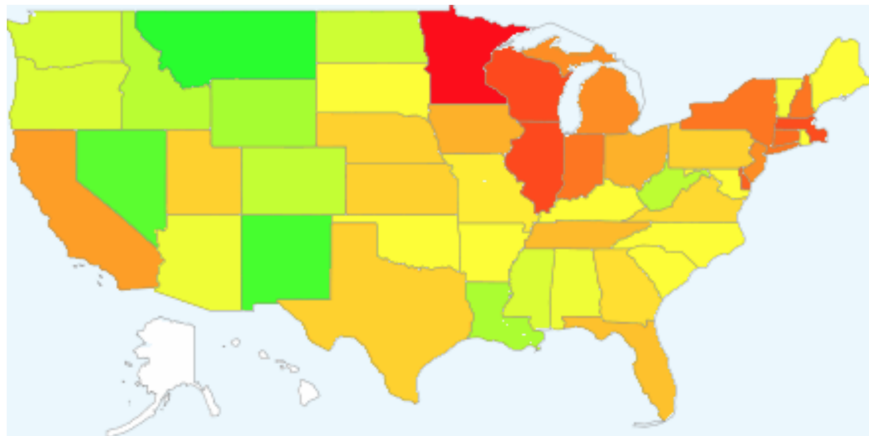


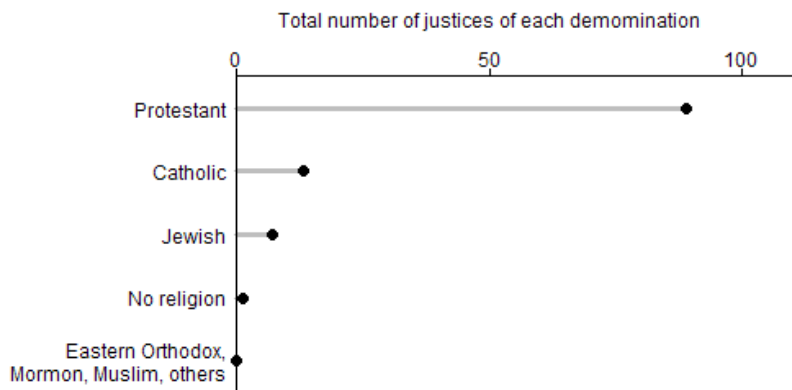
***Percentage in each state answering Yes to, “If you knew for sure you would not get caught, would you commit murder for any reason?”***



YES

NO

## Religious affiliation of U.S. Supreme Court justices, 1789-2010



1880 1884 1888 1960 1968 2000

1880 1884 1888 1960 1968 2000

1876 1916 1976 2004

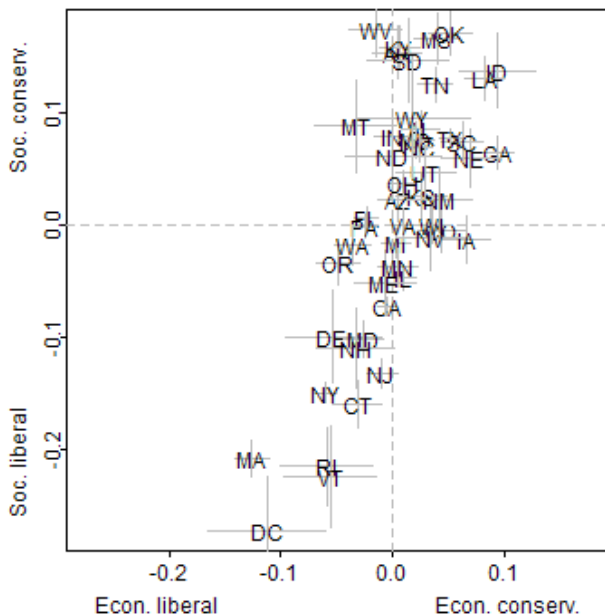
# Preferences in Political Mapping (Measuring, Modeling, and Visualization)

