Analysis of the 2016 US Presidential Election

he data for this analysis come from Tony McGovern. The response variable, Y_i , is the percentage change in Republican (GOP) support from 2012 to 2016, i.e.,

$$100 \left(\frac{\% \text{ in } 2016}{\% \text{ in } 2012} - 1 \right),\,$$

in county $i = 1, \ldots, n$.

The p = 10 covariates X_{ij} are county-level census variables obtained from Kaggle are:

Population, percent change - April 1, 2010 to July 1, 2014

Persons 65 years and over, percent, 2014

Black or African American alone, percent, 2014

Hispanic or Latino, percent, 2014

High school graduate or higher, percent of persons age 25+, 2009-2013

Bachelor's degree or higher, percent of persons age 25+, 2009-2013

Homeownership rate, 2009-2013

Median value of owner-occupied housing units, 2009-2013

Median household income, 2009-2013

Persons below poverty level, percent, 2009-2013

For a county in state s, we assume the linear model

$$Y_i = \beta_{0s} + \sum_{j=1}^{p} X_i \beta_{sj} + \varepsilon_i,$$

where β_{js} is the effect of covariate j in state s. We compare three models for the β_{js} .

- 1. Constant slopes: $\beta_{js} = \beta_j$ for all counties.
- 2. Varying slopes with uninformative priors: $\beta_{js} \sim \text{Normal}(0, 100)$
- 3. Varying slopes with informative priors: $\beta_{js} \sim \text{Normal}(\mu_j, \sigma_i^2)$.

In the third model, the means μ_j and variances σ_j^2 are given prior and estimated from the data, therefore information is pooled across states via the prior. The three methods are compared using DIC, and final results are compared across models.

library(choroplethr)

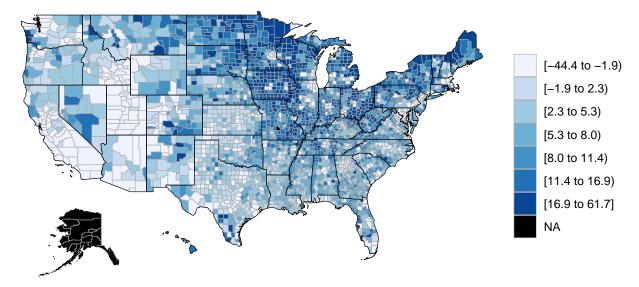
Loading required package: acs

Loading required package: stringr

Loading required package: XML

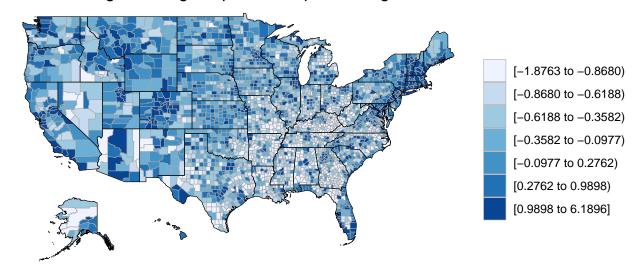
```
##
## Attaching package: 'acs'
## The following object is masked from 'package:base':
##
##
       apply
load("/Users/kamaladadashova/Documents/DoctoralCourses/Applied Bayesian Statistics/Lecture Notes with A
      <- scale(X)
                   # Standardize the covariates
       <- cbind(1,X)
 short <- c("Intercept", "Pop change", "65+", "African American",</pre>
            "Hispanic", "HS grad", "Bachelor's",
            "Homeownership rate", "Home value",
            "Median income", "Poverty")
names <- c("Intercept", as.character(names[1:11,2]))</pre>
colnames(X) <- short</pre>
 # Define a function to make county maps
 county_plot <- function(fips,Y,main="",units=""){</pre>
   library(choroplethr)
   temp <- as.data.frame(list(region=fips,value=Y))</pre>
   suppressWarnings(county_choropleth(temp,title=main,legend=units))
}
 county_plot(fips,Y,main="Percent increase in GOP support",units="")
```

Percent increase in GOP support



```
county_plot(fips,X[,7],main=names[7],units="")
```

