



# 2020 Vote Simulations

Benchmarking where and when the Latino vote could be pivotal in this election

# About this project



## VOTE SIMULATIONS, NOT FORECASTS

### **What this is**

Our aim is to identify when and where the Latino vote has the potential to be pivotal to the outcome of the election, toward helping campaigns and funders make wise resource decisions and contextualizing polling for other observers.

### **What this isn't**

Our goal is not to make a prediction about the ultimate outcome of the election, or to put a number on the likelihood that each candidate will win (a la 538 or The Economist.)

## TWO KINDS OF STATES

### **Latino Bulwarks**

*Florida, Arizona, Nevada*

States where Latinx performance is uniquely critical to a Democratic win in most scenarios

### **Latino Boosts**

*North Carolina, Pennsylvania*

States where Latinx performance plays a pivotal role in a tight contest

## DATA ON RACIAL COMPOSITION OF THE ELECTORATE

Estimates on the racial/ethnic composition of the electorate come from three main sources: exit polling, census data, and analysis of voter file data.

These estimates can differ widely, even for the same election. **(E.g. exit polls have Latinos as 6% of all votes cast in PA in 2016; voter file analysis puts it anywhere between 2% and 3.5%. )**

The range of Latino vote share scenarios used here is intend to gauge the impact both of (a) actual shifts in turnout and (b) the different assumptions made by pollsters and analysts.

## HOW TO READ THE TABLES

- These tables report Biden's projected share of the two-party vote in different scenarios. Therefore, **>50% is a win in the state (green)** and **<50% is a loss (red)**.
- To identify the conditions under which the Hispanic vote can be pivotal to the outcome of the election, we calculate the two-party vote based on a credible range of Hispanic vote shares and support levels.
- As Hispanic vote share increases, non-Hispanic white vote share decreases commensurately. Each scenario holds the level of white support constant while allowing Hispanic support to vary across a credible range.
- For purposes of the exercise, vote share and support levels for non-Hispanic Black voters and other groups in the electorate are held constant throughout at the historical average for elections since 2012 (based on estimates by TargetSmart)— except when otherwise noted. It's important to note that increases in performance among Black or AAPI voters could also serve to make up gaps identified here.

# HOW TO READ THE TABLES

>50% is a scenario where Biden wins the state (green)

<50% is a scenario in which Biden loses the state (red)

{The % of Latinos who supported previous Dem candidates, per exit polls}

{Current % of Latinos supporting Biden—based on Equis polling}

{The % of Latinos who vote for Biden in 2020, among those who vote for either Biden or Trump, aka 2-way}

	Clinton 2016				Biden Today		Sinema 2018							Generic D 2019
	64%	65%	66%	67%	68%	69%	70%	71%	72%	73%	74%	75%	71%	
9%	49.3%	49.4%	49.5%	49.6%	49.7%	49.8%	49.8%	49.9%	50.0%	50.1%	50.2%	50.3%	50.4%	
10%	49.5%	49.6%	49.7%	49.8%	49.9%	50.0%	50.1%	50.2%	50.3%	50.4%	50.5%	50.6%	50.7%	
11%	49.6%	49.8%	49.9%	50.0%	50.1%	50.2%	50.3%	50.4%	50.5%	50.6%	50.7%	50.9%	51.0%	
12%	49.8%	49.9%	50.1%	50.2%	50.3%	50.4%	50.5%	50.7%	50.8%	50.9%	51.0%	51.1%	51.3%	
13%	50.0%	50.1%	50.2%	50.4%	50.5%	50.6%	50.8%	50.9%	51.0%	51.2%	51.3%	51.4%	51.5%	
14%	50.2%	50.3%	50.4%	50.6%	50.7%	50.9%	51.0%	51.1%	51.3%	51.4%	51.6%	51.7%	51.8%	
15%	50.3%	50.5%	50.6%	50.8%	50.9%	51.1%	51.2%	51.4%	51.5%	51.7%	51.8%	52.0%	52.1%	
16%	50.5%	50.7%	50.8%	51.0%	51.1%	51.3%	51.5%	51.6%	51.8%	51.9%	52.1%	52.3%	52.4%	
17%	50.7%	50.8%	51.0%	51.2%	51.4%	51.5%	51.7%	51.9%	52.0%	52.2%	52.4%	52.5%	52.7%	
18%	50.8%	51.0%	51.2%	51.4%	51.6%	51.7%	51.9%	52.1%	52.3%	52.5%	52.6%	52.8%	53.0%	

{Of all voters who cast a ballot in 2020, the % that are Latino}

{Expected outcomes at current % of Latino support + likeliest range of Latino vote share}

## CALCULATING THE TWO-WAY VOTE

For an apples-to-apples comparison, Democratic support is presented as a **“two-way”** number, to remove undecided or third party votes.

$$\frac{\text{Dem \%}}{\text{Dem \%} + \text{Rep \%}}$$

If the poll says →

Biden 60% | Trump 20%

Adjusted 2way vote →

Biden 75%



## EQUIS POLLING

- Latino vote choice in the 2020 data comes from Equis Research surveys. (Figures from “today” refer to the August 2020 wave of polls.)
- Equis operates a subscription model to provide high-quality polling of Latino voters to advocacy, civic engagement and electoral organizations.
- The polling is conducted by research partners (GBAO, TargetSmart, Latino Decisions, EMC Research, GSG, Myers Research)
- All polls are multi-modal (live interview calls via both landlines and cellphones, and online surveys via multiple recruitment methods). Calls are made by bilingual callers who offer a choice of interview language. (Our spring 2020 survey also utilized SMS/text.)
- 37,530 total interviews since July 2019

	Sample Sizes						
State	July 2019	Oct	Nov	Dec	Feb 2020	May	Aug 2020
AZ	700	600	600	600		600	600
CO	700	600	600	600	600	600	600
FL	1200	600	600	600		800	1000
MI	500	400	400	400		400	
NC	500	400	400	400		400	400
NM	700	600	600	600		600	
NV	600	600	600	600	600	500	600
PA						600	
TX	1000	985	945	1000	1000	800	
VA	500	400	400	400		400	
WI	500	400	400	400		400	
CA CDs	1200	1200	—	—	—	—	
<b>Total</b>	<b>8100</b>	<b>6785</b>	<b>5545</b>	<b>5600</b>	<b>2200</b>	<b>6100</b>	<b>3200</b>



# Arizona

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## ARIZONA

- Biden needs the Hispanic vote to win in Arizona even in the most optimistic white vote scenarios.
- Our current polling puts Biden in a fairly strong position, as long as white support remains high.
- If white support drops back toward Clinton's 2016 performance, it becomes critical for Biden to push up both Hispanic support and turnout.