Andrew Gelman

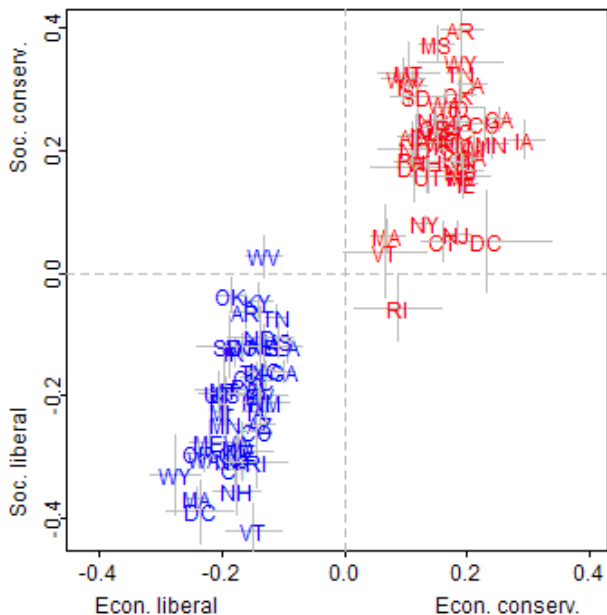
Department of Statistics and Department of Political Science  
Columbia University

17 Mar 2016

Average economic and social ideology scores in each state



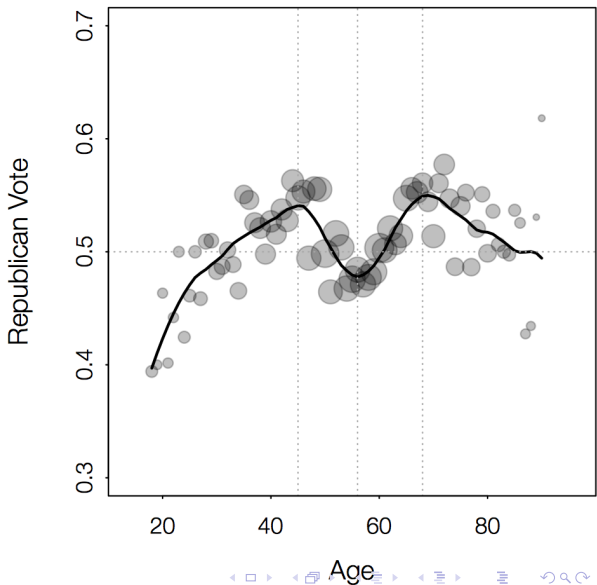
Average economic and social ideology scores  
among Bush voters (red) and Gore voters (blue) in each state



