Interim Report: Who Votes in NC?

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Introduction

The United States is getting closer to the 2020 Congressional Elections on November 3, 2020. With the current polarizing political landscape, the congressional election outcomes are significant to determine the next stage of this country. As it becomes critical for statisticians to help build forecasting models to predict the election outcomes, we need to first understand the patterns of voter turnout. Voting has special importance in democratic systems, but only about half of the eligible U.S. citizenry votes, and there are real political consequences when voters differ systematically from nonvoters (Uhlaner et al.). There has been abundant literature proving that variation in voter turnout will have electoral consequences (Hansford, et al.), in a number of ways. First of all, the media conventional wisdom is that "higher turnout benefits Democrats," although there has been mixed evidence about this theory (Weinschenk, 2019). Second, literature has proven certain demographic factors to statistically significantly benefit one party over the other, in both congressional elections and presidential races. For example, gender, race and party registration could help profile voting patterns for congressional elections (Uhlaner et al.). Election prediction models need the baseline population of voters to predict the potential outcomes, and the demographic composition of voters will directly determine the forecasting results.

Among all states, North Carolina has been as a swing state in presidential and congressional elections for decades. In 2008, Obama won the state narrowly, but lost it narrowly after 4 years in 2012. Since 1996, the Republican statewide vote share in congressional elections has varied "from a low of 45% in 2008 to a high of 55% in 2014 (Perrin et al.)." It makes North Carolina an interesting battleground in which voter demographic changes could potentially lead to significant implications of election outcomes and "an excellent site for those interested in partisan voting trends (Perrin et al.)." This report seeks to understand the voter turnout of North Carolina for 2020 NC Congressional Elections, predicting who will vote in 2020.

Data Description

We are using public data provided by the NC State Board of Elections, which can all be accessed directly at the link https://dl.ncsbe.gov/list.html. The database contains voter history information for elections within the past 10 years in the ncvhis files, and all legally available voter specific information ion the ncvoter files. The ncvoter files contain point-in-time snapshot voter registration data. For privacy concerns, names, birth dates and drivers license are not included, but the two types of files could be matched by North Carolina identification (NCID) number. The database was last updated on September 9, 2020. While we understand that voters might register later than that as the voter registration deadline for North Carolina is October 9, 2020, we believe it is sufficient to

represent the majority of NC potential voters.

From the novhis files, we only kept the voters that voted for the 2016 general election for our analysis. Studies have shown that presidential elections help mobilize voters, so voter turnout in presidential election years are significantly higher. In recent elections, voter turnout during presidential election years is around 60%, and only about 40% during midterm elections (FairVote.org). For North Carolina, voter turnout data in 2018 is also inappropriate to use because neither of North Carolina's U.S. senators nor the governor was up for reelection, further demotivated voters (Perrin et al.). From the novoter files, we filtered demographic factors that are supported by existing literature to be significant in understanding voting patterns, including gender, race, party registration, and age (Kim et al.). We also have their county and congressional district information available.

Additionally, we found relevant literature proving the relationship between voter turnout and wage (Charles et al.), so we found county-level median household income data from Economic Research Service under United States Department of Agriculture (https://www.ers.usda.gov/data-products/county-level-data-sets)

Data Munging

TO DO: more justification on grouping

After binding nowhis files and nowoter files by NCID and binding NC median household income by county, we started to process data for analysis. First of all, we identified those data points older than 116 years old and removed them as the oldest person in NC is 116 years old and anyone older should be wrong data points. Many data points are also missing congressional district information. We imputed the missing districts by matching the voter's registered county with congressional district. We removed the 4% of voters who reside in counties that span across more than one county. In the combined data set, there are party registrations for all parties, including The Libertarian Party and The Green Party. Because we are interested primarily only in the Republican Party and the Democratic Party and there are concerning class imbalance issues as the two parties take up the majority of registered voter population, we binded other parties as the third category Other for Party. Similarly, because of class imbalance, we binded the races other than White and African Americans as Other for Race as well. For those missing Gender information, we binded them with Unspecified.

Because we have eight million data points available, running models in a one-line-per-voter data set will be very computationally expensive. We instead decided to group data points by gender, race, party registration, county median income, and age, so that we can run models for the data set in a collapsed format. We divided (1) median county household income into four levels by the 25th, 50th, and 75th quantiles; (2) age into four levels for 18-29, 30-44, 45-59, and older than 60 years old, as it is a common way to analyze voter ages (McDonald, 2020); (3) gender into three categories, Female, Male and Other, and (4) race into three categories, Black, White, and Other.

EDA

Method

We will take a Bayesian approach to not only predict if a voter with a certain profile would vote, but also understand quantitatively how the geographic and demographic information of a registered voter is associated with his or her likelihood of actually casting a ballout. To model the binary outcome (vote vs not vote), we will first fit a simple logistic regression model with selected variables as a baseline for comparison. Then motivated by Y. Ghitza and A. Gelman's idea of grouping

(2013), we divide the population into mutually exclusive categories according to their demographic and geographic characteristics and fit a Bayesian model with group-level predictors as well as their interactions. With poststratification we can get average estimates for each of the subgroups.

add some Bayesian justification add priors (look at sensitivity analysis rmd)

The model takes the following form: add latex? check Amy's slide https://amy-herring.github.io/STA440/decks/glmm_01_deck.html#/section-18

```
logit(Vote) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 I(Median\ Income > 64, 509) + ...
```

In a later section, we will compare this Bayesian model with two additional models: one is a frequentist logistic regression model with the same predictors and interactions and the other a similar Bayesian model with additional random effect at the congressional district level. In this way we hope to assess if the Bayesian framework is superior than a frequentist approach when predicting voter turnout and if there is any salient unexplained variation within each congressional district. fit with whole dataset and run 5-cv for the main model.

