

You Brexit, You Buy It?

Introduction

On 23 June 2016, the United Kingdom voted on a referendum to leave the European Union. Pundits and scholars alike attempted to predict the immediate economic impact of “Brexit”, with varying degrees of success. An analysis published by the Treasury in May 2016 indicated that market uncertainty due to Brexit would lead to an increase in lending costs, thus leading to a decrease in overall house prices [1, p.55]. Within two years, house prices were projected to fall between 10-18% - a statistic hungrily reported by the media as both a catastrophe [2, 3, 4, 5] and an opportunity [6, 7].

Past shocks to housing markets have resulted in uneven impacts across different neighborhoods. Following the US housing crash of the mid 2000s, counties in rural areas and with high proportions of people of color were the hardest hit and the slowest to recover [8, pp.2&23]. It is plausible that the impact of Brexit on the London housing market, if significant, will not be felt by all boroughs equally.

This analysis investigates the short term consequences of Brexit on median house price and overall number of house sales in London. In particular, we seek to answer the following question: *To what extent has Brexit impacted the spatial distribution of London house sales?*

To address this question, we attempt to model house sales during a one month period four months after Brexit using data from the three months prior to the referendum. We present the results of a simple linear model and a geographically weighted regression (GWR) alongside several visualizations. Finally, we discuss consequences of our findings and suggest further questions for study.

Data

This analysis relies exclusively on the HM Land Registry Price Paid Dataset [9], boundaries provided by the London Data Store [10], and postcode centroids from the Ordnance Survey [11]. Data is used under the UK Open Government License. We discuss the following considerations with respect to the housing price data: completeness, outliers, and included fields.

First, the data is notably incomplete. As Figure 1 on page 2 shows, there are no observations within the borough of Westminster, which houses much of London’s most expensive property. The reason for this is omission unclear. In addition, some types of transactions are not included in the dataset, such as divorce settlements, partial property sales, or gifts. Transactions with prices specifically including VAT are omitted.

Only one spatial outlier was identified within the dataset. Shown in red in Figure 1, this point is clearly outside the boundary of London and was removed from our analysis.

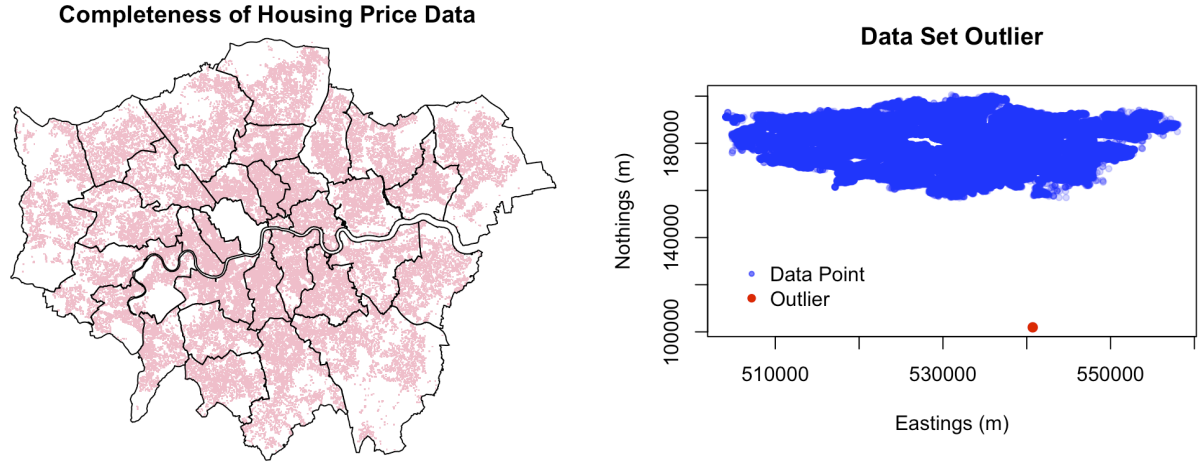


Figure 1: Completeness and spatial outliers within the housing price dataset.

Finally, the fields provided within the dataset offer limitations. Most notably, the only information provided about the property is the type (detached, semi-detached, terraced, flats/-maisonettes, other) and if it is old or new. One of the most important factors in house pricing is property area. Without this field, it is difficult to infer which transactions are more expensive per square meter or identify trends in the sale of different size properties. Unfortunately, this confounding variable cannot be approximated from other values provided.

Analysis

The analysis consisted of five phases: ingest, data processing, visualization, linear modeling, and GWR. It was conducted on both the ward and borough level. All analysis and visualization was conducted in R (see **Code Appendix**).

