Interim Report: Who Votes in NC?

Alexander Bendeck, Lynn Fan, Cathy Lee, Alice Liao, Justina Zou

20 October 2020

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.

#TODO: nevoter is joined entirely even though some might not vote in 2016 #TODO: to be specific about denominator and numerator From the nevhis 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 nevoter 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. #TODO: how big the data set is, n=

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

#Missing data: n = is missing for x

After binding newhis files and nevoter 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. 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. 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.

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

```
density_age_party <- ggplot(merge_small_samp, aes(birth_age,color=voted_party_cd)) + labs(y="Density stacked_race_party <- ggplot(merge_small_samp, aes(race_code,fill=voted_party_cd)) + labs(y="Density stacked_county_party <- ggplot(merge_small_samp, aes(county_id.x,fill=voted_party_cd)) + labs(y="Density" stacked_county_race <- ggplot(merge_small_samp, aes(county_id.x,fill=race_code)) + labs(y="Density" stacked_state_race <- ggplot(merge_small_samp, aes(birth_state,fill=race_code)) + labs(y="Density", box_age_race <- ggplot(merge_small_samp, aes(x=race_code, y=birth_age)) + geom_boxplot() + labs(y="Density", box_age_race <- ggplot(merge_small_samp, aes(x=race_code, y=birth_age)) + geom_boxplot() + labs(y="Density", box_age_race <- ggplot(merge_small_samp, aes(x=race_code, y=birth_age)) + geom_boxplot() + labs(y="Density", box_age_race <- ggplot(merge_small_samp, aes(x=race_code, y=birth_age)) + geom_boxplot() + labs(y="Density", box_age_race) + geom_boxplot() + geom_boxplot()
```

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

```
binary_model <-
    brm(data = voter_grouped, family = binomial,
             votes | trials(n) ~ 1 + med_inc_binned + gender_code + race_code + age_binned + party_cd + gender_code
             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" -DNDEBUG
## In file included from <built-in>:1:
## In file included from /Users/cathylee/Library/R/4.0/library/StanHeaders/include/stan/math/prim/ma
## 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: error
## namespace Eigen {
##
## /Users/cathylee/Library/R/4.0/library/RcppEigen/include/Eigen/src/Core/util/Macros.h:613:16: error
## namespace Eigen {
##
##
## In file included from <built-in>:1:
## In file included from /Users/cathylee/Library/R/4.0/library/StanHeaders/include/stan/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/prim/math/pri
## 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: 'complex'
## #include <complex>
                           ^~~~~~~~
##
## 3 errors generated.
## make: *** [foo.o] Error 1
## Start sampling
#summary(binary_model)
\#saveRDS(binary\_model, \ "grouped\_model\_no\_randeff\_whole\_dataset.rds")
```

