

# Political Methodology III: Model Based Inference

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# Model Based Inference

- 1) Likelihood inference
- 2) Logit/Probit
- 3) Ordered Probit
- 4) Choice Models:
  - Multinomial Probit
    - a) DGP
    - b) No IIA, But No Likelihood
    - c) Quantities of Interest
    - d) Interpretation
  - Count Models
    - Poisson Regression
      - DGP
      - Quantities of Interest
      - Interpretation
    - Negative Binomial Regression
      - DGP
      - Quantities of Interest
      - Interpretation

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$$\begin{aligned}\text{Cov}(Y_{1j} + Y_{2j}, Y_{1k} + Y_{2k}) &= \text{Cov}(Y_{1j}, Y_{1k}) + \underbrace{\text{Cov}(Y_{1j}, Y_{2k})}_0 \\ &\quad + \text{Cov}(Y_{2j}, Y_{2k}) + \underbrace{\text{Cov}(Y_{2j}, Y_{1k})}_0\end{aligned}$$

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Both outcomes can never occur  $\rightsquigarrow$  negative covariance, because trials are independent



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$$\begin{aligned}f(Y_1, Y_2) &= f(Y_1)f(Y_2|Y_1) \\ &= \prod_{i=1}^J \left( \pi_j \times \prod_{k=1}^J \pi_{kj}^{Y_{2k}} \right)^{Y_{1j}}\end{aligned}$$

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Positive if  $\pi_{kj} > \sum_{m=1}^J \pi_m \pi_{km}$

```

first<- apply(rmultinom(100000, prob = probs, size = 1), 2, which.max)

probs<- rep(1/3, 3)
probs2<- matrix(NA, nrow = 3, ncol = 3)
probs2[c(1,3),]<- rep(1/3, 3)
probs2[c(2),]<- c(0.8, 0.1, 0.1)
draws2<- c()
for(z in 1:100000){
draws2[z]<- which.max(rmultinom(1, prob = probs2[first[z],], size = 1))
}

first1<- ifelse(first==1, 1, 0)
first2<- ifelse(first==2, 1, 0)
first3<- ifelse(first==3, 1, 0)
second1<- ifelse(draws2==1, 1, 0)

> cov(first2, second1)
[1] 0.1035916

avg_probs<- apply(probs2, 2, mean)
part1<- 1/3*avg_probs[1]
part2<- 1/3*probs2[2,1]
> part2 - part1
[1] 0.1037037

```

# Revisiting The IIA Assumption

- IIA (Trump, Cruz, and Sanders)
- Formally: MNL assumes  $\epsilon_{ij}$  is i.i.d.  $\epsilon_{ij} \perp\!\!\!\perp \epsilon_{ik}$  for  $j \neq k$
- This implies that unobserved factors affecting  $Y_{ij}^*$  are unrelated to those affecting  $Y_{ik}^*$
- When is this assumption plausible?
- Example: Multiparty election with parties R, L1 and L2.
- Do voters' unobserved ideological preferences affect  $\Pr(Y_i = \text{L1})$  independently of their effect on  $\Pr(Y_i = \text{L2})$ ? Probably not.

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- Instead of assuming  $\epsilon_{ij}$  to be i.i.d. across alternatives  $j$ , we allow  $\epsilon_{ij}$  to be correlated across  $j$  within each voter  $i$
- Multinomial probit model (MNP):

$$Y_i^* = X_i' \beta + \epsilon_i \quad \text{where} \quad \begin{cases} \epsilon_i \sim_{\text{iid}} \text{MVN}(0, \Sigma_J) \\ Y_i^* = [Y_{i1}^* \cdots Y_{iJ}^*]' \\ X_i = [X_{i1} \cdots X_{iJ}]' \end{cases}$$

- Restrictions on the model for identifiability:
  - The (absolute) **level** of  $Y_i^*$  shouldn't matter  
→ Subtract the 1st equation from all the other equations and work with a system of  $J - 1$  equations with  $\tilde{\epsilon}_i \sim_{\text{iid}} \text{MVN}(0, \tilde{\Sigma}_{J-1})$
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- MNP has no closed-form expression for the **likelihood**:

$$\pi_{ij} = \int_{-\infty}^{-\ddot{X}_{1j}^\top \beta} \cdots \int_{-\infty}^{-\ddot{X}_{Jj}^\top \beta} \phi(\ddot{\epsilon}_{1j}, \dots, \ddot{\epsilon}_{Jj}) d\ddot{\epsilon}_{1j} \cdots d\ddot{\epsilon}_{Jj} \text{ where } \begin{cases} \ddot{X}_{kl} &= X_{ik} - X_{il} \\ \ddot{\epsilon}_{kl} &= \epsilon_{ik} - \epsilon_{il} \end{cases}$$

