

Analyzing the 2016 US Presidential Election

Introduction

We analyze returns from the 2012 and 2016 elections in order to understand the social and demographic trends that may have contributed to Donald Trump's victory in 2016.

We will first examine how Republican vote share at the county level has changed from 2012 to 2016. Then, we will look at four variables that were prominent in the discourse around the election – race, education, unemployment, and immigration – to see how well they predict GOP electoral gains at the county level.

We will be working with the data set `uselection.csv` which has one observation per county and contains the following variables (note that some counties including those of Alaska are missing from the data):

Name	Description
<code>FIPS</code>	FIPS code (unique county identifier)
<code>state</code>	State abbreviation
<code>county</code>	County name
<code>votes_dem_12</code>	Number of votes cast for Democratic candidate, 2012 election
<code>votes_gop_12</code>	Number of votes cast for Republican candidate, 2012 election
<code>votes_total_12</code>	Total number of votes cast in 2012 election
<code>votes_dem_16</code>	Number of votes cast for Democratic candidate, 2016 election
<code>votes_gop_16</code>	Number of votes cast for Republican candidate, 2016 election
<code>votes_total_16</code>	Total number of votes cast in 2016 election
<code>pct_for_born15</code>	Percent of county's population that is "foreign born" according to the U.S. Census, meaning anyone who is not a U.S. citizen at birth (measured over 2011-2015)
<code>pct_bach_deg15</code>	Percent of county population holding a Bachelor's degree or above (2011-2015)
<code>pct_non_white15</code>	Percent of county population that is not white (2011-2015)
<code>pct_unemp12</code>	Percent of county population that is unemployed, BLS estimates (average, Jan-Oct 2012)
<code>pct_unemp16</code>	Percent of county population that is unemployed, BLS estimates (average, Jan-Oct 2016)

Question 1: Reading data into R

We first need to load the data into R and make it as `tibble` object. Load the `tidyverse` package, read the data using the `read_csv()` function and save it as `elec` (using `read_csv()` will automatically make `elec` a `tibble`).

How many counties are there included in `elec`?

Answer 1

```
# load tidyverse
library(tidyverse)
```

```
## -- Attaching core tidyverse packages ----- tidyverse 2.0.0 --
## v dplyr      1.1.4      v readr      2.1.5
## v forcats    1.0.0      v stringr    1.5.1
## v ggplot2    3.5.1      v tibble     3.2.1
## v lubridate  1.9.3      v tidyr      1.3.1
## v purrr      1.0.2
## -- Conflicts ----- tidyverse_conflicts() --
## x dplyr::filter() masks stats::filter()
## x dplyr::lag()     masks stats::lag()
## i Use the conflicted package (<http://conflicted.r-lib.org/>) to force all conflicts to become errors

# read data
elec <- read_csv("data/uselection.csv")

## Rows: 3112 Columns: 14
## -- Column specification -----
## Delimiter: ","
## chr (2): state, county
## dbl (12): FIPS, votes_dem_12, votes_gop_12, votes_total_12, votes_dem_16, vo...
##
## i Use `spec()` to retrieve the full column specification for this data.
## i Specify the column types or set `show_col_types = FALSE` to quiet this message.

# check the data
elec

## # A tibble: 3,112 x 14
##   FIPS state county votes_dem_12 votes_gop_12 votes_total_12 votes_dem_16
##   <dbl> <chr> <chr>         <dbl>         <dbl>         <dbl>         <dbl>
## 1  1001 AL Autauga         6354         17366         23909         5908
## 2  1003 AL Baldwin        18329        65772        84988        18409
## 3  1005 AL Barbour         5873          5539        11459         4848
## 4  1007 AL Bibb           2200           6131         8391         1874
## 5  1009 AL Blount          2961        20741        23980         2150
## 6  1011 AL Bullock         4058          1250         5318         3530
## 7  1013 AL Butler           4367          5081         9483         3716
## 8  1015 AL Calhoun        15500        30272        46240        13197
## 9  1017 AL Chambers         6853          7596        14562         5763
## 10 1019 AL Cherokee         2126          7494         9761         1524
## # i 3,102 more rows
## # i 7 more variables: votes_gop_16 <dbl>, votes_total_16 <dbl>,
## #   pct_for_born15 <dbl>, pct_bach_deg15 <dbl>, pct_non_white15 <dbl>,
## #   pct_unemp12 <dbl>, pct_unemp16 <dbl>
```

There are 3112 counties in the data.