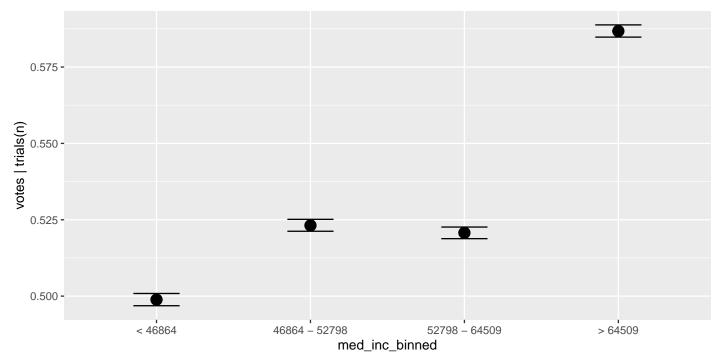
Results and Interpretations

TO DO: try to make this side by side

Table 1:	Coeffici	ble Part 1		Table 2: Coefficient Table Part 2					
	Est	SE	2.5% Q	97.5% Q		Est	SE	2.5% Q	97.5% Q
Intercept	0.00	0.00	-0.01	0.00	D11D	0.00	0.01		0.06
46.9k-52.8k	0.10	0.00	0.09	0.10	Black:Rep	-0.98	0.01	-1.00	-0.96
52.8k-64.5k	0.09	0.00	0.08	0.09	Other:Rep	-0.28	0.01	-0.30	-0.27
> 64.6 k	0.36	0.00	0.35	0.36	Black:Other Pty	-0.42	0.01	-0.43	-0.41
Male	-0.43	0.00	-0.44	-0.42	Other Race:Other Pty	-0.08	0.01	-0.10	-0.07
TI 'C 1		0.01			Male:30-44	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.03
Unspecified	-0.08	0.01	-0.09	-0.06	Unspec:30-44	-0.41	0.01	-0.43	-0.40
Black	0.03	0.00	0.03	0.04	Male:45-59	0.11	0.00	0.10	0.12
Other Race	-0.41	0.00	-0.42	-0.40	Unspec: $45-59$	-0.60	0.01	-0.62	-0.58
30-44	0.62	0.00	0.61	0.63	Male:60+	0.25	0.00	0.24	0.26
45-59	1.08	0.00	1.07	1.09	Unspec:60+	-0.47	0.01	-0.50	-0.45
60+	0.94	0.00	0.93	0.95	-				
Republican	0.19	0.01	0.18	0.20	30-44:Rep	0.04	0.01	0.03	0.05
Other Party	-0.24	0.00	-0.25	-0.23	45-59:Rep	-0.05	0.01	-0.06	-0.04
Male:Rep	0.18	0.00	0.17	0.19	60+:Rep	-0.06	0.01	-0.07	-0.05
Unspec:Rep	0.10	0.01	0.08	0.13	30-44:Other Pty	0.05	0.01	0.04	0.06
1 1					45-59:Other Pty	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.02
Male:Other Pty	0.21	0.00	0.20	0.22	60+:Other Pty	0.27	0.01	0.25	0.28
Unspec:Other Pty	0.01	0.01	-0.01	0.02		••			

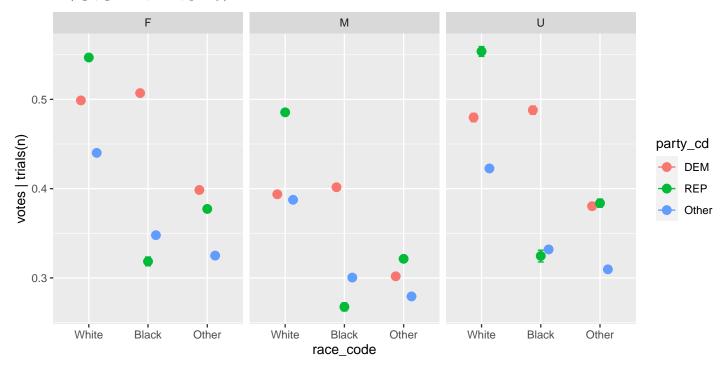
The table above shows that each coefficient has small standard errors (no indicatin of identifiability issues). In addition, we see that all variables except for Gender Unspecified:Party Other have credible intervals that do not contain 0, indicating significance in determining who votes. We are not particularly concerned about the Gender Unspecified:Party Other not being significant since the interaction between gender and party for the other levels are significant, so we still include this interaction in the model

TODO: label graphs

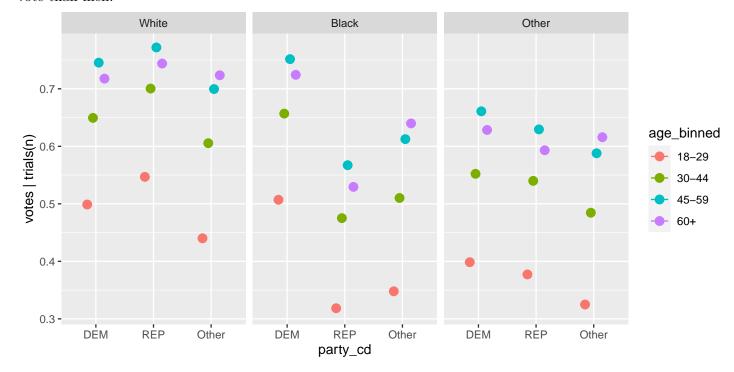


From the plot above, we see that the expected probability of voting is generally greater that 50% for all median household income levels, but tends to increase as median household income increases, holding all other attributes

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.

