

UNIVERSITY OF MANNHEIM  
SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES  
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

Final Paper for Course  
*Advanced Quantitative Methods in Political Science*

---

# **On Using Metropolis-Hastings to Analyze Democratic Support**

---

**Tobias Stenzel**  
[tobias.stenzel@students.uni-  
mannheim.de](mailto:tobias.stenzel@students.uni-mannheim.de)

Prof. Thomas Gschwend, Ph.D.

Submission Date: Juni 14, 2022

# Contents

<b>1</b>	<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>2</b>	<b>Literature Review and Data</b>	<b>2</b>
2.1	The Concept of Democratic Support . . . . .	2
2.2	Drivers of Democratic Support . . . . .	3
2.3	Democratic Support and Survival of Democracy . . . . .	4
2.4	Measuring Democratic Support and the Data Challenge . . . . .	4
<b>3</b>	<b>Model and Estimation</b>	<b>6</b>
3.1	The Latent Variable Model . . . . .	7
3.2	Model Estimation with Metropolis-Hastings . . . . .	9
3.3	Simulaton . . . . .	10
<b>4</b>	<b>Analysis and Results</b>	<b>10</b>
4.1	Hyperparameter Selection . . . . .	10
4.2	Quantity of Interest Selection . . . . .	11
4.3	The Effect of Number of Iterations . . . . .	12
4.4	The Effect of Warmup Length . . . . .	13
4.5	The Effect of Number of Chains . . . . .	14
4.6	The Effect of Three Additional Years of Data . . . . .	15
<b>5</b>	<b>Discussion</b>	<b>16</b>
<b>6</b>	<b>Conclusion</b>	<b>18</b>
<b>7</b>	<b>Appendix: Mathematical Background</b>	<b>18</b>
7.1	Introduction . . . . .	18
7.2	Markov Chains . . . . .	18
7.3	The Algorithm . . . . .	23
	<b>References</b>	<b>25</b>
	<b>Statutory Declaration</b>	

# 1 Introduction

In recent years scholars have found declining support for democracy in long-established democracies. (Denemark et al. 2016; Foa and Mounk 2016, 2017; Norris 2017; Voeten 2016). This finding raises two important questions: First, what are the reasons for this decline, and second, what are its implications, in particular, does a decline in democratic support endanger the survival of democracy?

A series of recent articles (Claassen 2019, 2020a, 2020b) researches these questions and presents novel results. Regarding the first question, Claassen (2020a) finds – in contrary to the widely held belief of self-reinforcing democracies – that democratic support naturally fluctuates over time. The reason is that increases in democracy levels lead to decreases in public support and vice versa. Regarding the second question, so far the results about the relationship between democratic support and its survival have been mixed. Claassen (2020a), however, finds supporting evidence for the natural theory that democratic support plays a positive role in the system’s survival.

A main obstacle for researching democratic support is that current panel data contains a large number of missing values. Claassen (2019) develops an approach to deal with this problem by simulating dense panel data from the actual fractured data. The two most recent studies both rely on this simulated data. His approach consists of three steps: First, assume a probabilistic structural model of democratic support. Second, estimate its parameters via the Metropolis Hastings algorithm from the fractured data. Third, simulate new data using the model and the parameter estimates.

The objective of this work is to evaluate the robustness of Claassen’s findings. First, I incorporate the uncertainty about the right choice of hyperparameters into Claassen’s results. In particular, I propagate a number of different hyperparameters through Claassen’s estimation procedure. This is important because arbitrary hyperparameter choices can potentially lead to false or at least random results. Therefore, the respective parametric uncertainty should always be reported along the point estimate. Second, I compare the results obtained from old data with the results from slightly updated data. If the results differ too much, this

suggests that the structural model overfits the data.

I come to the following results: First, Claassen uses too many iteration for his estimation procedure. By determining the minimal number of iterations necessary for convergence he could have saved about two third of the computation time. To not waste too much computational resources is important for two reasons: First, it allows spending more time on further robustness checks and second, it makes it easier for other researchers to replicate and build upon the work of others. The second result is that updating the dataset by 3 additional years (about one tenth) changes the results noticeably. This finding suggests that Claassen's approach would still require more data for robust results. The third finding is that the default hyperparameters recommended by Stan Development Team (2018) deliver the benchmark results with the smallest variation using less iterations.

The final paper is structured as follows: Section 2 reviews the literature of public support of democracy with a focus on Claassen's papers, defines the concept of support and looks at the data. Section 3 explains Claassen's model of public support, its estimation and my approach for the uncertainty propagation. Section 4 presents the results and Section 5 discusses the findings. Section 6 concludes.