Question 2: Preprocessing the data

Before we investigate the data, let's create some new variables: called `gop_vs_12`, `gop_vs_16`, and `gop_vs_diff`. Compute the following and add each to `elec` as a new column:

- `gop_vs_12`: compute the Republican vote share as a proportion of total votes in 2012 (Number of votes for the Republican party in the 2012 election/ Total number of votes in the 2012 election).
- `gop_vs_16`: compute the Republican vote share as a proportion of total votes in 2016 (Number of votes for the Republican party in the 2016 election/ Total number of votes in the 2016 election).

- `gop_vs_diff`: compute the *percent difference* in this Republican vote share variable from the 2012 to 2016 election (i.e., $(\text{gop_vs_16} - \text{gop_vs_12}) / \text{gop_vs_12} * 100$).

Hint: Use the `mutate()` function and the pipe operator (`|>`). Check the lecture slides for some details.

Answer 2

```
# Create new columns, and save those to original object for future use
elec <- elec |>
  mutate(gop_vs_12 = votes_gop_12/votes_total_12,
         gop_vs_16 = votes_gop_16/votes_total_16) |>
  mutate(gop_vs_diff = (gop_vs_16 - gop_vs_12)/gop_vs_12 * 100)
```

Question 3

Once you created the columns, print the `head` of the `elec` dataframe for *only* those three new columns (`gop_vs_12`, `gop_vs_16`, and `gop_vs_diff`). Use `knitr::kable()` to produce a nicely formatted table.

Hint: Use the `select()` function and the pipe operator (`|>`).

Answer 3

```
# Print three new columns
elec |>
  head() |>
  select(gop_vs_12, gop_vs_16, gop_vs_diff) |>
  knitr::kable()
```

gop_vs_12	gop_vs_16	gop_vs_diff
0.7263374	0.7343579	1.1042431
0.7738975	0.7735147	-0.0494602
0.4833755	0.5227141	8.1383178
0.7306638	0.7696616	5.3373152
0.8649291	0.8985188	3.8835142
0.2350508	0.2422889	3.0793789

Question 4: Subsetting the data

Subset your `elec` data to just the “battleground” states: Florida (FL), North Carolina (NC), Ohio (OH), Pennsylvania (PA), New Hampshire (NH), Michigan (MI), Wisconsin (WI), Iowa (IA), Nevada (NV), Colorado (CO), and Virginia (VA). Save this subset as a new `tibble` object called `elec_battle`.

Hint: You may create a new vector that contains all the 2-letter abbreviations of battleground states `battlestates_abb <- c(...)`. Then, use `filter()` and `%in%` to subset the data to the battleground states with `state` column.

Answer 4

```
# 2-letter abbreviations of battleground states
battlestates_abb <- c("FL", "NC", "OH", "PA", "NH", "MI", "WI", "IA", "NV", "CO", "VA")

# subset of data
elec_battle <- elec |>
  filter(state %in% battlestates_abb)

elec_battle

## # A tibble: 800 x 17
##   FIPS state county      votes_dem_12 votes_gop_12 votes_total_12 votes_dem_16
##   <dbl> <chr> <chr>          <dbl>         <dbl>         <dbl>         <dbl>
## 1  8001 CO    Adams           90843          66531          161495          86471
## 2  8003 CO    Alamosa           3782           2693           6671           3168
## 3  8005 CO    Arapahoe        135433         114232          254746         148365
## 4  8007 CO    Archuleta         2637           3831           6646           2489
## 5  8009 CO    Baca             462            1554           2096            278
## 6  8011 CO    Bent             778            1053           1881            581
## 7  8013 CO    Boulder        120485         48526          173207          124715
## 8  8014 CO    Broomfield       16653          14765           32191           19530
## 9  8015 CO    Chaffee          4967           4949           10217            4773
## 10 8017 CO    Cheyenne         162             858           1045             127
## # i 790 more rows
## # i 10 more variables: votes_gop_16 <dbl>, votes_total_16 <dbl>,
## #   pct_for_born15 <dbl>, pct_bach_deg15 <dbl>, pct_non_white15 <dbl>,
## #   pct_unemp12 <dbl>, pct_unemp16 <dbl>, gop_vs_12 <dbl>, gop_vs_16 <dbl>,
## #   gop_vs_diff <dbl>
```