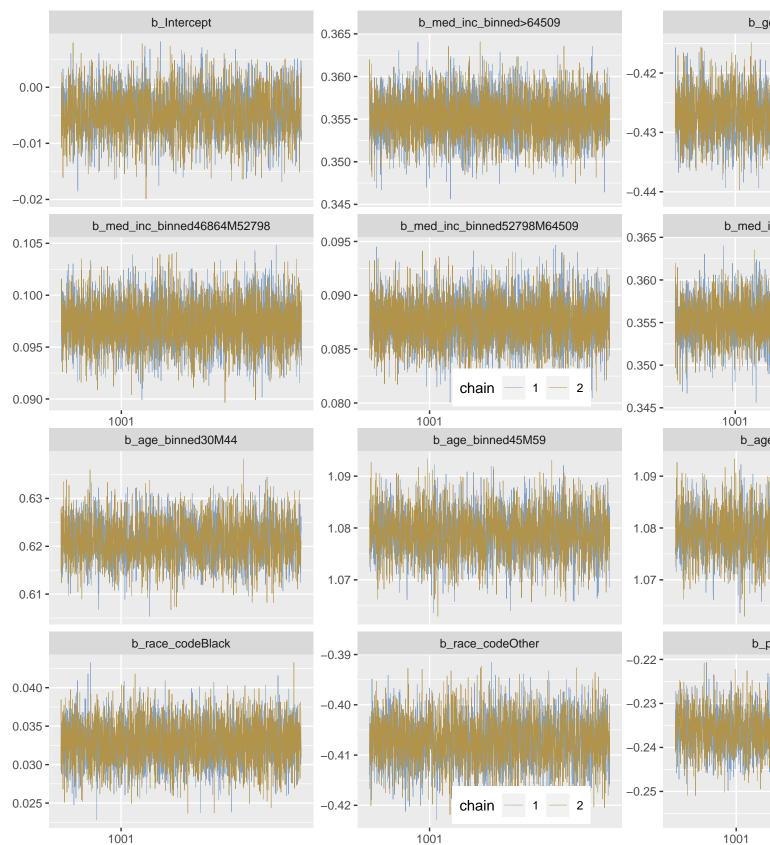


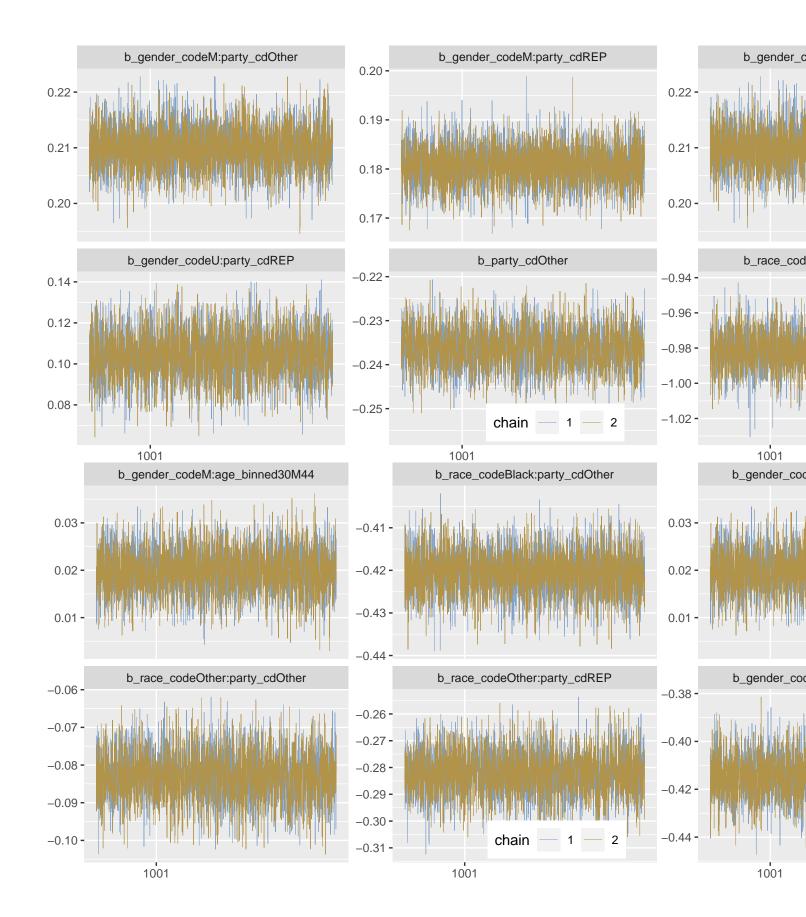
In the plot above, holding median household income at baseline (less than \$46,864) and gender at baseline (female), the expected probability of voting for white Democrats across all age groups is less than that for white Republicans. However, the expected probability of voting among black Democrats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