## 2 Literature Review and Data

### 2.1 The Concept of Democratic Support

There are two major conceptualizations of public support for democracy (PSD)<sup>1</sup>. First, the *implicit* approach that requires the support for broader sociopolitical values like post-materialism and egalitarianism. Here, people support democracy implicitly if they support the values that are framed as particularly democratic. Second, the *explicit* approach that requires both an appraisal of democracy and a rejection of autocratic alternatives. Different studies use different concepts although the explicit approach is more direct.

---

<sup>1</sup>Some studies also refer to PSD measured on the national level as "mood."

## 2.2 Drivers of Democratic Support

The main theory about why citizen and societies begin to support democracy are called *generational socialization* and *instrumental regime performance*. The first theory assumes that individuals are taught to support the regime under which they are socialized during late adolescence (Mannheim 1970; Niemi 1974). One implication is that after a shift to democracy, the support for it will grow over time (Denemark et al. (2016)). Indeed, several single-country studies have found evidence for this claim, for example for in 1970s Germany (Baker et al. (1981)), in 1980s Spain (Montero, Gunther, and Torcal (1997)), and in 1990s Russia (Mishler and Rose (2007)). On the other hand, other studies come to different results: First, Mishler and Rose (2002) do not find such an effect analyzing other Central and Eastern European countries. Second, more recent studies even find a decline in PSD over the last years (Foa and Mounk 2016, 2017).

Regarding the second theory, instrumental regime performance, PSD rises if the system performs well in terms of instrumental benefits such as economic growth, and it declines if regimes perform poorly (Dalton 1994; Magalhães 2014). Hence, the theory suggests that PSD should decline during economic crises. However, there are case-studies that find (Dalton 1994; Magalhães 2014; Mishler and Rose 1996) and that do not find this relationship in the data (Graham and Sukhtankar (2004)).

Claassen (2020b) offers an alternative theory in transferring the thermostatic model of public opinion and policy (Wlezien (1995)) to democracy and democratic support. In particular, he suggests that there is a negative feedback loop between PSD and democracy so that PSD decreases if democracy supply increases and vice versa. In short, the reasoning is that the output of democratic rights and institutions overshoots the initial demand for these rights. This causes another overcompensation in favor of lower levels of democracy, and so on. Moreover, Claassen (2020b) differentiates two causal channels, one for electoral and a second for minoritarian democracies. These two sub-types differ in the degree to which the majority holds juridical power. He tests the following hypotheses: First, increases in democracy have a negative effect on PSD (H1), Second, he specifically looks at electoral (H1-elec) and minoritarian democracies (H1-min).

In his analysis he finds evidence for H1 and H1-min but not for H1-elec.

## **2.3 Democratic Support and Survival of Democracy**

Claassen (2020a) distinguishes between two types of PSD: *principled* and *specific*. Specific PSD is instrumental and focuses on regime outputs (similar to the instrumental regime performance theory), whereas principled support is normative and focuses on the principles of the regime. Therefore, principled PSD is more durable than specific support and helps cushioning regimes in times of political or economic crises. Therefore, it is principled PSD that helps to ensure the survival of democracy. Although the theory is widely accepted (e.g., Norris (2017), Booth and Seligson (2009), Mattes and Bratton (2007)), so far the findings are mixed, too. There are supporting contributions (Inglehart 2003; Welzel and Inglehart 2005) and contributions against the theory (Fails and Pierce 2010; Hadenius and Teorell 2005; Qi and Shin 2011; Welzel 2007). Astonishingly, these studies all essentially analyze the same data from the World Value Survey starting at wave 3 where respective PSD items are included and still come to different varying results.

Claassen (2020a) does not only look at the relationship between PSD and democratic survival but also between PSD and democratic emergence in autocracies based on the argument made by Qi and Shin (2011). That is PSD may also function as democratic demand, thus increasing the probability of transitioning from autocracy to democracy. Claassen's hypotheses are: First, PSD is positively associated with subsequent change in democracy regardless of the initial level of democracy. Second, he specifically looks at PSD in already-existing democracies (H2-dem) and at PSD in autocracies (H2-aut). He finds evidence in support of H2-dem, mixed evidence for H2 and no evidence for H2-aut.

## **2.4 Measuring Democratic Support and the Data Challenge**

We measure PSD with survey data on the national level. In particular, we focus on principled support. The questions ask for the respondent's opinion on the appropriateness or desirability of democracy and undemocratic alternatives and

comparisons between both.<sup>2</sup>

Such items are available in 14 survey projects<sup>3</sup>, for 150 countries from 1988 to 2017. Combined, the dataset includes 3,765 nationally aggregated binary responses from 1,390 nationally representative survey samples.

The data, however, poses the following challenge: It is highly fractured across time and space, with many – oftentimes large – gaps along the time dimension for all countries. Although we look at a 30 years time span, the average number of covered years is slightly below 8. Take, for instance, China as the country with most participants over all years (20.895). From 1988 to 2017, however, the data available covers only 8 years: 2001-2003, 2006-2009, and 2011/2012. Many countries are only surveyed once or not covered at all. The South American countries, however, tend to have the best coverage. For example, Argentina tops the list with 23 years included. Germany and the US are available for 12 and 13 years, respectively.

