

Religion-Voter Turnout Project

Introduction

Read in data

```
library(readxl)
religion <- read_excel("religion_census.xlsx")
head(religion)

## # A tibble: 6 x 568
##   TOTCNG TOTADH TOTRATE EVANCNG EVANADH EVANRATE BPRTCNG BPRTADH BPRTRATE
##   <dbl> <dbl> <dbl> <dbl> <dbl> <dbl> <dbl> <dbl> <dbl>
## 1   106  36938   677.    79  27503   504.    13   2291   42.0
## 2   271  96918   532.   178  57986   318.    17   3130   17.2
## 3    89 15101   550.    51   8793   320.    21   3328  121.
## 4    81 11430   499.    63 10159   443.     8    966   42.2
## 5   156 37352   652.   122 29223   510.     2     58    1.01
## 6    47  6300   577.    15  2152   197.    21   3445   316.
## # ... with 559 more variables: MPRTCNG <dbl>, MPRTADH <dbl>, MPTRRATE <dbl>,
## #   CATHCNG <dbl>, CATHADH <dbl>, CATHRATE <dbl>, ORTHCNG <dbl>, ORTHADH <dbl>,
## #   ORTHRATE <dbl>, OTHCNG <dbl>, OTHADH <dbl>, OTHRATE <dbl>, OCGCNG <dbl>,
## #   AMECNG <dbl>, AMEADH <dbl>, AMERATE <dbl>, AMEZCNG <dbl>, AMEZADH <dbl>,
## #   AMEZRATE <dbl>, ALBCNG <dbl>, ALBADH <dbl>, ALBRATE <dbl>, AWMCCNG <dbl>,
## #   AWMCADH <dbl>, AWMCRATE <dbl>, ALBPCNG <dbl>, AMANCNG <dbl>, AMANADH <dbl>,
## #   AMANRATE <dbl>, AAMCNG <dbl>, AAMADH <dbl>, AAMRATE <dbl>, ...
```

We only want data on predominantly African-American religious institutions to analyze the effects of Black Churches on voter turnout in the South. And we will narrow the data to a few states in the deep south: South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, Alabama, and Mississippi.

To understand what churches have the greatest impact, the Conference of National Black Churches provides a starting point. The organization said it represents more than 80% of African-American Christians, or around 20 million people in the U.S. It is made up of seven predominantly African-American Churches: - African Methodist Episcopal Church (AME) - African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church (AMEZ) - Christian Methodist Episcopal Church (CME) - Church of God In Christ (COGIC) - National Baptist Convention of America, Inc., International (NBCA) - National Baptist Convention, U. S. A. Inc. (NBC USA) - Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc. (PNBC)

However, the convention does not include Black Protestants, which we will add on to the dataset. We now go into the dataset to filter for these denominations.

Filtering data

```
library(dplyr)

##
## Attaching package: 'dplyr'

## The following objects are masked from 'package:stats':
##
```

```
##      filter, lag
## The following objects are masked from 'package:base':
##
##      intersect, setdiff, setequal, union

library(tidyr)
#identify the abbreviations of 5 states we want to include
southern_states <- c("SC", "GA", "LA", "AL", "MS")
#identified the denominations' codes in the codebook
aa_denominations <- c("AMECNG", "AMEADH", "AMERATE", "AMEZCNG", "AMEZADH", "AMEZRATE", "CMECNG", "CMEADH", "CMEZCNG", "CMEZADH", "CMEZRATE", "CMEZCNG", "CMEZADH", "CMEZRATE")
other_variables <- c("TOTCNG", "TOTADH", "TOTRATE", "FIPS", "STABBR", "CNTYNAME", "CNTYCODE", "POP2010")

southern_aa <- religion[c(other_variables, aa_denominations)] %>%
  filter(STABBR %in% southern_states) #data frame with all the African-American churches in the 5 states

#we check if the number of counties in the dataframe matches up with the number of counties there are in each state
#LA has 64 states, AL has 67, GA has 159, SC has 46 and MS has 82.
nrow(southern_aa) == 64 + 67 + 159 + 46 + 82
```

Sanity check

```
## [1] TRUE

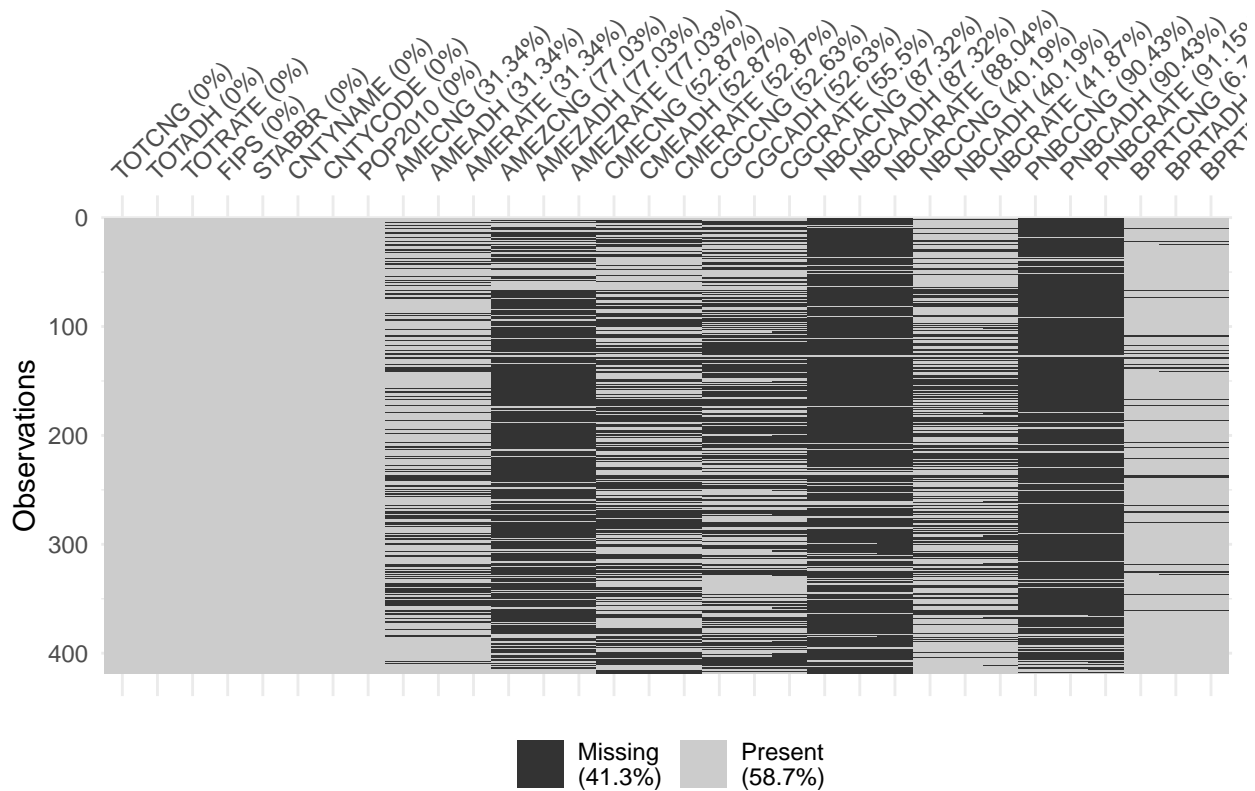
#we also check whether total adherents are less than total adherents in the county
adh_var <- c("AMEADH", "AMEZADH", "CMEADH", "CGCADH", "NBCAADH", "NBCADH", "PNBCADH", "BPRTADH")
for (i in adh_var) {
  if (any(southern_aa[[i]] > southern_aa$TOTADH, na.rm = TRUE)) {i}
}

#check if total adherents are less than total population
which(southern_aa$TOTADH > southern_aa$POP2010)

## [1] 371
```