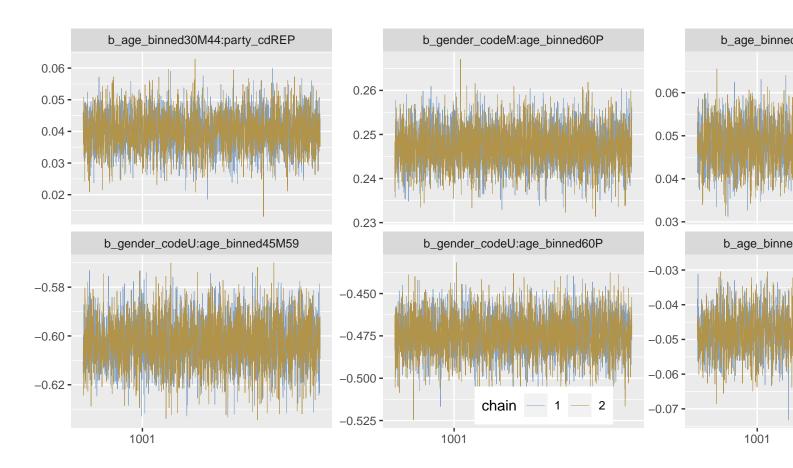
Model Validation

TODO: Interpret! (see response in google doc) and add external 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