Bachelor's degree or higher, percent of persons age 25+, 2009–2013



```
# Remove AK, HI and DC due to missing data
state <- as.character(all_dat[,3])</pre>
AKHI <- state=="AK" | state=="HI" | state=="DC"
fips <- fips[!AKHI]</pre>
     <- Y[!AKHI]
   <- X[!AKHI,]
state <- state[!AKHI]</pre>
 # Assign a numeric id to the counties in each state
st <- unique(state)</pre>
id <- rep(NA,length(Y))</pre>
for(j in 1:48){
  id[state==st[j]]<-j</pre>
n <- length(Y) # number of counties</pre>
N <- 48 # number of states
p <- ncol(X) # number of covariates</pre>
set.seed(0820)
iters <- 50000
burn <- 10000
```

Constant slopes

```
model1_string <- "model{</pre>
   # Likelihood
   for(i in 1:n){
      Y[i] ~ dnorm(mu[i],taue)
      mu[i] <- inprod(X[i,],beta[])</pre>
   # Priors
  for(j in 1:p){beta[j] ~ dnorm(0,0.01)}
  taue ~ dgamma(0.1,0.1)
   sig <- 1/sqrt(taue)</pre>
   # WAIC calculations
  for(i in 1:n){
     like[i] <- dnorm(Y[i],mu[i],taue)</pre>
}"
library(rjags)
## Loading required package: coda
## Linked to JAGS 4.3.1
## Loaded modules: basemod, bugs
# Load the model
dat <- list(Y=Y,n=n,X=X,p=p)</pre>
init <- list(beta=rep(0,p))</pre>
model1 <- jags.model(textConnection(model1_string),n.chains=2,</pre>
                       inits=init,data = dat,quiet=TRUE)
 # Generate samples
 update(model1, burn, progress.bar="none")
        <- coda.samples(model1,</pre>
 samp1
            variable.names="beta",
            n.iter=iters, progress.bar="none")
 # Compile results
      <- effectiveSize(samp1)</pre>
ESS1
         <- summary(samp1)$quantiles</pre>
rownames(out1)<-short</pre>
 # Compute DIC
       <- dic.samples(model1,n.iter=iters,progress.bar="none")</pre>
 # Compute WAIC
 waic1 <- coda.samples(model1,</pre>
           variable.names=c("like"),
            n.iter=iters, progress.bar="none")
like1 <- waic1[[1]]
```

```
fbar1 <- colMeans(like1)
P1 <- sum(base::apply(log(like1),2,var))
WAIC1 <- -2*sum(log(fbar1))+2*P1</pre>
```

Slopes as fixed effects

```
model2_string <- "model{</pre>
   # Likelihood
   for(i in 1:n){
      Y[i] ~ dnorm(mnY[i],taue)
      mnY[i] <- inprod(X[i,],beta[id[i],])</pre>
   # Slopes
   for(j in 1:p){for(i in 1:N){
       beta[i,j] ~ dnorm(0,0.01)
   # Priors
   taue ~ dgamma(0.1,0.1)
   # WAIC calculations
   for(i in 1:n){
     like[i] <- dnorm(Y[i],mnY[i],taue)</pre>
  }"
  library(rjags)
  # Load the model
  dat <- list(Y=Y,n=n,N=N,X=X,p=p,id=id)</pre>
  init <- list(beta=matrix(0,N,p))</pre>
  model2 <- jags.model(textConnection(model2_string),n.chains=2,</pre>
                        inits=init,data = dat,quiet=TRUE)
  # Generate samples
  update(model2, burn, progress.bar="none")
  samp2 <- coda.samples(model2,</pre>
            variable.names="beta",
            n.iter=iters, progress.bar="none")
  # Compile results
  ESS2
           <- effectiveSize(samp2)</pre>
           <- summary(samp2)$stat
  post mn2 <- matrix(sum[,1],N,p)</pre>
  post_sd2 <- matrix(sum[,2],N,p)</pre>
  # Compute DIC
```

