

# IMMIGRATION AND THE 2016 SENATE ELECTIONS

David F. Damore



# The 2016 Battle for the Senate

- In addition to the presidential election, 34 Senate seats will be contested in 2016
  - ▣ The Republicans currently hold a 55 to 45 majority
  - ▣ Three Democrats (Boxer, Mikulski, and Reid) and three Republicans (Coates, Rubio, and Vitter) are retiring
  - ▣ Because of the Republican's 2010 successes, the GOP is defending 24 seats

# Immigration and the Senate

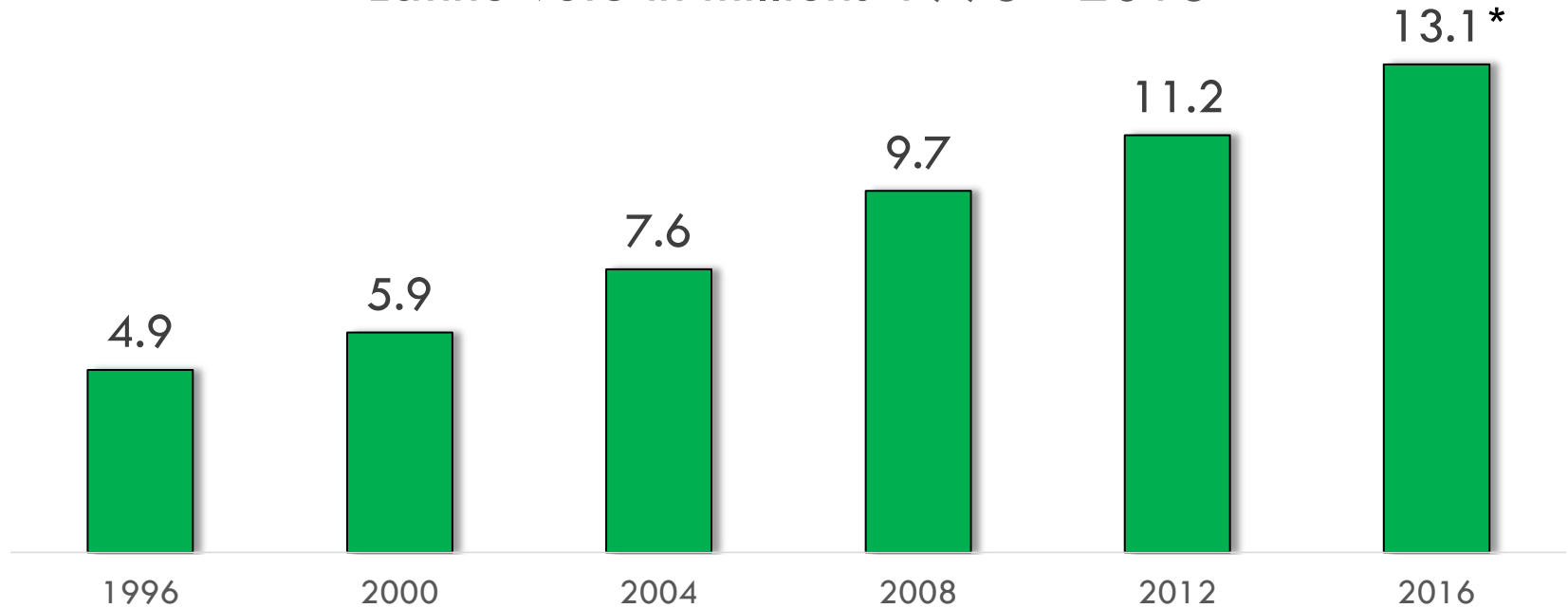
- In 2013, the Senate passed comprehensive immigration reform (S. 744)
  - ▣ Four Republicans running in 2016 voted yes: **McCain** (AZ), Ayotte (NH), **Kirk** (IL), and Murkowski (AK)
  - ▣ 17 Republicans running in 2016 voted no: Shelby (AL), Boozman (AR), Isakson (GA), Crapo (ID), Grassley (IA), Moran (KS), Paul (KY), Blunt (MO), **Burr** (NC), Hoeven (ND), **Portman** (OH), Langford (OK), **Toomey** (PA), Scott (SC), Thune (SD), Lee (UT), **Johnson** (WI)

# Immigration Politics

- Republicans have challenged President Obama's executive actions to relieve deportations
  - ▣ House and Senate Republicans have voted multiple times to end DACA and DAPA and most GOP presidential candidates have promised to end DACA and DAPA
  - ▣ Executive actions like DACA and DAPA are broadly supported by Latino voters
  - ▣ Potential late term Supreme Court decision