Clean up NAs

```
library(visdat)
vis_miss(southern_aa)
```



We observe that the dataset has a lot of missing data, attributed to the fact that some counties simply do not have an predominantly African-American church present. *Note: There are a few denominations that has a higher missing data rate for their rate of adherents than they do for the total congregations variable. Namely: CGCC (Church of God in Christ), NBCA (National Baptist Convention of America Inc.) NBC (National Baptist Convention U.S.A), PNBC (Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc.), BPRT (Black Protestants)* We now examine what accounts for those inconsistencies.

```
cng_var_miss <- c("CGCCNG", "NBCACNG", "NBCCNG", "PNBCNG", "BPRTCNG")
adh_var_miss <- c("CGCADH", "NBCAADH", "NBCADH", "PNBCADH", "BPRTADH")
rate_var_miss <- c("CGCRATE", "NBCARATE", "NBCRATE", "PNBCRATE", "BPRTCNG")
check_rate <- vector(length = 3)
for (i in 1:5){
  print(southern_aa[!is.na(southern_aa[cng_var_miss[i]]) & is.na(southern_aa[rate_var_miss[i]]), c(cng_var_miss[i], rate_var_miss[i])])
}
```

```
## # A tibble: 12 x 3
##   CGCCNG CGCADH CGCRATE
##   <dbl> <dbl> <dbl>
## 1     1     0     NA
## 2     1     0     NA
## 3     1     0     NA
## 4     1     0     NA
## 5     1     0     NA
## 6     1     0     NA
## 7     1     0     NA
## 8     1     0     NA
## 9     1     0     NA
## 10    1     0     NA
## 11    1     0     NA
## 12    1     0     NA
```

```
## # A tibble: 3 x 3
##   NBCACNG NBCAADH NBCARATE
##   <dbl>   <dbl>   <dbl>
## 1     1     0     NA
## 2     1     0     NA
## 3     1     0     NA
## # A tibble: 7 x 3
##   NBCCNG NBCADH NBCRATE
##   <dbl>   <dbl>   <dbl>
## 1     1     0     NA
## 2     1     0     NA
## 3     1     0     NA
## 4     1     0     NA
## 5     1     0     NA
## 6     1     0     NA
## 7     1     0     NA
## # A tibble: 3 x 3
##   PNBCCNG PNBCADH PNBCRATE
##   <dbl>   <dbl>   <dbl>
## 1     1     0     NA
## 2     1     0     NA
## 3     1     0     NA
## # A tibble: 3 x 3
##   BPRTCNG BPRTADH BPRTRATE
##   <dbl>   <dbl>   <dbl>
## 1     1     NA     NA
## 2     1     NA     NA
## 3     1     NA     NA
```

#the adherents numbers in these counties' denominations are 0, therefore we can code the rate as 0.

```
cng_var <- c("AMECNG", "AMEZCNG", "CMECNG", "CGCCNG", "NBCACNG", "NBCCNG", "PNBCCNG", "BPRTCNG")
table(apply(is.na(southern_aa[cng_var]), 1, sum))
```

```
##
##  0  1  2  3  4  5  6  7  8
##  7  9 38 66 103 95 65 7 28
```

The table examines how many denominations are absent in any given county. We find that 7 counties have all denominations present and 8 counties has none.

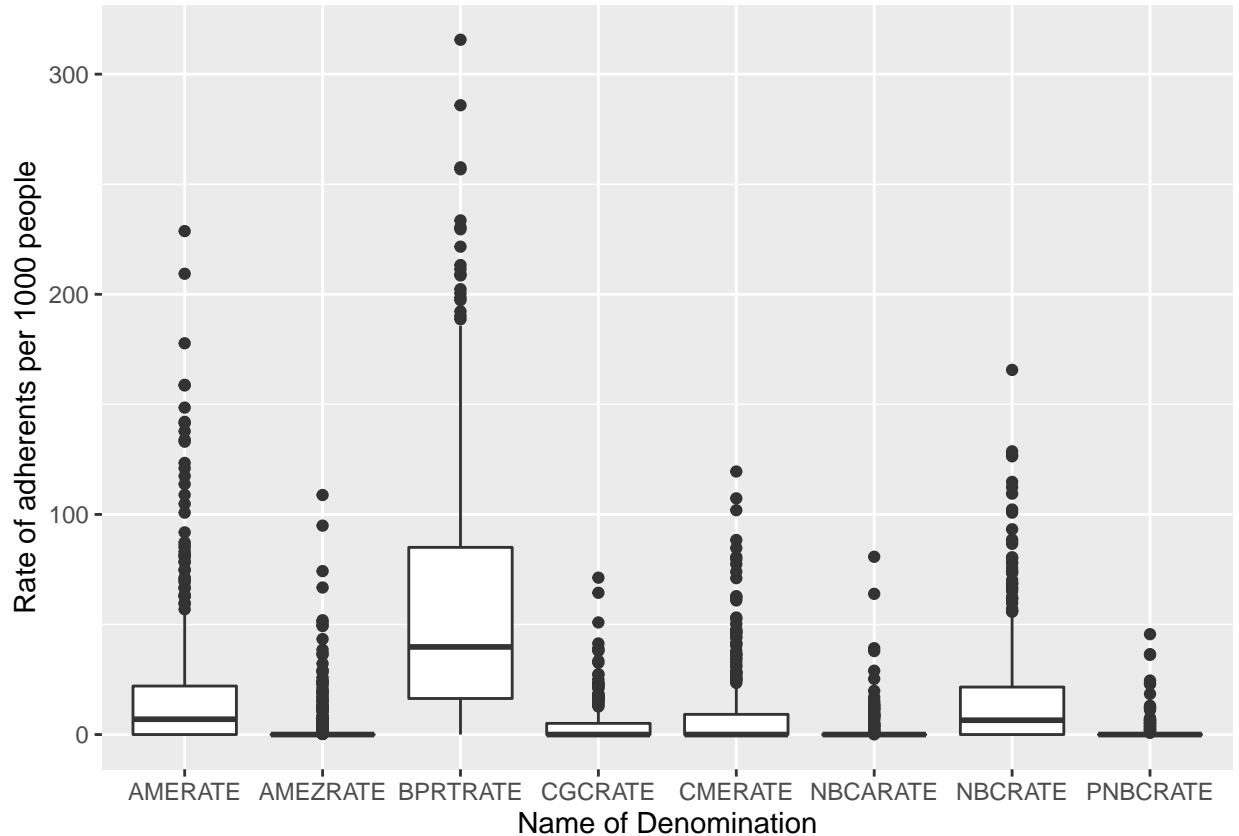
```
southern_aa[is.na(southern_aa)] <- 0
#verify that the dataset now has no missing values
```

We want to combine all the data on the denominations into one coherent set of data for the number of predominantly African-American congregations, adherents and adherent rates for each county. This makes it easier to conduct analysis but also could expose the data to variations across different denominations.