Slopes as random effects

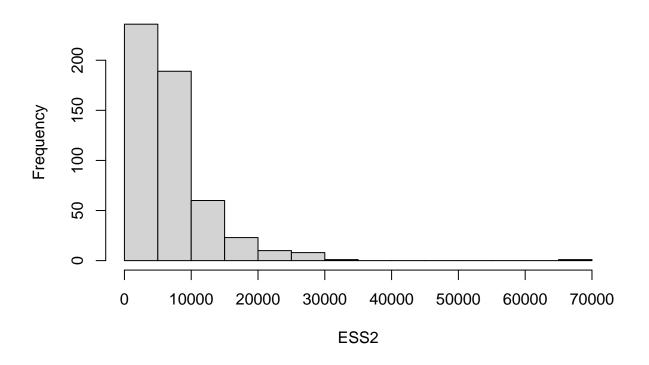
```
model3_string <- "model{</pre>
  # Likelihood
  for(i in 1:n){
    Y[i] ~ dnorm(mnY[i],taue)
     mnY[i] <- inprod(X[i,],beta[id[i],])</pre>
  # Random slopes
  for(j in 1:p){
    for(i in 1:N){
     beta[i,j] ~ dnorm(mu[j],taub[j])
   mu[j] ~ dnorm(0,0.01)
   taub[j] ~ dgamma(0.1,0.1)
  }
  # Priors
  taue ~ dgamma(0.1,0.1)
  # WAIC calculations
  for(i in 1:n){
    like[i] <- dnorm(Y[i],mnY[i],taue)</pre>
 }"
 library(rjags)
 # Load the model
 dat <- list(Y=Y,n=n,N=N,X=X,p=p,id=id)</pre>
 init <- list(beta=matrix(0,N,p))</pre>
 model3 <- jags.model(textConnection(model3_string),n.chains=2,</pre>
                       inits=init,data = dat,quiet=TRUE)
 # Generate samples
 update(model3, burn, progress.bar="none")
```

```
samp3 <- coda.samples(model3,</pre>
           variable.names="beta",
           n.iter=iters, progress.bar="none")
# Compile results
         <- effectiveSize(samp3)</pre>
         <- summary(samp3)$stat
post_mn3 <- matrix(sum[,1],N,p)</pre>
post_sd3 <- matrix(sum[,2],N,p)</pre>
# Compute DIC
dic3
        <- dic.samples(model3,n.iter=iters,progress.bar="none")</pre>
# Compute WAIC
waic3 <- coda.samples(model3,</pre>
            variable.names=c("like"),
            n.iter=iters, progress.bar="none")
like3 <- waic3[[1]]</pre>
fbar3 <- colMeans(like3)</pre>
        <- sum(base::apply(log(like3),2,var))</pre>
P3
WAIC3 \leftarrow -2*sum(log(fbar3))+2*P3
```

Check convergence

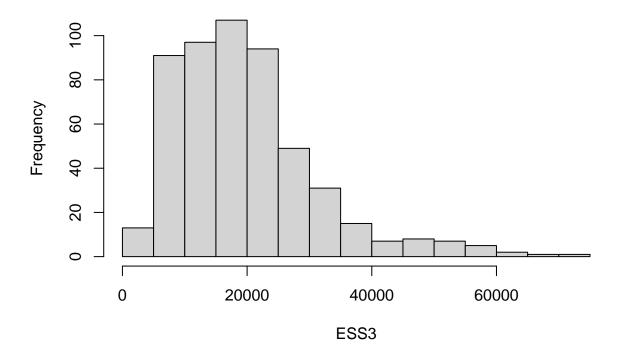
```
## beta[1] beta[2] beta[3] beta[4] beta[5] beta[6] beta[7] ## 100000.000 54783.888 18098.126 41377.224 29620.781 16623.860 16510.458 ## beta[8] beta[9] beta[10] beta[11] ## 23658.552 17431.601 8569.037 11775.625 hist(ESS2)
```

Histogram of ESS2



hist(ESS3)

Histogram of ESS3



Summary: The effective sample size is large for all parameters and all models, therefore it seems the MCMC algorithm has converged.