# Latino Voters Will Exceed 13 million

Latino vote in millions 1996 - 2016

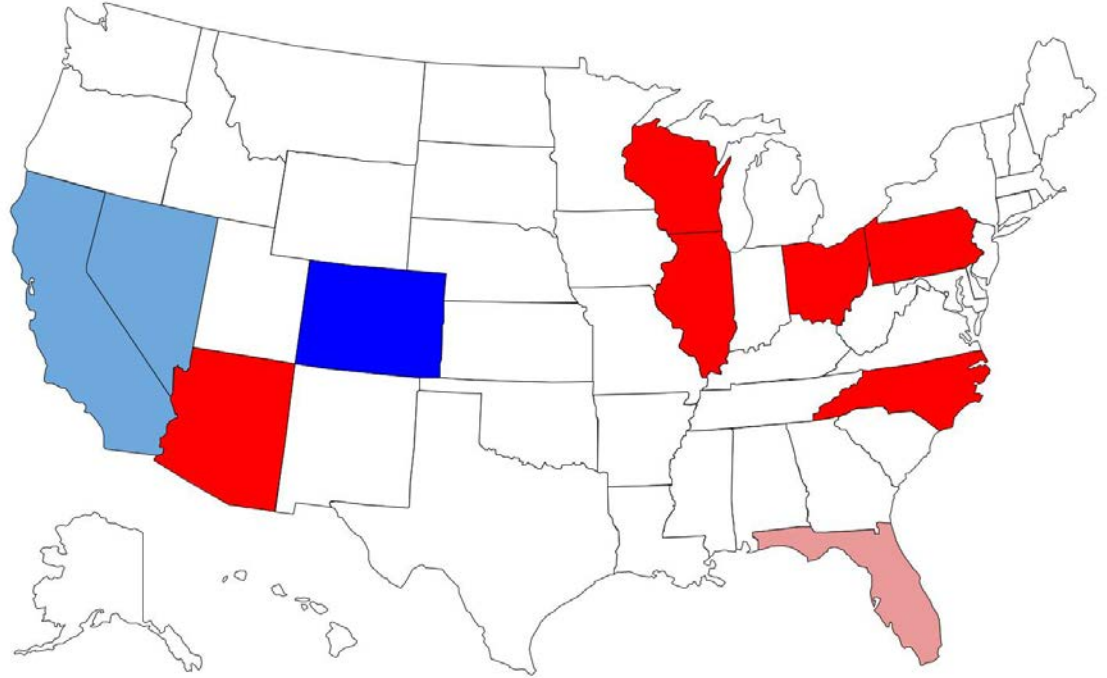


# Latino Voters Will Exceed 13 million

- As 2014 makes clear, Latino turnout is not a given
  - ▣ Latinos participate when they are mobilized and candidates engage the Latino community
  - ▣ Because Latino voters are not distributed evenly across the country and not all Senate races will be competitive, Latinos are positioned to be influential in 10 Senate elections in 2016

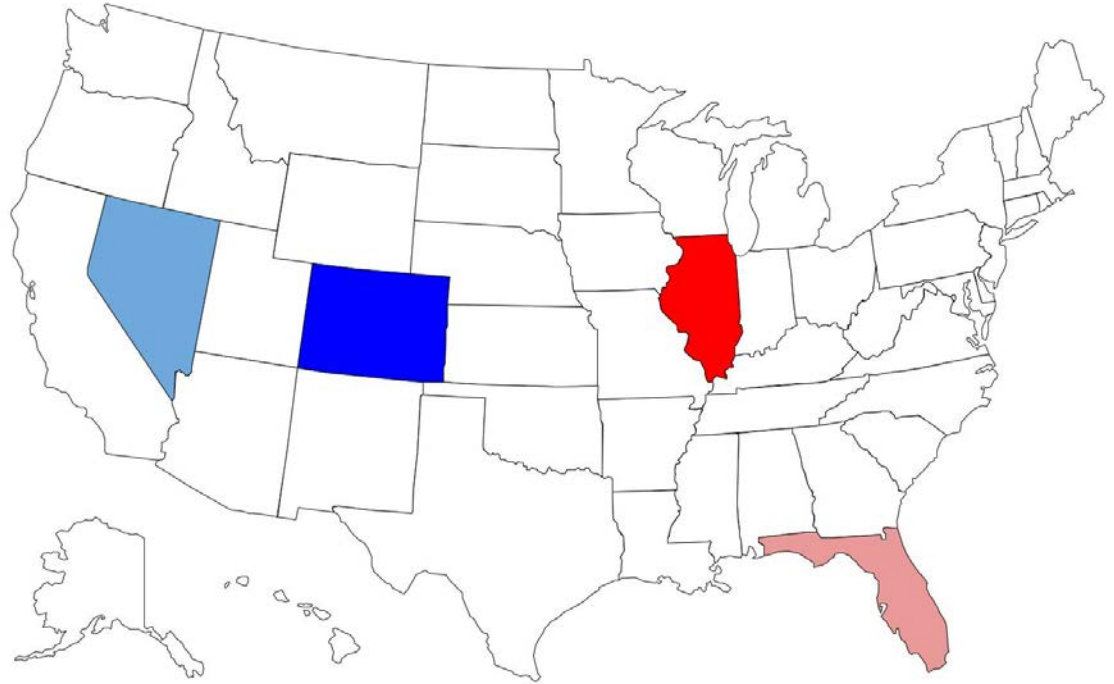
# 2016 Latino Influence Senate Seats

- Republican incumbent seeking reelection (6)
- Republican held open seat (1)
- Democratic incumbent seeking reelection (1)
- Democratic held open seat (2)



# 2016 Latino Influence Tier 1 Senate Seats

- Colorado, Florida, Illinois, and Nevada feature states with large and growing Latino populations that will be highly competitive





# Tier 1 Senate Seats: Colorado

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In 2010, Bennet (D) won by less than 30,000 votes (Obama (D) won by 138,000 votes in 2012); six Republicans have declared for 2016

- 2014 Udall (D) = 71% of the Latino vote (LD Election Eve Poll)
- 2012 Obama (D) = 87% of the Latino vote (LD Election Eve Poll)

## Participation Among Colorado Latinos, 2008–2014

	2008	2010	2012	2014
Registration Rate	59.2%	47.0%	57.1%	60.1%
Turnout Among Registered	86.7%	67.3%	91.2%	67.9%
Share of Electorate	8.4%	7.9%	10.4%	9.9%
Share of Citizen Population	11.3%	13.1%	14.0%	14.3%
Citizen Voting Age Population	380k	455k	497k	534k
Registered Voters	225k	214k	284k	321k

