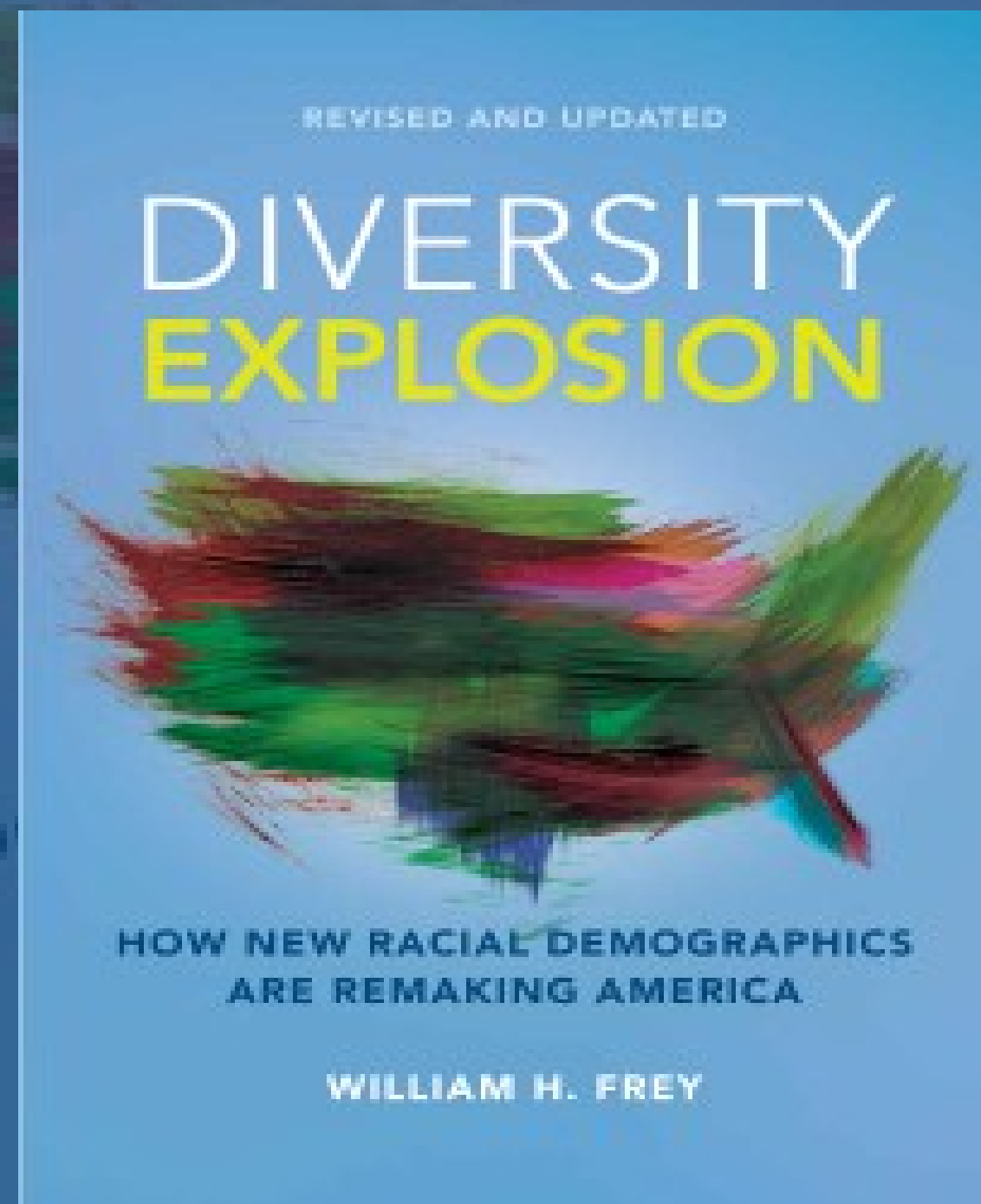


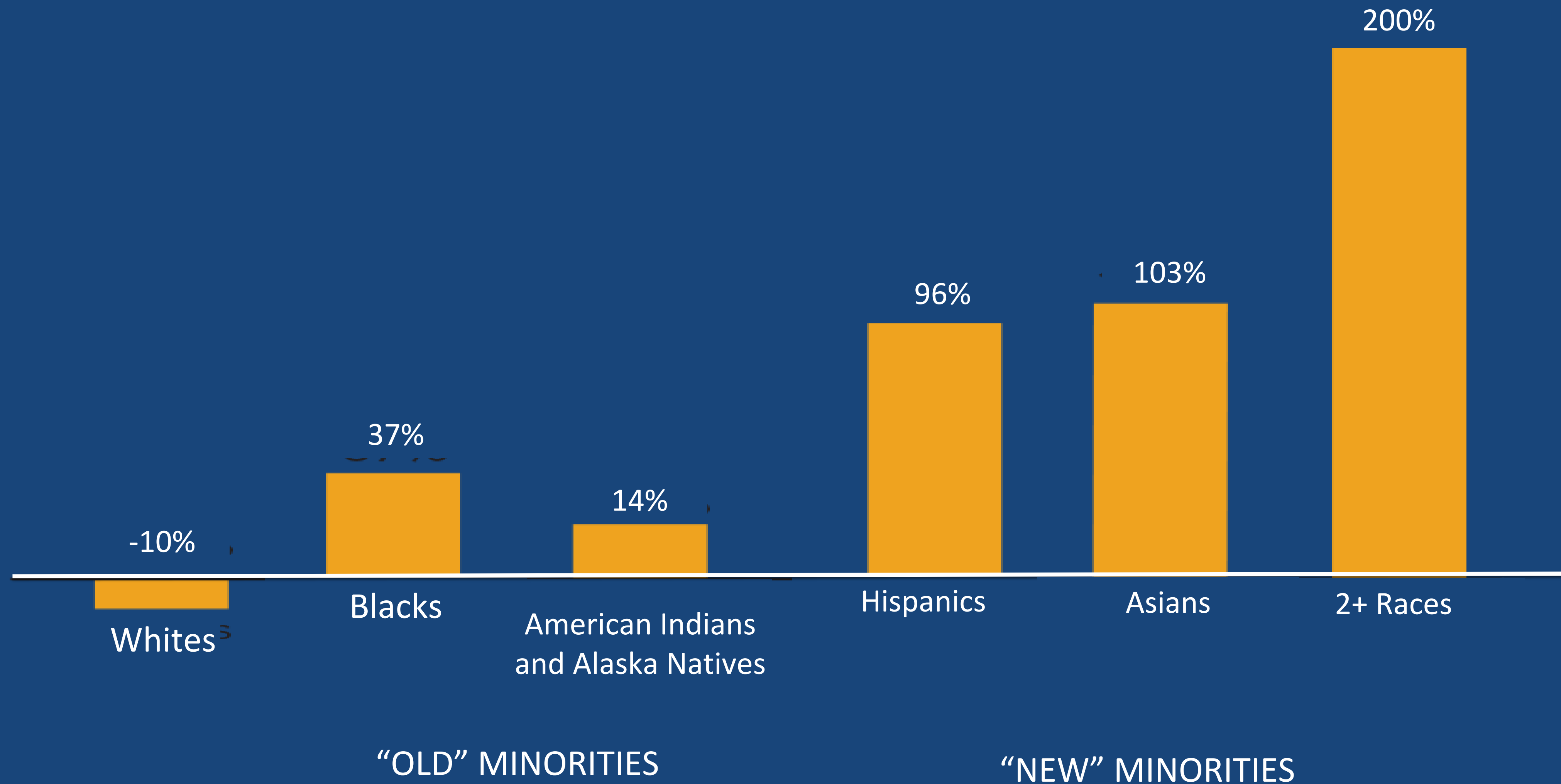
# America's Rising Diversity and The Changing Demographics of Presidential Politics



WILLIAM H. FREY

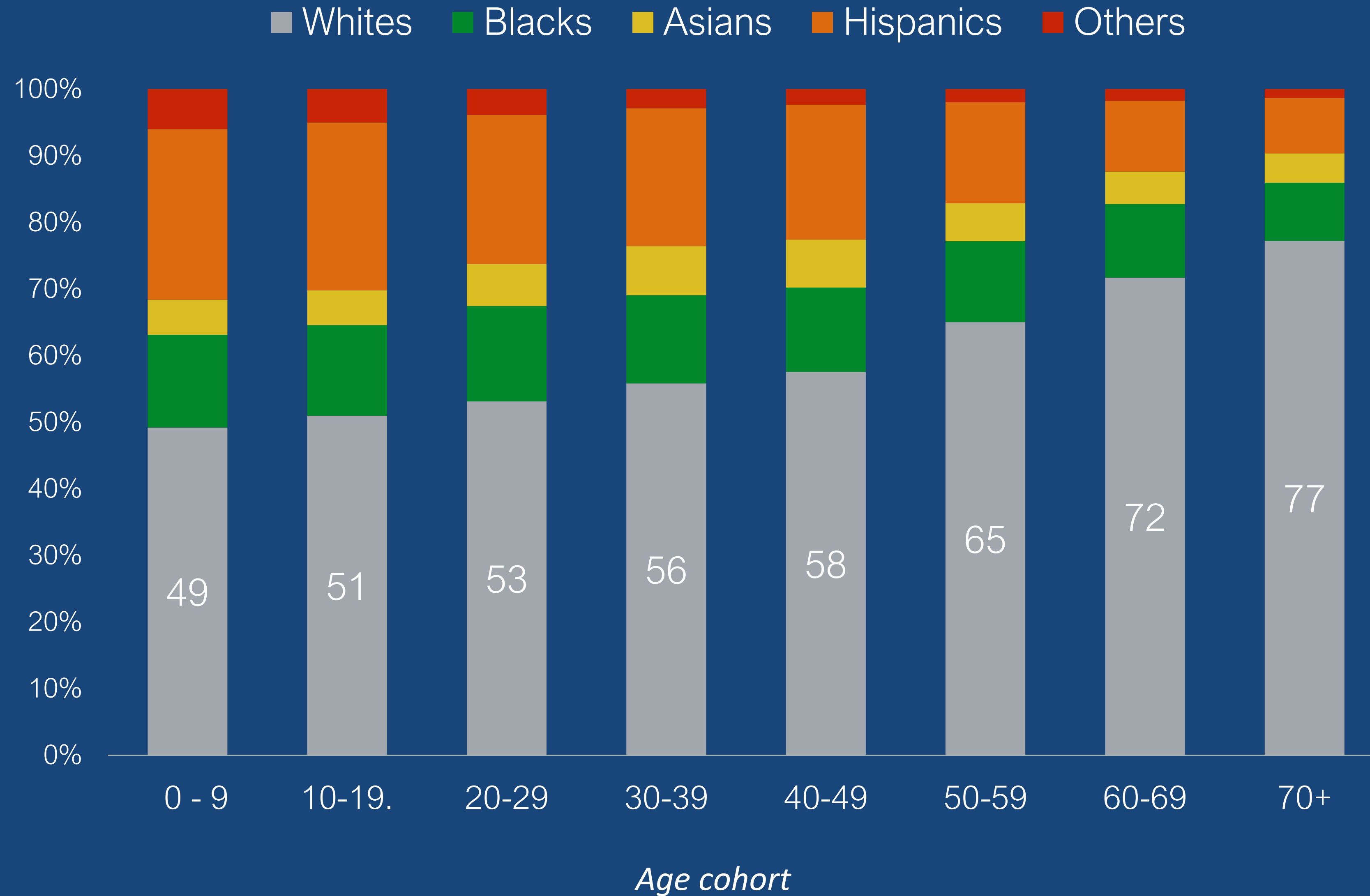
Brookings Institution and  
ISR, University of Michigan

# Projected Growth, 2015 – 2060



Source: American Community Survey, 2015, and Census Bureau Projections, released March 2018

# U.S. race profiles by age: 2020

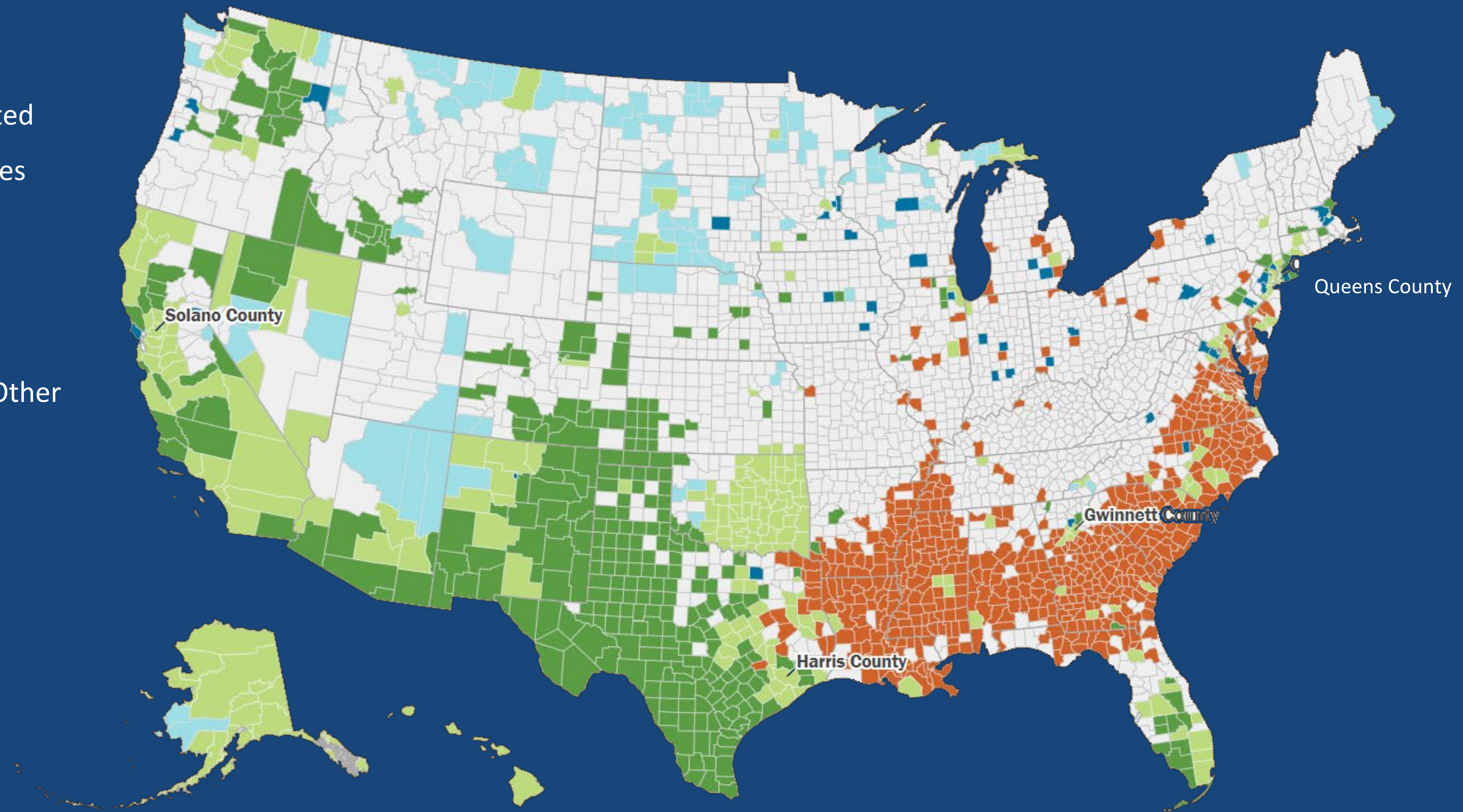


Source: Author's calculations



# Where race-ethnic minority groups are highly represented

- No minority is highly represented
- American Indians/Alaska Natives
- Hispanics
- Two or more minorities
- Blacks
- Asians, Native Hawaiians and Other Pacific Islanders



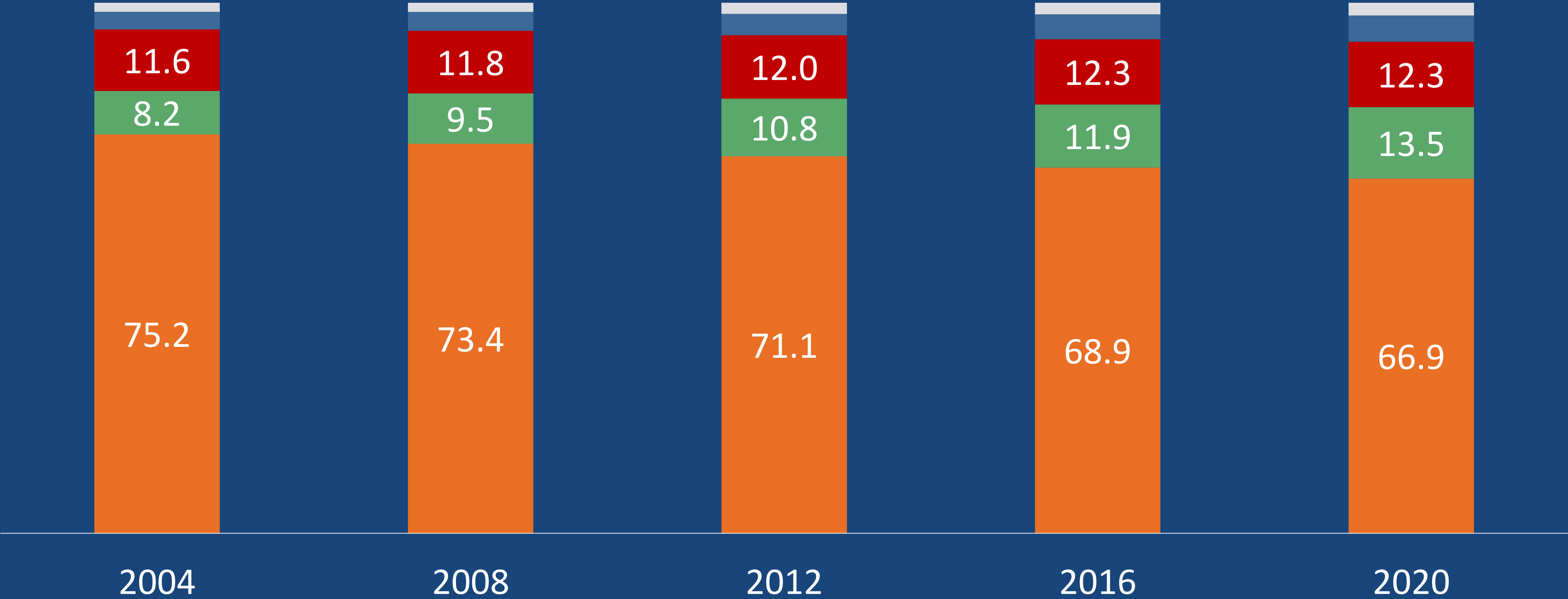
Source: William H. Frey analysis of US Census population estimates, 2018



