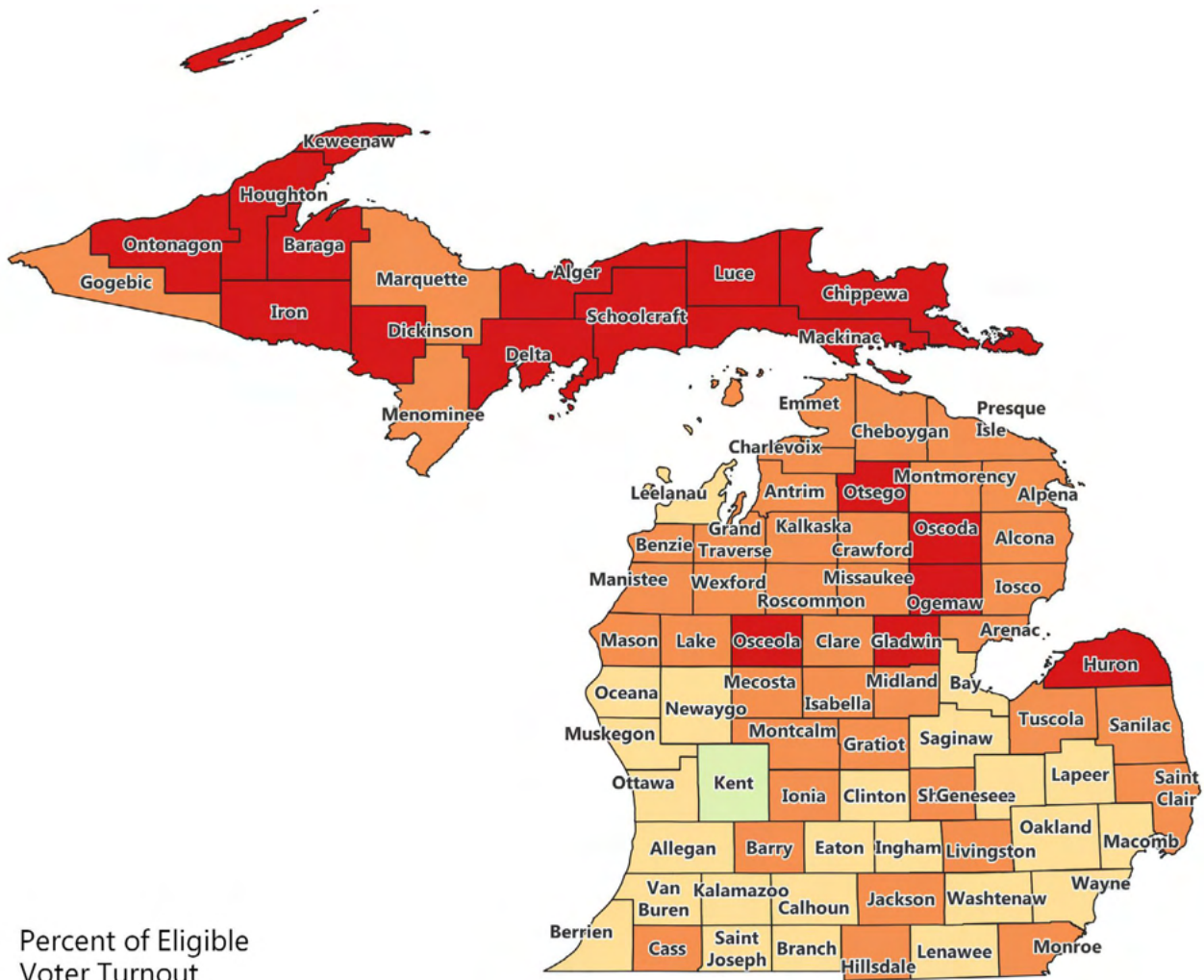Latino



Percent of Eligible
Voter Turnout

- Under 10%
- 10 - 24.9%
- 25 - 39.9%
- 40 - 54.9%
- 55 - 69.9%
- Over 70%
- No Data

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INCLUSIVE
DEMOCRACY

Data Source: Catalist, ACS 2016 to 2020 5-year estimates

# Share of Eligible Voters Who Did Not Vote

Michigan
2020 General Election
Asian American



Percent of Eligible
Voter Turnout
- Under 10%
- 10 - 24.9%
- 25 - 39.9%
- 40 - 54.9%
- 55 - 69.9%
- Over 70%
- No Data