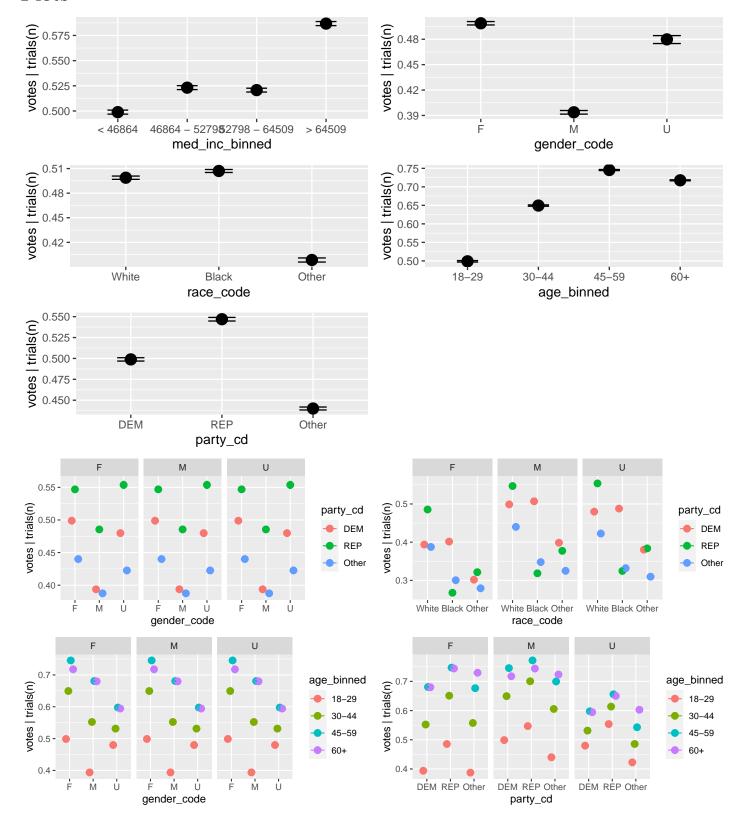
[1] 25039.1

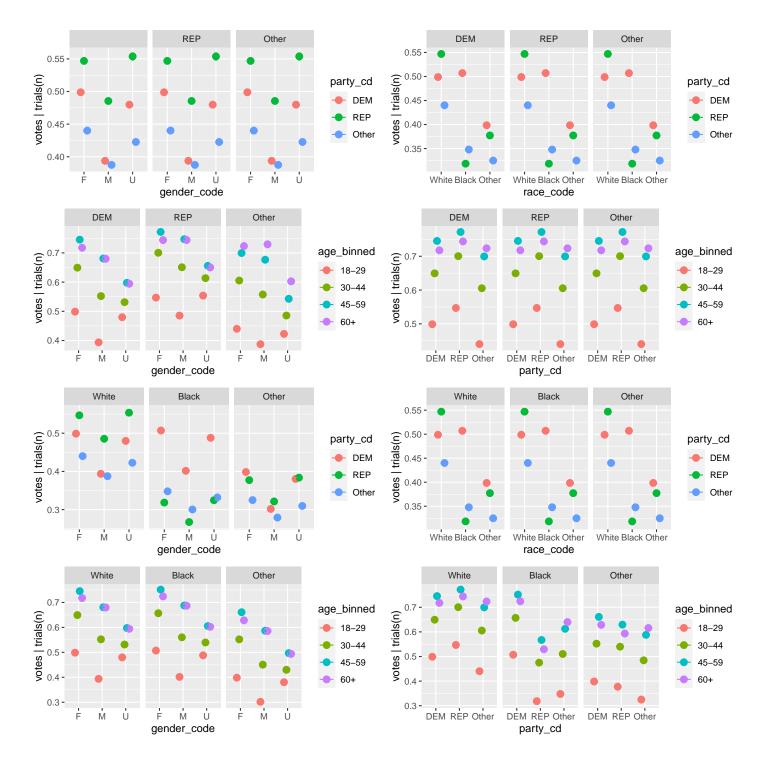
[1] 83471.66

TODO: add some sentences, look at the posterior distribution of the variance of the random effect (see how close it is to 0-if close to 0 then don't need it)

Appendix

Plots





Sensitivity Analysis

```
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 + gender_code
      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" -DNDEBUG
## In file included from <built-in>:1:
## In file included from /Users/cathylee/Library/R/4.0/library/StanHeaders/include/stan/math/prim/ma
## 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: error
## namespace Eigen {
## ^
## /Users/cathylee/Library/R/4.0/library/RcppEigen/include/Eigen/src/Core/util/Macros.h:613:16: erro
## namespace Eigen {
##
##
## In file included from <built-in>:1:
## In file included from /Users/cathylee/Library/R/4.0/library/StanHeaders/include/stan/math/prim/ma
## 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: 'complex'
## #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 + party_co
      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
```