# Race-Ethnic Profiles of Eligible Voters

## 2004 to 2020 presidential elections

White Latino or Hispanic Black Asian Other



1

Demographics of elections through 2012

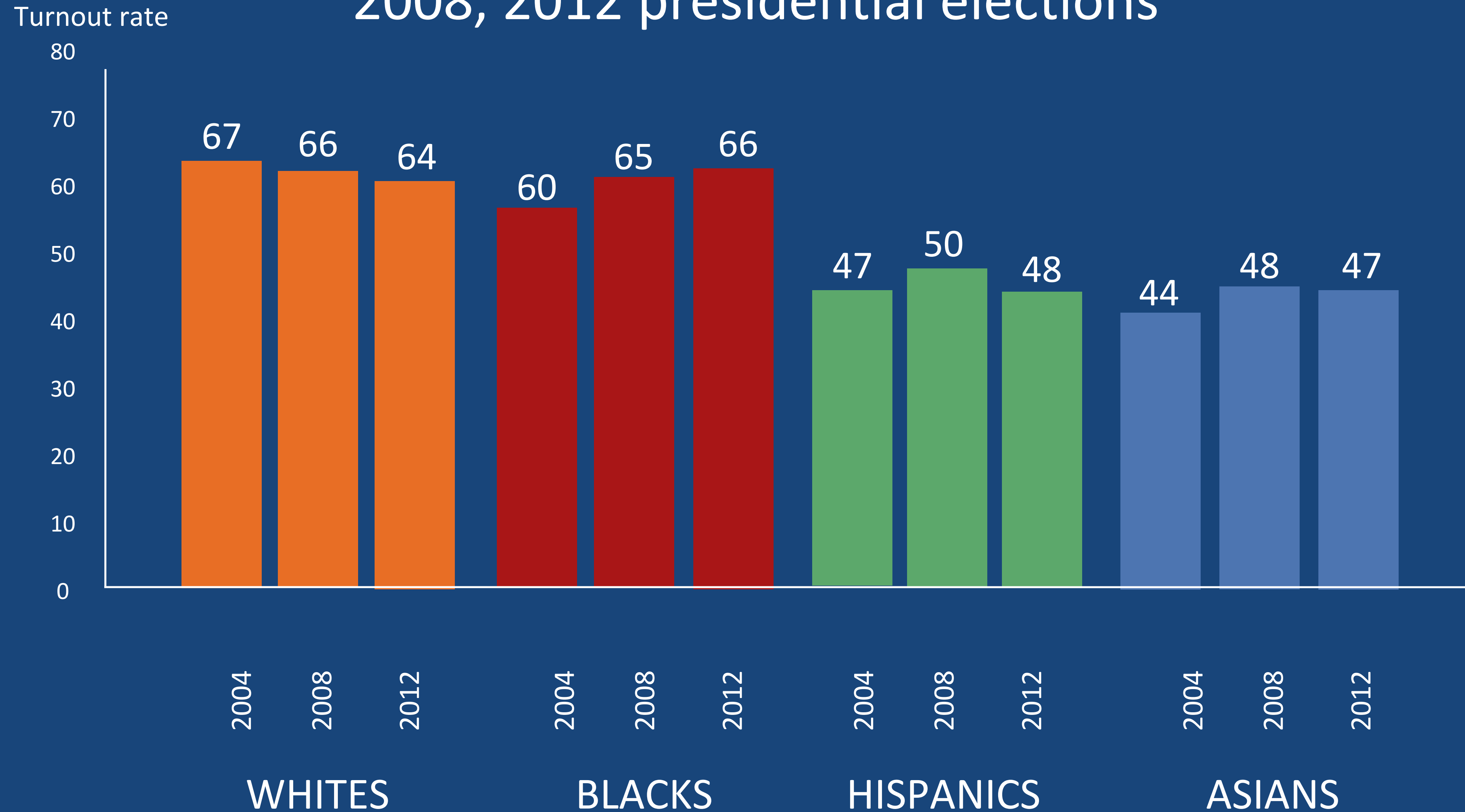
2

Demographics of the 2016 election

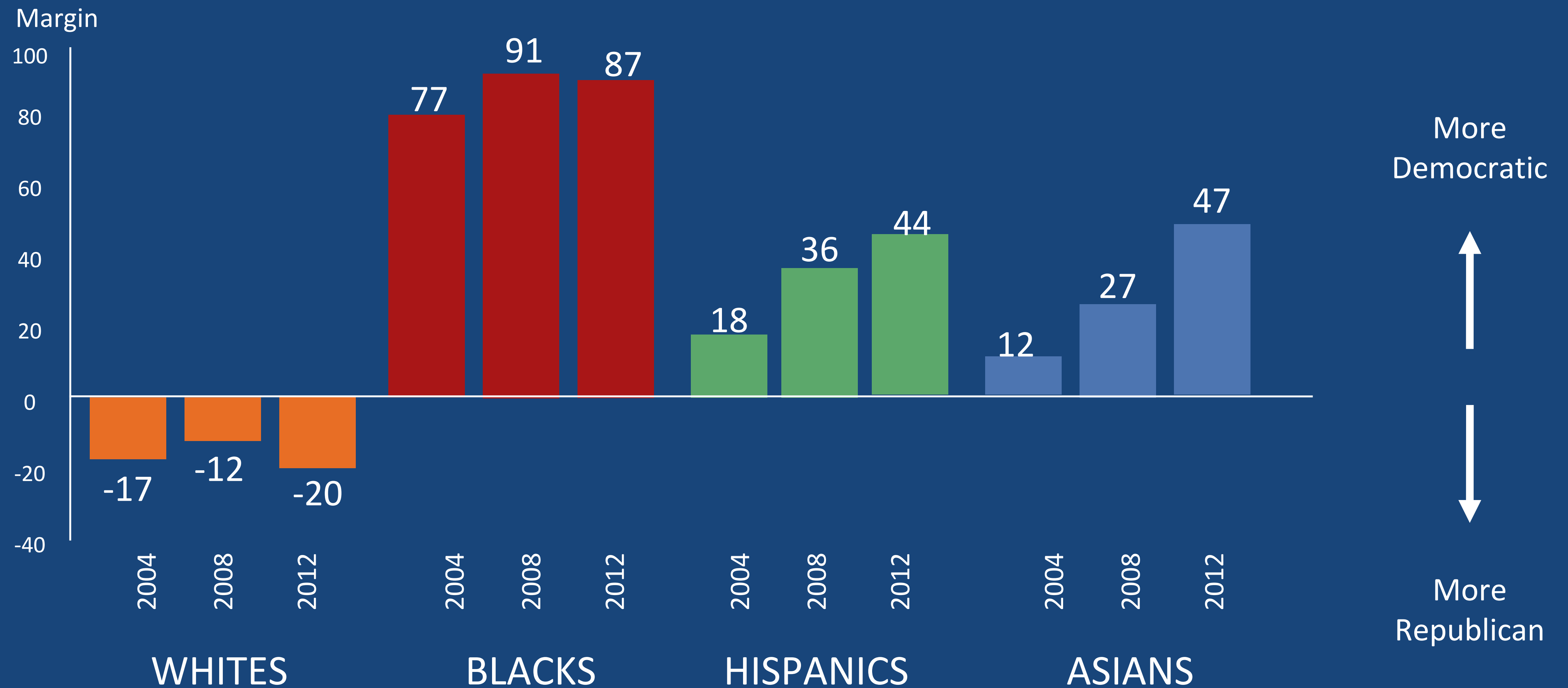
3

Implications for 2020 and beyond

# Voter turnout by race in the 2004, 2008, 2012 presidential elections

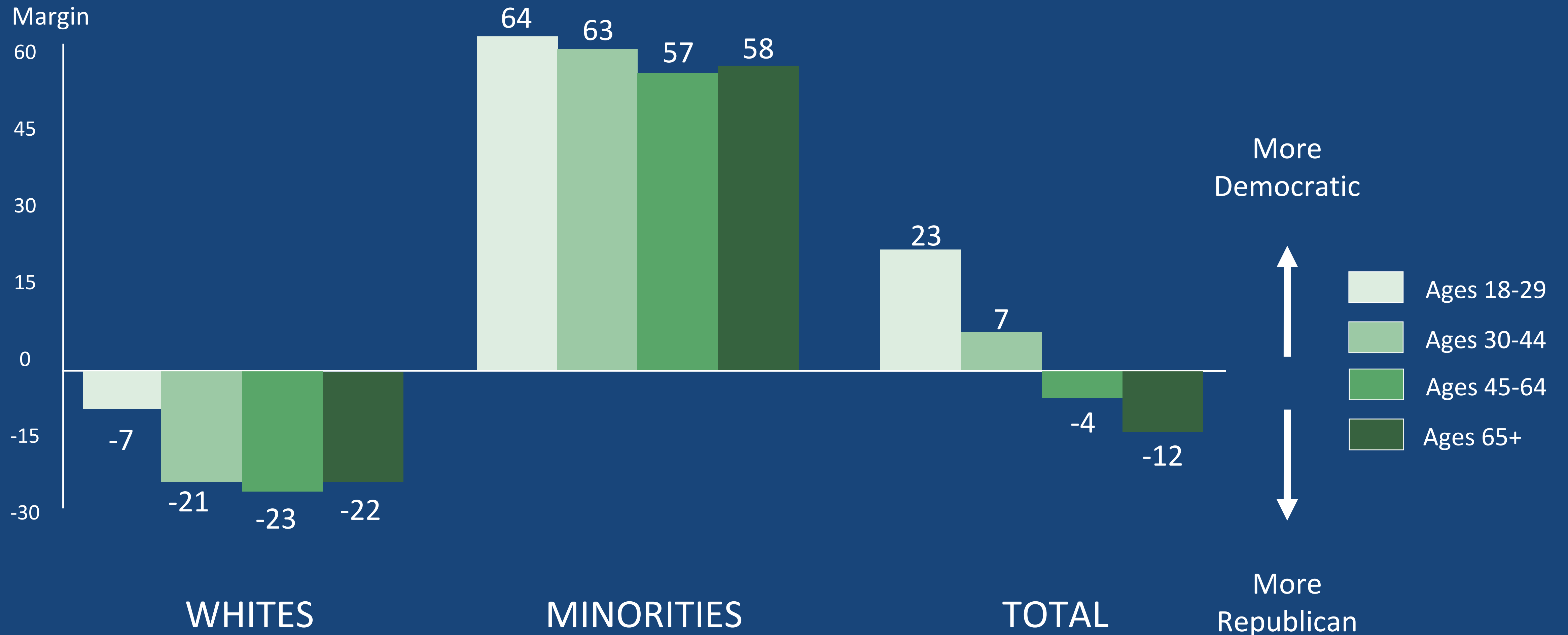


# Voting margin by race in the 2004, 2008, 2012 presidential elections



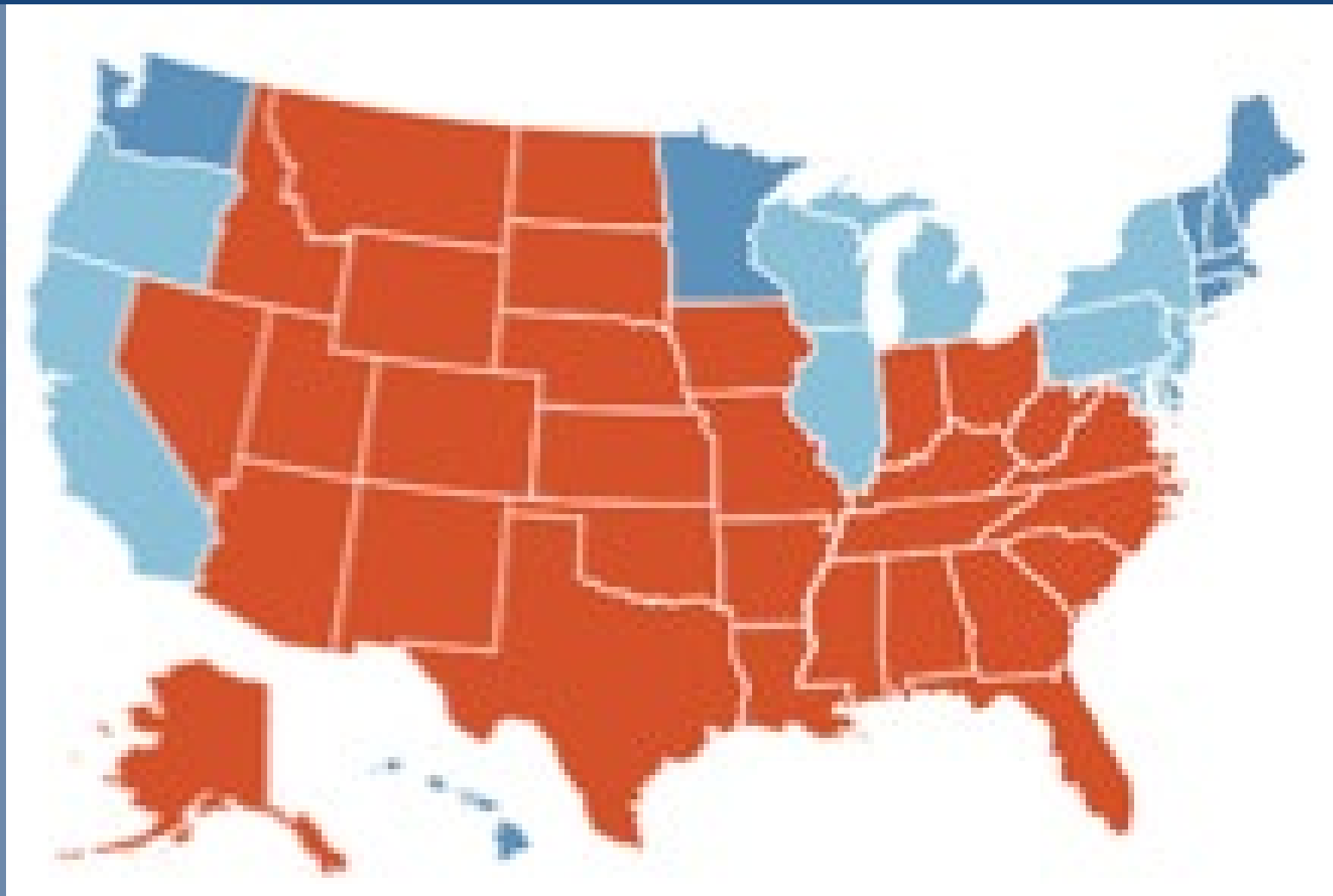


# Voting margin by age group, 2012

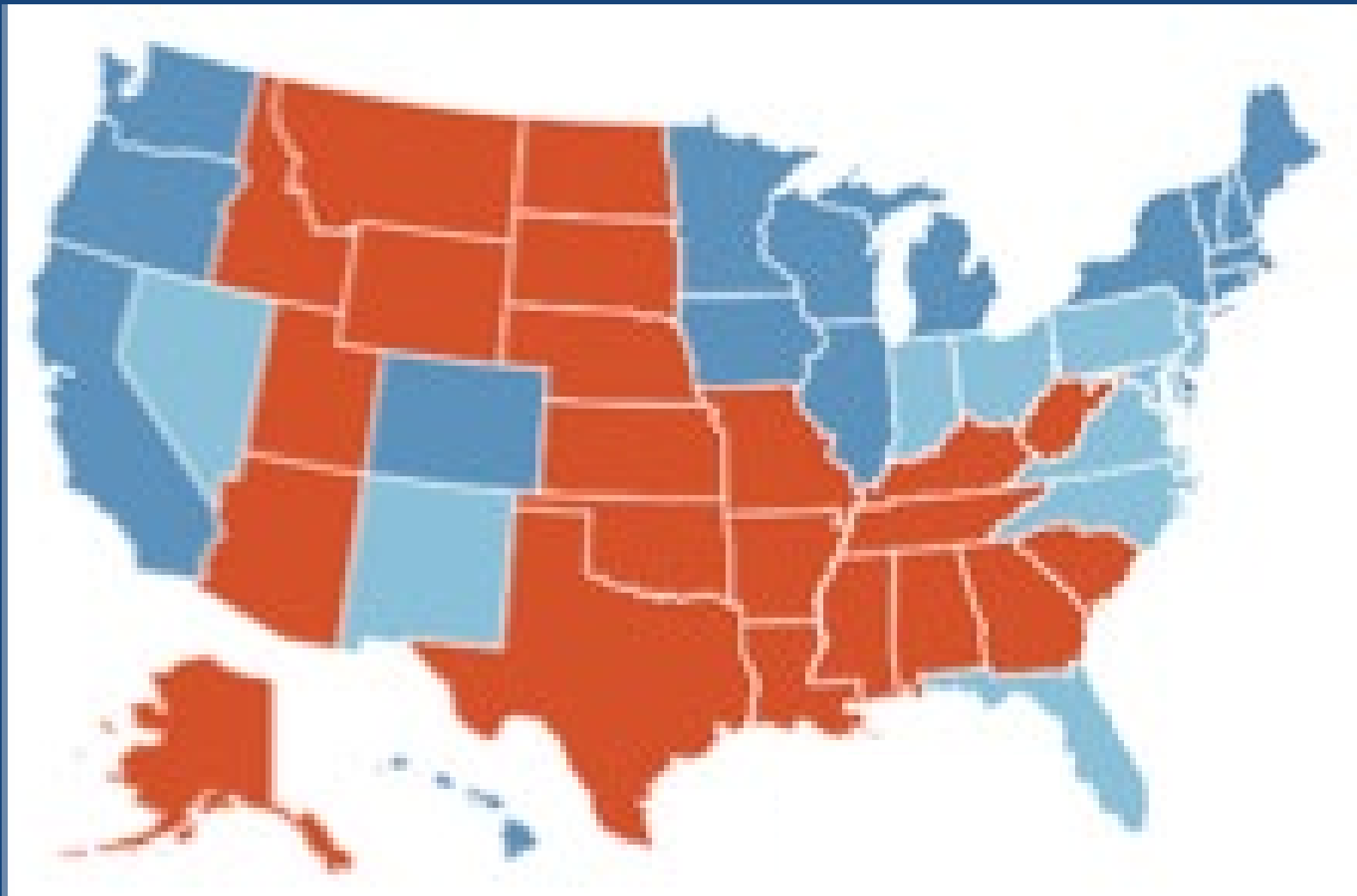


# Presidential election results

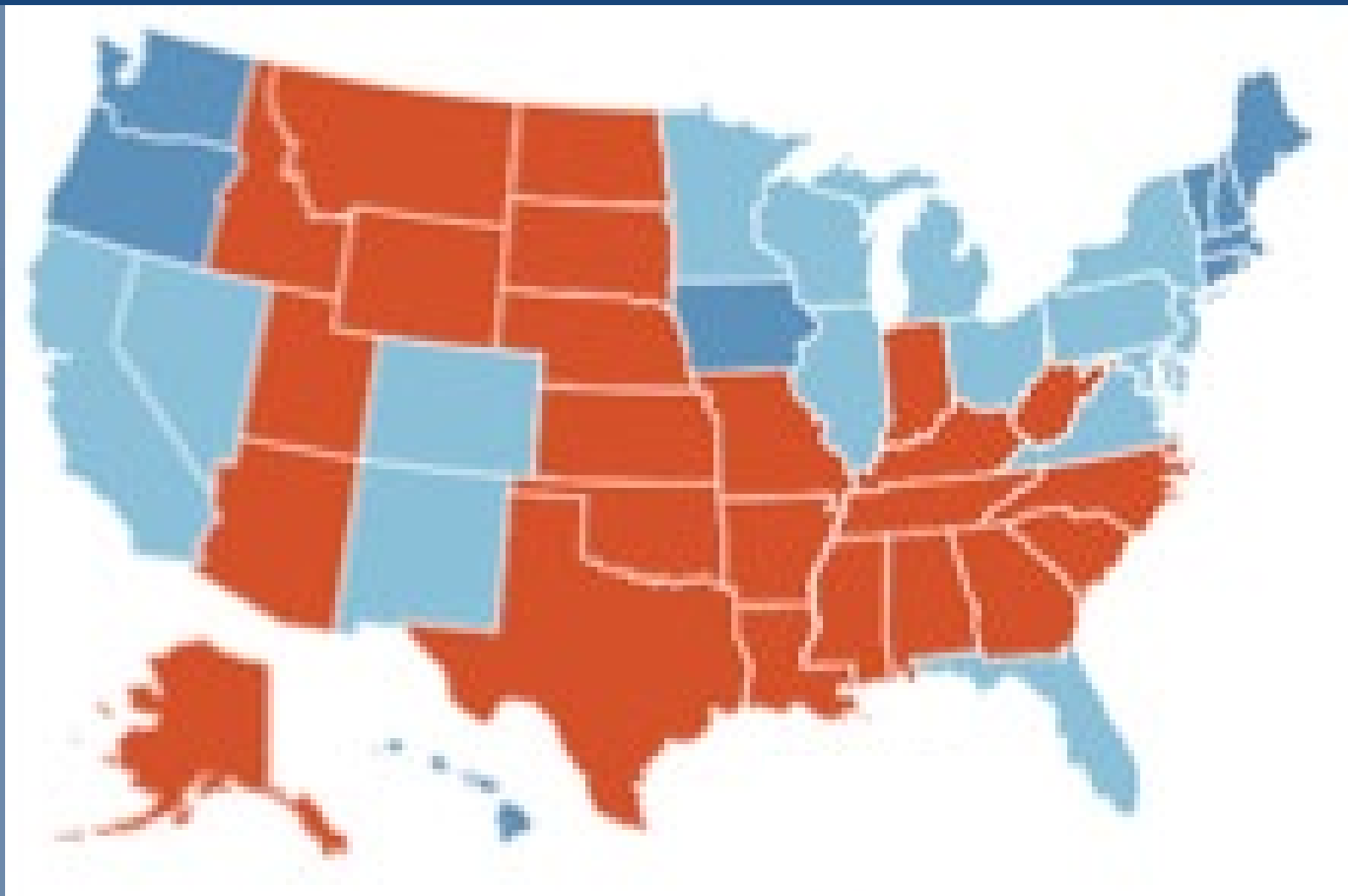
2004



2008