TODO: talk about interactions – lit review justification

make: *** [foo.o] Error 1

```
binary_model <-
 brm(data = voter_grouped, family = binomial,
      votes | trials(n) ~ 1 + med_inc_binned + gender_code + race_code + age_binned + party_cd
      iter = 2500, warmup = 500, cores = 2, chains = 2,
      seed = 10)
## Compiling Stan program...
## Trying to compile a simple C file
## Running /Library/Frameworks/R.framework/Resources/bin/R CMD SHLIB foo.c
## clang -mmacosx-version-min=10.13 -I"/Library/Frameworks/R.framework/Resources/include" -DND
## In file included from <built-in>:1:
## In file included from /Users/cathylee/Library/R/4.0/library/StanHeaders/include/stan/math/p:
## In file included from /Users/cathylee/Library/R/4.0/library/RcppEigen/include/Eigen/Dense:1
## In file included from /Users/cathylee/Library/R/4.0/library/RcppEigen/include/Eigen/Core:88
## /Users/cathylee/Library/R/4.0/library/RcppEigen/include/Eigen/src/Core/util/Macros.h:613:1:
## namespace Eigen {
##
## /Users/cathylee/Library/R/4.0/library/RcppEigen/include/Eigen/src/Core/util/Macros.h:613:16
## namespace Eigen {
##
##
## In file included from <built-in>:1:
## In file included from /Users/cathylee/Library/R/4.0/library/StanHeaders/include/stan/math/p:
## In file included from /Users/cathylee/Library/R/4.0/library/RcppEigen/include/Eigen/Dense:1
## /Users/cathylee/Library/R/4.0/library/RcppEigen/include/Eigen/Core:96:10: fatal error: 'com
## #include <complex>
##
## 3 errors generated.
```

Start sampling

```
#summary(binary_model)
#saveRDS(binary_model, "grouped_model_no_randeff_whole_dataset.rds")
```

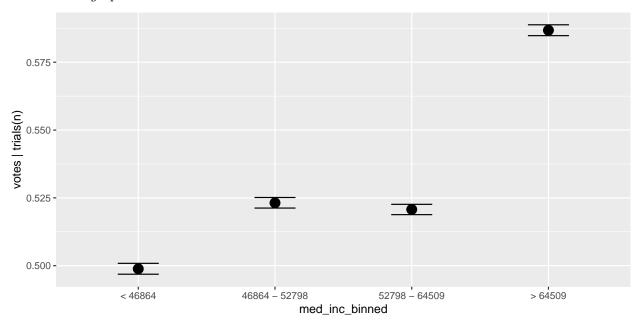
Results and Interpretations

TO DO: try to make this side by side

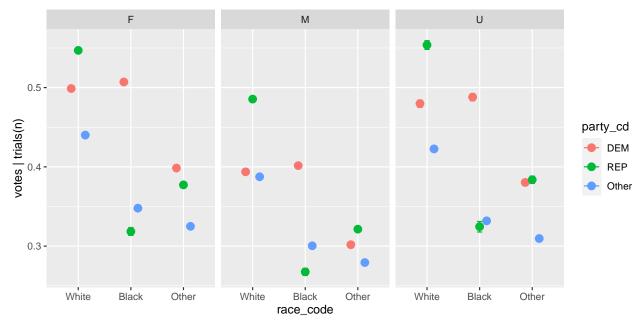
	Estimate	Std. Error	2.5% Quantile	97.5% Quantile
Intercept	0.00	0.00	-0.01	0.00
Median Income $> 64,509$	0.10	0.00	0.09	0.10
Median Income 46,864-52,798	0.09	0.00	0.08	0.09
Median Income 52,798-64,509	0.36	0.00	0.35	0.36
Gender Male	-0.43	0.00	-0.44	-0.42
Gender Unspecified	-0.08	0.01	-0.09	-0.06
Race Black	0.03	0.00	0.03	0.04
Race Other	-0.41	0.00	-0.42	-0.40
Age 30-44	0.62	0.00	0.61	0.63
Age 45-59	1.08	0.00	1.07	1.09
Age 60+	0.94	0.00	0.93	0.95
Party Republican	0.19	0.01	0.18	0.20
Party Other	-0.24	0.00	-0.25	-0.23
Gender Male:Party Republican	0.18	0.00	0.17	0.19
Gender Unspecified:Party Republican	0.10	0.01	0.08	0.13
Gender Male:Party Other	0.21	0.00	0.20	0.22
Gender Unspecified:Party Other	0.01	0.01	-0.01	0.02
Race Black:Party Republican	-0.98	0.01	-1.00	-0.96
Race Other:Party Republican	-0.28	0.01	-0.30	-0.27
Race Black:Party Other	-0.42	0.01	-0.43	-0.41
Race Other:Party Other	-0.08	0.01	-0.10	-0.07
Gender Male:Age 30-44	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.03
Gender Unspecified:Age 30-44	-0.41	0.01	-0.43	-0.40
Gender Male:Age 45-59	0.11	0.00	0.10	0.12
Gender Unspecified:Age 45-59	-0.60	0.01	-0.62	-0.58
Gender Male:Age 60+	0.25	0.00	0.24	0.26
Gender Unspecified:Age 60+	-0.47	0.01	-0.50	-0.45
Age 30-44:Party Republican	0.04	0.01	0.03	0.05
Age 45-59:Party Republican	-0.05	0.01	-0.06	-0.04
Age 60+:Party Republican	-0.06	0.01	-0.07	-0.05
Age 30-44:Party Other	0.05	0.01	0.04	0.06
Age 45-59:Party Other	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.02
Age 60+:Party Other	0.27	0.01	0.25	0.28

TODO: talk about small SE (no identifiability issues!! goodness of fit) and say which are significant (credible interval doesn't contain 0), "other" level is not super informative anyway

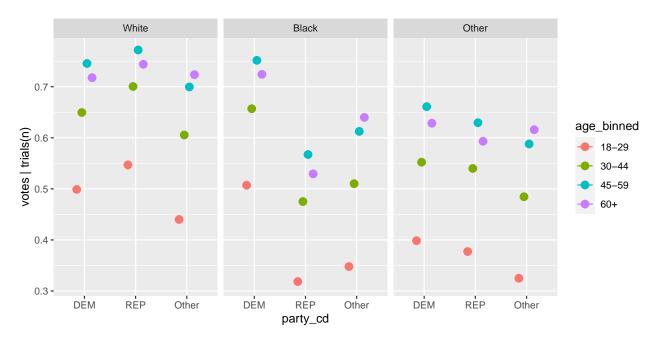
TODO: label graphs



From the plot above, we see that the expected probability of voting is generally greater that 50% for all median household income levels, but tends to increase as median household income increases, holding all other attributes constant (age, gender, race, party).



