



CLOSUP Student Working Paper Series
Number 73

April 2021

Vote Share Analysis Findings

Chris Campbell, University of Michigan

This paper is available online at <http://closup.umich.edu>

Papers in the CLOSUP Student Working Paper Series are written by students at the University of Michigan. Any opinions, findings, conclusions, or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the author(s) and do not necessarily reflect the view of the Center for Local, State, and Urban Policy or any sponsoring agency

Center for Local, State, and Urban Policy
Gerald R. Ford School of Public Policy
University of Michigan

Vote Share Analysis Findings

By Chris Campbell, April 2021

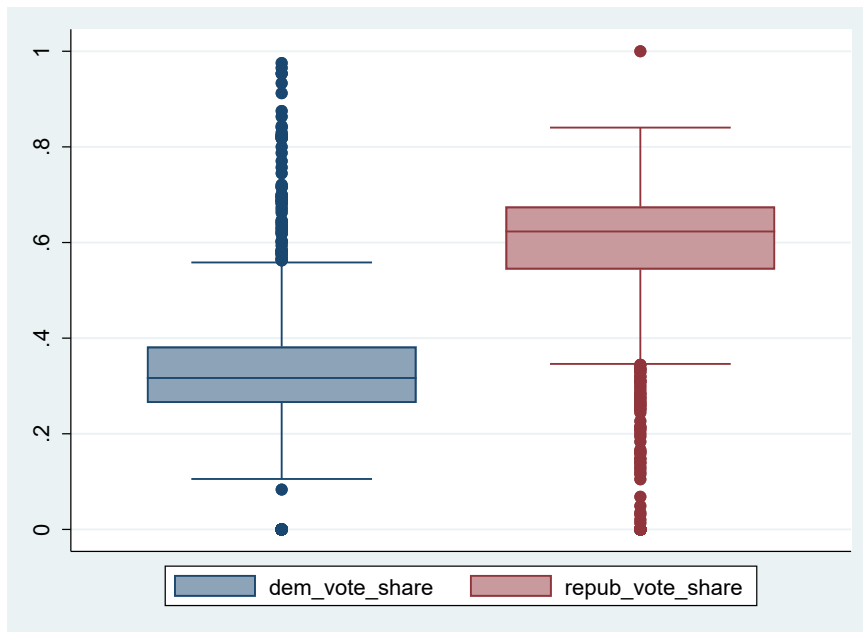
Each spring, the Michigan Public Policy Survey (MPPS) asks officials from Michigan's cities, townships, counties and villages about a range of topics concerning their jurisdictions' administrative, fiscal, and social health, as well as other relevant issues such as COVID-19, functioning of democracy, and the decennial Census.

We have merged MPPS responses with city and township-level data containing 2016 presidential vote to test the hypothesis that correlations exist between measures of partisanship and political homogeneity (that is, if the Democratic or Republican candidate won a overwhelming share of the vote) and how much faith MPPS respondents express in local, state, and federal election administration and the state of democracy overall. These summary statistics and basic regressions only demonstrate overall trends, but can help guide future inquiry and higher-level econometric analysis.

Partisanship and Vote Share Data:

Our dataset merges MPPS responses with 2016 presidential vote shares from each city and township within Michigan. Thus, our analysis is limited to MPPS respondents representing cities and townships – counties and villages are excluded.

Far more jurisdictions reported Republican majorities than Democratic districts. Because of this, Democratic vote shares are represented heavily by a few outliers where the party won more than 66% of the vote. This represents about 14% of all jurisdictions, while Republicans won more than two thirds of the vote in 29% of jurisdictions. Although total votes for each party were roughly even, the overall rural-urban partisan divide means Republican dominance in the numerous but lightly-populated rural districts will skew MPPS results more conservative than the state's overall politics would suggest.



Indeed, a breakdown of the MPPS’s 7-point partisanship scale shows Republicans heavily represented among survey respondents, with “Strong Republican” the most common identification.