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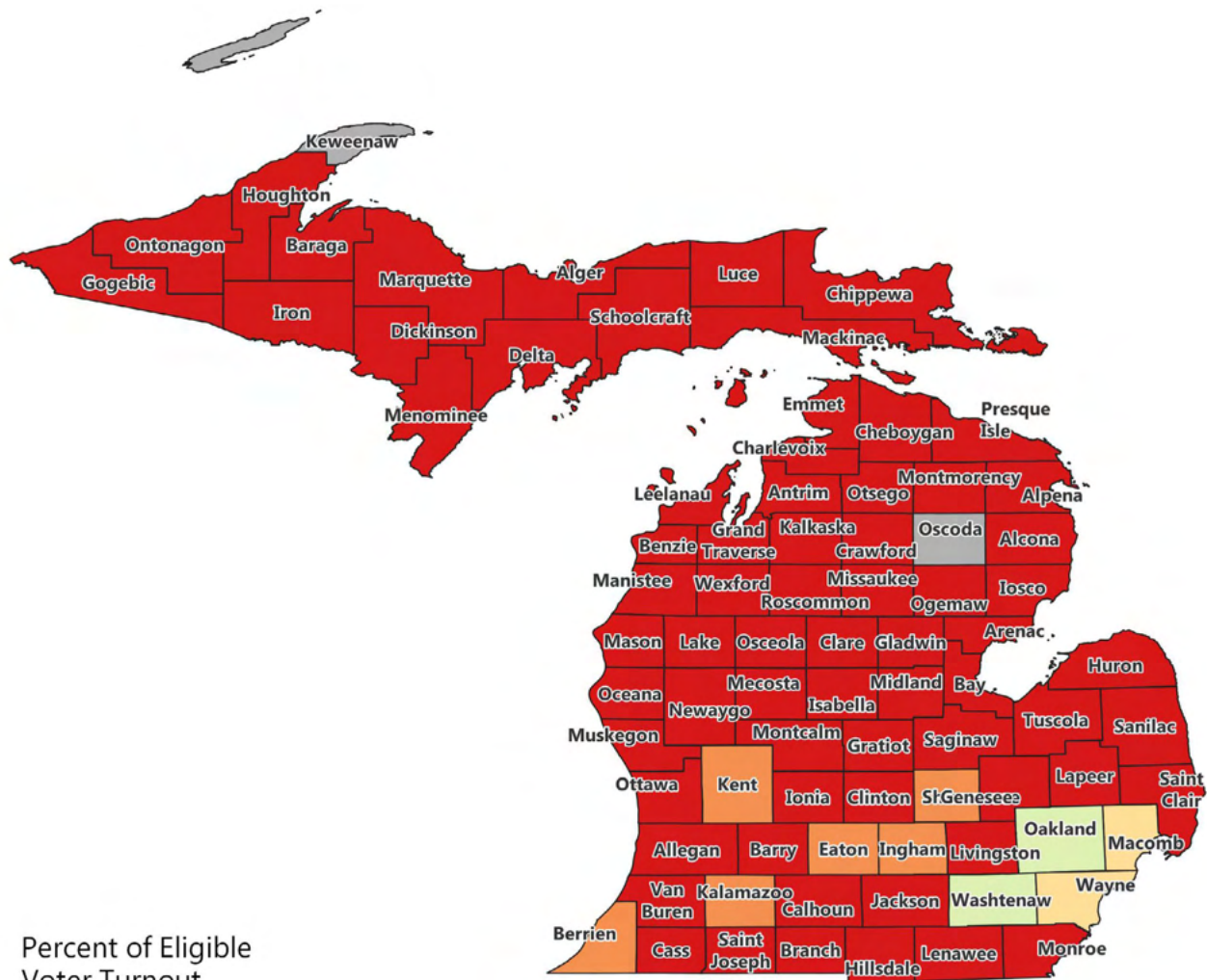DEMOCRACY