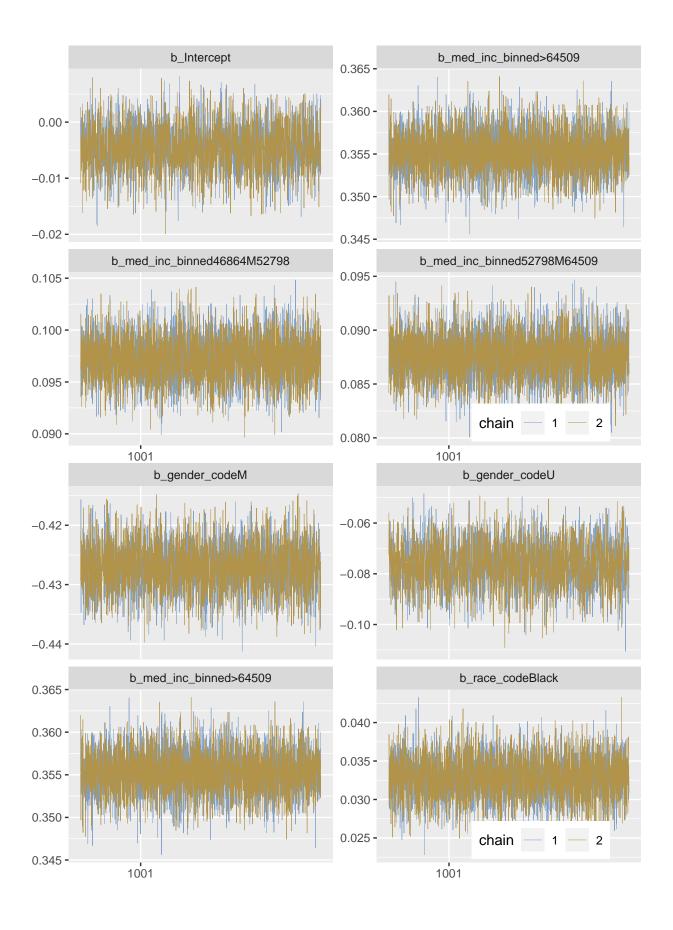
We can interpret each point in the plot above as follows: holding median household income at baseline (less than \$46,864) and age at baseline (ages 18-29), the y-axis value is the expected probability that a person of a particular race (x-axis), party (color), and gender (facet) votes. For example, the expected probability that a black, male, Democrat votes is 0.4, whereas the expected probability that a black, male, Republican votes is approximately 0.28. We can also see that women, regardless of race and party, are expected to be more likely to vote than men.

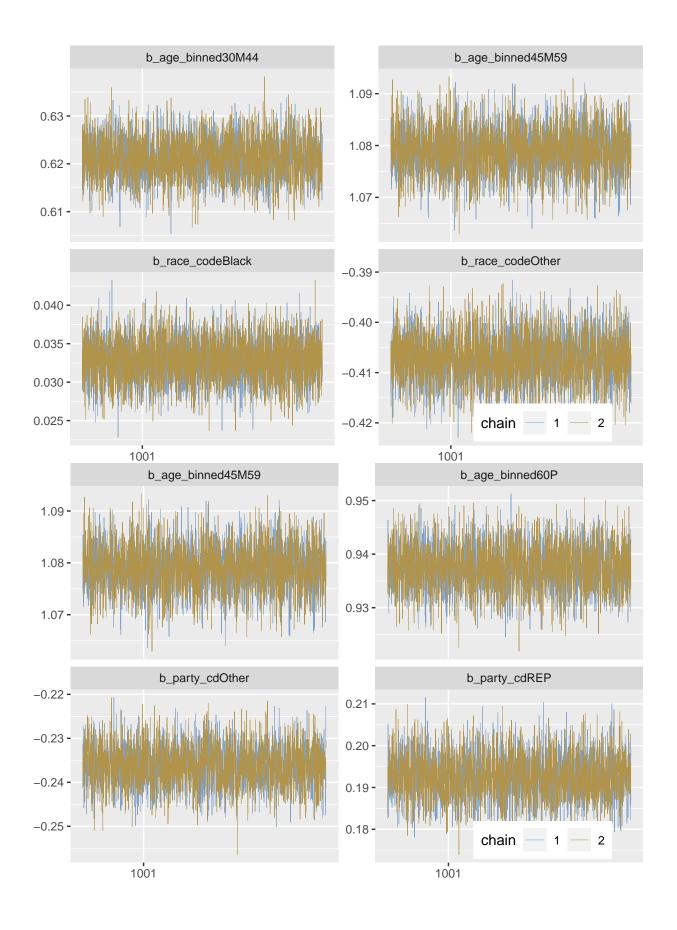


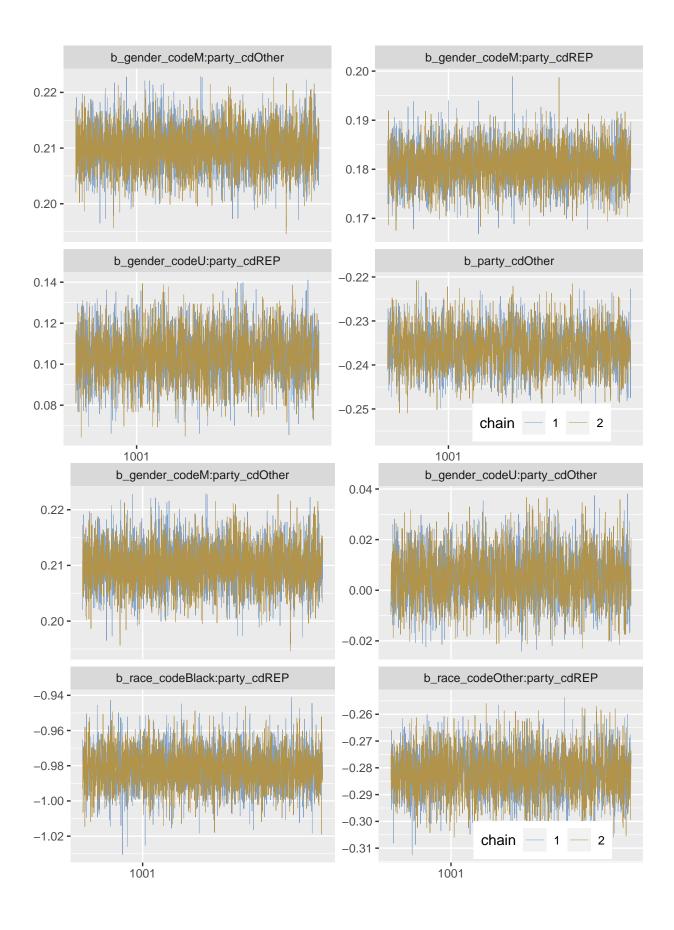
In the plot above, holding median household income at baseline (less than \$46,864) and gender at baseline (female), the expected probability of voting for white Democrats across all age groups is less than that for white Republicans. However, the expected probability of voting among black Democrats across all age groups is higher than that among black Republicans.

