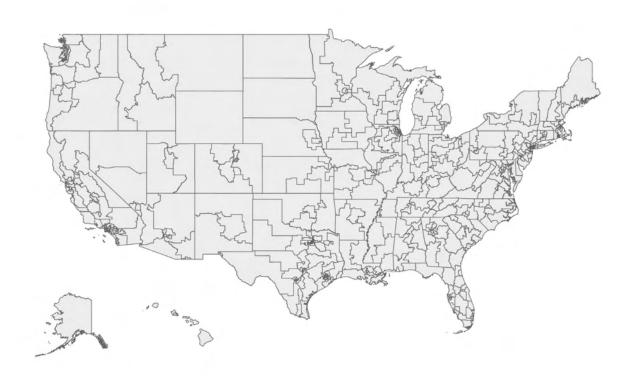




# The New Electorate: The Strength of the Latino, Black and Asian-American Vote

# COMPETITIVE CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICTS IN THE 2024 ELECTION CYCLE



#### About the Center for Inclusive Democracy (CID)

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.

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#### Acknowledgments

We would like to thank Eric McGhee and Emily Pavia for their review of this report.

We thank Matt Gong for his graphic design services.

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October 2024

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#### **Executive Summary**

While the 2024 presidential race garners heavy attention from the media and political observers, the upcoming election will also hold critical Congressional races and determine which party will have the majority in the House and Senate. The 2024 election cycle is the second election cycle, and first presidential election cycle, that will be conducted under the newly redistricted congressional districts after the 2020 decennial census.¹ As is the case in every federal election, many of these districts are solidly Republican or Democratic, although some districts are considered competitive races in which it is unclear which candidate will win their House races. In total, forty-three congressional districts across the country have been rated as competitive, according to the Cook Political Report.² A substantial number of these competitive congressional districts are comprised of large proportions of Latino, Black and Asian-American voters. These voters currently have a substantial impact in the outcome of the congressional races in their districts. This means that the path to control the House of Representatives runs, at least in part, through the mobilization of voters of color. Still, there is considerable room to expand the influence of these groups on the nation's political landscape by mobilizing the often even larger numbers of potential voters of color who have not voted in previous elections.

#### Roughly ten percent of congressional districts are rated as competitive in the 2024 general election.

In total, 43 of the 435 congressional districts have been rated competitive in 2024. Among competitive districts, 13 are rated as lean Democrat, 11 are rated as toss up Democrat, 13 are rated as toss up Republican, and 6 are rated as lean Republican. Using the new boundaries to examine the 2020 election, the presidential vote margin of victory in the 43 districts ranged from just 316 votes in Arizona's 6<sup>th</sup> district to 57,370 votes in New York's 4<sup>th</sup> district.

## While eligible voter turnout in the 2022 general election varied across the 2024 competitive districts, all districts had turnout gaps between the general population and eligible voters of color.

In the 2022 general election, eligible voter turnout ranged from 25.7% in California's 22<sup>nd</sup> district to 68.1% in Oregon's 5<sup>th</sup> district. Eligible voters of color, however, often had lower eligible voter turnout rates than all voters in these districts. For example, around 46% of all eligible voters in New York's 22<sup>nd</sup> district cast a ballot in 2022 (ranked 224<sup>th</sup>), while just 10.0% of Asian-American eligible voters (ranked 356<sup>th</sup>), 18.1% of Black eligible voters (ranked 351<sup>st</sup>), and 10.8% of Latino eligible voters (ranked 359<sup>th</sup>) in the district did the same. A similar story is seen in many competitive districts.

# In the majority of 2024 competitive congressional districts, the number of eligible voters of color who did not cast a ballot in 2022 exceeded the vote margin of victory in 2022 House races.

The 2022 vote margin of victory for the House of Representatives ranged from 564 votes in California's 13<sup>th</sup> district to 35,293 votes in Ohio's 9<sup>th</sup> district. In all districts, however, a higher number of eligible voters of color did not cast a ballot compared to the vote margin of victory, emphasizing these voters' potential electoral influence. In twenty-nine 2024 competitive districts, the number of Asian-American eligible voters who did not vote exceeded the vote margin of victory, while the same can be said in thirty-three districts for Black eligible voters and in thirty-six districts for Latino eligible voters.

## In many 2024 competitive congressional districts, Asian-American, Black, and Latino eligible voters represented larger shares of the district's electorate in 2022 than their share of the national electorate.

Asian Americans represented more than 4.7% (national rate) of all eligible voters in ten of the forty-three competitive districts, while seven districts had higher shares of eligible voters who were Black than the national rate (12.4%), and sixteen had higher shares of Latino eligible voters than seen nationally (13.5%). California's 45<sup>th</sup> district, rated as a toss-up Republican district, had by far the highest share of eligible voters who were Asian American (37.3%) in the 2022 general election, while over 41% of North Carolina's 1<sup>st</sup> district's electorate was Black and over 87% of Texas' 34<sup>th</sup> district's eligible voter population was Latino.

The majority of 2024 competitive districts with large shares of Black and Latino eligible voters had higher Black and Latino eligible voter rates than seen nationally in the 2022 general election, while the majority of competitive districts with larges shares of Asian-American eligible voters saw the opposite.

Two-thirds of the districts with high shares of Latino eligible voters had Latino eligible voters turnout rates higher than the 24% seen nationally, while six of the seven competitive districts with high shares of Black eligible voters had Black eligible voter turnout rates above 32% (the national Black turnout rate). In contrast, 70% of the districts with large shares of Asian-American eligible voters had turnout rates below the national Asian-American eligible voter turnout rate of 27.2% in the 2022 general election.

# Asian-American, Black, and Latino Americans were underrepresented in the voting population in all competitive districts where they represented large shares of the eligible voter population.

Asian-American, Black, and Latino voters represented smaller shares of the actual voting population than their share of the eligible voter population in all competitive districts examined. California's 45<sup>th</sup> district, for example, had an eligible voter population that was over 37% Asian American in 2022 (the fourth highest among all congressional district across the country), yet 35% of registered voters and 31.7% of those who cast a ballot in the district were Asian American. In Virginia's 7<sup>th</sup> district, around one-fifth of eligible voters were Black yet only 16.6% of voters in 2022 were Black, while 53% of eligible voters in California's 13<sup>th</sup> district were Latino in 2022, only 38.9% of voters were Latino, and fourteen percentage point representation gap. These representation gaps underscore the potential among eligible voters of color for electoral influence in these competitive districts and mobilizing them could impact both national and local elections.

The number of Asian-American, Black, and Latino eligible voters who did not cast a ballot in 2022 was higher than the 2022 House of Representatives vote margin of victory in all competitive districts in which they represented a large share of the electorate.

The number of Black eligible voters who did not vote in 2022 was at least 1.5 times higher, and often even higher, than the vote margin of victory in districts where they represented large shares of the electorate. In Michigan's 10<sup>th</sup> district, for example, just 1,600 votes separated the top two house candidates while nearly 45,000 Black eligible voters did not cast a ballot (28 times the size of the margin of victory). The differences between Latino eligible voters who did not cast a ballot and the vote margin of victory in districts with large shares of Latino eligible voters was even more notable. For example, over 70,000 Latino eligible voters did not cast a ballot in Connecticut's 5<sup>th</sup> district in 2022, more than thirty-five times the vote margin of victory (2,004 votes). The number of Asian-American eligible voters who did not vote in 2022 was also magnitudes larger than vote margin of victories in districts where they represent a large share of the electorate. With a vote margin of victory just over 1,800 in New York's 17<sup>th</sup> district in 2022, more than ten times that number of Asian-American eligible voters did not cast a ballot (19,297). These trends are seen in many 2024 competitive districts.

#### Conclusion

In the first presidential election since the 2020 redistricting process, forty-three congressional districts are rated as competitive, of which 13 are rated as lean Democrat, 11 are rated as toss up Democrat, 13 are rated as toss up Republican, and 6 are rated as lean Republican. All forty-three districts had eligible voter turnout gaps between the general population and eligible voters of color. Further, the number of eligible voters of color who did not cast a ballot in 2022 exceeded the House of Representatives vote margin of victory in all competitive districts, underscoring these voters' tremendous potential electoral power.

When examining competitive districts with large shares of eligible voters who were Asian American, Black, or Latino, the potential electoral power of these eligible voters was further emphasized. Across all of these districts, Asian-American, Black, and Latino voters represented smaller shares of ballots cast than their share of eligible voters, despite often representing significant shares of the electorate. Additionally, the number of Asian-American, Black, and Latino eligible voters who did not vote in these districts exceeded, often by many orders of magnitude, the House of Representative vote margin of victory.

Mobilizing Asian-American, Black, and Latino eligible voter populations – each politically diverse with unique viewpoints and experiences – in these competitive districts could impact election outcomes throughout the country.

# The New Electorate: The Strength of the Latino, Black, and Asian-American Vote Competitive Congressional Districts in the 2024 Election Cycle

While the 2024 presidential race garners heavy attention from the media and political observers, the upcoming election will also hold critical Congressional races and determine which party will have the majority in the House and Senate. The 2024 election cycle is the second election cycle, and first presidential election cycle, that will be conducted under the newly redistricted congressional districts after the 2020 decennial census. As is the case in every federal election, many of these districts are solidly Republican or Democratic, although some districts are considered competitive races in which it is unclear which candidate will win their House races. In total, forty-three congressional districts across the country have been rated as competitive, according to the Cook Political Report. A substantial number of these competitive congressional districts are comprised of large proportions of Latino, Black and Asian-American voters. These voters currently have a substantial impact in the outcome of the congressional races in their districts. This means that the path to control the House of Representatives runs, at least in part, through the mobilization of voters of color. Still, there is considerable room to expand the influence of these groups on the nation's political landscape by mobilizing the often even larger numbers of potential voters of color who have not voted in previous elections.