Question 5: State-level summarize

Now let's create a state-level summary of this subset, `elec_battle` with `summarize()`. Create a state-level average of socio-demographic variables (`pct_for_born15`, `pct_bach_deg15`, `pct_non_white15`, `pct_unemp12`, `pct_unemp16`) and vote share variables (`gop_vs_12`, `gop_vs_16`, `gop_vs_diff`).

Hint: Review `group_by()`, `select()` and `summarize()` functions.

Answer 5

```
elec_battle |>
  group_by(state) |>
  select(pct_for_born15:gop_vs_diff) |>
  summarize(across(where(is.numeric), mean, na.rm = TRUE))

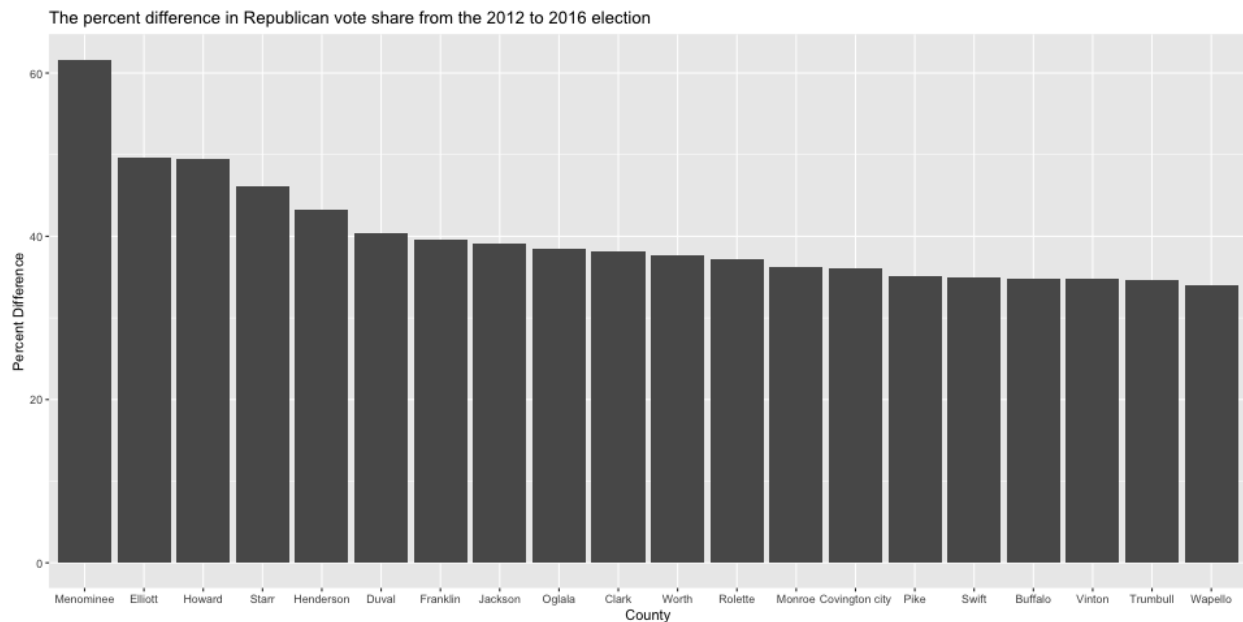
## Adding missing grouping variables: `state`
## Warning: There was 1 warning in `summarize()`.
## i In argument: `across(where(is.numeric), mean, na.rm = TRUE)`.
## i In group 1: `state = "CO"`.
## Caused by warning:
## ! The `...` argument of `across()` is deprecated as of dplyr 1.1.0.
```

```
## Supply arguments directly to `.fns` through an anonymous function instead.
##
## # Previously
## across(a:b, mean, na.rm = TRUE)
##
## # Now
## across(a:b, \(x) mean(x, na.rm = TRUE))

## # A tibble: 11 x 9
##   state pct_for_born15 pct_bach_deg15 pct_non_white15 pct_unemp12 pct_unemp16
##   <chr>      <dbl>      <dbl>      <dbl>      <dbl>      <dbl>
## 1 CO          6.43        30.0        9.65        7.20        3.11
## 2 FL          9.54        20.5        20.8        8.36        5.20
## 3 IA          2.93        20.3        4.99        4.42        3.42
## 4 MI          2.62        20.4        9.30        8.56        4.83
## 5 NC          4.93        20.3        27.7        9.65        5.36
## 6 NH          4.42        31.9        5.10        5.02        2.3
## 7 NV          8.68        17.6        15.2        9.31        5.29
## 8 OH          1.93        18.8        7.82        7.36        4.91
## 9 PA          3.30        21.6        8.94        7.57        5.68
## 10 VA         5.25        25.1        24.7        6.58        4.63
## 11 WI         2.62        21.7        8.03        6.26        3.64
## # i 3 more variables: gop_vs_12 <dbl>, gop_vs_16 <dbl>, gop_vs_diff <dbl>
```