7-point partisanship scale	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
Strong Republican	276	27.54	27.54
Weak Republican	173	17.27	44.81
Independent leaning Republican	124	12.38	57.19
Independent	155	15.47	72.65
Independent leaning Democrat	90	8.98	81.64
Weak Democrat	76	7.58	89.22
Strong Democrat	108	10.78	100.00
Total	1,002	100.00	

Additionally, about 14 percent of respondents identified with the minority party in their district. Democrats representing Republican-won jurisdictions constituted 12.04 percent of the entire sample. Republicans representing Democrat-won jurisdictions were much less common, as they constituted only 1.77 percent of the entire sample. These respondents may differ systematically in their opinions on democratic processes than their fellow partisans and warrant further exploration.

Democrats representing Republican-won jurisdictions

d_rep_r	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	1,592	87.96	87.96
1	218	12.04	100.00
Total	1,810	100.00	

Republicans representing Democrat-won jurisdictions

r_rep_d	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	1,778	98.23	98.23
1	32	1.77	100.00
Total	1,810	100.00	

Political Homogeneity:

Using vote share data, we can construct a six-point “homogeneity index” that equals 0 if neither party won more than 55 percent of the vote in a jurisdiction, 1 if one party won between 55 and 60 percent, two between 60 and 70 percent, three between 70 and 80 percent, and so forth. After eliminating entries without vote share data, we can see that 19 percent of jurisdictions are closely divided between the two parties. Meanwhile, one party dominated with over 90 percent of the vote in nearly 13 percent of jurisdictions, making them almost completely homogenous.

hom_index	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	344	19.01	19.01
1	280	15.47	34.48
2	695	38.40	72.87
3	233	12.87	85.75
4	28	1.55	87.29
5	230	12.71	100.00

-----+-----
 Total | 1,810 100.00

Demographic Characteristics:

We can find the percentage of each jurisdiction’s population that identifies as “white” by dividing its total 2010 population by the number of white residents in 2010. The median jurisdiction was over 96% white, and just over 1% of jurisdictions were majority-minority. This demonstrates the MPPS’s heavily rural skew and the tendency for nonwhite residents to cluster in cities.

pct_white

	Percentiles	Smallest		
1%	.4349033	.0140554		
5%	.7423862	.0698346		
10%	.8293022	.1061368	Obs	1,353
25%	.9317469	.2047381	Sum of Wgt.	1,353
50%	.9608276		Mean	.9266779
		Largest	Std. Dev.	.1004189
75%	.9722617	.9967213		
90%	.9801604	1		
95%	.9841076	1		
99%	.9902572	1		

On the other hand, Black people comprise 14 percent of the state’s population but the median jurisdiction is just 0.4% Black. Fewer than 1 percent of all jurisdictions are majority Black, and there are only three jurisdictions in the entire state that are more than 75% Black.

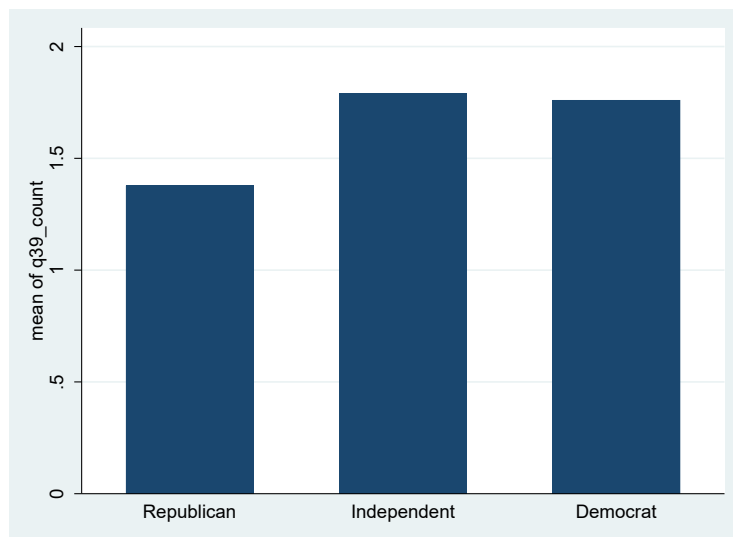
pct_black

	Percentiles	Smallest
1%	0	0
5%	0	0

10%	0	0	Obs	1,353
25%	.0018078	0	Sum of Wgt.	1,353
50%	.0045962		Mean	.0270166
		Largest	Std. Dev.	.0814992
75%	.0121894	.7319563		
90%	.0617876	.8269053	Variance	.0066421
95%	.1330911	.8918111	Skewness	6.154237
99%	.455746	.9532865	Kurtosis	50.19004

