

Notes for Statistics Lab 52568 - 2020/21

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1 Israel Election Dataset - Analysis and Methods

1.1 Introduction

We describe here the dataset for elections for the 23rd Knesset in Israel (March 2020), with votes per city. (**Remark:** by city here we mean any 'yeshuv' which can be a city, village, kibutz etc.).

We also describe the data analysis and tools used to answer different questions about the data.

1.1.1 Notations:

- Our dataset is a matrix $\mathbf{N} \in \mathbb{R}_{C \times K}$ where K is the number of parties and C is the number of cities. n_{ij} is the number of voters for party j in city i . In addition, we have the following:
- Let $n_{i\bullet} = \sum_{j=1}^K n_{ij}$ be the total number of legal votes ('kolot ksherim') in city i . $\tilde{n}_{i\bullet}$ is the total number of eligible voters in city i ('baalei zhut bhira'). From these, we can calculate the voting turnout at city i : $v_i = \frac{n_{i\bullet}}{\tilde{n}_{i\bullet}}$. (In the data file you are given both $\tilde{n}_{i\bullet}$ and the voting turnout, but you need to re-calculate v_i without 'kolot psulim').
- Similarly the number of total votes for party j is $n_{\bullet j} = \sum_{i=1}^C n_{ij}$.
- Let $n = \sum_{i=1}^C n_{i\bullet} = \sum_{i=1}^C \sum_{j=1}^K n_{ij}$ be the total votes across all cities ('kolot ksherim'). Similarly, let $\tilde{n} = \sum_{i=1}^C \tilde{n}_{i\bullet}$ be the total number of eligible votes in Israel ('baalei zhut bhira').
- We also define \tilde{n}_{ij} - the total number of supporters for party j in city i - that is, how many individual would have voted for party j if all eligible voters in city i were forced to vote. In contrast to the previous quantities, this quantity is not observed and cannot be computed directly from the data.
- Let also z_i is the number of bad votes 'psulim' in city i .

1.2 Computing Parties Vote Share

1. The fraction of votes for party j in the elections is $p_j \equiv \frac{n_{\bullet j}}{n}$. The vector $p = (p_1, \dots, p_K)$ represents the share of votes for each party, such that s_i , the number of seats in the parliament for each party, is approximately $s_i \approx 120p_i$ (the exact relationship is much more complicated, and includes rounding, thresholding small parties due to 'ahuz hasima', the Badder-Ofar law etc.).
2. Since the elections are meant to represent the opinions of all citizens in the country, voting turnout may be an issue as it can distort the actual preferences of the citizens - that is, if the turnout for the potential voters of party i is much larger than the turnout of the potential voters of party j , then the share of votes p_i may be much higher for the first party compared to p_j for the second, even if in the general population the situation is reversed.
3. A natural question which we would like to answer is: can we infer from the elections results the actual preferences in the population? A followup question is: if every citizen in the country would have voted, would we see a significantly different result in the elections?
4. Denote by $\tilde{n}_{\bullet j}$ the (unknown) total number of votes for party j if every citizen actually voted. Similarly, denote by q_j the (unknown) share of votes for the party in this situation, given by $q_j \equiv \frac{\tilde{n}_{\bullet j}}{n}$.
5. Our goal will be to estimate the q_j values from the election results.

1.3 A Statistical Model for Voting

We assume that each person in Israel decides in advance which party he/she prefers. Then, on election day, people from city i who prefer party j vote

with probability v_{ij} . Therefore, the number of actual voters for party j in village i is $n_{ij} \sim \text{Binom}(\tilde{n}_{ij}, v_{ij})$. Both \tilde{n}_{ij} and v_{ij} are unknown parameters, and we will try to estimate them from the data in order to make a correction for the total number of votes. The problem is that the number of unknown parameters is $\approx 2K \times C$ which is on the order of the data size, and we have no hope of estimating the parameters reliably. Therefore, we need to make additional assumptions in order to estimate parameters.

1.4 Simulation Study

Our goal is to estimate the unknown q_j values (party's proportion in the population) from the observed p_j values (party's proportion in the election). For the real data, we don't know how good will our estimates be.

However, we can make different assumptions on the voting probabilities of individuals, and evaluate the performance of different corrections under these

assumptions in a simulation study. The high-level description for a simulation study is as follows:

1. Choose values for the real numbers of voters \tilde{n}_{ij} and voting probabilities v_{ij} , and compute the parties proportions q_j from the \tilde{n}_{ij} values.
2. Simulate (many times) the observed number of voters in the election n_{ij} using $n_{ij} \sim \text{Binom}(\tilde{n}_{ij}, v_{ij})$
3. Apply a correction (see next section) to get estimators $\hat{\tilde{n}}_{ij}$ and subsequently estimators \hat{q}_j for the population proportions
4. Compare the true values q_j to the estimated values \hat{q}_j : Compute the empirical bias, variance and mean-squared error of the estimators \hat{q}_j .