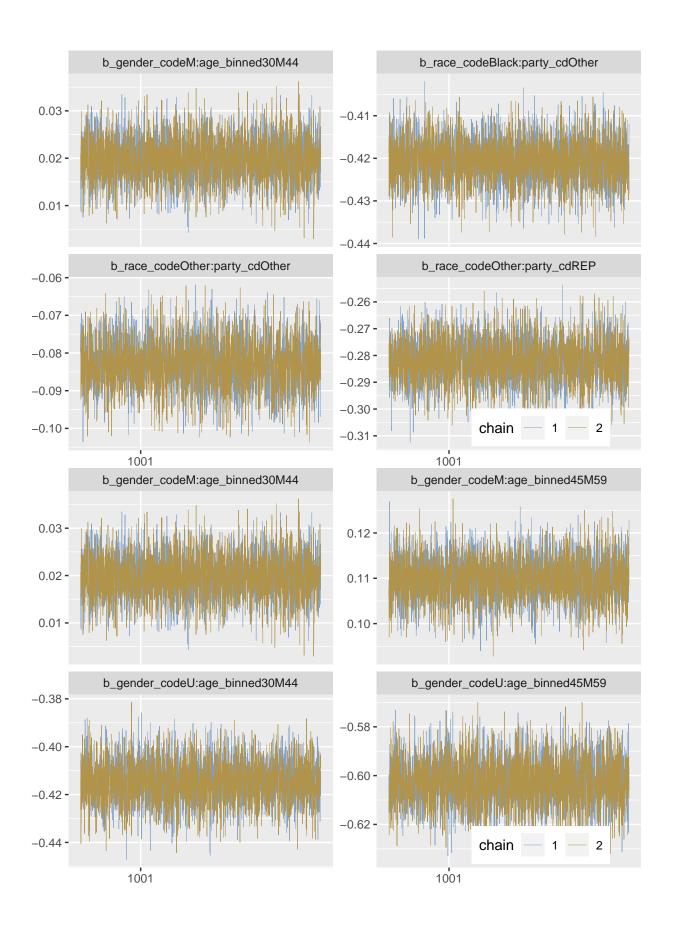
Model Validation

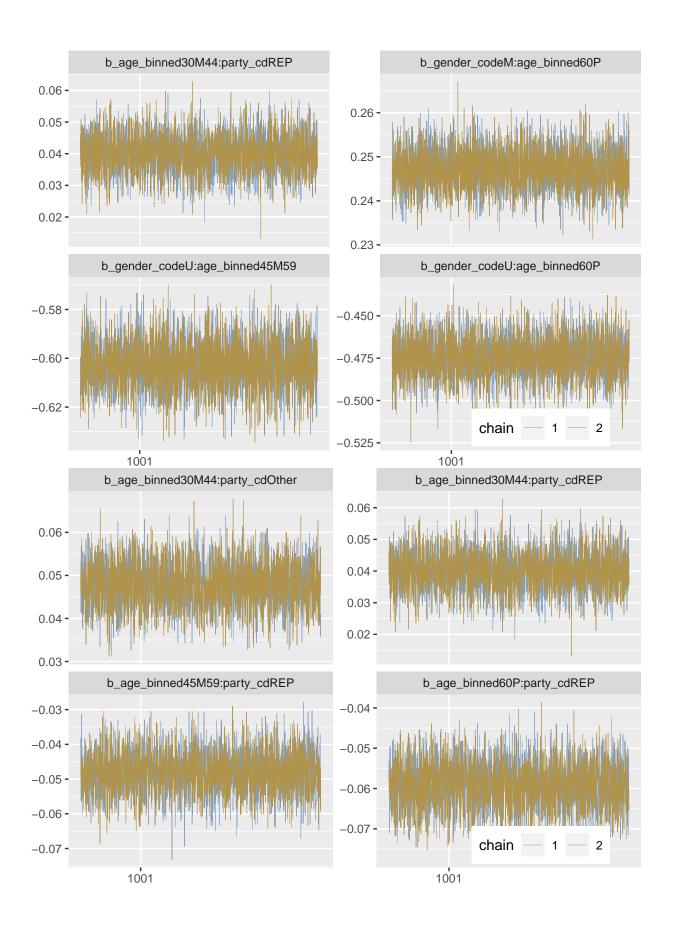
Most of the standardized residuals are within +/-2, but there are some points that have somewhat larger values. This means that for the majority of the groupings, the model predicts fairly well.