House price data were ingested from a csv/text file into R as a **dataframe**. These individual observations were then assigned the Easting and Northing (in BNG) of their containing post-code and converted to a **SpatialDataFrame**. Subsets of these points were selected based on transaction date for each of the four months before and after the referendum. Using a spatial overlay, points within each borough were selected and summary statistics (count, min, max, mean, median) were appended to the borough data set. Count was scaled by borough area. For each borough, 40 additional pieces of information were appended (8 timeslices and 5 statistics). The process was repeated at the ward level.

Since the process of conveying a home takes an average of eight weeks in the UK [12, 13, 14], a one month time period¹ beginning four months after the referendum was selected as the post-Brexit comparison period. Although the time required to purchase a home from decision to close may exceed four months for some buyers, four months after the decision nevertheless provides a reasonable heuristic for transactions which *began* after the referendum occurred.

To visualize potential trends, we plot both pre- and post-Brexit sales volume together in a bivariate choropleth, grouped by tertiles (see Figure 2, page 3). Purple boroughs remained in the same sales tertile after Brexit, while teal boroughs decreased and pink boroughs

¹Approximate date range: 23 October 2016 - 23 November 2016. Dates in the dataset were converted to decimal months (d_m based on the formula $d_m = m + d/31$, where m is the numeric month and d is the day of the month). While this method ensures that all observations within a calendar month remain within the same decimal month integer, it results in slight shifting of observations within months with less than 31 days.

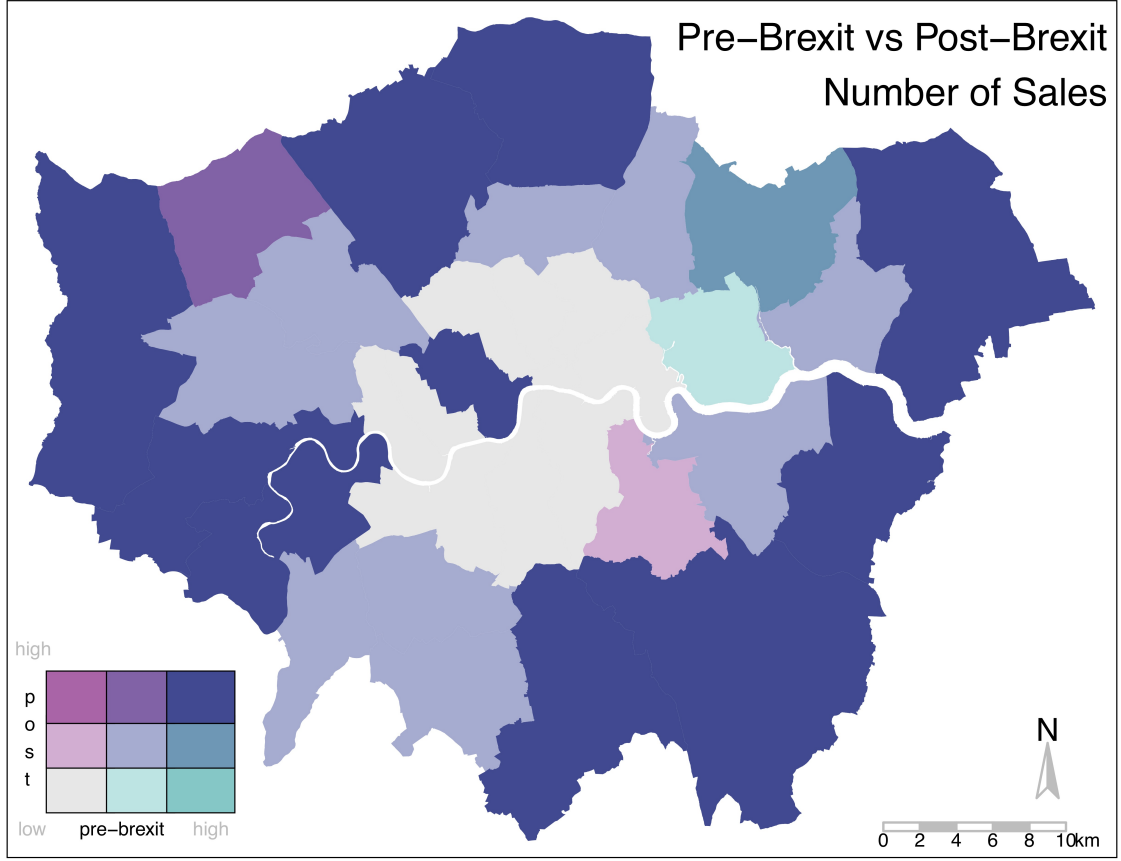


Figure 2: A bivariate choropleth map² showing the relationship between number of house sales before and after Brexit in London boroughs.

increased. This map suggests that borough-level sales were unlikely to be different four months after the referendum results compared with one month before.