# ARIZONA

→ WHITE SUPPORT FOR BIDEN AT AVERAGE OF PUBLIC POLLING **47%**

		LATINO DEM SUPPORT (2way)												
LATINO VOTE SHARE		Clinton 2016				Biden Today		Sinema 2018	M. Kelly Today					Generic D 2019
		64%	65%	66%	67%	68%	69%	70%	71%	72%	73%	74%	75%	71%
	9%	49.3%	49.4%	49.5%	49.60%	49.7%	49.8%	49.8%	49.9%	50.0%	50.1%	50.2%	50.3%	50.4%
	10%	49.5%	49.6%	49.7%	49.8%	49.9%	50.0%	50.1%	50.2%	50.3%	50.4%	50.5%	50.6%	50.7%
	11%	49.6%	49.8%	49.9%	50.0%	50.1%	50.2%	50.3%	50.4%	50.5%	50.6%	50.7%	50.9%	51.0%
	12%	49.8%	49.9%	50.1%	50.2%	50.3%	50.4%	50.5%	50.7%	50.8%	50.9%	51.0%	51.1%	51.3%
	13%	50.0%	50.1%	50.2%	50.4%	50.5%	50.6%	50.8%	50.9%	51.0%	51.2%	51.3%	51.4%	51.5%
	14%	50.2%	50.3%	50.4%	50.6%	50.7%	50.9%	51.0%	51.1%	51.3%	51.4%	51.6%	51.7%	51.8%
	15%	50.3%	50.5%	50.6%	50.8%	50.9%	51.1%	51.2%	51.4%	51.5%	51.7%	51.8%	52.0%	52.1%
	16%	50.5%	50.7%	50.8%	51.0%	51.1%	51.3%	51.5%	51.6%	51.8%	51.9%	52.1%	52.3%	52.4%
	17%	50.7%	50.8%	51.0%	51.2%	51.4%	51.5%	51.7%	51.9%	52.0%	52.2%	52.4%	52.5%	52.7%
	18%	50.8%	51.0%	51.2%	51.4%	51.6%	51.7%	51.9%	52.1%	52.3%	52.5%	52.6%	52.8%	53.0%

Biden and Kelly both likely to win the state if this level of support holds.

# ARIZONA

→ WHITE SUPPORT FOR BIDEN AT 2018 (SINEMA) LEVELS **46%**

LATINO VOTE SHARE	LATINO DEM SUPPORT (2way)												
	Clinton 2016					Biden Today			Sinema 2018	M. Kelly Today			
	64%	65%	66%	67%	68%	69%	70%	71%	72%	73%	74%	75%	71%
	9%	48.5%	48.6%	48.6%	48.70%	48.8%	48.9%	49.0%	49.1%	49.2%	49.3%	49.4%	49.5%
	10%	48.6%	48.7%	48.8%	48.9%	49.0%	49.1%	49.2%	49.3%	49.4%	49.5%	49.6%	49.7%
	11%	48.8%	48.9%	49.0%	49.2%	49.3%	49.4%	49.5%	49.6%	49.7%	49.8%	49.9%	50.0%
	12%	49.0%	49.1%	49.2%	49.4%	49.5%	49.6%	49.7%	49.8%	50.0%	50.1%	50.2%	50.3%
	13%	49.2%	49.3%	49.4%	49.6%	49.7%	49.8%	50.0%	50.1%	50.2%	50.4%	50.5%	50.6%
	14%	49.4%	49.5%	49.6%	49.8%	49.9%	50.1%	50.2%	50.3%	50.5%	50.6%	50.8%	50.9%
	15%	49.5%	49.7%	49.8%	50.0%	50.1%	50.3%	50.4%	50.6%	50.7%	50.9%	51.0%	51.2%
16%	49.7%	49.9%	50.0%	50.2%	50.4%	50.5%	50.7%	50.8%	51.0%	51.2%	51.3%	51.5%	51.6%
17%	49.9%	50.1%	50.3%	50.4%	50.6%	50.8%	50.9%	51.1%	51.3%	51.4%	51.6%	51.8%	52.0%
18%	50.1%	50.3%	50.5%	50.6%	50.8%	51.0%	51.2%	51.4%	51.5%	51.7%	51.9%	52.1%	52.3%

At 2018 levels of white support. Biden would currently lose the state. But he could win with increases in turnout and/or support from Latino voters. (Kelly would be in very a tight race.)

# ARIZONA

→ WHITE SUPPORT A POINT LOWER THAN 2018 **45%**

		LATINO DEM SUPPORT (2way)												
LATINO VOTE SHARE		Clinton 2016				Biden Today		Sinema 2018	M. Kelly Today	Generic D 2019				
		64%	65%	66%	67%	68%	69%	70%	71%	72%	73%	74%	75%	71%
	9%	47.6%	47.7%	47.8%	47.90%	48.0%	48.1%	48.2%	48.3%	48.3%	48.4%	48.5%	48.6%	48.7%
	10%	47.8%	47.9%	48.0%	48.1%	48.2%	48.3%	48.4%	48.5%	48.6%	48.7%	48.8%	48.9%	49.0%
	11%	48.0%	48.1%	48.2%	48.3%	48.4%	48.6%	48.7%	48.8%	48.9%	49.0%	49.1%	49.2%	49.3%
	12%	48.2%	48.3%	48.4%	48.6%	48.7%	48.8%	48.9%	49.0%	49.2%	49.3%	49.4%	49.5%	49.6%
	13%	48.4%	48.5%	48.6%	48.8%	48.9%	49.0%	49.2%	49.3%	49.4%	49.6%	49.7%	49.8%	49.9%
	14%	48.6%	48.7%	48.9%	49.0%	49.1%	49.3%	49.4%	49.6%	49.7%	49.8%	50.0%	50.1%	50.3%
	15%	48.8%	48.9%	49.1%	49.2%	49.4%	49.5%	49.7%	49.8%	50.0%	50.1%	50.3%	50.4%	50.6%
	16%	49.0%	49.1%	49.3%	49.4%	49.6%	49.8%	49.9%	50.1%	50.2%	50.4%	50.6%	50.7%	50.9%
	17%	49.2%	49.3%	49.5%	49.7%	49.8%	50.0%	50.2%	50.3%	50.5%	50.7%	50.9%	51.0%	51.2%
	18%	49.3%	49.5%	49.7%	49.9%	50.1%	50.2%	50.4%	50.6%	50.8%	51.0%	51.1%	51.3%	51.5%

With an additional drop in white support, Biden only wins if he has significantly pushed both Latino support and turnout.