This report presents findings from the Center for Inclusive Democracy's analysis examining competitive congressional districts in the 2024 general election. It provides an up-to-date profile of the Asian-American, Black, and Latino current voting power (based on the 2022 general election), and the potential for growth in the 2024 competitive districts by examining the following topics:

- 1. The electorate breakdown by race and ethnicity in 2024 competitive districts
- 2. Voter turnout rates in the 2022 midterm election in 2024 competitive districts
- 3. The voter representation gap in the 2022 midterm election in 2024 competitive districts
- 4. Opportunities for voter mobilization in 2024 competitive districts

The first half of this report focuses on all forty-three competitive districts and provides a comprehensive overview of the voters and voting behavior within these districts. The last half of this report focuses on competitive districts that have larger shares of their eligible voter (adult citizen) populations that are Asian American, Black, and Latino than seen nationally.

This report is part of a series examining the impact and opportunity of the Asian-American, Black, and Latino vote in the 2024 election cycle. Other parts of this series focus on their voting power <u>nationally</u> and in <u>2024 swing states</u>.

#### **Research Methodology**

For this report, CID used voter files and publicly available eligible voter (adult citizen) estimates. National aggregated voter files for the 2022 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 2018-2022 estimates.<sup>3</sup> 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.

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.

The commonly applied research method 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. These methods are reliable in identifying Asian Americans, Latinos and, to a lesser extent, Black populations. Racial and ethnic identification for smaller population sizes in some states remains challenging. For our national analysis, we utilize the same data source for voter files across states and over multiple election cycles for methodological consistency. 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.

Note: Competitive districts and the ratings they are assigned are often reevaluated throughout an election cycle to reflect the most current political landscape which is subject to change during election years. The analysis presented in this report is based on the CPR House Race Ratings as of September 6th, 2024. Some House district ratings may change before the November 2024 election.

Limited demographic information in county and state voter files hinders progress to improve the election experience for all voters. We encourage elections officials, policymakers, and stakeholders to discuss legal and reliable ways to gather more complete demographic data in states during and after the voter registration process.

#### **Congressional District Competitive Ratings**

Competitive district ratings are determined by Cook Political Report and are updated periodically throughout the election cycle.<sup>4</sup> Cook Political Report provides independent, non-partisan analysis of elections and campaigns for the U.S. House of Representatives, U.S. Senate, and President, as well as other political topics.

The CPR House Race Ratings assess the competitiveness of all 435 House elections in 2024. Competitiveness is determined by several factors, including the district's political makeup, the candidates' strengths and weaknesses, the political environment in the state and nationally, and interviews with candidates and campaign professionals. Congressional districts can receive a rating of solid, likely, lean, or toss up (Table 1). A solid rating means the race is not considered competitive and are not likely to become closely contested, while a likely rating means the race is not considered competitive but has the potential to become engaged. A lean rating means the race is considered competitive, but one party has an advantage, while a toss up rating means the race is considered competitive and either party has a good chance of winning.

	Table 1: Ratings Summary  Congressional Districts  2024 General Election									
Rating	Definition	Number of Congression	nal Districts*							
Calla	These races are <u>not considered competitive</u> and are not likely to become	Democrat	174							
Solid	closely contested	Republican	192							
1211	These races are <u>not considered competitive</u> at this point but have the potential	Democrat	16							
Likely	to become engaged	Republican	10							
	The state of the s	Democrat	13							
Lean	These races <u>are considered competitive</u> races, but one party has an advantage	Republican	6							
Totalla	These races <u>are considered competitive</u> races; either party has a good chance	Democrat	11							
Toss Up	of winning	Republican	13							

#### **2024 Competitive Congressional Districts**

#### **Key Takeaways**

- Forty-three congressional districts are rated competitive in 2024, roughly ten percent of all districts.
- Among competitive districts, 13 are rated as lean Democrat, 11 are rated as toss up Democrat, 13 are rated as toss up Republican, and 6 are rated as lean Republican.
- While eligible voter turnout in the 2022 general election varied across the 2024 competitive districts, all districts had turnout gaps between the general population and eligible voters of color.
- In the majority of 2024 competitive congressional districts, the number of eligible voters of color who did not cast a ballot in 2022 exceeded the vote margin of victory in 2022 House races.

#### **2024 Competitive Congressional Districts Ratings**

As of September 6, 2024, forty-three congressional districts were rated as competitive, roughly ten percent of all 435 districts. Among competitive districts, 13 are rated as lean Democrat, 11 are rated as toss up Democrat, 13 are rated as toss up Republican, and 6 are rated as lean Republican (Table 2). Using the boundaries for these congressional districts that were drawn after the 2020 general election, the vote margin of victory in the 2022 general election between the top two presidential candidates varied widely in the 2024 competitive districts. Just 316 votes separated the top two candidates in Arizona's 6<sup>th</sup> district, while New York's 4<sup>th</sup> district had the largest vote margin of victory with 57,370 votes.

#### **2024 Competitive Congressional Districts**

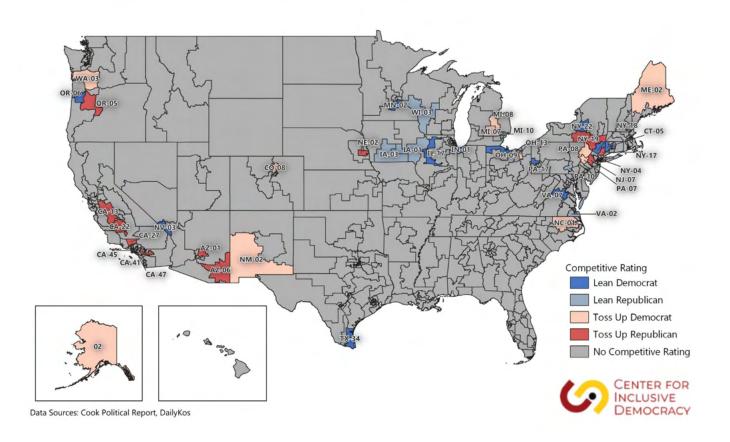


	Table 2: 2024 Competitive Co	ongressional Districts*	
Congressional District	Incumbent	Competitive Rating	2020 Presidential Vote Margin of Victory (top two candidates)
California's 47th	OPEN (Porter)	Lean Democrat	43,307
Connecticut's 5th	Jahana Hayes	Lean Democrat	38,398
Illinois' 17th	Eric Sorensen	Lean Democrat	25,836
Indiana's 1st	Frank J. Mrvan	Lean Democrat	28,468
Minnesota's 2nd	Angie Craig	Lean Democrat	30,184
Nevada's 3rd	Susie Lee	Lean Democrat	24,098
New York's 18th	Pat Ryan	Lean Democrat	30,268
New York's 22nd	Brandon Williams	Lean Democrat	27,726
Ohio's 9th	Marcy Kaptur	Lean Democrat	11,385
Oregon's 6th	Andrea Salinas	Lean Democrat	48,284
Pennsylvania's 17th	Chris Deluzio	Lean Democrat	26,502
Texas' 34th	Vicente Gonzalez	Lean Democrat	31,703
Virginia's 7th	OPEN (Spanberger)	Lean Democrat	26,479
Alaska's At-Large	Mary Peltola	Toss Up Democrat	36,173
Colorado's 8th	Yadira Caraveo  Jared Golden	Toss Up Democrat	15,581
Maine's 2nd Michigan's 7th	OPEN (Slotkin)	Toss Up Democrat Toss Up Democrat	23,733
Michigan's 8th	OPEN (Kildee)	Toss Up Democrat	8,707
North Carolina's 1st	Don Davis	Toss Up Democrat	28,600
New Mexico's 2nd	Gabe Vasquez	Toss Up Democrat	15,560
Ohio's 13th	Emilia Sykes	Toss Up Democrat	11,456
Pennsylvania's 7th	Susan Wild	Toss Up Democrat	2,457
Pennsylvania's 8th	Matt Cartwright	Toss Up Democrat	11,078
Washington's 3rd	Marie Gluesenkamp Perez	Toss Up Democrat	17,684
Arizona's 1st	David Schweikert	Toss Up Republican	6,874
Arizona's 6th	Juan Ciscomani	Toss Up Republican	316
California's 13th	John Duarte	Toss Up Republican	25,039
California's 22nd	David Valadao	Toss Up Republican	24,282
California's 27th	Mike Garcia	Toss Up Republican	42,218
California's 41st	Ken Calvert	Toss Up Republican	3,978
California's 45th	Michelle Steel	Toss Up Republican	22,085
Nebraska's 2nd	Don Bacon	Toss Up Republican	19,810
New Jersey's 7th	Thomas Kean Jr.	Toss Up Republican	17,800
New York's 4th	Anthony D'Esposito	Toss Up Republican	57,370
New York's 17th	Mike Lawler	Toss Up Republican	38,857
New York's 19th	Marc Molinaro	Toss Up Republican	17,455
Oregon's 5th	Lori Chavez-DeRemer	Toss Up Republican	37,629
lowa's 1st	Mariannette Miller-Meeks	Lean Republican	12,342
lowa's 3rd	Zach Nunn	Lean Republican	1,452
Michigan's 10th	John James	Lean Republican	4,208
Pennsylvania's 10th	Scott Perry	Lean Republican	16,516
Virginia's 2nd	Jen Kiggans	Lean Republican	7,723
Wisconsin's 3rd	Derrick Van Orden	Lean Republican	18,501

Data Source: Cook Political Report, DailyKos \*Competitive Ratings as of September 6, 2024

	Table 3: Definition of Terms: 2022 General Election							
Eligible Voters	Adult U.S. citizens (registered and unregistered to vote)							
Registered Voters	Adult U.S. citizens registered to vote (those who cast a ballot and those who did cast a ballot)							
Voters	Adult citizens registered to vote who cast a ballot							

# **2024 Competitive Congressional Districts – Eligible Voter Population by Race and Ethnicity**

Eligible voter populations varied greatly by race and ethnicity across 2024 competitive districts. Some competitive districts have eligible voter populations that are predominantly one race or ethnicity, while others have very diverse electorate (Table 4). Over 95% of eligible voters in Maine's 2<sup>nd</sup> district, for example, were white, non-Latino in 2022, while over 87% of Texas' 34<sup>th</sup> district's eligible voters were Latino with just 0.5% Asian American, 0.6% Black, and 11.1% white, non-Latino. In contrast, other competitive districts have more diverse eligible voter populations. In Nevada's 3<sup>rd</sup> district, rated lean Democrat, 16.2% of eligible voters were Asian American, 10.2% were Black, 17.7% were Latino, and 51.4% were white in the 2022 general election.