Question 6: Barplot

Create a barplot for the top 20 counties in terms of the difference in GOP vote share between the 2012 and 2016 elections (`gop_vs_diff`), using `elec` data. Order the bars based on the values of vote share difference. The result looks like the following:



Hint: Sample codes using `geom_bar()`

```
# TODO: Choose either option 1 or option 2, and replace <...>
```

```

# Option 1 (geom_bar)
## geom_bar() uses stat_count() by default: it counts the number of cases at each x position.
## for the purpose of this question, we need to change stat argument (see below).
<data> |>
  slice_max(<variable1>, n = 20) |>
  ggplot(aes(x = fct_reorder(<variable2>, desc(<variable1>)), y = <variable1>)) +
  geom_bar(stat = "identity") +
  labs(title = <title>,
        x = <xlab>, y = <ylab>)

# Option 2 (geom_col)
## geom_col() uses stat_identity(): it leaves the data as is.
<data> |>
  slice_max(<variable1>, n = 20) |>
  ggplot(aes(x = fct_reorder(<variable2>, desc(<variable1>)), y = <variable1>)) +
  geom_col() +
  labs(title = <title>,
        x = <xlab>, y = <ylab>)

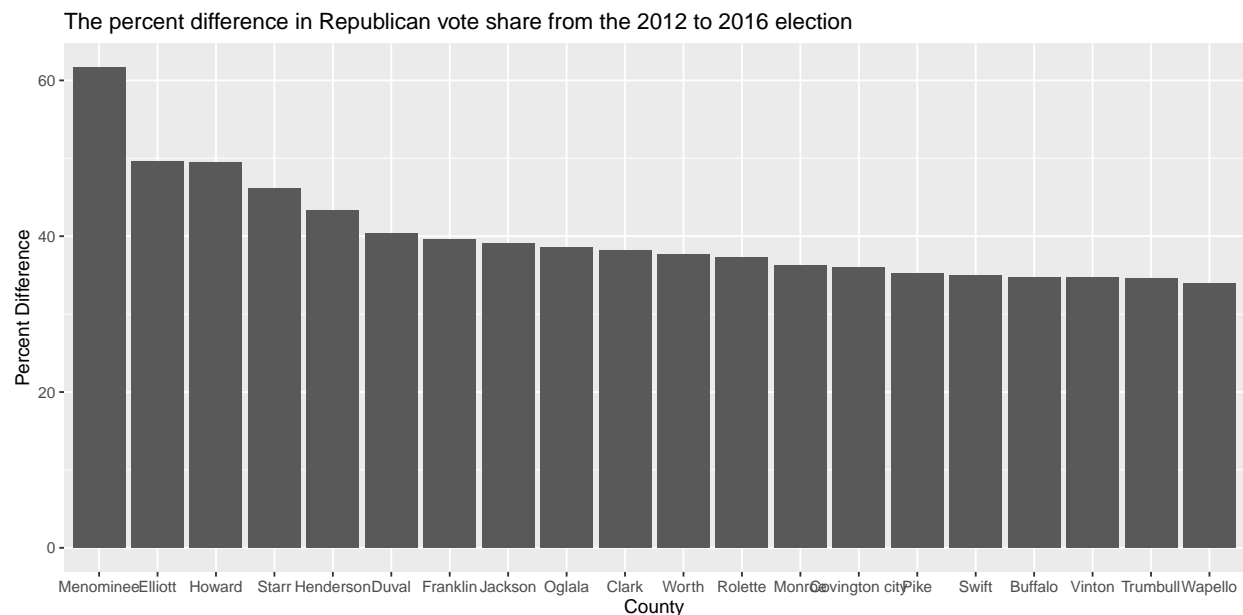
```