# ARIZONA

→ WHITE SUPPORT AT 2019 LEVELS FOR GENERIC DEM **44%\***

		LATINO DEM SUPPORT (2way)												
LATINO VOTE SHARE		Clinton 2016					Biden Today	Sinema 2018	M. Kelly Today					Generic D 2019
		64%	65%	66%	67%	68%	69%	70%	71%	72%	73%	74%	75%	71%
	9%	46.8%	46.9%	47.0%	47.10%	47.1%	47.2%	47.3%	47.4%	47.5%	47.6%	47.7%	47.8%	47.9%
	10%	47.0%	47.1%	47.2%	47.3%	47.4%	47.5%	47.6%	47.7%	47.8%	47.9%	48.0%	48.1%	48.2%
	11%	47.2%	47.3%	47.4%	47.5%	47.6%	47.7%	47.8%	48.0%	48.1%	48.2%	48.3%	48.4%	48.5%
	12%	47.4%	46.5%	47.6%	47.7%	47.9%	48.0%	48.1%	48.2%	48.3%	48.5%	48.6%	48.7%	48.8%
	13%	47.6%	47.7%	47.8%	48.0%	48.1%	48.2%	48.4%	48.5%	48.6%	48.8%	48.9%	49.0%	49.1%
	14%	47.8%	47.9%	48.1%	48.2%	48.3%	48.5%	48.6%	48.8%	48.9%	49.0%	49.2%	49.3%	49.5%
	15%	48.0%	48.1%	48.3%	48.4%	48.6%	48.7%	48.9%	49.0%	49.2%	49.3%	49.5%	49.6%	49.8%
	16%	48.2%	48.3%	48.5%	48.7%	48.8%	49.0%	49.10%	49.3%	49.5%	49.6%	49.8%	49.9%	50.1%
	17%	48.4%	48.6%	48.7%	48.9%	49.1%	49.2%	49.4%	49.6%	49.8%	49.9%	50.1%	50.3%	50.4%
	18%	48.6%	48.8%	49.0%	49.1%	49.3%	49.5%	49.7%	49.9%	50.0%	50.2%	50.4%	50.6%	50.8%

With a regression to 2019 levels of white support— still a percentage point higher than Clinton's 2016 showing— only the highest levels of Latino performance would save Biden.

**\*Below 44% white support, Biden loses under any scenario**

# Pennsylvania



## PENNSYLVANIA

- Our calculations show Biden winning the state if he can keep Black voter turnout and White support above Clinton's 2016 levels, along with a credible level of Hispanic support.
- But if White support drops back toward 2016, Biden will need high Black turnout share combined with high levels of both Latino support and turnout in order to get to a win.

- Given the unique importance of **the Black vote in Pennsylvania**, we constructed two sets of scenarios:
  - We label the first set of scenarios "optimistic," with the Black vote share set at 12.5% (the average of estimates from our in-state partners).
  - We label the second set of scenarios "regression to 2016," with the Black vote share set at 10% based on the 2016 exit polls in the state.
- Comparing the "optimistic" scenarios to the "regression to 2016" scenarios allows us to see **how the importance of the Hispanic vote shifts if Biden fails to improve upon Clinton's performance with Black voters in Florida.**

# PENNSYLVANIA

➔ BLACK SHARE OF TURNOUT AT OPTIMISTIC LEVEL **12.5%**

➔ WHITE SUPPORT TWO POINTS HIGHER THAN 2016 CLINTON OR 2012 OBAMA **44%**

		LATINO DEM SUPPORT (2way)													
LATINO VOTE SHARE		Wolf 2018	Casey 2018							Biden/ Clinton	Obama 2012				
		69%	70%	71%	72%	73%	74%	75%	76%	77%	78%	79%	80%	81%	82%
	1.0%	50.3%	50.3%	50.3%	50.3%	50.3%	50.3%	50.3%	50.3%	50.4%	50.4%	50.4%	50.4%	50.4%	50.4%
	1.5%	50.4%	50.4%	50.4%	50.4%	50.5%	50.5%	50.5%	50.5%	50.5%	50.5%	50.6%	50.6%	50.6%	50.6%
	2.0%	50.5%	50.6%	50.6%	50.6%	50.6%	50.6%	50.6%	50.7%	50.7%	50.7%	50.7%	50.7%	50.8%	50.8%
	2.5%	50.6%	50.7%	50.7%	50.7%	50.7%	50.8%	50.8%	50.8%	50.8%	50.9%	50.9%	50.9%	50.9%	51.0%
	3.0% (2012 Exit)	50.8%	50.8%	50.8%	50.9%	50.9%	50.9%	51.0%	51.0%	51.0%	51.1%	51.1%	51.1%	51.1%	51.2%
	3.5% (2016 Est.)	50.9%	50.9%	51.0%	51.0%	51.0%	51.1%	51.1%	51.2%	51.2%	51.2%	51.2%	51.3%	51.3%	51.4%
	4.0%	51.0%	51.1%	51.1%	51.2%	51.2%	51.2%	51.3%	51.3%	51.3%	51.4%	51.4%	51.5%	51.5%	51.6%
	4.5%	51.2%	51.2%	51.2%	51.3%	51.3%	51.4%	51.4%	51.5%	51.5%	51.6%	51.6%	51.7%	51.7%	51.7%
	5.0%	51.3%	51.3%	51.4%	51.4%	51.5%	51.5%	51.6%	51.6%	51.7%	51.7%	51.8%	51.8%	51.9%	51.9%
	5.5%	51.4%	51.5%	51.5%	51.6%	51.6%	51.7%	51.7%	51.8%	51.8%	51.9%	51.9%	52.0%	52.1%	52.1%
	6.0% (2016 Exit)	51.5%	51.6%	51.7%	51.7%	51.8%	51.8%	51.9%	51.9%	52.0%	52.1%	52.1%	52.2%	52.3%	52.3%

Even with a drop in white support from today's polling, Biden wins if Black turnout share is high.

**\*Above 44% white support, Biden wins in all models (recent polling has him at 50%)**

# PENNSYLVANIA

➔ BLACK SHARE OF TURNOUT AT 2016 LEVEL **10%**

➔ SAME LEVEL OF WHITE SUPPORT AS PREVIOUS TABLE **44%**

		LATINO DEM SUPPORT (2way)													
LATINO VOTE SHARE		Wolf 2018	Casey 2018						Biden/ Clinton				Obama 2012		
		69%	70%	71%	72%	73%	74%	75%	76%	77%	78%	79%	80%	81%	82%
	1.0%	49.1%	49.1%	49.2%	49.2%	49.2%	49.2%	49.2%	49.2%	49.2%	49.2%	49.2%	49.2%	49.3%	49.3%
	1.5%	49.3%	49.3%	49.3%	49.3%	49.3%	49.3%	49.3%	49.4%	49.4%	49.4%	49.4%	49.4%	49.4%	49.5%
	2.0%	49.4%	49.4%	49.4%	49.4%	49.5%	49.5%	49.5%	49.5%	49.5%	49.6%	49.6%	49.6%	49.6%	49.6%
	2.5%	49.5%	49.5%	49.6%	49.6%	49.6%	49.6%	49.7%	49.7%	49.7%	49.7%	49.8%	49.8%	49.8%	49.8%
	3.0% (2012 Exit)	49.6%	49.7%	49.7%	49.7%	49.8%	49.8%	49.8%	49.8%	49.9%	49.9%	49.9%	50.0%	50.0%	50.0%
	3.5% (2016 Est.)	49.8%	49.8%	49.8%	49.9%	49.9%	49.9%	50.0%	50.0%	50.0%	50.1%	50.1%	50.1%	50.2%	50.2%
	4.0%	49.9%	49.9%	50.0%	50.0%	50.0%	50.1%	50.1%	50.2%	50.2%	50.2%	50.3%	50.3%	50.4%	50.4%
	4.5%	50.0%	50.1%	50.1%	50.1%	50.2%	50.2%	50.3%	50.3%	50.4%	50.4%	50.4%	50.5%	50.5%	50.6%
	5.0%	50.1%	50.2%	50.2%	50.3%	50.3%	50.4%	50.4%	50.5%	50.5%	50.6%	50.6%	50.7%	50.7%	50.8%
	5.5%	50.2%	50.3%	50.4%	50.4%	50.5%	50.5%	50.6%	50.6%	50.7%	50.7%	50.8%	50.9%	50.9%	51.0%
	6.0% (2016 Exit)	50.4%	50.4%	50.5%	50.6%	50.6%	50.7%	50.7%	50.8%	50.9%	50.9%	51.0%	51.0%	51.1%	51.2%

...But if Black turnout share looks like 2016, then a Biden wins depends on optimistic Latino turnout at current levels of support— and a decrease could spell trouble.