Sensitivity Analysis

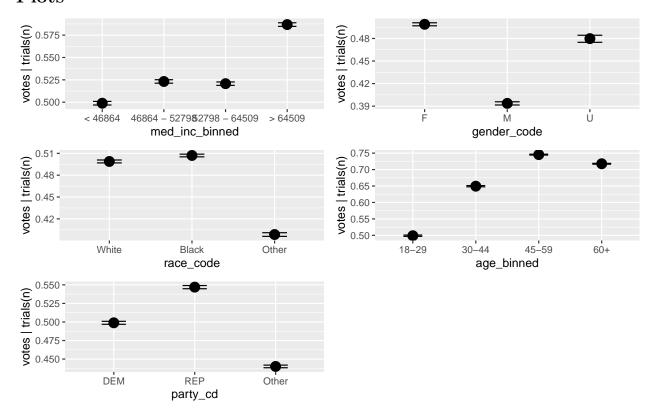
[1] 25039.1

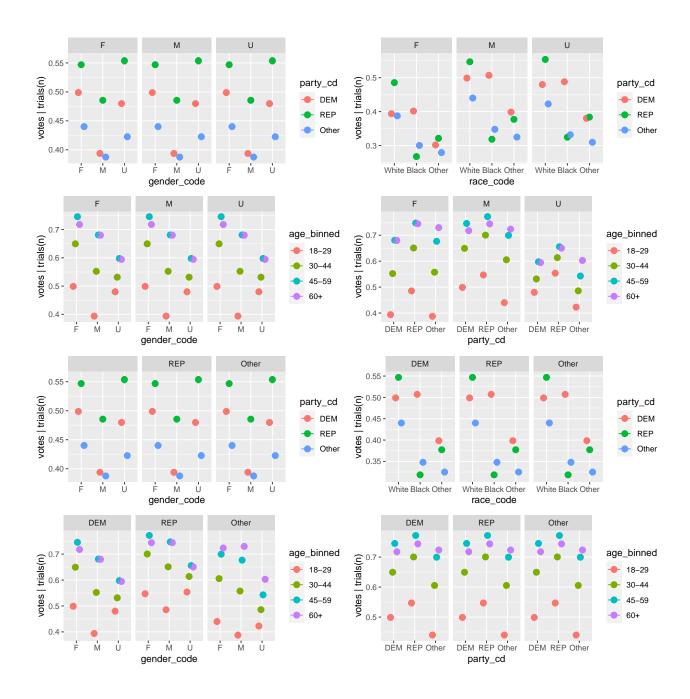
[1] 83471.66

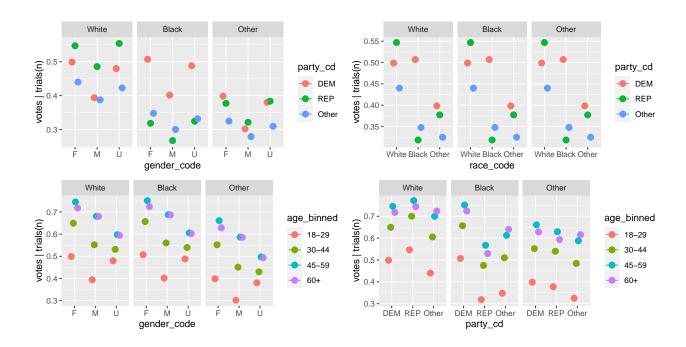
TODO: add some sentences

Appendix

Plots







Sensitivity Analysis

```
priors <- c(set_prior("normal(0,3)", class = "Intercept"),</pre>
            set_prior("normal(0,3)", class = "b"),
            set_prior("normal(0.5,3)", class = "b", coef = "age_binned30M44"),
            set_prior("normal(0.75,3)", class = "b", coef = "age_binned45M59"),
            set_prior("normal(1,3)", class = "b", coef = "age_binned60P"),
            set_prior("normal(-0.5,3)", class = "b", coef = "gender_codeM" ),
            set_prior("normal(-0.5,3)", class = "b", coef = "race_codeBlack" ),
            set_prior("normal(-1,3)", class = "b", coef = "race_codeOther" ),
            set_prior("normal(-0.5,3)", class = "b", coef = "party_cdOther" ),
            set_prior("normal(0.5,3)", class = "b", coef = "med_inc_binned46864M52798" ),
            set_prior("normal(0.5,3)", class = "b", coef = "med_inc_binned52798M64509"),
            set_prior("normal(1,3)", class = "b", coef = "med_inc_binned>64509" ))
binary_model_newpriors <-
  brm(data = voter_grouped, family = binomial,
      votes | trials(n) ~ 1 + med_inc_binned + gender_code + race_code + age_binned + party_cd
      iter = 2500, warmup = 500, cores = 2, chains = 2,
      seed = 10,
      prior=priors)
```