2012



Democrat win, due to whites and minorities



Democrat win, due to minorities but not whites



Republican win

1

Demographics of elections through 2012

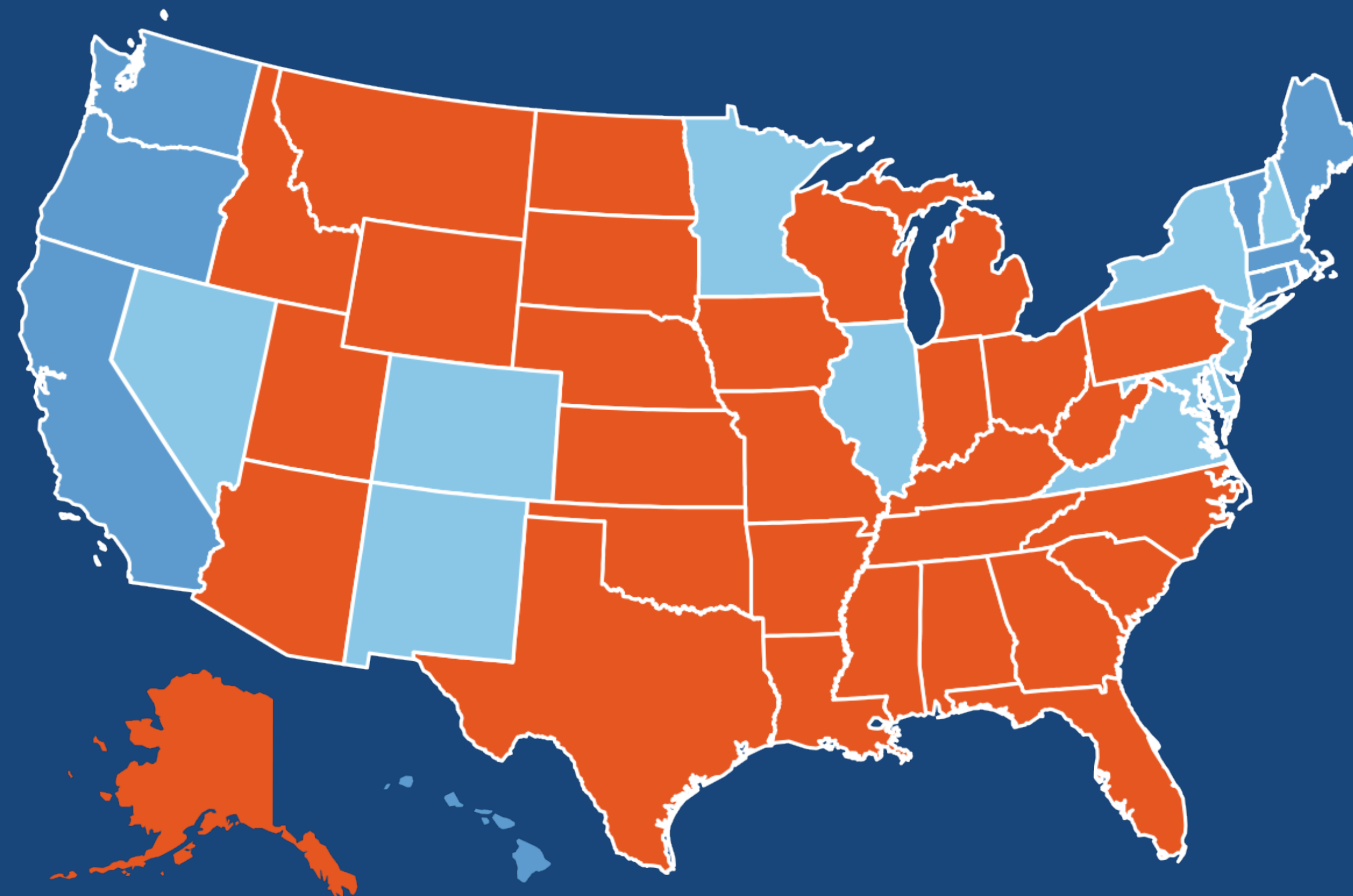
2

Demographics of the 2016 election

3

Implications for 2020 and beyond

# States won by Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton, 2016 Election

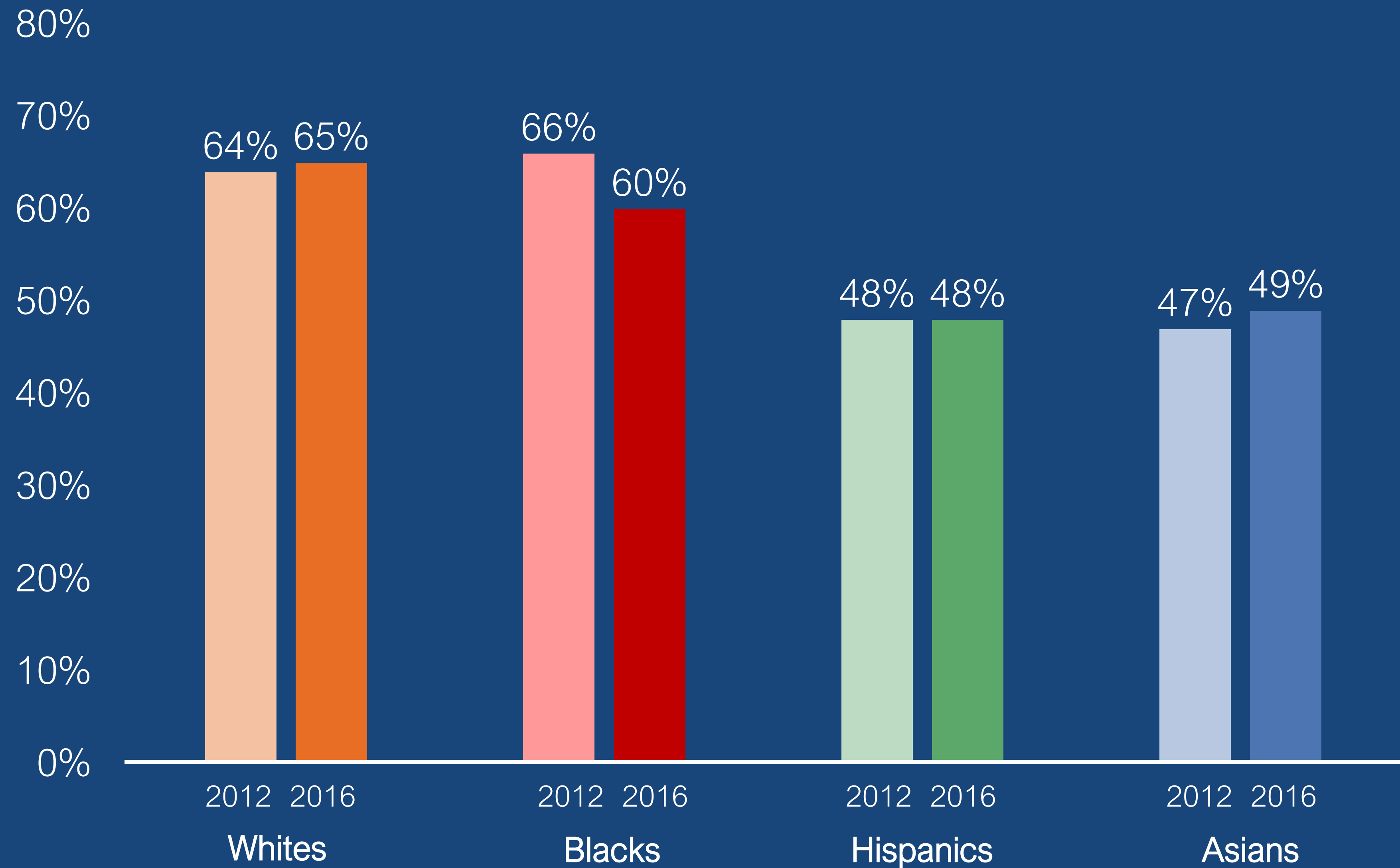


- Clinton (D) win – due to whites and minorities
- Clinton (D) win – due to minorities but not whites
- Trump (R) win

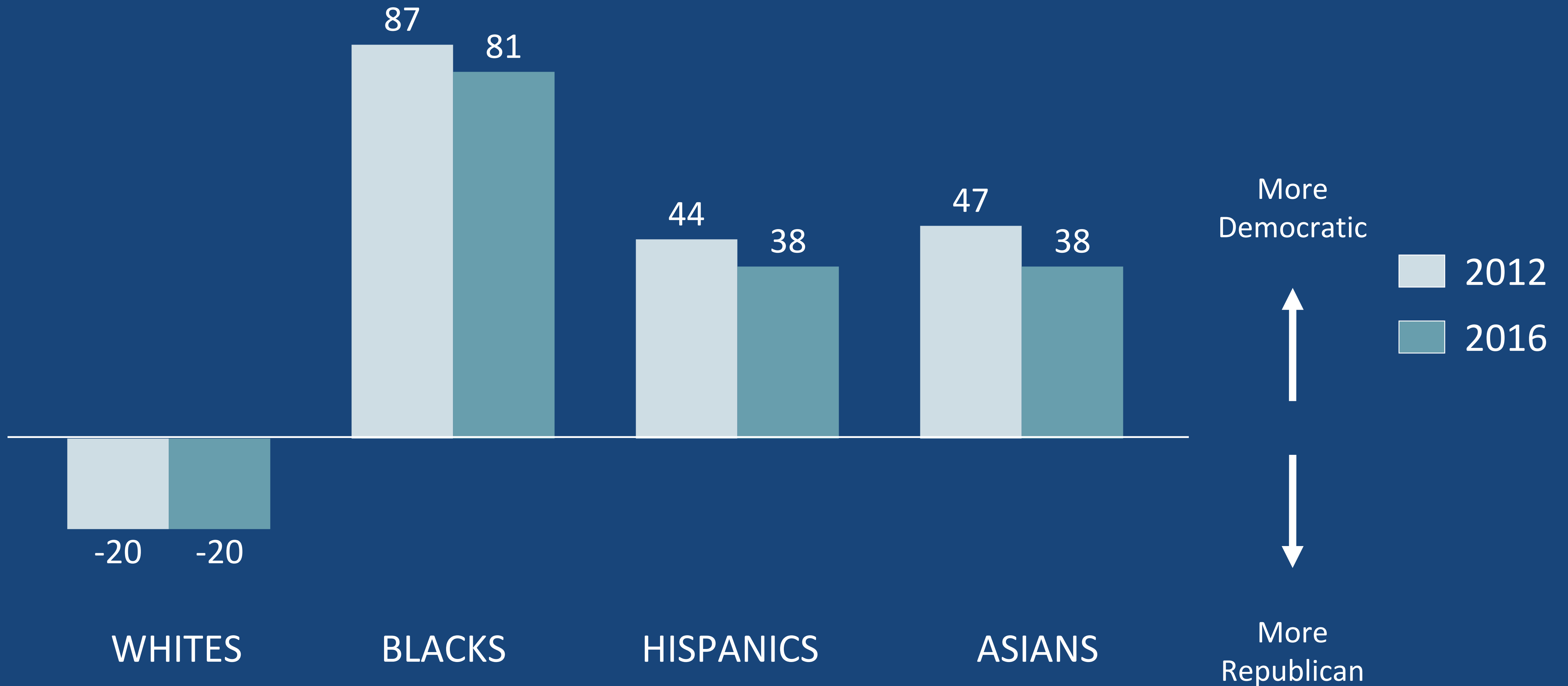
Source: National Election Pool media consortium, Edison Research as reported in CNN Election Center ([www.cnn.com/election](http://www.cnn.com/election)).