# PENNSYLVANIA

➔ BLACK SHARE OF TURNOUT AT 2016 LEVEL

10%

➔ WHITE SUPPORT AT A POINT HIGHER THAN 2016

43%

## LATINO DEM SUPPORT (2way)

LATINO VOTE SHARE		Wolf 2018		Casey 2018						Biden/ Clinton				Obama 2012	
		69%	70%	71%	72%	73%	74%	75%	76%	77%	78%	79%	80%	81%	82%
	1.0%	48.3%	48.3%	48.3%	48.3%	48.3%	48.3%	48.3%	48.3%	48.4%	48.4%	48.4%	48.4%	48.4%	48.4%
	1.5%	48.4%	48.4%	48.4%	48.4%	48.5%	48.5%	48.5%	48.5%	48.5%	48.5%	48.6%	48.6%	48.6%	48.6%
	2.0%	48.5%	48.6%	48.6%	48.6%	48.6%	48.6%	48.7%	48.7%	48.7%	48.7%	48.7%	48.8%	48.8%	48.8%
	2.5%	48.7%	48.7%	48.7%	48.7%	48.8%	48.8%	48.8%	48.8%	48.9%	48.9%	48.9%	48.9%	49.0%	49.0%
	3.0% (2012 Exit)	48.8%	48.8%	48.9%	48.9%	48.9%	48.9%	49.0%	49.0%	49.0%	49.1%	49.1%	49.1%	49.2%	49.2%
	3.5% (2016 Est.)	48.9%	48.9%	49.0%	49.0%	49.1%	49.1%	49.1%	49.2%	49.2%	49.2%	49.3%	49.3%	49.3%	49.4%
	4.0%	49.1%	49.1%	49.1%	49.2%	49.2%	49.3%	49.3%	49.3%	49.4%	49.4%	49.5%	49.5%	49.5%	49.6%
	4.5%	49.2%	49.2%	49.3%	49.3%	49.4%	49.4%	49.5%	49.5%	49.5%	49.6%	49.6%	49.7%	49.7%	49.8%
	5.0%	49.3%	49.4%	49.4%	49.5%	49.5%	49.6%	49.6%	49.7%	49.7%	49.8%	49.8%	49.9%	49.9%	50.0%
	5.5%	49.4%	49.5%	49.6%	49.6%	49.7%	49.7%	49.8%	49.8%	49.9%	49.9%	50.0%	50.0%	50.1%	50.1%
	6.0% (2016 Exit)	49.6%	49.6%	49.7%	49.8%	49.8%	49.9%	49.9%	50.0%	50.1%	50.1%	50.2%	50.2%	50.3%	50.3%

Even if Biden's white support drops to a point just above previous Clinton (and Obama) levels, and Black turnout share regresses to its 2016 figure, Biden can still win with optimistic (but realistic) levels of Latino performance.

# PENNSYLVANIA

➔ BLACK SHARE OF TURNOUT AT 2016 LEVEL **12.5%**

➔ WHITE SUPPORT AT CLINTON 2016/OBAMA 2012 **42%**

		LATINO DEM SUPPORT (2way)													
LATINO VOTE SHARE		Wolf 2018	Casey 2018				Biden/ Clinton				Obama 2012				
		69%	70%	71%	72%	73%	74%	75%	76%	77%	78%	79%	80%	81%	82%
	1.0%	48.6%	48.6%	48.6%	48.6%	48.7%	48.7%	48.7%	48.7%	48.7%	48.7%	48.7%	48.7%	48.7%	48.7%
	1.5%	48.7%	48.8%	48.8%	48.8%	48.8%	48.8%	48.8%	48.9%	48.9%	48.9%	48.9%	48.9%	48.9%	48.9%
	2.0%	48.9%	48.9%	48.9%	48.9%	49.0%	49.0%	49.0%	49.0%	49.0%	49.1%	49.1%	49.1%	49.1%	49.1%
	2.5%	49.0%	49.0%	49.1%	49.1%	49.1%	49.1%	49.2%	49.2%	49.2%	49.2%	49.3%	49.3%	49.3%	49.3%
	3.0% (2012 Exit)	49.2%	49.2%	49.2%	49.2%	49.3%	49.3%	49.3%	49.4%	49.4%	49.4%	49.5%	49.5%	49.5%	49.5%
	3.5% (2016 Est.)	49.3%	49.3%	49.4%	49.4%	49.4%	49.5%	49.5%	49.5%	49.6%	49.6%	49.6%	49.7%	49.7%	49.7%
	4.0%	49.4%	49.5%	49.5%	49.5%	49.6%	49.6%	49.7%	49.7%	49.7%	49.8%	49.8%	49.9%	49.9%	49.9%
	4.5%	49.6%	49.6%	49.6%	49.7%	49.7%	49.8%	49.8%	49.9%	49.9%	50.0%	50.0%	50.1%	50.1%	50.1%
	5.0%	49.7%	49.7%	49.8%	49.8%	49.9%	49.9%	50.0%	50.0%	50.1%	50.1%	50.2%	50.2%	50.3%	50.3%
	5.5%	49.8%	49.9%	49.9%	50.0%	50.0%	50.1%	50.1%	50.2%	50.3%	50.3%	50.4%	50.4%	50.5%	50.5%
	6.0% (2016 Exit)	50.0%	50.0%	50.1%	50.1%	50.2%	50.3%	50.3%	50.4%	50.4%	50.5%	50.6%	50.6%	50.7%	50.7%

If Biden's white support regresses to 2012/2016 levels, then high Black turnout share will need to combine with decent Latino performance for him to win the state.