- ## Compiling Stan program...
- ## Trying to compile a simple C file
- ## Running /Library/Frameworks/R.framework/Resources/bin/R CMD SHLIB foo.c
- ## clang -mmacosx-version-min=10.13 -I"/Library/Frameworks/R.framework/Resources/include" -DND
- ## In file included from <built-in>:1:

```
## In file included from /Users/cathylee/Library/R/4.0/library/StanHeaders/include/stan/math/p:
## In file included from /Users/cathylee/Library/R/4.0/library/RcppEigen/include/Eigen/Dense:1
## In file included from /Users/cathylee/Library/R/4.0/library/RcppEigen/include/Eigen/Core:88
## /Users/cathylee/Library/R/4.0/library/RcppEigen/include/Eigen/src/Core/util/Macros.h:613:1:
## namespace Eigen {
##
## /Users/cathylee/Library/R/4.0/library/RcppEigen/include/Eigen/src/Core/util/Macros.h:613:16
## namespace Eigen {
##
##
## In file included from <built-in>:1:
## In file included from /Users/cathylee/Library/R/4.0/library/StanHeaders/include/stan/math/p
## In file included from /Users/cathylee/Library/R/4.0/library/RcppEigen/include/Eigen/Dense:1
## /Users/cathylee/Library/R/4.0/library/RcppEigen/include/Eigen/Core:96:10: fatal error: 'com
## #include <complex>
            ^~~~~~~
##
## 3 errors generated.
## make: *** [foo.o] Error 1
## Start sampling
summary(binary_model_newpriors)
   Family: binomial
##
     Links: mu = logit
## Formula: votes | trials(n) ~ 1 + med_inc_binned + gender_code + race_code + age_binned + par
      Data: voter_grouped (Number of observations: 432)
## Samples: 2 chains, each with iter = 2500; warmup = 500; thin = 1;
##
            total post-warmup samples = 4000
##
## Population-Level Effects:
##
                                  Estimate Est.Error 1-95% CI u-95% CI Rhat
## Intercept
                                     -0.00
                                                0.00
                                                        -0.01
                                                                   0.00 1.00
## med_inc_binned46864M52798
                                      0.10
                                                0.00
                                                         0.09
                                                                   0.10 1.00
## med_inc_binned52798M64509
                                      0.09
                                                0.00
                                                         0.08
                                                                   0.09 1.00
                                                                   0.36 1.00
## med_inc_binned>64509
                                      0.36
                                                0.00
                                                         0.35
## gender_codeM
                                     -0.43
                                                0.00
                                                        -0.44
                                                                  -0.421.00
## gender_codeU
                                                        -0.09
                                                                  -0.06 1.00
                                     -0.08
                                                0.01
## race_codeBlack
                                                                   0.04 1.00
                                      0.03
                                                0.00
                                                         0.03
## race_codeOther
                                     -0.41
                                                0.00
                                                        -0.42
                                                                  -0.401.00
## age_binned30M44
                                      0.62
                                                0.00
                                                         0.61
                                                                   0.63 1.00
## age_binned45M59
                                      1.08
                                                0.00
                                                         1.07
                                                                   1.09 1.00
## age_binned60P
                                      0.94
                                                0.00
                                                         0.93
                                                                   0.95 1.00
## party_cdREP
                                      0.19
                                                0.01
                                                         0.18
                                                                   0.20 1.00
## party_cdOther
                                     -0.24
                                                        -0.25
                                                                  -0.23 1.00
                                                0.00
## gender_codeM:party_cdREP
                                                                   0.19 1.00
                                                         0.17
                                      0.18
                                                0.00
## gender_codeU:party_cdREP
                                      0.10
                                                0.01
                                                         0.08
                                                                   0.13 1.00
## gender_codeM:party_cdOther
                                      0.21
                                                0.00
                                                         0.20
                                                                   0.22 1.00
## gender_codeU:party_cdOther
                                      0.01
                                                0.01
                                                        -0.01
                                                                   0.03 1.00
```

```
## race_codeBlack:party_cdREP
                                      -0.98
                                                  0.01
                                                          -1.00
                                                                    -0.961.00
## race_codeOther:party_cdREP
                                      -0.28
                                                  0.01
                                                          -0.30
                                                                    -0.27 1.00
## race_codeBlack:party_cdOther
                                      -0.42
                                                          -0.43
                                                                    -0.41 1.00
                                                  0.01
## race_codeOther:party_cdOther
                                                          -0.10
                                                                    -0.07 1.00
                                      -0.08
                                                  0.01
## gender codeM:age binned30M44
                                       0.02
                                                  0.00
                                                           0.01
                                                                     0.03 1.00
  gender codeU:age binned30M44
                                      -0.41
                                                  0.01
                                                          -0.43
                                                                    -0.401.00
## gender codeM:age binned45M59
                                       0.11
                                                  0.00
                                                           0.10
                                                                     0.12 1.00
  gender_codeU:age_binned45M59
                                      -0.60
                                                  0.01
                                                          -0.62
                                                                    -0.58 1.00
## gender codeM:age binned60P
                                       0.25
                                                  0.00
                                                           0.24
                                                                     0.26 1.00
                                                  0.01
## gender_codeU:age_binned60P
                                      -0.47
                                                          -0.50
                                                                    -0.451.00
## age_binned30M44:party_cdREP
                                       0.04
                                                           0.03
                                                                     0.05 1.00
                                                  0.01
## age_binned45M59:party_cdREP
                                      -0.05
                                                  0.01
                                                          -0.06
                                                                    -0.041.00
## age_binned60P:party_cdREP
                                                          -0.07
                                                                    -0.05 1.00
                                      -0.06
                                                  0.01
## age_binned30M44:party_cd0ther
                                       0.05
                                                  0.01
                                                           0.04
                                                                     0.06 1.00
## age_binned45M59:party_cdOther
                                       0.01
                                                  0.01
                                                          -0.00
                                                                     0.02 1.00
  age_binned60P:party_cd0ther
                                                           0.25
                                                                     0.28 1.00
                                       0.27
                                                  0.01
##
                                   Bulk_ESS Tail_ESS
## Intercept
                                       2036
                                                 3104
  med_inc_binned46864M52798
                                       5855
                                                 3291
## med inc binned52798M64509
                                                 3436
                                       5677
## med inc binned>64509
                                       6194
                                                 3170
  gender codeM
                                       2907
                                                 3038
## gender_codeU
                                       1838
                                                 2443
## race_codeBlack
                                       4241
                                                 3443
                                       2351
                                                 2598
## race_codeOther
## age_binned30M44
                                       2764
                                                 3113
## age_binned45M59
                                       2703
                                                 3098
## age_binned60P
                                       2375
                                                 3003
  party_cdREP
                                       2243
                                                 2787
## party_cdOther
                                       2114
                                                 3196
   gender_codeM:party_cdREP
                                       5297
                                                 3278
## gender_codeU:party_cdREP
                                       2348
                                                 2683
## gender_codeM:party_cdOther
                                       5240
                                                 3574
## gender_codeU:party_cdOther
                                       2107
                                                 2633
## race codeBlack:party cdREP
                                       4066
                                                 2973
## race codeOther:party cdREP
                                       2560
                                                 3029
## race codeBlack:party cdOther
                                       4980
                                                 2779
## race_codeOther:party_cdOther
                                       2479
                                                 2838
## gender_codeM:age_binned30M44
                                       3465
                                                 3404
## gender_codeU:age_binned30M44
                                       3147
                                                 3088
                                                 3211
## gender_codeM:age_binned45M59
                                       3461
## gender_codeU:age_binned45M59
                                       3459
                                                 3050
## gender_codeM:age_binned60P
                                       3491
                                                 3360
## gender_codeU:age_binned60P
                                       3785
                                                 2765
## age_binned30M44:party_cdREP
                                       2858
                                                 2912
## age_binned45M59:party_cdREP
                                       3078
                                                 2974
## age_binned60P:party_cdREP
                                       2593
                                                 2890
## age_binned30M44:party_cd0ther
                                       3087
                                                 3210
```

```
## age_binned45M59:party_cd0ther
                                               3075
                                      2845
## age_binned60P:party_cd0ther
                                      2619
                                               2528
## Samples were drawn using sampling(NUTS). For each parameter, Bulk_ESS
## and Tail ESS are effective sample size measures, and Rhat is the potential
## scale reduction factor on split chains (at convergence, Rhat = 1).
#prior_summary(binary_model_newpriors)
#saveRDS(binary_model_newpriors, "grouped_model_no_randeff_newpriors_whole_dataset.rds")
summary(randeff_model)
  Family: binomial
##
     Links: mu = logit
##
## Formula: votes | trials(n) ~ 1 + med_inc_binned + gender_code + race_code + age_binned + par
      Data: voter_grouped_sa (Number of observations: 3752)
## Samples: 2 chains, each with iter = 4500; warmup = 500; thin = 1;
##
            total post-warmup samples = 8000
##
## Group-Level Effects:
## ~cong_dist_abbrv (Number of levels: 13)
##
                 Estimate Est.Error 1-95% CI u-95% CI Rhat Bulk_ESS Tail_ESS
                     0.16
                                0.04
                                         0.11
                                                  0.25 1.00
                                                                 1268
                                                                          2043
## sd(Intercept)
##
## Population-Level Effects:
##
                                  Estimate Est.Error 1-95% CI u-95% CI Rhat
## Intercept
                                      0.03
                                                0.05
                                                         -0.06
                                                                   0.12 1.00
## med_inc_binned46864_52798
                                      0.02
                                                0.00
                                                         0.02
                                                                   0.03 1.00
## med_inc_binned52798_64509
                                      0.09
                                                0.00
                                                         0.09
                                                                   0.10 1.00
## med_inc_binned>64509
                                                         0.22
                                                                   0.24 1.00
                                      0.23
                                                0.00
## gender_codeM
                                     -0.43
                                                0.00
                                                         -0.44
                                                                  -0.421.00
## gender_codeU
                                     -0.08
                                                0.01
                                                         -0.10
                                                                  -0.071.00
## race_codeBlack
                                      0.01
                                                0.00
                                                         0.01
                                                                   0.02 1.00
## race_codeOther
                                     -0.41
                                                0.00
                                                         -0.42
                                                                  -0.41 1.00
## age_binned30M44
                                      0.63
                                                0.00
                                                         0.62
                                                                   0.64 1.00
## age_binned45M59
                                      1.09
                                                0.00
                                                         1.08
                                                                   1.10 1.00
## age_binned60P
                                      0.96
                                                0.00
                                                         0.95
                                                                   0.97 1.00
## party_cdOther
                                                         -0.23
                                     -0.22
                                                0.00
                                                                  -0.21 1.00
## party_cdREP
                                      0.21
                                                0.01
                                                         0.20
                                                                   0.22 1.00
## gender_codeM:party_cdOther
                                      0.21
                                                         0.20
                                                                   0.22 1.00
                                                0.00
## gender_codeU:party_cdOther
                                      0.01
                                                0.01
                                                         -0.01
                                                                   0.03 1.00
## gender_codeM:party_cdREP
                                      0.18
                                                0.00
                                                         0.17
                                                                   0.19 1.00
## gender_codeU:party_cdREP
                                      0.10
                                                0.01
                                                         0.08
                                                                   0.13 1.00
## race_codeBlack:party_cdOther
                                     -0.42
                                                0.01
                                                         -0.43
                                                                  -0.41 1.00
## race_codeOther:party_cdOther
                                                                  -0.08 1.00
                                     -0.09
                                                0.01
                                                         -0.10
## race_codeBlack:party_cdREP
                                     -0.98
                                                0.01
                                                         -1.00
                                                                  -0.96 1.00
## race_codeOther:party_cdREP
                                     -0.27
                                                0.01
                                                         -0.29
                                                                  -0.261.00
## gender_codeM:age_binned30M44
                                      0.02
                                                0.00
                                                         0.01
                                                                   0.03 1.00
```