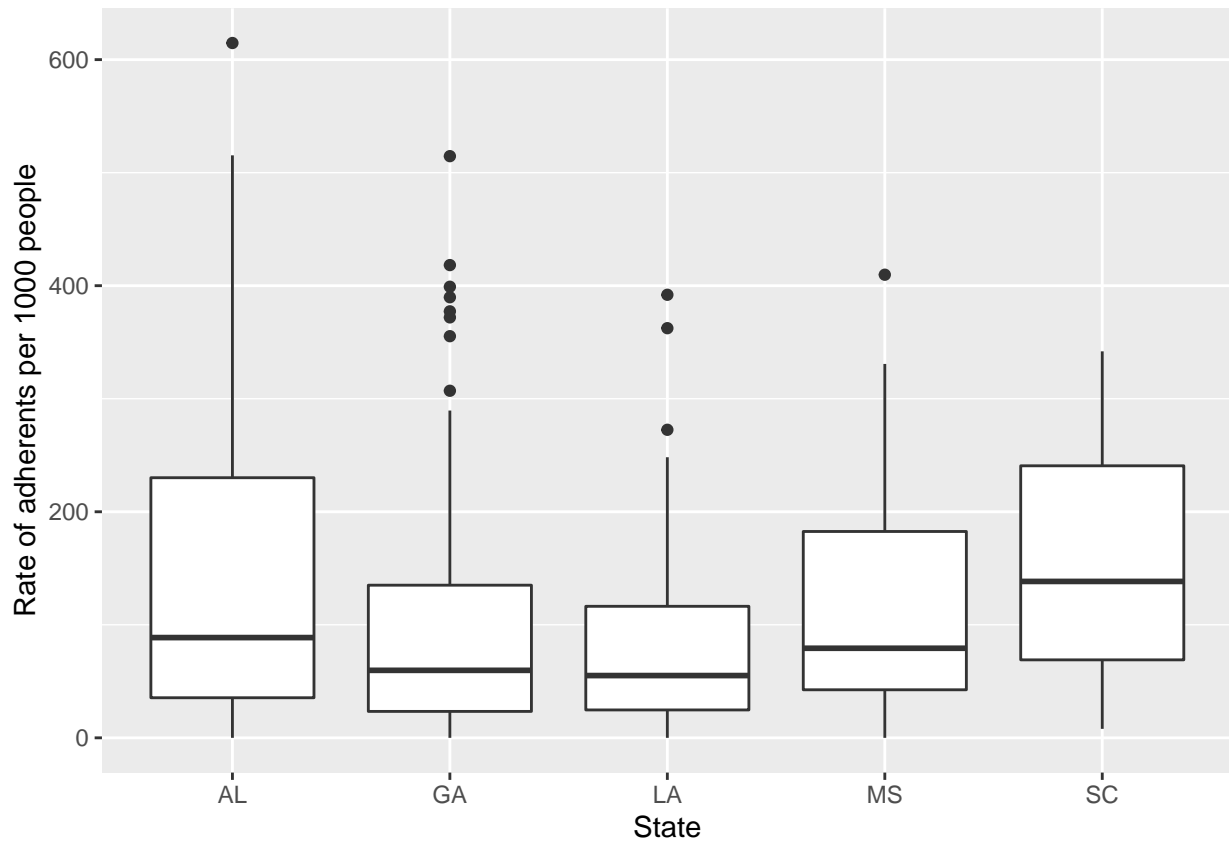
```
rate_var <- c("AMERATE", "AMEZRATE", "CMERATE", "CGCRATE", "NBCARATE", "NBCRATE", "PNBCRATE", "BPRTRATE")
cng_var <- c("AMECNG", "AMEZCNG", "CMECNG", "CGCCNG", "NBCACNG", "NBCCNG", "PNBCCNG", "BPRTCNG")
southern_aa$AA_CNG <- apply(southern_aa[cng_var], 1, sum)
southern_aa$AA_ADH <- apply(southern_aa[adh_var], 1, sum)
southern_aa$AA_RATE <- apply(southern_aa[rate_var], 1, sum)
```

EDA on the Religion dataset

```
library(ggplot2)
#boxplots of denominations' adherents rate in counties
rate_var <- c("AMERATE", "AMEZRATE", "CMERATE", "CGCRATE", "NBCARATE", "NBCRATE", "PNBCRATE", "BPRTRATE")
rate_data <- southern_aa %>%
  gather(key = "denomination", value = "rate", c(11, 14, 17, 20, 23, 26, 29, 32))
ggplot(data = rate_data, aes(x = denomination, y = rate)) +
  geom_boxplot() +
  labs(x = "Name of Denomination", y = "Rate of adherents per 1000 people")
```

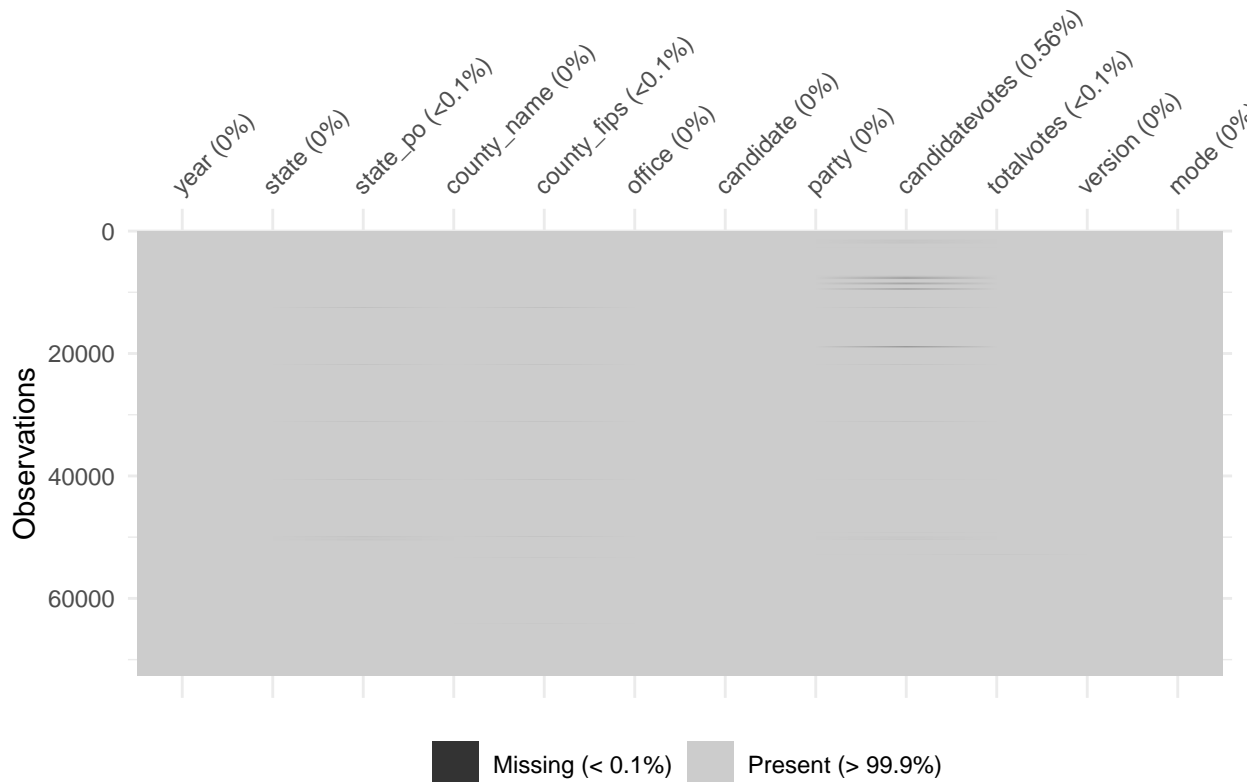


```
ggplot(data = southern_aa, aes(x = STABBR, y = AA_RATE)) +
  geom_boxplot() +
  labs(x = "State", y = "Rate of adherents per 1000 people")
```



```
### Import election result data by county
```

```
library(visdat)
pres_county <- read.csv("countypres_2000-2020.csv")
vis_miss(pres_county)
```



```
which(is.na(pres_county$county_fips)) %in% southern_aa$FIPS
```

```
## [1] FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE
## [13] FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE
## [25] FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE
## [37] FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE
## [49] FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE FALSE
```