To further investigate the hypothesis that the spatial distribution of sales did not significantly change, we created linear and GWR models to predict post-Brexit sales based on pre-Brexit sales data. If the spatial distribution *did* change, we would expect pre-Brexit data to provide a poor model (low r^2 value) for post-Brexit data.

As Figure 3 on page 4 shows, the difference in performance between the linear model (e.g. `model <- lm(borough$p4_number ~ borough$b1_number + borough$b2_number + borough$b3_number)`) and the corresponding GWR was on the order of $\sim 10^{-3}$. Due to missing data GWR was not computed for median price. Since this method did not provide significant improvement over a linear model, it is possible the underlying spatial distribution of house sale volume did not significantly change before and after Brexit.

The stark difference between the high linear model multiple r^2 at borough level and the comparatively low r^2 at ward level provides an interesting example of the modifiable areal unit problem. Due to the size of some wards, total number of house sales in a given month may be extremely low. Such small sample sizes require careful statistical consideration. To avoid this concern, we have chosen to visualize and discuss data at the borough level.

The high r^2 values from our models suggest that house sales from the three months prior to

²Inspiration for bivariate choropleth color scheme and method drawn from Joshua Stevens. For more on bivariate choropleth maps, see [15] and [16].

Model	Value	$b\#$	$b\$$	$w\#$	$w\$$
Linear	Multiple r^2	0.9304	0.9372	0.3615	0.6750
Linear	p	$< 2.23e-16$	$< 2.2e-16$	$< 2.2e-16$	$< 2.2e-16$
Linear	Most Significant Month	-1	-3	-1,-3	all equal
GWR	Quasi-Global r^2	0.9316	-	0.3625	-

Figure 3: A comparison of GWR and linear models for borough (b) and ward (w) number of sales (#) and median price (\$). One and three months prior to Brexit had the most influence on linear models (-1 and -3 in "Most Significant Month").

the referendum explain 93% of the variability in number and mean value of house sales after the referendum, and that spatial distribution of polygons may not be significant. There are a number of factors that might account for the remaining 7% variation. For example, seasonal trends impact house sales; nearly triple the average number of houses are sold in the last week of March (right before Tax Day), while fewer than average houses are sold in the last two weeks of December (presumably due to the holidays).

To understand the spatial performance of these linear models, we plot and examine the residuals, as shown in Figure 4 on page 5. (Residuals for median value are in pounds sterling.) No pattern is immediately obvious. This suggests that unexplained variation in house sales may be due to a non-spatial variable, such as seasonal effects.

Discussion

This analysis has found no evidence of the immediate impact of Brexit on the London house market. Linear models predicting house sales and median price four months after Brexit based on data from three months prior to the referendum explained 93% of borough-level variance. Have the Treasury's predictions failed to be realized? We provide two explanations for this lack of result: anticipatory market dampening and post-event market delay.

Housing sales were anticipated to decrease in response to increased lending costs due to economic instability. It is possible that such instability began in advance of the referendum following the announcement of a vote on 20 February 2015. As a rough proxy, the pound sterling saw a significant decrease in value against the US Dollar and increase in variation between the announcement in February 2015 and the referendum in June 2016, as compared to the same period 2014-2015 or 2013-2014 [17]. It is possible that housing prices for the three months prior to Brexit already represent this uncertainty.

It is also possible that the effects of profound geopolitical change take more than four months to materialize within a market. Housing data for December 2017, released just last week, shows the first decrease in London house prices in eight years [18]. Although it is unclear if this trend will continue, time will certainly be the final arbiter on this question.

This paper admits a number of limitations. Data is taken from a relatively small time frame and likely cannot reflect the full impact of the referendum. No specific care was taken to address the missing values in Westminster borough, nor were prices normalized for property area. Future studies should continue to address this question as the ongoing impact of Brexit is felt throughout the British economy.