# N Carolina

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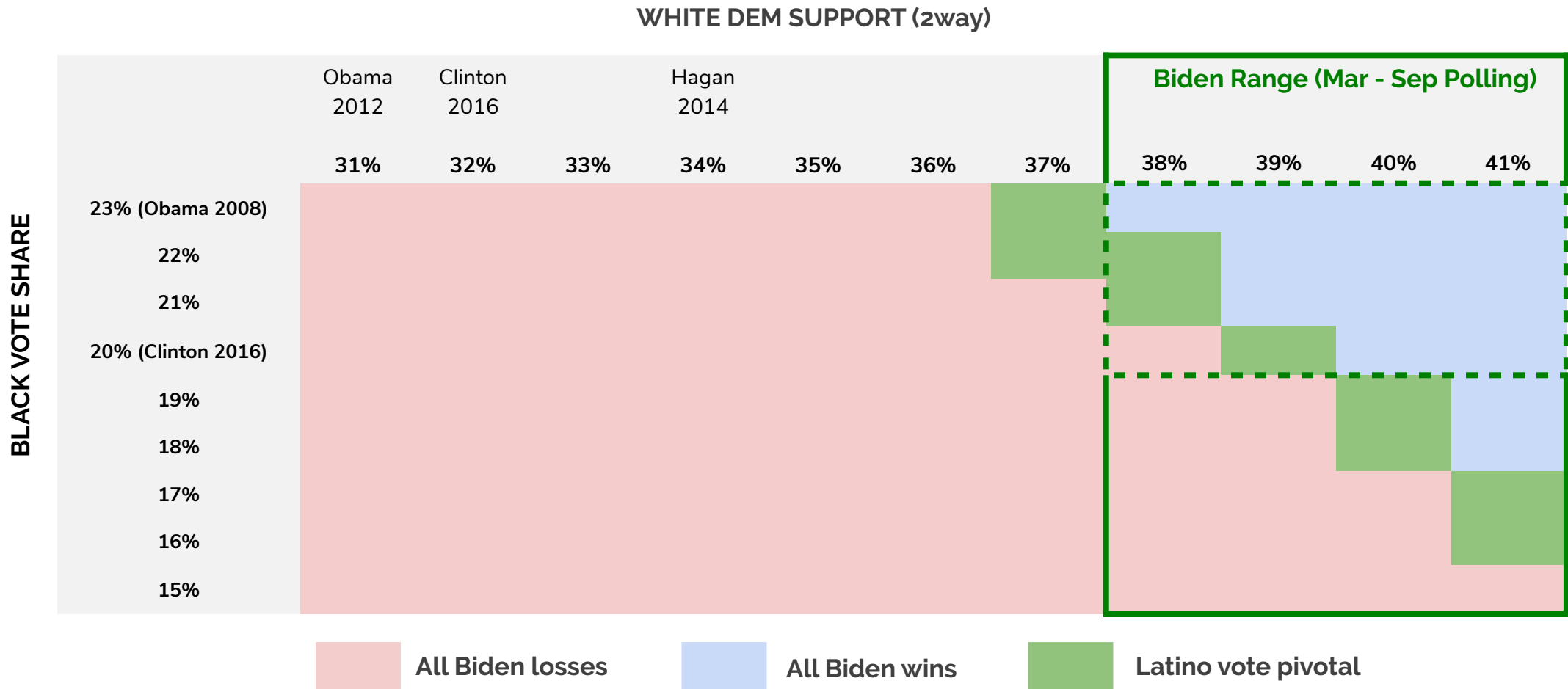


- **Although the Latino electorate in North Carolina is relatively small, it has the potential to be pivotal under certain conditions.** In our simulations, those conditions are a function of two key factors: the level of White support and the Black vote share (assuming that Biden earns a high level of support from Black voters).
- The following chart summarizes the results of our simulation across a range of White support and Black vote share.
  - **Pink squares** indicate scenarios in which our calculations have Biden losing the state regardless of how well he does with Latinos.
  - **Blue squares** indicate scenarios in which we show Biden winning the state even if he does poorly with Latinos.
  - **Green squares** indicate scenarios in which the Latino vote is pivotal to determining the outcome of the election.



- The zone marked by a green box shows scenarios that fall within the range of Biden's white support according to polls taken between March and September (38% to 41%). Within this range, there are a number of credible scenarios in which a Biden victory will be contingent on the Latino vote.
- For example, the most recent poll of North Carolina has Biden with 38% of the White vote (2-way). At that level, the Latino vote will be pivotal to the outcome if Black vote share lands somewhere between Obama's 2008 high watermark (23%) and Clinton's 2016 performance (20%). **At current projections of 21.5% Black vote share in 2020, Biden is directly in the zone of Latino pivotality.**

# NORTH CAROLINA SUMMARY



As Biden slips toward lower end of his current range of white support, the Latino vote becomes an important companion to Black vote in getting past 50%.

NORTH CAROLINA

➔ BLACK SHARE OF TURNOUT AT A POINT ABOVE 2016 21%

➔ WHITE SUPPORT AT CURRENT BIDEN POLLING 38%

LATINO DEM SUPPORT (2way)

LATINO VOTE SHARE

	59%	60%	61%	62%	63%	64%	65%	66%	67%	68%	69%	70%	71%	72%	73%	74%	75%
0.4%	49.42%	49.42%	49.42%	49.43%	49.43%	49.44%	49.44%	49.44%	49.45%	49.45%	49.46%	49.46%	49.46%	49.47%	49.47%	49.48%	49.48%
0.5%	49.44%	49.44%	49.45%	49.45%	49.46%	49.46%	49.47%	49.47%	49.48%	49.48%	49.49%	49.49%	49.50%	49.50%	49.51%	49.51%	49.52%
0.6%	49.46%	49.46%	49.47%	49.48%	49.48%	49.49%	49.49%	49.50%	49.51%	49.51%	49.52%	49.52%	49.53%	49.54%	49.54%	49.55%	49.55%
0.7%	49.48%	49.49%	49.49%	49.50%	49.51%	49.51%	49.52%	49.53%	49.53%	49.54%	49.55%	49.56%	49.56%	49.57%	49.58%	49.58%	49.59%
0.8%	49.50%	49.51%	49.52%	49.52%	49.53%	49.54%	49.55%	49.56%	49.56%	49.57%	49.58%	49.59%	49.60%	49.60%	49.61%	49.62%	49.63%
0.9%	49.52%	49.53%	49.54%	49.55%	49.56%	49.57%	49.57%	49.58%	49.59%	49.60%	49.61%	49.62%	49.63%	49.64%	49.65%	49.66%	49.66%
1.0%	49.54%	49.55%	49.56%	49.57%	49.58%	49.59%	49.60%	49.61%	49.62%	49.63%	49.64%	49.65%	49.66%	49.67%	49.68%	49.69%	49.70%
1.1%	49.56%	49.57%	49.58%	49.60%	49.61%	49.62%	49.63%	49.64%	49.65%	49.66%	49.67%	49.68%	49.69%	49.71%	49.72%	49.73%	49.74%
1.2%	49.58%	49.60%	49.61%	49.62%	49.63%	49.64%	49.66%	49.67%	49.68%	49.69%	49.70%	49.72%	49.73%	49.74%	49.75%	49.76%	49.78%
1.3%	49.60%	49.62%	49.63%	49.64%	49.66%	49.67%	49.68%	49.70%	49.71%	49.72%	49.73%	49.75%	49.76%	49.77%	49.79%	49.80%	49.81%
1.4%	49.63%	49.64%	49.65%	49.67%	49.68%	49.70%	49.71%	49.72%	49.74%	49.75%	49.77%	49.78%	49.79%	49.81%	49.82%	49.84%	49.85%
1.5%	49.65%	49.66%	49.68%	49.69%	49.71%	49.72%	49.74%	49.75%	49.77%	49.78%	49.80%	49.81%	49.83%	49.84%	49.86%	49.87%	49.89%
1.6%	49.67%	49.68%	49.70%	49.72%	49.73%	49.75%	49.76%	49.78%	49.80%	49.81%	49.83%	49.84%	49.86%	49.88%	49.89%	49.91%	49.92%
1.7%	49.69%	49.71%	49.72%	49.74%	49.76%	49.77%	49.79%	49.81%	49.82%	49.84%	49.86%	49.88%	49.89%	49.91%	49.93%	49.94%	49.96%
1.8%	49.71%	49.73%	49.75%	49.76%	49.78%	49.80%	49.82%	49.84%	49.85%	49.87%	49.89%	49.91%	49.93%	49.94%	49.96%	49.98%	50.00%
1.9%	49.73%	49.75%	49.77%	49.79%	49.81%	49.83%	49.84%	49.86%	49.88%	49.90%	49.92%	49.94%	49.96%	49.98%	50.00%	50.02%	50.03%
2.0%	49.75%	49.77%	49.79%	49.81%	49.83%	49.85%	49.87%	49.89%	49.91%	49.93%	49.95%	49.97%	49.99%	50.01%	50.03%	50.05%	50.07%
2.1%	49.77%	49.79%	49.81%	49.84%	49.86%	49.88%	49.90%	49.92%	49.94%	49.96%	49.98%	50.00%	50.02%	50.05%	50.07%	50.09%	50.11%
2.2%	49.79%	49.82%	49.84%	49.86%	49.88%	49.90%	49.93%	49.95%	49.97%	49.99%	50.01%	50.04%	50.06%	50.08%	50.10%	50.12%	50.15%
2.3%	49.81%	49.84%	49.86%	49.88%	49.91%	49.93%	49.95%	49.98%	50.00%	50.02%	50.04%	50.07%	50.09%	50.11%	50.14%	50.16%	50.18%
2.4%	49.84%	49.86%	49.88%	49.91%	49.93%	49.96%	49.98%	50.00%	50.03%	50.05%	50.08%	50.10%	50.12%	50.15%	50.17%	50.20%	50.22%
2.5%	49.86%	49.88%	49.91%	49.93%	49.96%	49.98%	50.01%	50.03%	50.06%	50.08%	50.11%	50.13%	50.16%	50.18%	50.21%	50.23%	50.26%