Census Participation:

Question 39 on the MPPS asks respondents about which of seven specific actions their jurisdictions are taking to encourage residents to complete the 2020 U.S. Census. We can construct a count variable to measure the aggregate level of effort each jurisdiction has put into Census promotion. After eliminating “Don’t Know” responses, Republican-led jurisdiction took fewer actions on average than Independent and Democratic-leaning jurisdictions.



An OLS regression finds a significant negative relationship between Republican vote shares and the number of Census participation actions taken, holding political and racial homogeneity constant, as well as population density, constant. Political and racial homogeneity do not appear to have a consistent effect on q39_count, but more densely populated jurisdictions are likely to have taken more actions than lightly-populated jurisdictions, even after controlling for partisanship.

q39_count	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
repub_vote	-2.333935	.6180786	-3.78	0.000	-3.546986	-1.120885
pct_white	-.4280667	.630254	-0.68	0.497	-1.665013	.8088793
pop_density	.8257878	.0686538	12.03	0.000	.6910469	.9605286
hom_index	.0979027	.0846053	1.16	0.248	-.068145	.2639504
_cons	1.922746	.5030296	3.82	0.000	.9354928	2.91

Confidence in own election administration:

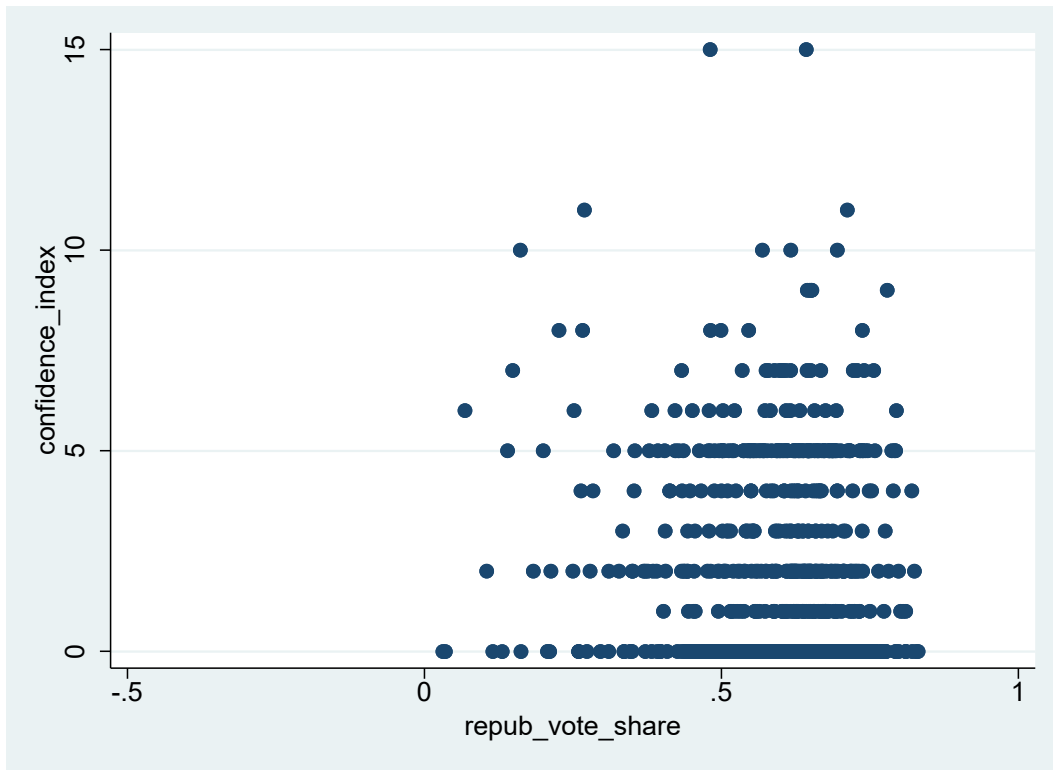
Question 25 measures respondents' confidence in five areas on a four point scale ranging from "Very Confident" to "Not Confident At All", plus "Don't Know". After eliminating the Don't Know responses, we can construct a "confidence index" in local election administration on a 15-point scale, with higher scores representing less overall faith.