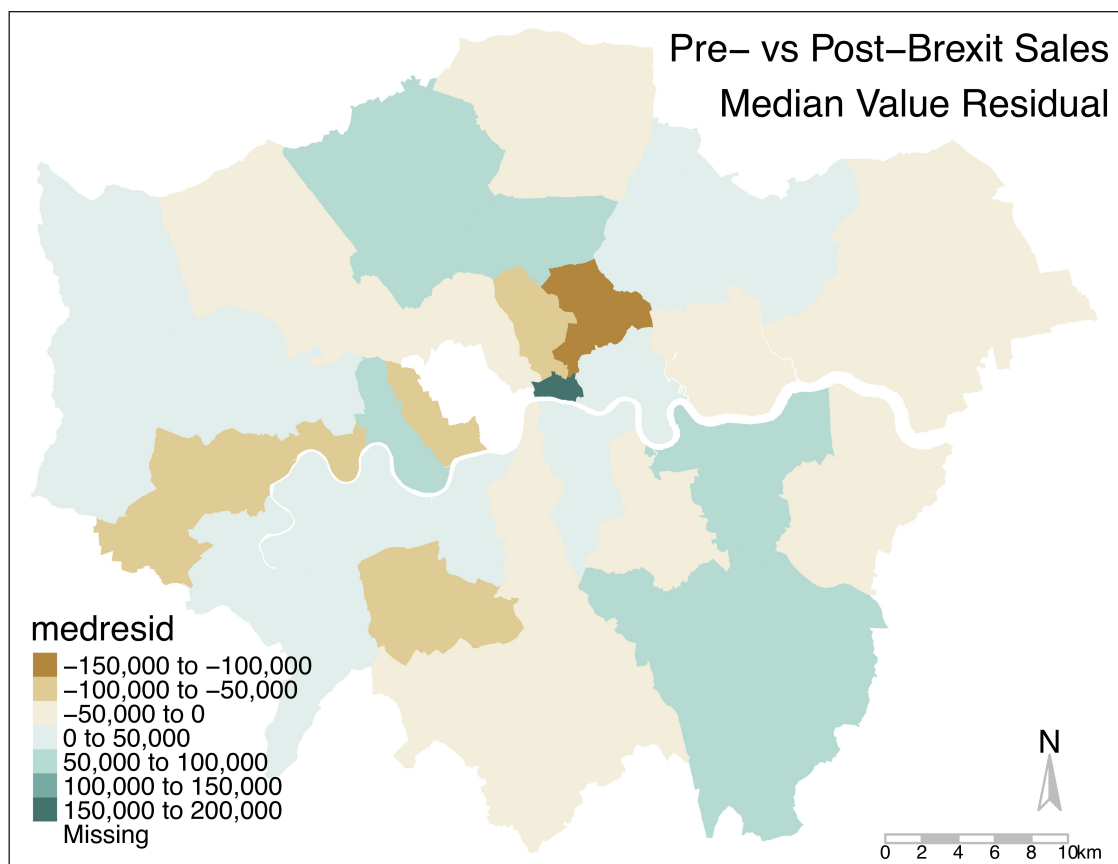
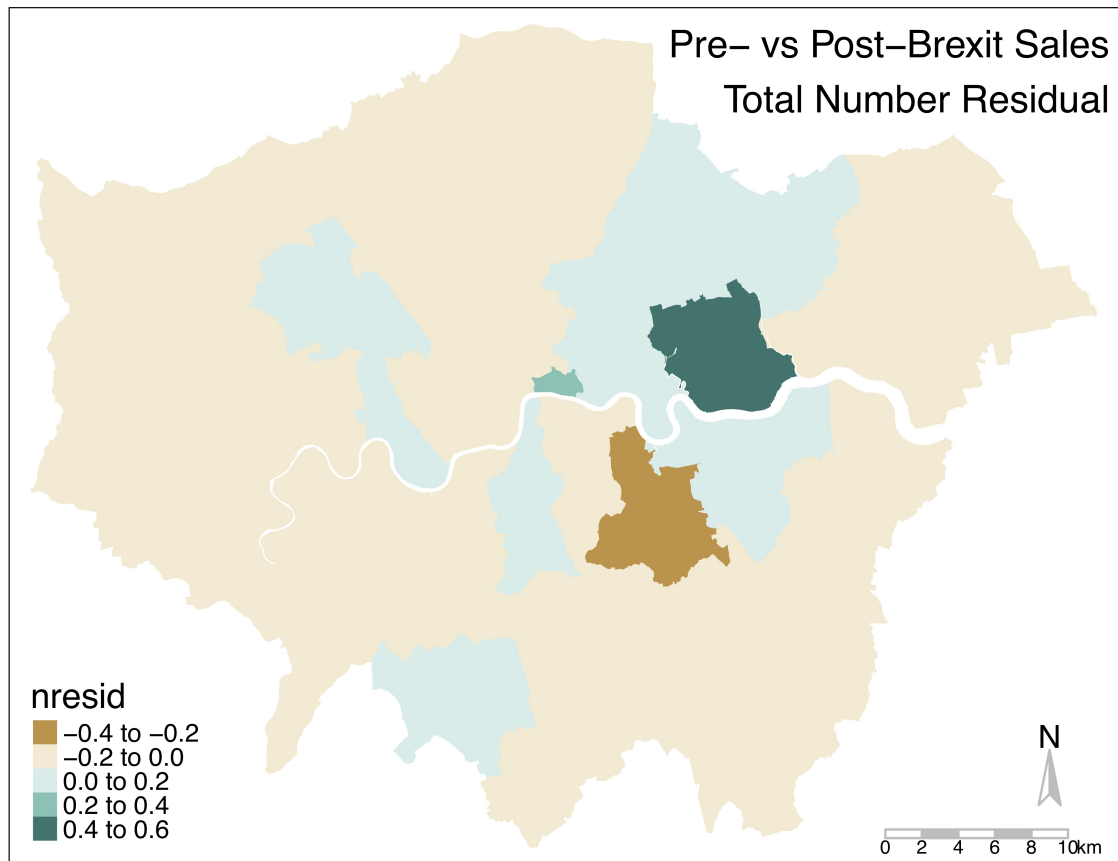


Figure 4: Residuals for linear house sale models.