# Jimmy Carter Republicans and George W. Bush Democrats

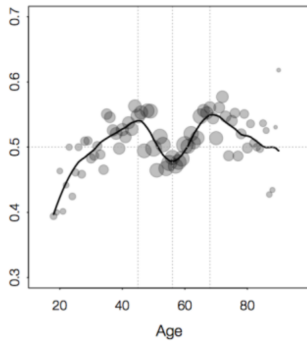


Non-Monotonic Age Curve in 2008

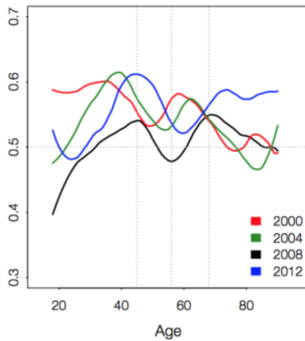




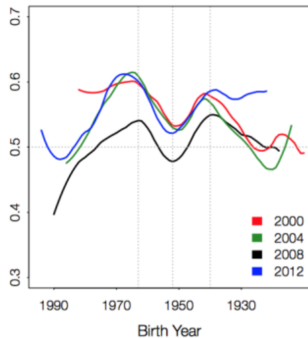
Non-Monotonic Age Curve in 2008



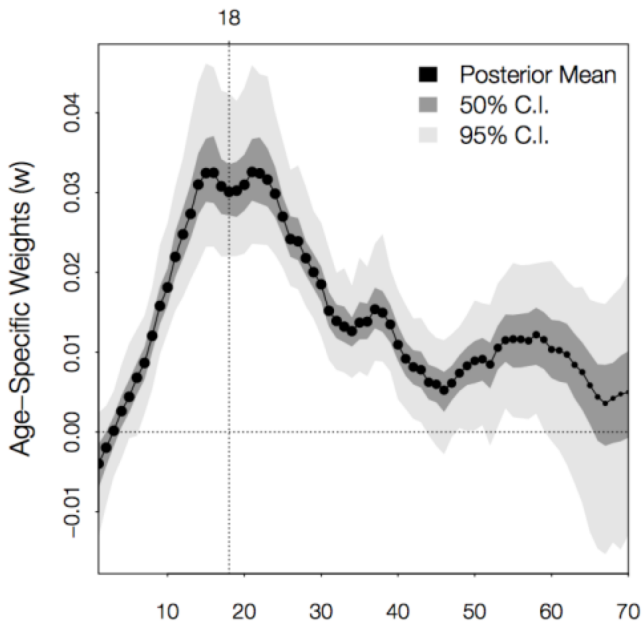
Non-Monotonicity in Other Elections



Lining up by Birth Year



# The Formative Years



# Red state, blue state, rich state, poor state

- ▶ Richer *voters* favor the Republicans, *but*
- ▶ Richer *states* favor the Democrats
- ▶ Hierarchical logistic regression: predict your vote given your income and your state (“varying-intercept model”)

# Red state, blue state, rich state, poor state

- ▶ Richer *voters* favor the Republicans, *but*
- ▶ Richer *states* favor the Democrats
- ▶ Hierarchical logistic regression: predict your vote given your income and your state (“varying-intercept model”)

# Red state, blue state, rich state, poor state

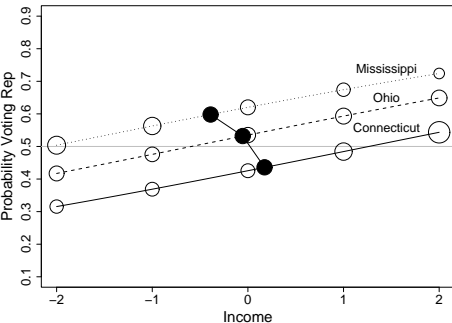
- ▶ Richer *voters* favor the Republicans, *but*
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# Red state, blue state, rich state, poor state

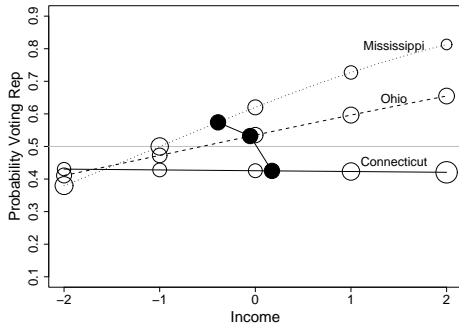
- ▶ Richer *voters* favor the Republicans, *but*
- ▶ Richer *states* favor the Democrats
- ▶ Hierarchical logistic regression: predict your vote given your income and your state (“varying-intercept model”)

# Varying-intercept model, then model criticism, then varying-slope model

Varying-intercept model, 2000

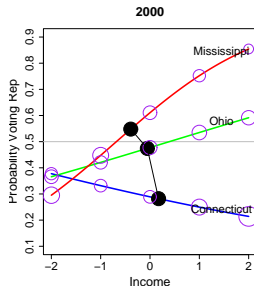
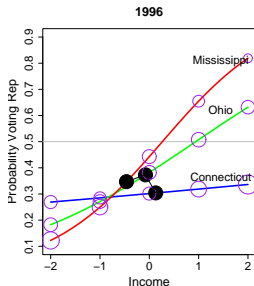
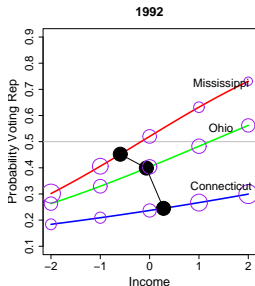
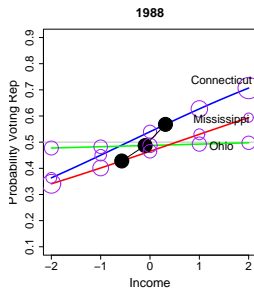
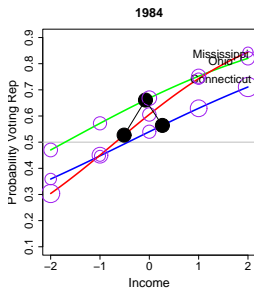
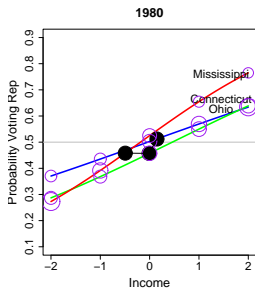