Overall, jurisdictions displayed high confidence in their own election administration. 52% received a score of 0, reflecting full faith across all five areas. Only two jurisdictions recorded a score of 15, reflecting "No Confidence at All" across all five areas.

confidence_index	Freq.	Percent	Cum.
0	452	52.56	52.56
1	69	8.02	60.58
2	103	11.98	72.56
3	39	4.53	77.09
4	38	4.42	81.51
5	105	12.21	93.72
6	17	1.98	95.70
7	18	2.09	97.79
8	6	0.70	98.49
9	5	0.58	99.07
10	4	0.47	99.53
11	2	0.23	99.77
15	2	0.23	100.00

Total | 860 100.00

Looking at confidence index scores graphed against the Republican presidential vote share, neither partisanship nor political homogeneity seem to have a large effect on confidence in local election administration.



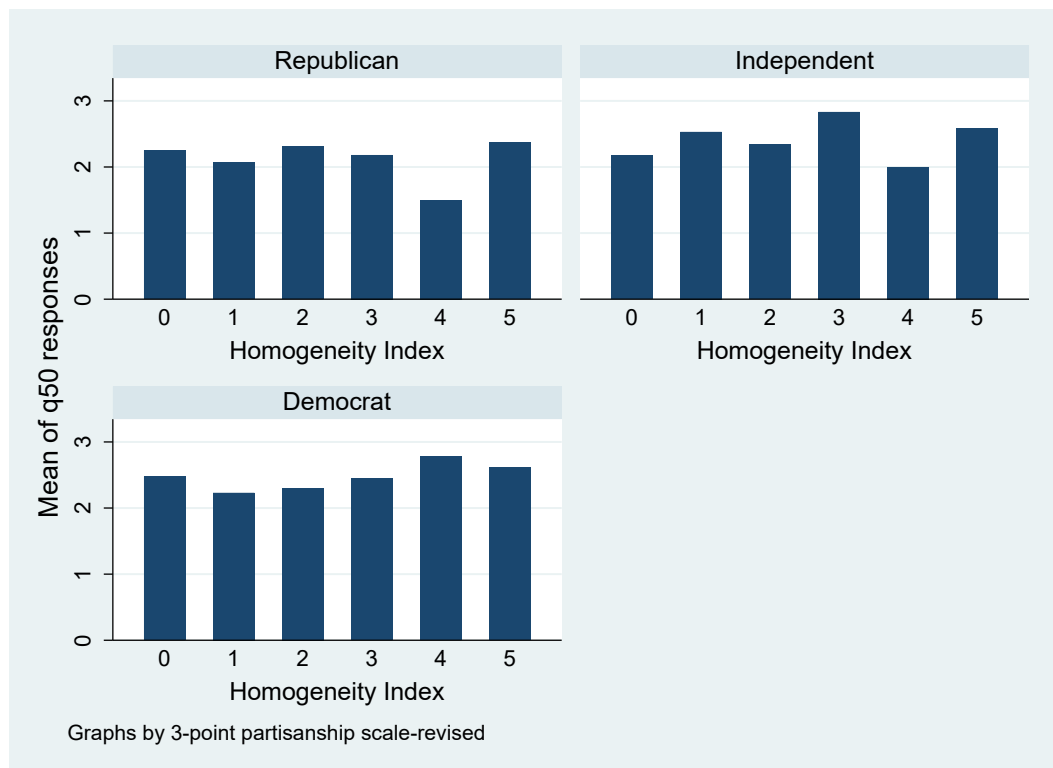
An OLS regression bears this out – controlling for political and racial homogeneity, as well as partisanship of the respondent, the only significant variable appears to be population density, with denser areas less likely to express confidence.