Source: Latino Decisions analysis of US Census Current Population Survey, Nov supplement, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014

# Tier 1 Senate Seats: Florida

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In a three-way race, Rubio (R) won by over 1 million votes in 2010 (Obama (D) won by 74,000 votes in 2012) ; for 2016 three Democrats and two Republicans have declared

- 2014 Crist (D) = 52% of the Latino vote (LD Election Eve Poll)
- 2012 Obama (D) = 58% of the Latino vote (LD Election Eve Poll)
- 2012 Nelson (D) = 59% of the Latino vote (LD Election Eve Poll)

## Participation Among Florida Latinos, 2008–2014

	2008	2010	2012	2014
Registration Rate	69.4%	59.0%	72.1%	60.2%
Turnout Among Registered	88.9%	69.7%	86.3%	59.7%
Share of Electorate	15.4%	15.5%	17.3%	14.3%
Share of Citizen Population	16.0%	16.5%	16.9%	17.9%
Citizen Voting Age Population	1,988k	2,100k	2,250k	2,480k
Registered Voters	1,380k	1,239k	1,622k	1,493k

Source: Latino Decisions analysis of US Census Current Population Survey, Nov supplement, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014

# Tier 1 Senate Seats: Illinois

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- 2014 Durbin (D) = 82% of the Latino vote (LD Election Eve Poll)
- 2014 Quinn (D) = 77% of the Latino vote (LD Election Eve Poll)

In 2010, Kirk (R) won by less than 60,000 votes; at least three Democrats will be running in 2016 setting up a competitive primary

## Participation Among Illinois Latinos, 2008–2014

	2008	2010	2012	2014
Registration Rate	57.4%	51.8%	53.9%	46.0%
Turnout Among Registered	81.6%	62.1%	71.1%	53.2%
Share of Electorate	5.8%	6.0%	5.4%	5.8%
Share of Citizen Population	7.7%	8.5%	8.7%	10.0%
Citizen Voting Age Population	671k	749k	770k	892k
Registered Voters	385k	388k	415k	410k

Source: Latino Decisions analysis of US Census Current Population Survey, Nov supplement, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014

# Tier 1 Senate Seats: Nevada

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- 2014 Sandoval (R) = 48% of the Latino vote (LD Election Eve Poll)
- 2012 Obama (D) = 80% of the Latino vote (LD Election Eve Poll)

In 2010, Reid (D) won by less than 42,000 votes (Obama (D) won by 68,000 votes in 2012); Cortez-Masto (D) should face Heck (R) (with Angle lurking)

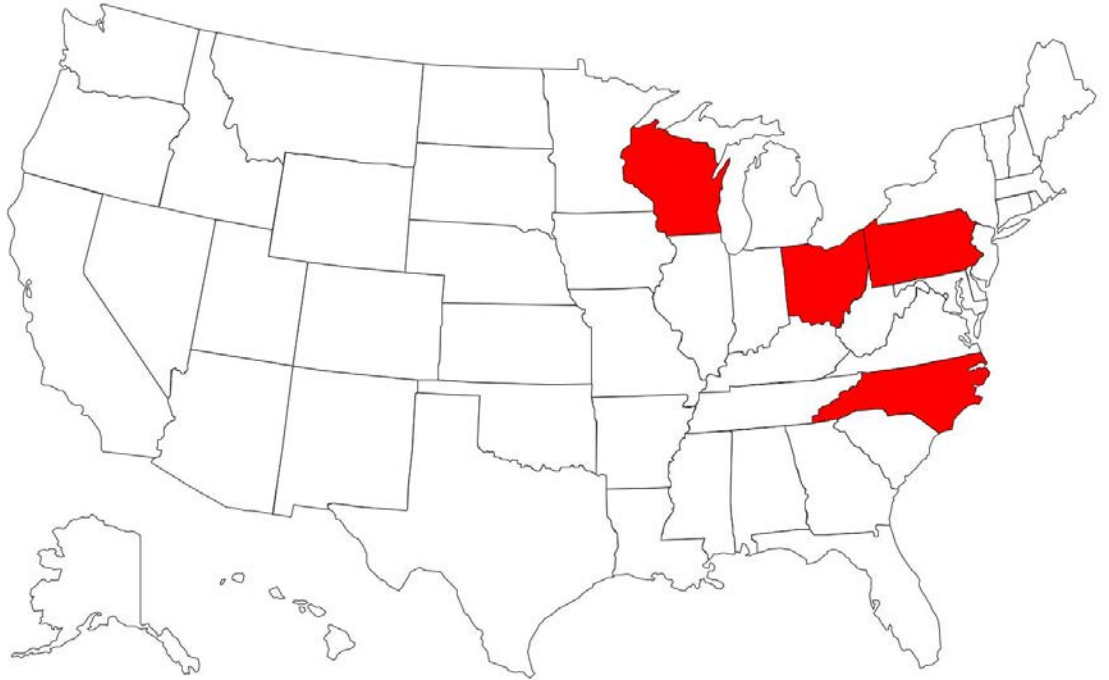
## Participation Among Nevada Latinos, 2008–2014

	2008	2010	2012	2014
Registration Rate	57.5%	42.0%	59.9%	53.8%
Turnout Among Registered	90.8%	66.0%	86.7%	47.1%
Share of Electorate	11.6%	9.3%	15.0%	12.8%
Share of Citizen Population	13.3%	14.2%	16.7%	18.9%
Citizen Voting Age Population	228k	245k	302k	351k
Registered Voters	131k	103k	181k	189k

Source: Latino Decisions analysis of US Census Current Population Survey, Nov supplement, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014