We will use **parameter tying** - that is, assume that the value of different parameters is the same. We can suggest the following options:

1. Constant voting turnout per city: $v_{ij} = v_i$. (C parameters in total).
2. Constant voting turnout per party: $v_{ij} = u_j$. (K parameters in total).
3. An additive/multiplicative model: $v_{ij} = u_j + v_i$ or $v_{ij} = u_j v_i$. This model will have $K + C$ parameters, still far less than the data size ($K \times C$).

Note: in all of these models we do parameter tying for the v_{ij} parameters. We don't consider here what to do with the \tilde{n}_{ij} parameters. This will be clearer when we estimate the parameters.

1.5 Estimating total votes

We propose here different estimators for the votes distribution if everybody voted. The estimators differ in their assumptions, computation and statistical properties.

1. We can first do the following simple correction: if in city i the voting turnout was v_i , this means that every vote actually counted in this city represents not one but v_i^{-1} votes from the population of the city. We can thus give weights to the votes in each city. We get the following estimator for the votes in a city: First, compute the v_i values:

$$v_i = \frac{n_{i\bullet}}{\tilde{n}_{i\bullet}} \quad (1)$$

Then, we can use the v_i values to compute the correction:

$$\hat{\tilde{n}}_{ij} = \frac{n_{ij}}{v_i} \quad (2)$$

$$\hat{\tilde{n}}_{\bullet j} = \sum_{i=1}^C \hat{\tilde{n}}_{ij} = \sum_{i=1}^C n_{ij} v_i^{-1} \quad (3)$$

$$\hat{q}_j = \frac{\hat{\tilde{n}}_{\bullet j}}{\sum_{k=1}^K \hat{\tilde{n}}_{\bullet k}} = \frac{\hat{\tilde{n}}_{\bullet j}}{\hat{\tilde{n}}} = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^C n_{ij} v_i^{-1}}{\sum_{i=1}^C \sum_{j=1}^C n_{ij} v_i^{-1}} \quad (4)$$

This estimator adjusts the voting in each city according to the voting turnout. We used this estimator in class, and the results were shown in lab 2.

A main problem with this adjustment is that it assumes that all voters in a city are equally likely to vote. But what if the voters of a certain party are more/less likely to vote?

2. To develop the next estimator, we will assume that the voter turnout for each **party** is a **constant** (rather than for each **city**). Let u_j be the voter turnout for party j . Then we have:

$$\tilde{n}_{\bullet j} = n_{\bullet j} u_j^{-1} \quad (5)$$

and therefore, if we knew the u_j values, we could use the estimator:

$$\hat{q}_j = \frac{n_{\bullet j} u_j^{-1}}{\sum_{k=1}^K n_{\bullet k} u_k^{-1}} \quad (6)$$

We next need to estimate the u_j s from the data. After we do so, we can just plug in the estimators \hat{u}_j^{-1} into the above equation to get:

$$\hat{q}_j = \frac{n_{\bullet j} \hat{u}_j^{-1}}{\sum_{k=1}^K n_{\bullet k} \hat{u}_k^{-1}}. \quad (7)$$

How would we estimate the parties voting turnout? The problem is that we cannot repeat the computation we did before for v_i . If we take Equation (1), the analogous equation for u_j would be:

$$u_i = \frac{n_{\bullet j}}{\tilde{n}_{\bullet j}} \quad (8)$$

But, in contrast to the observable $\tilde{n}_{i\bullet}$ (total number of eligible voters in city i), we don't know $\tilde{n}_{\bullet j}$ (total potential number of voters for party j). Instead, we will develop a different method for estimating the u_j values and for computing the correction, described next.

The idea is conceptually simple: if in cities where a party is strong we see higher voting turnouts, then the voting turnout for the voters of this parties is high (and the same for lower turnouts indicating a lower turnout for the party). To translate this idea into mathematical formulation, we would like the cities voting turnout v_i to be explained by the parties voting turnouts u_j . That is:

$$v_i \approx \frac{n_{i\bullet}}{\sum_{j=1}^K n_{ij} u_j^{-1}}. \quad (9)$$

Since $v_i = \frac{n_{i\bullet}}{\tilde{n}_{i\bullet}}$, we can require $\tilde{n}_{i\bullet} \approx \sum_{j=1}^K n_{ij} u_j^{-1}$ for each city i . Summing over the cities, we can formulate a least-squares problem:

$$(\hat{u}_1^{-1}, \dots, \hat{u}_K^{-1}) = \underset{u_1^{-1}, \dots, u_K^{-1}}{\operatorname{argmin}} \sum_{i=1}^n \left(\sum_{j=1}^K n_{ij} u_j^{-1} - \tilde{n}_{i\bullet} \right)^2 \quad (10)$$