Figure 1 gives an overview of the sparseness of the data. The first panel shows the availability of at least one survey item across a selection of eight countries from 1990 to 2017. The other three panels focus on the three most common question themes. We see that the single item data is indeed sparse and that even the aggregated data contains lots of gaps.

---

<sup>2</sup>The 8 included survey items and their different variants can be found on [the author's webpage](#).

<sup>3</sup>World and European Values Surveys, the Afrobarometer, Arab Barometer, Latinobarometer, Asiabarometer, Asian Barometer, South Asia Barometer, New Europe Barometer, Latin American Public Opinion Project, Eurobarometer, European Social Survey, pew Global Attitudes Project, and the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems

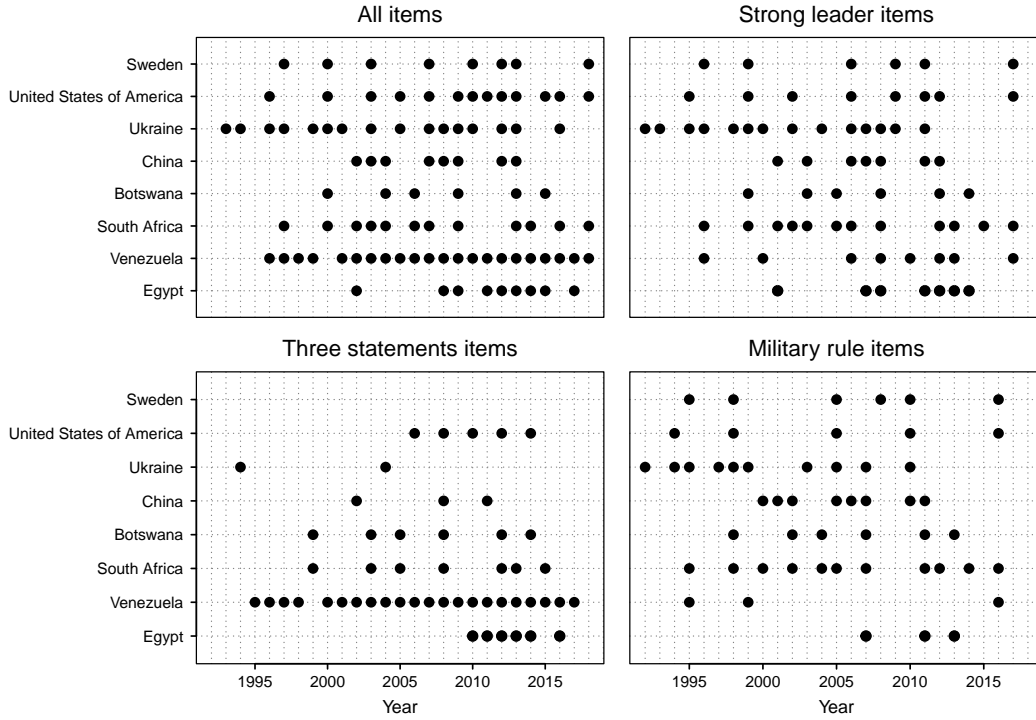


Figure 1: Sparseness of Aggregate Support for Democracy By Country, Year, and Survey Item. The figure is an update by three years of Figure 1 in Claassen (2019).

So far, past research has responded to this issue by discarding most of the available data and by using only small cross-sectional data sets consisting of observations from only one survey project for one year (Inglehart 2003; Qi and Shin 2011; Welzel 2007). Of course, this disregards not only of all other countries but also of additional items. Claassen (2019) describes how to use most available data for simulating a dataset that is dense across the yearly time dimension. This dataset can then be used for subsequent statistical analyses (Claassen 2020a, 2020b). The next section describes Claassen (2019)’s approach.

### 3 Model and Estimation

Claassen (2019)’s approach for simulating dense panel data for PSD has the following three main steps: Step 1 is to define a sensible model of PSD item responses as a function of latent public opinion. Step 2 is to estimate the model parameters with the Metropolis Hastings Algorithm. Step 3 is to simulate the



the data from the estimated model.

### 3.1 The Latent Variable Model

Claassen (2019) draws four principles from the literature to model cross-national timeseries for PSD: First, public opinion is an unobserved, latent trait that differs for each year and country. And each observed item response is a function of the latent trait. The function that maps latent PSD to the data should therefore contain item-specific parameters for a sub-function that disaggregates the latent trait into multiple item responses to account for heterogeneous item functioning. Second, estimating the latent variable from item-specific responses can be thought of as *smoothing* the opinion estimate over items since the latent variable does not contain this dimension. One should also smooth over the time dimension by not only estimating the latent traits for each time period but also by estimating the parameters that define a transitional model that holds for all periods. So the other values can additionally be simulated from some start value. Third, we should not model the percentage of positive item responses but directly the number of positive and negative responses. With that, we can model the problem of smaller response samples. In the following I describe how Claassen (2019) incorporates these principles in the definition of his main model<sup>4</sup> which we call  $f$ .