## NORTH CAROLINA

- BLACK SHARE OF TURNOUT AT A POINT ABOVE 2016 **21%**
- WHITE SUPPORT AT CURRENT BIDEN POLLING **38%**

This is an example where the Latino vote could be deemed “pivotal.”

Even in this optimistic scenario for Black turnout and white support (based on current public polling for Biden), Biden only wins at the higher end of the Latino turnout range, and would lose if his Latino support numbers were to slip.

In the US Senate race, Cal Cunningham (D) would lose at his current rate of Latino support (65% two-way), except at the highest level of turnout.

# Nevada

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## NEVADA

### Toplines

- The Latino vote is critical to a Biden win in Nevada in nearly all scenarios we examined.
- At his current level of Latino support, Biden is well positioned if he can hold on to the high level of White support he enjoyed at the end of 2019 and the beginning of 2020.
- If White support drops down to what we saw for Obama in 2012, for example, he couldn't afford any slippage in Latino backing.
- At Clinton levels in 2016, Biden still has a clear path to victory, but it will require him to improve on his current support among Latino voters and maximize turnout.

# NEVADA

➔ WHITE SUPPORT FOR BIDEN AT 2012 (OBAMA) LEVELS 43%\*

LATINO VOTE SHARE	LATINO DEM SUPPORT (2way)																
	Clinton 2016							Biden Today				Obama 2012					
	63%	64%	65%	66%	67%	68%	69%	70%	71%	72%	73%	74%	75%	76%	77%	78%	79%
7%	48.4%	48.4%	48.5%	48.6%	48.6%	48.7%	48.8%	48.8%	48.9%	49.0%	49.1%	49.1%	49.2%	49.3%	49.3%	49.4%	49.5%
8%	48.6%	48.6%	48.7%	48.8%	48.9%	48.9%	49.0%	49.1%	49.2%	49.3%	49.4%	49.4%	49.5%	49.6%	49.7%	49.8%	49.8%
9%	48.8%	48.8%	48.9%	49.0%	49.1%	49.2%	49.3%	49.4%	49.5%	49.6%	49.7%	49.7%	49.8%	49.9%	50.0%	50.1%	50.2%
10%	48.9%	49.1%	49.2%	49.3%	49.4%	49.5%	49.6%	49.7%	49.8%	49.9%	50.0%	50.1%	50.1%	50.2%	50.3%	50.4%	50.6%
11%	49.2%	49.3%	49.4%	49.5%	49.6%	49.7%	49.8%	49.9%	50.0%	50.1%	50.2%	50.4%	50.5%	50.6%	50.7%	50.8%	50.9%
12%	49.4%	49.5%	49.6%	49.7%	49.8%	50.0%	50.1%	50.2%	50.3%	50.4%	50.6%	50.7%	50.8%	50.9%	51.0%	51.2%	51.3%
13%	49.6%	49.7%	49.8%	49.9%	50.1%	50.2%	50.3%	50.5%	50.6%	50.7%	50.8%	51.0%	51.1%	51.2%	51.4%	51.5%	51.6%
14%	49.8%	49.9%	50.0%	50.2%	50.3%	50.4%	50.6%	50.7%	50.9%	51.0%	51.2%	51.3%	51.4%	51.6%	51.7%	51.8%	52.0%
15%	50.0%	50.1%	50.2%	50.4%	50.6%	50.7%	50.8%	51.0%	51.2%	51.3%	51.4%	51.6%	51.7%	51.9%	52.1%	52.2%	52.3%
16%	50.1%	50.3%	50.5%	50.6%	50.8%	50.9%	51.1%	51.3%	51.4%	51.6%	51.7%	51.9%	52.1%	52.2%	52.4%	52.6%	52.7%
17%	50.3%	50.5%	50.7%	50.9%	51.0%	51.2%	51.4%	51.5%	51.7%	51.9%	52.1%	52.2%	52.4%	52.6%	52.7%	52.9%	53.1%
18%	50.6%	50.7%	50.9%	51.1%	51.3%	51.4%	51.6%	51.8%	52.0%	52.2%	52.3%	52.5%	52.7%	52.9%	53.1%	53.3%	53.4%

Even if white support were to drop to 2012 levels, Biden would be in position to win the state.  
But any slippage in Latino support, paired with a lower turnout scenario, would flip the result.