# Table 4: Eligible Voter Population by Race and Ethnicity 2024 Competitive Congressional Districts\* 2022 General Election

2022 General Election										
Congressional District	Competitive Rating	Total Eligible Voters	Asian-American Share Eligible Voters	Black Share Eligible Voters	Latino Share Eligible Voters	White, non-Latino Share Eligible Voters				
California's 47th	Lean Democrat	529,255	19.8%	1.6%	14.7%	60.1%				
Connecticut's 5th	Lean Democrat	522,145	3.2%	8.5%	16.3%	70.0%				
Illinois' 17th	Lean Democrat	566,385	1.3%	11.9%	7.2%	77.6%				
Indiana's 1st	Lean Democrat	565,330	1.0%	17.3%	13.3%	66.9%				
Minnesota's 2nd	Lean Democrat	514,720	4.3%	4.5%	4.3%	84.3%				
Nevada's 3rd	Lean Democrat	556,570	16.2%	10.2%	17.7%	51.4%				
New York's 18th	Lean Democrat	574,225	2.3%	10.2%	13.8%	71.6%				
New York's 22nd	Lean Democrat	589,910	2.3%	7.3%	4.1%	83.9%				
Ohio's 9th	Lean Democrat	602,770	1.0%	11.2%	5.8%	80.1%				
Oregon's 6th	Lean Democrat	506,290	3.4%	1.1%	13.0%	78.3%				
Pennsylvania's 17th	Lean Democrat	594,380	1.5%	6.9%	1.5%	88.5%				
Texas' 34th	Lean Democrat	432,320	0.5%	0.6%	87.3%	11.1%				
Virginia's 7th	Lean Democrat	542,665	4.4%	21.0%	10.9%	60.1%				
Alaska's At-Large	Toss Up Democrat	534,725	6.2%	3.2%	6.2%	64.8%				
Colorado's 8th	Toss Up Democrat	490,365	2.7%	1.8%	29.9%	63.2%				
Maine's 2nd	Toss Up Democrat	548,305	0.5%	0.8%	1.3%	95.1%				
Michigan's 7th	Toss Up Democrat	593,880	1.7%	5.3%	4.5%	86.1%				
Michigan's 8th	Toss Up Democrat	599,800	0.8%	14.2%	4.2%	78.5%				
North Carolina's 1st	Toss Up Democrat	572,545	0.7%	41.5%	3.2%	52.1%				
New Mexico's 2nd	Toss Up Democrat	491,540	0.7%	2.0%	55.3%	35.0%				
Ohio's 13th	Toss Up Democrat	606,120	1.8%	11.7%	1.7%	82.1%				
Pennsylvania's 7th	Toss Up Democrat	576,820	2.2%	4.8%	15.1%	76.5%				
Pennsylvania's 8th	Toss Up Democrat	589,345	1.5%	5.6%	9.4%	82.0%				
Washington's 3rd	Toss Up Democrat	569,280	3.5%	1.6%	6.2%	84.3%				
Arizona's 1st	Toss Up Republican	604,630	3.2%	3.4%	12.4%	77.3%				
Arizona's 6th	Toss Up Republican	609,175	2.6%	3.2%	22.0%	68.5%				
California's 13th	Toss Up Republican	422,700	7.0%	4.0%	53.0%	33.3%				
California's 22nd	Toss Up Republican	412,570	4.2%	6.0%	62.7%	24.9%				
California's 27th	Toss Up Republican	498,930	9.1%	10.6%	37.0%	40.6%				
California's 41st	Toss Up Republican	542,705	7.4%	5.6%	32.5%	51.6%				
California's 45th	Toss Up Republican	511,790	37.3%	2.4%	24.5%	33.2%				
Nebraska's 2nd	Toss Up Republican	452,380	2.1%	8.8%	6.9%	79.5%				
New Jersey's 7th	Toss Up Republican	572,285	6.1%	5.1%	8.8%	78.6%				
New York's 4th	Toss Up Republican	553,230	6.6%	18.7%	15.9%	57.4%				
New York's 17th	Toss Up Republican	538,515	4.8%	8.0%	13.9%	72.0%				
New York's 19th	Toss Up Republican	613,300	2.4%	3.6%	4.8%	87.3%				
Oregon's 5th	Toss Up Republican	536,725	2.6%	0.8%	6.2%	86.7%				
lowa's 1st	Lean Republican	600,410	1.5%	3.2%	3.9%	89.5%				
Iowa's 3rd	Lean Republican	575,220	2.4%	3.8%	4.5%	87.5%				
Michigan's 10th	Lean Republican	586,400	4.5%	12.5%	2.1%	78.5%				
Pennsylvania's 10th	Lean Republican	580,255	2.7%	9.3%	6.6%	79.2%				
Virginia's 2nd	Lean Republican	588,455	4.4%	22.5%	5.8%	64.0%				
Wisconsin's 3rd	Lean Republican	575,120	1.8%	1.1%	1.8%	93.7%				

Data Source: American Community Survey, Cook Political Report
\*Competitive Ratings as of September 6, 2024

#### 2024 Competitive Congressional Districts - Eligible Voter Turnout

While eligible voter turnout in the 2022 general election varied across the 2024 competitive districts, all districts had turnout gaps between the general population and eligible voters of color. In the 2022 general election, eligible voter turnout ranged from 25.7% in California's 22<sup>nd</sup> district to 68.1% in Oregon's 5<sup>th</sup> district (Table 5). Eligible voters of color, however, often had lower eligible voter turnout rates than all voters in these districts. Oregon's 5<sup>th</sup> district, for example, had the 1<sup>st</sup> ranked eligible voter turnout rate across all 435 districts in 2022 with a 68.1% of eligible voters casting a ballot, yet just 28.2% of Asian-American eligible voters (ranked 123<sup>rd</sup>), 25.3% of Black eligible voters (ranked 244<sup>th</sup>), and 25.0% of Latino eligible voters voted in 2022 (ranked 121<sup>st</sup>). In districts with total eligible voter turnout that was close to the national turnout rate in the 2022 general election (46.1%), turnout disparities also existed.<sup>6</sup> Around 46% of eligible voters in New Yorks 22<sup>nd</sup> district cast a ballot in 2022 (ranked 224<sup>th</sup>), while just 10.0% of Asian-American eligible voters (ranked 359<sup>th</sup>), 18.1% of Black eligible voters (ranked 351<sup>st</sup>), and 10.8% of Latino eligible voters (ranked 359<sup>th</sup>) in the district did the same. Turnout disparities exist even in districts with large shares of eligible voters of color. In Texas' 34<sup>th</sup> district, in which over 87% of eligible voters are Latino, 29.5% of Latino eligible voters cast a ballot in 2022, two-percentage points lower than the general population, while just 7.6% of Asian-American eligible voters and 19.5% of Black eligible voters cast a ballot. These persistent turnout disparities underline the continued necessity for voter outreach and education in order for these voices to be heard.

