

WAKING THE SLEEPING GIANT: POOR AND LOW INCOME VOTERS IN THE 2020 ELECTIONS

A Report from the Poor People's Campaign: A National Call for Moral Revival

by Shailly Gupta Barnes, Policy Director

Foreword by Rev. Dr. William Barber, II, and Rev. Dr. Liz Theoharis,
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Photo courtesy of Steve Pavey/Hope in Focus



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Foreword

By Rev. Dr. William Barber II and Rev. Dr. Liz Theoharis
Co-Chairs of the Poor People's Campaign: A National Call for Moral Revival

"We have a governor and legislators who seem to care more about private profits than our lives and health. They care more about golfing and going to resorts than whether my children have heat or drinking water."
– Denita Jones, Texas

"We are tired of being ignored and our lives left to those who claim to be for us, but who act against us."
– Pamela Garrison, West Virginia

Since our launch in 2017, the Poor People's Campaign: A National Call for Moral Revival (PPC:NCMR) has decried the unconscionable fact that there are more than 140 million people who are poor or low-income in this country, including 26 million who are Black (non-Hispanic), 38 million Hispanic, 8 million Asian, 2 million Native/Indigenous, and 66 million white (non-Hispanic) people. Although these 140 million people make up over 40 percent of the entire U.S. population, their needs and concerns have been noticeably absent from national political discourse. Democrats have run from poverty, Republicans have racialized it and generations of candidates from both parties have largely supported the lie of trickle-down economics, rather than moral policy that can lift the load of poverty.

Indeed, the reality of systemic racism, poverty, ecological devastation, militarism and the false narrative of religious nationalism—interlocking injustices that are hurting more than 30 percent of the electorate—is sinful and scandalous. Tired myths are used to blame the poor for these conditions and to deflect attention away from the structural sin of poverty or the abdication of our elected leaders. The narrative that poor and low-income people are apathetic about politics or don't care enough to vote is just another one of these myths. In actuality, there is great, untapped power among these tens of millions of people. They are like a sleeping giant and we have only felt its midnight stirrings.

Last year, PPC:NCMR released a report titled "Unleashing the Power of Poor and Low-Income Americans," which used nationally representative data to illustrate the potential voting power of poor and low-income Americans. We showed that if poor and low-income voters voted at a similar rate as higher income voters in 2016, they would have matched or exceeded the presidential election margins of victory in 15 states, among them Michigan, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, New Hampshire, Arizona, Minnesota, Maine, Florida, New Mexico, North Carolina, Nevada, Georgia, Texas, Mississippi and Ohio. We also found that the reason poor and low-income voters participate in elections at lower rates is not because they have no interest in politics, but because politics is not interested in them. They do not hear their needs and demands from candidates or feel that their votes matter. They are less likely to vote because of illness, disability, or transportation issues, not to mention the rise of voter suppression laws, all systemic barriers rather than individual failures.

We are now proud to release a new report: "Waking the Sleeping Giant: Poor and Low-Income Voters in the 2020 Election." In these pages, we demonstrate the role that poor and low-income voters played

in the last presidential election and the important effect PPC:NCMR had in organizing this voting bloc.

Contrary to popular belief, this report shows that the biggest opportunity to build support for a moral agenda that lifts from the bottom is among poor and low-income voters, and that such voter engagement must be across geography and race. It demonstrates that this nation needs a movement that both organizes poor whites and is ready to deal with racism.

As we saw in the 2020 elections, amid a pandemic, an economic crisis and an uprising for racial justice, poor and low-income Americans turned out in record numbers, accounting for large numbers of the voter population in every state, including in battleground states that flipped from 2016 to 2020. Together, they voted for candidates who ran on agendas that would address poverty and inequality. From the presidential ticket down to statewide elections, candidates championed a \$15 minimum wage, affordable health care for all and federal action to address systemic racism.

In fact, a majority of all voters across the country and party lines in 2020 expressed support for moral policies like expanded health care, living wages, the decriminalization of their communities and a system that taxes those who can afford it most. They supported ballot initiatives that increased taxes on the wealthy, protected workers, addressed affordable housing issues and homelessness, bridged the digital divide, funded public transportation, confronted the criminalization of poverty and limited big-dollar campaign contributions.

The outpouring of poor and low-income voters in 2020, and the policy priorities of these voters, demonstrated something that we have been saying for many years: organizing poor and low-income voters around a moral policy agenda that reflects their needs and demands can change the political calculus of the nation.

A central part of our movement-building work is “registering people for a movement that votes.” This is why, in the lead up to the 2020 election, PPC:NCMR organized a national, non-partisan voter outreach and engagement drive. We contacted nearly 2 million low-propensity, poor and low-income voters, mostly in battleground states and in the South. Of those contacted, more than 400,000, or about 20 percent, voted early. On Election Day, large numbers of these voters turned out. As this new report shows, our election work had a statistically significant impact on voter turnout and suggests how much untapped power resides in poor and low-income communities. These millions of potential voters can be organized into a broad and deep movement and take action together.

The true significance of this report is its affirmation that building fusion, voting coalitions of poor and low-income people is a winning strategy to change our national priorities, redraw the political maps of the country and revive the heart and soul of our democracy. Given the fragile state of our national politics, these insights are not only important for looking backward and analyzing the 2020 election, but for

looking ahead and projecting the role that poor and low-income voters can and must play in the 2022 midterms and beyond.

This is why PPC:NCMR is mobilizing, organizing, registering, educating and engaging poor and low-income people, clergy, activists and advocates from all walks of life for the Mass Poor People's and Low Wage Workers Assembly and Moral March on Washington on June 18, 2022. This is not just a march or one day of action. It is a declaration of an ongoing, committed moral movement to shift the political narrative and build power among the 140 million to realize policies that can end poverty and economic insecurity. Indeed, if those who want to suppress our votes and our wages, cut education, block health care, define who we can love, increase gun rights, deregulate industry and attack immigrants and women are cynical enough and mean enough to act together, then a fusion movement must be both hopeful and smart enough to build power together.

In 1965, at the conclusion of the Selma to Montgomery march, from the steps of the Montgomery State House, Rev. Dr. King explained how the attack on voting rights was an attempt by the rich and powerful to maintain their wealth and power by thwarting a fusion movement of poor and low-income people across race and geography. He preached:

"The threat of the free exercise of the ballot by the Negro and the white masses alike resulted in the establishment of a segregated society...That's what happened when the Negro and white masses of the South threatened to unite and build a great society: a society of justice where none would prey upon the weakness of others; a society of plenty where greed and poverty would be done away; a society of brotherhood where every man would respect the dignity and worth of human personality."

The Poor People's Campaign: A National Call for Moral Revival is committed to building such a fusion movement. To do this will require securing voting protections and expanding voting rights. It will require that political candidates and elected officials take up the issues and concerns of poor and low-income voters and put forward policies that prioritize the needs of the majority of people, rather than wealthy donors and corporate interests. If and when these candidates are elected, it will require them to make good on election promises to address the social and economic issues facing the people. It will also require that we enliven and enlarge the electorate and build the power needed to enact an agenda that speaks to the needs of the 140 million poor and low-income people in these United States.

There is a sleeping giant of poor and low-income voters that is awakening to the political reality that social transformation is possible and moral revival is necessary in this country and around the world. And as we say in the Poor People's Campaign, we are moving: "Forward Together, Not One Step Back!"

Executive Summary

The 2020 presidential elections saw the highest voter turnout in U.S. election history, including among poor and low-income voters (LIV)¹. Of the 168 million voters who cast a ballot in the general election, 58 million—or 35% of the voting electorate—were LIV. This cuts against common misperceptions that poor and low-income people are apathetic about politics or inconsequential to electoral outcomes.

To tap into the potential impact of these voters in the 2020 elections, the Poor People's Campaign: A National Call for Moral Revival (PPC:NCMR) launched a non-partisan voter outreach drive across 16 states. The drive targeted urban and rural areas and reached over 2.1 million voters, the vast majority of whom were eligible LIV. The drive had a statistically significant impact in drawing eligible LIV into the active voting electorate, showing that intentional efforts to engage these voters—around an agenda that includes living wages, health care, strong anti-poverty programs, voting rights and policies that fully address injustices of systemic racism, poverty, ecological devastation and the war economy—can be effective across state borders and racial lines.

Key Findings

- In the 2020 elections, LIV exceeded 20% of the total voting population in 45 states and Washington D.C. In tight battleground states, LIV accounted for an even greater share of the voting population, including in states that flipped party outcomes from 2016 to 2020.
- Where the margin of victory was near or less than 3%, LIV accounted for 34% to 45% of the voting population: Arizona (39.96%), Georgia (37.84%), Michigan (37.81%), Nevada (35.78%), North Carolina (43.67%), Pennsylvania (34.12%), and Wisconsin (39.80%).
- A closer look at the racial demographics of LIV in nine battleground states (Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Texas and Wisconsin) shows that white LIV accounted for a higher vote share than all other racial groupings of LIV combined. This underscores the necessity of organizing low-income white, Black, and Hispanic voters together in multi-racial political coalitions.
- PPC:NCMR's massive voter outreach drive had a positive, statistically significant impact on its targeted population: LIV who were contacted by PPC:NCMR had a higher turnout rate than similarly positioned voters who were not contacted in those same states
- In Georgia, PPC:NCMR's voter outreach helped bring over 39,000 non-voters from 2016 into the 2020 elections, accounting for more than three times the final margin of victory for the presidential contest in the state. While we cannot say that this outreach was decisive in the election, it shows the potential impact that LIV can have on the electoral system if more directly engaged
- To turn the opportunity to vote into a reality for LIV will require expanded efforts to increase both their registration and turnout on election day, such as automatic voter registration, same day registration, no-excuse mail in voting, early voting, more polling stations and extended and longer voting hours .

¹ LIV refers to poor and low-income voters, with an estimated household income of less than \$50,000.

Waking the Sleeping Giant: Poor and Low-Income Voters in the 2020 Elections

A Report from the Poor People's Campaign, A National Call for Moral Revival²

by Shailly Gupta Barnes, Policy Director

There were over 168 million voters who cast a ballot in the 2020 general election. Among these voters, 58 million were poor or low-income voters.³ This means that more than one-third of the voting electorate—35%—were low-income voters. There were another 22 million low-income voters who were registered, but did not vote, meaning that out of the 215 million registered voters in 2020, 80 million—or 37%—were eligible low-income voters.⁴

While low-income voters are not a monolithic group, they represent a significant population of voters that is often overlooked and misunderstood. This report focuses on low-income voters in 2020 and the broader population of eligible low-income voters as an electoral sleeping giant, holding the potential to shift our political maps and reshape our political priorities.