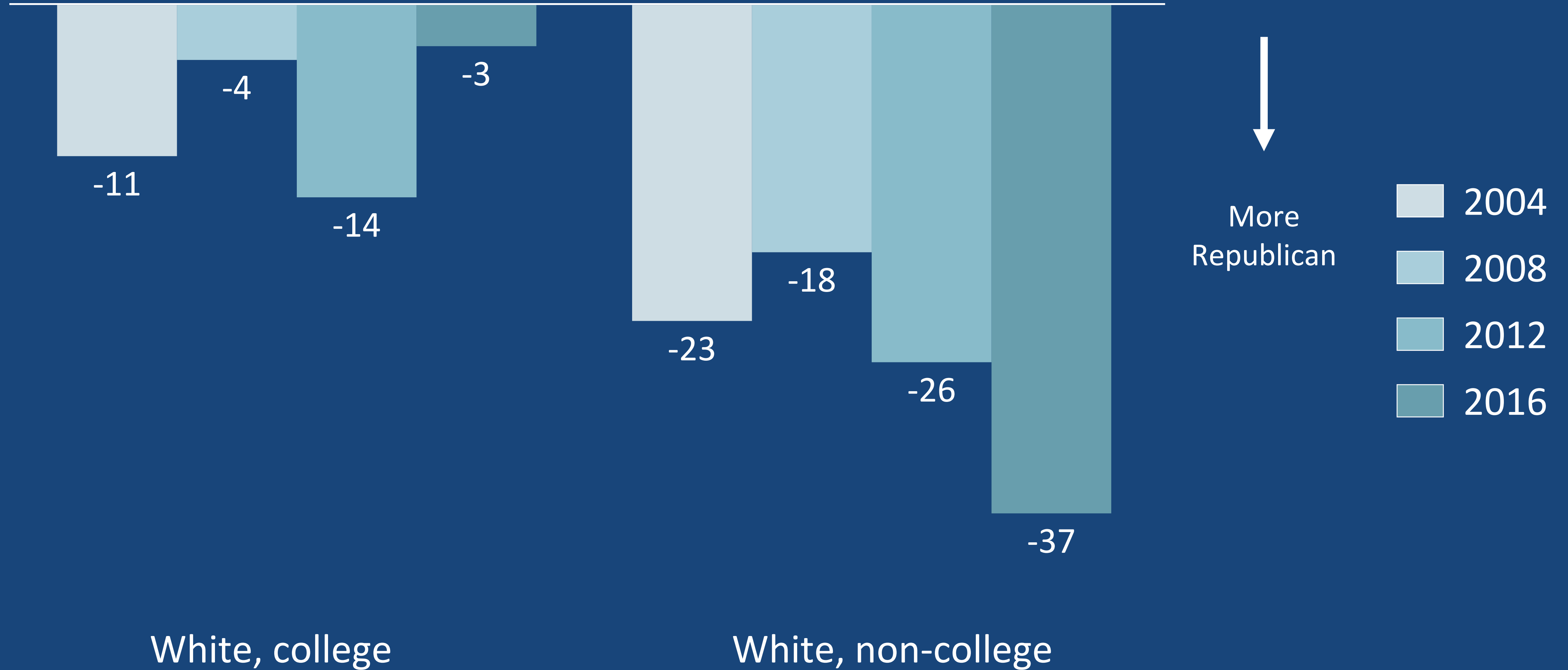
## Voter Turnout by Race 2012 and 2016



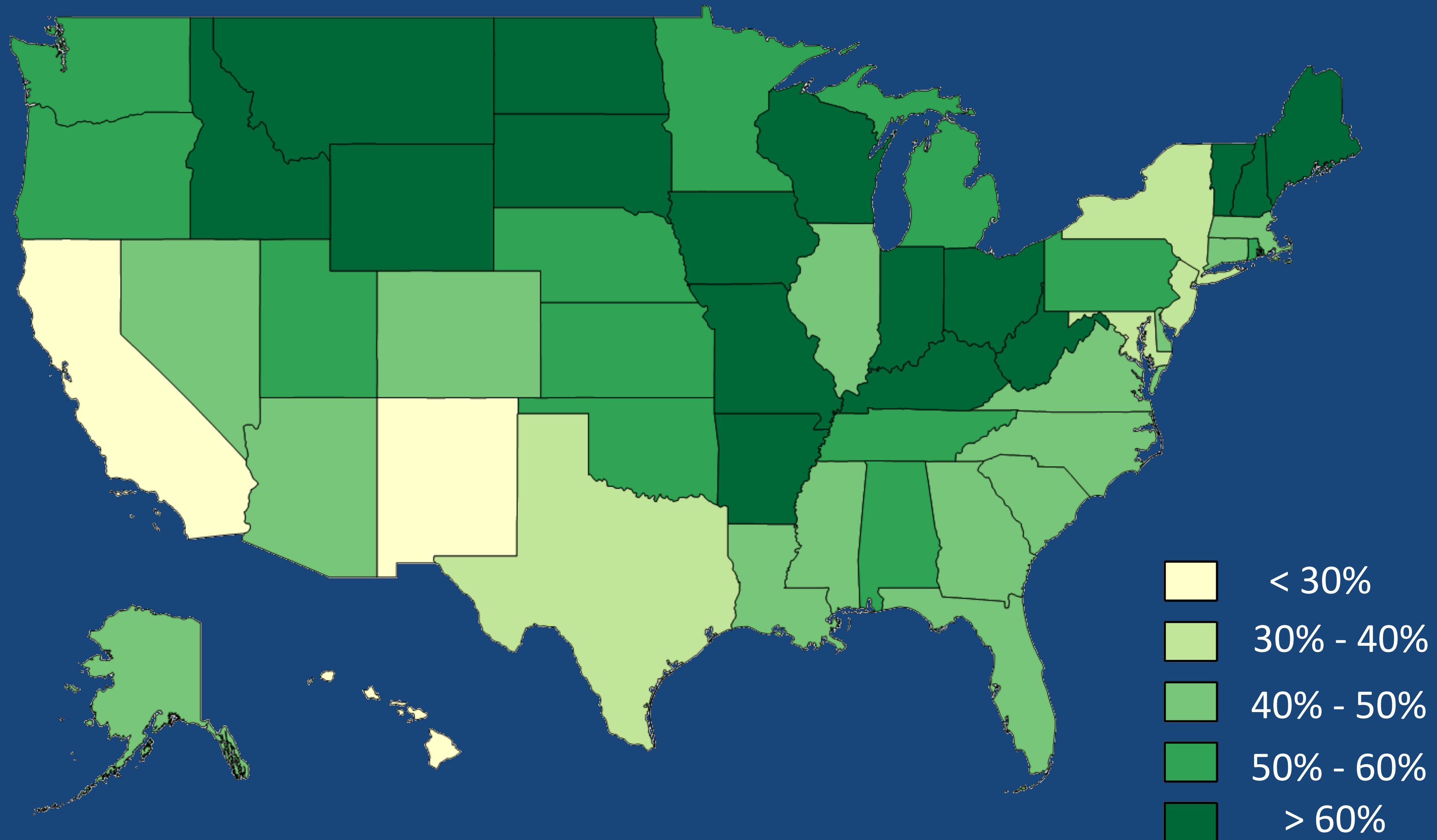
# Voting margins by race, 2012 and 2016



# White vote margins by education, 2004-2016

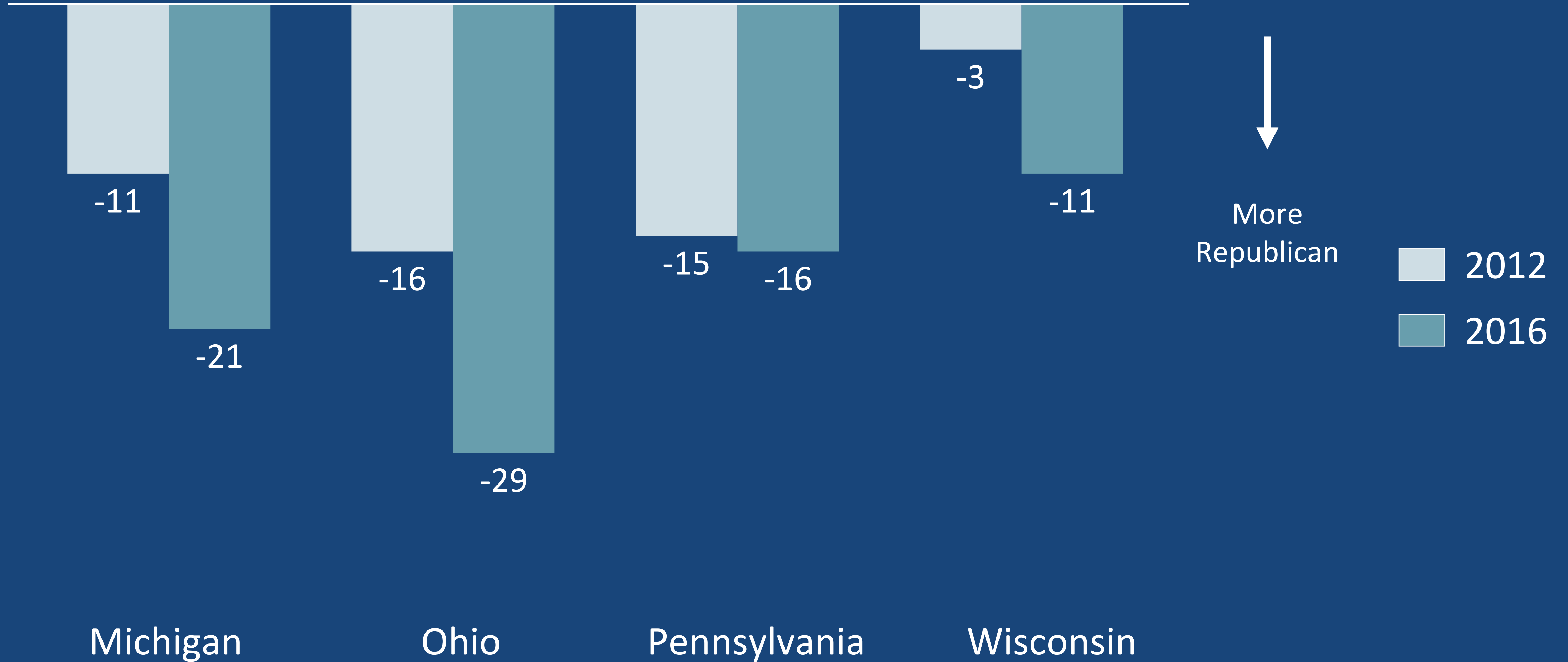


# White Non College Percent of Eligible Voters

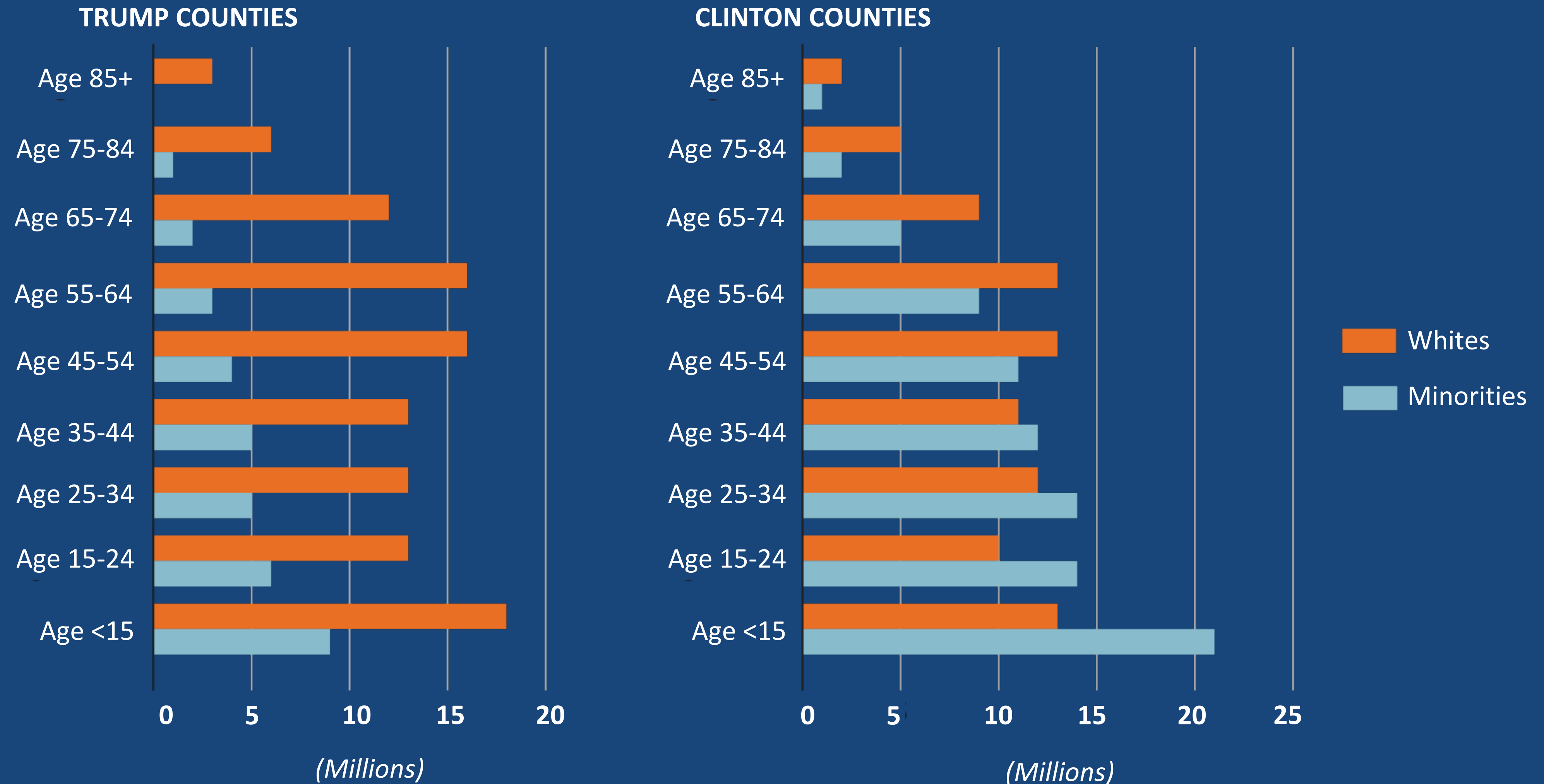




# White vote margins in Midwestern swing states, 2012 and 2016



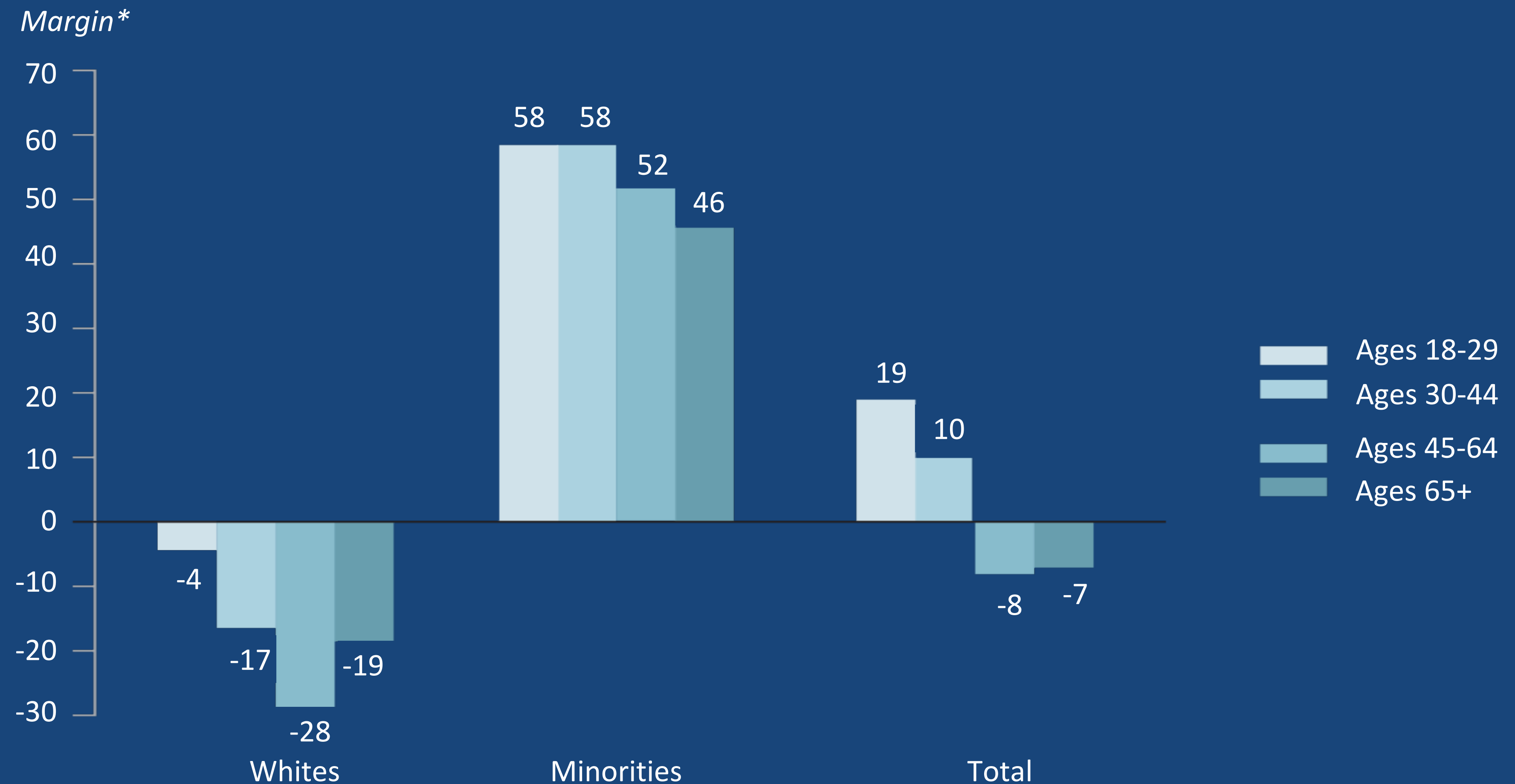
# Population Profiles of Counties that Voted for Trump and Clinton\*



Source: Author's analysis of David Leip's *Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections in 2016* and U.S. census population estimates, 2015.

\*Refers to total population (in millions) residing in counties that voted for Trump or Clinton.

# Democratic-over-Republican Margin, by Age Group, 2016



Source: National Election Pool media consortium, Edison Research as reported in CNN Election Center ([www.cnn.com/election](http://www.cnn.com/election)).

\*Margin is defined by percent voting for Democratic candidate minus percent voting for Republican candidate.

1

Demographics of elections through 2012

2

Demographics of the 2016 election

3

Implications for 2020 and beyond



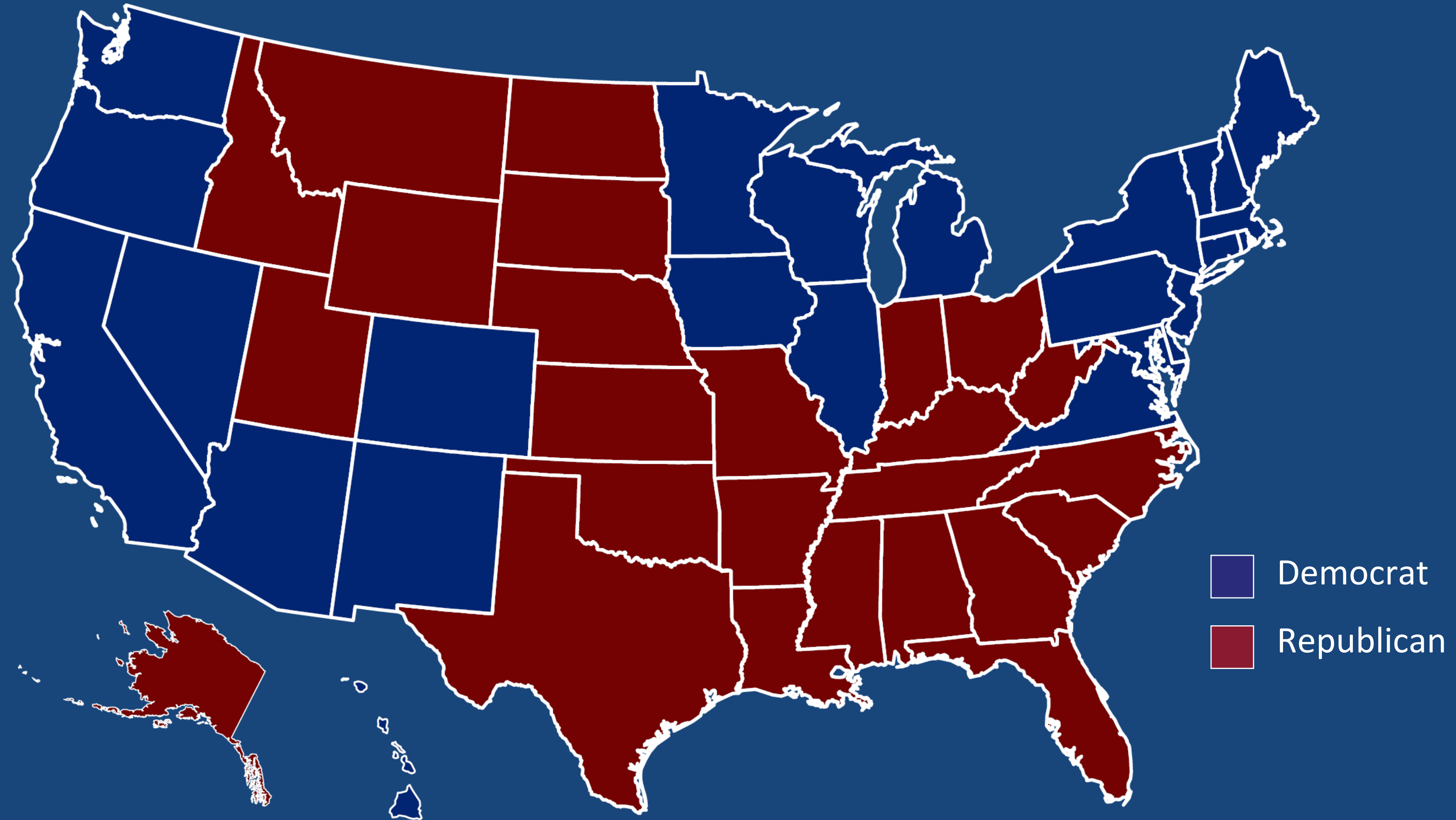
3

Implications for 2020 and beyond

The 2018 Midterms

# States voting Democratic or Republican

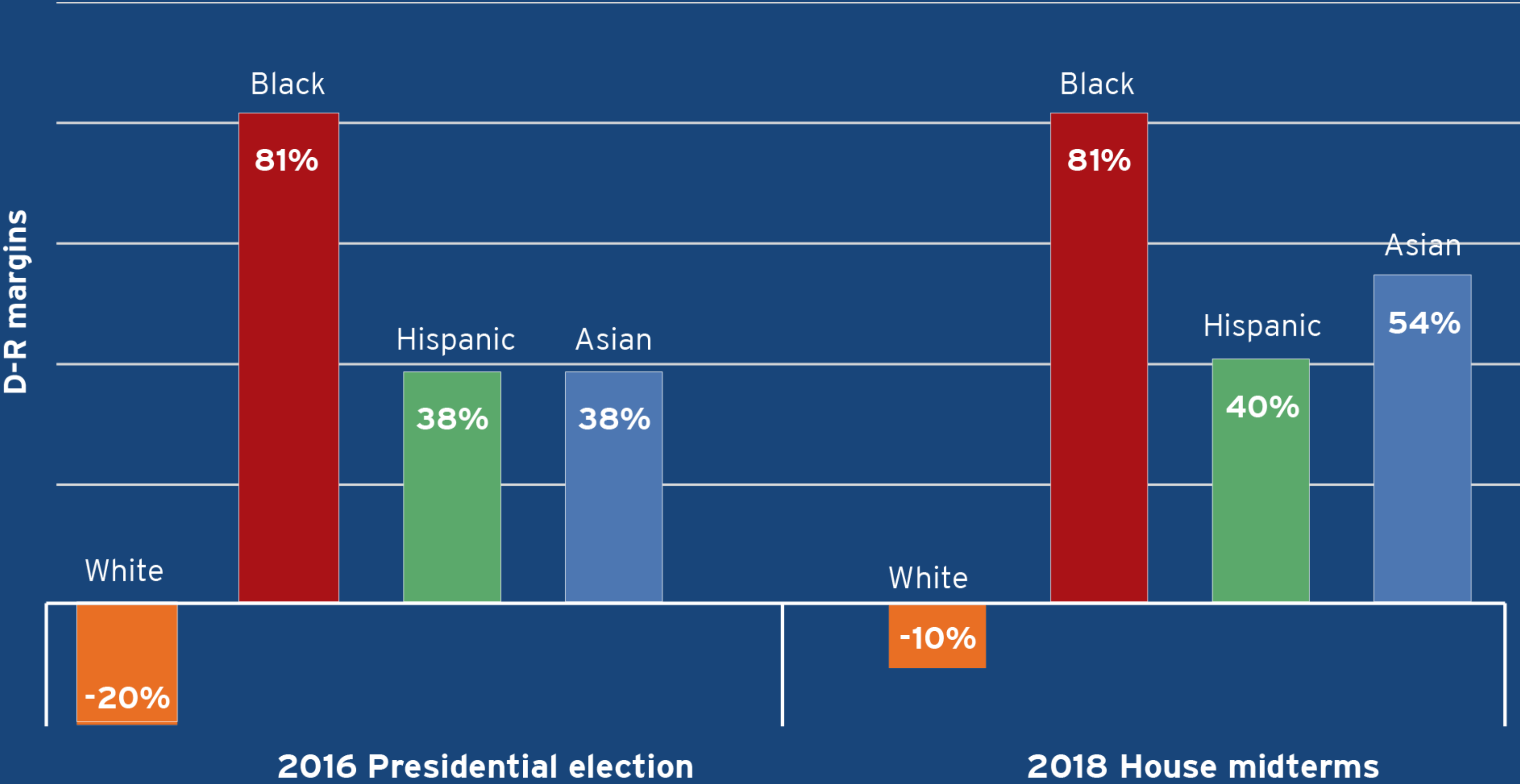
## 2018 House of Representatives elections