Varying-intercept, varying-slope model, 2000



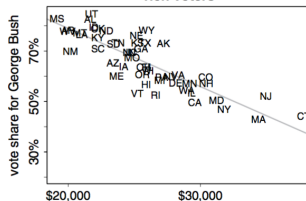
In any given state, the estimates would not be statistically significant!

# 3-way interactions!

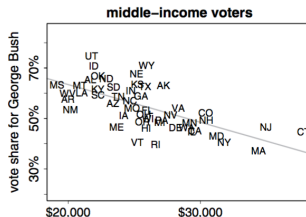
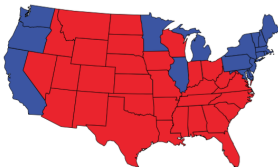




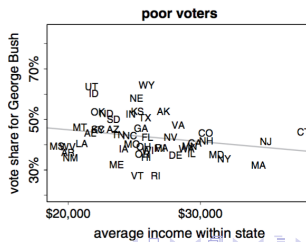
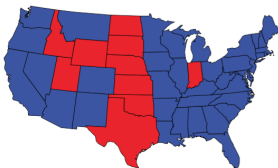
State winners (rich voters only)



State winners (middle-income voters)

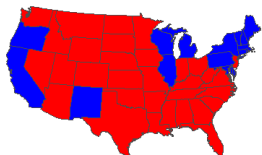


State winners (poor voters only)

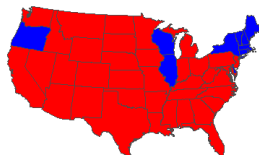


# Adding another factor: The inference ...

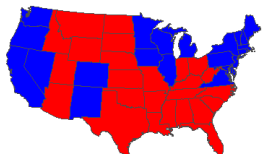
State winners in 2008 (rich voters only)



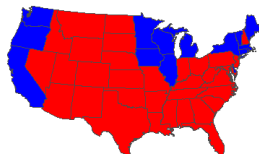
State winners in 2008 (rich Whites only)



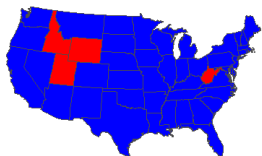
State winners in 2008 (middle-income voters)



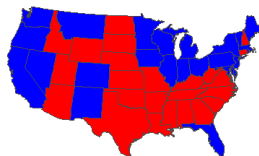
State winners in 2008 (middle-income Whites)



State winners in 2008 (poor voters only)



State winners in 2008 (poor Whites only)



## ...and the refutation!

- ▶ Criticisms from the blogger “Daily Kos”:
  - ▶ Criticisms of the inferences:

“While Gelman claims only the under-\$20K white demo went for Obama, the results were far different. Per the exit poll — real voters — Obama won all whites: 54–45 percent for those making under \$50K, and 51–47% for those making over \$50K. ... New Hampshire is solidly Blue unlike Gelman’s maps, 58–40 — one of the most obvious misses in Gelman’s analysis. ....”
  - ▶ Criticisms of the method:

