### What if everyone voted?

# And what the answer tells us about voter suppression

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### What is a "data journalist"?

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A "data journalist" is just like a "regular" journalist who relies on their own skills in empiricism to tell a story.

#### **Process:**

- 1. Find a story
- 2. Find a data-driven angle in said story
- 3. Analyze data with statistics programs (Excel, STATA, Python, R)
- 4. Convey information (with words and graphics)

### What if everyone voted?

### **Guiding questions**

## 1. How many Democrats and Republicans are there?

Given data constraints, we're really asking: How many Clinton and Trump voters are there?

### 2. How are they distributed geographically?

The answer lets us assign Electoral College votes.

### Data

# 1. Cooperative Congressional Election Study (CCES): A survey of 64,000 Americans

Includes demographic data and 2016 vote choice for 40,000+ validated voters

# 2. American Community Survey (ACS): A Census Bureau survey of 175,000 Americans

Includes the same demographic data as the CCES 32,640 "cells"

### Method

## 1. Train a predictive model on CCES data

- Multi-level logistic regression
- Predict vote choice with: age, gender, race, education, region and interactions between them

# 2. Use the model to predict voting habits for every eligible American

Via "post-stratification" on the ACS

### **ACS Post-stratification**

### 1. Each "type" of person gets their own "cell":

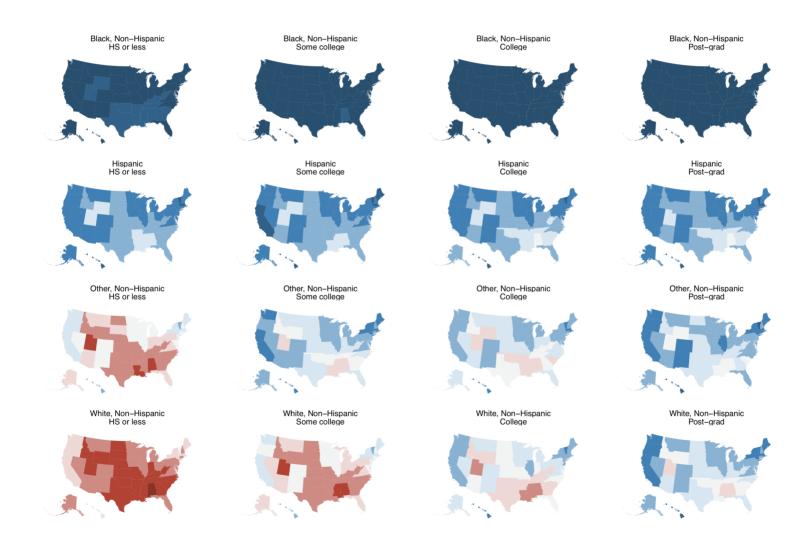
- One cell for white men ages 18-30 without college degrees who live in the Northeast
- Another for white men ages 18-30 without college degrees who live in the South
- Another for non-white men ages 18-30 without college degrees who live in the Northeast
- etc.

### 2. We know how many voters in that "cell" live in each state

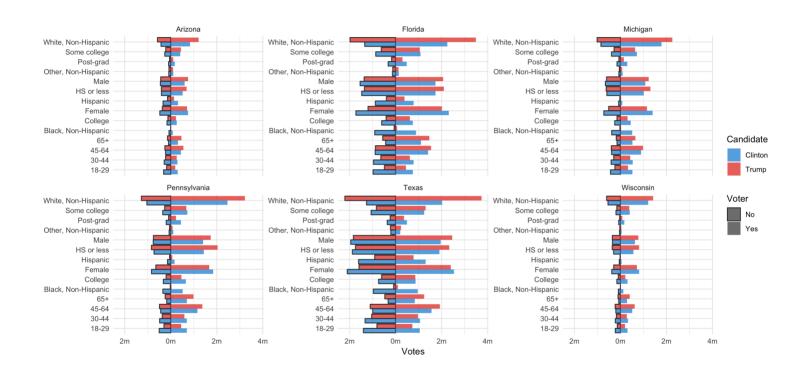
### 3. So we can say that x and y% of each "cell" vote for Clinton or Trump, then add up

• For example, a Latino female age 18-30 with a college degree in Texas is 85% likely to vote for a Democrat for president (White man 65+ is 80% Republican)

### **Results**



### **Results**



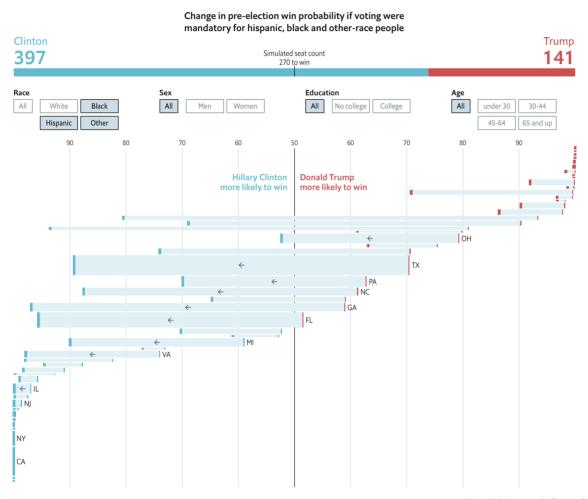
### Results: If everyone voted

# What does this tell us about voter suppression?

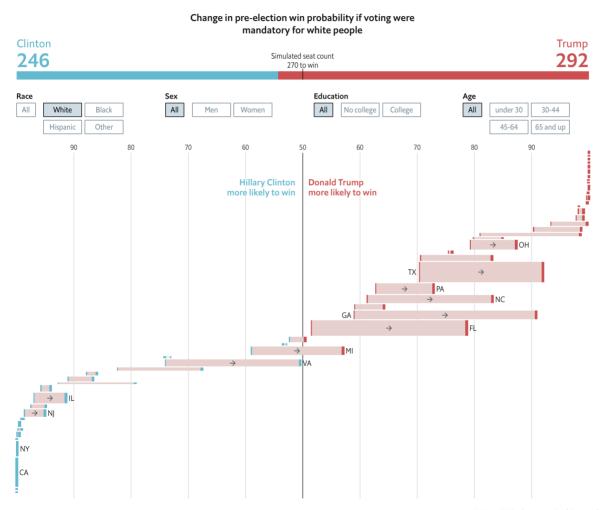
### **Voter suppression**

- We can modify the percentage of each group that turns out to vote, then re-predict the election
  - What if only all whites vote?
  - All non-whites?
  - Whites without degrees? Etc.
- Democrats do better when non-whites turnout; Republicans have a vested interest in keeping turnout rates low
  - Especially in southern states with large minority populations
  - Their efforts to move voting locations off-campus—TX almost removed the FAC as a precinct after 2018—also have political consequences

### Suppression of white votes



### Suppression of non-white votes



### **Considerations**

#### What this doesn't tell us:

- That Clinton/Trump/Abrams/etc would have won if certain x, y or z restrictions had been put in place
- Downstream effects (AKA party positions and coalition changes)

### The balancing act:

- There are a ton of white, non-college educated voters in the Midwest that tilt national scales if we increase turnout
  - Especially because increases in turnout are not uniform
  - And because of their geographic distribution, small relative increases in white turnout can tip the Electoral College to Republicans (see: 2016)
  - But on the other hand, some organizations are explicitly targeting non-whites and young voters for turnout purposes

### Thank you!

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These slides were made with the xaringan package for R from Yihui Xie. They are available online at https://www.thecrosstab.com/slides/2019-09-30-utaustin/