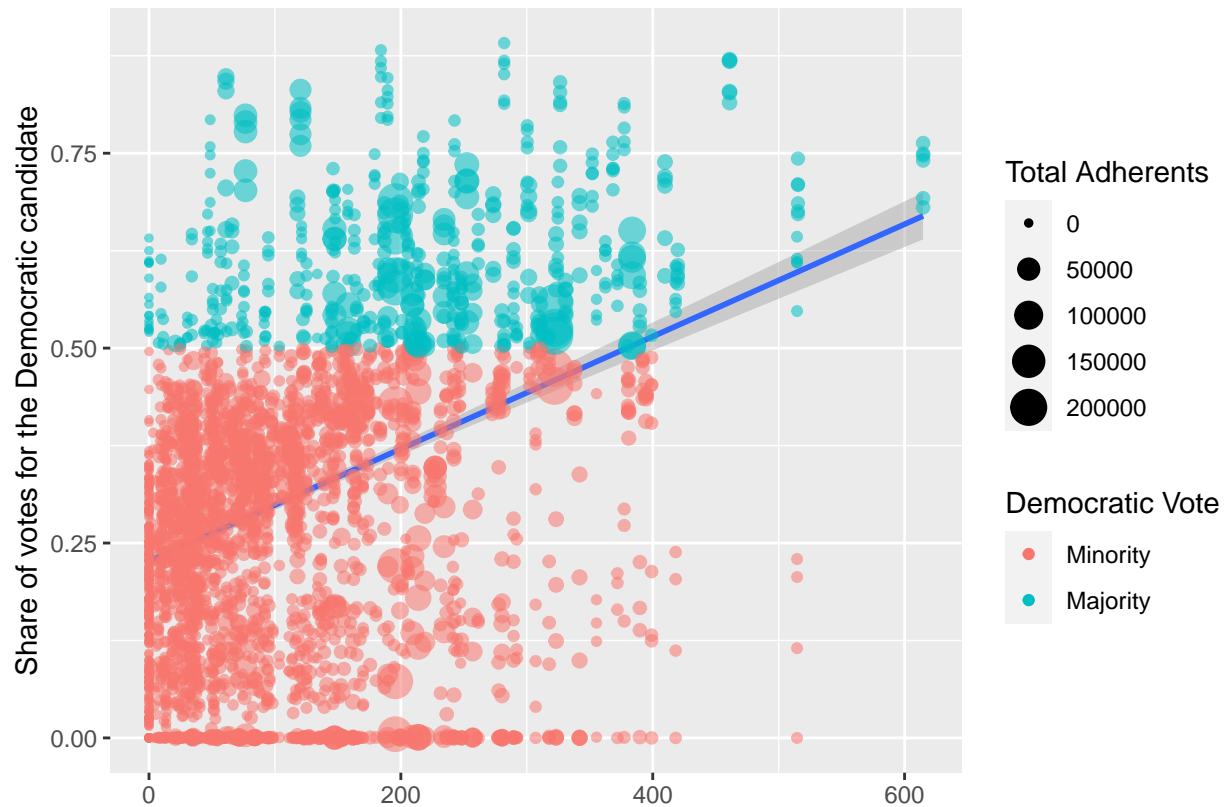
#none of the missing fips are in the southern states dataset

```
pres_southern <- right_join(pres_county, southern_aa, by = c("county_fips" = "FIPS"))
pres_clean <- pres_southern %>%
  filter(party == "DEMOCRAT") %>%
  mutate(dem_share = candidatevotes/totalvotes) %>%
  select(-c("office", "candidate", "party", "version", "mode", "county_name", "state_po", "state"))
```

Visualize

```
outcome <- pres_clean$dem_share > 0.5
outcome_char <- as.character(outcome)
outcome_char[outcome] <- "Majority"
outcome_char[!outcome] <- "Minority"
outcome_char <- factor(outcome_char, levels = c("Minority", "Majority"))
g_pres_church <- ggplot(data = pres_clean, aes(x = AA_RATE, y = dem_share))
g_pres_church +
  geom_smooth(method = "lm") +
  geom_point(aes(alpha = 0.05, color = outcome_char, size = AA_ADH)) +
  guides(alpha = "none") +
  labs(x = "Number of Predominantly African-American Churches' Adherents per 1000 people in the county")
```

```
## `geom_smooth()` using formula 'y ~ x'
```



Number of Predominantly African-American Churches' Adherents per 1000 people in the county

#2008 & 2012 performance of Presidential candidates

```
#2008 vote
```

```
pres_2008 <- pres_clean %>%
  filter(year == 2008)
```

```
#encode the outcome variable as dem majority/minority
```