For each country  $i$ , year  $t$ , survey item  $k$ , the number of positive answers is distributed binomially with  $s$  as the number of total respondents and  $\pi$  as the probability of responding with yes.

$$y_{ikt} \sim \text{Binomial}(s_{ikt}, \pi_{ikt}) \quad (1)$$

We could now model  $\pi_{ikt}$  directly as a function of country-year and item-specific effects,  $\theta_{it}$  and  $\lambda_k$ , respectively. However, we introduce additional dispersion by using another link function. The reason is that survey data on public opinion are subject to various kinds of errors, for instance, translation, selection, and inter-

---

<sup>4</sup>The main model is called model 5 in Claassen (2019). It achieves lowest discrepancy between simulated and actual data and has the fifth highest complexity of six different specifications.

viewer mistakes. We model this error with the additional dispersion introduced by the beta distribution in Equation (2).

$$\pi_{ikt} \sim \text{Beta}(\alpha_{ikt}, \pi_{ikt}) \quad (2)$$

Further, we reparametrize the two shape parameters  $\alpha$  and  $\beta$  to an expectation parameter  $\eta$ , and a dispersion parameter  $\phi$  in Equation (3) and (4).

$$\alpha_{ikt} = \phi \eta_{ikt} \quad (3)$$

$$\beta_{ikt} = \phi(1 - \eta_{ikt}) \quad (4)$$

Now, we define the expectation of the number of positive responses per year, item and country as a function of item bias  $\lambda$ , country-specific item bias  $\delta$ , and latent, dynamic, country-specific PSD  $\theta$  as in Equation (5).

$$\eta_{ikt} = \text{logit}^{-1}(\lambda_k + \delta_{ik} + \theta_{it}) \quad (5)$$

The item bias effect is distributed normally with expectation  $\mu_\lambda$  and variance  $\sigma_\lambda^2$ .

$$\lambda_k = \mathcal{N}(\mu_\lambda, \sigma_\lambda^2) \quad (6)$$

To model the heterogeneity of item bias across countries (Stegmueller (2011)), we introduce the set of item by country effects that we call  $\delta$  in Equation (7).

$$\delta_k = \mathcal{N}(0, \sigma_\delta^2) \quad (7)$$

Our main parameter set, the latent parameters  $\theta$ , capture the underlying time- and country-specific support for democracy. We fully capture the time dimension of  $f$  by modelling the dynamics of  $\theta$  as an AR(1) process with normally distributed error term with variance  $\sigma_\theta^2$ , zero intercept, and zero covariance as implied by Equation (8).

$$\theta_{it} = \mathcal{N}(\theta_{i,t-1}, \sigma_\theta^2) \quad (8)$$

### 3.2 Model Estimation with Metropolis-Hastings

One main application for the MH algorithm (Chib and Greenberg (1995)) is Bayesian inference<sup>5</sup>. Specifically, we want to estimate parameters  $\Theta$  of some probabilistic model  $f$ . We have only limited prior knowledge of the distribution of  $\Theta$ , for instance about its domain. We use this knowledge to define prior distributions  $p(\Theta)$ . And we have a likelihood sample of  $f$  given the unknown  $\Theta$ , namely  $p(y|\Theta)$ . This is our PSD data  $y_{ikt}$ . We want to use both, our prior knowledge and our data, to get our posterior distribution  $p(\Theta|y)$  in Equation (9). In this equation, posterior and likelihood are scaled by  $\frac{1}{p(y)}$ . Without closed-form distributions for prior and likelihood,  $p(y)$  is usually unknown. The posterior is proportional to the product of likelihood and prior. However, without the scaling factor, this is not a probability distribution.

$$p(\Theta|y) = \frac{\mathcal{L}(y|\Theta)p(\Theta)}{p(y)} \propto \mathcal{L}(y|\Theta)p(\Theta) \quad (9)$$

An important insight is that our parameter vector  $\Theta$  does not only include parameters defined as distributional means, for instance  $\theta$ , but also standard deviations like  $\sigma_\theta$ . If our problem would not include those variation parameters, a simpler option would be to solve  $\mathcal{L}(y|\Theta)p(\Theta)$  directly with the usual optimization algorithms. These would propose new values of  $\Theta$ , evaluate its prior probability and the likelihood of the data given  $\Theta$  until convergence, and return the posterior mode. The mode is also called the maximum a posteriori probability (MAP) estimate. Yet, since we need to estimate standard deviations, we have to generate the whole parameter distributions to compute mean and variation. To this end, we use a Markov chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) method, namely the Metropolis Hastings (MH) algorithm.