Answer 6

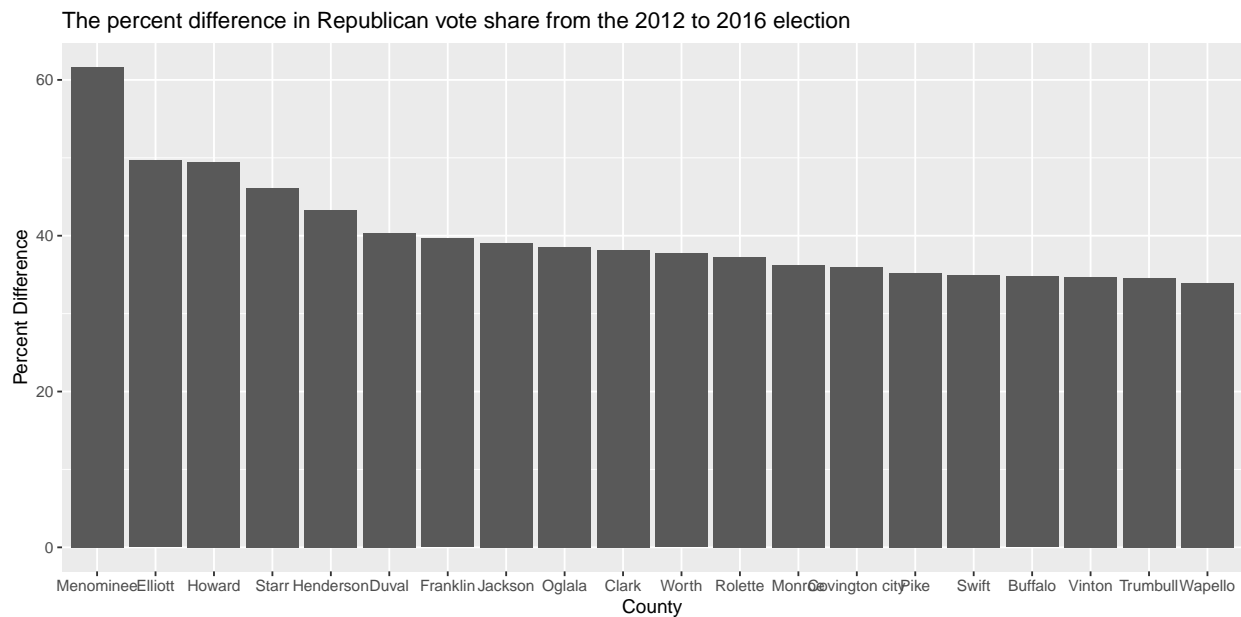
```

# Option 1 (geom_bar)
## geom_bar() uses stat_count() by default: it counts the number of cases at each x position.
## for the purpose of this question, we need to change stat argument (see below).
elec |>
  slice_max(gop_vs_diff, n = 20) |>
  ggplot(aes(x = fct_reorder(county, desc(gop_vs_diff)), y = gop_vs_diff)) +
  geom_bar(stat = "identity") +
  labs(title = "The percent difference in Republican vote share from the 2012 to 2016 election",
        x = "County", y = "Percent Difference")

```



```
# Option 2 (geom_col)
## geom_col() uses stat_identity(): it leaves the data as is.
elec |>
  slice_max(gop_vs_diff, n = 20) |>
  ggplot(aes(x = fct_reorder(county, desc(gop_vs_diff)), y = gop_vs_diff)) +
  geom_col() +
  labs(title = "The percent difference in Republican vote share from the 2012 to 2016 election",
        x = "County", y = "Percent Difference")
```