References

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Code Appendix

```
1 # library imports
2 library(rgdal) # for importing shapefiles, converting CRS
3 library(tmap) # for plotting
4 library(lubridate) # for extracting month
5 library(ggplot2) # for plotting pretty overlays
6 library(ggmap) # for better ggplot plotting
7 library(spgwr) # for geospatially weighted regression
8 library(dplyr) # for mutating dataset into bins
9 library(Hmisc) # for cutting bins
10 library(grid) # for viewport ()
11
12 # visualization tool - add alpha value to a colour (from https://magesblog.com/
13   post/2013-04-30-how-to-change-alpha-value-of-colours-in/)
14 add.alpha <- function(col, alpha=1){
15   if(missing(col))
16     stop("Please provide a vector of colours.")
17   apply(sapply(col, col2rgb)/255, 2,
18     function(x)
19       rgb(x[1], x[2], x[3], alpha=alpha))
20 }
21
22 # visualization settings - reduce margin size to 0
23 par(mar=c(0,0,0,0))
24
25 # function for adding standard elements to map
26 niceties <- function(name = ""){
27   nice <- tm_legend(legend.position = c("left", "bottom")) +
28     tm_credits(name, position = c("right","top"),
29       just = c("right"), align = c("right"), size = text_sf * bigtext)
30   +
31     tm_compass(position = c(0.9, 0.07), color.dark = "grey") +
32     tm_scale_bar(width = 0.15, position = c("right","BOTTOM"), color.dark = "
33       grey")
34   return(nice)
35 }
36
37 # set working directory
38 setwd("/path/to/data")
39
40 # add polygons, for visualization & aggregation
41 borough <- readOGR("/path/to/boundaries/", "London_Borough_Excluding_MHW")
42 ward <- readOGR("/path/to/boundaries/", "London_Ward")
43
44 # read in house price dataset
45 houses <- read.csv("/path/to/data/london-house-prices-pp-2016.txt")
46
47 # exploration
48 head(houses)
49 summary(houses)
50
51 ## Date Information
52 # parse out month using lubridate for all observations, decimals approximate
53 houses$Month <- month(houses$Date) + (day(houses$Date)-1)/31
54 # distance from brexit (months, rounded)
55 houses$Bdist <- houses$Month - 6.7419355
56
57 ## Join Postcode Information
58 # import postcode information
59 pcode <- read.csv("/path/to/data/london-postcode-bng-lookup.txt")
60 # clean postcodes prior to join
61 houses$Post <- gsub(" ", "", as.character(houses$Postcode))
```



```

59 pcode$Postcode ← gsub(" ", "", pcode$Postcode)
60 # join!
61 houses_sp ← merge(houses, pcode, by.x="Post", by.y="Postcode")
62 # remove one outlier (clearly outside limits)
63 houses_sp ← houses_sp[!houses_sp$Nothings == min(houses_sp$Nothings),]
64 # convert point object to spatial object (from Practical 14)
65 #setup variables for british national grid
66 bng ← "+init=epsg:27700" #BNG, British National Grid
67 #create hosue prices as spatial data
68 coords ← cbind(Eastings = houses_sp$Eastings, Northings = houses_sp$Nothings)
69 houses.pts ← SpatialPointsDataFrame(coords, houses_sp, proj4string = CRS(bng))
70 # plot to confirm
71 plot(houses.pts, pch = '.', col = "Bdist")
72 # add borough boundaries
73 plot(borough, add = TRUE)
74
75 # color points by dist from brexit date
76 rbPal ← colorRampPalette(c('red', 'black', 'blue'))
77 houses.pts$Bdist.color ← rbPal(10)[as.numeric(cut(houses.pts$Bdist, breaks = 10)
78 )]
79 plot(houses.pts, pch = '.', col = houses.pts$Bdist.color)
80 plot(borough, add = TRUE)
81
82 # histograms of time of year houses are sold
83 hist(houses.pts$Month)
84
85 # extract values in a particular borough
86 # ensure CRS are the same - if out of order set one to the other
87 proj4string(houses.pts) = proj4string(borough)
88
89 # extract over a given borough
90 z ← houses.pts[!is.na(over(houses.pts, geometry(borough[1,]))),]
91 plot(borough[1,])
92 plot(z, pch = '.', col = z$Bdist.color, add = TRUE)
93
94 # subplots for given time periods
95 par(mfrow = c(2,2))
96 ylim = c(156000, 201000)
97 xlim = c(504000, 559000)
98 # > 2mo before brexit
99 plot(houses.pts[houses.pts$Bdist < -2,], pch = '.', col = add.alpha("#0055ff",
100 0.4), xlim = xlim, ylim=ylim)
101 plot(borough, add = TRUE)
102
103 # < 2mo before brexit
104 plot(houses.pts[houses.pts$Bdist > -2 & houses.pts$Bdist < 0,], pch = '.', col
105 = add.alpha("#76d5e8", 0.4))
106 plot(borough, add = TRUE)
107
108 # < 2 mo after brexit
109 plot(houses.pts[houses.pts$Bdist < 2 & houses.pts$Bdist > 0,], pch = '.', col =
110 add.alpha("#f7808c", 0.4))
111 plot(borough, add = TRUE)
112
113 # > 2 mo after brexit
114 plot(houses.pts[houses.pts$Bdist > 2,], pch = '.', col = add.alpha("#f20e25", 0
115 .4))
116 plot(borough, add = TRUE)
117
118 ## Add Data to Borough
119 # set time boundaries as matrix
120 b ← -4:3 # lower bound