“Gelman inexplicably avoids using exit poll data ... while exit polls have their own margin of errors and sample composition problems, they sure as heck beat anything done over the telephone.”
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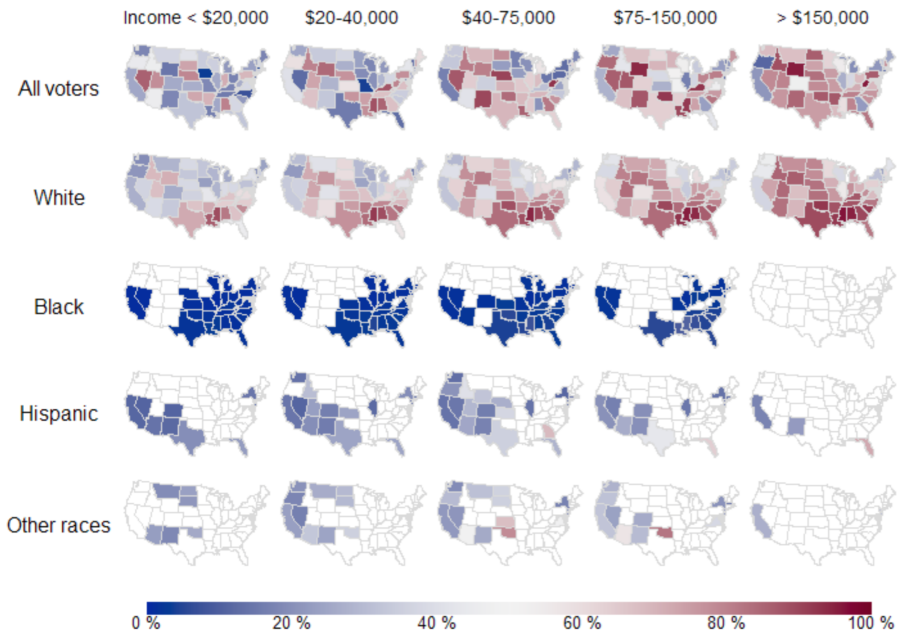
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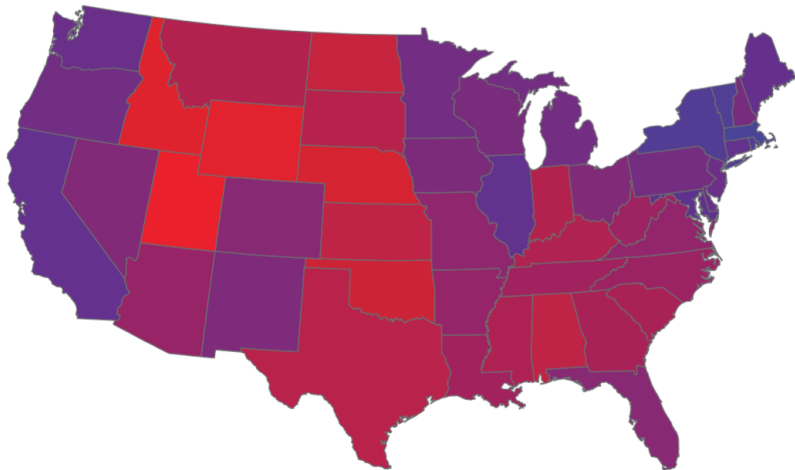
# Did you vote for McCain in 2008?



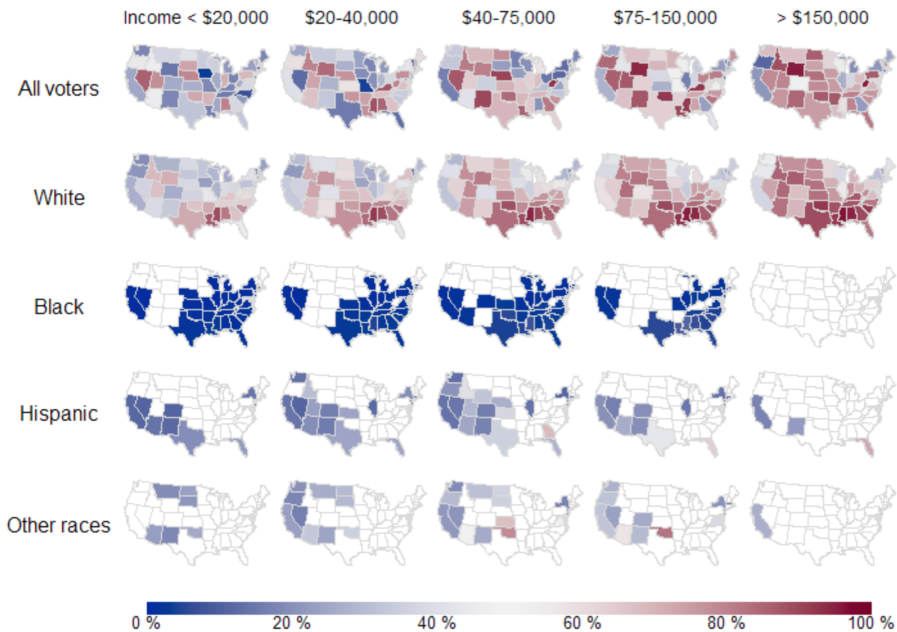
When a category represents less than 1% of the voters in a state, the state is left blank