Data Source: Catalist, ACS 2016 to 2020 5-year estimates

# Share of Eligible Voters Who Did Not Vote

Michigan
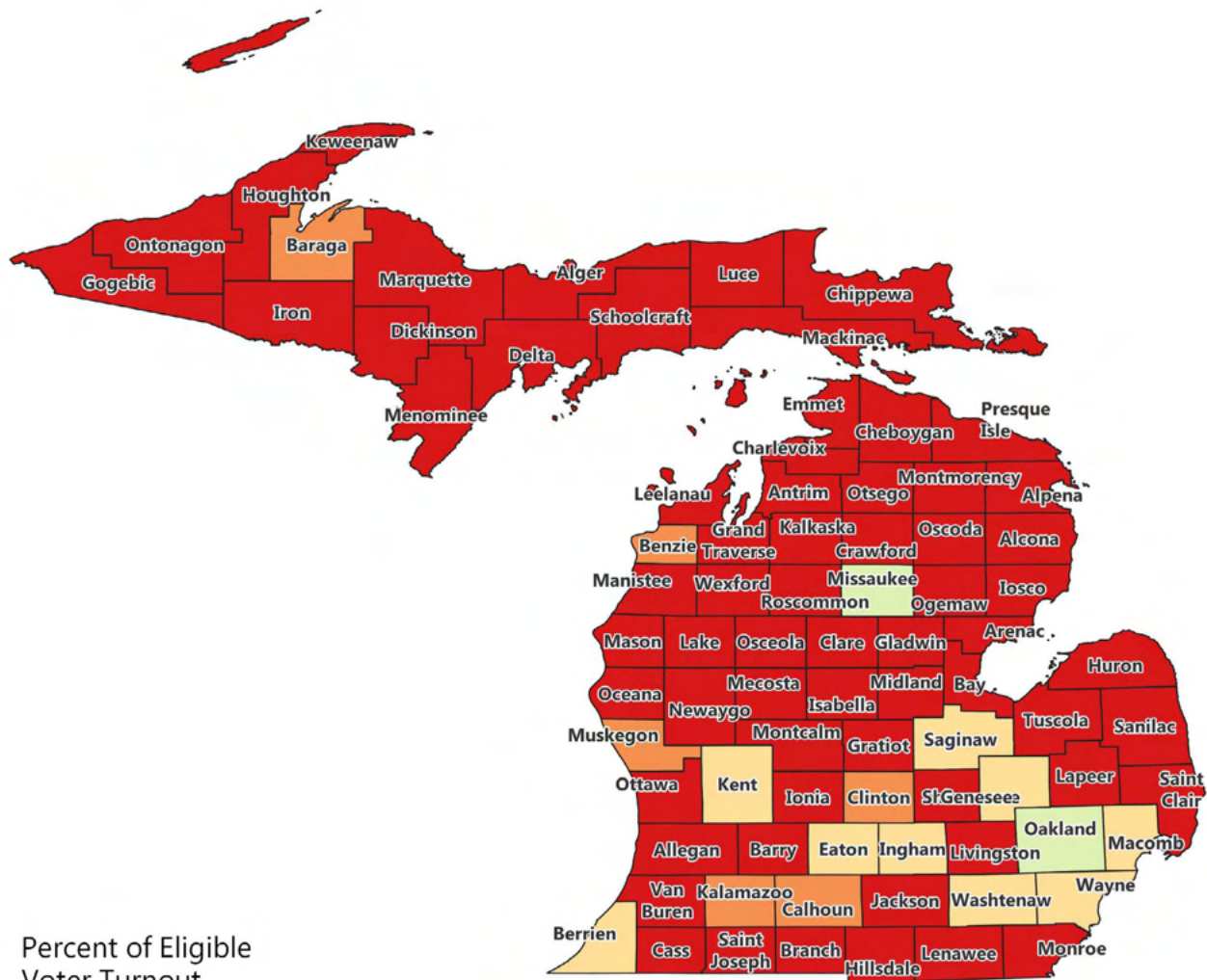2020 General Election
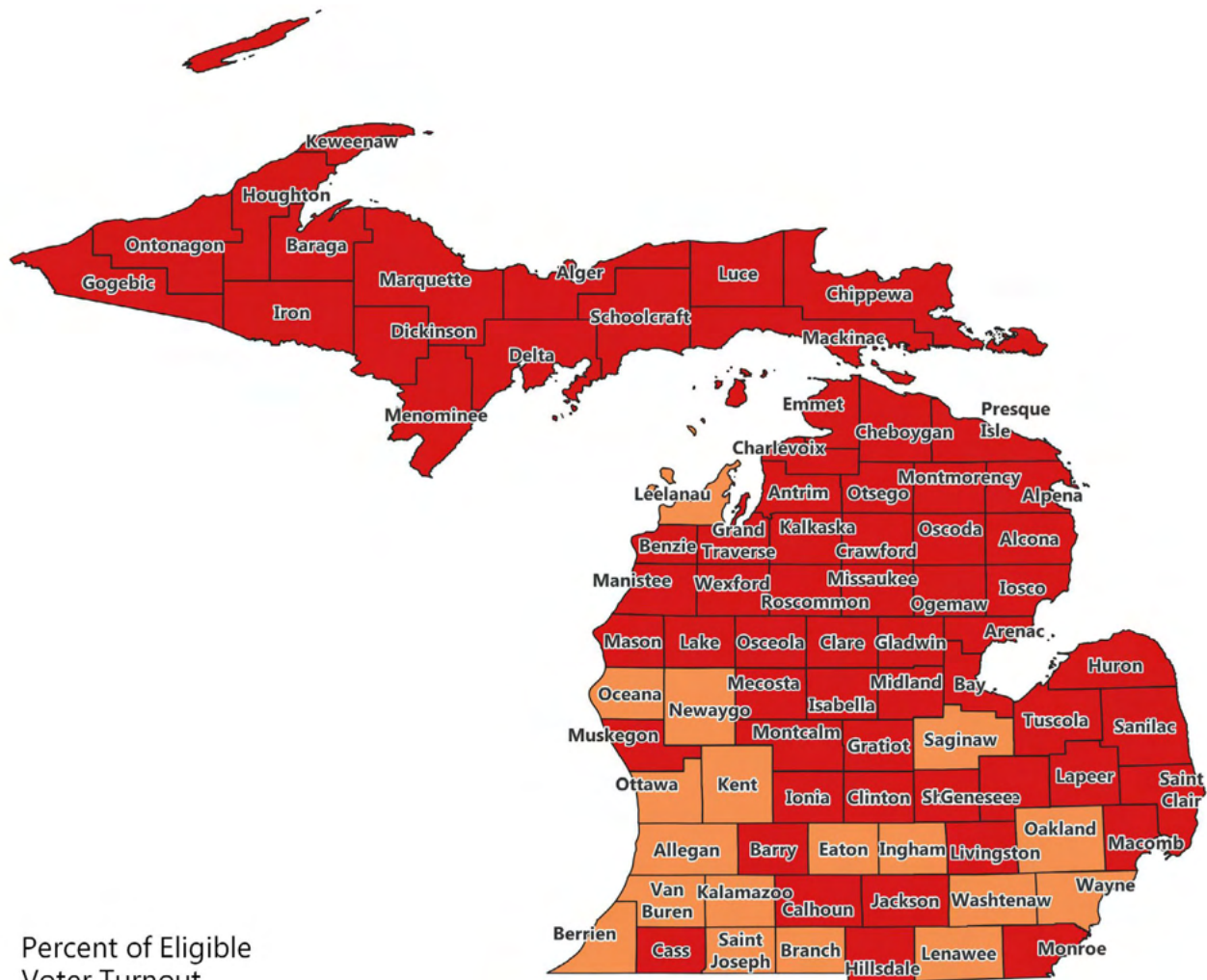Black