##	med_inc_binned>64509	0.36	0.00	0.35	0.36 1.00
	gender_codeM	-0.43	0.00	-0.44	-0.42 1.00
	gender_codeU	-0.08	0.01	-0.09	-0.06 1.00
##	race_codeBlack	0.03	0.00	0.03	0.04 1.00
##	race_codeOther	-0.41	0.00	-0.42	-0.40 1.00
##	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	0.00	-0.25	-0.23 1.00
##	<pre>gender_codeM:party_cdREP</pre>	0.18	0.00	0.17	0.19 1.00
##	<pre>gender_codeU:party_cdREP</pre>	0.10	0.01	0.08	0.13 1.00
##	<pre>gender_codeM:party_cdOther</pre>	0.21	0.00	0.20	0.22 1.00
##	<pre>gender_codeU:party_cdOther</pre>	0.01	0.01	-0.01	0.03 1.00
##	race_codeBlack:party_cdREP	-0.98	0.01	-1.00	-0.96 1.00
##	race_codeOther:party_cdREP	-0.28	0.01	-0.30	-0.27 1.00
##	<pre>race_codeBlack:party_cdOther</pre>	-0.42	0.01	-0.43	-0.41 1.00
##	<pre>race_codeOther:party_cdOther</pre>	-0.08	0.01	-0.10	-0.07 1.00
##	<pre>gender_codeM:age_binned30M44</pre>	0.02	0.00	0.01	0.03 1.00
##	<pre>gender_codeU:age_binned30M44</pre>	-0.41	0.01	-0.43	-0.40 1.00
##	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
	gender_codeU:age_binned60P	-0.47	0.01	-0.50	-0.45 1.00
	age_binned30M44:party_cdREP	0.04	0.01	0.03	0.05 1.00
	age_binned45M59:party_cdREP	-0.05	0.01	-0.06	-0.04 1.00
	age_binned60P:party_cdREP	-0.06	0.01	-0.07	-0.05 1.00
	age_binned30M44:party_cd0ther	0.05	0.01	0.04	0.06 1.00
	age_binned45M59:party_cd0ther	0.01	0.01	-0.00	0.02 1.00
	age_binned60P:party_cdOther	0.27	0.01	0.25	0.28 1.00
##	Tuboucout	Bulk_ESS	_		
	Intercept	2036 5855	3104 3291		
	med_inc_binned46864M52798				
	med_inc_binned52798M64509 med_inc_binned>64509	5677 6194	3436 3170		
	gender_codeM	2907	3038		
	gender_codeU	1838	2443		
	race_codeBlack	4241	3443		
	race_codeOther	2351	2598		
	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		
##	<pre>race_codeOther:party_cdOther</pre>	2479	2838		

```
## gender_codeM:age_binned30M44
                                       3465
                                                3404
## gender_codeU:age_binned30M44
                                       3147
                                                3088
## gender_codeM:age_binned45M59
                                                3211
                                       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_cdOther
                                      2845
                                                3075
## 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 + party_co
##
      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
                                      0.23
                                                 0.00
                                                          0.22
                                                                    0.24 1.00
## gender_codeM
                                     -0.43
                                                 0.00
                                                         -0.44
                                                                   -0.421.00
## gender_codeU
                                     -0.08
                                                 0.01
                                                         -0.10
                                                                   -0.071.00
                                                 0.00
                                                                    0.02 1.00
## race_codeBlack
                                      0.01
                                                          0.01
                                     -0.41
                                                 0.00
                                                         -0.42
                                                                   -0.41 1.00
## race_codeOther
                                                                    0.64 1.00
## age_binned30M44
                                      0.63
                                                 0.00
                                                          0.62
                                      1.09
                                                 0.00
                                                          1.08
## age_binned45M59
                                                                    1.10 1.00
## age_binned60P
                                      0.96
                                                 0.00
                                                          0.95
                                                                    0.97 1.00
## party_cdOther
                                     -0.22
                                                 0.00
                                                         -0.23
                                                                   -0.211.00
## party_cdREP
                                      0.21
                                                 0.01
                                                          0.20
                                                                    0.22 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
## gender_codeM:party_cdREP
                                                 0.00
                                                          0.17
                                                                    0.19 1.00
                                      0.18
## gender_codeU:party_cdREP
                                                 0.01
                                                          0.08
                                                                    0.13 1.00
                                      0.10
```

```
## race_codeBlack:party_cdOther
                                      -0.42
                                                  0.01
                                                          -0.43
                                                                    -0.41 1.00
  race_codeOther:party_cdOther
                                      -0.09
                                                  0.01
                                                          -0.10
                                                                    -0.08 1.00
                                      -0.98
                                                  0.01
                                                          -1.00
                                                                    -0.96 1.00
  race_codeBlack:party_cdREP
  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
   gender_codeU:age_binned30M44
                                      -0.41
                                                  0.01
                                                          -0.42
                                                                    -0.391.00
                                                           0.10
   gender_codeM:age_binned45M59
                                       0.11
                                                  0.00
                                                                     0.12 1.00
   gender_codeU:age_binned45M59
                                      -0.59
                                                  0.01
                                                          -0.61
                                                                    -0.571.00
   gender_codeM:age_binned60P
                                       0.25
                                                  0.00
                                                           0.24
                                                                     0.26 1.00
   gender_codeU:age_binned60P
                                      -0.46
                                                  0.01
                                                          -0.49
                                                                    -0.441.00
                                                                     0.06 1.00
   age_binned30M44:party_cd0ther
                                       0.05
                                                  0.01
                                                           0.03
  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
                                                  0.01
                                                           0.02
   age_binned30M44:party_cdREP
                                       0.04
                                                                     0.05 1.00
  age_binned45M59:party_cdREP
                                      -0.06
                                                  0.01
                                                          -0.07
                                                                    -0.051.00
   age_binned60P:party_cdREP
                                                          -0.09
                                                                    -0.06 1.00
##
                                      -0.08
                                                  0.01
##
                                   Bulk_ESS Tail_ESS
##
  Intercept
                                       1025
                                                 1824
                                                 7053
  med_inc_binned46864_52798
                                      11878
##
   med_inc_binned52798_64509
                                      11027
                                                 6531
   med_inc_binned>64509
                                      11415
                                                 5995
   gender_codeM
                                       6304
                                                 5774
   gender_codeU
                                       4267
                                                 5025
  race_codeBlack
                                       8513
                                                 7074
  race_codeOther
                                       5986
                                                 5971
  age_binned30M44
                                       4903
                                                 5442