# Table 5: Eligible Voter Turnout 2024 Competitive Congressional Districts\* 2022 General Election

2022 General Election									
Congressional District	Competitive Rating	Total EVT	Total EVT Ranking**	Asian- American EVT	Asian- American EVT Ranking**	Black EVT	Black EVT Ranking**	Latino EVT	Latino EVT Ranking**
California's 47th	Lean Democrat	50.5%	133	38.4%	38	27.9%	202	26.8%	84
Connecticut's 5th	Lean Democrat	47.0%	204	16.7%	273	17.6%	355	17.6%	252
Illinois' 17th	Lean Democrat	41.3%	303	9.9%	357	16.2%	368	14.6%	294
Indiana's 1st	Lean Democrat	37.2%	345	9.3%	362	24.8%	251	18.9%	239
Minnesota's 2nd	Lean Democrat	62.0%	19	27.6%	130	28.9%	181	19.9%	212
Nevada's 3rd	Lean Democrat	45.0%	237	25.8%	148	27.6%	207	28.0%	55
New York's 18th	Lean Democrat	47.2%	200	21.3%	207	24.6%	257	22.9%	157
New York's 22nd	Lean Democrat	46.0%	224	10.0%	356	18.1%	351	10.8%	359
Ohio's 9th	Lean Democrat	44.9%	239	12.8%	328	21.8%	303	13.3%	314
Oregon's 6th	Lean Democrat	60.2%	25	25.9%	146	19.6%	334	23.8%	140
Pennsylvania's 17th	Lean Democrat	61.1%	22	31.3%	91	33.1%	109	17.3%	257
Texas' 34th	Lean Democrat	31.4%	407	7.6%	378	19.5%	336	29.5%	36
Virginia's 7th	Lean Democrat	49.7%	152	25.9%	147	39.2%	44	27.8%	57
Alaska's At-Large	Toss Up Democrat	49.5%	156	8.8%	367	29.0%	178	20.4%	206
Colorado's 8th	Toss Up Democrat	50.2%	136	23.6%	183	22.4%	292	25.5%	111
Maine's 2nd	Toss Up Democrat	58.4%	39	4.8%	417	9.6%	425	10.0%	365
Michigan's 7th	Toss Up Democrat	63.2%	12	28.1%	126	33.4%	102	23.5%	147
Michigan's 8th	Toss Up Democrat	56.5%	57	17.0%	268	37.0%	64	21.0%	194
New Mexico's 2nd	Toss Up Democrat	38.6%	333	5.9%	400	17.2%	359	29.7%	35
North Carolina's 1st	Toss Up Democrat	45.2%	234	23.9%	173	39.7%	36	14.7%	293
Ohio's 13th	Toss Up Democrat	48.1%	187	13.0%	325	23.1%	278	9.9%	370
Pennsylvania's 7th	Toss Up Democrat	51.4%	124	32.1%	87	22.8%	283	20.8%	197
Pennsylvania's 8th	Toss Up Democrat	48.8%	168	12.7%	332	20.1%	326	19.7%	216
Washington's 3rd	Toss Up Democrat	56.1%	62	23.8%	177	20.0%	329	18.1%	247
Arizona's 1st	Toss Up Republican	60.1%	26	30.0%	104	21.1%	312	26.2%	96
Arizona's 6th	Toss Up Republican	57.3%	45	18.7%	241	24.2%	264	28.6%	46
California's 13th	Toss Up Republican	32.2%	398	20.0%	223	23.4%	274	23.7%	145
California's 22nd	Toss Up Republican	25.7%	431	18.8%	238	16.7%	363	20.1%	208
California's 27th	Toss Up Republican	40.1%	316	23.9%	174	27.0%	219	25.0%	118
California's 41st	Toss Up Republican	44.3%	251	23.9%	172	28.9%	182	27.0%	79
California's 45th	Toss Up Republican	43.0%	279	36.6%	50	35.6%	84	28.4%	47
Nebraska's 2nd	Toss Up Republican	48.4%	179	10.6%	350	23.2%	277	14.2%	303
New Jersey's 7th	Toss Up Republican	54.6%	79	36.7%	49	30.3%	152	27.7%	60
New York's 17th	Toss Up Republican	53.6%	94	24.7%	165	30.0%	157	25.1%	113
New York's 19th	Toss Up Republican	47.4%	196	14.9%	295	17.0%	361	14.3%	301
New York's 4th	Toss Up Republican	49.9%	145	21.1%	209	37.6%	57	23.7%	143
Oregon's 5th	Toss Up Republican	68.1%	1	28.2%	123	25.3%	244	25.0%	121
lowa's 1st	Lean Republican	51.2%	128	14.3%	304	12.7%	400	13.4%	311
lowa's 3rd	Lean Republican	54.2%	84	14.9%	294	17.9%	353	14.3%	302
Michigan's 10th	Lean Republican	56.6%	54	29.6%	108	38.6%	47	19.7%	217
Pennsylvania's 10th	Lean Republican	53.8%	90	25.2%	158	30.1%	156	16.9%	262
Virginia's 2nd	Lean Republican	49.5%	155	21.0%	210	36.2%	72	21.2%	192
Wisconsin's 3rd	Lean Republican	55.1%	72	16.1%	282	11.2%	410	12.2%	341

Data Source: Catalist, American Community Survey, Cook Political Report
\*Competitive Ratings as of September 6, 2024

Note: For registered voter turnout in the 2022 general election in 2024 competitive districts, see the appendix.

<sup>\*\*</sup> EVT Rankings are rankings across all 435 congressional districts ranked in descending order, with the highest EVT being ranked 1

#### 2024 Competitive Congressional Districts - Opportunity for Voter Mobilization

In the majority of 2024 competitive congressional districts, the number of eligible voters of color who did not cast a ballot in 2022 exceeded the vote margin of victory in 2022 House races. The 2022 vote margin of victory for the House of Representatives ranged from 564 votes in California's 13<sup>th</sup> district to 35,293 votes in Ohio's 9<sup>th</sup> district (Table 6). In all districts, however, a higher number of eligible voters of color did not cast a ballot compared to the vote margin of victory, emphasizing these voters' potential electoral influence. In 29 2024 competitive districts, the number of Asian-American eligible voters who did not vote exceeded the vote margin of victory, in 33 districts the number of Black eligible voters who did not vote exceeded the vote margin of victory, and in 36 districts the number of Latino eligible voters who did not vote exceeded the vote margin of victory.

Table 6: Opportunity for Voter Mobilization 2024 Competitive Congressional Districts*									
Congressional District	Competitive Rating	Total Eligible Voters Who Did Not Vote in 2022	Asian-American Eligible Voters Who Did Not Vote in 2022	Black Eligible Voters Who Did Not Vote in 2022	Latino Eligible Voters Who Did Not Vote in 2022	2022 House Representative Vote Margin of Victory (top two candidates)			
California's 47th	Lean Democrat	262,107	64,430	6,034	57,120	9,113			
Connecticut's 5th	Lean Democrat	276,685	13,935	36,505	70,154	2,004			
Illinois' 17th	Lean Democrat	332,600	6,566	56,318	34,787	9,255			
Indiana's 1st	Lean Democrat	355,013	5,360	73,485	60,883	12,114			
Minnesota's 2nd	Lean Democrat	195,508	16,075	16,525	17,938	17,007			
Nevada's 3rd	Lean Democrat	306,128	67,047	41,069	70,801	10,003			
New York's 18th	Lean Democrat	303,243	10,277	44,355	60,938	3,592			
New York's 22nd	Lean Democrat	318,477	12,373	35,490	21,741	2,631			
Ohio's 9th	Lean Democrat	332,343	5,251	52,902	30,280	35,293			
Oregon's 6th	Lean Democrat	201,533	12,897	4,558	50,314	7,210			
Pennsylvania's 17th	Lean Democrat	231,469	6,254	27,474	7,224	24,602			
Texas' 34th	Lean Democrat	296,764	1,899	2,165	266,082	11,432			
Virginia's 7th	Lean Democrat	273,077	17,697	69,370	42,840	12,771			
Alaska's At-Large	Toss Up Democrat	270,281	30,161	12,207	26,298	24,792			
Colorado's 8th	Toss Up Democrat	244,130	10,274	6,853	109,044	1,632			
Maine's 2nd	Toss Up Democrat	228,240	2,499	3,834	6,578	18,994			
Michigan's 7th	Toss Up Democrat	218,841	7,236	20,855	20,651	20,185			
Michigan's 8th	Toss Up Democrat	261,051	4,177	53,608	20,147	34,472			
North Carolina's 1st	Toss Up Democrat	313,539	3,024	143,367	15,715	12,216			
New Mexico's 2nd	Toss Up Democrat	301,731	3,463	8,304	191,367	1,350			
Ohio's 13th	Toss Up Democrat	314,672	9,721	54,540	9,439	15,223			
Pennsylvania's 7th	Toss Up Democrat	280,474	8,449	21,222	69,094	5,837			
Pennsylvania's 8th	Toss Up Democrat	301,808	7,956	26,251	44,470	7,026			
Washington's 3rd	Toss Up Democrat	249,802	15,018	7,200	28,913	2,629			
Arizona's 1st	Toss Up Republican	240,997	13,452	16,093	55,485	3,195			
Arizona's 6th	Toss Up Republican	259,941	13,018	14,960	95,691	5,232			
California's 13th	Toss Up Republican	286,456	23,559	12,940	170,957	564			
California's 22nd	Toss Up Republican	306,563	13,902	20,653	206,660	3,134			
California's 27th	Toss Up Republican	298,996	34,631	38,782	138,296	12,732			
California's 41st	Toss Up Republican	302,385	30,440	21,764	128,610	11,100			
California's 45th	Toss Up Republican	291,815	121,045	8,031	89,585	10,494			
Nebraska's 2nd	Toss Up Republican	233,221	8,653	30,710	26,785	5,856			
New Jersey's 7th	Toss Up Republican	259,584	21,925	20,533	36,412	8,691			
New York's 4th	Toss Up Republican	276,951	28,799	64,653	67,034	9,751			
New York's 17th	Toss Up Republican	249,644	19,297	30,052	55,927	1,820			
New York's 19th	Toss Up Republican	322,543	12,431	18,304	24,996	4,495			
Oregon's 5th	Toss Up Republican	171,459	10,133	3,076	25,101	7,299			
lowa's 1st	Lean Republican	293,190	7,621	16,866	20,520	20,774			
lowa's 3rd	Lean Republican	263,484	11,629	18,023	22,008	2,145			
Michigan's 10th	Lean Republican	254,393	18,744	44,955	9,991	1,600			
Pennsylvania's 10th	Lean Republican	267,864	11,759	37,854	31,848	24,116			
Virginia's 2nd	Lean Republican	297,109	20,655	84,525	26,868	10,109			
Wisconsin's 3rd	Lean Republican	258,254	8,631	5,726	9,171	11,766			

Data Source: Cooks Political Report, DailyKos \*Competitive Ratings as of September 6, 2024

#### **Asian-American Eligible Voters in 2024 Competitive Districts**

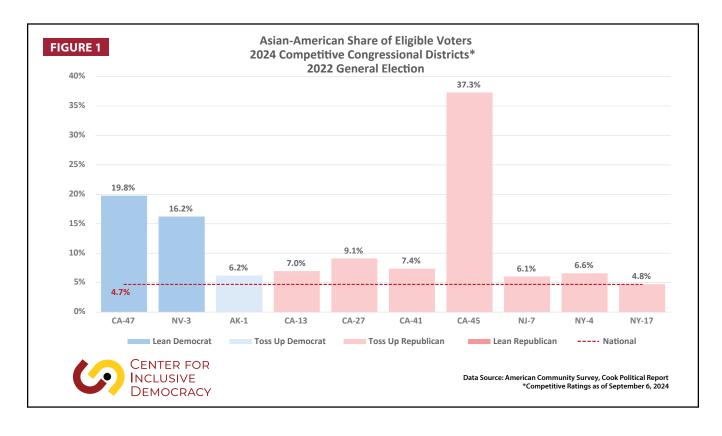
#### **Key Takeaways**

- Asian Americans comprised more than 4.7% (national share) of all eligible voters in ten of the forty-three 2024 competitive congressional districts during the 2022 general election.
- The majority of 2024 competitive districts with large shares of Asian-American eligible voters had lower Asian-American eligible voter turnout rates than seen nationally in the 2022 general election.
- In all ten 2024 competitive districts, Asian Americans were underrepresented in both registered and voting populations compared to their shares of the eligible voter populations in the 2022 general election.
- The number of Asian-American eligible voters who did not cast a ballot in 2022 was higher than the 2022 House of Representatives vote margin of victory in all ten 2024 competitive congressional districts examined.