Section 1 identifies the participation of low-income voters in relationship to the general population, including registration, turnout and vote share. Section 2 focuses on the racial breakdown of low-income voters in states that were won by a margin of victory that was close to or less than 5%: Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Texas and Wisconsin. Section 3 looks at the voter outreach drive organized by the Poor People's Campaign: A National Call for Moral Revival (PPC:NCMR), which targeted low-income, infrequent voters, with a closer look at Georgia. Section 4 offers key findings based on the analysis on how to organize the power of low-income voters.

1. Mapping the Participation of Low-income Voters in the 2020 Elections

In the 2020 elections, low-income voters represented a significant share of the total population of voters across the country: 58 million of the 168 million votes cast in the presidential contest came from

² PPC:NCMR is a non-partisan national campaign organized around the interlocking injustices of systemic racism, poverty, ecological devastation, militarism and the false narrative of Christian nationalism, and their impact on the 140 million poor and low-income people in the U.S. It was launched in 2018 and has established a network of 45 state coordinating committees, hundreds of national partner organizations, including labor unions, grassroots and community-based organizations, and national faith denominations. It has issued a Moral Agenda, Moral Budget, as well as a Moral Policy Platform, all of which are centered around the needs and demands of the 140 million, including voter suppression, immigration reform, anti-poverty and welfare programs, living wages, housing, water, food, education, climate crisis, indigenous rights, mass incarceration, military spending, fair taxation and more.

³ Both "poor and low-income" and "low-income" refer to having an estimated household income of less than \$50,000. They are used interchangeably in the report. This analysis was done in partnership with TargetSmart, a data and analytics firm. The universe of analysis includes every voting age person in 48 states and the District of Columbia. See Appendix A for more information on the methodology.

⁴ See Appendix B.

low-income voters. As indicated in Figure 1, the number of low-income voters exceeded 20% of the total voting population in 45 states and in Washington D.C.⁵ This proportion was even higher in the battleground states, which is discussed in more detail in Section 2.

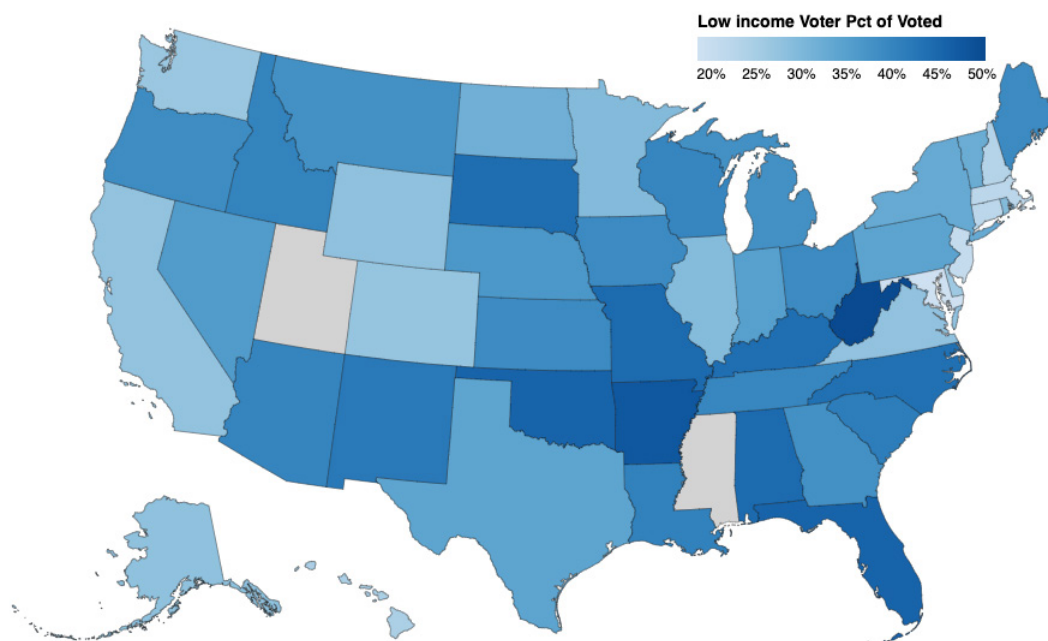


Figure 1: Low-income Voters as a Percent of Total Population of Voters

Although it is commonly believed that low-income voters are not interested in politics or elections, the data show otherwise. In both 2016 and 2020, low-income voters accounted for nearly one-third of the total voting population. Further, in 2020, low-income voters both registered and turned out at higher rates than they did in 2016. They also accounted for a greater vote share in 2020 than in 2016.⁶

	Registration rate (%)	Turnout Rate (%)	Percent of Voters (%)
US TOTAL 2020	84	78	100
LIV 2016	74	58	32
LIV 2020	80	73	35

Figure 2: LIV Registration Rates, Turnout Rates and Vote Share in 2016 and 2020⁷

⁵ See Appendix B for data tables with complete voter information on the 48 states and Washington D.C.

⁶ See Appendix B.

⁷ See Appendix B. The higher turnout could very likely be due to the increased attention by candidates, the media and community and political organizations to issues that concern low-income voters, including living wages, income support, health care, systemic racism, and more. Expanded access to the polls, especially drive-in voting and mail-in voting, likely also contributed. The deep inequalities exposed by COVID-19, especially around health and economic security, and the politically charged environment leading up to the elections, may have influenced turnout as well.

Figures 3 and 4 show the registration and turnout rates of low-income voters in each state. For most states, registration rates for low-income voters were higher than their turnout rates. Although this is not unique to low-income voters, there is certainly room to close the gap between low-income voters who register and those who cast a ballot on election day. This is especially true in states where turnout rates among low-income voters are less than two-thirds of the total low-income voting population. This is the case in all but four states (Wisconsin, Maine, Minnesota, Montana).⁸

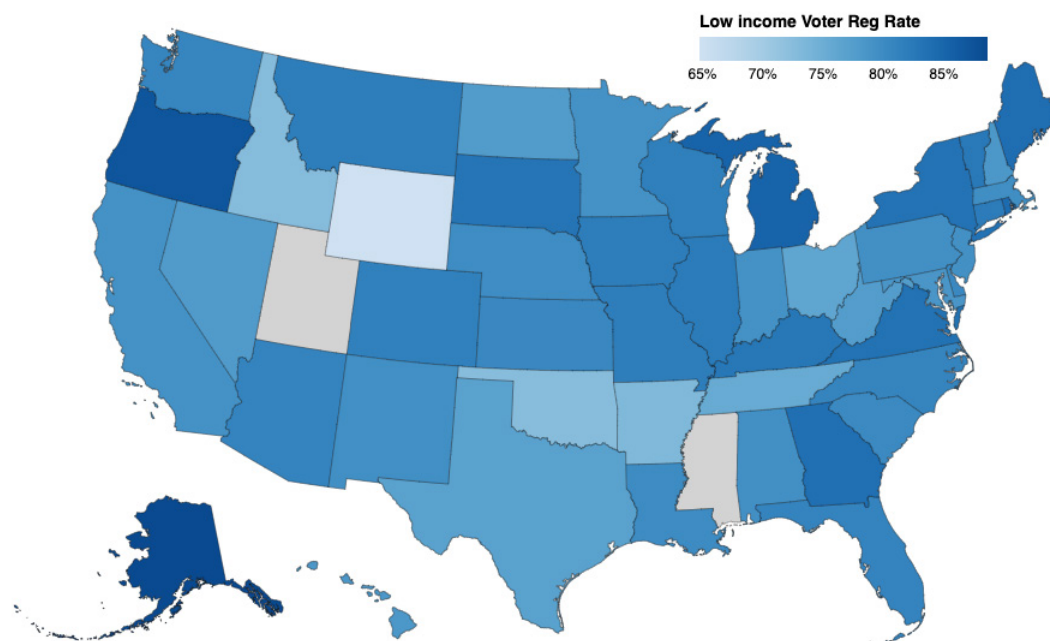


Figure 3: Low-income Voter Registration Rates

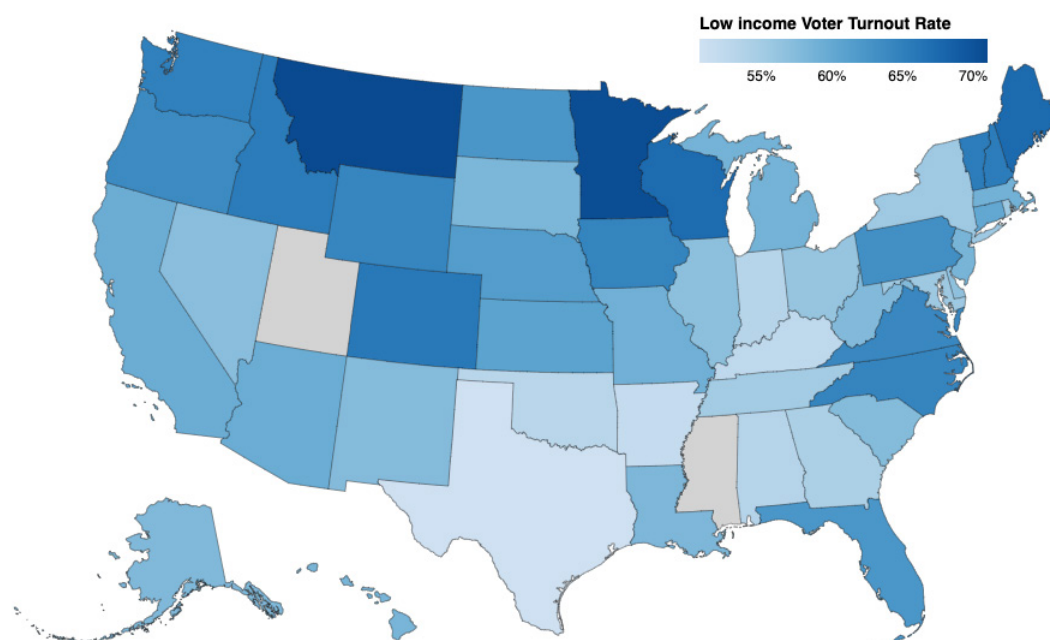


Figure 4: Low-Income Voter Turnout Rates

⁸ See Appendix B.

2. Racial Demographics of Low-income Voters in the Battleground States

Arizona, Georgia, Florida, Michigan, North Carolina, Nevada, Pennsylvania, Texas and Wisconsin were all very tight presidential races in 2020. In all but Texas, the margin of victory was near or under 3%, making possible a victory for either of the two contending political parties.⁹ In Texas, which has been a Republican stronghold for 40 years, the margin of victory was just over 5%.

As indicated in Figure 5, low-income voters accounted for a significant share of the total voters in these states. In states where the margins of victory were less than 3%, low-income voters accounted for at least one-third and in some cases over two-fifths of the total voter population. Given the small margins of victory in these states, it is possible that the broader population of eligible low-income voters could be pivotal in determining their election outcomes.