**\*Above 43% white support, Biden wins in all our likeliest scenarios**

# NEVADA

→ WHITE SUPPORT FOR BIDEN AT 2016 (CLINTON) LEVELS 40%

LATINO VOTE SHARE	LATINO DEM SUPPORT (2way)																
	Clinton 2016							Biden Today			Obama 2012			Clinton Est. v2			
	63%	64%	65%	66%	67%	68%	69%	70%	71%	72%	73%	74%	75%	76%	77%	78%	79%
7%	46.0%	46.0%	46.1%	46.2%	46.3%	46.3%	46.4%	46.5%	46.5%	46.6%	46.7%	46.7%	46.8%	46.9%	46.9%	47.0%	47.1%
8%	46.2%	46.3%	46.4%	46.4%	46.5%	46.6%	46.7%	46.8%	46.8%	46.9%	47.0%	47.1%	47.2%	47.2%	47.3%	47.4%	47.5%
9%	46.4%	46.5%	46.6%	46.7%	46.8%	46.9%	47.0%	47.1%	47.2%	47.2%	47.3%	47.4%	47.5%	47.6%	47.7%	47.8%	47.9%
10%	46.7%	46.8%	46.9%	47.0%	47.1%	47.2%	47.3%	47.4%	47.5%	47.6%	47.7%	47.8%	47.9%	48.0%	48.1%	48.2%	48.3%
11%	46.9%	47.0%	47.1%	47.2%	47.3%	47.4%	47.6%	47.7%	47.8%	47.9%	48.0%	48.1%	48.2%	48.3%	48.4%	48.5%	48.7%
12%	47.1%	47.2%	47.4%	47.5%	47.6%	47.7%	47.8%	48.0%	48.1%	48.2%	48.3%	48.4%	48.6%	48.7%	48.8%	48.9%	49.0%
13%	47.3%	47.5%	47.6%	47.7%	47.9%	48.0%	48.1%	48.3%	48.4%	48.5%	48.7%	48.8%	48.9%	49.0%	49.2%	49.3%	49.4%
14%	47.6%	47.7%	47.9%	48.0%	48.1%	48.3%	48.4%	48.6%	48.7%	48.8%	49.0%	49.1%	49.3%	49.4%	49.5%	49.7%	49.8%
15%	47.8%	48.0%	48.1%	48.3%	48.4%	48.6%	48.7%	48.9%	49.0%	49.2%	49.3%	49.5%	49.6%	49.8%	49.9%	50.1%	50.2%
16%	48.0%	48.2%	48.4%	48.5%	48.7%	48.8%	49.0%	49.2%	49.3%	49.5%	49.6%	49.8%	50.0%	50.1%	50.3%	50.4%	50.6%
17%	48.3%	48.4%	48.6%	48.8%	48.9%	49.1%	49.3%	49.5%	49.6%	49.8%	50.0%	50.1%	50.3%	50.5%	50.6%	50.8%	51.0%
18%	48.5%	48.7%	48.9%	49.0%	49.2%	49.4%	49.6%	49.8%	49.9%	50.1%	50.3%	50.5%	50.7%	50.8%	51.0%	51.2%	51.4%

If white support were to match Clinton's 2016 result, Biden would need to in turn increase his margins with Latino voters and rely on higher Latino turnout share to repeat her (narrow) win in the state.



# Florida

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## **FLORIDA**

### **Toplines**

- If Biden can do as well with White voters as he was polling during the summer, our simulations show him winning the state regardless of his performance with the Latino vote.
- However, Florida will find a way to be Florida. If Biden ends up in the range of Nelson/Gillum, getting above 60% with Latinos and pushing up voter turnout are both essential for victory.
- In order to get to 60% overall Latino support, Biden will need to maximize his support among non-Cuban voters, even if he earns a high level of support from Cubans.

# FLORIDA

➔ WHITE SUPPORT FOR BIDEN JUST ABOVE 2018 LEVELS 41%\*

		LATINO DEM SUPPORT (2way)												
LATINO VOTE SHARE		Nelson 2018				Biden Today	Crist 2014	Obama 2012			Clinton 2016			
		55%	56%	57%	58%	59%	60%	61%	62%	63%	64%	65%	66%	67%
	9%	49.2%	49.2%	49.3%	49.4%	49.5%	49.6%	49.7%	49.8%	49.9%	50.0%	50.1%	50.1%	50.2%
	10%	49.3%	49.4%	49.5%	49.6%	49.7%	49.8%	49.9%	50.0%	50.1%	50.2%	50.3%	50.4%	50.5%
	11%	49.4%	49.5%	49.7%	49.8%	49.9%	50.0%	50.1%	50.2%	50.3%	50.4%	50.5%	50.6%	50.8%
	12%	49.6%	49.7%	49.8%	49.9%	50.1%	50.2%	50.3%	50.4%	50.5%	50.7%	50.8%	50.9%	51.0%
	13%	49.7%	49.8%	50.0%	50.1%	50.2%	50.4%	50.5%	50.6%	50.8%	50.9%	51.0%	51.1%	51.3%
	14%	49.9%	50.0%	50.1%	50.3%	50.4%	50.6%	50.7%	50.8%	51.0%	51.1%	51.3%	51.4%	51.5%
	15%	50.0%	50.1%	50.3%	50.4%	50.6%	50.7%	50.9%	51.0%	51.2%	51.3%	51.5%	51.6%	51.8%
	16%	50.1%	50.3%	50.5%	50.6%	50.8%	50.9%	51.1%	51.3%	51.4%	51.6%	51.7%	51.9%	52.1%
	17%	50.3%	50.4%	50.6%	50.8%	51.0%	51.1%	51.3%	51.5%	51.6%	51.8%	52.0%	52.1%	52.3%
	18%	50.4%	50.6%	50.8%	51.0%	51.1%	51.3%	51.5%	51.7%	51.9%	52.0%	52.2%	52.4%	52.6%

With a slight improvement over average white support in Florida, Biden would win the state today. But a repeat of the Nelson/Gillum under-performance with Hispanics in 2018 would result in a narrow loss.

**\*Above 41% white support, Biden wins in all our likeliest scenarios (he was polling as high as 44% in the summer)**

## FLORIDA

→ WHITE SUPPORT FOR BIDEN AT 2018/2012 LEVELS **40%**

		LATINO DEM SUPPORT (2way)												
LATINO VOTE SHARE		Nelson 2018				Biden Today	Crist 2014	Obama 2012	Clinton 2016					
		55%	56%	57%	58%	59%	60%	61%	62%	63%	64%	65%	66%	67%
	9%	48.4%	48.5%	48.6%	48.7%	48.8%	48.9%	49.0%	49.1%	49.2%	49.2%	49.3%	49.4%	49.5%
	10%	48.6%	48.7%	48.8%	48.9%	49.0%	49.1%	49.2%	49.3%	49.4%	49.5%	49.6%	49.7%	49.8%
	11%	48.7%	48.8%	49.0%	49.1%	49.2%	49.3%	49.4%	49.5%	49.6%	49.7%	49.8%	49.9%	50.1%
	12%	48.9%	49.0%	49.1%	49.2%	49.4%	49.5%	49.6%	49.7%	49.8%	50.0%	50.1%	50.2%	50.3%
	13%	49.0%	49.2%	49.3%	49.4%	49.6%	49.7%	49.8%	49.9%	50.1%	50.2%	50.3%	50.5%	50.6%
	14%	49.2%	49.3%	49.5%	49.6%	49.7%	49.9%	50.0%	50.2%	50.3%	50.4%	50.6%	50.7%	50.9%
	15%	49.3%	49.5%	49.6%	49.8%	49.9%	50.1%	50.2%	50.4%	50.5%	50.7%	50.8%	51.0%	51.1%
	16%	49.5%	49.6%	49.8%	50.0%	50.1%	50.3%	50.4%	50.6%	50.8%	50.9%	51.1%	51.2%	51.4%
	17%	49.6%	49.8%	50.0%	50.1%	50.3%	50.5%	50.7%	50.8%	51.0%	51.2%	51.3%	51.5%	51.7%
	18%	49.8%	50.0%	50.1%	50.3%	50.5%	50.7%	50.9%	51.0%	51.2%	51.4%	51.6%	51.8%	51.9%

At current Hispanic support, and with the level of white backing earned by Obama when he won Florida in 2012, Biden narrowly loses the state. But he wins with even modest increases in Latino [or Black] performance.