I don't like these colors



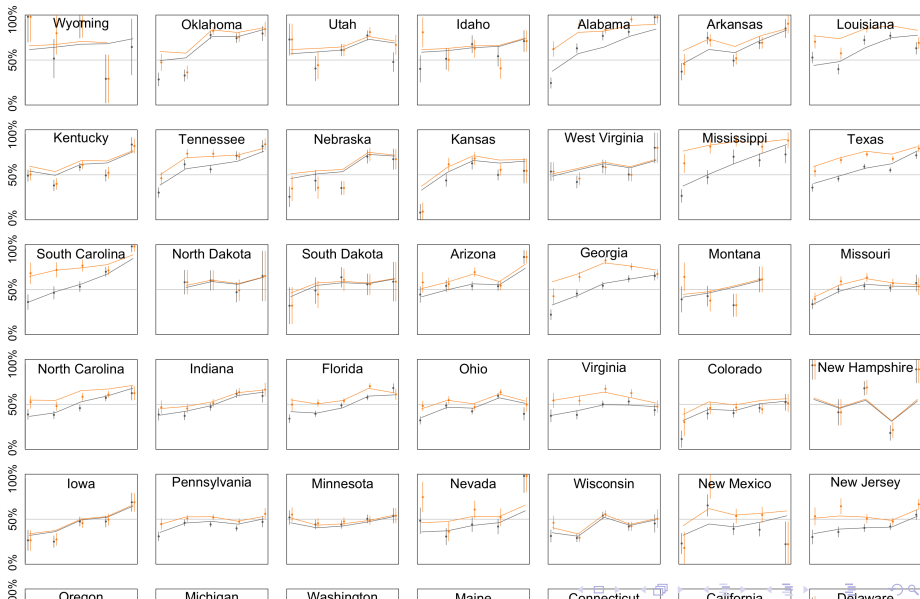
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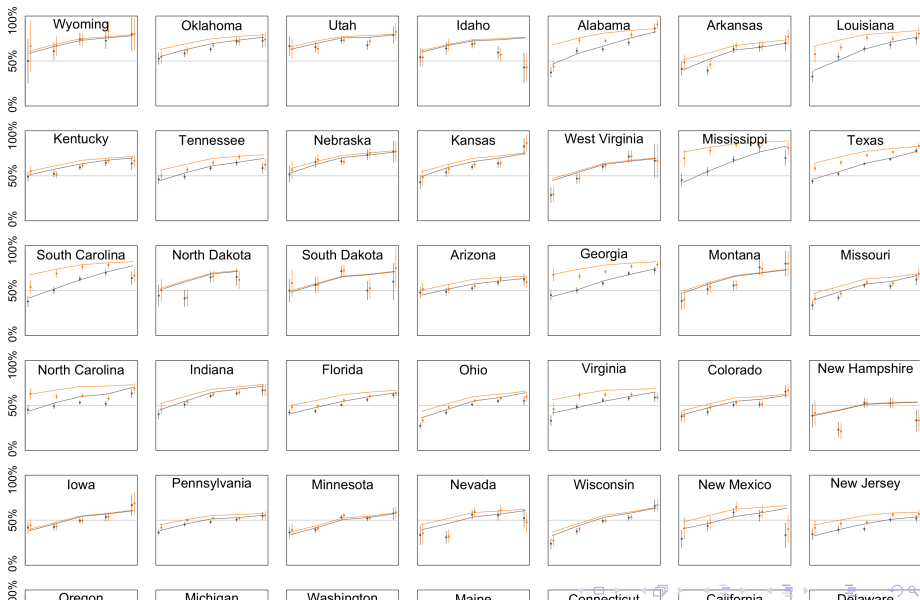
# A graph we made to study and criticize our inferences