Percent of Eligible
Voter Turnout

- Under 10%
- 10 - 24.9%
- 25 - 39.9%
- 40 - 54.9%
- 55 - 69.9%
- Over 70%
- No Data

CENTER FOR
INCLUSIVE
DEMOCRACY

Data Source: Catalist, ACS 2016 to 2020 5-year estimates

# Share of Eligible Voters Who Did Not Vote

Michigan
2020 General Election
Latino

Keweenaw
Houghton
Ontonagon
Baraga
Gogebic
Marquette
Alger
Luce
Chippewa
Iron
Dickinson
Schoolcraft
Mackinac
Delta
Menominee
Emmet
Presque Isle
Cheboygan
Charlevoix
Montmorency
Leelanau
Antrim
Otsego
Alpena
Grand
Kalkaska
Oscoda
Alcona
Benzie
Traverse
Crawford
Manistee
Wexford
Missaukee
Iosco
Roscommon
Ogemaw
Mason
Lake
Osceola
Clare
Gladwin
Arenac
Huron
Mecosta
Midland
Bay
Oceana
Isabella
Newaygo
Tuscola
Sanilac
Muskegon
Montcalm
Saginaw
Gratiot
Ottawa
Kent
Lapeer
Saint Clair
Ionia
Clinton
St Genesee
Oakland
Macomb
Allegan
Barry
Eaton
Ingham
Livingston
Van
Kalamazoo
Wayne
Buren
Calhoun
Jackson
Washtenaw
Berrien
Cass
Saint
Branch
Monroe
Joseph
Lenawee
Hillsdale

Percent of Eligible
Voter Turnout

- Under 10%
- 10 - 24.9%
- 25 - 39.9%
- 40 - 54.9%
- 55 - 69.9%
- Over 70%
- No Data

CENTER FOR
INCLUSIVE
DEMOCRACY

Data Source: Catalist, ACS 2016 to 2020 5-year estimates