Markov chains are stochastic processes that define distributions dependent on the values from the previous period only. The MH algorithm uses Markov chains to sample candidate parameters  $\Theta_i^*$  depending on  $\Theta_{i-1}$ . For each candidate  $\Theta_i^*$ , the algorithm uses the unscaled posterior,  $\mathcal{L}(y|\Theta_i)p(\Theta_i)$ , and compares it with the posterior of  $\Theta_{i-1}$  to accept or reject new candidates (not requiring constant  $p(y)$ ). Comparing relative posterior probabilities and using this comparison

---

<sup>5</sup>See Lambert (2018), Chapter 4 - 7.

for selecting new candidates proportional to their relative probability allows us to sample from the posterior without knowing  $y$ . The algorithm thus explores the domain proportionally to the posterior probability after a number of initial iterations. Besides the model specification using the MH algorithm requires a.o. the following choices<sup>6</sup>: the choice of the prior distribution(s)  $p(\Theta)$ , the choice of the proposal distribution  $g(y_i, y_{i-1})$ , and the number of additional initial parameter draws to drop, i.e. the length of the warmup period. Usually one initializes multiple Markov chains at once and combines the samples except of the warmup afterwards. This practice decreases the dependence on the starting value. Hence, the number of chains is an additional hyperparameter. I include a more technical explanation of the MH algorithm that uses a more general notation in the Appendix.

### 3.3 Simulaton

We can now use the parameter estimates and the probabilistic model including the distributional assumptions to simulate the dense PSD panel data. It is important to note that Claassen does not use the actual PSD item data but replaces it by the average of multiple simulation runs. Therefore, his method is not an imputation but a smoothing and completion method.

## 4 Analysis and Results

### 4.1 Hyperparameter Selection

Our first goal is to analyze the sensitivity of the MH algorithm towards changes in its hyperparameters. The main options are the models, the priors, the proposal distribution, the number of iterations, the warmup length, and the number of chains. Claassen (2019) already tests different models and priors. Therefore, we concern with the other options. Testing different proposal distribution poses the following challenge: MCMC estimation of complex models with sparse

---

<sup>6</sup>Note that there are much more potential choices depending on the MH variant and the specific setup and context

data is computationally costly. For instance, one run with the default settings in Claassen (2019) takes 50 minutes on my machine<sup>7</sup>. Therefore, it is important to use highly optimized libraries such as STAN or JAGS. However, these libraries each implement only one preferred proposal method. STAN uses a proposal distribution based on Hamiltonian dynamics (Stan Development Team (2018)), whereas JAGS uses Gibbs sampling (Plummer (2003)). The main idea of Gibbs sampling is to iteratively sample from the conditional distribution  $p(\Theta|X, \Theta_{-d})$  where  $\Theta_{-d}$  is  $\Theta$  without the  $d$ th parameter with acceptance probability 1. Learning and especially extending these frameworks for additional proposal distributions requires a substantial amount of time and is beyond the scope of this work. Therefore, we will not vary the proposal distributions but stick with Claassen’s choice STAN. We therefore restrict ourselves to analyzing the effect of changes in the remaining hyperparameters: the number of iterations, the warmup length, and the number of chains. Our second goal is to analyze the effect of adding three additional years, namely 2015-2017, to the dataset. Claassen uses this data in his two most recent publications on PSD. In the following analysis the default chain number is four and the default warmup is half the chain length (as used by Claassen and as recommend by STAN) unless stated differently.

## 4.2 Quantity of Interest Selection

Although choosing parameters representing the main results in Claassen (2020b) and Claassen (2020a) would be most illustrative in terms of substantial effects, this choice has the two following disadvantages. First, because these statistical parameters are estimated from simulated data, they are influenced by randomness from the data simulation that could not be distinguished from the estimation-inherent randomness. Second, the additional steps of simulating data and estimating statistical models would potentially double the computation time. Therefore, I choose the latent, dynamic, country-specific PSD  $\theta$  as the quantity of interest. This has the disadvantage that we cannot evaluate how Claassen’s substantial results would change. For instance, we cannot say whether his main coefficients stay equal, become insignificant or change in

---

<sup>7</sup>I use an Intel Core i7-8550U CPU with 8 1.80GHz cores

direction. We can only determine whether the intermediate results, the PSD coefficients, show changes in magnitude that suggest a too strong dependence on the hyperparameter choices, or not.