# FLORIDA

→ WHITE SUPPORT AT 2014 LEVEL 39%

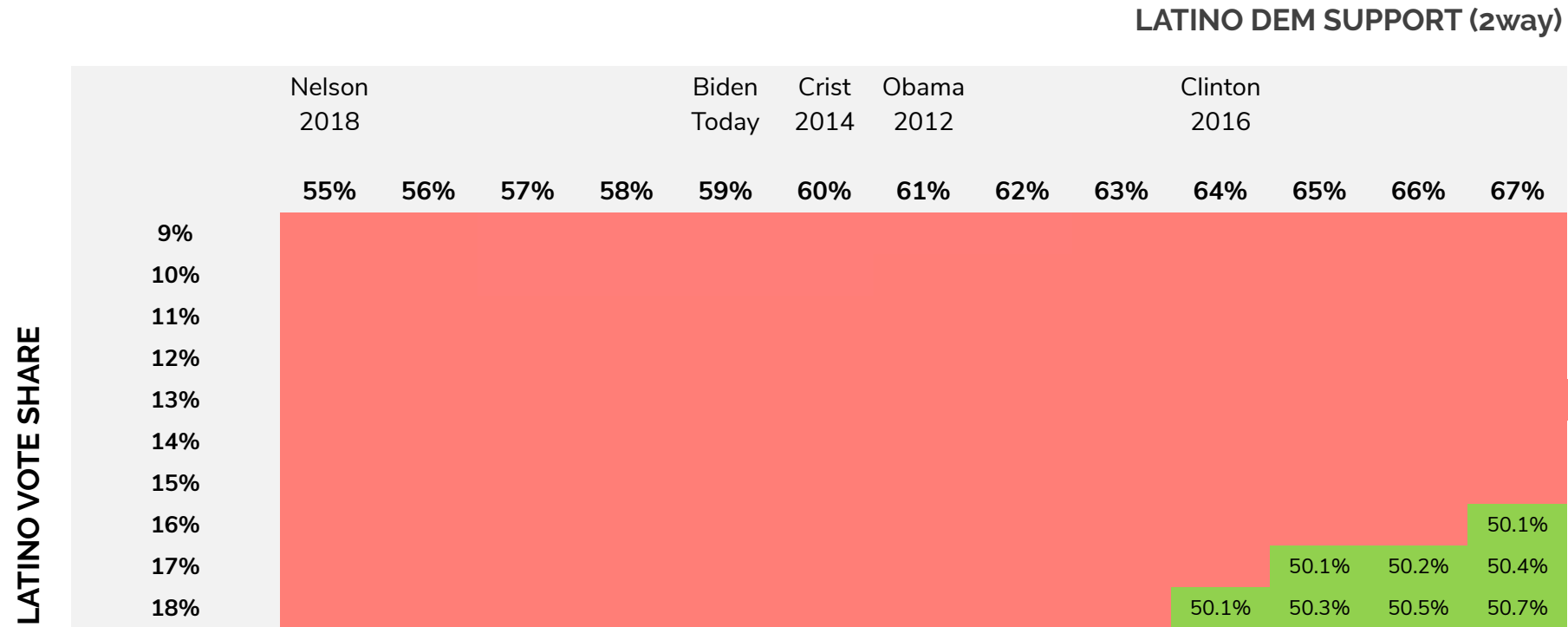
## LATINO DEM SUPPORT (2way)

LATINO VOTE SHARE		Nelson 2018				Biden Today	Crist 2014	Obama 2012		Clinton 2016				
		55%	56%	57%	58%	59%	60%	61%	62%	63%	64%	65%	66%	67%
	9%	47.7%	47.8%	47.9%	48.0%	48.1%	48.2%	48.3%	48.3%	48.4%	48.5%	48.6%	48.7%	48.8%
	10%	47.9%	48.0%	48.1%	48.2%	48.3%	48.4%	48.5%	48.6%	48.7%	48.8%	48.9%	49.0%	49.1%
	11%	48.0%	48.1%	48.3%	48.4%	48.5%	48.6%	48.7%	48.8%	48.9%	49.0%	49.1%	49.2%	49.4%
	12%	48.2%	48.3%	48.4%	48.6%	48.7%	48.8%	48.9%	49.0%	49.2%	49.3%	49.4%	49.5%	49.6%
	13%	48.4%	48.5%	48.6%	48.7%	48.9%	49.0%	49.1%	49.3%	49.4%	49.5%	49.7%	49.8%	49.9%
	14%	48.5%	48.7%	48.8%	48.9%	49.1%	49.2%	49.4%	49.5%	49.6%	49.8%	49.9%	50.1%	50.2%
	15%	48.7%	48.8%	49.0%	49.1%	49.3%	49.4%	49.6%	49.7%	49.9%	50.0%	50.2%	50.3%	50.5%
	16%	48.8%	49.0%	49.2%	49.3%	49.5%	49.6%	49.8%	50.0%	50.1%	50.3%	50.4%	50.6%	50.8%
	17%	49.0%	49.2%	49.3%	49.5%	49.7%	49.8%	50.0%	50.2%	50.4%	50.5%	50.7%	50.9%	51.0%
	18%	49.2%	49.3%	49.5%	49.7%	49.9%	50.1%	50.2%	50.4%	50.6%	50.8%	51.0%	51.1%	51.3%

With every point drop in white support, the math gets more difficult in Florida. Here, Biden would need to at least match Clinton's 2016 performance, or bank on more generous projections of Hispanic turnout share.

# FLORIDA

→ WHITE SUPPORT AT HISTORIC AVERAGE **38%\***



At a historic average of white support, Biden loses the state, except in cases of max Hispanic support and turnout share.

**\*Below 38% white support, Biden loses in all scenarios (Clinton was at 33% per exit polling)**

# FLORIDA

## THE PATH TO 60%+ HISPANIC SUPPORT FOR BIDEN

### BIDEN SUPPORT (2WAY)

PUERTO RICAN/PAN-HISPANIC SUPPORT		CUBAN SUPPORT At Cuban Share = 26%		CUBAN SUPPORT At Cuban Share = 30%		CUBAN SUPPORT At Cuban Share = 32%	
		Low (32%)	High (45%)	Low	High	Low	High
	Low (60%)	54%	56%	53%	56%	52%	55%
	High (72%)	63%	65%	61%	64%	60%	63%

Biden is expected to fall somewhere between 2018 and 2016 Hispanic support in Florida.

The difference is driven by a dynamic mix of sub-groups. He cannot get past the critical 60% threshold without maximizing the non-Cuban vote (> 70%), and won't fully offset possible losses among white voters without performing at the upper range of the Cuban vote (low-to-mid 40s).

# Thank you!