Source: Dave Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential elections

# Democratic minus Republican Voter Margins by race

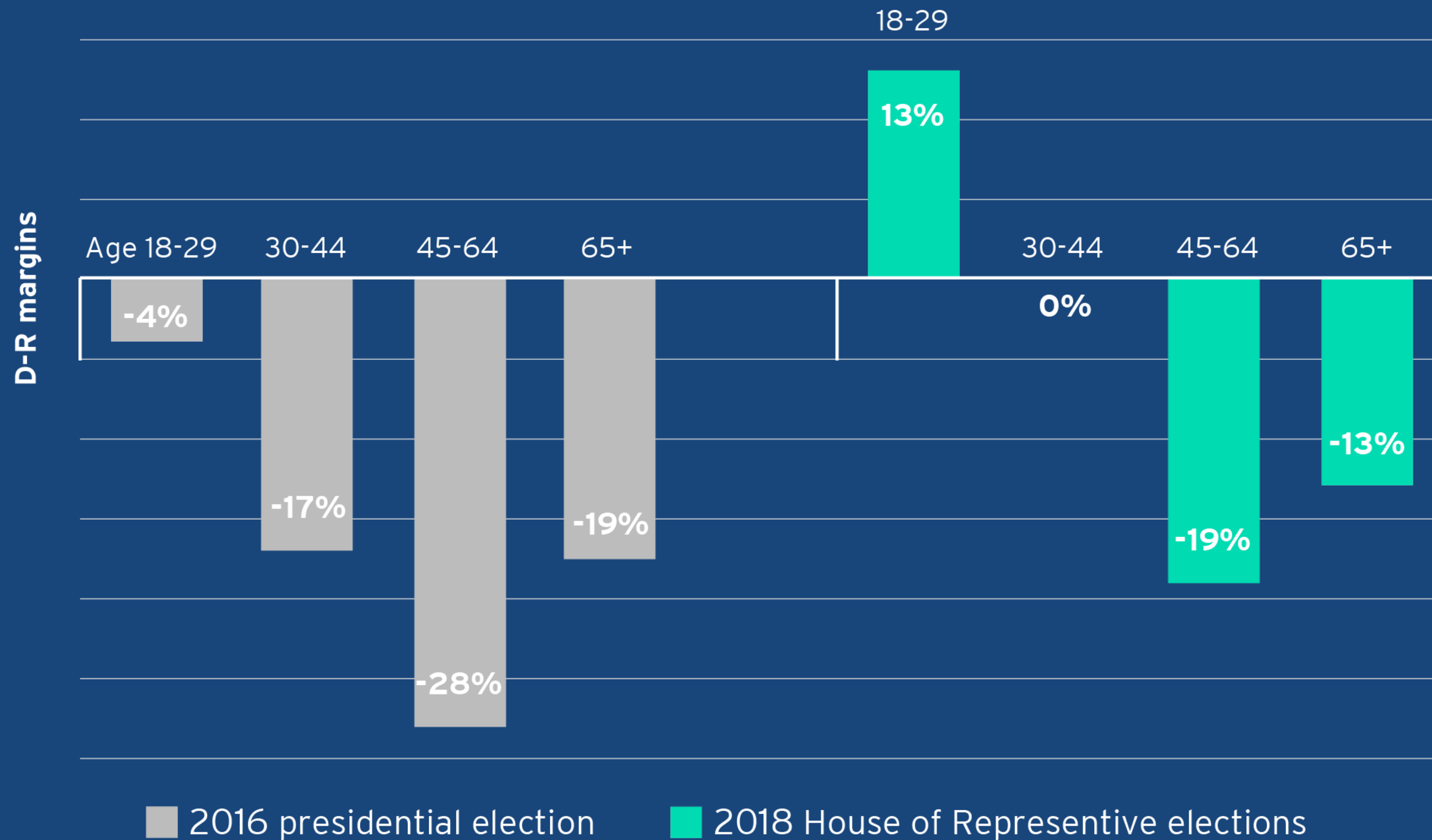
Presidential election 2016 and House elections 2018



Source: Exit polls reported by CNN, 2016 and 2018

# Whites: Democratic minus Republican Voter Margins by age

## Presidential election 2016 and House elections 2018





# Whites: **D-R Voter Margins** by gender and education

Presidential election 2016 and House elections 2018

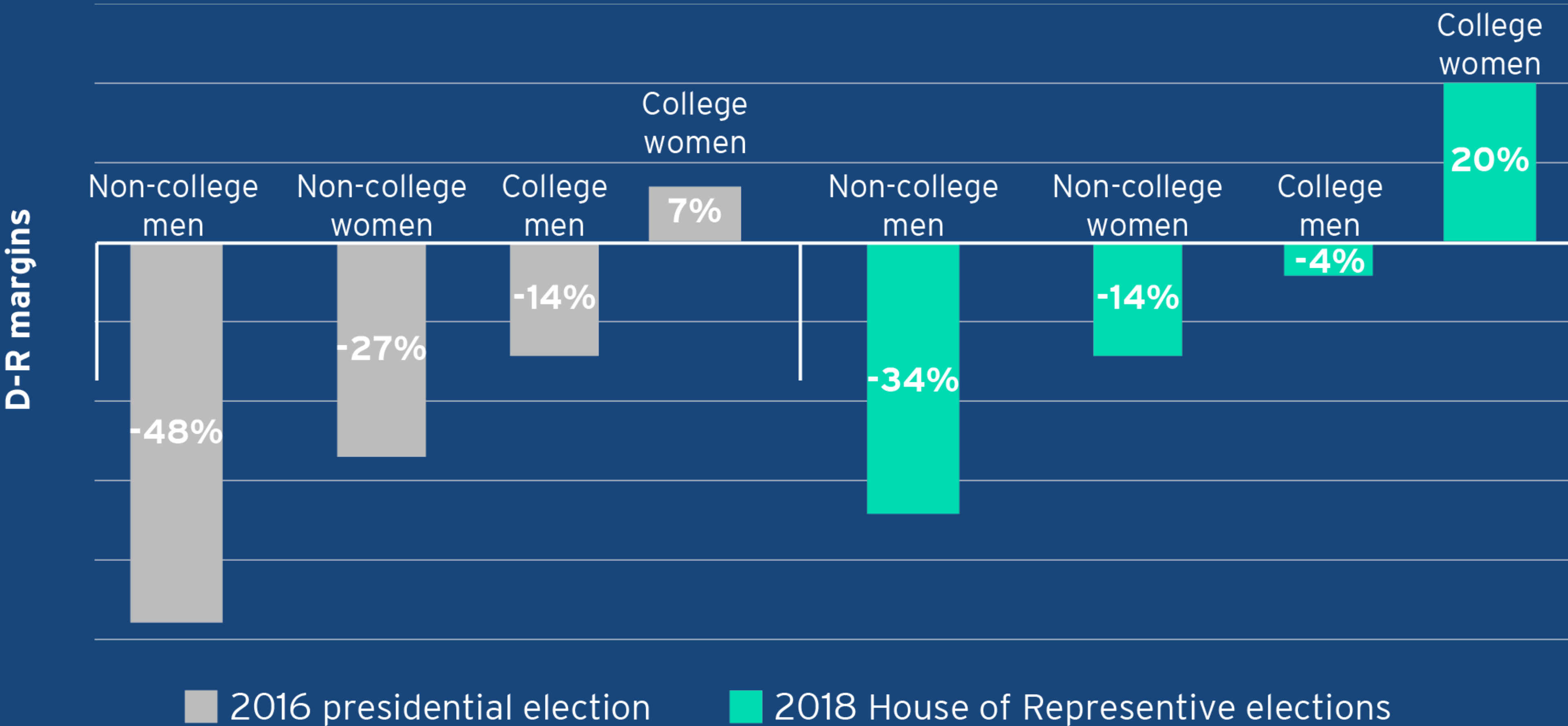
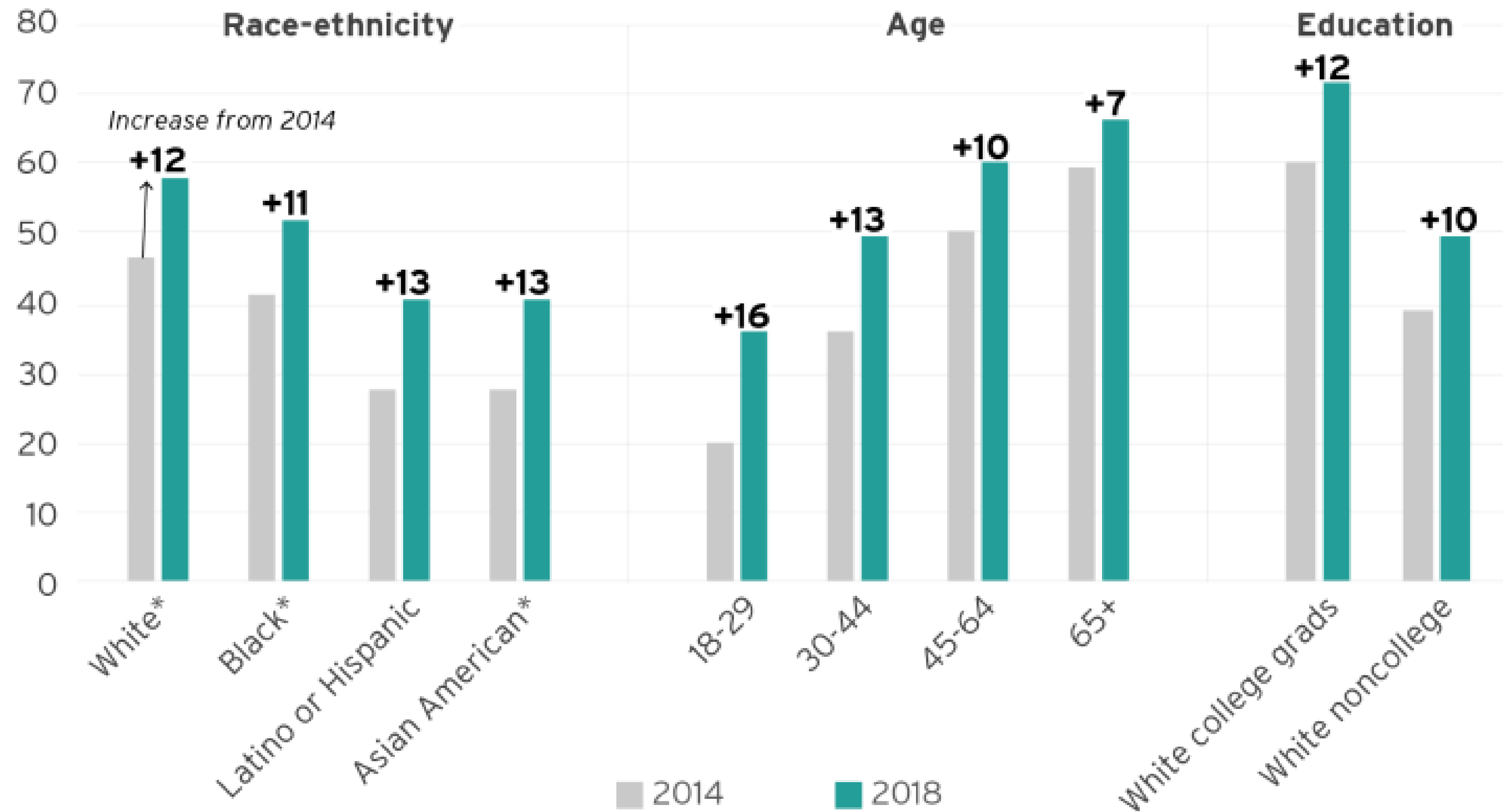


FIGURE 4

## United States voter turnout rates by attributes, 2014 and 2018



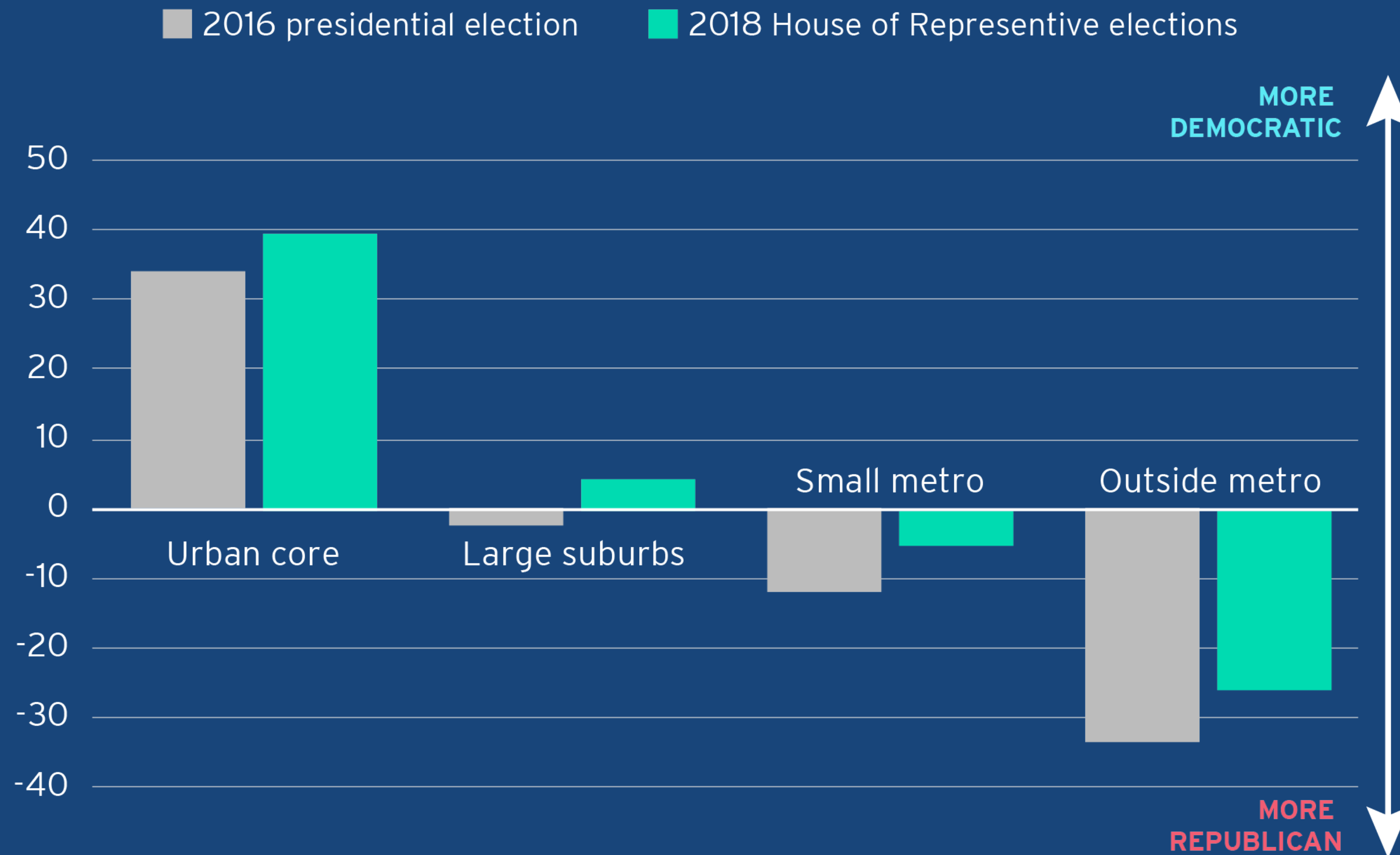
\* Non-Hispanic members of racial group

Source: William H Frey analysis of Current Population Survey Micro-files, 2014 and 2018, released April 23, 2019.