### 4.3 The Effect of Number of Iterations

Figure 2 shows latent PSD for year 2008 in two sets of countries. The dots represent the data points.<sup>8</sup> The set shown by the warm-colored lines are the countries with the smallest number of years with available data: Austria, Azerbaijan and Bahrain. These three countries have only two years with at least two available PSD items. The cold-colored lines represent the countries with the highest data availability: Uruguay (22), Venezuela (22), and Argentina (23). The vertical gray line shows the number of iterations that Claassen (2019) uses. We can make two observations: First, the parameter estimates have converged to a reasonable degree at least around 150. This is only a fraction of what Claassen (2019) chooses. Second, the parameter estimates for countries with less available data show a larger initial error and slower convergence. The main takeaway is that we can save a lot of computational time in our estimation by using much shorter Markov chains. For the next simulations, I use the reduced iteration number.

---

<sup>8</sup>Although it would be interesting to see confidence intervals in this graph, I do not report them as this would require me to re-run three days of computations. It can be expected that the uncertainty is proportional to the first derivative of each line. This means, it vanishes quickly but even more for the countries with more data.

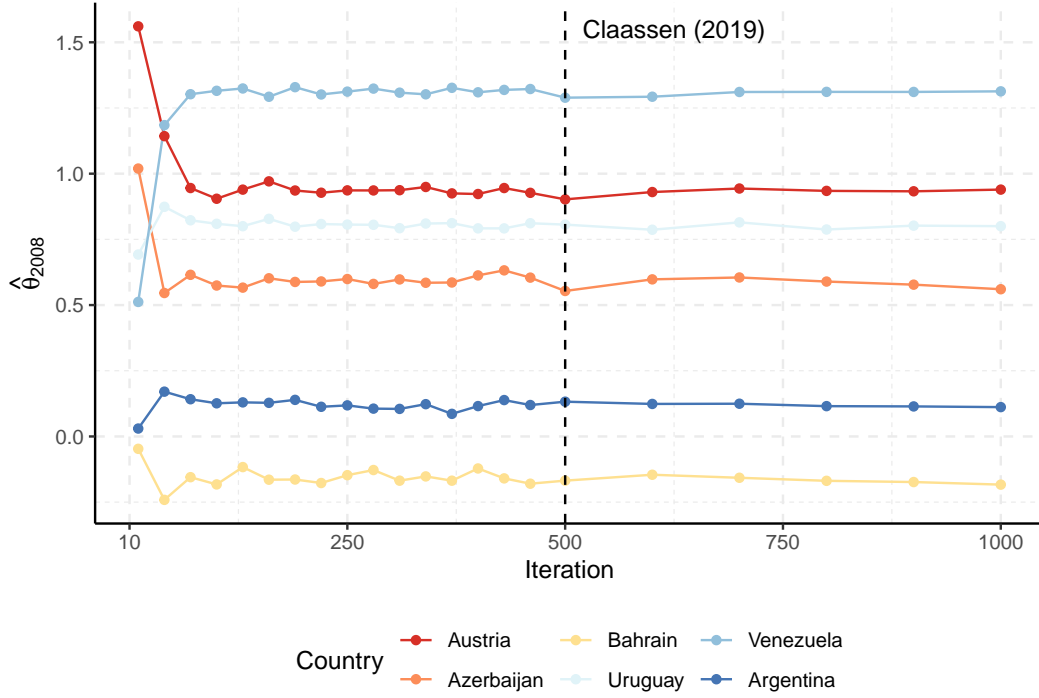


Figure 2: The effect of changes in the number of MH iterations on latent PSD in 2008.

#### 4.4 The Effect of Warmup Length

Figure 3 shows the distributions of 10 latent PSD estimates obtained from MCMC samples with warmup lengths between 0 and 135 (or 0 to 90 percent chain length). The dropped warmup iterations exclude the actual 150 MCMC draws. The red horizontal line shows the parameter estimate obtained from a run with 1000 iterations. We make two observations: First, the default warmup of half the chain indeed achieves the results closest to the benchmark. Second, it is obviously worse choosing a too small as choosing a too high warmup in terms of precision.