```

```

117 t ← -3:4 # upper bound
118 n ← c("b4", "b3", "b2", "b1", "p1", "p2", "p3", "p4") # epoch name
119 epoch ← rbind(b, t, n)
120
121 ## Aggregate Statistics by Ward
122 # create new df to add these too, with join code
123 wdf ← data.frame(ward$GSS_CODE)
124 labels ← c("GSS_CODE")
125 for (i in 1:8){
126   # get subset of houses for time epoch
127   wp2 ← houses.pts[houses.pts$Bdist ≥ (-5 + i) & houses.pts$Bdist < (-4 + i), ]
128   # initialize empty arrays
129   npts ← c()
130   nmedian ← c()
131   nmin ← c()
132   nmax ← c()
133   nmean ← c()
134   # iterate through wards
135   for (j in 1:nrow(ward)){
136     houses ← wp2[ward[j,],] # get subset of houses for each ward
137     npts[j] = nrow(houses)/as.numeric(ward[j,]$HECTARES) * 10 #scale for size -
        per 100,000m^2
138     nmedian[j] ← median(houses$Price)
139     nmin[j] ← min(houses$Price)
140     nmax[j] ← max(houses$Price)
141     nmean[j] ← mean(houses$Price)
142   }
143   # bind all created columns to data frame
144   wdf ← cbind(wdf, npts, nmedian, nmin, nmax, nmean)
145   # add column name to labels
146   labels ← c(labels, paste0(n[i], "_number"))
147   labels ← c(labels, paste0(n[i], "_median"))
148   labels ← c(labels, paste0(n[i], "_min"))
149   labels ← c(labels, paste0(n[i], "_max"))
150   labels ← c(labels, paste0(n[i], "_mean"))
151 }
152 # add column names
153 colnames(wdf) ← labels
154 # join wdf to wards
155 ward ← merge(ward, wdf, by.x = "GSS_CODE", by.y = "GSS_CODE")
156
157 # plot with tmap
158 tm_shape(ward) + tm_fill(col = "b1_number")
159
160 ## Aggregate Statistics by Borough:
161 bdf ← data.frame(borough$GSS_CODE)
162 labels ← c("GSS_CODE")
163 for (i in 1:8){
164   # get subset of houses for time epoch
165   wp2 ← houses.pts[houses.pts$Bdist ≥ (-5 + i) & houses.pts$Bdist < (-4 + i), ]
166   # initialize empty arrays
167   npts ← c()
168   nmedian ← c()
169   nmin ← c()
170   nmax ← c()
171   nmean ← c()
172   # iterate through boroughs
173   for (j in 1:nrow(borough)){
174     houses ← wp2[borough[j,],] # get subset of houses for each borough
175     npts[j] = nrow(houses)/as.numeric(borough[j,]$HECTARES) * 10 #scale for
        size - per 100,000m^2
176     nmedian[j] ← median(houses$Price)
177     nmin[j] ← min(houses$Price)