# 2016 Latino Influence Tier 2 Senate Seats

- North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin feature Republican incumbents seeking reelection in either Democratic leaning or swing states with smaller but growing Latino populations



# Tier 2 Senate Seats: North Carolina

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In 2010, Burr (R) won by over 300,000 votes (in 2012 Romney (R) won by 92,000 votes and in 2014 Tillis (R) won by 46,000; two declared Democrats for 2016

- 2014 Hagan (D) = 63% of the Latino vote (LD Election Eve Poll)
- 2012 Obama (D) = 72% of the Latino vote (LD Election Eve Poll)

## Participation Among North Carolina Latinos, 2008–2014

	2008	2010	2012	2014
Registration Rate	70.3%	57.7%	68.0%	52.5%
Turnout Among Registered	92.8%	76.2%	82.6%	49.5%
Share of Electorate	1.8%	2.7%	2.1%	1.7%
Share of Citizen Population	1.8%	2.7%	2.5%	3.0%
Citizen Voting Age Population	118k	182k	169k	204k
Registered Voters	83k	105k	115k	107k

Source: Latino Decisions analysis of US Census Current Population Survey, Nov supplement, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014

# Tier 2 Senate Seats: Ohio

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In 2010, Portman (R) won by nearly 680,000 votes (Obama (D) won by 166,00 votes and Brown (D) won by 326,000 votes in 2012); two Democrats including Strickland have declared

- 2012 Obama (D) = 82% of the Latino vote (LD Election Eve Poll)
- 2012 Brown (D) = 80% of the Latino vote (LD Election Eve Poll)

## Participation Among Ohio Latinos, 2008–2014

	2008	2010	2012	2014
Registration Rate	59.9%	50.0%	67.1%	59.2%
Turnout Among Registered	87.1%	59.4%	84.5%	38.7%
Share of Electorate	1.3%	1.0%	1.8%	1.1%
Share of Citizen Population	1.7%	1.5%	2.0%	1.80%
Citizen Voting Age Population	142k	128k	173k	157k
Registered Voters	85k	64k	116k	93k

Source: Latino Decisions analysis of US Census Current Population Survey, Nov supplement, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014

# Tier 2 Senate Seats: **Pennsylvania**

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In 2010, Tommey (R) won by 80,000 votes (in 2012 Obama won by 310,000 votes and Casey won by 512,000 votes); in 2016 three Democrats including 2010 opponent Sestak have declared

## Participation Among Pennsylvania Latinos, 2008–2014

	2008	2010	2012	2014
Registration Rate	59.2%	48.0%	55.3%	48.1%
Turnout Among Registered	85.2%	51.0%	81.8%	45.8%
Share of Electorate	2.8%	1.9%	3.2%	3.1%
Share of Citizen Population	3.5%	5.4%	4.3%	5.7%
Citizen Voting Age Population	319k	323k	407k	540k
Registered Voters	189k	155k	225k	260k

Source: Latino Decisions analysis of US Census Current Population Survey, Nov supplement, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014



# Tier 2 Senate Seats: Wisconsin

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In 2010, Johnson (R) won by 105,000 votes (Obama (D) won by 213,000 votes and Baldwin (D) won by 167,000 votes in 2012); likely rematch with Feingold (D)

## Participation Among Wisconsin Latinos, 2008–2014

	2008	2010	2012	2014
Registration Rate	51.3%	55.2%	46.6%	45.8%
Turnout Among Registered	85.7%	71.7%	93.4%	68.8%
Share of Electorate	2.3%	1.7%	2.3%	2.4%
Share of Citizen Population	3.7%	2.3%	3.8%	4.0%
Citizen Voting Age Population	150k	96k	163k	168k
Registered Voters	77k	53k	76k	77k

Source: Latino Decisions analysis of US Census Current Population Survey, Nov supplement, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014

# 2016 Latino Influence Tier 3 Senate Seats

- California and Arizona have the largest share of Latinos of any of the Senate seats being contested in 2016, but it unclear how competitive they will be



# Tier 3 Senate Seats: **Arizona**

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In 2010, McCain (R) won by over 413,000 votes and may be challenged in a primary; two Democrats including Kirkpatrick (AZ-1) have declared

- 2014 DuVal (D) = 74% of the Latino vote (LD Election Eve Poll)
- 2012 Obama (D) = 79% of the Latino vote (LD Election Eve Poll)
- 2012 Carmona (D) = 83% of the Latino vote (LD Election Eve Poll)

## Participation Among Arizona Latinos, 2008–2014

	2008	2010	2012	2014
Registration Rate	51.5%	57.5%	52.2%	60.0%
Turnout Among Registered	71.0%	66.7%	77.5%	53.0%
Share of Electorate	11.7%	18.8%	16.6%	20.4%
Share of Citizen Population	19.1%	23.9%	22.9%	26.0%
Citizen Voting Age Population	796k	1,061k	989k	1,145k
Registered Voters	410k	610k	516k	687k

Source: Latino Decisions analysis of US Census Current Population Survey, Nov supplement, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014

# Tier 3 Senate Seats: California

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In 2010 Boxer (D) won by over 1 million votes; one Republican and two Democrats (Harris and Sanchez) have declared setting up a competitive primary

- 2014 Brown (D) = 74% of the Latino vote (LD Election Eve Poll)
- 2012 Obama (D) = 78% of the Latino vote (LD Election Eve Poll)
- 2012 Feinstein (D) = 79% of the Latino vote (LD Election Eve Poll)