Metropolitan Policy Program  
at BROOKINGS

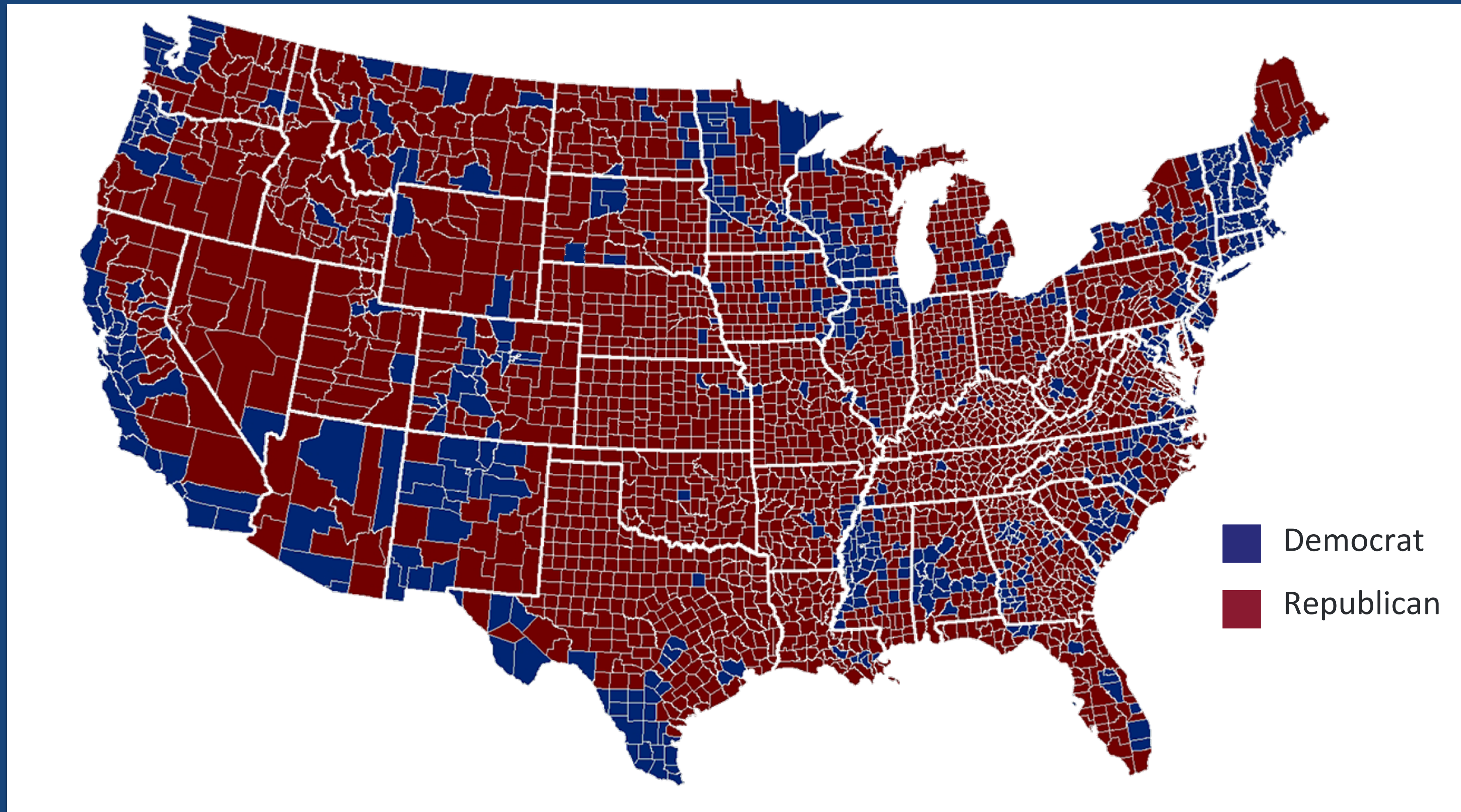
# D-R Voter Margins for urban categories



Source: William H. Frey analysis of David Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections



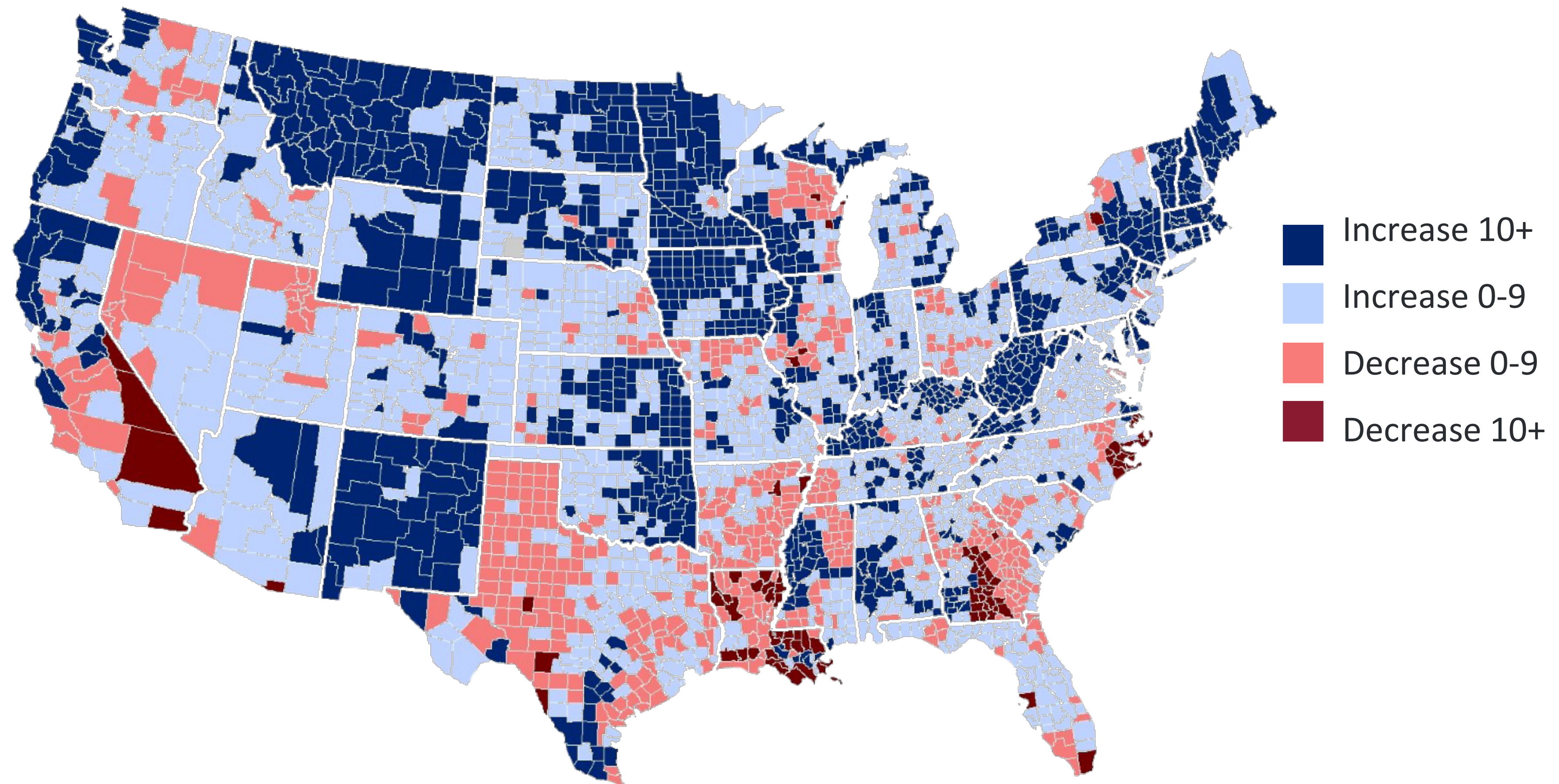
# Counties voting Democratic or Republican 2018 House of Representative elections



Source: David Leip's Atlas of U.S. Presidential elections



# Counties classed by **Change in D-R Margins** between 2016 (Presidential) and 2018 (House) elections



Source: William H. Frey analysis of David Leip's Atlas of US Presidential elections

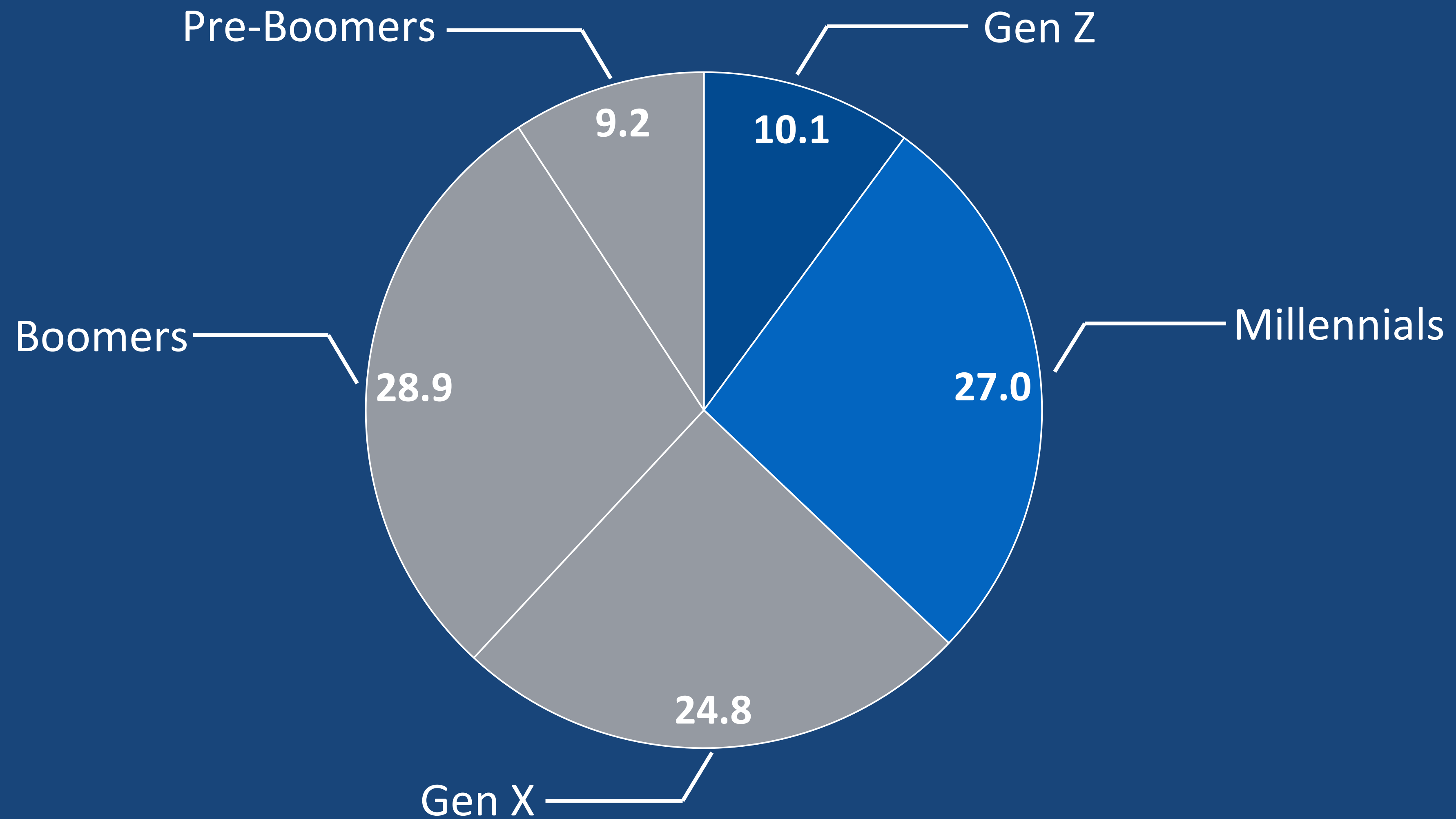


3

Implications for 2020 and beyond

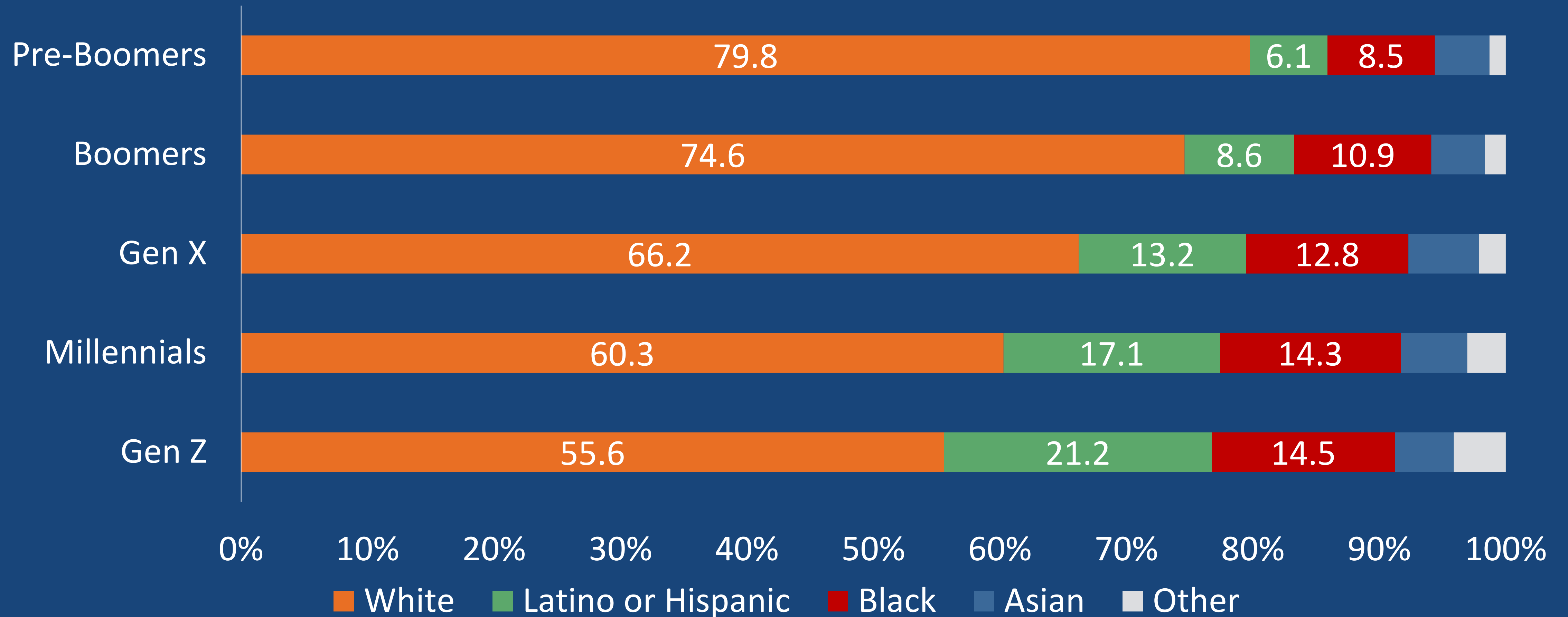
Millennials and Gen Z

# 2020 Eligible Voters by Generation (%)



# Race-Ethnic Profiles of Generations

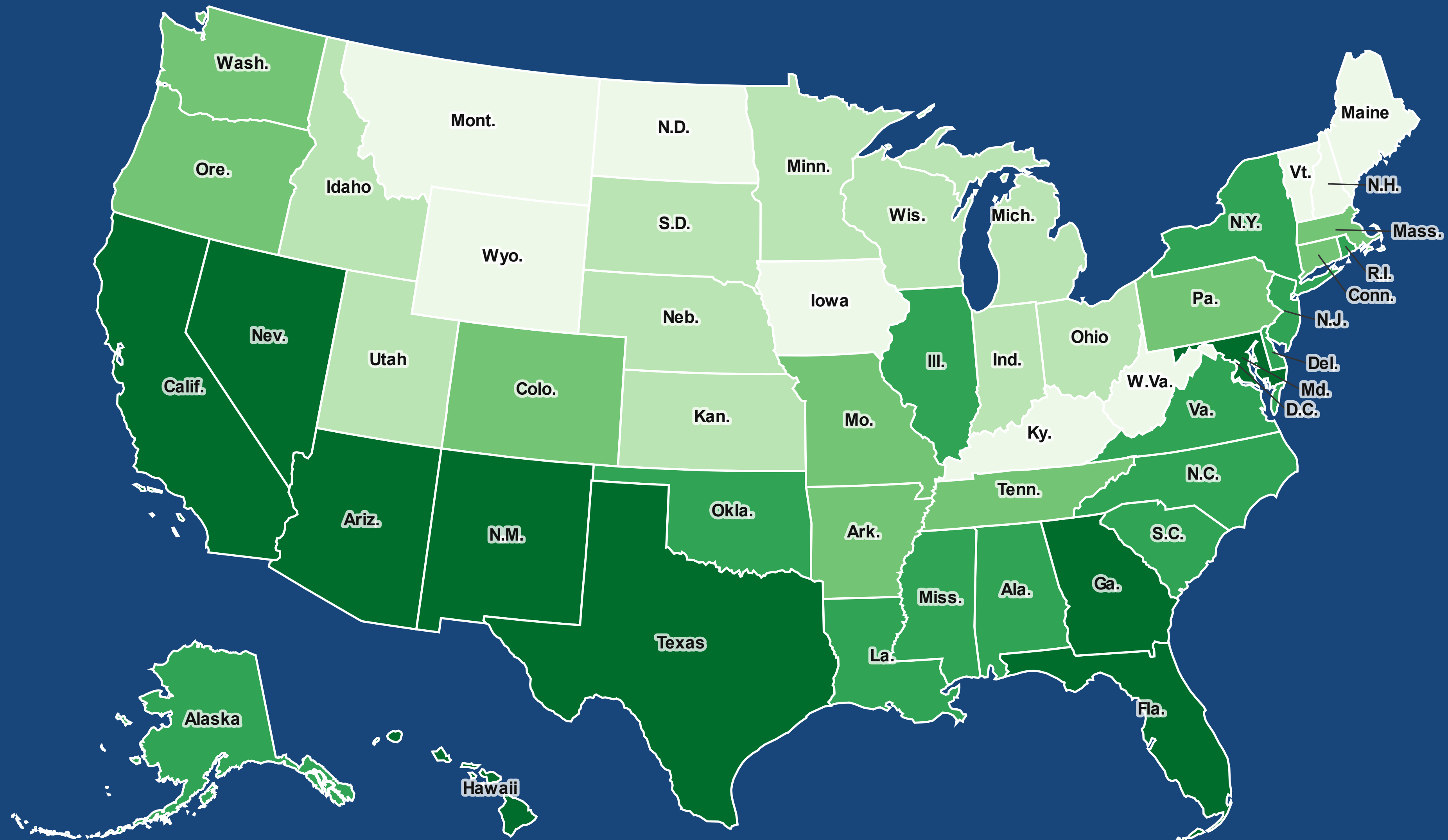
## Eligible Voters, 2020



# Non-white share of 2020 eligible voters

## Under age 40

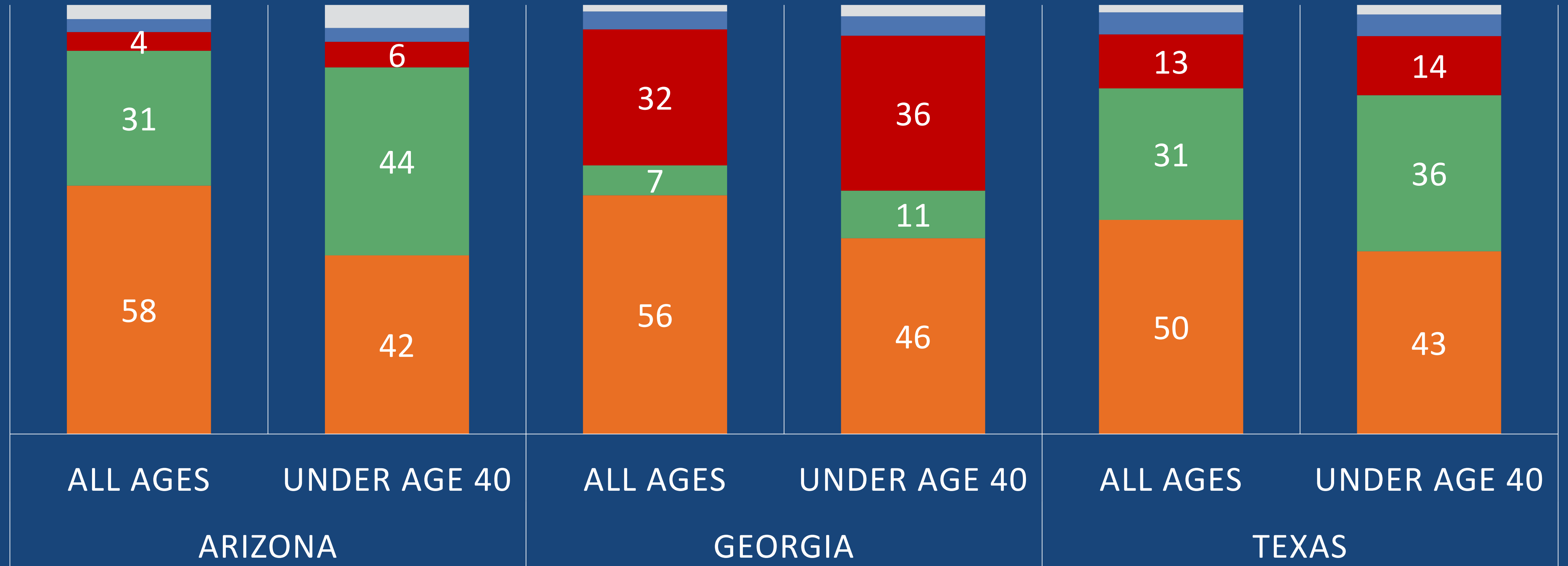
Less than 15%   15–25%   25–35%   35–50%   Greater than 50%