```

```

178     nmax[j] <- max(houses$Price)
179     nmean[j] <- mean(houses$Price)
180   }
181   # bind all created columns to data frame
182   bdf <- cbind(bdf, npts, nmedian, nmin, nmax, nmean)
183   # add column name to labels
184   labels <- c(labels, paste0(n[i], "_number"))
185   labels <- c(labels, paste0(n[i], "_median"))
186   labels <- c(labels, paste0(n[i], "_min"))
187   labels <- c(labels, paste0(n[i], "_max"))
188   labels <- c(labels, paste0(n[i], "_mean"))
189 }
190 # add column names
191 colnames(bdf) <- labels
192 # join bdf to boroughs
193 borough <- merge(borough, bdf, by.x = "GSS_CODE", by.y = "GSS_CODE")
194 # plot with tmap
195 tm_shape(borough) + tm_fill(col = "b3_number")
196
197 ## Linear Regression
198 # predict post-brexit numbers (3 months later) with pre-brexit 3 months
199 # number of sales (borough)
200 lmodel <- lm(borough$p4_number ~ borough$b1_number + borough$b2_number + borough
    $b3_number)
201 summary(lmodel)
202 borough$resid <- resid(lmodel)
203 borough$nresid <- borough$resid
204 tmap_mode("plot")
205 tm_shape(borough) + tm_fill(col = "nresid", palette = "BrBG", colorNA = c.na) +
    niceties("Pre- vs Post-Brexit Sales\nTotal Number Residual")
206 dev.print(pdf, "nresid_borough.pdf")
207
208 # median prices (borough)
209 lmodel.med <- lm(borough$p4_median ~ borough$b1_median + borough$b2_median +
    borough$b3_median)
210 summary(lmodel.med)
211 borough.medresid <- resid(lmodel.med)
212 borough.medresid <- c(borough.medresid[1:24], NA, borough.medresid[25:32])
213 borough$medresid <- borough.medresid
214 tmap_mode("plot")
215 tm_shape(borough) + tm_fill(col = "medresid", palette = "BrBG", colorNA = c.na) +
    + niceties("Pre- vs Post-Brexit Sales\nMedian Value Residual")
216 dev.print(pdf, "medresid_borough.pdf")
217
218 # number of sales (ward) (should we include HECTARES? no, doesn't improve by
    much)
219 wlmodel <- lm(ward$p4_number ~ ward$b1_number + ward$b2_number + ward$b3_number)
220 summary(wlmodel)
221 ward$resid <- resid(wlmodel)
222 ward$nresid <- ward$resid
223 tmap_mode("plot")
224 tm_shape(ward) + tm_fill(col = "nresid", palette = "BrBG", colorNA = c.na) +
    niceties("Pre- vs Post-Brexit Sales\nTotal Number Residual")
225 dev.print(pdf, "nresid_ward.pdf")
226
227 # median prices (ward)
228 wlmodel.med <- lm(ward$p4_median ~ ward$b1_median + ward$b2_median + ward$
    b3_median)
229 summary(wlmodel.med)
230 ward.medresid <- resid(wlmodel.med)
231 fresid <- c()
232 j = 1
233 namedian <- is.na(ward$p4_median)

```

```

234 for (i in 1:nrow(ward)){
235   if (!namedian[i]){
236     fresid ← c(fresid, ward.medresid[j])
237     j ← j + 1
238   } else {
239     fresid ← c(fresid, NA)
240   }
241 }
242 ward$medresid ← fresid
243 tmap_mode("plot")
244 tm_shape(ward) + tm_fill(col = "medresid", palette = "BrBG", colorNA = c.na) +
  niceties("Pre- vs Post-Brexit Sales\nMedian Value Residual")
245 dev.print(pdf, "medresid_ward.pdf")
246
247 ## GWR
248 # predict post-brexit numbers (3 months later) with pre-brexit 3 months
249 # kernel bandwidth
250 GWRbandwidth ← gwr.sel(borough$p4_number ~ borough$b1_number + borough$b2_number + borough$b3_number, data=borough, adapt=T)
251 gwr.model = gwr(borough$p4_number ~ borough$b1_number + borough$b2_number + borough$b3_number, data=borough, adapt=GWRbandwidth, hatmatrix=TRUE, se.fit=TRUE)
252 gwr.model
253
254 GWRbandwidth.w ← gwr.sel(ward$p4_number ~ ward$b1_number + ward$b2_number + ward$b3_number, data=ward, adapt=T)
255 gwr.model.w = gwr(ward$p4_number ~ ward$b1_number + ward$b2_number + ward$b3_number, data=ward, adapt=GWRbandwidth, hatmatrix=TRUE, se.fit=TRUE)
256 gwr.model.w
257 # from the output, we can see that the r^2 value increased only trivially
258 # not worth doing GWR since prediction value is so high
259
260 ## Bivariate Choropleth
261 # inspiration drawn from:
262 #   http://www.joshuastevens.net/cartography/make-a-bivariate-choropleth-map/
263 #   http://rpubs.com/apsteinmetz/prek
264 # precursors
265 bins ← 3
266 bigtext = 1
267 smalltext = 0.5
268 text_sf = 1
269 c ← c("#e8e8e8", "#ace4e4", "#5ac8c8", "#dfb0d6", "#a5add3", "#5698b9",
270       "#be64ac", "#8c62aa", "#3b4994") # color array, from Josh Stevens
271 c.na ← "white" # NA color
272 # function for creating legend color squares
273 leg ← function(color, df = map_df){
274   legend ← tm_shape(df) +
275     tm_layout(bg.color = color) +
276     tm_fill(col = "GSS_CODE", alpha = 0, title = "test") +
277     tm_legend(show = FALSE)
278
279   return(legend)
280 }
281 # auto-generate label
282 generate_label ← function(df = map_df){
283   for (i in 0:8){
284     # set location of square
285     x = 0.1 + 0.05*(i %% 3)
286     y = 0.1 + 0.05*floor(i/3)
287     # create & color square
288     vpi = viewport(x=x, y=y, width= .06, height=0.1)
289     tmi = leg(c[i+1], df)
290     # add square to image