	Margins of Victory (2020)(%)	LIV Vote Share (2020) (%)	Party Outcome* ¹⁰
Arizona	0.3	39.96	D*
Florida	3.3	45.89	R
Georgia	0.2	37.84	D*
Michigan	2.8	37.81	D*
Nevada	2.4	35.78	D
North Carolina	1.4	43.69	R
Pennsylvania	1.2	34.12	D*
Texas	5.6	34.04	R
Wisconsin	0.7	39.8	D*

Figure 5: Margins of victory in battleground states + LIV vote share¹¹

To better understand this population and its potential, the rest of this section looks more closely at the racial demographics of eligible low-income voters¹² and the racial breakdown of the low-income voter share of total votes in these states¹³:

- **In Arizona**, there were 2.49 million eligible low-income voters. Nearly 1.7 million were white, while another 631,000 were Hispanic and approximately 34,700 were Black. In 2020, white low-income voters accounted for 29% of the total votes in the state, while low-income Hispanic and Black voters accounted for 8.1% and 0.47% respectively.

⁹ See <https://www.politico.com/2020-election/results/president/>.

¹⁰ The "*" indicates states that flipped party outcomes from 2016 to 2020.

¹¹ See <https://www.politico.com/2020-election/results/president/> for margins of victory and Appendix B for the vote share of low-income voters.

¹² Given the very low share that Asian low-income voters accounted for in these states, the analysis in this section focuses on white, Black and Hispanic low-income voters. See Appendix B for state-by-state data on Asian low-income voters.

¹³ See Appendix C for charts visualizing low-income voter racial demographics in the nine battleground states.

- **In Florida**, there were 9 million eligible low-income voters. Out of this population, approximately 5.3 million were white, 1.7 million were Hispanic and 1.6 million were Black. In 2020, white low-income voters accounted for 28% of the total votes in the state, while low-income Hispanic and Black voters both accounted for approximately 8% each.
- **In Georgia**, the racial demographics among low-income voters were more evenly split between Black and white low-income voters. Of its 3.85 million eligible low-income voters, approximately 1.9 million were white and 1.6 million were Black. Another 164,000 were Hispanic. White low-income voters accounted for 20% of the total votes in the state, Black low-income voters another 15% and Hispanic low-income voters 1%.
- **In Michigan**, there were 3.8 million eligible low-income voters. Approximately 2.95 million were white, 642,000 were Black and 77,000 were Hispanic. In 2020, white low-income voters accounted for more than 30% of the total votes in the state. Black low-income voters accounted for another 5%. Hispanic low-income voters accounted for less than half a percent of the votes.
- **In Nevada**, there were approximately 985,000 eligible low-income voters. Among them, 640,000 were white, 225,000 were Hispanic and 56,000 were Black. In 2020, white low-income voters accounted for nearly 25% of the votes in the state and Hispanic low-income voters another 7%.
- **In North Carolina**, there were 4.1 million eligible low-income voters. Approximately 2.6 million were white, 1.1 million were Black and another 178,000 were Hispanic. White low-income voters accounted for more than 28% of the total votes in 2020. Black low-income voters accounted for another 12%. Hispanic low-income voters accounted for 1.2% of the vote.
- **In Pennsylvania**, 3 million of its 3.94 million eligible low-income voters were white. Approximately 561,000 were Black and another 216,000 were Hispanic. White low-income voters accounted for over 27% of the total votes in the state. Black low-income voters accounted for 4.5% and Hispanic voters another 1.3%.
- **In Wisconsin**, of the 2.1 million eligible low-income voters, 1.8 million were white. In 2020, white low-income voters accounted for 35% of the total votes in the state. There were 150,000 eligible Black low-income voters and 65,000 eligible Hispanic low-income voters. Low-income voters accounted for just over 2% of the total votes and Hispanic low-income voters less than 1%.
- **In Texas**, there were over 8 million eligible low-income voters. Of these eligible voters, 4.1 million were white, 2.7 million were Hispanic and 870,000 were Black. White low-income voters accounted for nearly 20% of the total votes in the state. Hispanic low-income voters accounted for 9% of total votes in the state and Black low-income voters another 3.7%.

It is notable that in every battleground state, white low-income voters accounted for a higher percentage of total votes than low-income Black and Hispanic voters combined. This would indicate that, for the broader population of eligible low-income voters to have an influence on election outcomes, white-low income voters must be brought into meaningful and intentional engagement with other racial segments of low-income voters.

3. PPC:NCMR 2020 Voter Outreach Drive

Since its launch in 2018, PPC:NCMR has been insisting that the 140 million poor and low-income people in the country be at the very center of our national priorities. Even though more than 40% of the U.S. population is poor or low-income, the issues of poverty, low-wages and other policies that could lift the load of poverty have received little attention in political campaigns and debates over the past decades and multiple election cycles. Believing that unleashing the power of low-income voters could shift the political landscape, PPC:NCMR has challenged political candidates and parties to take up these issues in their platforms.

In 2019, we held the largest presidential candidate forum prior to the primaries. Nine presidential candidates, including then Vice President Joe Biden and Senator Kamala Harris, were engaged directly by poor and low-income people and eligible low-income voters on their issues. Every candidate committed to prioritizing issues of poverty in the political debates and platforms for 2020 and beyond. We noted that, in the 26 hours of televised debates that were held by both parties before the 2016 elections, not one hour was focused on poverty. In the lead up to the 2020 election, we continued to challenge candidates in town halls and other events to take up the issues of poor and low-income people in their platforms and outreach.

Given what was at stake for poor and low-income people in 2020, from August to November, PPC:NCMR undertook a massive outreach effort to contact nearly 2 million low-income voters with historically low participation rates.¹⁴ Our voter outreach drive targeted rural and urban eligible voters, across race, in 16 states: Alabama, Arizona, Georgia, Maine, Minnesota, Mississippi, North Carolina, Nevada, New York, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Wisconsin.¹⁵ This was one of the only campaigns reaching out to voters bilingually (in both Spanish and English), as well as in American Sign Language (ASL). It was also entirely non-partisan. The purpose was to encourage the targeted population to vote on election day and to get involved with a “movement that votes,” particularly with PPC:NCMR and the priorities of poor and low-income people.¹⁶

Over a period of six weeks, we trained over 1000 volunteers from 48 states to engage voters using phone-and text-bank digital platforms. We also trained over 1000 volunteers to serve as poll monitors on Election Day in 10 states.¹⁷ To expand the impact of these efforts, we held a voter participation and protection online event in September that reached at least 1 million people.

¹⁴ The drive reached out to 2.1 million potential voters. 1.8 million were low-income, infrequent voters in the 16 target states. The term “infrequent” refers to voters who had a low turnout score on TargetSmart’s custom presidential general election turnout score, which is based on historical turnout data. The remaining eligible voters were people from PPC:NCMR’s database and live in every state of the country.

¹⁵ These states were identified based on an assessment of PPC:NCMR state campaigns and from the 2020 report, *Unleashing the Power of Poor and Low-income Americans: Changing the Political Landscape*, by Robert Paul Hartley, which suggested that low-income voters could have an impact on election outcomes in these states. See the report here: <https://www.poorpeoplescampaign.org/resource/power-of-poor-voters/>.

¹⁶ As indicated in footnote 2, PPC:NCMR has a Moral Agenda and framework that is centered around issues facing the 140 million poor and low-income people in the country, including living wages, strong-anti-poverty programs, voting rights, immigration reform, housing, education, debt relief and more. During the COVID-19 pandemic, PPC:NCMR issued a set of COVID-19 demands that drew on the Moral Agenda and added more specific demands in response to emergent conditions facing the 140 million. Each state coordinating committee organizes around the same set of demands.

¹⁷ The ten states were: Arizona, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Mississippi, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Texas.

Working with TargetSmart, we used a regression analysis to make estimations on the difference between being contacted by PPC:NCMR and not being contacted for similarly situated potential voters across the 16 states. An average of that difference comes out to 2.3%, implying that someone contacted by PPC:NCMR was about 2.3% more likely to vote than a similarly situated person who was not contacted. The effect is statistically significant ($p < .001$).¹⁸ It shows that, even if the voters we contacted likely saw a number of campaign advertisements, news stories and engaged in or observed political conversation about the election, PPC:NCMR's outreach was a positively contributing factor to them casting a vote for the presidential race in 2020. While the data cannot be used to claim that being contacted by PPC:NCMR was the only factor that drove them to vote, we can say that our efforts to directly reach out to low-income, infrequent voters improved their turnout rates in these states.

As indicated in Figure 6, this relationship emerges among low-income voters across race.

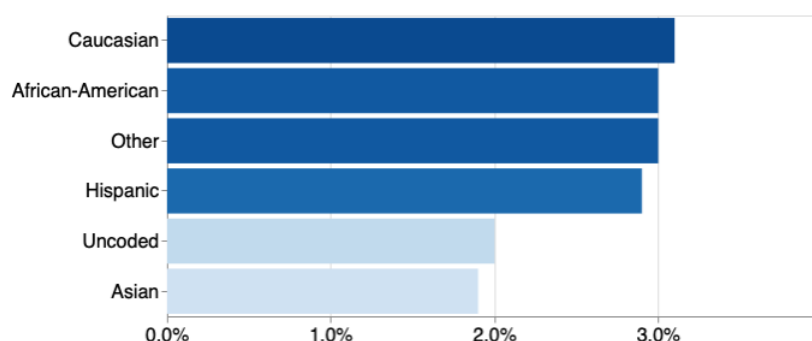


Figure 6: Average PPC:NCMR Turnout Effect by Race

Focus on Georgia

Georgia was a notable state in 2020: in addition to the presidential contest, there were two tight U.S. Senate races, which ultimately elected the first Black and Jewish senators from the state. Their election also brought the Senate under a slim Democratic majority. For the first time in over a decade, a Democratic President would begin his term with both chambers of Congress under Democratic party control.

Like the rest of the country, Georgia experienced a large surge in voter turnout as compared to 2016, with nearly one million more votes cast in 2020. Given that the final presidential margin in the state was just under 12,000 votes, any differential increase in turnout had the potential to swing the results of the contest.

As part of our voter outreach campaign, PPC:NCMR reached out to 175,000 low-income, infrequent voters in Georgia. While turnout among these voters remained low compared to the rest

¹⁸ This figure was developed with model estimates, not raw turnout numbers. See Appendix A for methodology and Appendix B for data tables.

of the electorate, there was an uptick in low-income voters. Notably, we contacted 39,051 voters who cast a ballot in Georgia in 2020, but who did not participate in 2016.