Asian-American eligible voters have tremendous opportunity to play critical roles in election outcomes in the 2024 competitive districts. Nationally, 4.7% of all eligible voters were Asian American at the time of the 2022 general election, but their share of eligible voters varied across congressional district. Asian-American eligible voters represented more than 4.7% of all eligible voters in about one-quarter of 2024 competitive congressional districts, emphasizing their potential electoral influence in these districts. The following section examines the 2024 competitive congressional districts in which the share of eligible voters who were Asian American was above the national share.

#### Asian-American Eligible Voters in 2024 Competitive Congressional Districts

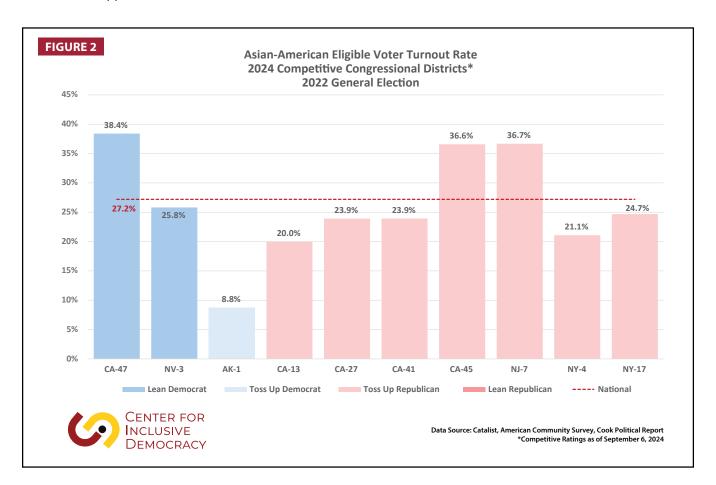
Asian Americans comprised more than their national share (4.7%) of all eligible voters in ten of the forty-three 2024 competitive congressional districts during the 2022 general election (Figure 1). Of these ten districts, two are rated as leaning Democrat, one is rated as a toss-up Democrat, and the remaining seven are rated as Toss-up Republican in the 2024 election. CA-45, rated as a toss-up Republican district, had by far the highest share of eligible voters who were Asian American (37.3%) in the last general election, while the two districts with the second (CA-47, 19.8%) and third (NV-3, 16.2%) highest share are rated as lean Democrat. Asian Americans in NY-17, rated as a Republican toss up district, represented 4.8% of eligible voters in the district, just over the national rate.



#### **Asian-American Turnout in 2024 Competitive Congressional Districts**

The majority of 2024 competitive districts with large shares of Asian-American eligible voters had lower Asian-American eligible voter turnout rates than seen nationally in the 2022 general election (Figure 2). While 27.2% of Asian-American eligible voters across the country cast a ballot in 2022, Asian-Amerian eligible voter turnout in the ten 2024 competitive districts examined in this section ranged from 8.8% (AK-1) to 38.4% (CA-47). Eligible Asian-American turnout was highest in California's 47<sup>th</sup> (38.4%), California's 45<sup>th</sup> (36.6%), and New Jersey's 7<sup>th</sup> (36.7%), which were the only competitive districts with an Asian-American turnout rate over the national rate. Alaska's at-large congressional district, the only toss up Democratic district, had by far the lowest turnout rates (8.8%), while the second lowest Asian-American eligible voter turnout rate in 2022 was in California's 13<sup>th</sup> (20.0%), which is rated toss up Republican in 2024.

Note: For Asian-American registered voter turnout in 2024 competitive congressional districts in the 2022 general election, see the appendix.



# Opportunities for Asian-American Eligible Voter Mobilization in 2024 Competitive Congressional Districts

In all ten 2024 competitive districts, Asian Americans were underrepresented in both registered and voting populations compared to their shares of the eligible voter populations in the 2022 general election (Table 7).

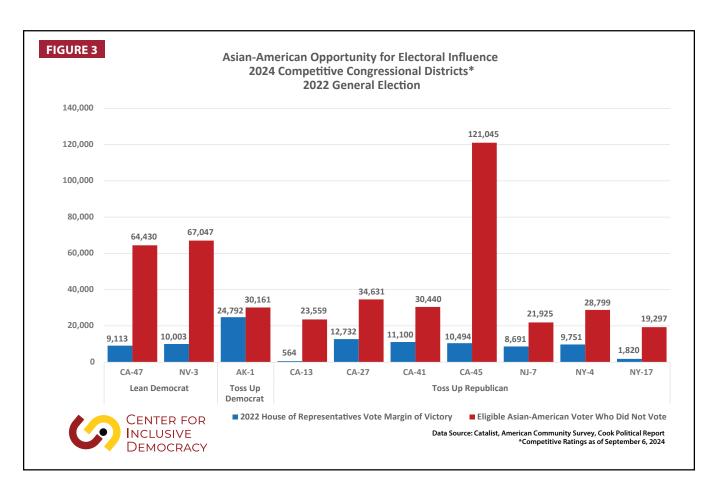
California's 45<sup>th</sup> district had an eligible voter population that was over 37% Asian American in 2022 (the fourth highest among all congressional district across the country), yet 35% of registered voters and 31.7% of those who cast a ballot in the district were Asian American. Similarly, around 15% of votes cast in California's 47<sup>th</sup> district were Asian American, while just under 20% of eligible voters were Asian American (15<sup>th</sup> highest across all 435 congressional districts). Similar trends were seen in competitive districts with Asian-American shares of eligible voters closer to the national rate. Just under 5% of eligible voters in New York's 17<sup>th</sup> district, for example, were Asian American in 2022, yet only 3.2% of registered voters and 2.2% of actual voters casting a ballot in the district were Asian American. While these congressional districts are continuing a historic trend of Asian Americans' underrepresentation in the country's voting population, the gaps between their share of eligible voters and those who vote in elections underscores their potential for greater influence on election outcomes.<sup>7</sup>

Table 7: Asian-American Electoral Representation 2024 Competitive Congressional Districts* 2022 General Election											
Congressional District	Competitive Rating	Asian- American Share of Eligible Voters	Asian- American Share of Eligible Voters Rank**	Asian- American Share of Registered Voters	Asian- American Share of Registered Voters Rank**	Asian- American Share of Votes Cast	Asian- American Share of Votes Cast Rank**				
California's 47th	Lean Democrat	19.8%	15	18.4%	12	15.0%	13				
Nevada's 3rd	Lean Democrat	16.2%	28	11.9%	35	9.3%	35				
Alaska's At-Large	Toss Up Democrat	6.2%	109	2.2%	181	1.1%	224				
California's 13th	Toss Up Republican	7.0%	81	5.0%	93	4.3%	82				
California's 27th	Toss Up Republican	9.1%	60	5.8%	74	5.4%	62				
California's 41st	Toss Up Republican	7.4%	75	5.1%	89	4.0%	90				
California's 45th	Toss Up Republican	37.3%	4	35.0%	3	31.7%	3				
New Jersey's 7th	Toss Up Republican	6.1%	111	5.1%	88	4.1%	88				
New York's 4th	Toss Up Republican	6.6%	96	4.5%	101	2.8%	122				
New York's 17th	Toss Up Republican	4.8%	124	3.2%	136	2.2%	150				

Data Source: Catalist, American Community Survey, Cook Political Report
\*Competitive Rankings as of September 6, 2024

<sup>\*\*</sup>Rankings across all 435 congressional districts in descending order, with highest share ranking 1

The number of Asian-American eligible voters who did not cast a ballot in 2022 was higher than the 2022 House of Representatives vote margin of victory in all ten 2024 competitive congressional districts examined (Figure 3). In many of these districts, the number of Asian-American eligible voters who did not vote is a magnitude larger than the vote margin of victory, emphasizing Asian Americans' potential influence in these districts. In California's 13<sup>th</sup> district, for example, only 564 votes separated the top two candidates for the house of representatives, while over twenty-three thousand Asian American eligible voters did not cast a ballot. With a vote margin of victory just over 1,800 in New York's 17<sup>th</sup> district in 2022, more than ten times that number of Asian-American eligible voters did not cast a ballot (19,297). Even in districts with relatively large margin of vote victory counts, Asian-American eligible voters have tremendous electoral potential. In Alaska's only congressional district, nearly twenty-five thousand votes separated the top two house candidates in 2022, six thousand votes less than the number of Asian-American eligible voters who did not cast a ballot (30,161).