0.01

-0.42

-0.39 1.00

-0.41

gender_codeU:age_binned30M44

```
## gender_codeM:age_binned45M59
                                                 0.00
                                       0.11
                                                           0.10
                                                                    0.12 1.00
## gender_codeU:age_binned45M59
                                      -0.59
                                                 0.01
                                                          -0.61
                                                                   -0.57 1.00
## gender_codeM:age_binned60P
                                                 0.00
                                       0.25
                                                           0.24
                                                                    0.26 1.00
## gender_codeU:age_binned60P
                                                          -0.49
                                      -0.46
                                                 0.01
                                                                   -0.441.00
## age binned30M44:party cd0ther
                                       0.05
                                                 0.01
                                                           0.03
                                                                    0.06 1.00
## age binned45M59:party cdOther
                                       0.00
                                                 0.01
                                                          -0.01
                                                                    0.01 1.00
## age binned60P:party cd0ther
                                       0.27
                                                 0.01
                                                           0.26
                                                                    0.28 1.00
## age binned30M44:party cdREP
                                       0.04
                                                 0.01
                                                           0.02
                                                                    0.05 1.00
## age binned45M59:party cdREP
                                      -0.06
                                                 0.01
                                                          -0.07
                                                                   -0.05 1.00
## age_binned60P:party_cdREP
                                      -0.08
                                                 0.01
                                                          -0.09
                                                                    -0.06 1.00
##
                                  Bulk_ESS Tail_ESS
## Intercept
                                       1025
                                                1824
## med_inc_binned46864_52798
                                                7053
                                      11878
## med_inc_binned52798_64509
                                      11027
                                                6531
## med_inc_binned>64509
                                      11415
                                                5995
## gender_codeM
                                       6304
                                                5774
## gender_codeU
                                       4267
                                                5025
## race_codeBlack
                                                7074
                                       8513
## race_codeOther
                                       5986
                                                5971
                                       4903
                                                5442
## age binned30M44
## age binned45M59
                                       4843
                                                5678
## age binned60P
                                       4813
                                                5598
## party_cdOther
                                       4616
                                                5837
## party_cdREP
                                       4437
                                                5583
## gender_codeM:party_cdOther
                                      10123
                                                5857
## gender_codeU:party_cdOther
                                       4914
                                                5237
## gender_codeM:party_cdREP
                                      10170
                                                5624
## gender_codeU:party_cdREP
                                       5209
                                                6028
## race_codeBlack:party_cdOther
                                       8613
                                                6428
## race_codeOther:party_cdOther
                                       6368
                                                5780
## race_codeBlack:party_cdREP
                                       8085
                                                5355
## race_codeOther:party_cdREP
                                       6167
                                                5850
## gender_codeM:age_binned30M44
                                       6490
                                                6022
## gender_codeU:age_binned30M44
                                       6527
                                                5825
## gender codeM:age binned45M59
                                                5924
                                       6816
## gender codeU:age binned45M59
                                       7111
                                                6226
## gender codeM:age binned60P
                                       6899
                                                6144
## gender codeU:age binned60P
                                       7054
                                                5635
## age_binned30M44:party_cd0ther
                                       5101
                                                5844
## age_binned45M59:party_cdOther
                                       5379
                                                6185
## age_binned60P:party_cd0ther
                                       5422
                                                6462
## age_binned30M44:party_cdREP
                                       5300
                                                6127
## age_binned45M59:party_cdREP
                                                5740
                                       4888
## age_binned60P:party_cdREP
                                       4919
                                                5673
##
## Samples were drawn using sampling(NUTS). For each parameter, Bulk ESS
## and Tail_ESS are effective sample size measures, and Rhat is the potential
```