Again, most voters in PPC:NCMR's contact universe in Georgia also likely received candidate messaging, viewed some amount of news media, were targeted by partisan turnout operations and observed political signals in regular conversation. We cannot use these numbers to say that our outreach determined the election outcome. What we can say is that they show the potential that low-income voters can have on the electoral system if more directly engaged. Those 39,051 surge voters—who voted in 2020, but who did not vote in 2016—accounted for more than three times the final margin of victory for the presidential contest in Georgia. While this is promising, it is also true that over 138,000 potential voters who we contacted still did not vote.

4. Organizing the Power of the Poor and Low-income Electorate

The terrain for the 2020 elections was complicated and the analysis above cannot be interpreted as saying that any one group of voters or a singular turnout effort was decisive to the election results. However, it suggests the following discussion points:

1. The sheer size and vote share of low-income voters warrants more attention than it currently receives. Low-income voters accounted for at least 20% of the voting electorate in 45 states—and that share grew to near or above 40% in battleground states, including in states that flipped in 2020 or that retained very small margins of victory. This goes squarely against the commonly held belief that poor and low-income people are either apathetic about politics or marginal to election outcomes. Indeed, organizing this segment of voters holds great—and largely unrecognized—potential to shift the political maps of the country.
2. The composition of low-income voters in the battleground states suggests that multi-racial political coalitions—including white, Black and Hispanic low-income voters—are necessary to organize this vast segment of the electorate. In all these states, there were more white low-income voters than any other racial segment of low-income voters. In actuality, white low-income voters constituted a greater vote share than all other racial groups of low-income voters combined. Although we do not know who these voters cast their ballot for, it is likely that the winning candidate had some degree of white low-income voter support.

This presents a challenge to the media-driven narrative that emerged out of 2016 and before, i.e., that white low-income voters are the de facto base of the Republican party and delivered Donald Trump into the White House.¹⁹ Part of this narrative is the idea that white low-income voters are voting not only against their own interests, but also the interests of other racial segments of low-income voters." This narrative persisted through the 2020 elections, however, our analysis suggests something significantly different. The findings suggest that, rather than writing white low-income voters off, it is possible to build coalitions of low-income voters across race around a political agenda that centers the issues they have in common.

3. PPC:NCMR's voter outreach drive shows that efforts targeting low-income voters have strong potential to draw them into the voting electorate, across state borders and racial lines, especially around an agenda that speaks to their concerns. Given the vote share that low-income voters held in 2020, and the even greater number of eligible low-income voters, the analysis presents a strong case for building a political agenda that begins with these voters, rather than trying to integrate them into an agenda that is centered around "the middle class." Herein lies the foundation upon which to unleash the latent political power of low-income voters.
4. This means identifying an agenda that appeals to important concerns of low-income voters across race, that is, issues like raising hourly wages, stimulus payments, paid leave, housing and health care. As we saw in 2020, these issues resonated among broader segments of the electorate. According to exit polls, 72% of Americans said they would prefer a government-run health care plan and more than 70% supported raising the minimum wage, including 62% of Republicans.²⁰ In Florida, the \$15/hour minimum wage referendum got more votes than either of the two presidential candidates.²¹ While the context of the pandemic may have contributed to their broad popularity, the need for these kinds of policies predated the pandemic. COVID-19 simply created an opportunity to bring these issues to the center of our national politics.
5. To realize the potential of the low-income electorate, our voting infrastructure must be expanded to encourage these voters to both register and vote. As indicated above, low-income voters registered at a comparable rate as the general population, but turned out at a lower rate. This would suggest that while mechanisms to increase registration are important for low-income voters, there is an even greater need for policies and legislation that increase their ability to cast a ballot and actually vote. Alongside automatic voter registration in multiple locations, legislation that provides for same-day registration, no-excuse mail-in voting, early voting, more polling stations and extended and longer voting hours is critical to turn the opportunity to vote into a reality. At the same time, efforts that restrict access to vote, including through redistricting, gerrymandering or purging voter rolls, must be closely monitored by state and federal authorities.

Importantly, this means establishing a voting rights paradigm that is based on the reality of voter suppression instead of the false narrative of voter fraud. According to the Brennan Center, voter fraud is used to justify laws that restrict access to the ballot, even though it is incredibly rare; meanwhile, there have been at least 400 voter suppression measures introduced in almost every state house in 2021.²² For the low-income electorate to realize its potential, our voting rights must ensure the broadest participation among all voters.

¹⁸ For more on this narrative, see Jeremy Selvin, "Stop Blaming Low-Income Voters For Trump's Victory," November 16, 2016 (<https://talkpoverty.org/2016/11/16/stop-blaming-low-income-voters-donald-trumps-victory/>).

²⁰ Kenny Stancil, "As Centrist House Democrats Attack Medicare for All, Fox News Poll Shows 72% of Voters want 'Government-Run Healthcare Plan,'" November 6, 2020 (<https://www.commondreams.org/news/2020/11/06/centrist-house-democrats-attack-medicare-all-fox-news-poll-shows-72-voters-want>); Chris Jackson and Sara Machi, "Stark Divisions by Political Identification and Race Emerge Regarding Economic Opportunity in America," September 24, 2020 (https://www.ipsos.com/sites/default/files/ct/news/documents/2020-09/topline_pa_usat_economic_opportunity_092420.pdf).

²¹ Will Peischel, "The \$15 Minimum Wage Wasn't the Only Progressive Ballot Measure That Passed in Conservative States," November 6, 2020 (<https://www.motherjones.com/politics/2020/11/the-15-minimum-wage-wasnt-the-only-progressive-ballot-measure-that-passed-in-conservative-states/>).

²² See resources on voter fraud and voter suppression at www.brennancenter.org.

Conclusion

The analysis and findings above break through the misperception that poor and low-income people are uninterested in elections or politics. As indicated both in the 2020 elections and through PPC:NCMR's voter outreach, these voters will participate in elections and want to be engaged in long-term political organizing. In fact, this report underscores why the needs and concerns of low-income voters must be brought more fully into our political discourse, platforms and campaigns and why candidates who are elected on these platforms must live up to their campaign promises.

At the same time, the significance of the low-income electorate is about more than winning elections. The concerns of these voters are widely popular, yet far from being fully implemented. Instead, 140 million people are poor or living one emergency away from economic ruin, while the wealth and abundance of the country becomes concentrated in fewer and fewer hands. In addition, the democratic rights of the people are under attack with voter suppression laws being passed across the nation and hard-won voting rights being abridged.

These conditions speak not only to the impoverishment of the 140 million, but the impoverishment of our democracy. In this context, a multi-racial low-income electorate offers a promising solution to counter the devastating policy decisions that have allowed poverty and inequality to deepen and the divisive politics that have taken hold in recent years. They are the sleeping giant yet to be pulled into political action, but who hold the potential for us to realize the nation we have yet to be.

Acknowledgements

This report was made possible with the contributions of numerous organizations and individuals: first and foremost, the entire team who led the effort around the voter outreach drive in 2020, including the PPC:NCMR Field Team, dozens of organizers who ran the text-and phone-banking program and the hundreds of volunteers who reached out to more than 2 million potential voters; Forward Justice, for its legal expertise, training and leadership around voter suppression and voter protection; the team of data and research analysts at TargetSmart, who helped develop our analysis of low-income voters in the 2020 elections and Fred Azcarate, who introduced us; Kairos Center for Religions, Rights and Social Justice and Repairers of the Breach, which offered generous staff time to review, edit and prepare the report, including Tony Eskridge, Amy Miller, Roz Pelles, Noam Sandweiss-Back and Rob Stephens, with Sam Theoharis; Steve Pavey and Hope in Focus for the photograph featured on the cover, which captures the power and potential of the poor and low-income electorate; Cam Choiniere, who organized the analysis and findings in a compelling final form; and Robert Paul Hartley, from the Columbia School of Social Work and the Center on Poverty and Social Policy at Columbia University, who reported on the potential of poor and low-income voters in 2020 .

Finally, this report is a testament to the leadership and power of 140 million poor and low-income people in the U.S., who are articulating a new vision for this country, one that makes sure that everybody has the right to live and reach our full potential. Every day, the power of poor people gains momentum as it brings this new and unsettling force together across race, religion, gender, issue and geography, to turn that vision into a reality.

Appendix A: Methodology

PPC's analysis was done in partnership with TargetSmart, a data and analytics firm. Details on the methodology and data assets leveraged to complete the analysis follow below.

Regression sample construction

To construct a sample to compare the PPC-contacted group, TargetSmart selected all individuals in PPC-targeted states with similar levels of income, turnout propensity, and support for minimum wage increases to those in PPC's initial contact list in each target state. As these were the same variables used to construct PPC's original list, the targets should be similar in expectation to the non-targets in the sample.

The regression technique used in this project is called logistic regression. It is a form of generalized linear modelling that better accounts for binary dependent variables, like turnout. Several models with multiple covariates and different techniques were tested as robustness checks, all giving substantively similar results. The model version presented in the memo regressed 2020 turnout on TargetSmart Minimum Wage Score, TargetSmart Presidential General Turnout Score, state fixed effects, race, household income, and the main variable of interest, presence in PPC's contact universe. As the model does not directly incorporate any measures of the success PPC experienced contacting a given person, estimates of effectiveness can be best conceptualized as an intent-to-treat effect.

Defining low-income voters

For the purposes of this analysis, low-income voters (or poor and low-income voters) were defined as individuals whose annual household income is less than \$50,000. Annual household income data is developed from commercial data sources.

Relevant data assets

All covariates are drawn from TargetSmart's national voter file, developed and maintained by TargetSmart. Relevant reference names are below.

- 2020 Turnout: vf_g2020
- Estimated household income: household_income_amount
- TargetSmart Minimum Wage Score: tsmart_minimum_wage_score
- TargetSmart Presidential General Turnout Score: tsmart_presidential_general_turnout_score
- State: tsmart_state
- Race: race_rollup (TargetSmart's best guess at a given individual's race based on voter registration information, commercial data, and modelling)
- Urbanicity: tsmart_urbanicity

Appendix B: Tables¹

Table B1

PPC:NCMR Voter Outreach Drive Turnout Effect by State (Numbers)

State	Total Low-Income Voters	Total Voters Contacted by PPC	Total Non-2016 Voters Contacted by PPC	Total Non-2016 Voters	Total Low-Income Non-2016 Voters	Vote Margin (Dem-Rep)
AL	1936253	50042	39828	2094363	827592	-591546
AZ	1909690	15062	10691	2698214	773604	10457
GA	3139392	180022	158705	4379272	1374774	11779
ME	364592	24976	15702	402175	113765	74335
MI	2716142	149894	106735	3858241	1170989	154188
MS	851762	92945	74088	1140453	381479	-217366
NC	3471767	152037	89836	3653503	1288276	-74483
NV	892816	15002	10557	1255870	399408	33596
NY	4198179	30104	19728	6532250	1808750	1992776
OH	4063367	30119	17285	4280625	1655733	-475669
PA	3697335	310304	193139	4261177	1325613	81660
RI	197691	29980	22960	392971	87368	107564
SC	1726312	175346	138501	1947261	761751	-293562
TN	2221781	30068	19870	2722975	1020337	-1708764
TX	7190224	379092	270855	11137419	3673716	-631221
WI	1932671	21011	10013	1688685	605636	20682

¹ These tables were created with TargetSmart. See Appendix A for methodology. This data is accurate as of May 2021.