#### **Black Eligible Voters in 2024 Competitive Districts**

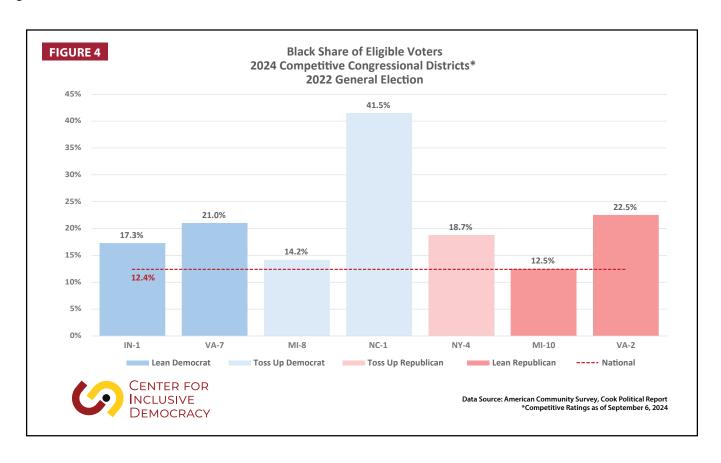
#### **Key Takeaways**

- Seven of the forty-three 2024 competitive congressional districts had a higher share of eligible voters who were Black in 2022 than the national rate (12.4%).
- The majority of 2024 competitive districts with large shares of Black eligible voters had higher Black eligible voter turnout rates than the national rate.
- Black eligible voters were underrepresented in their share of voters casting a ballot in the 2022 general election in all seven 2024 competitive congressional districts with large shares of Black eligible voters.
- The number of Black eligible voters who did not cast a ballot in 2022 was higher than the 2022 House of Representatives vote margin of victory in all seven 2024 competitive congressional districts examined.

Black Americans represent a significant share of the country's electorate and have tremendous potential to influence national and local election outcomes. While 12.4% of the nation's eligible voters were Black at the time of the 2022 general election, some competitive congressional districts have even higher shares of eligible voters who are Black. Heading into the 2024 general election, mobilizing these eligible voters could have large impacts on election outcomes. The following section examines the 2024 competitive congressional districts in which the share of eligible voters who were Black is above the national share.

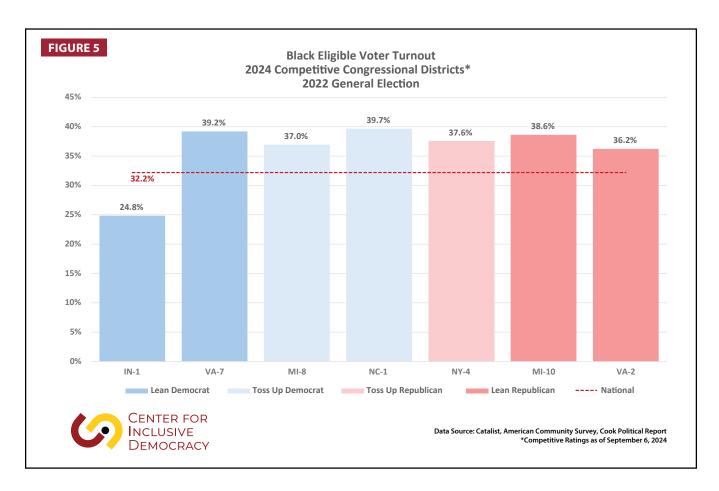
#### **Black Eligible Voters in 2024 Competitive Congressional Districts**

Seven of the forty-three 2024 competitive congressional districts had a higher share of eligible voters who were Black in 2022 than the national rate. Of these seven districts, two were rated as lean Democrat, two were rated toss up Democrat, one was rated toss up Republican, and two were rated lean Republican (Figure 4). Over 41% of eligible voters in North Carolina's 1<sup>st</sup> district, rated as toss up Democrat, were Black in 2022, by far the largest share among 2024 competitive districts. The remaining six districts had between 12.5% (Michigan's 10<sup>th</sup>) and 22.5% (Virginia's 2<sup>nd</sup>) of their eligible voters that were Black at the time of the midterm election.



#### **Black Turnout in 2024 Competitive Congressional Districts**

The majority of 2024 competitive districts with large shares of Black eligible voters had higher Black eligible voter turnout rates than their national rate of 32.2% (Figure 5). While just over 32% of Black eligible voters throughout the country cast a ballot in 2022, only Indiana's 1<sup>st</sup> district (rated lean Democrat) had a lower eligible voter turnout rate (24.8%). The remaining six had higher Black eligible voter turnout rates than seen nationally, ranging from 36.2% in Virginia's 2<sup>nd</sup> district to 39.7% in North Carolina's 1<sup>st</sup> district. While the majority of these 2024 competitive districts had higher Black turnout rates than the national turnout rate, large shares of Black eligible voters did not cast a ballot, leaving significant opportunity for voter mobilization.



Note: For Black registered voter turnout in 2024 competitive congressional districts in the 2022 general election, see the appendix.

# Opportunities for Black Eligible Voter Mobilization in 2024 Competitive Congressional Districts

Black eligible voters were underrepresented in their share of voters in the 2022 general election in all seven 2024 competitive congressional districts with large shares of Black eligible voters (Table 8). In North Carolina's 1st district, for example, over 41% of eligible voters were Black in 2022 (ranked 30th among all 435 districts), yet only 36.4% of voters casting a ballot were Black (Ranked 33rd). In Virginia's 7th district, around one-fifth of eligible voters were Black (ranked 80th) yet only 16.6% of voters casting a ballot in 2022 were Black (ranked 70th). Similar trends are seen throughout all 2024 competitive districts with large populations of Black eligible voters. These representation gaps underscore the potential among Black eligible voters for electoral influence in these competitive districts and mobilizing them could impact both national and local elections.

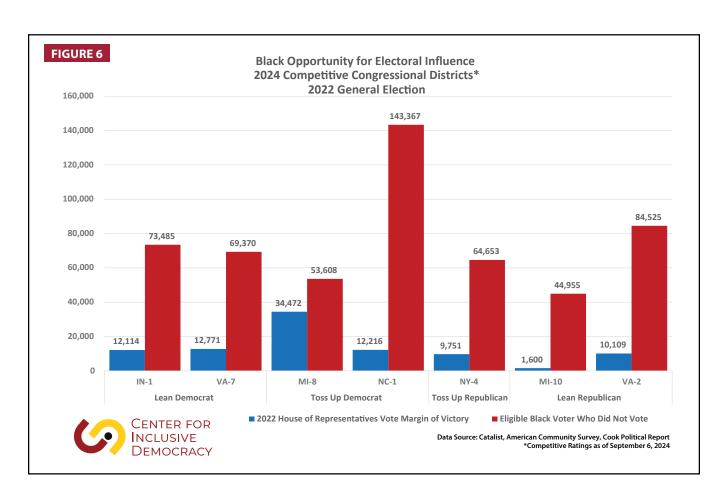
Table 8: Black Electoral Representation 2024 Competitive Congressional Districts* 2022 General Election											
Congressional District	Black Share of Eligible Voters	Black Share of Eligible Voters Rank**	Black Share of Registered Voters	Black Share of Registered Voters Rank**	Black Share of Votes Cast	Black Share of Votes Cast Rank**					
Indiana's 1st	Lean Democrat	17.3%	103	18.1%	93	11.6%	110				
Virginia's 7th	Lean Democrat	21.0%	80	19.8%	78	16.6%	70				
Michigan's 8th	Toss Up Democrat	14.2%	122	15.3%	108	9.3%	133				
North Carolina's 1st	Toss Up Democrat	41.5%	30	42.5%	30	36.4%	33				
New York's 4th	New York's 4th Toss Up Republican 18.7%		87	18.2%	92	14.1%	91				
Michigan's 10th	Lean Republican	12.5%	141	11.9%	134	8.5%	141				
Virginia's 2nd	Lean Republican	22.5%	71	21.1%	72	16.5%	72				

Data Source: Catalist, American Community Survey, Cook Political Report
\*Competitive Rankings as of September 6, 2024

<sup>\*\*</sup>Rankings across all 435 congressional districts in descending order, with highest share ranking 1

The number of Black eligible voters who did not cast a ballot in 2022 was higher than the 2022 House of Representatives vote margin of victory in all seven 2024 competitive congressional districts examined (Figure 6).

The number of Black eligible voters who did not vote in 2022 was at least 1.5 times higher than the vote margin of victory, and often much higher than that. In Michigan's 10<sup>th</sup> district, for example, just 1,600 votes separated the top two house candidates while nearly 45,000 Black eligible voters did not cast a ballot (28 times the size of the margin of victory). In North Carolina's 1<sup>st</sup> district, over 143,000 Black eligible voters didn't cast a ballot in 2022, more than eleven times higher than the vote margin of victory (12,216 votes). Even in districts with relatively large vote margins of victories, the number of Black eligible voters who did not vote still exceeds it. A little over 34,000 votes separated the top two house candidates in Michigan's 8<sup>th</sup> district, yet over 53,000 Black eligible voters in the district did not cast a ballot.