scale reduction factor on split chains (at convergence, Rhat = 1).

```
summary(freq_model)
##
## Call:
## glm(formula = cbind(votes, n - votes) ~ med_inc_binned + gender_code +
       race_code + age_binned + party_cd + gender_code:party_cd +
##
       race_code:party_cd + gender_code:age_binned + party_cd:age_binned,
##
##
       family = "binomial", data = voter_grouped)
##
## Deviance Residuals:
##
        Min
                   1Q
                         Median
                                       3Q
                                                Max
## -26.1320
              -3.2901
                        -0.1832
                                   3.1721
                                            21.6650
##
## Coefficients:
##
                                  Estimate Std. Error z value Pr(>|z|)
## (Intercept)
                                 -0.004655
                                             0.004044
                                                        -1.151
                                                                   0.250
## med_inc_binned46864 - 52798
                                                        43.055 < 2e-16 ***
                                  0.097287
                                             0.002260
## med inc binned52798 - 64509
                                  0.087593
                                             0.002144
                                                        40.858
                                                                < 2e-16 ***
## med_inc_binned> 64509
                                  0.355307
                                             0.002584 137.505
                                                                 < 2e-16 ***
## gender_codeM
                                 -0.427075
                                             0.004135 -103.295
                                                                 < 2e-16 ***
## gender_codeU
                                 -0.076579
                                             0.009172
                                                        -8.349
                                                                < 2e-16 ***
## race_codeBlack
                                  0.032890
                                             0.002849
                                                        11.543
                                                                < 2e-16 ***
                                             0.004838 -84.162 < 2e-16 ***
## race_codeOther
                                 -0.407169
## age_binned30-44
                                  0.621153
                                             0.004370
                                                       142.143
                                                                < 2e-16 ***
## age_binned45-59
                                  1.079045
                                             0.004457
                                                       242.121
                                                                 < 2e-16 ***
## age_binned60+
                                             0.004250
                                                       220.611
                                                                 < 2e-16 ***
                                  0.937577
## party_cdREP
                                  0.192797
                                             0.005219
                                                        36.939
                                                                 < 2e-16 ***
## party_cdOther
                                 -0.236224
                                             0.004684 -50.432
                                                                < 2e-16 ***
## gender_codeM:party_cdREP
                                  0.180748
                                             0.004127
                                                        43.798 < 2e-16 ***
## gender_codeU:party_cdREP
                                             0.012238
                                                         8.526 < 2e-16 ***
                                  0.104340
## gender_codeM:party_cdOther
                                                                < 2e-16 ***
                                  0.210030
                                             0.004001
                                                        52.489
## gender_codeU:party_cdOther
                                             0.010015
                                                                   0.564
                                  0.005784
                                                         0.577
## race codeBlack:party cdREP
                                             0.011422 -85.972 < 2e-16 ***
                                 -0.981962
## race_codeOther:party_cdREP
                                 -0.282242
                                             0.008327
                                                       -33.896
                                                                < 2e-16 ***
## race_codeBlack:party_cdOther
                                 -0.420549
                                             0.005216
                                                       -80.624
                                                                < 2e-16 ***
## race_codeOther:party_cdOther
                                 -0.083115
                                             0.006562 -12.667
                                                                < 2e-16 ***
## gender_codeM:age_binned30-44
                                  0.019943
                                             0.004774
                                                         4.178 2.94e-05 ***
## gender_codeU:age_binned30-44
                                             0.009339 -44.396
                                                                < 2e-16 ***
                                 -0.414602
## gender_codeM:age_binned45-59
                                             0.004851
                                                        22.679
                                  0.110012
                                                                < 2e-16 ***
## gender_codeU:age_binned45-59
                                 -0.602838
                                             0.010334 -58.335 < 2e-16 ***
## gender_codeM:age_binned60+
                                                        51.922
                                                                < 2e-16 ***
                                  0.247269
                                             0.004762
## gender_codeU:age_binned60+
                                 -0.474441
                                             0.012201
                                                       -38.887
                                                                < 2e-16 ***
## age_binned30-44:party_cdREP
                                  0.040026
                                             0.006088
                                                         6.575 4.87e-11 ***
## age_binned45-59:party_cdREP
                                 -0.048105
                                             0.005980
                                                        -8.044 8.69e-16 ***
## age_binned60+:party_cdREP
                                 -0.059120
                                             0.005802 -10.189
                                                                < 2e-16 ***
                                                         9.052 < 2e-16 ***
## age_binned30-44:party_cd0ther 0.047938
                                             0.005296
```

freq_model = glm(cbind(votes, n-votes) ~ med_inc_binned + gender_code + race_code + age_binned

```
## age_binned45-59:party_cdOther 0.007212
                                                         1.300
                                                                   0.194
                                             0.005547
## age_binned60+:party_cd0ther
                                  0.265494
                                             0.005650
                                                        46.988
                                                                < 2e-16 ***
## ---
## Signif. codes: 0 '*** 0.001 '** 0.01 '* 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1
##
##
  (Dispersion parameter for binomial family taken to be 1)
##
##
       Null deviance: 547088
                              on 431
                                      degrees of freedom
                                      degrees of freedom
## Residual deviance: 18738
                              on 399
## ATC: 22590
##
## Number of Fisher Scoring iterations: 3
confint(freq_model)
## Waiting for profiling to be done...
                                        2.5 %
##
                                                    97.5 %
## (Intercept)
                                 -0.012580887
                                               0.003271585
## med_inc_binned46864 - 52798
                                  0.092857831
                                               0.101715345
## med_inc_binned52798 - 64509
                                  0.083390913 0.091794588
## med_inc_binned> 64509
                                  0.350242632 0.360371565
## gender_codeM
                                 -0.435179396 -0.418972345
## gender_codeU
                                 -0.094557946 -0.058602900
## race_codeBlack
                                  0.027305673 0.038474958
## race_codeOther
                                 -0.416650724 -0.397686413
                                  0.612588502 0.629718264
## age_binned30-44
## age_binned45-59
                                  1.070311151 1.087780841
## age_binned60+
                                  0.929247951 0.945907334
## party_cdREP
                                  0.182567942 0.203027631
## party cdOther
                                 -0.245404309 -0.227043457
## gender_codeM:party_cdREP
                                  0.172659271 0.188836408
## gender codeU:party cdREP
                                  0.080355176 0.128326133
## gender_codeM:party_cdOther
                                  0.202187403 0.217872600
## gender_codeU:party_cdOther
                                 -0.013846738 0.025412840
## race_codeBlack:party_cdREP
                                 -1.004353225 -0.959579957
## race_codeOther:party_cdREP
                                 -0.298561289 -0.265920746
## race_codeBlack:party_cdOther
                                 -0.430773162 -0.410325971
## race_codeOther:party_cdOther
                                 -0.095975454 -0.070254725
## gender_codeM:age_binned30-44
                                  0.010586898 0.029299569
## gender_codeU:age_binned30-44
                                 -0.432905359 -0.396298369
## gender_codeM:age_binned45-59
                                  0.100504390 0.119519467
## gender_codeU:age_binned45-59
                                 -0.623090454 -0.582581831
## gender_codeM:age_binned60+
                                  0.237935226 0.256603297
## gender_codeU:age_binned60+
                                 -0.498349024 -0.450523254
## age binned30-44:party cdREP
                                  0.028094598 0.051958072
## age binned45-59:party cdREP
                                 -0.059825765 -0.036383822
## age binned60+:party cdREP
                                 -0.070492595 -0.047747709
## age_binned30-44:party_cd0ther 0.037558466 0.058317554
```

```
## age_binned45-59:party_cd0ther -0.003659305 0.018082926
## age_binned60+:party_cd0ther 0.254420621 0.276569407
```

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