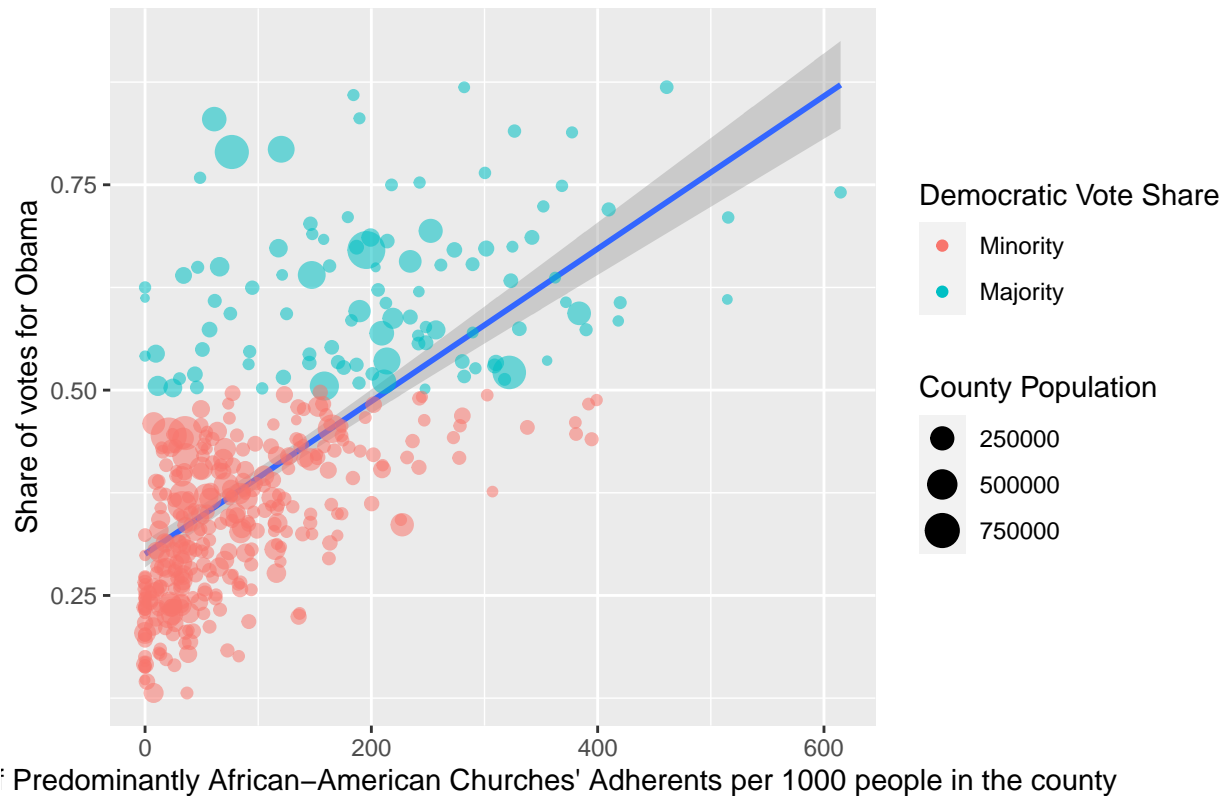
```
outcome_2008 <- pres_2008$dem_share > 0.5
outcome_2008_char <- as.character(outcome_2008)
outcome_2008_char[outcome_2008] <- "Majority"
outcome_2008_char[!outcome_2008] <- "Minority"
outcome_2008_char <- factor(outcome_2008_char, levels = c("Minority", "Majority"))
```

```
#graph rate vs. dem_share
```

```
g_pres_church_2008 <- ggplot(data = pres_2008, aes(x = AA_RATE, y = dem_share))
g_pres_church_2008 +
  geom_smooth(method = "lm") +
  geom_point(aes(alpha = 0.05, color = outcome_2008_char, size = POP2010)) +
  guides(alpha = "none") +
  labs(x = "Number of Predominantly African-American Churches' Adherents per 1000 people in the county")
```

```
## `geom_smooth()` using formula 'y ~ x'
```


2008 Presidential Election Vote by County



```
ggsave("scatterplot_2018.png", width = 10, height = 6)
```

```
## `geom_smooth()` using formula 'y ~ x'
```

```
#2012 vote
```

```
pres_2012 <- pres_clean %>%
```

```
  filter(year == 2012)
```

```
#encode the outcome variable as dem majority/minority
```

```
outcome_2012 <- pres_2012$dem_share > 0.5
```

```
outcome_2012_char <- as.character(outcome_2012)
```

```
outcome_2012_char[outcome_2012] <- "Majority"
```

```
outcome_2012_char[!outcome_2012] <- "Minority"
```

```
outcome_2012_char <- factor(outcome_2012_char, levels = c("Minority", "Majority"))
```

```
#graph rate vs. dem_share
```

```
g_pres_church_2012 <- ggplot(data = pres_2012, aes(x = AA_RATE, y = dem_share))
```

```
g_pres_church_visa <- g_pres_church_2012 +
```

```
  geom_smooth(method = "lm") +
```

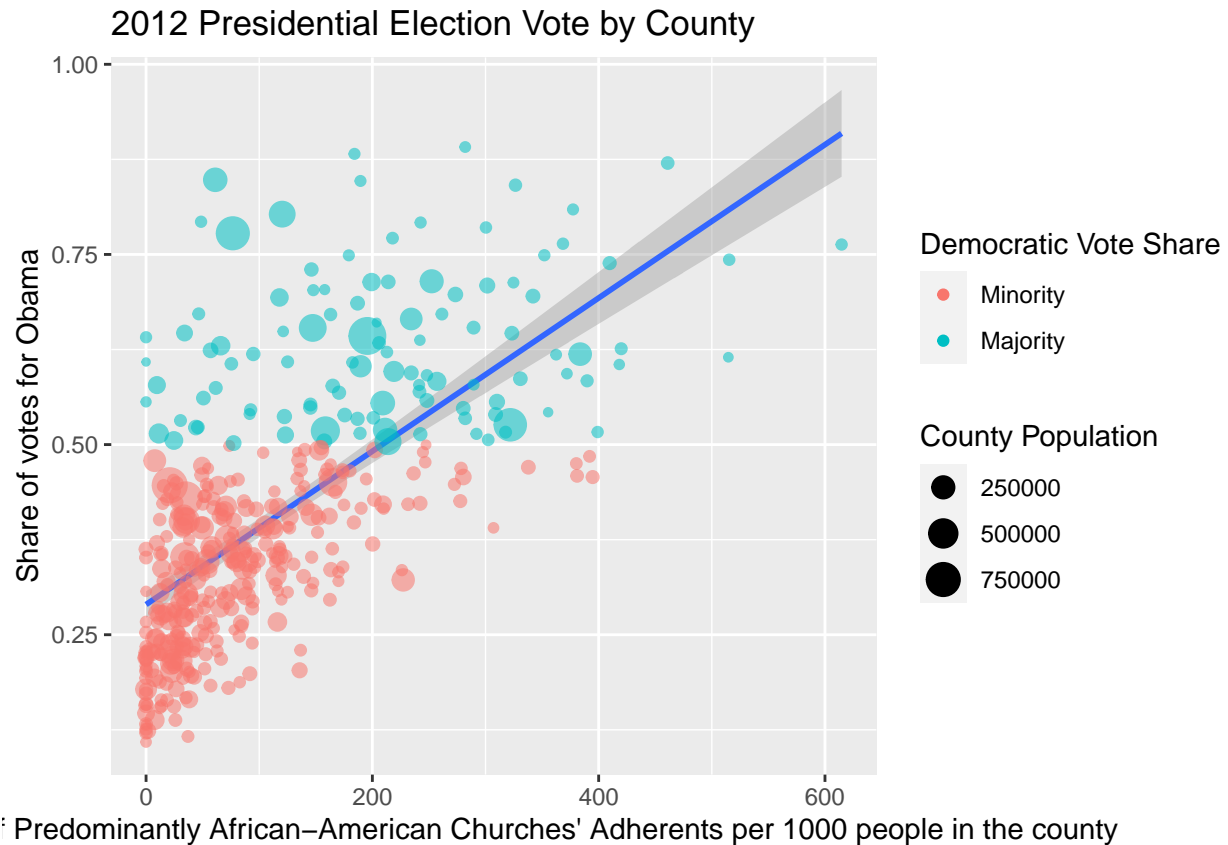
```
  geom_point(aes(alpha = 0.05, color = outcome_2012_char, size = POP2010)) +
```

```
  guides(alpha = "none") +
```

```
  labs(x = "Number of Predominantly African-American Churches' Adherents per 1000 people in the county")
```

```
g_pres_church_visa
```

```
## `geom_smooth()` using formula 'y ~ x'
```



```
#ggsave("scatterplot.png", width = 10, height = 6)
```

```
fit <- lm(pres_2012$dem_share ~ pres_2012$AA_RATE)
summary(fit)
```