  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
                                      10170
                                                 5624
   gender_codeM:party_cdREP
   gender_codeU:party_cdREP
                                       5209
                                                 6028
                                                 6428
  race_codeBlack:party_cdOther
                                       8613
## 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
                                       6816
                                                 5924
   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
                                       4888
                                                 5740
                                       4919
                                                 5673
##
   age_binned60P:party_cdREP
##
## 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).
freq_model = glm(cbind(votes, n-votes) ~ med_inc_binned + gender_code + race_code + age_binned + par
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|)
                                              0.004044
                                                          -1.151
                                                                    0.250
## (Intercept)
                                  -0.004655
## med_inc_binned46864 - 52798
                                   0.097287
                                              0.002260
                                                          43.055
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
## med_inc_binned52798 - 64509
                                   0.087593
                                              0.002144
                                                          40.858
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
                                                         137.505
## med_inc_binned> 64509
                                   0.355307
                                              0.002584
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
## gender_codeM
                                  -0.427075
                                              0.004135 -103.295
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
                                              0.009172
                                                          -8.349
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
## gender_codeU
                                  -0.076579
## race_codeBlack
                                   0.032890
                                              0.002849
                                                          11.543
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
                                                         -84.162
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
## race_codeOther
                                  -0.407169
                                              0.004838
                                                         142.143
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
## age_binned30-44
                                   0.621153
                                              0.004370
## age_binned45-59
                                   1.079045
                                              0.004457
                                                         242.121
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
                                                         220.611
## age_binned60+
                                   0.937577
                                              0.004250
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
## party_cdREP
                                   0.192797
                                              0.005219
                                                          36.939
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
## party_cdOther
                                  -0.236224
                                              0.004684
                                                         -50.432
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
                                                          43.798
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
## gender_codeM:party_cdREP
                                   0.180748
                                              0.004127
## gender_codeU:party_cdREP
                                              0.012238
                                                           8.526
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
                                   0.104340
                                                          52.489
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
## gender_codeM:party_cdOther
                                   0.210030
                                              0.004001
## gender_codeU:party_cdOther
                                   0.005784
                                              0.010015
                                                           0.577
                                                                    0.564
## race_codeBlack:party_cdREP
                                  -0.981962
                                              0.011422
                                                         -85.972
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
## race_codeOther:party_cdREP
                                                         -33.896
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
                                  -0.282242
                                              0.008327
## race_codeBlack:party_cdOther
                                  -0.420549
                                              0.005216
                                                         -80.624
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
                                              0.006562
                                  -0.083115
                                                         -12.667
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
## race_codeOther:party_cdOther
## gender_codeM:age_binned30-44
                                   0.019943
                                              0.004774
                                                           4.178 2.94e-05 ***
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
## gender_codeU:age_binned30-44
                                  -0.414602
                                              0.009339
                                                         -44.396
                                                          22.679
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
## gender_codeM:age_binned45-59
                                   0.110012
                                              0.004851
## gender_codeU:age_binned45-59
                                  -0.602838
                                              0.010334
                                                         -58.335
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
## gender_codeM:age_binned60+
                                   0.247269
                                              0.004762
                                                          51.922
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
                                                         -38.887
## gender_codeU:age_binned60+
                                  -0.474441
                                              0.012201
                                                                  < 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 ***
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
## age_binned60+:party_cdREP
                                                         -10.189
                                  -0.059120
                                              0.005802
## age_binned30-44:party_cd0ther
                                   0.047938
                                              0.005296
                                                           9.052
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
## age_binned45-59:party_cd0ther
                                   0.007212
                                              0.005547
                                                           1.300
                                                                    0.194
## age_binned60+:party_cd0ther
                                   0.265494
                                              0.005650
                                                          46.988
                                                                  < 2e-16 ***
## ---
```

```
0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.01 '*' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1
  Signif. codes:
##
  (Dispersion parameter for binomial family taken to be 1)
##
##
##
       Null deviance: 547088
                              on 431
                                       degrees of freedom
                              on 399
                                       degrees of freedom
## Residual deviance:
                       18738
  AIC: 22590
##
## Number of Fisher Scoring iterations: 3
confint(freq_model)
## Waiting for profiling to be done...
##
                                         2.5 %
                                                     97.5 %
##
                                  -0.012580887
  (Intercept)
                                                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
                                  -0.416650724 -0.397686413
## race codeOther
## age_binned30-44
                                  0.612588502
                                                0.629718264
## 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
                                  0.080355176
## gender_codeU:party_cdREP
                                                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
```