Question 7: Republican gains in Democrat counties

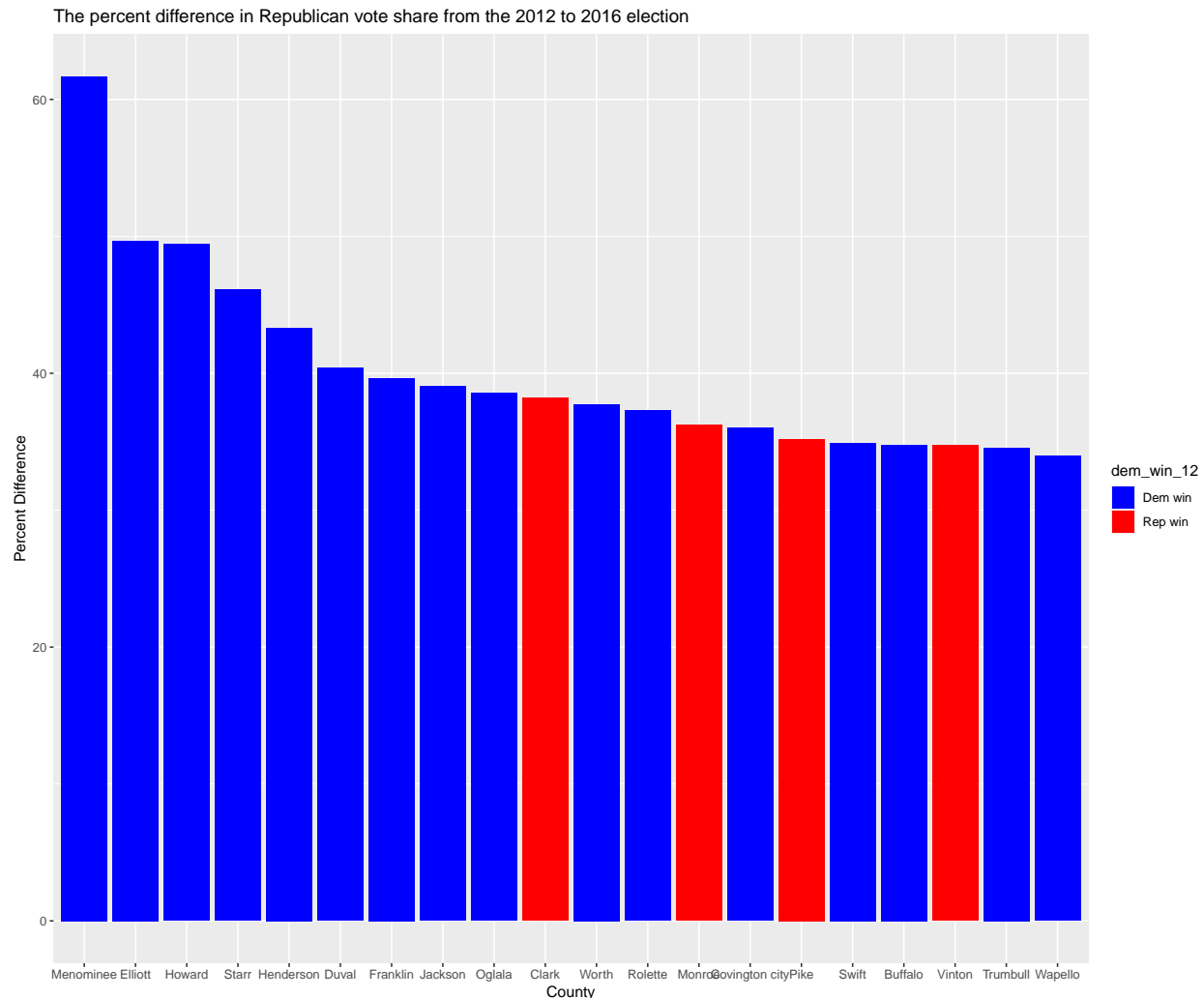
Some of the counties where the Republican party saw greater gains were counties where the Democratic party had the most votes in 2012. Run the following code to create a binary variable that takes the value of 1 whenever the Democrats had the most votes in 2012, and 0 otherwise.

```
elec <- elec |>
  mutate(dem_win_12 = dplyr::if_else(votes_dem_12 > votes_gop_12, "Dem win", "Rep win"))
```

Now repeat the plot in Question 5, adding `mapping = aes(fill = dem_win_12)` to the `geom_bar` function. What is your interpretation of this figure?