# Race-Ethnic Profiles of 2020 Eligible Voters

## All Ages and Under Age 40

White Latino or Hispanic Black Asian Other

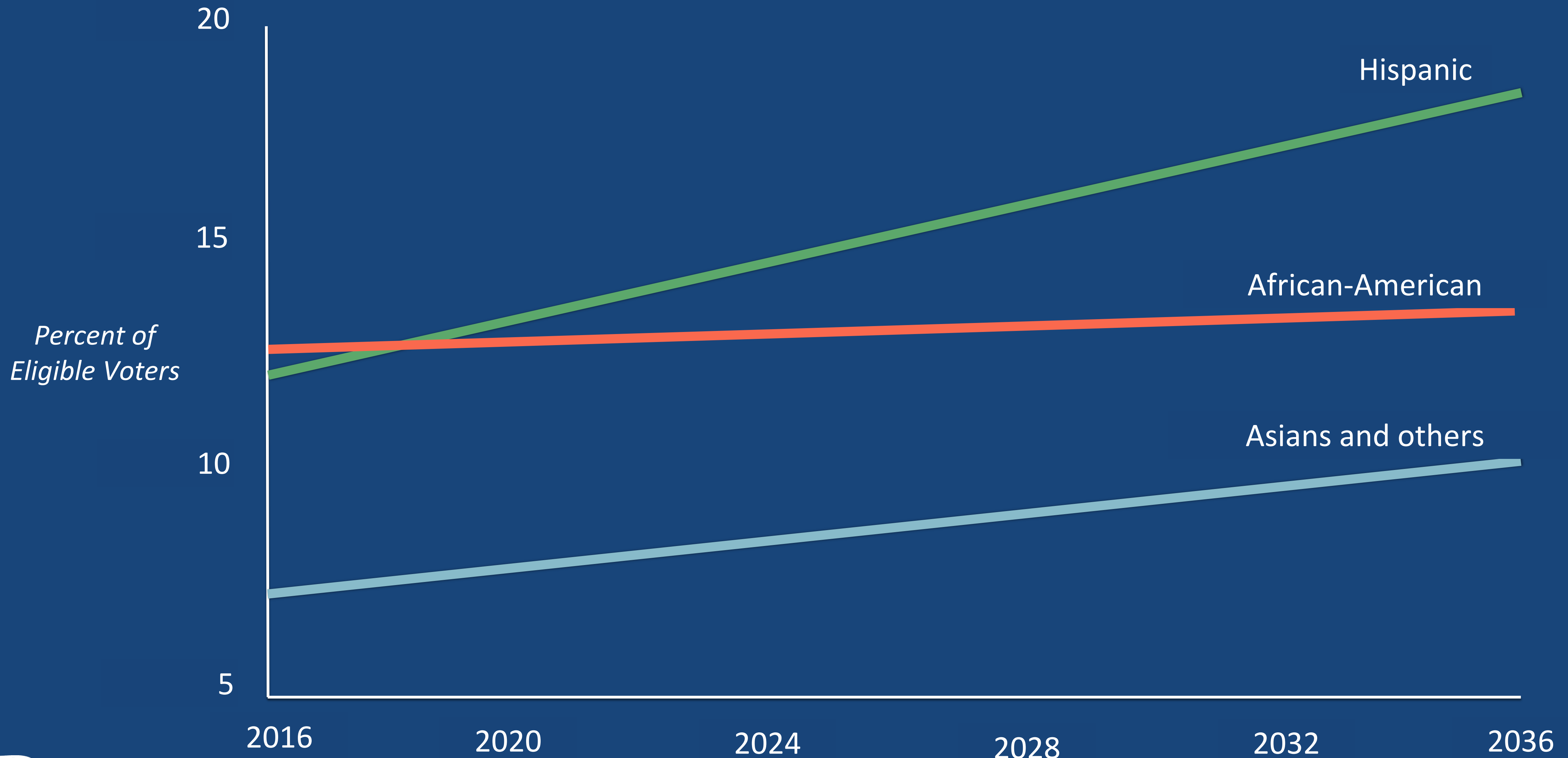


3

Implications for 2020 and beyond

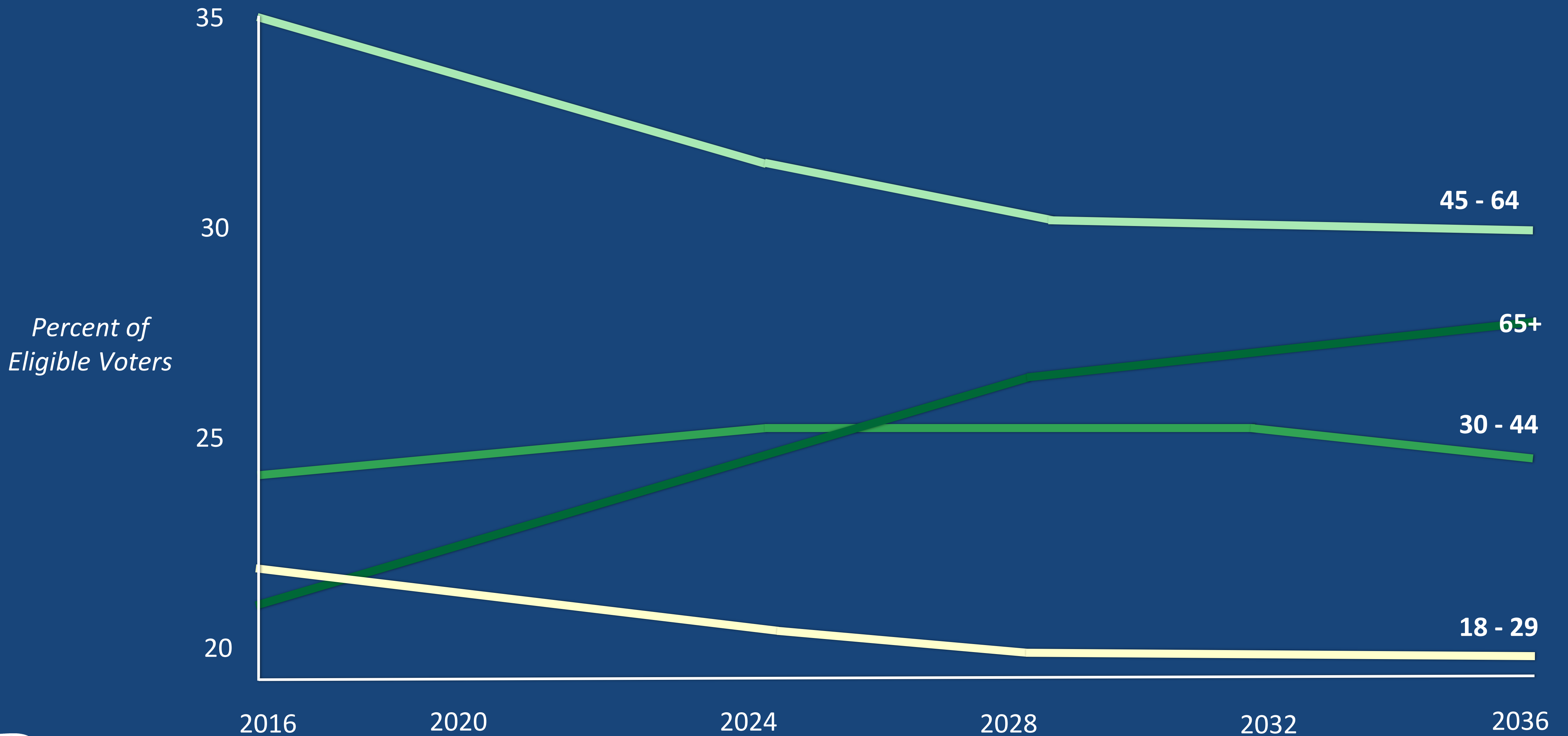
Future elections

# Projections for eligible voters by race

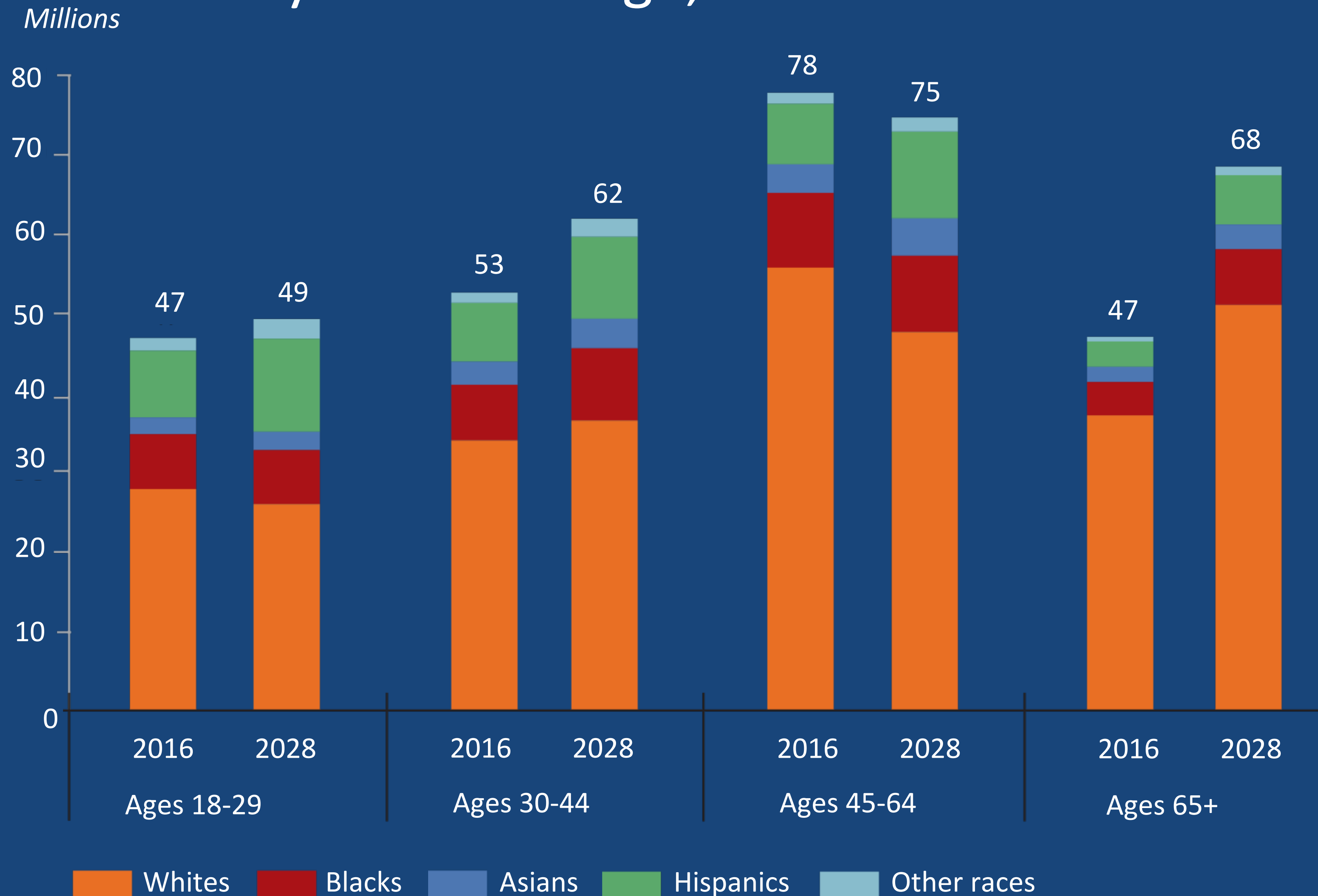




# Percent of eligible voters by age (%)

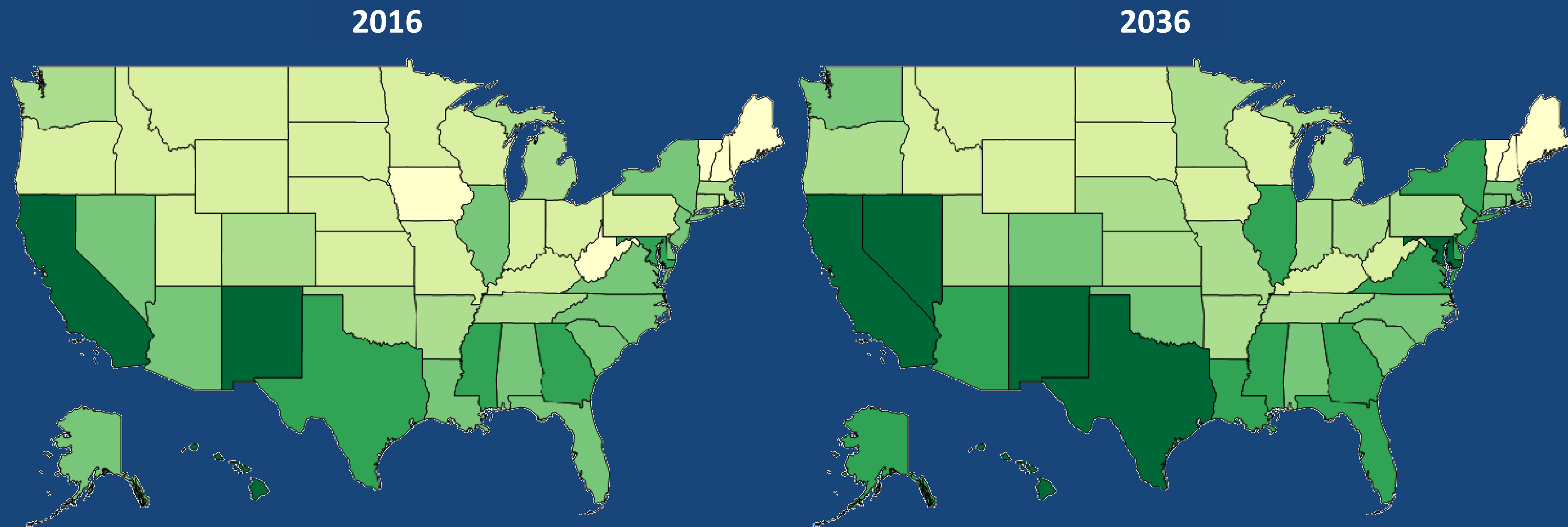


# Projected Eligible Voters, by Race and Age, 2016 and 2028



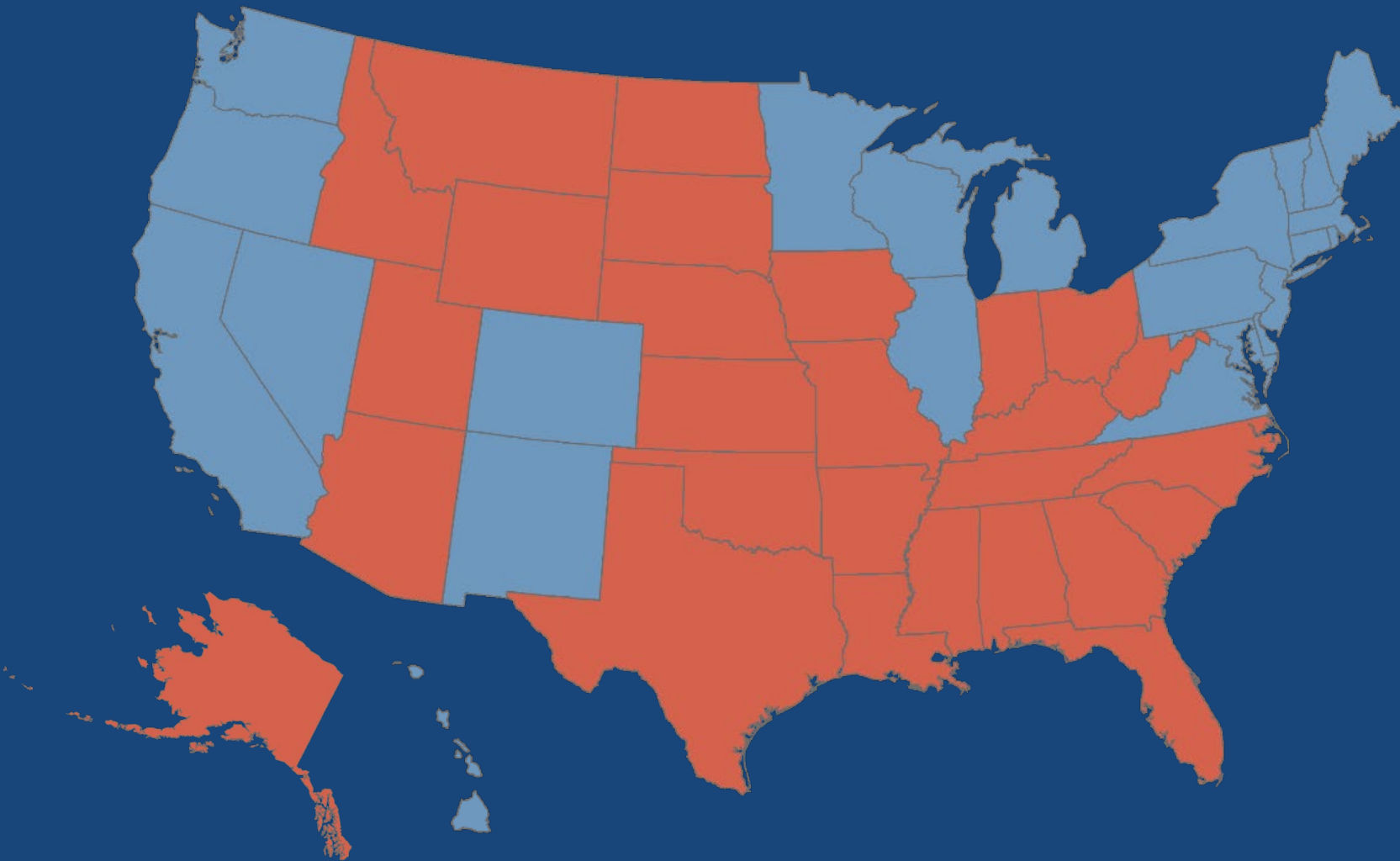
Source: Current Population Survey, November 2016 Supplement; author's calculations based on U.S. Census Bureau projections.