2008 election: McCain share of the two-party vote in each income category  
within each state among all voters (gray) and just non-Hispanic whites (orange)

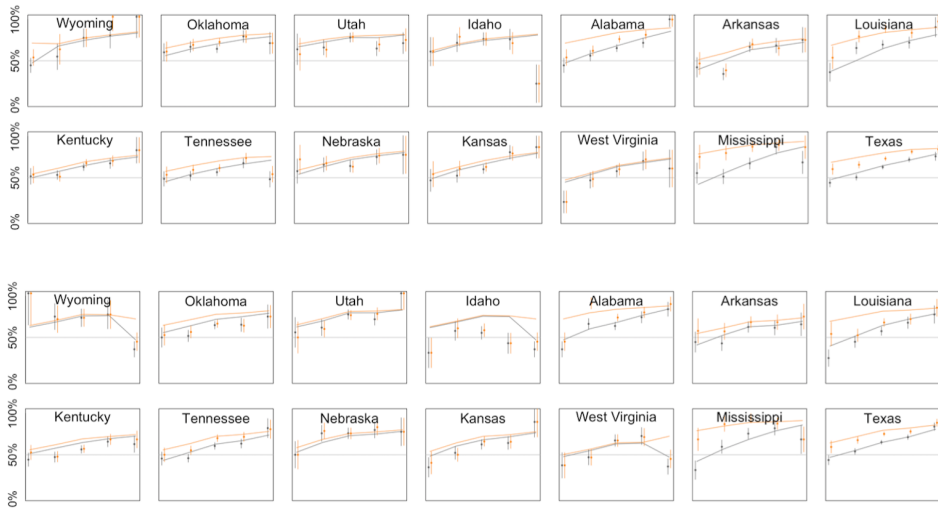


# Replication using data from 2004

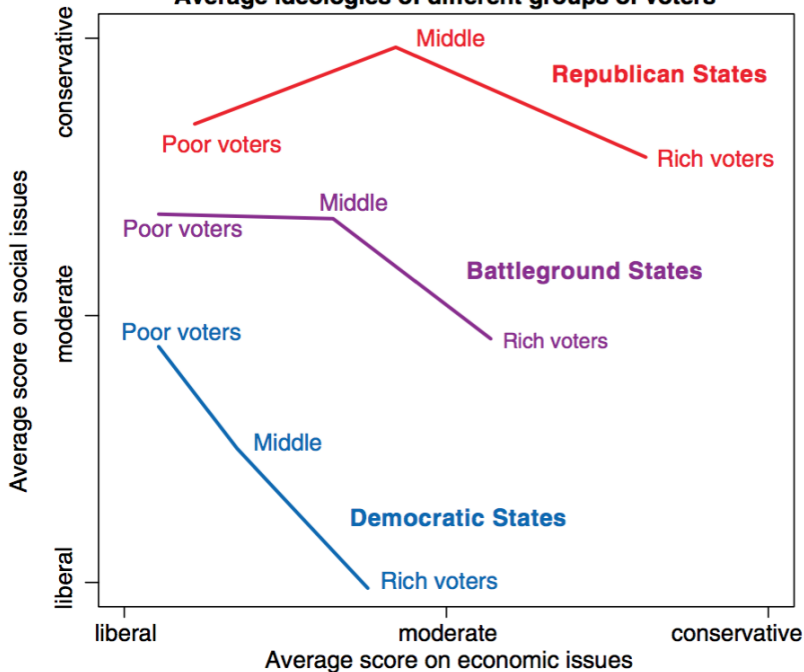
2004 election: Bush share of the two-party vote in each income category  
within each state among all voters (gray) and just non-Hispanic whites (orange)