Answer 7

```
elec |>
  slice_max(gop_vs_diff, n = 20) |>
  ggplot(aes(x = fct_reorder(county, desc(gop_vs_diff)), y = gop_vs_diff)) +
  geom_bar(mapping = aes(fill = dem_win_12), stat = "identity") +
  labs(title = "The percent difference in Republican vote share from the 2012 to 2016 election",
        x = "County", y = "Percent Difference") +
  scale_fill_manual(values = c("blue", "red"))
```



Question 8: Table

Create a table for the top 20 counties in terms of the difference in GOP vote share between the 2012 and 2016 elections (`gop_vs_diff`), using `elec` data. Include `state`, `county`, socio-demographic variables (`pct_for_born15`, `pct_bach_deg15`, `pct_non_white15`, `pct_non_white15`, `pct_unemp12`, `pct_unemp16`) and vote share variables (`gop_vs_12`, `gop_vs_16`, `gop_vs_diff`) as columns. Order the rows based on the values of vote share difference.

Hint: Use `knitr::kable()` to produce a nicely formatted table. [Optional] To make the table neater, round off numbers to two decimal places and change the column names. See R documentation (`?kable`) for the arguments.

Answer 8

```
elec |>
  slice_max(gop_vs_diff, n = 20) |>
  select(state, county, pct_for_born15:gop_vs_diff) |>
  arrange(desc(gop_vs_diff)) |>
```



```
knitr::kable(col.names = c("State", "County",
                           "Foreign born", "Degree", "Non-white", "Unemp. 2012", "Unemp. 2016",
                           "Rep. 2012", "Rep. 2016", "Rep. difference"),
             digits = 2)
```

State	County	Foreign born	Degree	Non- white	Unemp. 2012	Unemp. 2016	Rep. 2012	Rep. 2016	Rep. differ- ence
WI	Menominee	2.85	16.11	88.99	14.2	6.4	0.13	0.21	61.68
KY	Elliott	0.21	7.48	2.91	12.5	10.2	0.47	0.70	49.67
IA	Howard	0.68	12.81	1.75	3.6	3.0	0.39	0.58	49.43
TX	Starr	33.11	9.10	5.07	13.1	11.7	0.13	0.19	46.10
IL	Henderson	0.99	13.91	2.37	7.5	5.0	0.43	0.62	43.33
TX	Duval	4.11	8.08	14.29	6.4	10.7	0.23	0.32	40.37
NY	Franklin	3.78	17.68	17.02	8.6	5.1	0.36	0.50	39.63
IA	Jackson	0.82	15.29	2.70	4.7	3.6	0.41	0.57	39.04
SD	Oglala	0.19	11.43	94.99	13.7	10.0	0.06	0.08	38.55
MO	Clark	0.16	12.80	2.30	7.2	6.6	0.54	0.74	38.18
IA	Worth	0.74	15.38	2.80	4.6	3.3	0.42	0.58	37.73
ND	Rolette	0.59	20.86	79.94	7.4	6.6	0.24	0.33	37.26
OH	Monroe	0.14	9.86	2.00	8.1	9.1	0.52	0.72	36.21
VA	Covington city	1.48	9.28	18.31	7.8	5.3	0.42	0.57	36.02
OH	Pike	0.58	11.83	3.71	11.9	6.9	0.49	0.67	35.18
MN	Swift	1.72	16.18	4.08	4.6	3.6	0.44	0.60	34.92
SD	Buffalo	0.00	9.51	81.50	10.3	8.0	0.26	0.35	34.76
OH	Vinton	0.18	9.15	2.84	10.3	6.2	0.52	0.70	34.74
OH	Trumbull	1.58	17.32	11.23	8.8	6.0	0.38	0.51	34.56
IA	Wapello	7.78	16.76	7.99	6.5	6.8	0.43	0.58	33.96