The Geography of Discrimination in Voting: MRP Meets the VRA

Christopher S. Elmendorf University of California, Davis, School of Law

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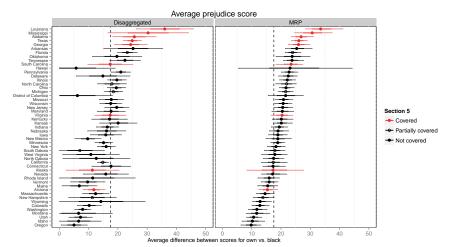
CCES Conference 2013

Sundance, Utah

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Hitting the bull's eye throwing a dart backwards over shoulder.

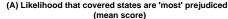
MEASURE OF RACIAL PREJUDICE BY STATE (2008)

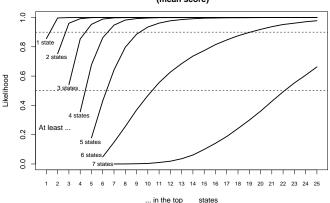


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The coverage formula has a "plainly legitimate sweep."

RANKING COVERED STATES IN 10,000 SIMULATIONS (2008)

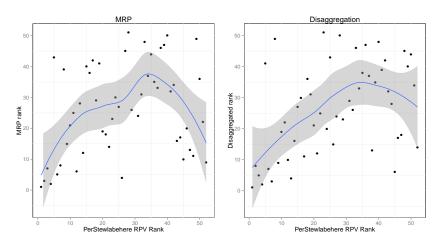




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Prejudice is ambiguously correlated with racially polarized voting.

RACIAL PREJUDICE vs. RPV (2008)

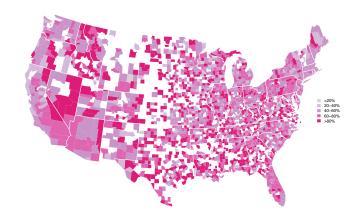


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The real payoff of MRP will be for sub-state estimation.

RACIAL PREJUDICE AND SECTION 2

County-level prejudice



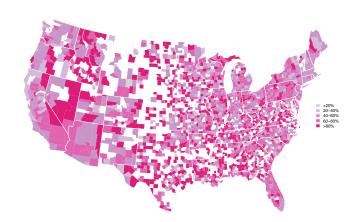
The real payoff of MRP will be for sub-state estimation.

RACIAL PREJUDICE AND SECTION 2

County-level prejudice

Create sensible presumptions whether racial discrimination impairs minority political participation

(Cannot solve "but-for" causal test)



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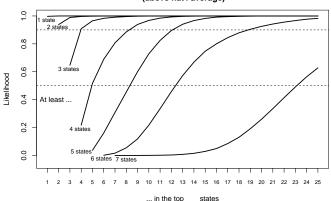
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The coverage formula has a "plainly legitimate sweep." RANKING COVERED STATES IN 10,000 SIMULATIONS

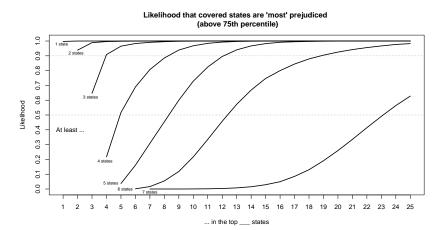
(B) Likelihood that covered states are 'most' prejudiced (above nat'l average)



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The coverage formula has a "plainly legitimate sweep."

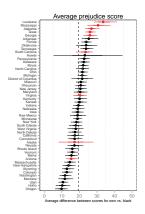
RANKING COVERED STATES IN 10,000 SIMULATIONS

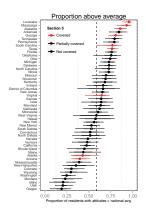


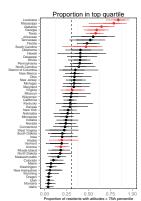
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Did Congress "hit the bullseye throwing dart over shoulder"?

MEASURE OF NEGATIVE RACIAL STEREOTYPES BY STATE

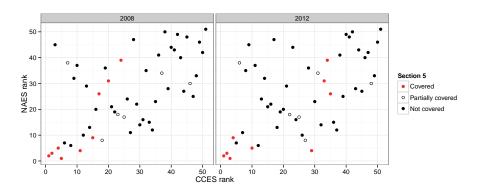






Comparing "racial resentment" to "explicit stereotypes."

CCES vs. ANNENBERG: 2008 & 2012



Elmendorf & Spencer MRP Meets VRA CCES 2013

Our project explores *relative* differences in racial attitudes.

SHELBY COUNTY V. HOLDER (ORAL ARGUMENT, FEB. 27, 2013)

CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Is it the government's submission that the citizens in the South are more racist than citizens in the North?



Our project explores relative differences in racial attitudes.

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CHIEF JUSTICE ROBERTS: Is it the government's submission that the citizens in the South are more racist than citizens in the North?



SOLICITOR GENERAL VERRILLI: It is not, and I do not know the answer to that, Your Honor . . .