Table B2**PPC:NCMR Voter Outreach Drive Turnout Effect by State (%)**

State	PPC Turnout Effect
Alabama	2.50%
Arizona	2.90%
Delaware	4.40%
Georgia	2.00%
Illinois	4.90%
Maine	4.10%
Michigan	4.60%
Nevada	1.70%
New York	2.80%
Ohio	3.70%
Pennsylvania	3.30%
Rhode Island	3.90%
South Carolina	2.90%
Tennessee	2.50%
Texas	2.80%
Wisconsin	-4.90%

Table B3**PPC:NCMR Voter Outreach Drive Turnout Effect by Race (%)**

Race	PPC Turnout Effect
White	3.10%
Black	3.00%
Other	3.00%
Hispanic	2.90%
Uncoded	2.00%
Asian	1.90%

Table B4
Comparative Voter Data from 2020 and 2016

	2020	2016
VAP Count	257 million	253 million
Reg Count	215 million	201 million
Reg Rate	83.86%	79.53%
Vote Count	168 million	135 million
Turnout Rate	78.16%	67%
LIV VAP Count	99 million	97 million
LIV Reg Count	79.5 million	72.9 million
LIV Reg Rate	80.19%	74.60%
LIV Vote Count	58.1 million	43 million
LIV Turnout Rate	73.13%	58%
Percent Reg LIV	36.92%	36%
Percent LIV Voted	34.55%	32%

VAP: Voting Age Population

Reg Count: Number of people registered

Reg Rate: Number of people registered as a percent of total VAP

Vote Count: Number of people who voted

Turnout Rate: Number of people who voted as a percentage of total number registered

LIV VAP Count: Low-Income Voters Voting Age Population

LIV Reg Count: Number of LIV registered

LIV Reg Rate: Number of LIV registered as a percentage of total LIV

LIV Vote Count: Number of LIV who voted

LIV Turnout Rate: Number of LIV who voted as a percentage of all LIV who registered

Percent Reg LIV: Number of LIV who registered as a percentage of total VAP who registered

Percent LIV Voted: Number of LIV who voted as a percentage of total VAP who voted

Tables B5-B9, use the same key:

LIV: Low Income Voters

Population: Number of LIV

Registered: Number of LIV who registered to vote in the state

Voted: Number of LIV who voted in the 2020 presidential contest in the state

Pop Rate: LIV as a percent of the total population in the state

Reg Rate: LIV who are registered compared to the total population of LIV only

Turnout Rate: Percentage of LIV who voted in 2020 compared to the registered LIV only in the state

Pct of Registered: LIV who registered as a percent of the total population of all people who registered in the state

Pct of Voted: LIV who voted in 2020 as a percent of the total population of all voters in the state

Table B5
2020 State-by-state Low-Income Voter (LIV) Data All Races

State	Population	Registered	Voted	Pop rate	Reg rate	Turnout rate	Pct of Reg	Pct of Voted
Alabama	2122788	1684383	1133024	48.87%	79.35%	53.37%	47.06%	44.59%
Alaska	187462	166141	108373	29.45%	88.63%	57.81%	28.97%	27.89%
Arizona	2493452	2020780	1484076	44.07%	81.04%	59.52%	42.66%	39.96%
Arkansas	1209380	886055	626112	52.59%	73.27%	51.77%	50.12%	47.92%
California	8492675	6718229	5048331	31.59%	79.11%	59.44%	29.86%	27.58%
Colorado	1459345	1188440	960551	30.35%	81.44%	65.82%	28.48%	27.14%
Connecticut	735926	603954	442517	25.34%	82.07%	60.13%	24.25%	21.94%
Delaware	267396	214655	151542	29.70%	80.28%	56.67%	28.15%	25.97%
D.C.	218120	180945	126963	35.68%	82.96%	58.21%	35.28%	31.40%
Florida	9002943	7293734	5606987	48.92%	81.01%	62.28%	48.02%	45.89%
Georgia	3853150	3223731	2094698	43.18%	83.66%	54.36%	41.74%	37.84%
Hawaii	265879	207867	155290	26.36%	78.18%	58.41%	24.76%	24.22%
Idaho	575645	418381	376685	43.54%	72.68%	65.44%	40.83%	40.30%
Illinois	3382354	2778045	1924807	33.38%	82.13%	56.91%	31.92%	29.17%
Indiana	2188855	1729773	1166219	39.46%	79.03%	53.28%	37.21%	34.95%
Iowa	1076457	880855	693615	41.91%	81.83%	64.43%	40.09%	38.83%
Kansas	958168	770500	582005	42.11%	80.41%	60.74%	40.51%	38.96%
Kentucky	1979983	1637486	1039093	49.29%	82.70%	52.48%	47.57%	43.99%
Louisiana	1622473	1295871	941881	44.43%	79.87%	58.05%	42.59%	40.68%

Table B5 continued on p. 21

Table B5 (continued from p. 20)
2020 State-by-state Low-Income Voter (LIV) Data All Races

State	Population	Registered	Voted	Pop rate	Reg rate	Turnout rate	Pct of Reg	Pct of Voted
Maine	533585	447756	359513	41.31%	83.91%	67.38%	40.03%	38.94%
Maryland	1121850	880323	622249	22.07%	78.47%	55.47%	20.27%	18.46%
Massachusetts	1423460	1131712	837235	25.39%	79.50%	58.82%	23.90%	21.94%
Michigan	3821258	3258356	2242828	42.68%	85.27%	58.69%	41.34%	37.81%
Minnesota	1414817	1118903	998610	32.05%	79.08%	70.58%	30.16%	29.37%
Missouri	2446513	2001497	1443928	48.68%	81.81%	59.02%	47.23%	44.63%
Montana	346756	283857	246234	40.10%	81.86%	71.01%	38.35%	37.83%
Nebraska	602505	480429	370486	40.17%	79.74%	61.49%	38.20%	36.56%
Nevada	985492	766600	563169	40.52%	77.79%	57.15%	38.73%	35.78%
New Hampshire	318466	249066	208069	25.45%	78.21%	65.33%	23.58%	22.98%
New Jersey	1794246	1421753	1048324	23.88%	79.24%	58.43%	22.24%	20.36%
New Mexico	741897	589241	426532	46.07%	79.42%	57.49%	43.93%	42.16%
New York	5487987	4569996	3040818	36.25%	83.27%	55.41%	35.40%	32.86%
North Carolina	4116898	3329699	2649888	47.10%	80.88%	64.37%	45.74%	43.69%
North Dakota	196502	152558	122483	35.12%	77.64%	62.33%	32.62%	31.78%
Ohio	4363659	3326538	2445554	44.09%	76.23%	56.04%	41.69%	38.92%
Oklahoma	1435400	1041519	762825	50.08%	72.56%	53.14%	47.75%	45.92%
Oregon	1572784	1369106	1001202	41.80%	87.05%	63.66%	40.88%	38.63%
Pennsylvania	3941245	3128124	2485683	37.78%	79.37%	63.07%	35.88%	34.12%
Rhode Island	314972	265178	174356	33.80%	84.19%	55.36%	32.82%	29.23%
South Carolina	2025413	1623435	1163975	45.53%	80.15%	57.47%	43.87%	41.37%
South Dakota	351491	291963	204358	48.56%	83.06%	58.14%	47.68%	44.16%
Tennessee	2472405	1866086	1360730	44.58%	75.48%	55.04%	42.20%	39.69%
Texas	8088819	6215503	4094216	38.86%	76.84%	50.62%	36.80%	34.04%
Vermont	202938	167420	132592	34.73%	82.50%	65.34%	33.20%	32.31%
Virginia	2093852	1745533	1340323	30.11%	83.36%	64.01%	29.12%	27.70%
Washington	1779523	1437481	1154785	29.37%	80.78%	64.89%	27.75%	26.56%
West Virginia	750095	581216	432619	52.78%	77.49%	57.68%	51.29%	50.38%
Wisconsin	2140925	1748310	1440628	43.24%	81.66%	67.29%	41.52%	39.80%
Wyoming	127691	82683	82098	31.49%	64.75%	64.29%	27.62%	27.93%

Table B6
2020 Black Low-Income Voter (LIV) Data, all states

State	Population	Registered	Voted	Pop rate	Reg rate	Turnout rate	Pct of Reg	Pct of Voted
Alabama	651835	545341	347056	58.79%	83.66%	53.24%	15.24%	13.66%
Alaska	3436	3088	1701	52.50%	89.87%	49.51%	0.54%	0.44%
Arizona	34705	30008	17608	58.77%	86.47%	50.74%	0.63%	0.47%
Arkansas	171395	126928	76306	66.78%	74.06%	44.52%	7.18%	5.84%
California	420684	351221	238892	49.52%	83.49%	56.79%	1.56%	1.31%
Colorado	38638	32471	23118	54.60%	84.04%	59.83%	0.78%	0.65%
Connecticut	83081	69971	45198	54.18%	84.22%	54.40%	2.81%	2.24%
Delaware	59425	49234	30362	47.64%	82.85%	51.09%	6.46%	5.20%
D.C.	174146	145913	98192	60.01%	83.79%	56.38%	28.45%	24.28%
Florida	1591105	1389506	985268	68.36%	87.33%	61.92%	9.15%	8.06%
Georgia	1624710	1430686	844133	58.62%	88.06%	51.96%	18.53%	15.25%
Hawaii	1861	1366	914	47.54%	73.40%	49.11%	0.16%	0.14%
Idaho	1044	793	683	55.38%	75.96%	65.42%	0.08%	0.07%
Illinois	693988	606555	360380	60.36%	87.40%	51.93%	6.97%	5.46%
Indiana	199824	166644	91222	57.99%	83.40%	45.65%	3.59%	2.73%
Iowa	14072	11265	6775	64.43%	80.05%	48.15%	0.51%	0.38%
Kansas	33763	26637	16825	57.59%	78.89%	49.83%	1.40%	1.13%
Kentucky	116856	97379	54659	70.46%	83.33%	46.77%	2.83%	2.31%
Louisiana	656614	548702	370719	59.37%	83.57%	56.46%	18.03%	16.01%
Maine	2249	1961	1261	66.82%	87.19%	56.07%	0.18%	0.14%
Maryland	426842	350517	222996	34.92%	82.12%	52.24%	8.07%	6.61%
Massachusetts	95545	80136	53776	51.82%	83.87%	56.28%	1.69%	1.41%
Michigan	642187	555052	322077	65.72%	86.43%	50.15%	7.04%	5.43%
Minnesota	64790	54040	40968	66.20%	83.41%	63.23%	1.46%	1.20%
Missouri	290288	238110	147641	72.15%	82.03%	50.86%	5.62%	4.56%
Montana	427	375	260	46.11%	87.82%	60.89%	0.05%	0.04%
Nebraska	22514	18109	11015	67.91%	80.43%	48.93%	1.44%	1.09%
Nevada	56399	47564	25970	64.82%	84.33%	46.05%	2.40%	1.65%
New Hampshire	751	608	483	37.10%	80.96%	64.31%	0.06%	0.05%
New Jersey	326891	276311	178365	49.09%	84.53%	54.56%	4.32%	3.46%