## Participation Among California Latinos, 2008–2014

	2008	2010	2012	2014
Registration Rate	62.8%	52.0%	56.6%	48.0%
Turnout Among Registered	90.7%	68.0%	85.7%	51.8%
Share of Electorate	21.4%	19.2%	23.5%	19.1%
Share of Citizen Population	23.8%	25.5%	27.8%	28.0%
Citizen Voting Age Population	5,193k	5,816k	6,510k	6,859k
Registered Voters	3,263k	3,025k	3,684k	3,294k

Source: Latino Decisions analysis of US Census Current Population Survey, Nov supplement, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014

# Take Aways

- Latinos are positioned to influence outcomes in a number of competitive Senate races
  - ▣ All but two of these states are likely to be competitive at the presidential level
  - ▣ The parties' handling of immigration continues to sharpen in a manner that favors the Democrats among Latino voters

# Current Latino Registration

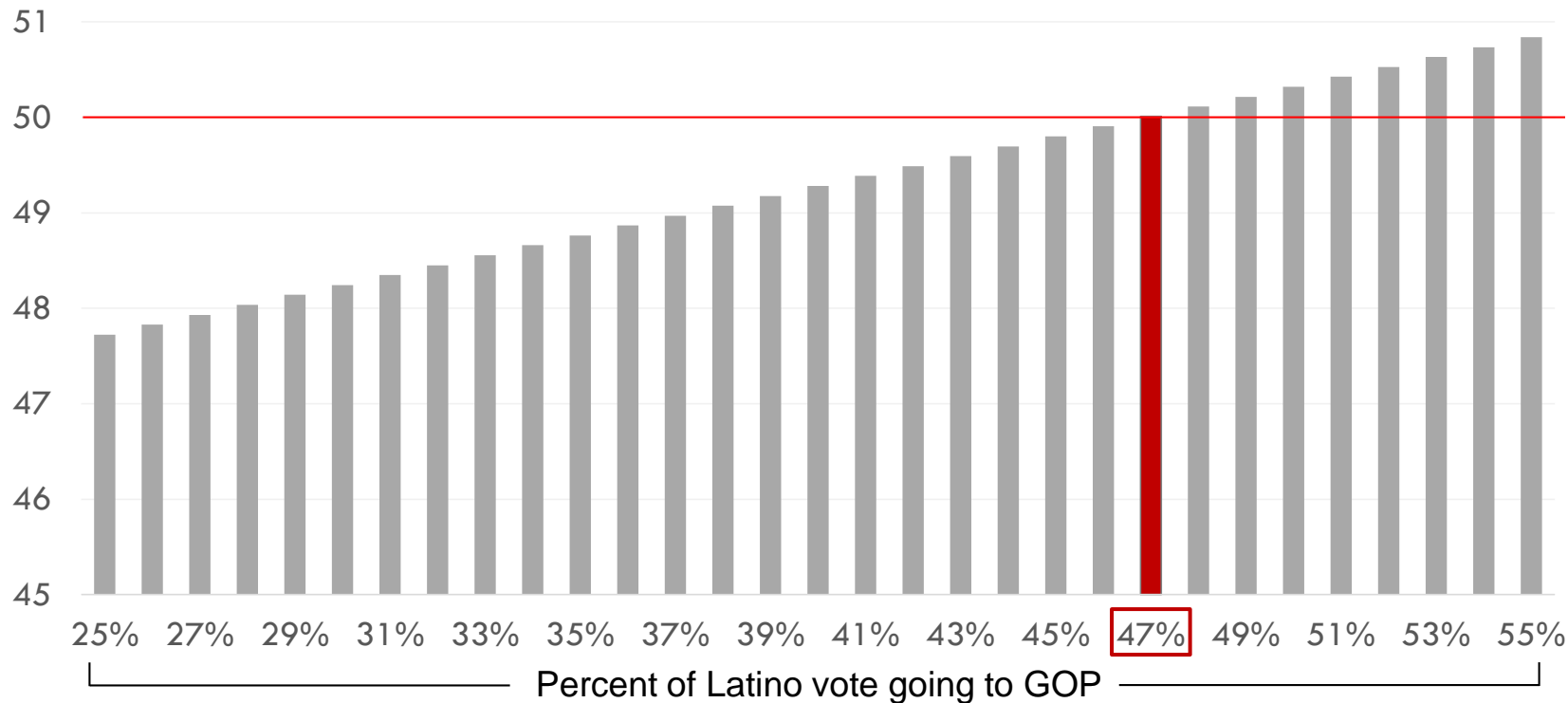
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Democrats hold a registration advantage in all 10 states, but many Latinos are nonpartisan