Linear regression	Number of obs	=	819
	F(4, 814)	=	2.58
	Prob > F	=	0.0360
	R-squared	=	0.0118
	Root MSE	=	.49587

		Robust				
q25_veryco~t	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t	[95% Conf. Interval]	
hom_index	-.0215106	.029029	-0.74	0.459	-.0784912	.03547
threpty	-.0098807	.0211219	-0.47	0.640	-.0513406	.0315791
pop_density	-.0711861	.0234293	-3.04	0.002	-.117175	-.0251972
pct_white	-.3022261	.1779561	-1.70	0.090	-.6515331	.0470808
_cons	.8700783	.1944349	4.47	0.000	.4884255	1.251731

Faith in Citizens to be responsible participants in democracy

Question 50 asks respondents to rate their confidence in citizens of their jurisdiction to be responsible participants in democracy on a 1-5 scale. Higher scores reflected less confidence. There does not appear to be a clear relationship between political homogeneity and confidence in citizens, although Republicans across the scale tended to be slightly more trusting than their Independent and Democratic counterparts.



In an OLS regression, no measure of political or racial homogeneity, nor population density, figure significantly into a respondent's confidence in citizens.

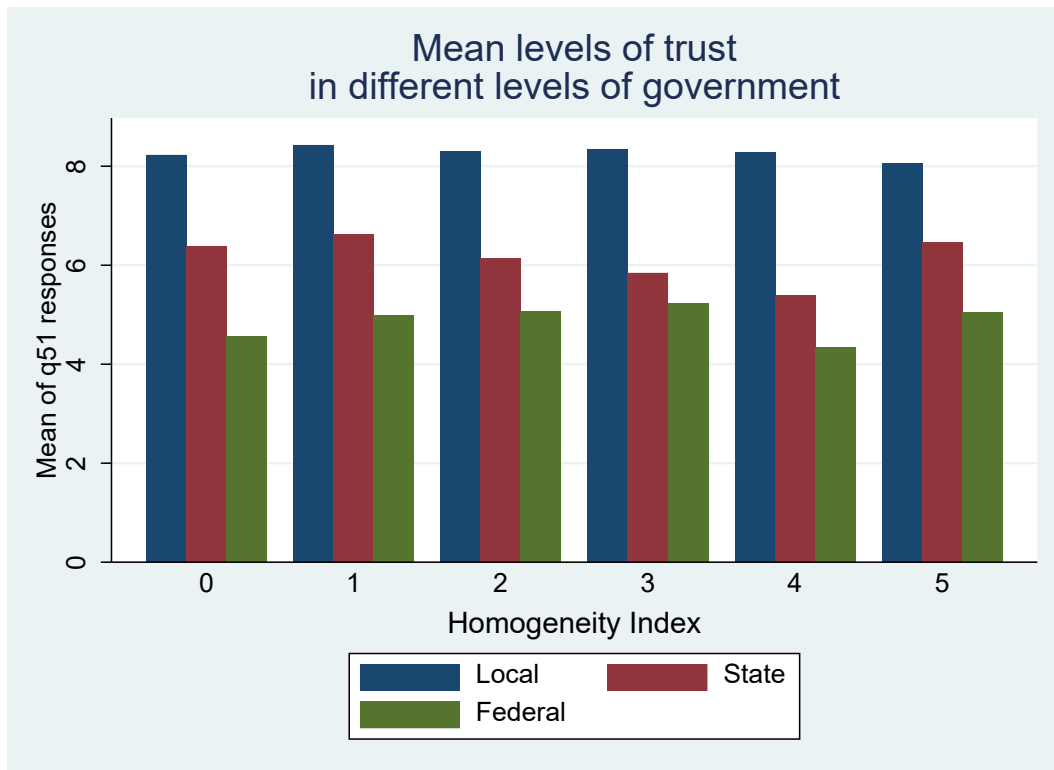
```

Linear regression          Number of obs   =          978
                          F(4, 973)           =          0.32
                          Prob > F           =          0.8659
                          R-squared          =          0.0009
                          Root MSE        =          .90577
  