#### **Latino Eligible Voters in 2024 Competitive Districts**

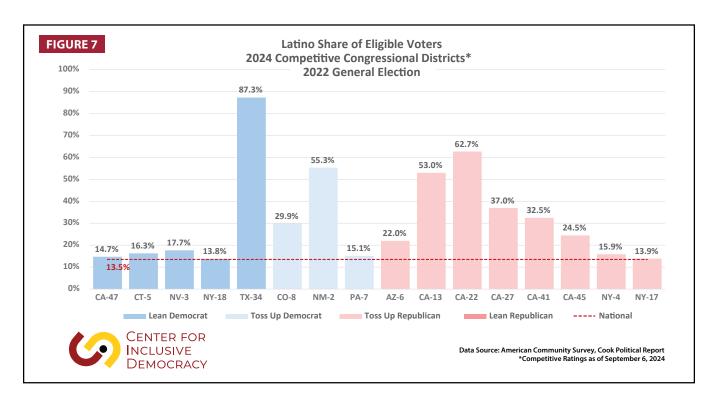
#### **Key Takeaways**

- Latinos comprised more than 13.5% (national share) of the eligible voter population in 16 of the 2024 competitive congressional districts in the 2022 general election.
- The majority of 2024 competitive congressional districts with a large share of Latino eligible voters had Latino eligible voter turnout higher than the national turnout rate.
- Latinos represented smaller shares of registered voters and votes cast than their share of eligible voters in all sixteen 2024 competitive districts.
- In all sixteen competitive districts examined, the number of Latino eligible voters who did not vote was magnitudes larger than the vote margin of victory between the top two House of Representatives candidates in 2022.

While representing 13.5% of the nation's eligible voters, Latinos have tremendous potential to influence local and national elections. In some 2024 competitive congressional districts, Latinos represent even larger shares of the electorate than seen nationally, only emphasizing their potential influence. More than one-third of the congressional districts rated as competitive in the upcoming 2024 election had more than 13.5% of their eligible voting populations that were Latino during the 2022 general election. The following sections examines the 2024 competitive congressional districts in which the share of eligible voters who were Latino is above the national share.

#### **Latino Eligible Voters in 2024 Competitive Congressional Districts**

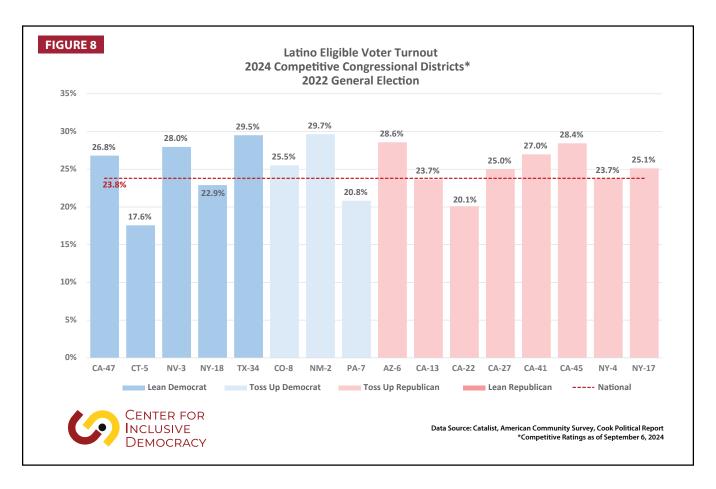
Latinos represented more than 13.5% (national share) of the eligible voter population in 16 of the 2024 competitive congressional districts in the 2022 general election. Of those sixteen districts, five were rated as lean Democrat, three were rated as toss up Democrat, and eight were rated as toss up Republican (Figure 7). Competitive districts with the highest shares of eligible voters that were Latino were concentrated in Texas, California, and New Mexico. Over 87% of eligible voters in Texas' 34<sup>th</sup> district were Latino in 2022, while Latinos represented nearly 63% of eligible voters in California's 22<sup>nd</sup> district, 55.3% of eligible voters in New Mexico's 2<sup>nd</sup> district, and 53.0% in California's 13<sup>th</sup> district. Latinos represented between 13.8% (New York's 18<sup>th</sup>) and 37.0% (California's 27<sup>th</sup>) in the remaining twelve competitive districts examined in this section.



#### **Latino Turnout in 2024 Competitive Congressional Districts**

The majority of 2024 competitive congressional districts with large share of Latino eligible voters had Latino eligible voter turnout higher than the national rate (Figure 8). With just under 24% of Latino eligible voters across the nation voting in the 2022 general election, ten of the districts examined in this section had higher eligible voter turnout rates, ranging from 25.0% in California's 27<sup>th</sup> district to 29.7% in New Mexico's 2<sup>nd</sup> district. Among the six districts with lower turnout than the national rate, Latino eligible voter turnout ranged from 17.6% in Connecticut's 5<sup>th</sup> district to 23.7% in both California's 13<sup>th</sup> and New York's 4<sup>th</sup> districts.

Despite the majority of these districts having higher Latino turnout rates than the nation turnout rate, at least 70% of Latino eligible voters did not cast a ballot in 2022, emphasizing the vast opportunity for these voters to influence election outcomes.



Note: For Latino registered voter turnout in 2024 competitive congressional districts in the 2022 general election, see the appendix.

# Opportunities for Latino Eligible Voter Mobilization in 2024 Competitive Congressional Districts

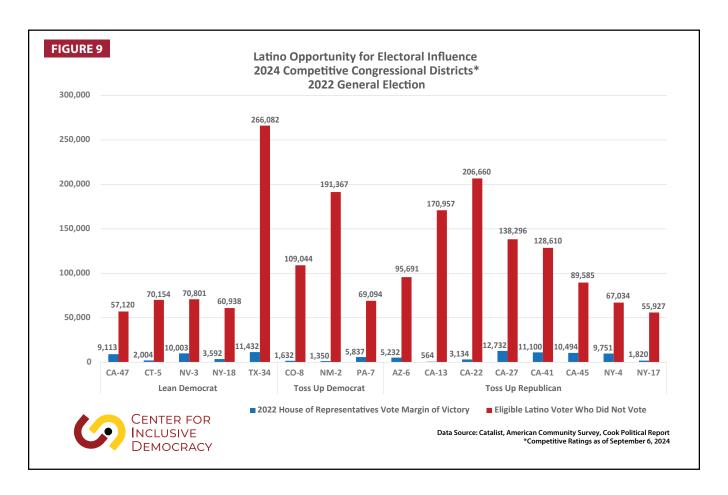
Latinos represented smaller shares of registered voters and actual voters than their share of eligible voters in all sixteen 2024 competitive districts examined (Table 9). While Latinos' underrepresentation varied across districts, the gaps between their share of eligible voters and actual voters casting a ballot in 2022 was notable. While 53% of eligible voters in California's 13<sup>th</sup> district were Latino in 2022, only 38.9% of actual voters were Latino, a fourteen percentage point representation gap. Texas' 34<sup>th</sup> district had the highest percentage of eligible, registered, and actual voters that were Latino in all 435 districts, the district still had a five-percentage point representation gap between Latinos' share of eligible voters (87.3%) and their share of ballots cast (82.2%). These representation gaps were even more notable in competitive districts with relatively smaller shares of Latino eligible voters. Just 6.7% of votes were cast by Latinos in New York's 18<sup>th</sup> district, less than half their share of eligible voters (13.8%).

Table 9: Latino Electoral Representation 2024 Competitive Congressional Districts* 2022 General Election											
Congressional District	Competitive Rating	Latino Share of Eligible Voters	Latino Share of Eligible Voters Rank**	Latino Share of Registered Voters	Latino Share of Registered Voters Rank**	Latino Share of Votes Cast	Latino Share of Votes Cast Rank**				
California's 47th	Lean Democrat	14.7%	141	10.7%	151	7.8%	129				
Connecticut's 5th	Lean Democrat	16.3%	122	12.0%	136	6.1%	162				
Nevada's 3rd	Lean Democrat	17.7%	116	14.4%	117	11.0%	97				
New York's 18th	Lean Democrat	13.8%	151	10.6%	152	6.7%	148				
Texas' 34th	Lean Democrat	87.3%	1	88.4%	1	82.2%	1				
Colorado's 8th	Toss Up Democrat	29.9%	56	24.0%	58	15.2%	67				
New Mexico's 2nd	Toss Up Democrat	55.3%	20	51.0%	29	42.5%	19				
Pennsylvania's 7th	Toss Up Democrat	15.1%	137	11.9%	138	6.1%	159				
Arizona's 6th	Toss Up Republican	22.0%	81	15.7%	104	11.0%	98				
California's 13th	Toss Up Republican	53.0%	25	52.0%	24	38.9%	29				
California's 22nd	Toss Up Republican	62.7%	10	62.2%	8	49.1%	11				
California's 27th	Toss Up Republican	37.0%	44	32.8%	45	23.1%	45				
California's 41st	Toss Up Republican	32.5%	53	29.2%	51	19.8%	52				
California's 45th	Toss Up Republican	24.5%	69	21.9%	65	16.2%	62				
New York's 4th	Toss Up Republican	15.9%	128	12.0%	137	7.5%	133				
New York's 17th	Toss Up Republican	13.9%	150	10.1%	158	6.5%	154				

Data Source: Catalist, American Community Survey, Cook Political Report
\*Competitive Rankings as of September 6, 2024

<sup>\*\*</sup>Rankings across all 435 congressional districts in descending order, with highest share ranking 1

In all sixteen competitive districts examined, the number of Latino eligible voters who did not vote was magnitudes larger than the vote margin of victory between the top two House of Representatives candidates in 2022 (Figure 9). Over 70,000 Latino eligible voters did not cast a ballot in Connecticut's 5<sup>th</sup> district in 2022, more than thirty-five times the vote margin of victory (2,004 votes). In Texas' 34<sup>th</sup> district, the district with the highest share of eligible voters that were Latino in 2022, over 265,000 Latino eligible voters did not vote while only 11,432 votes separated the top two House candidates. California's 13<sup>th</sup> district had the smallest vote margin of victory with just 564 votes deciding the winner, significantly smaller than the 170,957 Latino eligible voters that did not cast a ballot. These trends are seen across all sixteen districts, further emphasizing Latino eligible voters' potential influence on local and national elections.