That is, the inverse turnout parameters u_j^{-1} can be obtained as the least squares solution of a linear regression problem with design matrix N and outcome vector $y = \tilde{n}_{|\bullet}$ where $\tilde{n}_{|\bullet} = (n_{1\bullet}, \dots, n_{C\bullet})$. The least-squares solution is therefore:

$$\hat{u}^{-1} = [N^T N]^{-1} N^T \tilde{n}_{|\bullet} \quad (11)$$

and our estimator for q is

$$\hat{q}_j = \frac{\sum_{i=1}^C n_{ij} \hat{u}_j^{-1}}{\sum_{i=1}^C \sum_{j'=1}^K n_{ij'} \hat{u}_{j'}^{-1}}. \quad (12)$$

We can write the estimator in a vector form using matrix and vector operations as follows:

$$\hat{q} = \frac{\mathbf{1}_C^T N \operatorname{diag}([N^T N]^{-1} N^T \tilde{n}_{|\bullet})}{\|\mathbf{1}_C^T N \operatorname{diag}([N^T N]^{-1} N^T \tilde{n}_{|\bullet})\|_1}. \quad (13)$$

where $\mathbf{1}_C^T$ is a constant row vector of ones of length C , $\operatorname{diag}(v)$ for a vector v is a diagonal square matrix with the values of v on the diagonal, and $\|\cdot\|_1$ is the L_1 -norm: $\|x\|_1 = \sum_i |x_i|$. The estimator we get here is different from the one in Eq. (4).

Question: How does it perform with respect to the actual election results compared to the previous estimator? we can run it on the real data and look if the results make sense.

Question: Do you see any problems with this estimator? what are the issues that are problematic and/or can be improved?

Alternatively, we may not want to fit the actual number of voters in each city, but rather the proportion how voted in each city

$$(\hat{u}_1^{-1}, \dots, \hat{u}_K^{-1}) = \underset{u_1^{-1}, \dots, u_K^{-1}}{\operatorname{argmin}} \sum_{i=1}^C \left(\sum_{j=1}^K \frac{n_{ij}}{n_{i\bullet}} u_j^{-1} - \frac{\tilde{n}_{i\bullet}}{n_{i\bullet}} \right)^2 \quad (14)$$

3. Ideally, we would like to know the parameters v_{ij} representing the voting turnout for the voters of party j at city i . Then, if we have good estimators \hat{v}_{ij}^{-1} we can simply use the estimated votes $\hat{n}_{ij} = n_{ij} \hat{v}_{ij}^{-1}$ to estimate q . The problem is that there are too many such parameters ($K \times C$), which are equal to the number of observation. In fact, any division of the votes for people who didn't vote between the parties will give a valid v_{ij} - for example, assuming that all the voters who didn't vote in the entire country would have voted for the Pirates party.

Our first estimator essentially assumed that turnout is constant across parties, that is: $v_{ij} = v_i$. The next estimator assumed that turnout is constant across cities (for the same part), that is: $v_{ij} = u_j$ - that is, the turnout for a party varies between cities but in the same way for all parties. We can offer a richer model which combines the two. Let u be the parties turnout vector and let v be a cities turnout vector. We can assume for example an additive model $v_{ij} = v_i + u_j$ or a multiplicative model $v_{ij} = v_i u_j$. This gives a model with $K+C$ parameters which we can try to estimate with the $C \times K$ observations. However, since the linear regression form in Eq. (10) is in terms of the u_j^{-1} (which stand for the v_{ij}^{-1}), it is mathematically more convenient to use the parameterization: $v_{ij}^{-1} = v_i^{-1} + u_j^{-1}$, or $v_{ij} = \frac{1}{1/v_i + 1/u_j}$ i.e. v_{ij} is half the harmonic mean of v_i and u_j .

We can again use least-squares for estimation.

$$\tilde{n}_{i\bullet} \approx \sum_{j=1}^K n_{ij} (v_i^{-1} + u_j^{-1}) \quad (15)$$

and we get the following least-squares optimization problem:

$$(\hat{u}^{-1}, \hat{v}^{-1}) = \underset{u^{-1}, v^{-1}}{\operatorname{argmin}} \sum_{i=1}^C \left(\sum_{j=1}^K n_{ij} (v_i^{-1} + u_j^{-1}) - \tilde{n}_{i\bullet} \right)^2 \quad (16)$$

While this is a convenient linear regression problem, there is a problem here: we have more unknowns ($K+C$) than equations (C). To overcome this problem, we can use regularization (e.g. Ridge regression), or formulate a different optimization problem and different estimators. It is not clear how best to solve this problem.