References

age_binned60+:party_cdREP

age_binned30-44:party_cdOther

age_binned60+:party_cd0ther

age_binned45-59:party_cd0ther -0.003659305

1. Linzer, D. A. (2013). Dynamic Bayesian Forecasting of Presidential Elections in the States. Journal of the American Statistical Association, 108(501), 124-134. doi:10.1080/01621459.2012.737735

-0.070492595 -0.047747709

0.058317554

0.018082926

0.276569407

0.037558466

0.254420621

- 2. Hansford, T. G., & Gomez, B. T. (2010). Estimating the Electoral Effects of Voter Turnout. American Political Science Review, 104(2), 268-288. doi:10.1017/s0003055410000109
- 3. 2020 Election. (2020, October 20). Retrieved October 20, 2020, from https://fivethirtyeight.com/politics/elections/
- 4. Park, D. K., Gelman, A., & Bafumi, J. (2006). State-Level Opinions from National Surveys:. Public Opinion in State Politics, 209-228. doi:10.2307/j.ctvr33bdg.17
- 5. Mahler, V. A., Jesuit, D. K., & Paradowski, P. R. (2013). Electoral Turnout and State Redistribution. Political Research Quarterly, 67(2), 361-373. doi:10.1177/1065912913509306
- 6. Uhlaner, C. J., & Scola, B. (2015). Collective Representation as a Mobilizer. State Politics & Policy Quarterly, 16(2), 227-263. doi:10.1177/1532440015603576
- 7. Godbout, J. (2012). Turnout and presidential coattails in congressional elections. Public Choice, 157(1-2), 333-356. doi:10.1007/s11127-012-9947-7
- 8. Kim, S. S., Alvarez, R. M., & Ramirez, C. M. (2020). Who Voted in 2016? Using Fuzzy Forests to Understand Voter Turnout. doi:10.33774/apsa-2020-xzx29
- 9. Weinschenk, A. C. (2019) That's Why the Lady Lost to the Trump: Demographics and the 2016 Presidential Election, Journal of Political Marketing, 18:1-2, 69-91, DOI: 10.1080/15377857.2018.1478657
- 10. Charles, K. K., & Stephens, M. (2011). Employment, Wages and Voter Turnout. doi:10.3386/w17270
- 11. Hills, M. (2020, September 25). US election 2020: A really simple guide. Retrieved October 20, 2020, from https://www.bbc.com/news/election-us-2020-53785985
- 12. Railey, K. (2016). Federal Judges Let Stand North Carolina,'s New Congressional Map. The Hotline. https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/A498010836/ITOF?u=duke_perkins&sid=ITOF&xid=119d6ad9
- 13. Perrin, A. J., & Ifatunji, M. A. (2020). Race, Immigration, and Support for Donald Trump: Evidence From the 2018 North Carolina Election. Sociological Forum, 35(S1), 941-953. doi:10.1111/socf.12600
- 14. Redistricting in North Carolina. (2020). Retrieved October 21, 2020, from https://ballotpedia.org/Redistricting_in_North_Carolina
- 15. § 132-1. Public Records. https://www.ncleg.gov/EnactedLegislation/Statutes/PDF/BySection/Chapter_132/GS_132-1.pdf
- 16. § 163-82.10. Official record of voter registration. https://www.ncleg.gov/EnactedLegislation/Statutes/PDF/BySection/Chapter_163/GS_163-82.10.pdf
- 17. FairVote.org. (n.d.). Voter Turnout. Retrieved October 22, 2020, from https://www.fairvote.org/voter_turnout
- 18. McDonald, M. P. (2020). Voter Turnout Demographics. Retrieved October 23, 2020, from http://www.electproject.org/home/voter-turnout/demographics