# Minority Eligible Voters (%)



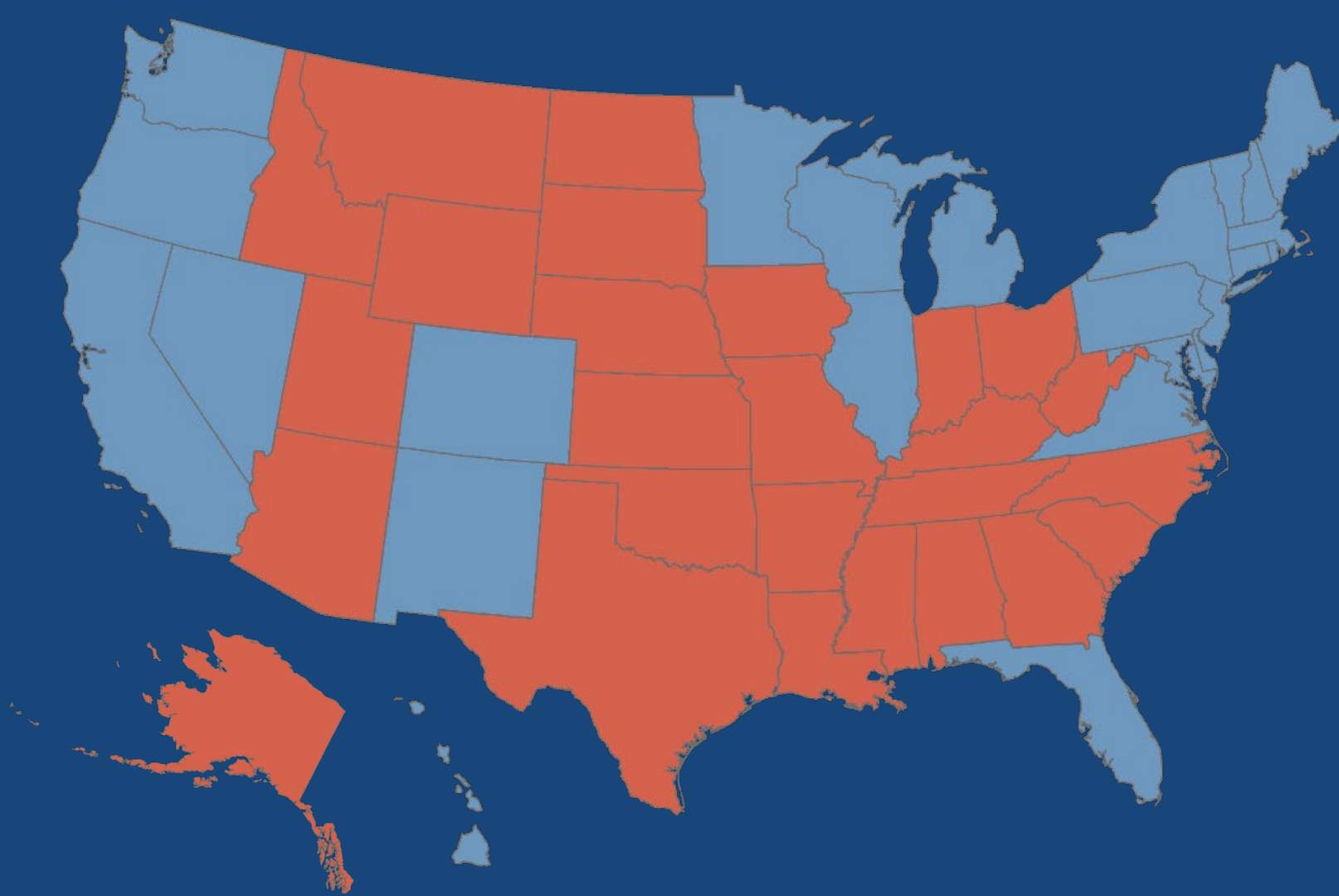
Election results assuming  
2016 voting patterns

2020



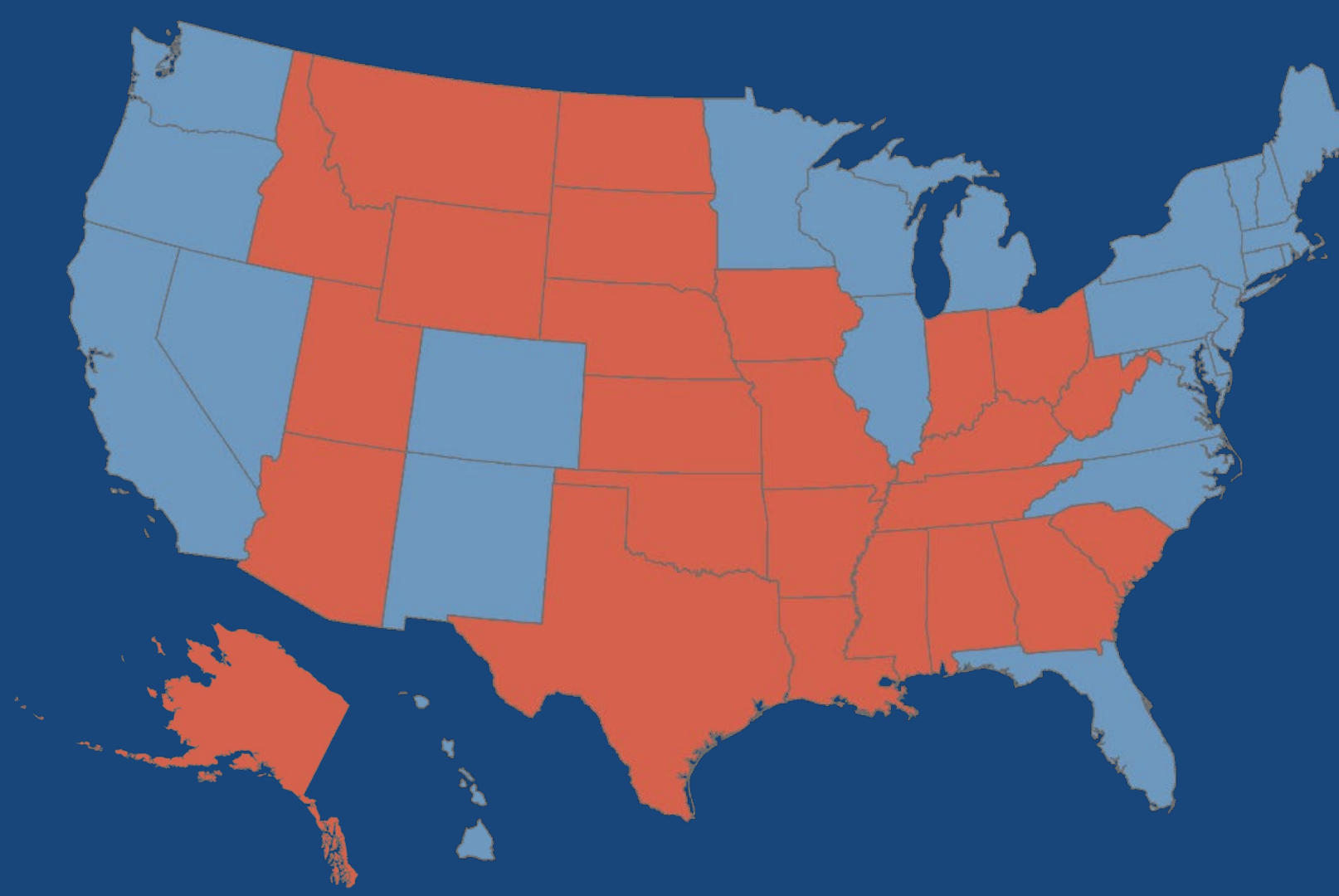
279 - 259

2024



306 - 232

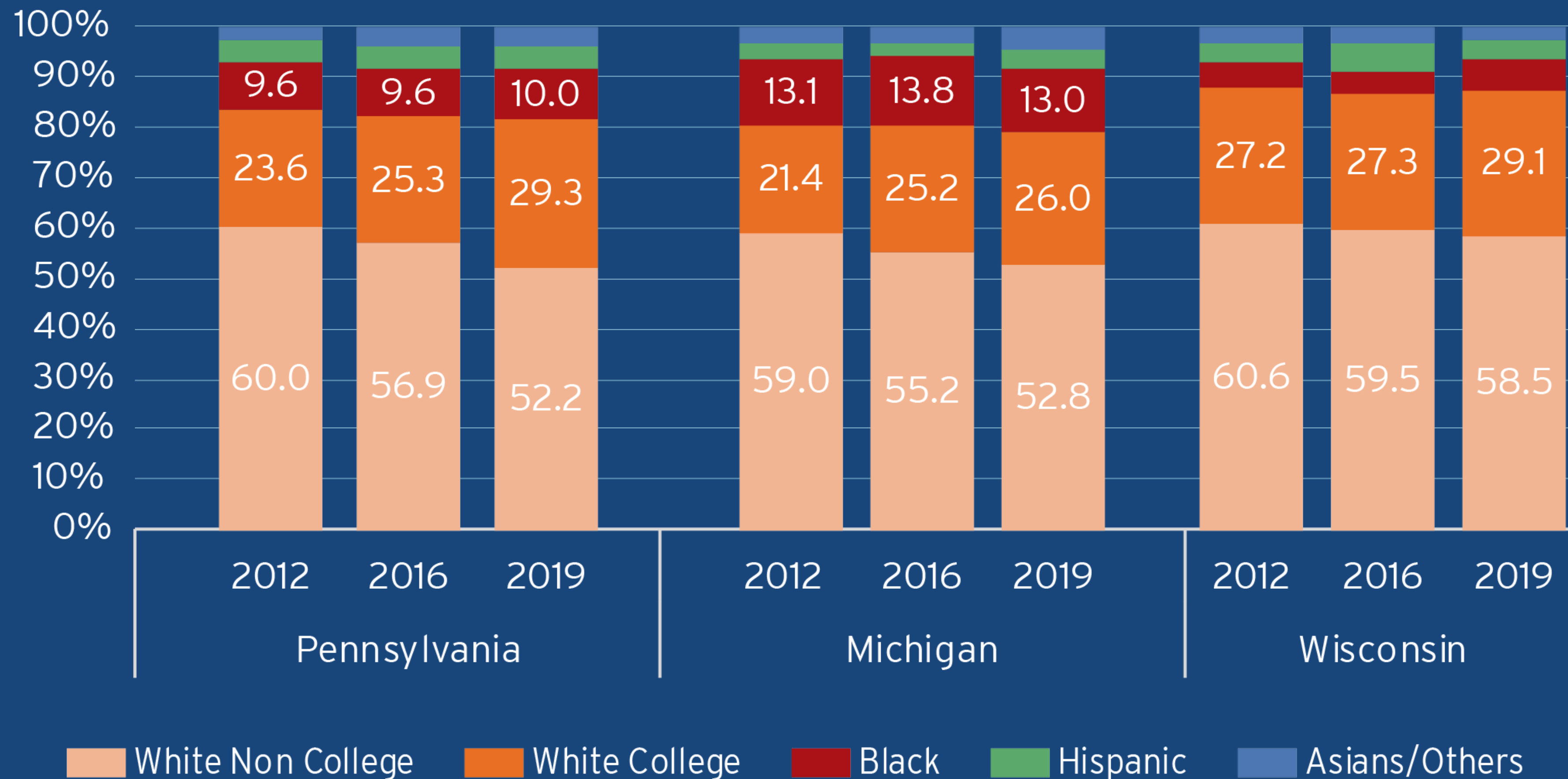
2028



322 - 216

# Eligible Voters

## Pennsylvania, Michigan, Wisconsin

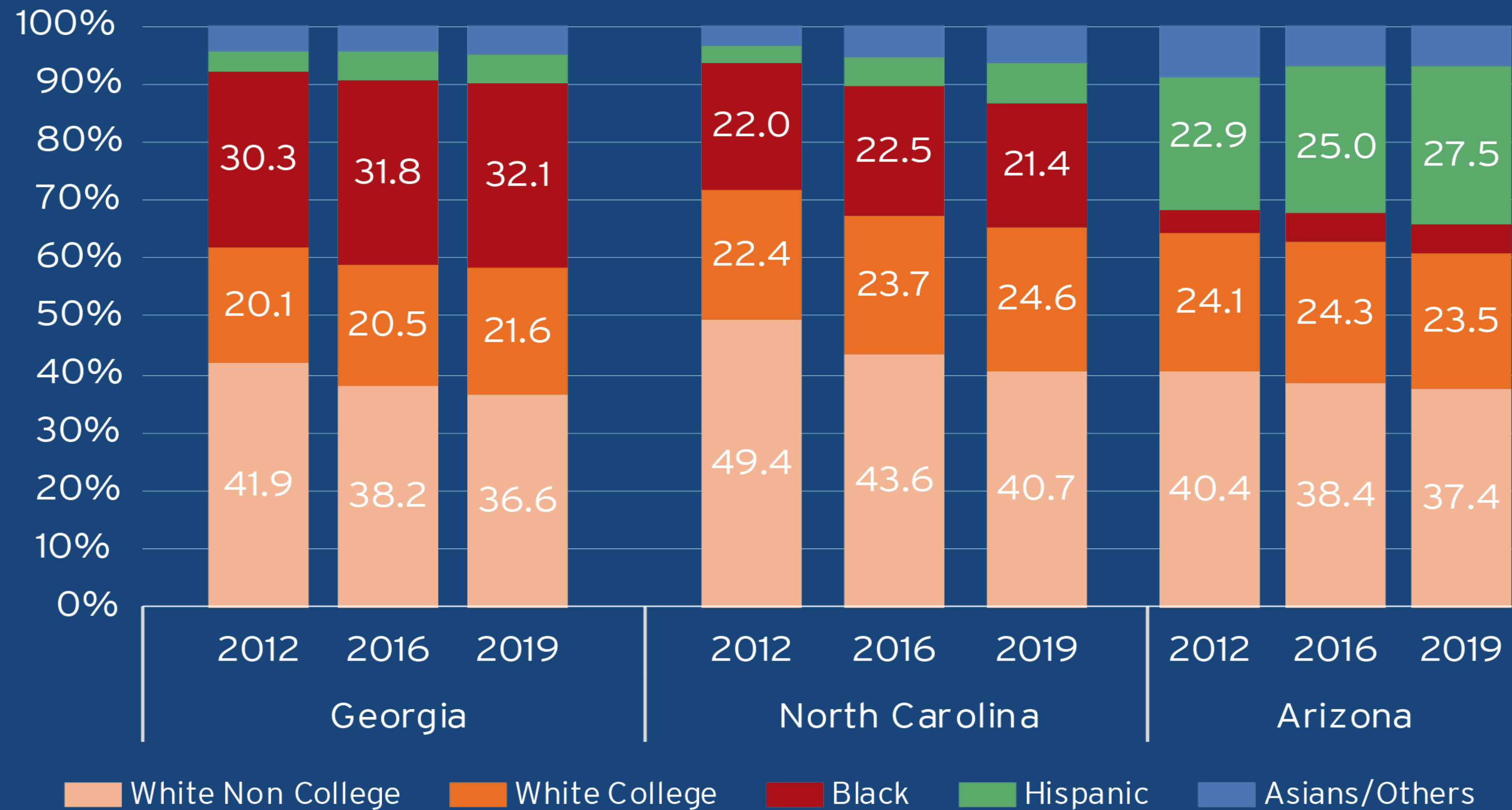


Source: Frey analysis of Current Population Survey



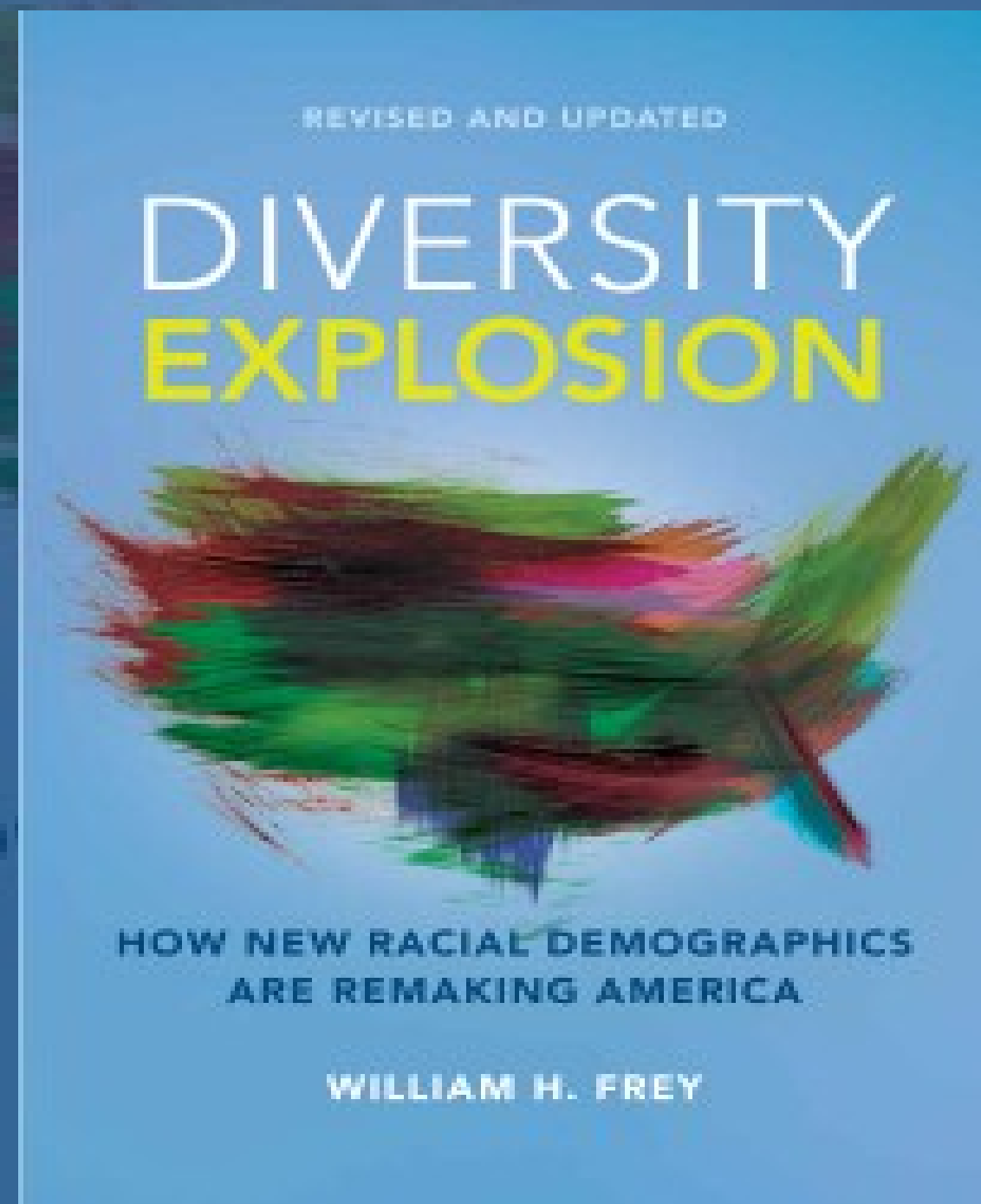
# Eligible Voters

## Georgia, North Carolina, Arizona



Source: Current Population Survey

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ISR, University of Michigan