Try fitting the model

```
##
## Call:
## lm(formula = pres_2012$dem_share ~ pres_2012$AA_RATE)
##
## Residuals:
##      Min       1Q   Median       3Q      Max
## -0.23015 -0.08681 -0.02478  0.06803  0.49681
##
## Coefficients:
##              Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|)
## (Intercept)   2.897e-01  8.865e-03  32.68  <2e-16 ***
## pres_2012$AA_RATE 1.008e-03  5.655e-05  17.82  <2e-16 ***
## ---
## Signif. codes:  0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1
##
## Residual standard error: 0.1255 on 416 degrees of freedom
## Multiple R-squared:  0.4329, Adjusted R-squared:  0.4316
## F-statistic: 317.6 on 1 and 416 DF, p-value: < 2.2e-16
```

```
fit2 <- lm(pres_2008$dem_share ~ pres_2008$AA_RATE)
summary(fit2)
```

```
##
## Call:
## lm(formula = pres_2008$dem_share ~ pres_2008$AA_RATE)
##
## Residuals:
##      Min       1Q   Median       3Q      Max
## -0.22698 -0.08357 -0.02392  0.06019  0.47269
##
## Coefficients:
##              Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|)
## (Intercept)    3.004e-01  8.302e-03   36.19  <2e-16 ***
## pres_2008$AA_RATE 9.292e-04  5.295e-05   17.55  <2e-16 ***
## ---
## Signif. codes:  0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1
##
## Residual standard error: 0.1175 on 416 degrees of freedom
## Multiple R-squared:  0.4253, Adjusted R-squared:  0.424
## F-statistic: 307.9 on 1 and 416 DF,  p-value: < 2.2e-16
```

Case Study: Louisiana

```
Louisiana_2012_raw <- read_excel("LA_2012_1106_sta.xls", sheet = 1)
```

```
## New names:
## * `` -> ...2
## * `` -> ...3
## * `` -> ...4
## * `` -> ...5
## * `` -> ...6
## * ...
```

```
Louisiana_2012_raw <- Louisiana_2012_raw %>%
  slice(-c(1:6, 9)) %>%
  select(-c(1,3,5,7,9,11,13,15,17,19))
```

```
colnames(Louisiana_2012_raw) <- c("Jurisdiction", "Total", "Black_total_reg", "Dem_total_reg", "Black_d
```

```
Louisiana_2012_raw1 <- Louisiana_2012_raw %>% slice(-c(1,2))
```

```
Louisiana_2012_voting_total <- Louisiana_2012_raw1 %>%
  filter(Jurisdiction == "# VOTING") %>%
  select(-1) %>%
  apply(MARGIN = 2, FUN = as.integer) %>%
  as.data.frame()
```

```
colnames(Louisiana_2012_voting_total) <- c("Total_vote", "Black_total_vote", "Dem_total_vote", "Black_d
```

```
Louisiana_2012_vote_prop <- Louisiana_2012_raw1 %>%
  filter(Jurisdiction == "% VOTING") %>%
  select(-1) %>%
  apply(MARGIN = 2, FUN = as.integer) %>%
  as.data.frame()
```

```

colnames(Louisiana_2012_vote_prop) <- c("Total_vote_prop", "Black_total_vote_prop", "Dem_total_vote_prop")

Louisiana_2012_registration <- Louisiana_2012_raw1 %>%
  filter(Jurisdiction != "# VOTING" & Jurisdiction != "% VOTING")

Louisiana_2012_general <- cbind(Louisiana_2012_registration, Louisiana_2012_voting_total, Louisiana_2012_vote_prop)
Louisiana_2012_general$Total <- as.numeric(Louisiana_2012_general$Total)

```

Plotting Louisiana dem_share against rate of predominantly AA churches adherents

```

pres_LA_2012 <- pres_clean %>%
  filter(STABBR == "LA" & year == 2012) %>%
  select(-c("CNTYNAME", "year")) %>%
  mutate(Jurisdiction = Louisiana_2012_general[-1,]$Jurisdiction)

Louisiana_general_AA <- right_join(Louisiana_2012_general[-1,], pres_LA_2012, by = "Jurisdiction")

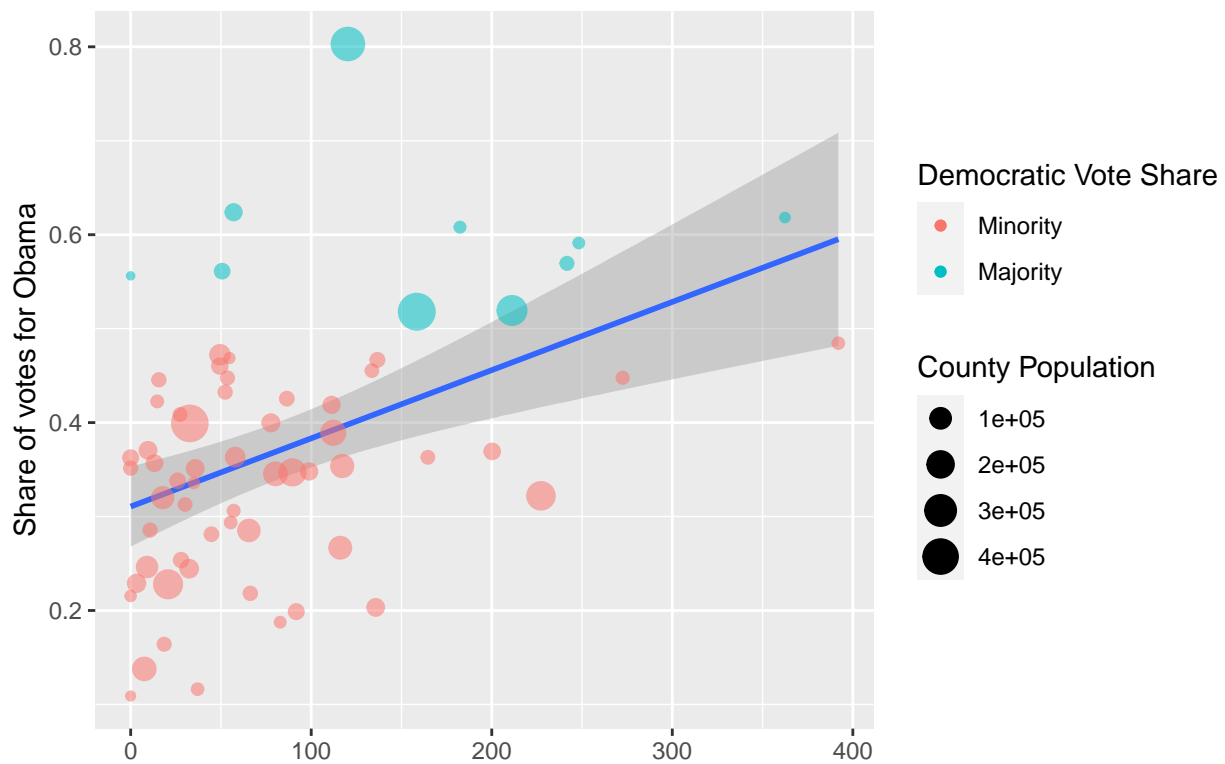
#graph rate vs. dem_share
outcome_LA_2012 <- Louisiana_general_AA$dem_share > 0.5
outcome_LA_2012_char <- as.character(outcome_LA_2012)
outcome_LA_2012_char[outcome_LA_2012] <- "Majority"
outcome_LA_2012_char[!outcome_LA_2012] <- "Minority"
outcome_LA_2012_char <- factor(outcome_LA_2012_char, levels = c("Minority", "Majority"))

g_pres_LA_2012 <- ggplot(data = Louisiana_general_AA, aes(x = AA_RATE, y = dem_share))
g_pres_LA_2012 +
  geom_smooth(method = "lm") +
  geom_point(aes(alpha = 0.05, color = outcome_LA_2012_char, size = POP2010)) +
  guides(alpha = "none") +
  labs(x = "Number of Predominantly African-American Churches' Adherents per 1000 people in the county")

## `geom_smooth()` using formula 'y ~ x'