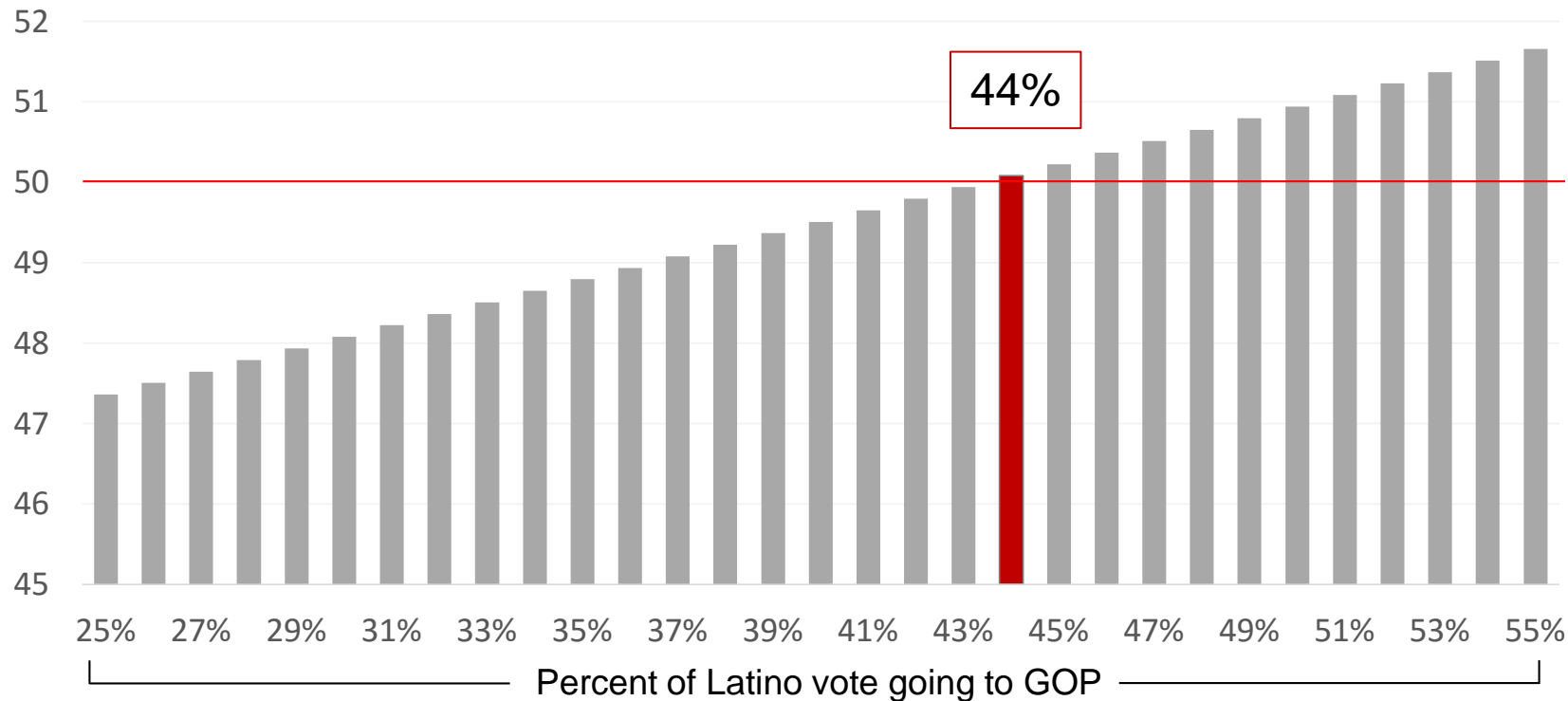
State	Democratic	Republican	Other
Colorado	49.7%	15.2%	35.1%
Florida	36.5%	28.8%	34.7%
Illinois	30.9%	8.2%	60.9%
Nevada	54.1%	19.6%	26.3%
North Carolina	37.7%	22.3%	40.0%
Ohio	26.2%	14.0%	59.8%
Pennsylvania	63.6%	19.2%	17.2%
Wisconsin	90.8%	4.5%	4.7%
Arizona	44.0%	15.1%	40.9%
California	53.6%	17.8%	38.6%