Summarize the non-spatial model

```
library(kableExtra)
kbl(round(out1,2))
```

	2.5%	25%	50%	75%	97.5%
Intercept	6.41	6.58	6.67	6.76	6.93
Pop change	-1.45	-1.25	-1.14	-1.03	-0.82
65+	0.53	0.79	0.93	1.06	1.32
African American	-1.89	-1.67	-1.56	-1.45	-1.23
Hispanic	-2.40	-2.18	-2.06	-1.95	-1.73
HS grad	1.25	1.58	1.75	1.92	2.25
Bachelor's	-6.72	-6.37	-6.19	-6.01	-5.67
Homeownership rate	-0.38	-0.12	0.01	0.15	0.40
Home value	-1.98	-1.68	-1.52	-1.36	-1.05
Median income	1.13	1.62	1.87	2.13	2.61
Poverty	0.91	1.28	1.47	1.67	2.04

Summary: All but one (home ownership rate) of the covariates have 95% interval that excludes zero. GOP support tended to increase in counties with

decreasing population high proportion of seniors and high school graduates low proportions of African Americans and Hispanics High income but low home value High poverty rate

Compare models with DIC

```
dic1

## Mean deviance: 21300

## penalty 11.99

## Penalized deviance: 21312

dic2

## Mean deviance: 18484

## penalty 455.6

## Penalized deviance: 18939

dic3

## Mean deviance: 18604

## penalty 238.1

## Penalized deviance: 18842
```

Summary: The first model with constant slopes is the simplest but fits the data poorly and thus has highest DIC. The second model with different slopes in each state has the best fit (smallest mean deviance), but is too complicated and has large p_D The final model has fairly small mean deviance and p_D , and thus balances fit and complexity to give the smallest DIC.

Compare models with WAIC

```
WAIC1; P1

## [1] 21334.81

## [1] 20.00944

WAIC2; P2

## [1] 18969.98

## [1] 405.1366

WAIC3; P3

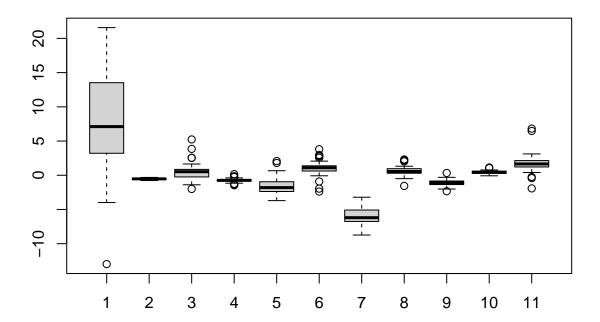
## [1] 18909.09

## [1] 18909.09
```

Summary: WAIC agrees with DIC. Both prefer Model 3 with the regression coefficients treated as random effects.

Explore the results of the final model

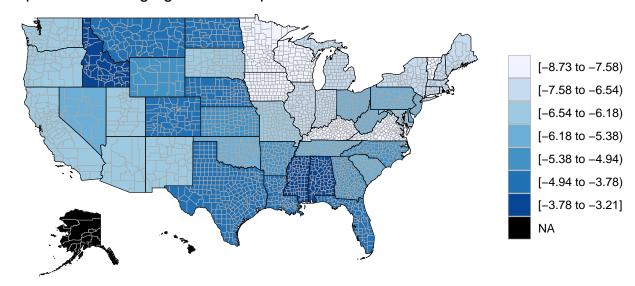
```
boxplot(post_mn3)
```



Summary: The effect of the proportion of college graduates varies the most across states

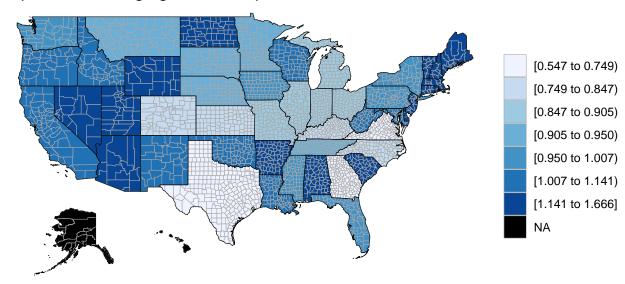
Explore the three estimate of the effects of college graduates

Proportion of college graduates – posterior mean



```
# Posterior sd
county_plot(fips,post_sd3[id,7],
main="Proportion of college graduates - posterior SD")
```

Proportion of college graduates - posterior SD



Summary: The effect of the proportion of college graduates is the strongest (most negative) in the midwest.