```

2012 Presidential Election Vote in Louisiana by County



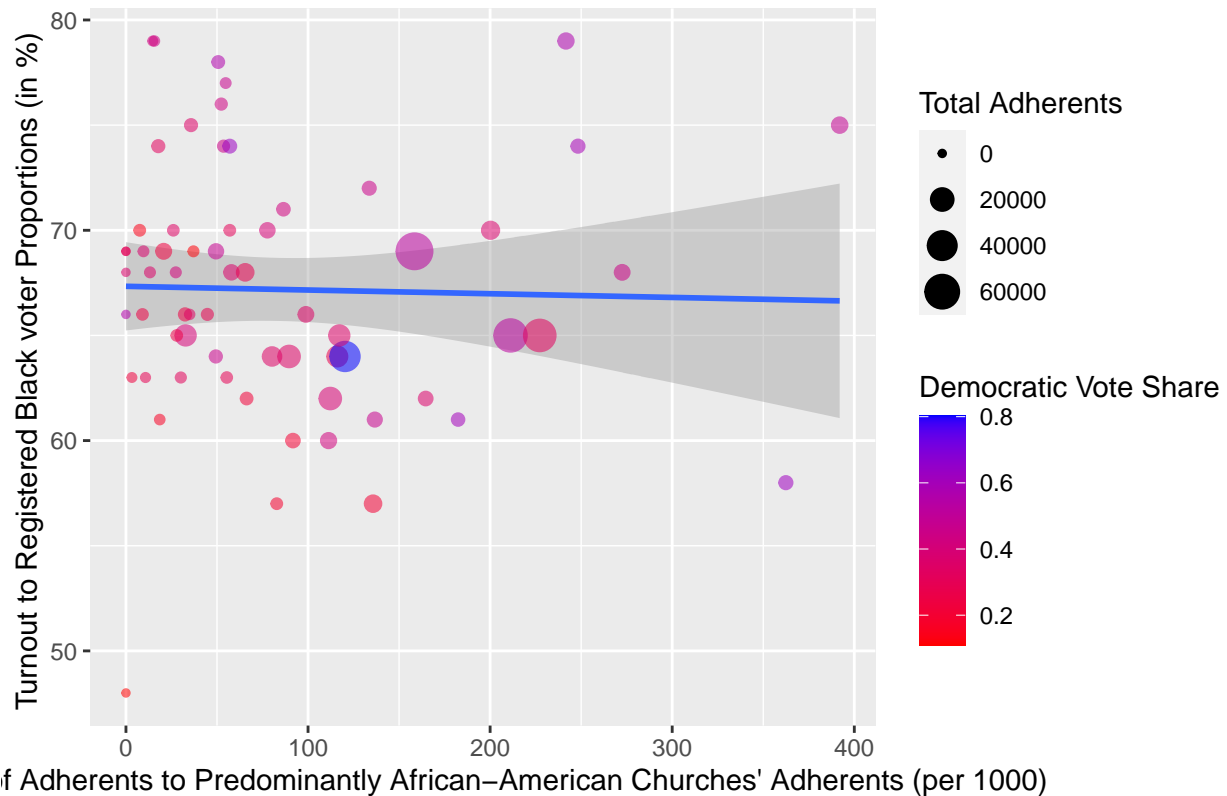
Predominantly African-American Churches' Adherents per 1000 people in the county

Plot Turnout against Rate of Adherents to Predominantly African-American Churches

```
g_turnout_LA_2012 <- ggplot(data = Louisiana_general_AA, aes(x = AA_RATE, y = Black_total_vote_prop))
g_turnout_LA_2012 +
  geom_smooth(method = "lm") +
  geom_point(aes(alpha = 0.05, color = dem_share, size = AA_ADH)) +
  guides(alpha = "none") +
  labs(x = "Rate of Adherents to Predominantly African-American Churches' Adherents (per 1000)", y = "T")
  scale_color_gradient(low = "red", high = "blue")
```

`geom_smooth()` using formula 'y ~ x'

