# Three New Methodologies for Voting Rights Litigation 

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## New Method (1): Improving Ecological Inference

- Predicting individual ethnicity by combining (via Bayes rule)
(1) Census surname list
(2) Geocoded voter file
(3) Other attributes from voter file: age, gender, party ID, turnout etc.
- Empirical validation based on the Florida voter file:

|  | Whites |  | Blacks |  | Latinos |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | ---: | ---: | ---: |
| Predictors | False Neg. | False Pos. | FN | FP | FN | FP |
| Name | .043 | .574 | .850 | .010 | .289 | .034 |
| Name, Precinct | .058 | .322 | .386 | .028 | .210 | .037 |
| Name, Precinct, Other | .057 | .294 | .310 | .030 | .227 | .035 |

## Predicting Turnout by Racial Groups

- The new method gives predicted probabilities for each voter by race
- Compute the weighted average of turnout using these probabilities
- This yields precinct-level predicted turnout by racial groups

|  | Goodman's Regression |  | King's EI |  | Bayesian Prediction |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | ---: |
|  | Bias | RMSE | Bias | RMSE | Bias | RMSE |
| Precincts |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Whites |  |  | .018 | .036 | -.012 | .021 |
| Blacks |  |  | -.081 | .101 | -.027 | .050 |
| Latinos |  |  | -.045 | .080 | .006 | .041 |
| Others |  |  | -.502 | .520 | .008 | .088 |
| Congressional districts | .000 | .038 | .161 | .245 | -.010 | .013 |
| Whites | -.166 | .211 | .088 | .260 | -.034 | .035 |
| Blacks | -.232 | .400 | .030 | .087 | .007 | .018 |
| Latinos | -.161 | .427 | -.483 | .487 | -.023 | .042 |
| Others |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## New Method (2): Simulating Redistricting Plans

- Researchers simulate redistricting plans to:
- detect gerrymandering
- assess impact of constraints (e.g., population, compactness, race)
- Goal: Characterize the distribution of redistricting plans under various constraints
- Existing algorithms (Cirincione et. al 2000, Altman \& McDonald 2011, Chen \& Rodden 2013):
(1) No theoretical properties known
(2) The resulting sample may not be representative of the population
(3) Leads to biased inference
- We develop a new simulation method that:
(1) obtains a representative sample from the true underlying distribution
(2) incorporates common constraints
(3) scales to larger redistricting problems


SSD Beta $=\mathbf{- 2 0 0 0}$ (Annealed) Iteration 1


## Our Algorithm vs. Standard Algorithm



## Partisan Implications of "Local Exploration"




Number of Republican Seats





## New Method (3): Asking Sensitive Survey Questions

- Sensitive survey questions:
- discrimination and prejudice: gender, race, religion
- illegal behavior: corruption, vote-buying
- seemingly non-sensitive question: turnout
- Two sources of bias:
(1) social desirability bias
(2) non-response bias
- Indirect questioning methods via survey experiments:
(1) list experiment: aggregation
(2) endorsement experiment: evaluation bias
(3) randomized response: random noise
- Empirical validation: 2011 Mississippi personhood referendum
- a poll 24 hours before the election predicted $44 \%$ no votes
- the amendment was defeated $58 \%$ to $42 \%$


## List Experiment

Here is a list of four things that some people have done and some people have not. Please listen to them and then tell me HOW MANY of them you have done in the past two years. Do not tell me which you have and have not done. Just tell me how many:

Discussed politics with family or friends
Cast a ballot for Governor Phil Bryant
Paid dues to a union
Given money to a Tea Party candidate or organization
(treatment) Voted 'YES' on the 'Personhood' Initiative

How many of these things have you done in the past two years?

## Endorsement Experiment

We'd like to get your overall opinion of some people in the news. As I read each name, please say if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of each person.
(control) Phil Bryant, Governor of Mississippi?
(treatment) Phil Bryant, Governor of Mississippi, who campaigned in favor of the 'Personhood' Initiative on the 2011 Mississippi General Election ballot?

## Randomized Response

To answer this question, you will need a coin. Once you have found one, please toss the coin two times and note the results of those tosses (heads or tails) one after the other on a sheet of paper. Do not reveal to me whether your coin lands on heads or tails. After you have recorded the results of your two coin tosses, just tell me you are ready and we will begin.

Now, please answer 'yes' if either your second coin toss came up heads or you voted 'YES' on the Personhood Initiative, which appeared on the November 2011 Mississippi General Election ballot.

Yes
No
Don't know
Refused

## Empirical Validation Results



## References

(1) Imai and Kahnna. "Improving Ecological Inference by Predicting Individual Ethnicity from Voter Registration Records."
(2) Fifield, Higgins, and Imai. "A New Automated Redistricting Simulator Using Markov Chain Monte Carlo."
(3) Rosenfeld, Imai, and Shapiro. "An Empirical Validation Study of Popular Survey Methodologies for Sensitive Questions."

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