Table B6 continued on p. 23

Table B6 (continued from p. 22)
2020 Black Low-Income Voter (LIV) Data, all states

State	Population	Registered	Voted	Pop rate	Reg rate	Turnout rate	Pct of Reg	Pct of Voted
New Mexico	2866	2249	1408	50.31%	78.47%	49.13%	0.17%	0.14%
New York	974888	838919	488276	53.63%	86.05%	50.09%	6.50%	5.28%
North Carolina	1156930	982044	731536	64.66%	84.88%	63.23%	13.49%	12.06%
North Dakota	918	701	485	44.69%	76.36%	52.83%	0.15%	0.13%
Ohio	584432	461700	280963	67.15%	79.00%	48.07%	5.79%	4.47%
Oklahoma	68581	47943	31319	58.15%	69.91%	45.67%	2.20%	1.89%
Oregon	7949	7203	4191	44.35%	90.62%	52.72%	0.22%	0.16%
Pennsylvania	561434	469874	332595	70.07%	83.69%	59.24%	5.39%	4.56%
Rhode Island	11332	9686	5126	68.66%	85.47%	45.23%	1.20%	0.86%
South Carolina	665324	567713	384152	60.60%	85.33%	57.74%	15.34%	13.65%
South Dakota	1938	1708	841	73.24%	88.13%	43.40%	0.28%	0.18%
Tennessee	421540	338321	218309	58.42%	80.26%	51.79%	7.65%	6.37%
Texas	872770	712923	445297	57.34%	81.69%	51.02%	4.22%	3.70%
Vermont	298	263	159	41.97%	88.26%	53.36%	0.05%	0.04%
Virginia	478466	407059	282864	50.26%	85.08%	59.12%	6.79%	5.85%
Washington	33329	27951	18980	47.66%	83.86%	56.95%	0.54%	0.44%
West Virginia	12187	9032	5997	64.03%	74.11%	49.21%	0.80%	0.70%
Wisconsin	151871	129184	85128	80.36%	85.06%	56.05%	3.07%	2.35%
Wyoming	216	139	121	34.78%	64.35%	56.02%	0.05%	0.04%

Table B7
2020 White Low-Income Voter (LIV) Data, all states

State	Population	Registered	Voted	Pop rate	Reg rate	Turnout rate	Pct of Reg	Pct of Voted
Alabama	1403904	1092455	760545	45.51%	77.82%	54.17%	30.52%	29.93%
Alaska	155284	137198	93198	28.51%	88.35%	60.02%	23.92%	23.99%
Arizona	1696887	1390771	1092889	40.29%	81.96%	64.41%	29.36%	29.43%
Arkansas	976320	723456	529738	50.61%	74.10%	54.26%	40.92%	40.55%
California	3881453	3069903	2523444	25.89%	79.09%	65.01%	13.65%	13.79%
Colorado	1101773	914472	771212	27.64%	83.00%	70.00%	21.92%	21.79%
Connecticut	491645	406473	326680	20.97%	82.68%	66.45%	16.32%	16.20%
Delaware	181877	146080	110911	25.95%	80.32%	60.98%	19.16%	19.01%
D.C.	30764	24967	21348	11.72%	81.16%	69.39%	4.87%	5.28%
Florida	5294254	4168552	3421338	44.39%	78.74%	64.62%	27.44%	28.00%
Georgia	1896816	1542656	1117905	36.19%	81.33%	58.94%	19.98%	20.20%
Hawaii	99626	76577	61659	24.14%	76.86%	61.89%	9.12%	9.62%
Idaho	522875	386914	350381	42.82%	74.00%	67.01%	37.76%	37.49%
Illinois	2147287	1762589	1317354	28.93%	82.08%	61.35%	20.25%	19.97%
Indiana	1863368	1475430	1028724	38.05%	79.18%	55.21%	31.74%	30.83%
Iowa	1000228	824279	658272	41.23%	82.41%	65.81%	37.52%	36.85%
Kansas	829263	675863	524450	40.98%	81.50%	63.24%	35.53%	35.11%
Kentucky	1810685	1503691	965839	48.39%	83.05%	53.34%	43.69%	40.89%
Louisiana	879039	682081	529529	37.74%	77.59%	60.24%	22.42%	22.87%
Maine	521766	437918	352823	41.27%	83.93%	67.62%	39.15%	38.21%
Maryland	593344	464005	356160	17.98%	78.20%	60.03%	10.68%	10.56%
Massachusetts	1031526	818299	650550	22.08%	79.33%	63.07%	17.28%	17.05%
Michigan	2957439	2527449	1819661	39.42%	85.46%	61.53%	32.06%	30.67%
Minnesota	1245685	988844	898539	30.82%	79.38%	72.13%	26.66%	26.42%
Missouri	2068376	1702200	1259322	46.63%	82.30%	60.88%	40.17%	38.93%
Montana	327078	267511	234476	39.75%	81.79%	71.69%	36.14%	36.02%
Nebraska	519289	420013	334848	38.40%	80.88%	64.48%	33.40%	33.04%
Nevada	639966	505005	391635	36.88%	78.91%	61.20%	25.51%	24.88%
New Hampshire	305019	239074	200527	25.30%	78.38%	65.74%	22.64%	22.15%
New Jersey	985815	764728	626944	18.75%	77.57%	63.60%	11.96%	12.18%

Table B7 continued on p. 25

Table B7 (continued from p. 24)
2020 White Low-Income Voter (LIV) Data, all states

State	Population	Registered	Voted	Pop rate	Reg rate	Turnout rate	Pct of Reg	Pct of Voted
New Mexico	393674	318351	250415	42.63%	80.87%	63.61%	23.73%	24.75%
New York	3116632	2559368	1922398	30.57%	82.12%	61.68%	19.83%	20.77%
North Carolina	2580847	2080151	1744799	41.82%	80.60%	67.61%	28.57%	28.77%
North Dakota	183547	143161	116456	34.57%	78.00%	63.45%	30.61%	30.21%
Ohio	3624330	2751468	2099132	41.84%	75.92%	57.92%	34.48%	33.41%
Oklahoma	1226520	910226	680209	48.95%	74.21%	55.46%	41.73%	40.95%
Oregon	1381720	1212065	909830	41.32%	87.72%	65.85%	36.19%	35.10%
Pennsylvania	3001965	2368340	1973744	33.89%	78.89%	65.75%	27.17%	27.09%
Rhode Island	227340	191377	137263	28.81%	84.18%	60.38%	23.68%	23.01%
South Carolina	1270250	993612	743210	40.44%	78.22%	58.51%	26.85%	26.42%
South Dakota	314068	258989	185219	46.56%	82.46%	58.97%	42.29%	40.03%
Tennessee	1962068	1478188	1111385	42.43%	75.34%	56.64%	33.43%	32.42%
Texas	4102644	3246592	2378005	32.73%	79.13%	57.96%	19.22%	19.77%
Vermont	198819	163992	130153	34.76%	82.48%	65.46%	32.52%	31.72%
Virginia	1479883	1237900	989382	28.16%	83.65%	66.86%	20.65%	20.45%
Washington	1478611	1211948	1006542	28.78%	81.97%	68.07%	23.40%	23.15%
West Virginia	728956	565795	422491	52.82%	77.62%	57.96%	49.93%	49.20%
Wisconsin	1838880	1509400	1275863	41.06%	82.08%	69.38%	35.85%	35.25%
Wyoming	118019	77930	77429	31.02%	66.03%	65.61%	26.03%	26.34%

Table B8
2020 Hispanic Low-Income Voter (LIV) Data, all states

State	Population	Registered	Voted	Pop rate	Reg rate	Turnout rate	Pct of Reg	Pct of Voted
Alabama	27084	20492	9696	51.15%	75.66%	35.80%	0.57%	0.38%
Alaska	4871	4455	2481	52.42%	91.46%	50.93%	0.78%	0.64%
Arizona	631434	489467	300906	62.77%	77.52%	47.65%	10.33%	8.10%
Arkansas	30081	15912	8387	63.42%	52.90%	27.88%	0.90%	0.64%
California	3282386	2576889	1745881	46.36%	78.51%	53.19%	11.45%	9.54%
Colorado	254944	191691	128612	50.99%	75.19%	50.45%	4.59%	3.63%
Connecticut	119283	94882	49354	52.95%	79.54%	41.38%	3.81%	2.45%
Delaware	12263	9060	4130	53.94%	73.88%	33.68%	1.19%	0.71%
D.C.	4676	3463	2271	26.30%	74.06%	48.57%	0.68%	0.56%
Florida	1716484	1415657	970967	53.58%	82.47%	56.57%	9.32%	7.95%
Georgia	163875	122777	61955	44.22%	74.92%	37.81%	1.59%	1.12%
Hawaii	10416	7724	5168	36.89%	74.16%	49.62%	0.92%	0.81%
Idaho	28302	15276	12407	60.17%	53.97%	43.84%	1.49%	1.33%
Illinois	397432	300681	177850	44.89%	75.66%	44.75%	3.46%	2.70%
Indiana	57594	39065	19199	51.58%	67.83%	33.34%	0.84%	0.58%
Iowa	25199	17421	9960	70.18%	69.13%	39.53%	0.79%	0.56%
Kansas	55800	37951	21246	62.06%	68.01%	38.08%	2.00%	1.42%
Kentucky	12269	6930	3119	65.89%	56.48%	25.42%	0.20%	0.13%
Louisiana	23760	17666	11210	40.61%	74.35%	47.18%	0.58%	0.48%
Maine	408	354	179	39.08%	86.76%	43.87%	0.03%	0.02%
Maryland	37975	22133	13627	24.93%	58.28%	35.88%	0.51%	0.40%
Massachusetts	183808	147946	78965	57.41%	80.49%	42.96%	3.12%	2.07%
Michigan	77352	59545	29391	74.40%	76.98%	38.00%	0.76%	0.50%
Minnesota	21991	13194	10301	55.93%	60.00%	46.84%	0.36%	0.30%
Missouri	23131	13977	7446	68.37%	60.43%	32.19%	0.33%	0.23%
Montana	1523	1126	812	53.66%	73.93%	53.32%	0.15%	0.12%
Nebraska	33857	22579	12465	66.85%	66.69%	36.82%	1.80%	1.23%
Nevada	225422	166519	110665	56.78%	73.87%	49.09%	8.41%	7.03%
New Hampshire	3948	2896	1944	59.45%	73.35%	49.24%	0.27%	0.21%
New Jersey	347788	280367	172576	44.80%	80.61%	49.62%	4.39%	3.35%

Table B8 continued on p. 27

Table B8 (continued from p. 26)
2020 Hispanic Low-Income Voter (LIV) Data, all states

State	Population	Registered	Voted	Pop rate	Reg rate	Turnout rate	Pct of Reg	Pct of Voted
New Mexico	309039	238273	155376	54.57%	77.10%	50.28%	17.76%	15.36%
New York	966850	822901	427397	57.55%	85.11%	44.21%	6.37%	4.62%
North Carolina	178875	126079	76514	57.11%	70.48%	42.78%	1.73%	1.26%
North Dakota	870	533	384	43.57%	61.26%	44.14%	0.11%	0.10%
Ohio	45672	33096	16378	68.14%	72.46%	35.86%	0.41%	0.26%
Oklahoma	58526	27859	15710	73.02%	47.60%	26.84%	1.28%	0.95%
Oregon	96485	76088	40633	61.92%	78.86%	42.11%	2.27%	1.57%
Pennsylvania	216106	169238	95568	76.60%	78.31%	44.22%	1.94%	1.31%
Rhode Island	57700	48609	23439	74.98%	84.24%	40.62%	6.02%	3.93%
South Carolina	41717	30828	17559	48.14%	73.90%	42.09%	0.83%	0.62%
South Dakota	3022	2451	1102	73.14%	81.11%	36.47%	0.40%	0.24%
Tennessee	29791	14225	8016	62.01%	47.75%	26.91%	0.32%	0.23%
Texas	2757952	1990917	1103960	51.46%	72.19%	40.03%	11.79%	9.18%
Vermont	149	130	95	32.75%	87.25%	63.76%	0.03%	0.02%
Virginia	43047	28779	18286	21.67%	66.85%	42.48%	0.48%	0.38%
Washington	122673	85018	49689	54.17%	69.30%	40.51%	1.64%	1.14%
West Virginia	808	614	354	40.52%	75.99%	43.81%	0.05%	0.04%
Wisconsin	65137	44426	31250	75.55%	68.20%	47.98%	1.06%	0.86%
Wyoming	4962	2224	2200	48.64%	44.82%	44.34%	0.74%	0.75%

Table Bg
2020 Asian Low-Income Voter (LIV) Data, all states

State	Population	Registered	Voted	Pop rate	Reg rate	Turnout rate	Pct of Reg	Pct of Voted
Alabama	8537	7665	4424	29.09%	89.79%	51.82%	0.21%	0.17%
Alaska	5557	4950	2107	41.12%	89.08%	37.92%	0.86%	0.54%
Arizona	8315	6463	4568	20.61%	77.73%	54.94%	0.14%	0.12%
Arkansas	2400	1249	778	40.62%	52.04%	32.42%	0.07%	0.06%
California	560996	441831	333262	21.53%	78.76%	59.41%	1.96%	1.82%
Colorado	6631	4855	3608	19.75%	73.22%	54.41%	0.12%	0.10%
Connecticut	6368	4431	2832	23.33%	69.58%	44.47%	0.18%	0.14%
Delaware	1555	878	574	17.73%	56.46%	36.91%	0.12%	0.10%
D.C.	700	404	343	13.25%	57.71%	49.00%	0.08%	0.08%
Florida	115786	110500	83268	35.58%	95.43%	71.92%	0.73%	0.68%
Georgia	51298	44946	27437	21.35%	87.62%	53.49%	0.58%	0.50%
Hawaii	122432	97163	70236	26.94%	79.36%	57.37%	11.58%	10.96%
Idaho	807	485	423	36.40%	60.10%	52.42%	0.05%	0.05%
Illinois	36873	25876	17388	15.18%	70.18%	47.16%	0.30%	0.26%
Indiana	4344	2620	1501	20.45%	60.31%	34.55%	0.06%	0.04%
Iowa	4359	3197	2188	43.38%	73.34%	50.19%	0.15%	0.12%
Kansas	4373	3180	1951	30.15%	72.72%	44.61%	0.17%	0.13%
Kentucky	2021	1480	824	26.35%	73.23%	40.77%	0.04%	0.03%
Louisiana	12286	10311	6822	35.79%	83.92%	55.53%	0.34%	0.29%
Maine	582	435	300	39.48%	74.74%	51.55%	0.04%	0.03%
Maryland	15521	10629	7360	10.28%	68.48%	47.42%	0.24%	0.22%
Massachusetts	35342	24629	15501	24.41%	69.69%	43.86%	0.52%	0.41%
Michigan	25725	19300	13135	28.12%	75.02%	51.06%	0.24%	0.22%
Minnesota	30803	24154	17887	43.67%	78.41%	58.07%	0.65%	0.53%
Missouri	5387	3692	2284	26.05%	68.54%	42.40%	0.09%	0.07%
Montana	278	235	189	40.12%	84.53%	67.99%	0.03%	0.03%
Nebraska	2164	1404	874	37.95%	64.88%	40.39%	0.11%	0.09%
Nevada	20886	14930	11009	24.80%	71.48%	52.71%	0.75%	0.70%
New Hampshire	1186	811	650	21.83%	68.38%	54.81%	0.08%	0.07%
New Jersey	45625	32097	23120	12.06%	70.35%	50.67%	0.50%	0.45%

Table Bg continued on p. 29

Table B9 (continued from p. 28)
2020 Asian Low-Income Voter (LIV) Data, all states

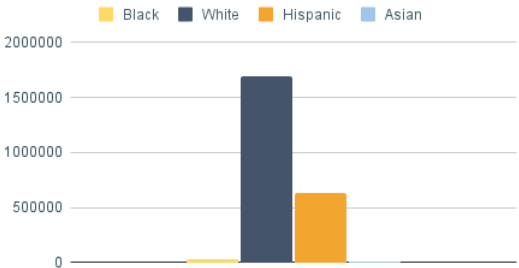
State	Population	Registered	Voted	Pop rate	Reg rate	Turnout rate	Pct of Reg	Pct of Voted
New Mexico	1122	857	574	26.02%	76.38%	51.16%	0.06%	0.06%
New York	201287	162679	89594	28.85%	80.82%	44.51%	1.26%	0.97%
North Carolina	34483	30045	21676	27.85%	87.13%	62.86%	0.41%	0.36%
North Dakota	425	287	229	33.07%	67.53%	53.88%	0.06%	0.06%
Ohio	7704	4911	3233	17.52%	63.75%	41.97%	0.06%	0.05%
Oklahoma	4449	2710	1840	33.18%	60.91%	41.36%	0.12%	0.11%
Oregon	17139	14368	9180	28.27%	83.83%	53.56%	0.43%	0.35%
Pennsylvania	34564	23548	17404	29.44%	68.13%	50.35%	0.27%	0.24%
Rhode Island	2233	1775	872	36.28%	79.49%	39.05%	0.22%	0.15%
South Carolina	12596	11869	7613	29.52%	94.23%	60.44%	0.32%	0.27%
South Dakota	1207	1071	545	69.09%	88.73%	45.15%	0.17%	0.12%
Tennessee	3214	2103	1280	23.58%	65.43%	39.83%	0.05%	0.04%
Texas	91064	69861	46063	19.82%	76.72%	50.58%	0.41%	0.38%
Vermont	305	241	179	34.94%	79.02%	58.69%	0.05%	0.04%
Virginia	22026	17418	13031	9.65%	79.08%	59.16%	0.29%	0.27%
Washington	53800	41232	29897	19.98%	76.64%	55.57%	0.80%	0.69%
West Virginia	534	349	258	30.85%	65.36%	48.31%	0.03%	0.03%
Wisconsin	13021	9894	6717	46.41%	75.98%	51.59%	0.23%	0.19%
Wyoming	158	78	65	40.10%	49.37%	41.14%	0.03%	0.02%

Appendix C: Battleground States

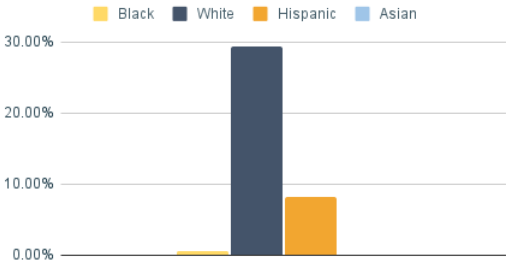
The charts below are based on data from Appendix B for the battleground states of Arizona, Florida, Georgia, Michigan, Nevada, North Carolina, Pennsylvania, Texas, and Wisconsin in 2020. Every chart uses the same key.