```

```

291     print(tmi, vp=vpi)
292   }
293 }
294
295 # add bin to borough
296 bdf$p4_nscaled ← bdf$p4_number/borough$HECTARES
297 bdf$b1_nscaled ← bdf$b1_number/borough$HECTARES
298 test ← bdf
299 test ← mutate(test, preBin = cut2(p4_nscaled, g = bins, levels.mean = TRUE))
300 test ← mutate(test, postBin = cut2(b1_nscaled, g = bins, levels.mean = TRUE))
301 # create new mapping dataframe
302 map_df ← test
303 # bin creation
304 levels(map_df$preBin) ← bins:1
305 levels(map_df$postBin) ← bins:1
306 # create compound bin designators
307 map_df ← mutate(map_df, bin = paste(preBin, '-', postBin, sep=''))
308 map_df ← transmute(map_df, GSS_CODE = GSS_CODE, bin = bin)
309 borough$bin ← map_df$bin
310
311 # add bin to ward
312 wdf$p4_nscaled ← wdf$p4_number/ward$HECTARES
313 wdf$b1_nscaled ← wdf$b1_number/ward$HECTARES
314 test ← wdf
315 test ← mutate(test, preBin = cut2(p4_nscaled, g = bins, levels.mean = TRUE))
316 test ← mutate(test, postBin = cut2(b1_nscaled, g = bins, levels.mean = TRUE))
317 # create new mapping dataframe
318 map_df ← test
319 # bin creation
320 levels(map_df$preBin) ← bins:1
321 levels(map_df$postBin) ← bins:1
322 # create compound bin designators
323 map_df ← mutate(map_df, bin = paste(preBin, '-', postBin, sep=''))
324 map_df ← transmute(map_df, GSS_CODE = GSS_CODE, bin = bin)
325 ward$bin ← map_df$bin
326
327 # plot for either scale
328 plotBrexit ← function(spatialdf = borough){
329   # jank fix to distinguish bw borough and ward cases (color issues)
330   if (nrow(spatialdf) < 50){
331     b ← c[-7][-3]
332   } else {
333     b ← c
334   }
335   brexit ← tm_shape(spatialdf) +
336     tm_fill(col = "bin", palette = b, colorNA = c.na) +
337     tm_legend(show = FALSE) +
338     tm_credits("Pre-Brexit vs Post-Brexit\nNumber of Sales", position = c("
339       right", "top"),
340       just = c("right"), align = c("right"), size = text_sf * bigtext)
341     +
342     tm_credits("pre-brexit", align = c("center"), just = c("center"),
343       position = c(0.1, 0.02), size = text_sf * smalltext) +
344     tm_credits("p\no\ns\nnt", position = c(0.02, 0.09), just = c("center"), size
345       = text_sf * smalltext) +
346     tm_credits("low", position = c(0.02, 0.02), just = c("center"), size =
347       text_sf * smalltext, col = "grey") +
348     tm_credits("high", position = c(0.18, 0.02), just = c("center"), size =
349       text_sf * smalltext, col = "grey") +
350     tm_credits("high", position = c(0.02, 0.23), just = c("center"), size =
351       text_sf * smalltext, col = "grey") +
352     tm_compass(position = c(0.9, 0.07), color.dark = "grey") +
353     tm_scale_bar(width = 0.15, position = c("right", "BOTTOM"), color.dark = "

```

```
        grey")
348
349     return(brexit)
350 }
351
352 # plot bivariate ward
353 tmap_mode("plot")
354 plotBrexit(ward)
355 generate_label(borough)
356 dev.print(pdf, "brexit_ward.pdf")
357
358 # plot bivariate borough
359 tmap_mode("plot")
360 plotBrexit(borough)
361 generate_label(borough)
362 dev.print(pdf, "brexit_borough.pdf")
```