```

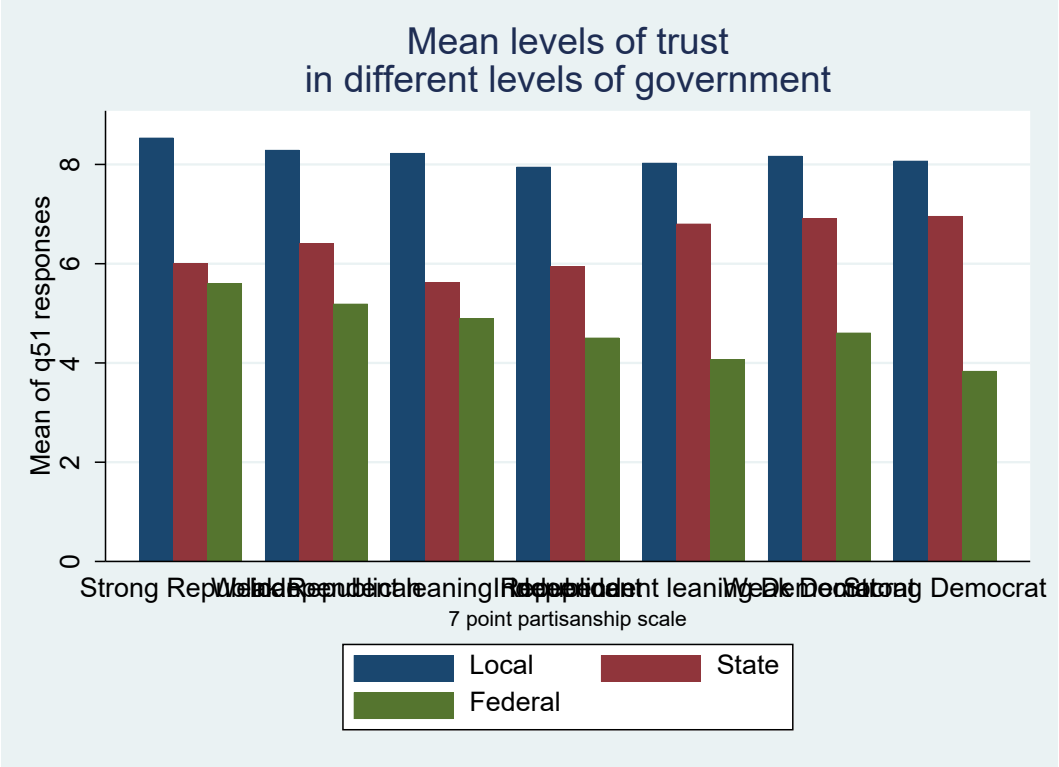
		Robust				[95% Conf. Interval]	
q50	Coef.	Std. Err.	t	P> t			
repub_vote~e	.2300711	.3523392	0.65	0.514	-.4613611	.9215034	
hom_index	-.0231919	.03101	-0.75	0.455	-.0840462	.0376623	
pct_white	-.2629785	.3359788	-0.78	0.434	-.9223049	.396348	
pop_density	-.0232258	.041792	-0.56	0.579	-.1052386	.058787	
_cons	2.465666	.286681	8.60	0.000	1.903082	3.028251	

Functioning of Democracy across different levels of government.

Question 51 asks respondents to rate the functioning of democracy across local, state, and federal levels on a 1-10 scale, with 1 representing a “total breakdown of democracy” and 10 representing a “perfectly function democracy.” The homogeneity index appears to have little bearing on confidence in any of the three levels:



Partisan affiliation (measured by partyid in the survey) affects results according to leadership, with Democrats more confident in state government and Republicans more confident in federal government. Local confidence remains high across all categories, although perhaps slightly higher among Strong Republicans.



Finally, jurisdictions across the urban-rural spectrum display similar levels of confidence across all three levels of government, with the exception of “Urban Clusters,” smaller towns in rural areas which tend to display slightly lower levels of confidence.