- This makes its estimation computationally costly when  $J$  large
- Must use numerical approximation (quadratures) or simulation methods (maximum simulated likelihood or MCMC)
- Moreover, # of parameters in  $\Sigma_J$  increases as  $J$  gets large, but data contain little information about  $\Sigma_J$ :

| $J$                         | 3 | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  |
|-----------------------------|---|----|----|----|----|
| # of elements in $\Sigma_J$ | 6 | 10 | 15 | 21 | 28 |
| # of parameters identified  | 2 | 5  | 9  | 14 | 20 |

- Consequently, MNP is only feasible when  $J$  is small
- MNP in R
- Alternative solutions: Nested logit

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# Limitations of Multinomial Probit

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$$\pi_{ij} = \int_{-\infty}^{-\ddot{X}_{1j}^\top \beta} \cdots \int_{-\infty}^{-\ddot{X}_{Jj}^\top \beta} \phi(\ddot{\epsilon}_{1j}, \dots, \ddot{\epsilon}_{Jj}) d\ddot{\epsilon}_{1j} \cdots d\ddot{\epsilon}_{Jj} \text{ where } \begin{cases} \ddot{X}_{kl} &= X_{ik} - X_{il} \\ \ddot{\epsilon}_{kl} &= \epsilon_{ik} - \epsilon_{il} \end{cases}$$

- This makes its estimation computationally costly when  $J$  large
- Must use numerical approximation (quadratures) or simulation methods (maximum simulated likelihood or MCMC)
- Moreover, # of parameters in  $\Sigma_J$  increases as  $J$  gets large, but data contain little information about  $\Sigma_J$ :

| $J$                         | 3 | 4  | 5  | 6  | 7  |
|-----------------------------|---|----|----|----|----|
| # of elements in $\Sigma_J$ | 6 | 10 | 15 | 21 | 28 |
| # of parameters identified  | 2 | 5  | 9  | 14 | 20 |

- Consequently, MNP is only feasible when  $J$  is small
- MNP in R
- Alternative solutions: Nested logit

# Even When You Choose Not To Decide, You Still Have Made a Choice

Lacy and Burden (1999)



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|            | Actual | 3-choice | 4-choice |
|------------|--------|----------|----------|
| Bush       | 32.0   | 45.7     | 38.4     |
| Clinton    | 48.6   | 54.3     | 61.6     |
| Abstention | 20.9   | -        | 23.7     |

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Perot stole from Clinton!

# Event Count Models

# Event Count Outcomes

- Outcome: number of times an event occurs

$$Y_i \in \{0, 1, 2, 3, \dots, \}$$

- Examples:

- 1) Number of militarized disputes a country is involved in
- 2) Number of times a phrase is used
- 3) Number of messages into a Congressional office
- 4) Number of votes cast for a particular candidate

- Goal:

- Model the **rate** at which events occur
- Understand how an intervention (e.g. country becoming a democracy) affects rate
- Predict number of future events

# Deriving the Poisson Distribution

Suppose that events occur

- 1) Continuously (no simultaneous events)
- 2) Independently (occurrence of one event has no effect on occurrence of other event)
- 3) With constant probability

Poisson Distribution



# Poisson Distribution

## Definition

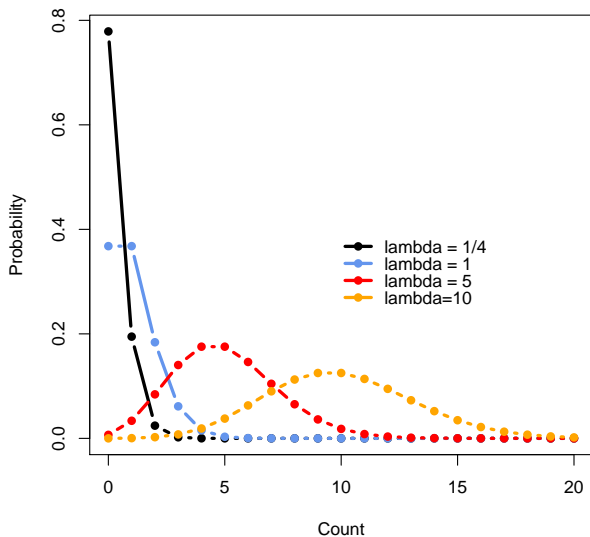
*Suppose  $Y$  is a random variable that takes on values  $Y \in \{0, 1, 2, \dots\}$  and that  $P(Y = y) = p(y)$  is,*

$$p(y) = e^{-\lambda} \frac{\lambda^y}{y!}$$

*for  $y \in \{0, 1, \dots\}$  and 0 otherwise. Then we will say that  $Y$  follows a **Poisson** distribution with **rate** parameter  $\lambda$ .*

$$Y \sim \text{Poisson}(\lambda)$$

# Poisson Distribution



# Poisson Distribution

Suppose  $Y \sim \text{Poisson}(\lambda)$ . Then:

$$E[Y] = \lambda$$

$$\text{Var}(Y) = \lambda$$

If  $Y \sim \text{Poisson}(\lambda)$  then the **wait time** between events,  $W \sim \text{Exponential}(\frac{1}{\lambda})$

# Poisson Distribution: Modeling Number of International Incidents

Suppose we observe  $N$  observations with

$$Y_i \sim_{\text{iid}} \text{Poisson}(\lambda)$$

Then:

$$\begin{aligned} L(\lambda|\mathbf{Y}) &= f(\mathbf{Y}|\lambda) \\ &= \prod_{i=1}^N f(Y_i|\lambda) \\ &= \prod_{i=1}^N e^{-\lambda} \frac{\lambda^{Y_i}}{Y_i!} \end{aligned}$$

# Poisson Distribution: Modeling Number of International Incidents

$$L(\boldsymbol{\lambda}|\mathbf{Y}) = \prod_{i=1}^N e^{-\lambda} \frac{\lambda^{Y_i}}{Y_i!}$$

$$\log L(\boldsymbol{\lambda}|\mathbf{Y}) = \sum_{i=1}^N (-\lambda + Y_i \log \lambda + \text{log } Y_i!)$$

$$= -N\lambda + \sum_{i=1}^N Y_i \log \lambda + c$$

# Poisson Distribution: Modeling Number of International Incidents

Differentiate, set equal to zero and solve:

$$\begin{aligned}\frac{\partial \ell(\boldsymbol{\lambda}|\mathbf{Y})}{\partial \lambda} &= -N + \sum_{i=1}^N \frac{Y_i}{\lambda} \\ 0 &= -N + \sum_{i=1}^N \frac{Y_i}{\lambda^*} \\ \lambda^* &= \frac{\sum_{i=1}^N Y_i}{N}\end{aligned}$$

# Poisson Distribution: Modeling Number of International Incidents

Uncertainty: inverse of negative expected hessian

$$\begin{aligned}\frac{\partial^2 \ell(\boldsymbol{\lambda} | \mathbf{Y})}{\partial \lambda \partial \lambda} &= - \left( \frac{\sum_{i=1}^N E[Y_i]}{\lambda^2} \right)^{-1} \\ &= \left( \frac{N\lambda}{\lambda^2} \right)^{-1} \\ &= \left( \frac{N}{\lambda} \right)^{-1} \\ &= \frac{\bar{Y}}{N} \text{ evaluated at MLE}\end{aligned}$$

Asymptotically,

$$\lambda^* \longrightarrow^D \text{Normal}(\bar{Y}, \frac{\bar{Y}}{N})$$

# Modeling the rate with covariates



# Poisson Regression

$$Y_i \sim \text{Poisson}(\lambda_i)$$
$$\lambda_i = \exp(\mathbf{X}_i' \boldsymbol{\beta})$$

This implies:

$$\begin{aligned} L(\boldsymbol{\beta} | \mathbf{X}, \mathbf{Y}) &= f(\mathbf{Y} | \mathbf{X}, \boldsymbol{\beta}) \\ &= \prod_{i=1}^N f(Y_i | \mathbf{X}_i, \boldsymbol{\beta}) \\ &= \prod_{i=1}^N \exp \left\{ -\exp(\mathbf{X}_i' \boldsymbol{\beta}) \right\} \frac{\exp(\mathbf{X}_i' \boldsymbol{\beta})^{Y_i}}{Y_i!} \end{aligned}$$

# Poisson Regression

$$L(\boldsymbol{\beta}|\mathbf{X}_i, \mathbf{Y}) = \prod_{i=1}^N \exp \left\{ -\exp(\mathbf{X}_i' \boldsymbol{\beta}) \right\} \frac{\exp(\mathbf{X}_i' \boldsymbol{\beta})^{Y_i}}{Y_i!}$$

$$\log L(\boldsymbol{\beta}|\mathbf{X}_i, \mathbf{Y}) = \sum_{i=1}^N \left( -\exp(\mathbf{X}_i' \boldsymbol{\beta}) + Y_i \mathbf{X}_i \boldsymbol{\beta} - \text{log } Y_i \right)$$

Score:  $s(\boldsymbol{\beta}|Y_i, \mathbf{X}_i) =$

$$\left( (Y_i - \exp(\mathbf{X}_i' \boldsymbol{\beta})), (Y_i - \exp(\mathbf{X}_i' \boldsymbol{\beta}))X_{i1}, \dots, (Y_i - \exp(\mathbf{X}_i' \boldsymbol{\beta}))X_{iK} \right)$$

Hessian:

$$\frac{\partial^2 \ell(\boldsymbol{\beta}|\mathbf{Y}, \mathbf{X})}{\partial \boldsymbol{\beta} \partial \boldsymbol{\beta}} = -\exp(\mathbf{X}_i' \boldsymbol{\beta}) \mathbf{X}_i \mathbf{X}_i'$$

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$\beta^*$  = numeric optimization

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- 3) Treatment effect of intervention  $T_i$

$$E[E[Y|T_i = 1, \mathbf{X}_i] - E[Y|T_i = 0, \mathbf{X}_i]]$$



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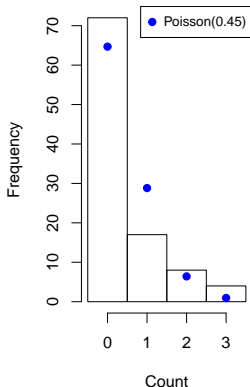
- 1) Bootstrap
- 2) Delta Method
- 3) Simulation

# Example: Democracy and War Involvement

Benoit (1996):

- $Y_i$ : # of involvement in international wars, 1960–80
- $X_i$ : democracy (Freedom House score), population, military capacity, economic interdependence

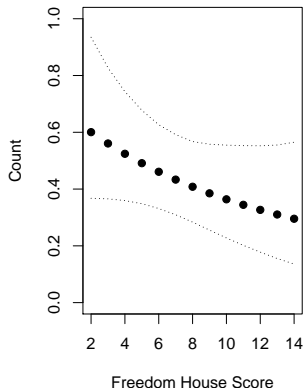
N. of Wars, 1960–80



Coefficients:

|          | Est.  | s.e.  |    |
|----------|-------|-------|----|
| (Int.)   | -3.97 | 1.62  | *  |
| fh73     | -0.06 | 0.04  |    |
| lpopln70 | 0.62  | 0.30  | *  |
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| ecintdep | -1.28 | 1.11  |    |
|          | z     | p     |    |
|          | -2.45 | 0.014 |    |
|          | -1.49 | 0.136 |    |
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Estimated Mean Count of War

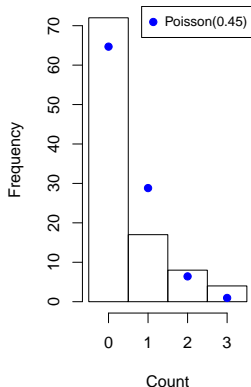


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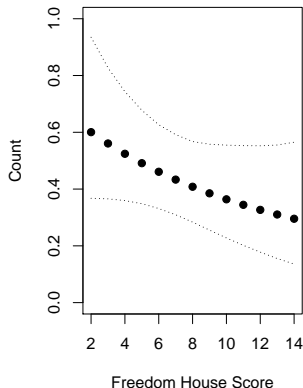
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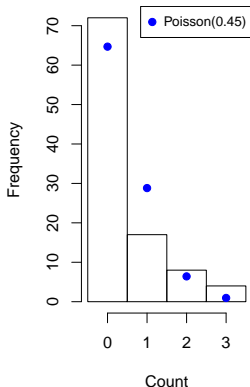


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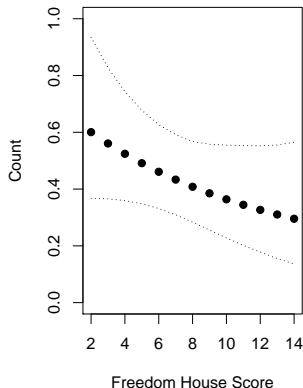
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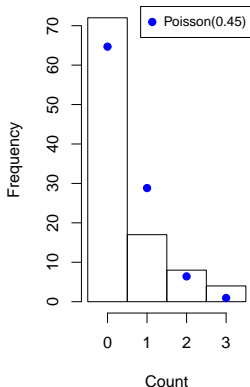


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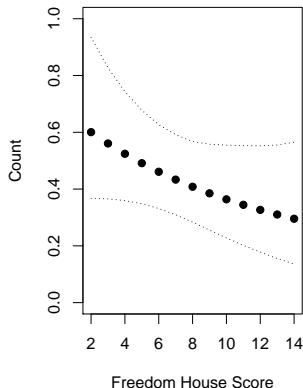
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# Overdispersion in Poisson Model

- The Poisson model assumes  $E(Y_i | X_i) = \text{Var}(Y_i | X_i)$

- But for many count data,  $E(Y_i | X_i) < \text{V}(Y_i | X_i)$

- Potential sources of overdispersion:

- 1 unobserved heterogeneity
- 2 clustering
- 3 contagion or diffusion
- 4 (classical) measurement error

- Underdispersion could occur, but rare

- One solution to this is to modify the Poisson model by assuming:

$$E(Y_i | X_i) = \lambda_i = \exp(X_i^\top \beta) \quad \text{and} \quad \text{Var}(Y_i | X_i) = V_i = \sigma^2 \lambda_i$$

- This is called the **overdispersed Poisson regression** model

- When  $\sigma^2 > 0$ , this corresponds to the negative binomial regression model



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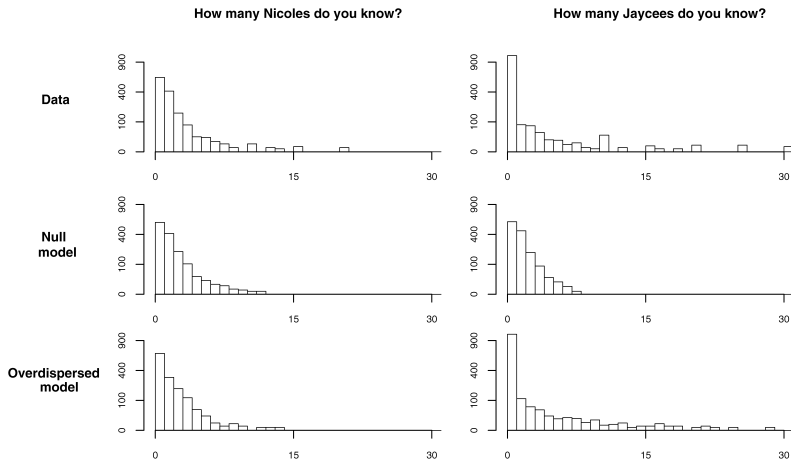
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# Example: Social Network Survey Data



(Zheng, et al., 2006 *JASA*)

# Negative Binomial Distribution

Suppose  $Y_i \in \{0, 1, 2, \dots\}$ . If  $Y_i$  has pmf

$$p(y_i) = \frac{\Gamma\left(\frac{\lambda}{\sigma^2 - 1} + y_i\right)}{y_i! \Gamma\left(\frac{\lambda}{\sigma^2 - 1}\right)} \left(\frac{\sigma^2 - 1}{\sigma^2}\right)^{y_i} (\sigma^2)^{\frac{-\lambda}{\sigma^2 - 1}}$$

Then we will say

$$\begin{aligned} Y_i &\sim \text{NegBin}(\lambda, \sigma^2) \\ E[Y_i] &= \lambda \\ \text{Var}(Y_i) &= \lambda \sigma^2 \end{aligned}$$

# Negative Binomial Regression

Suppose:

$$\begin{aligned}Y_i &\sim \text{Negative Binomial}(\lambda_i, \sigma^2) \\ \lambda_i &= \exp(\mathbf{X}_i' \boldsymbol{\beta})\end{aligned}$$

This implies a likelihood of:

$$\begin{aligned}L(\boldsymbol{\beta} | \mathbf{X}, \mathbf{Y}) &= f(\mathbf{Y} | \mathbf{X}, \boldsymbol{\beta}) \\ &= \prod_{i=1}^N f(Y_i | \mathbf{X}_i, \boldsymbol{\beta}) \\ &= \prod_{i=1}^N \frac{\Gamma\left(\frac{\lambda_i}{\sigma^2 - 1} + y_i\right)}{y_i! \Gamma\left(\frac{\lambda_i}{\sigma^2 - 1}\right)} \left(\frac{\sigma^2 - 1}{\sigma^2}\right)^{y_i} (\sigma^2)^{\frac{-\lambda_i}{\sigma^2 - 1}}\end{aligned}$$

Optimize numerically. Usual theorems about asymptotic distributions apply.

# Negative Binomial Regression

Negative Binomial Regression:

1) Variance is sometimes:

$$\text{Var}(Y_i|\mathbf{X}_i) = \lambda_i(1 + \sigma^2\lambda_i)$$

2) Run in R using

```
library(MASS)  
out<- glm.nb(Y~X)
```



# Clustering and Survival analysis