ARIZONA

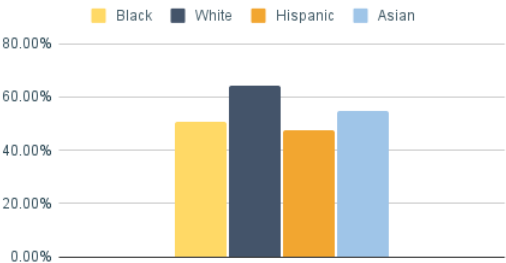
AZ LIV Total Pop



AZ LIV Voter Share

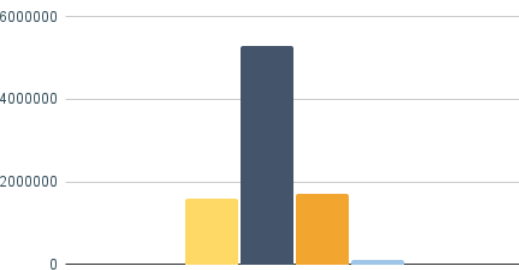


AZ LIV Turnout Rate

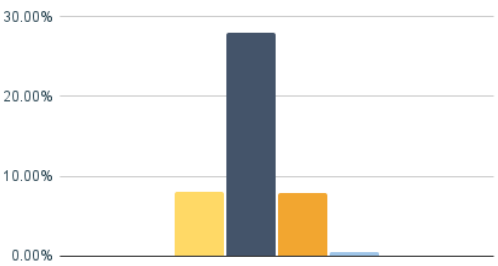


FLORIDA

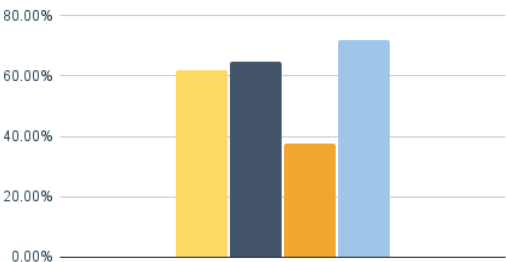
FL LIV Total Pop



FL LIV Voter Share

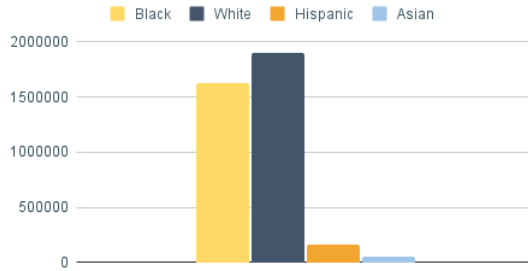


FL LIV Turnout Rate

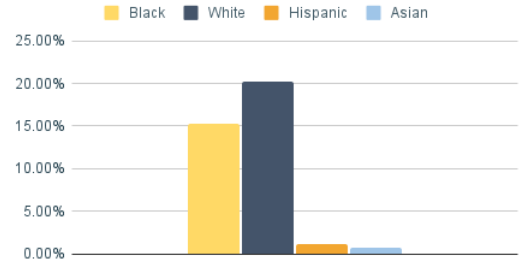


GEORGIA

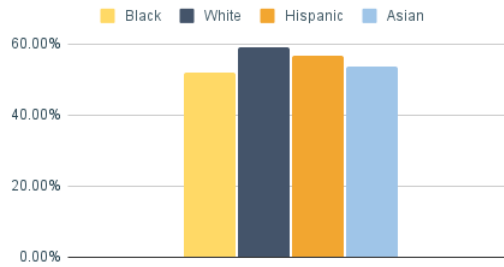
GA LIV Total Pop



GA LIV Voter Share

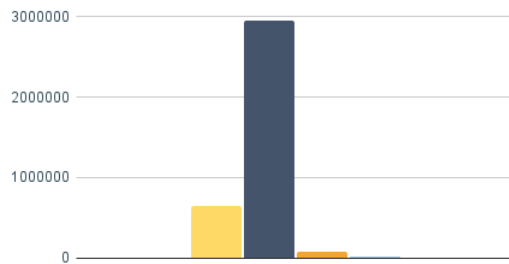


GA LIV Turnout Rate

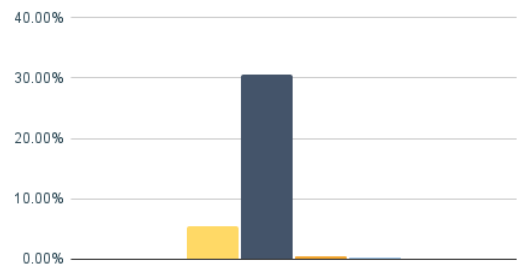


MICHIGAN

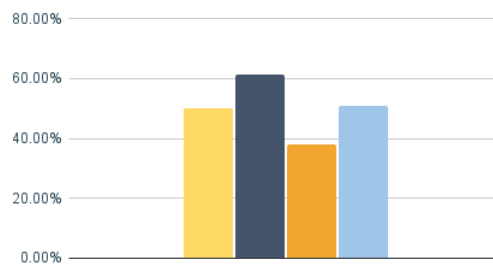
MI LIV Total Pop



MI LIV Voter Share

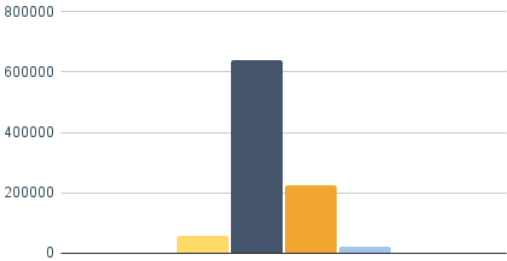


MI LIV Turnout Rate

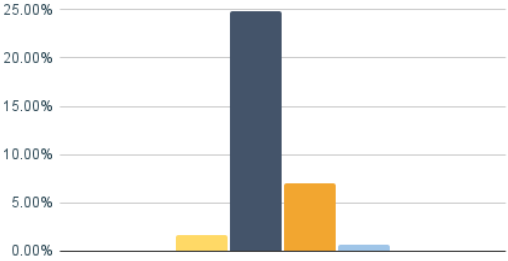


NEVADA

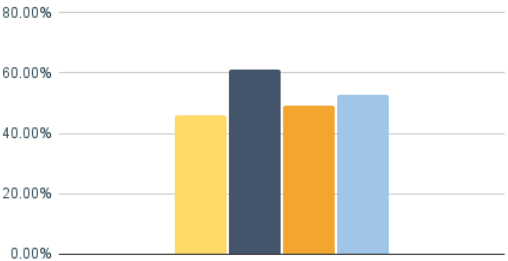
NV LIV Total Pop



NV LIV Voter Share

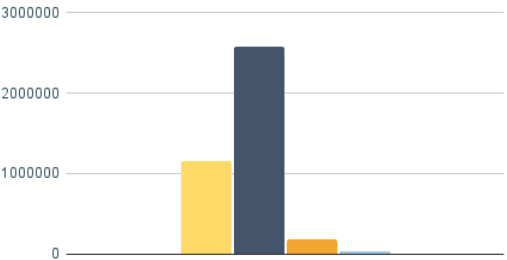


NV LIV Turnout Rate

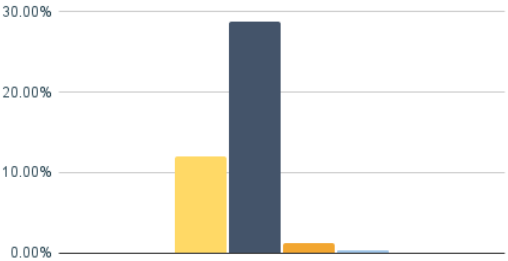


NORTH CAROLINA

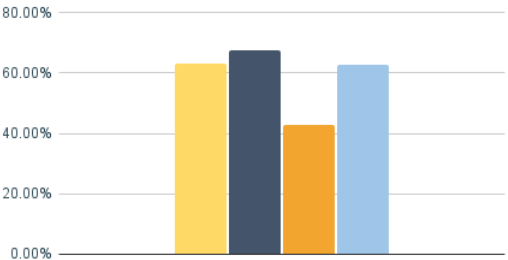
NC LIV Total Pop



NC LIV Voter Share

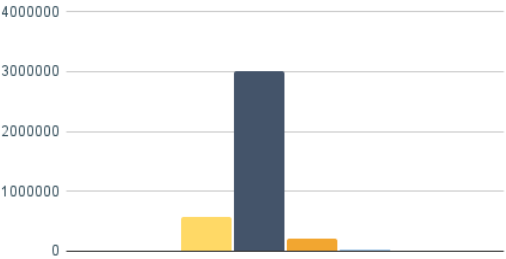


NC LIV Turnout Rate

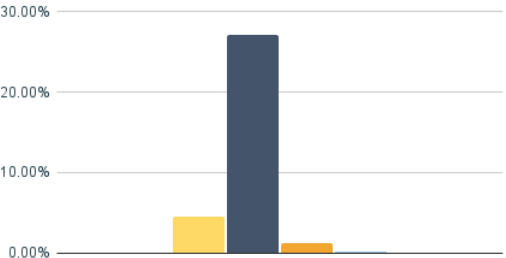


PENNSYLVANIA

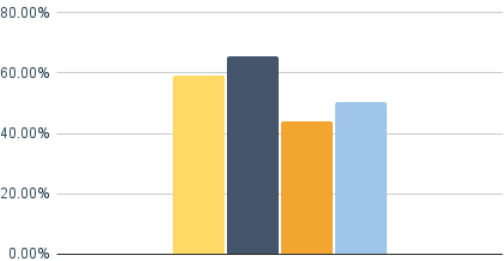
PA LIV Total Pop



PA LIV Voter Share

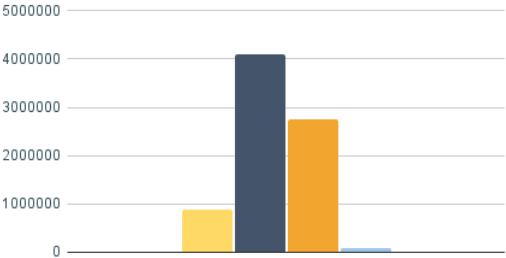


PA LIV Turnout Rate

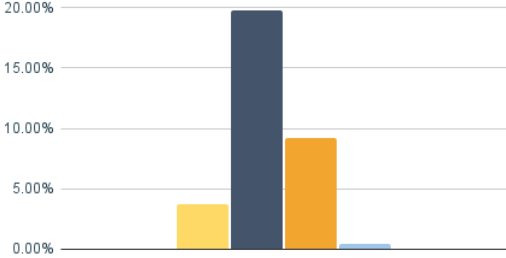


TEXAS

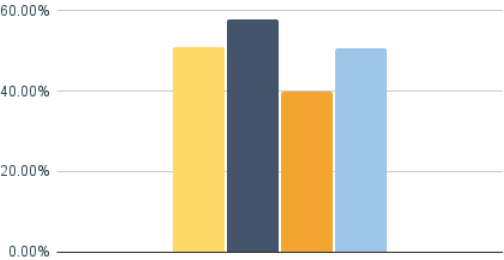
TX LIV Total Pop



TX LIV Voter Share

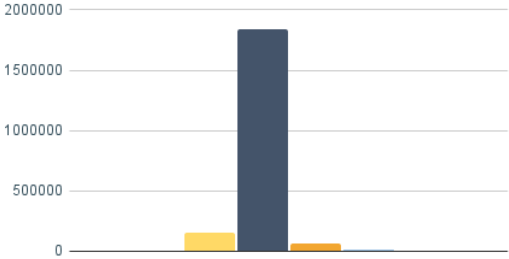


TX LIV Turnout Rate

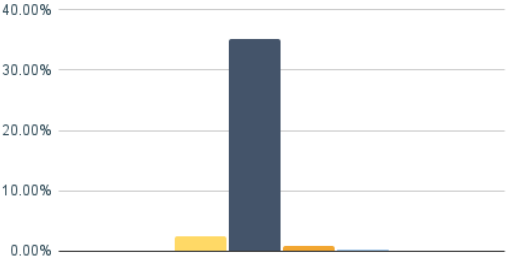


WISCONSIN

WI LIV Total Pop



WI LIV Voter Share



WI LIV Turnout Rate