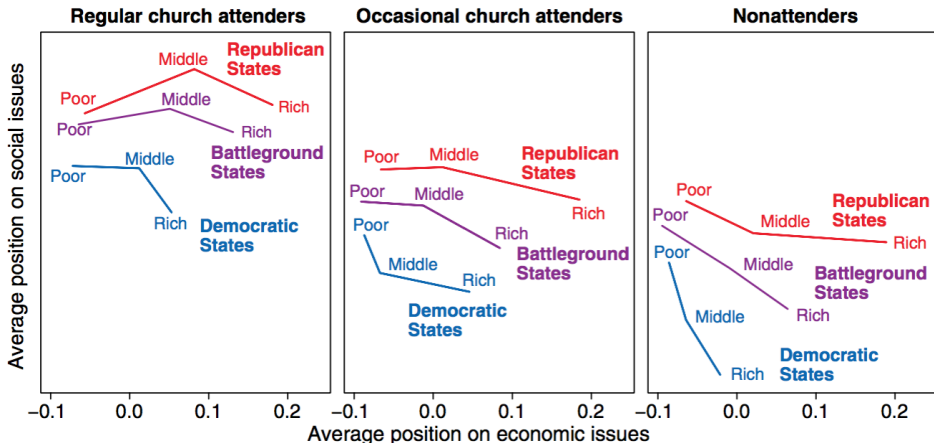
# Splitting the 2004 data into 2 parts



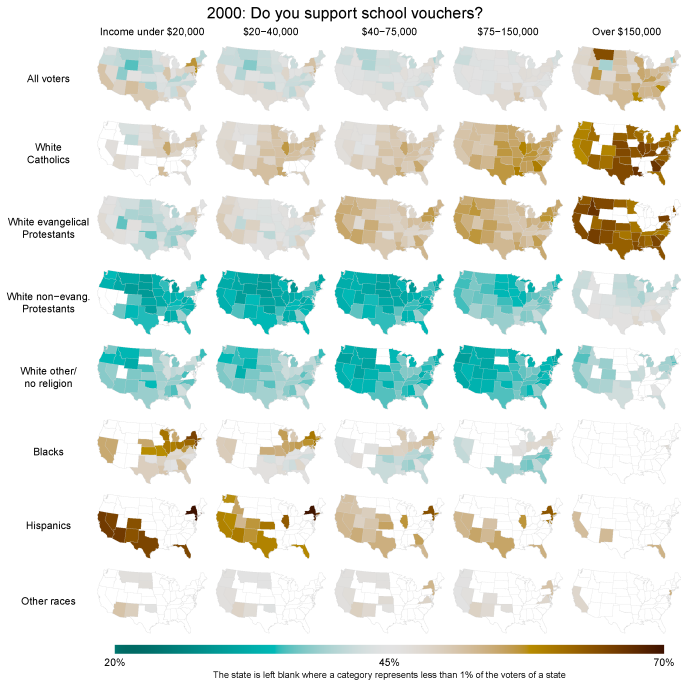
## Average ideologies of different groups of voters



# Find the standard errors

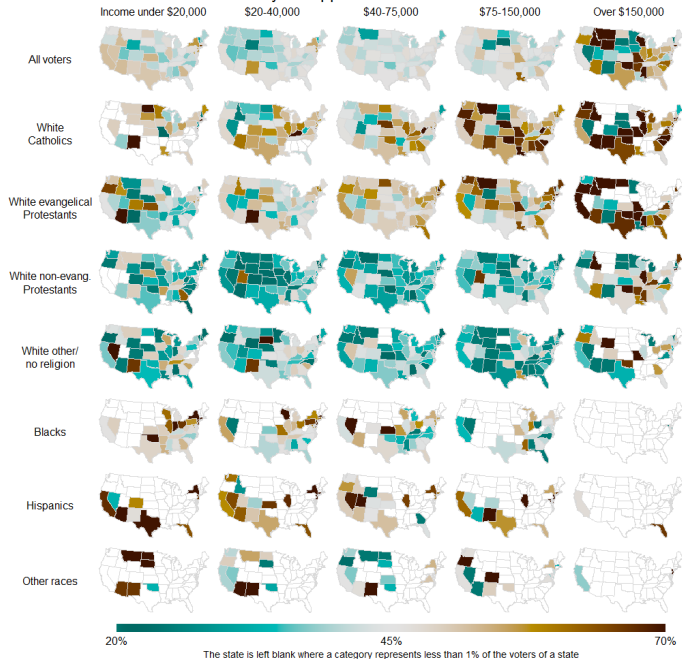


Ethnicity/religion,  
income, and  
school vouchers:





## 2000: Do you support school vouchers?



The raw data: