

Horse Race Models: A Comprehensive Guide

What is a Horse Race Model?

A **horse race model** is a regression specification where you include **multiple competing explanations** (variables) simultaneously to see which one "wins" - i.e., which remains statistically significant when they compete for explanatory power.

The Metaphor

Like horses racing on a track - you put multiple variables in the same model and see which ones are still "running strong" (statistically significant) after controlling for the others.

Your Application: Gas Prices and Voter Turnout

The Question

Does **current** gas price affect turnout, or is it really just **lagged** gas prices (persistent trends)?

The Horse Race Model

```
r turnout ~ current_gas + lagged_gas + controls
```

Your Results

Variable Coefficient P-value Interpretation	----- ----- ----- -----	Current gas 0.079 0.001
â€¦ Winner - Highly significant	Lagged gas 0.017 0.61	â€¦ Not significant

Conclusion: Current gas prices "win the race" - they remain significant while lagged prices don't. This proves your effect is real and contemporaneous, not just picking up persistent trends.

Four Possible Outcomes in a Horse Race

Outcome 1: Variable A Wins (Your Result)

- Variable A: **Significant**
- Variable B: Not significant
- **Interpretation:** A is the true driver; B was spuriously correlated

Outcome 2: Variable B Wins

- Variable A: Not significant
- Variable B: **Significant**
- **Interpretation:** B is the true driver; A was spuriously correlated

Outcome 3: Both Win

- Variable A: **Significant**
- Variable B: **Significant**
- **Interpretation:** Both matter independently (e.g., cumulative effects)

Outcome 4: Neither Wins

- Variable A: Not significant
- Variable B: Not significant
- **Interpretation:** High multicollinearity - they're so correlated they cancel each other out

Classic Examples in Economics

Example 1: Returns to Education

Question: Does education increase wages, or is it really just coming from rich families?

```
r wages ~ years_education + parent_income + controls
```

Possible findings: - If education wins: Education has causal effect on wages - If parent income wins: Education is just

a proxy for family wealth - If both win: Both education and family background matter

Example 2: Campaign Spending

Question: Does incumbent spending help win votes, or is it just an arms race where only relative spending matters?

$r \text{ vote_share} \sim \text{incumbent_spending} + \text{challenger_spending} + \text{controls}$

Possible findings: - If incumbent spending wins: More spending = more votes - If neither wins separately but difference matters: It's about relative spending - If both negative: Spending signals weakness (quality candidates don't need to spend)

Example 3: Gubernatorial Incumbent Voting

Question: Which timing of gas prices actually matters for incumbent support?

$r \text{ incumbent_vote} \sim \text{current_gas} + \text{past_gas} + \text{future_gas} + \text{controls}$

In your analysis: - Current gas: Small, not significant - Past gas: Larger in isolation, but disappears in horse race - Future gas: Not significant - **Conclusion:** Gas prices don't meaningfully affect gubernatorial voting

Key Insights from Horse Race Models

What They Test

Horse race models determine whether an effect is:

1. **Direct/Causal** – Variable stays significant when competitors included
2. **Spurious** – Variable becomes insignificant when controlling for the real cause
3. **Shared/Confounded** – Both lose significance due to multicollinearity

Why They're Useful

1. **Rule out omitted variable bias** - Include the potential omitted variable directly
 2. **Test competing theories** - Let the data choose between alternative explanations
 3. **Build credibility** - Show your main effect survives tough competition
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Your Specific Case: Addressing Serial Correlation

The Problem

Gas prices are **serially correlated** - if prices are high this year, they were probably high last year too.

The Concern

When you estimate: $r \text{ turnout} \sim \text{current_gas} + \text{controls}$

Lagged gas prices are an **omitted variable** that's correlated with: 1. Current gas prices (serial correlation) 2. Current turnout (persistent state-level trends)

This creates **omitted variable bias**.

The Solution: Horse Race

$r \text{ turnout} \sim \text{current_gas} + \text{lagged_gas} + \text{controls}$

By including lagged gas prices: - You control for the omitted variable - The lagged effect goes to zero (it was spurious) - The current effect remains strong (it's real) - You isolate the true contemporaneous causal effect

What NOT to Confuse With Horse Race Models

NOT the Same As:

1. **Stepwise Regression**
2. Automatically adding/removing variables based on significance
3. Generally discouraged (p-hacking, data mining)

4. **Variable Selection**

5. Choosing which variables to include a priori
6. Based on theory, not competition

7. **Specification Search**

8. Trying many different model specifications
9. Problematic for inference

Horse Race Is:

- **Theory-driven:** You have specific competing explanations to test
 - **Transparent:** You show both the simple model and the horse race
 - **Hypothesis testing:** Testing whether one explanation dominates another
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How to Present in Your Paper

Main Results Section

Present the **simple model** first (current gas price only): - Coefficient = 0.056, $p < 0.001$ - This is your main finding - Clean, easy to interpret - Focus on substantive interpretation

Robustness Checks Section

``` We conduct several robustness tests to ensure our results are not driven by spurious correlations:

1. Placebo tests: Future gas prices show no effect ( $p=0.19$ ), confirming no reverse causality or anticipation effects.
2. Serial correlation: Lagged gas prices appear significant in isolation (coefficient=0.072,  $p=0.004$ ), raising concerns about persistent trends. However, when we include both current and lagged gas prices in a horse race specification, lagged prices become insignificant (coefficient=0.017,  $p=0.61$ ) while the current effect strengthens (coefficient=0.079,  $p=0.001$ ). This confirms our results reflect contemporaneous effects rather than omitted variable bias from persistent state-level trends. ```

### Why This Order?

1. **Simpler model first** - Easier for readers to understand
  2. **Build credibility** - Show you anticipated concerns
  3. **Standard practice** - What reviewers expect
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## Summary: Your Three Key Findings

### 1. Voter Turnout âœ€...

- **Main effect:** Gas prices increase turnout (0.056,  $p < 0.001$ )
- **Horse race:** Current prices matter (0.079,  $p = 0.001$ ), lagged don't ( $p = 0.61$ )
- **Conclusion:** Real contemporaneous effect, not persistent trends

### 2. Presidential Incumbent Voting âœ€...

- **Main effect:** Gas prices hurt incumbent presidents (significant, negative)
- **Conclusion:** Classic economic voting

### 3. Gubernatorial Incumbent Voting âœŸ ĩ,

- **Main effect:** Null ( $-0.02$ ,  $p = 0.69$ )
  - **Placebos:** Past effects larger than current (concerning, but effect is null anyway)
  - **Conclusion:** Voters don't hold governors accountable for gas prices
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## The Big Picture

Your paper tells a coherent story:

1. **Gas prices mobilize voters** â†’ Higher turnout when prices are salient
2. **Voters punish presidents for gas prices** â†’ National economic accountability
3. **But NOT governors** â†’ Voters correctly attribute gas prices to national/global factors, not state government

This is a **strong contribution** showing that: - Economic voting depends on attribution of responsibility - Voters are sophisticated enough to distinguish state vs. national issues - Gas prices have broader political effects beyond just hurting incumbents (mobilization!)

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## Technical Note: When to Use Horse Race Models

### Good Use Cases:

• Testing specific competing theories with clear predictions • Addressing concerns about omitted variable bias • When variables are correlated but theoretically distinct • Robustness checks in published research

### Bad Use Cases:

• Fishing for significance among many variables • When variables measure the same underlying construct • As a substitute for proper causal identification strategy • When multicollinearity is extreme ( $VIF > 10$ )

### Your Use Case: • Perfect Application

You had a specific concern (serial correlation), a clear alternative explanation (persistent trends), and you tested it directly. This is exactly what horse race models are designed for.