#### **Summary**

In the first presidential election since the 2020 redistricting process, forty-three congressional districts are rated as competitive according to the Cook Political Report, roughly ten percent of districts across the country. The 2022 midterm election, the first election cycle conducted under the newly drawn boundaries, can offer insights into voters and voting behavior within these districts and answer questions going into the 2024 general election in November.

Among the 2024 competitive districts, 13 are rated as lean Democrat, 11 are rated as toss up Democrat, 13 are rated as toss up Republican, and 6 are rated as lean Republican. These districts varied in their political, racial, and ethnic composition in 2022, with some districts having large shares of their electorate with one race and ethnicity. No matter the racial and ethnic makeup of their eligible electorates, all forty-three districts had eligible voter turnout gaps between the general population and eligible voters of color. Further, the number of eligible voters of color who did not cast a ballot in 2022 exceeded the House of Representatives vote margin of victory in all competitive districts, underscoring these voters' tremendous potential electoral power.

When examining competitive districts with large shares eligible voters who were Asian American, Black, or Latino, the potential electoral power of these eligible voters was further emphasized. Asian Americans represented more than their national share of eligible voters (4.7%) in ten of the forty-three 2024 competitive congressional districts, while Black Americans were more than their national share (12.4%) in seven districts, and Latinos comprised more than their national share (13.5%) in sixteen districts at the time of the 2022 general election. Across all of these districts, Asian-American, Black, and Latino voters made up smaller shares of actual ballots cast than their share of eligible voters, despite often representing significant shares of the electorate. Further, the number of Asian-American, Black, and Latino eligible voters who did not vote in these districts exceeded, often by many orders of magnitude, the House of Representatives vote margin of victory.

Mobilizing Asian-American, Black, and Latino eligible voter populations – each politically diverse with unique viewpoints and experiences – in these competitive districts could impact election outcomes throughout the country. Greater and more sustained non-partisan investments (from governmental, philanthropic, and community sources) to register and reach out to Asian-American, Black, and Latino 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, it will also help create a more representative and healthy democracy.

#### **Notes**

- 1 For more information on the data used in the redistricting process, see: https://www.census.gov/newsroom/press-kits/2021/2020-census-redistricting.html
- 2 For more information on competitive districts and their ratings, see: <a href="https://www.cookpolitical.com/ratings/house-race-ratings">https://www.cookpolitical.com/ratings/house-race-ratings</a>
- For more information on the American Community Survey Citizen Voting Age Population (CVAP) Special Tabulation, see: <a href="https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/about/voting-rights/cvap.html">https://www.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial-census/about/voting-rights/cvap.html</a>
- 4 For more information on Cook Political Report, see: <a href="https://www.cookpolitical.com/about">https://www.cookpolitical.com/about</a>
- 5 For more information on competitive districts and their ratings, see: https://www.cookpolitical.com/ratings/house-race-ratings
- For more information on national eligible voter turnout rates in the 2022 general election, see:

  https://static1.squarespace.com/static/57b8c7ce15d5dbf599fb46ab/t/65b84a94aa8f0b421c20f4c1/1706576540400/USC%2BCID%2BThe%2BNew
  %2BElectorate%2B-%2BThe%2BStrength%2Bof%2Bthe%2BLatino%2C%2BBlack%2Band%2BAsian-American%2BVote%2B%281%29.pdf
- For more information on eligible voters of color and representation in past elections, see:
   <a href="https://static1.squarespace.com/static/57b8c7ce15d5dbf599fb46ab/t/65b84a94aa8f0b421c20f4c1/1706576540400/USC%2BCID%2BThe%2BNew%2BElectorate%2B-%2BThe%2BStrength%2Bof%2Bthe%2BLatino%2C%2BBlack%2Band%2BAsian-American%2BVote%2B%281%29.pdf">https://static1.squarespace.com/static/57b8c7ce15d5dbf599fb46ab/t/65b84a94aa8f0b421c20f4c1/1706576540400/USC%2BCID%2BThe%2BNew%2BElectorate%2B-%2BThe%2BStrength%2Bof%2Bthe%2BLatino%2C%2BBlack%2Band%2BAsian-American%2BVote%2B%281%29.pdf</a>

### **Appendix**

# Registered Voter Turnout 2024 Competitive Congressional Districts\* 2022 General Election

2022 General Election										
Congressional District	Competitive Rating	Total RVT	Total RVT Ranking**	Asian- American RVT	Asian- American RVT Ranking**	Black RVT	Black RVT Ranking**	Latino RVT	Latino RVT Ranking**	
California's 47th	Lean Democrat	60.6%	60	49.5%	25	43.7%	59	44.3%	27	
Connecticut's 5th	Lean Democrat	51.8%	199	35.2%	221	30.9%	298	26.2%	294	
Illinois' 17th	Lean Democrat	48.4%	271	26.7%	355	22.6%	416	24.2%	324	
Indiana's 1st	Lean Democrat	38.3%	391	21.4%	408	24.4%	407	24.7%	317	
Minnesota's 2nd	Lean Democrat	70.9%	11	47.6%	45	42.0%	81	42.1%	47	
Nevada's 3rd	Lean Democrat	46.3%	308	36.4%	205	30.8%	301	35.1%	117	
New York's 18th	Lean Democrat	51.7%	200	35.4%	219	34.3%	232	32.7%	167	
New York's 22nd	Lean Democrat	53.2%	168	24.3%	385	24.1%	409	21.9%	362	
Ohio's 9th	Lean Democrat	50.6%	222	35.6%	216	26.6%	378	27.6%	263	
Oregon's 6th	Lean Democrat	56.1%	114	43.2%	81	29.0%	338	29.5%	228	
Pennsylvania's 17th	Lean Democrat	68.2%	20	52.6%	14	44.6%	49	46.6%	16	
Texas' 34th	Lean Democrat	35.6%	417	32.9%	264	34.9%	222	33.1%	162	
Virginia's 7th	Lean Democrat	50.0%	234	33.9%	248	41.9%	86	32.0%	175	
Alaska's At-Large	Toss Up Democrat	45.2%	318	22.6%	395	28.3%	352	27.4%	270	
Colorado's 8th	Toss Up Democrat	54.0%	151	40.4%	125	34.5%	228	34.2%	136	
Maine's 2nd	Toss Up Democrat	58.6%	80	32.5%	278	27.1%	371	33.9%	144	
Michigan's 7th	Toss Up Democrat	61.1%	54	45.2%	62	36.3%	192	39.9%	60	
Michigan's 8th	Toss Up Democrat	52.2%	191	38.9%	149	31.7%	284	33.3%	156	
North Carolina's 1st	Toss Up Democrat	50.5%	225	36.9%	193	43.3%	67	21.7%	367	
New Mexico's 2nd	Toss Up Democrat	48.2%	274	36.7%	199	34.5%	229	40.2%	59	
Ohio's 13th	Toss Up Democrat	55.9%	117	33.3%	256	30.7%	305	29.4%	232	
Pennsylvania's 7th	Toss Up Democrat	59.3%	72	44.9%	64	33.6%	250	30.5%	209	
Pennsylvania's 8th	Toss Up Democrat	59.8%	67	36.7%	197	34.0%	242	33.2%	158	
Washington's 3rd	Toss Up Democrat	59.1%	74	39.9%	136	31.5%	287	29.9%	218	
Arizona's 1st	Toss Up Republican	63.7%	38	55.0%	6	33.5%	256	43.1%	39	
Arizona's 6th	Toss Up Republican	63.2%	40	49.3%	27	36.9%	178	44.0%	32	
California's 13th	Toss Up Republican	42.6%	337	37.0%	192	38.5%	146	31.8%	183	
California's 22nd	Toss Up Republican	35.9%	411	52.0%	16	28.3%	351	28.3%	247	
California's 27th	Toss Up Republican	46.1%	313	43.2%	80	33.6%	253	32.4%	168	
California's 41st	Toss Up Republican	52.7%	179	41.2%	113	43.6%	60	35.7%	109	
California's 45th	Toss Up Republican	51.6%	203	46.7%	49	44.5%	51	38.2%	77	
Nebraska's 2nd	Toss Up Republican	55.4%	123	34.9%	226	29.7%	327	26.1%	295	
New Jersey's 7th	Toss Up Republican	51.3%	208	40.8%	121	37.6%	164	32.8%	166	
New York's 4th	Toss Up Republican	48.7%	265	30.2%	307	37.8%	160	30.8%	205	
New York's 17th	Toss Up Republican	54.0%	150	36.8%	196	38.8%	137	34.8%	125	
New York's 19th	Toss Up Republican	54.5%	137	30.8%	298	26.2%	384	28.3%	246	
Oregon's 5th	Toss Up Republican	58.8%	79	42.4%	95	30.7%	306	33.1%	163	
lowa's 1st	Lean Republican	53.1%	173	33.7%	251	18.7%	428	24.0%	329	
Iowa's 3rd	Lean Republican	57.6%	93	31.0%	297	28.7%	345	25.8%	300	
Michigan's 10th	Lean Republican	54.2%	145	41.1%	115	38.8%	136	38.1%	80	
Pennsylvania's 10th	Lean Republican	62.0%	45	41.8%	101	38.2%	149	25.5%	306	
Virginia's 2nd	Lean Republican	51.1%	213	38.4%	163	39.9%	120	31.6%	186	
Wisconsin's 3rd	Lean Republican	74.8%	6	47.6%	42	52.0%	8	53.4%	4	
									Political Report	

Data Source: Catalist, Cook Political Report \*Competitive Ratings as of September 6, 2024

<sup>\*\*</sup> RVT Rankings are rankings across all 435 congressional districts ranked in descending order, with the highest RVT being ranked 1