# Potential Total National GOP Vote 2016

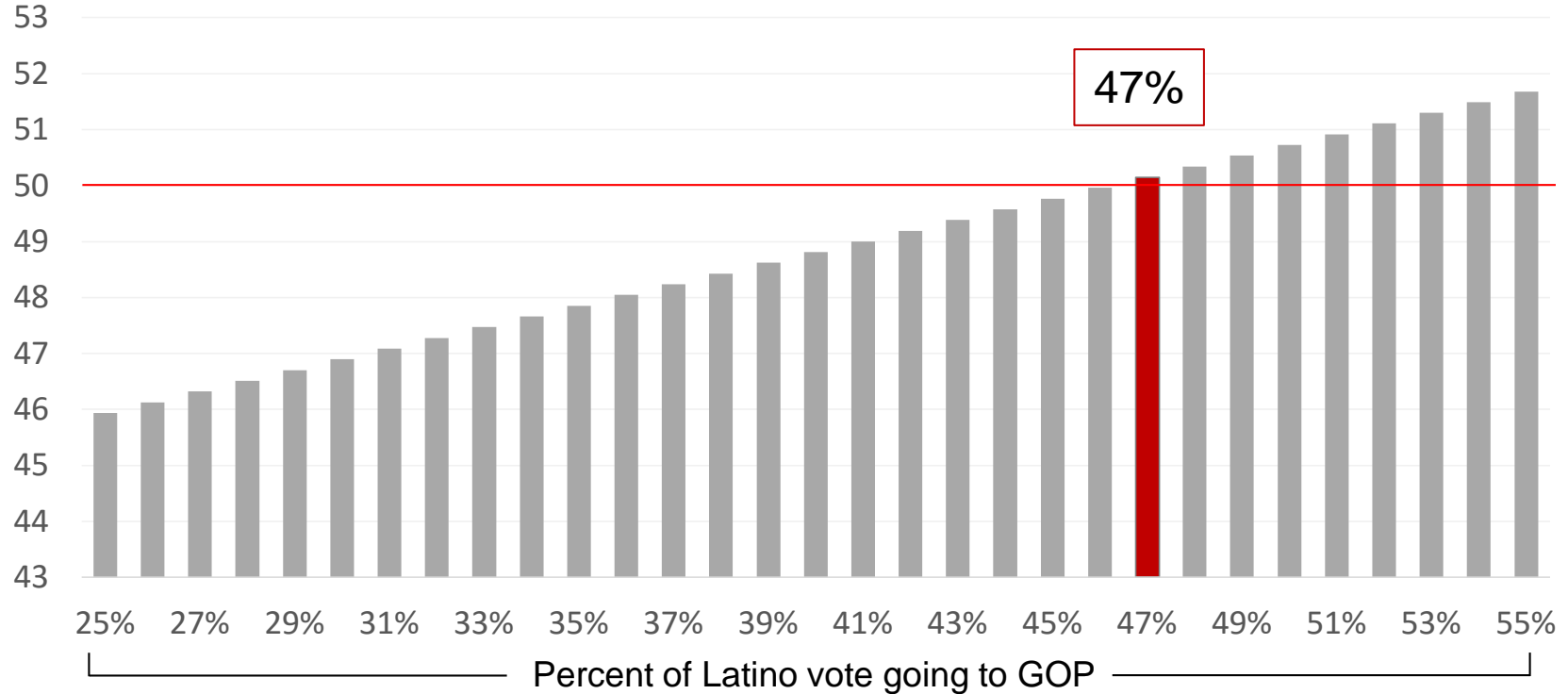


# Potential Colorado GOP Vote 2016

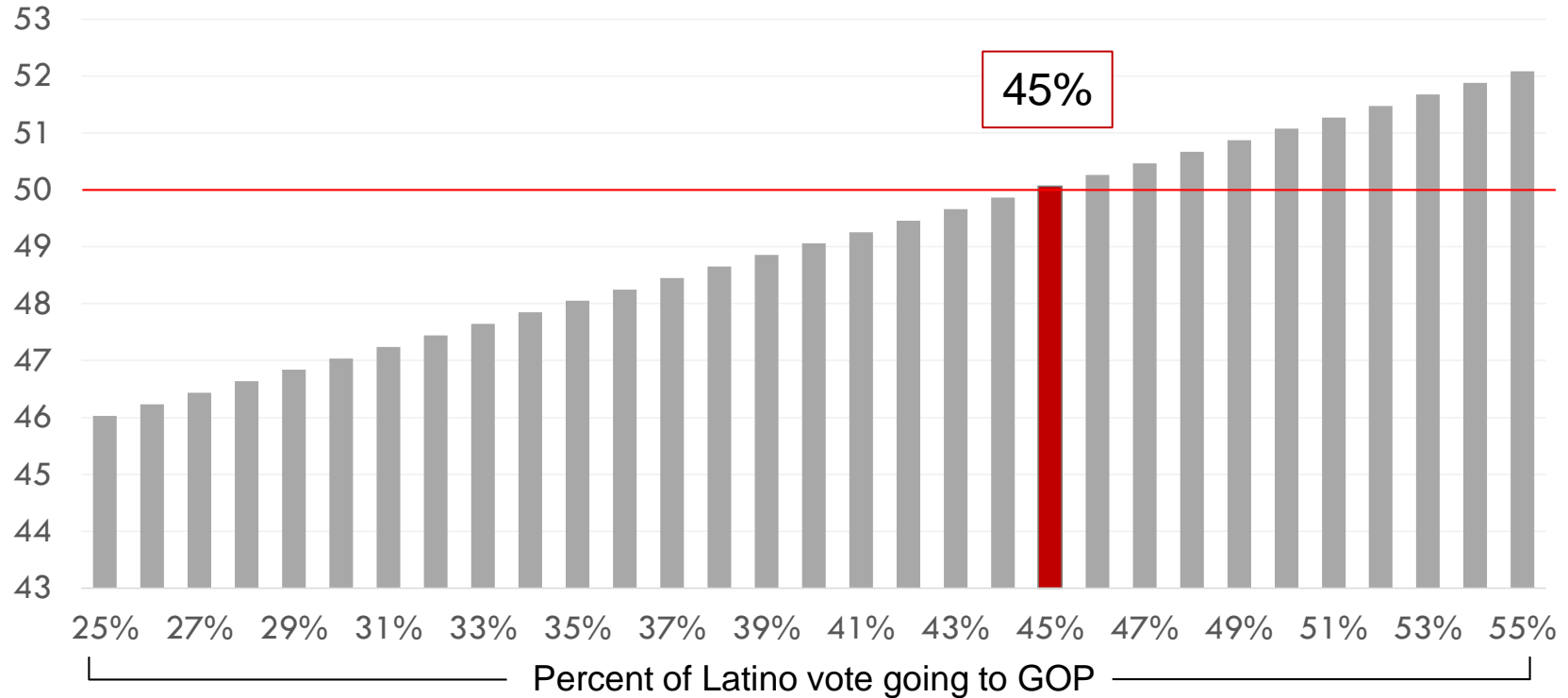




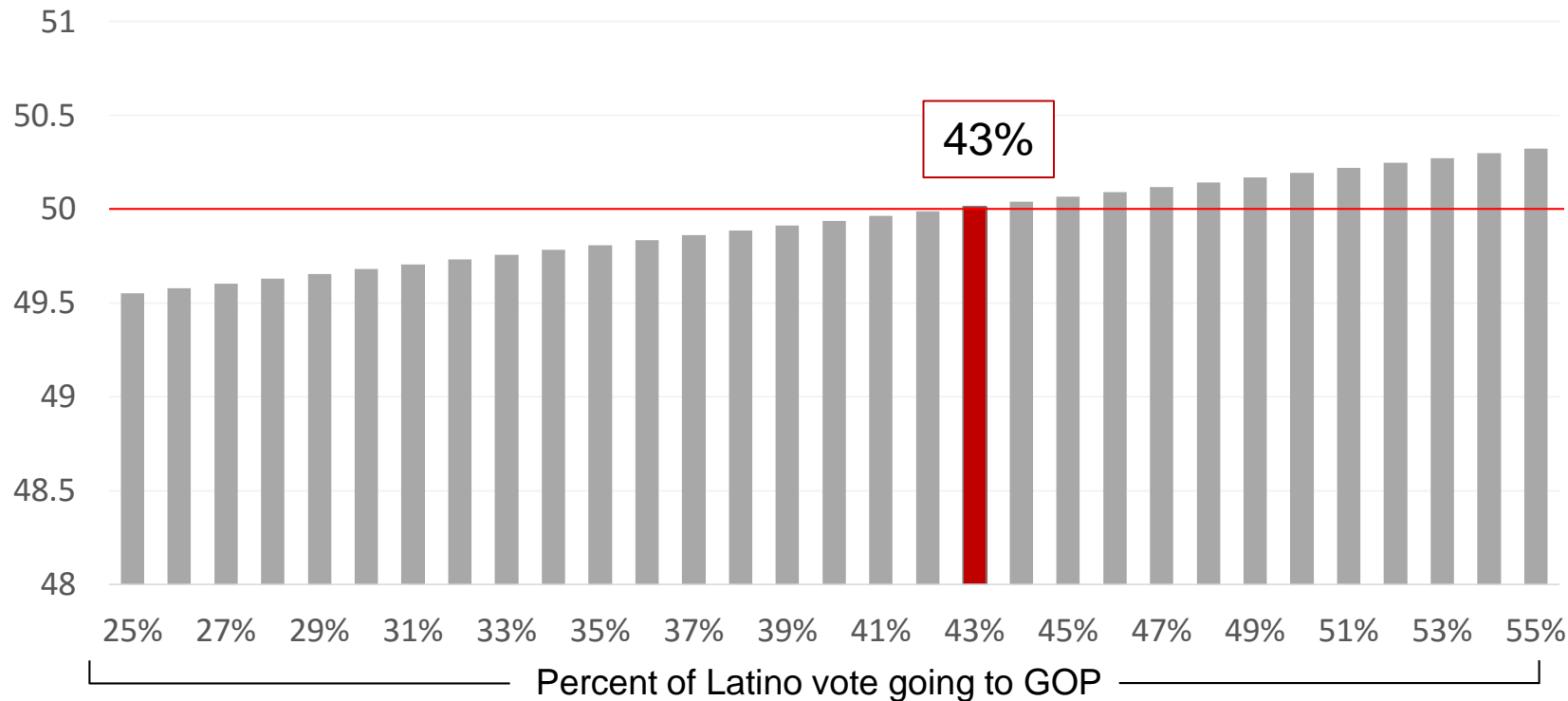
# Potential Florida GOP Vote 2016



# Potential Nevada GOP Vote 2016



# Potential Ohio GOP Vote 2016



# Latino Undermobilization

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State	Unregistered	Nonvoters	Unregistered	Nonvoters	Unregistered	Nonvoters	Unregistered	Nonvoters
	2008		2010		2012		2014	
Colorado	155k	185k	241k	311k	213k	238k	213k	316k
Florida	608k	761k	861k	1,237k	628k	851k	987k	1,588k
Illinois	268k	357k	361k	508k	355k	475k	482k	674k
Nevada	97k	109k	142k	177k	121k	145k	162k	262k
North Carolina	35k	41k	77k	102k	54k	74k	97k	151k
Ohio	57k	68k	64k	90k	57k	75k	64k	121k
Pennsylvania	130k	158k	168k	244k	182k	223k	280k	421k
Wisconsin	73k	84k	43k	58k	87k	92k	91k	115k
Arizona	386k	505k	451k	654k	473k	589k	458k	781k
California	1,930k	2,232k	2,791kk	3,758k	2,826k	3,353k	3,565k	5,152k

Source: Latino Decisions analysis of US Census Current Population Survey, Nov supplement, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014. unregistered columns are the difference between the Latino citizen voting age population and number of voting Latinos who are registered to vote. Nonvoters columns are the difference between the Latino citizen voting age population and number of Latinos who voted.

# Latino Undermobilization

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State	Unregistered	Nonvoters	Unregistered	Nonvoters	Unregistered	Nonvoters	Unregistered	Nonvoters