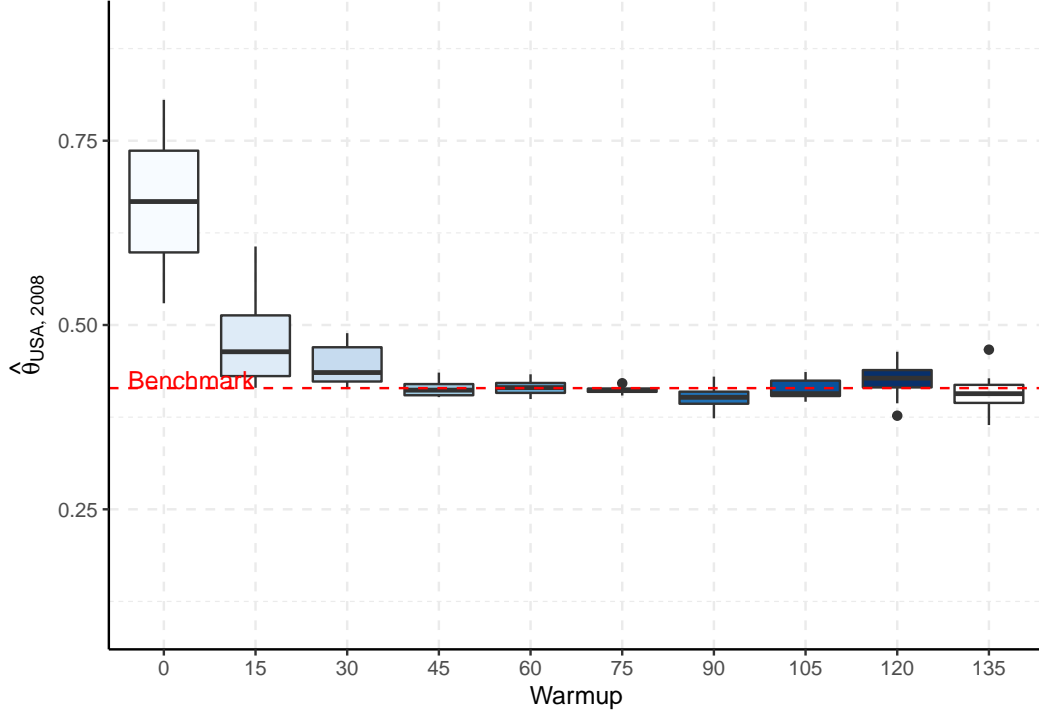


Figure 3: The effect of changes in the warmup lengths on latent PSD in 2008 in the US. Three outliers for zero warmup are not shown.

## 4.5 The Effect of Number of Chains

Figure 4 shows the distribution of three latent PSD estimates for MCMC samples with 1 to 8 chains. In this experiment the number of chains has no significant effect on the latent PSD estimates. The higher the number of chains, the smaller is each single chain. Hence, there should be a configuration where the smaller subsamples have not converged to the posterior distribution. This, however, is also dependent on the warmup and the number of iterations. Unfortunately, ablating these three hyperparameters at once would take too many computations.



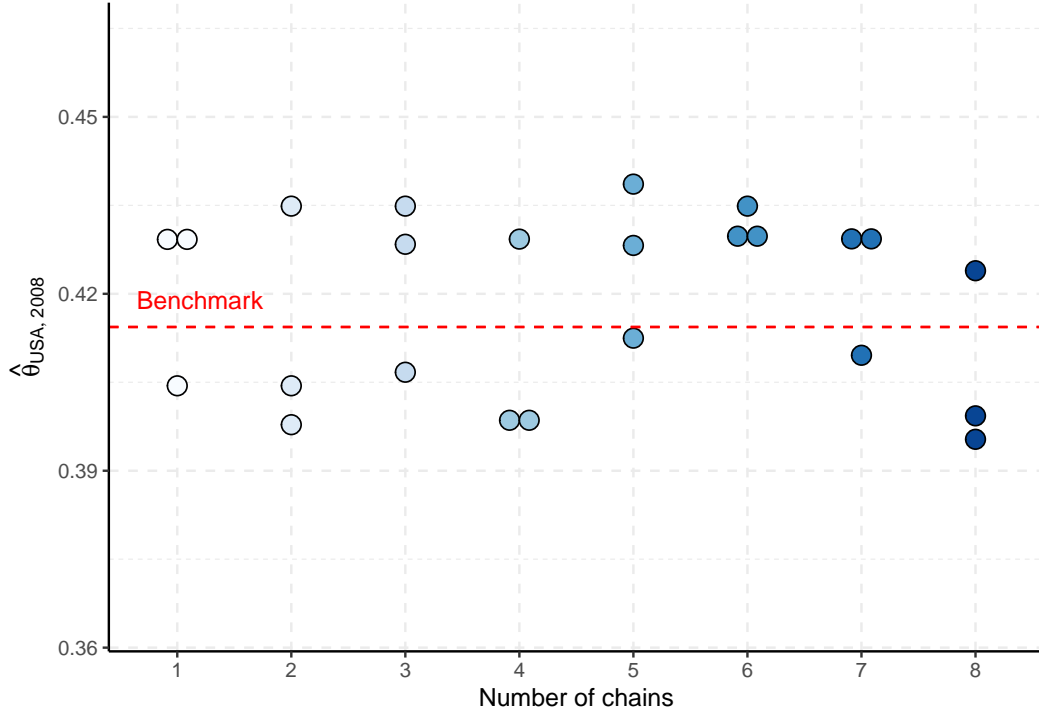


Figure 4: The effect of changes in the number of chains on latent PSD in 2008 in the US.