2012 Presidential Election African-American Turnout in Louisiana by County



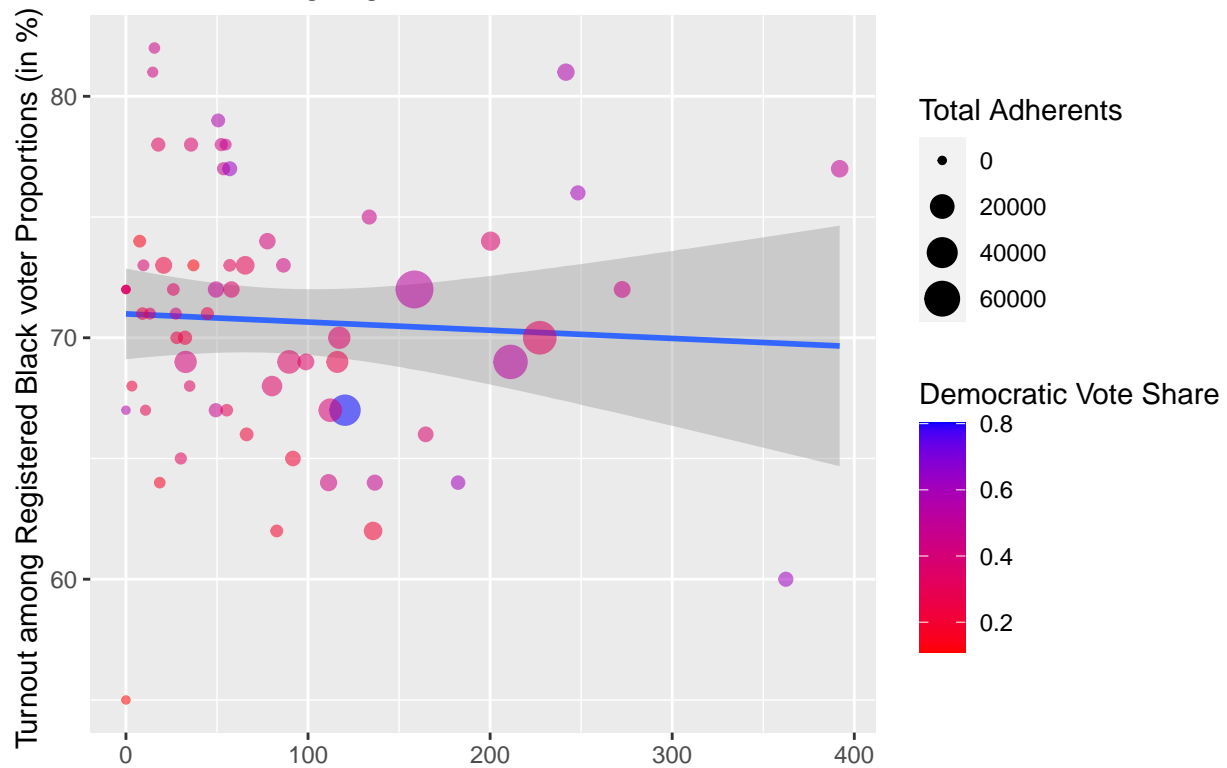
```
ggsave("louisiana_turnout.png", width = 10, height = 6)
```

```
## `geom_smooth()` using formula 'y ~ x'
```

```
g_turnout_LA_2012_dem <- ggplot(data = Louisiana_general_AA, aes(x = AA_RATE, y = Black_dem_vote_prop))
g_turnout_LA_2012_dem +
  geom_smooth(method = "lm") +
  geom_point(aes(alpha = 0.05, color = dem_share, size = AA_ADH)) +
  guides(alpha = "none") +
  labs(x = "Rate of Adherents to Predominantly African-American Churches' Adherents (per 1000)", y = "Turnout to Registered Black voter Proportions (in %)")
  scale_color_gradient(low = "red", high = "blue")
```

```
## `geom_smooth()` using formula 'y ~ x'
```

Turnout among registered African-American Democrats in Louisiana's 2012

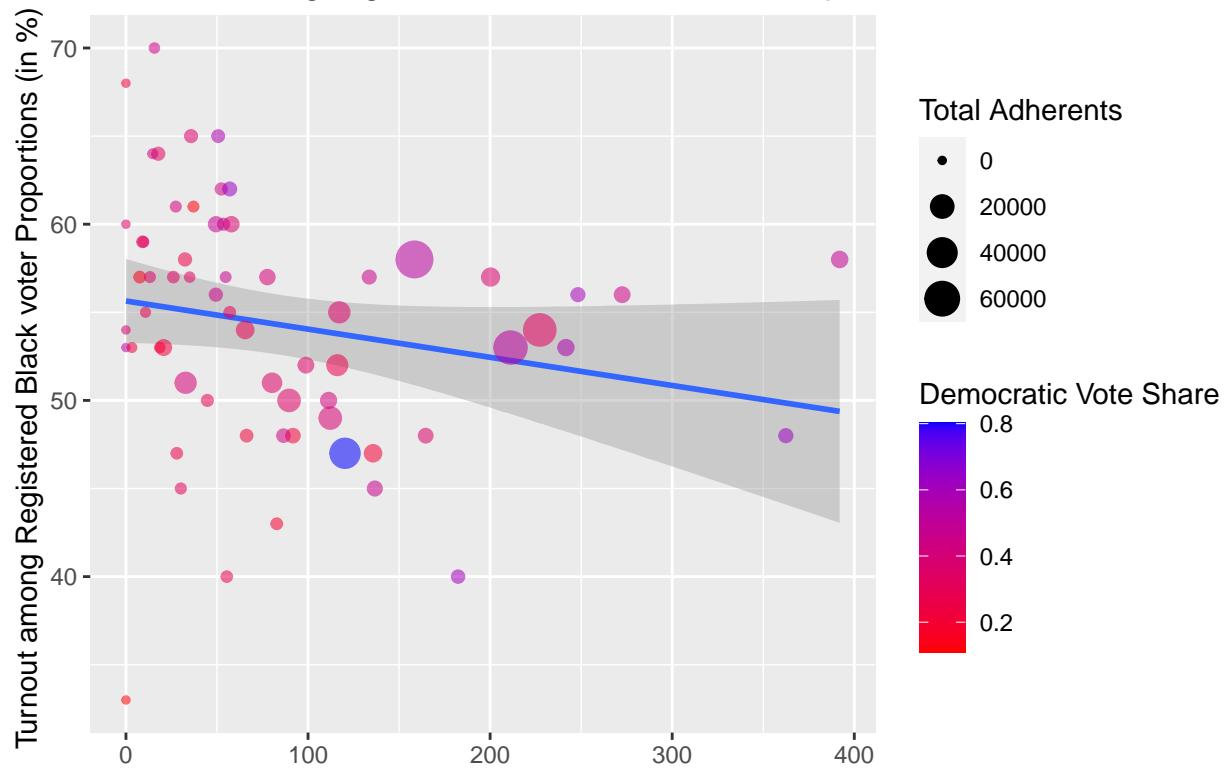


f Adherents to Predominantly African-American Churches' Adherents (per 1000)

```
g_turnout_LA_2012_rep <- ggplot(data = Louisiana_general_AA, aes(x = AA_RATE, y = Black_rep_vote_prop))
g_turnout_LA_2012_rep +
  geom_smooth(method = "lm") +
  geom_point(aes(alpha = 0.05, color = dem_share, size = AA_ADH)) +
  guides(alpha = "none") +
  labs(x = "Rate of Adherents to Predominantly African-American Churches' Adherents (per 1000)", y = "Turnout among Registered Black voter Proportions (in %)") +
  scale_color_gradient(low = "red", high = "blue")
```

```
## `geom_smooth()` using formula 'y ~ x'
```

Turnout among registered African-American Republicans in Louisiana's 201



f Adherents to Predominantly African-American Churches' Adherents (per 1000)

```
g_turnout_LA_2012_third <- ggplot(data = Louisiana_general_AA, aes(x = AA_RATE, y = Black_third_vote_pr
g_turnout_LA_2012_third +
  geom_smooth(method = "lm") +
  geom_point(aes(alpha = 0.05, color = dem_share, size = AA_ADH)) +
  guides(alpha = "none") +
  labs(x = "Rate of Adherents to Predominantly African-American Churches' Adherents (per 1000)", y = "T
  scale_color_gradient(low = "red", high = "blue")
```

```
## `geom_smooth()` using formula 'y ~ x'
```


Turnout among registered African-American Third-party voters in Louisiana