	2008		2010		2012		2014	
Colorado	155k	185k	241k	311k	213k	238k	213k	316k
Florida	608k	761k	861k	1,237k	628k	851k	987k	1,588k
Illinois	268k	357k	361k	508k	355k	475k	482k	674k
Nevada	97k	109k	142k	177k	121k	145k	162k	262k
North Carolina	35k	41k	77k	102k	54k	74k	97k	151k
Ohio	57k	68k	64k	90k	57k	75k	64k	121k
Pennsylvania	130k	158k	168k	244k	182k	223k	280k	421k
Wisconsin	73k	84k	43k	58k	87k	92k	91k	115k
Arizona	386k	505k	451k	654k	473k	589k	458k	781k
California	1,930k	2,232k	2,791k	3,758k	2,826k	3,353k	3,565k	5,152k

Source: Latino Decisions analysis of US Census Current Population Survey, Nov supplement, 2008, 2010, 2012, 2014. unregistered columns are the difference between the Latino citizen voting age population and number of voting Latinos who are registered to vote. Nonvoters columns are the difference between the Latino citizen voting age population and number of Latinos who voted. Presidential, US Senate, or gubernatorial races where the margin was less than either these values are shaded yellow.

# Next Steps

- ❑ Three-waves of polling of likely Latino voters in all 10 states
  - ▣ Releases in late winter, August, and October of 2016
- ❑ Mapping competitive House elections
  - ▣ In 2014 Democrats lost nine Tier 1 and 2 House seats and failed to contest many GOP held Tier 1 and 2 seats
  - ▣ After blocking immigration reform, House Republicans continue to push an anti-immigrant agenda

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Everything Latino Politics

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