#### 4.6 The Effect of Three Additional Years of Data

Figure 5 shows the effect that adding years 2016-2018 to the dataset from 1998 - 2015 has for the USA, China and South Africa. The pale lines show the QoI obtained from the smaller dataset and the strong lines the ones obtained from the updated data. We observe two points. First, all updated QoIs are more extreme as they have a larger difference from zero. However, the ranking between countries over time remains the same. Therefore, the more data is added, the better we can differentiate between latent PSD in different countries. Second, there is a pronounced shift in directions between the old estimates and the updated estimates in the period from 2006 to 2007. It is remarkable that we can see such a difference although the added data is roughly 10 years later. This observation potentially have an impact on the data simulations and statistical results that rely on these estimates.

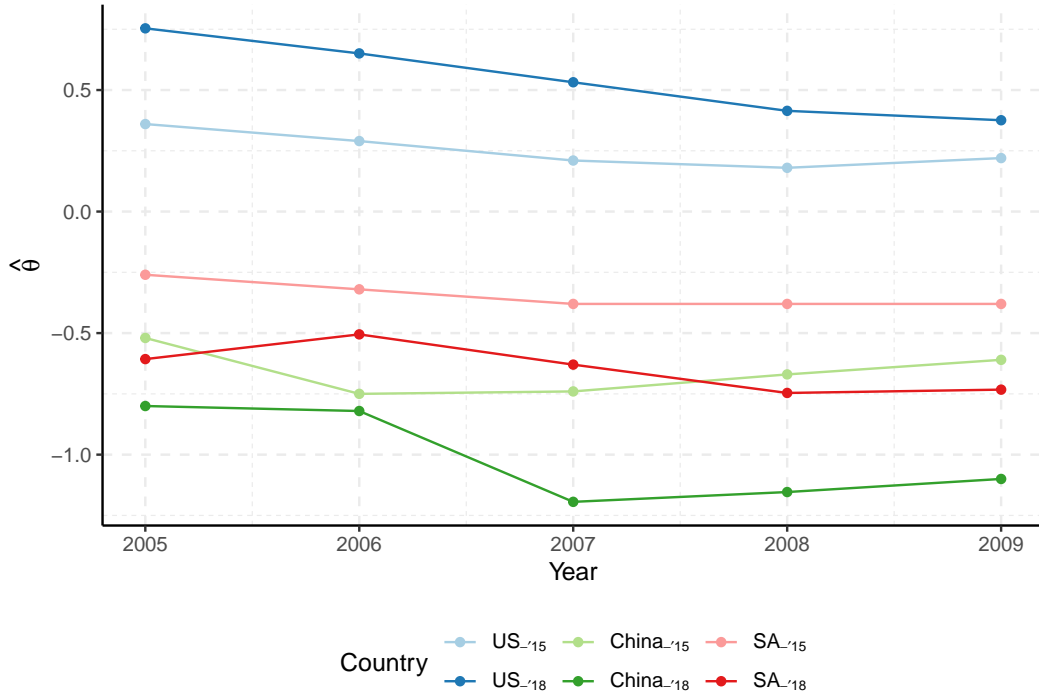


Figure 5: The effect of adding data from 2016 to 2018 on latent PSD in the US, China and South Africa.

## 5 Discussion

In the previous section we find three results: First, updating the dataset from 1997 to 2015 by three additional years lead to noticeable changes in latent PSD for one of three cases. In particular the direction of the change in latent PSD has changed for 2/5 of the observed period. If this finding is representative, the substantial results of Claassen’s subsequent analyses differ significantly between one dataset and a dataset with only 3 year more. This raises the question whether the two main results (increases in democracy have a negative effect on PSD and PSD is positively associated with subsequent change in democracy regardless of the initial level of democracy) are reliable. It would be important to secure this preliminary finding in future research. In particular, this requires to re-compute the substantial findings in Claassen (2020b) and Claassen (2020a) based on the smaller dataset and compare those with the reported findings. If the results differ too much this could mean that Claassen’s model overfits the data and that

it could indeed be more appropriate to research smaller panels, i.e. less country and/or years, until sufficient data is available (as was done in the research previous to Claassen's work). In general, it is better to prioritize reliability over generalizability.

Second, Claassen's estimation is very inefficient. The reason is not the method as such but simply that he chooses to run much more iterations than required. Instead of 500 iterations it is sufficient to use only less than 150. On my machine, this reduces the estimation time from 50 to 20 minutes (60 %). Therefore, it would have been a good investment to try models with less iterations. This has two advantages: First, more robustness or sensitivity tests can be done to run additional robustness checks. Second, it is easier for others to replicate the results and to build on Claassen's work in own research.<sup>9</sup> However, instead of looking at convergence plots for a small subset of important QoIs to find the most efficient number of iterations as done here, I suggest a different procedure for future research: If a satisfying estimation setup is found, re-run the procedure with a set of smaller iteration numbers. After each step compute either the convergence diagnostic by Geweke (1992) or by Brooks and Gelman (1998). The first measure requires only one MCMC chain. It divides the chain less the warmup into multiple partitions and tests whether they are similar enough to reject the hypothesis that the chain has not converged. The second measure requires multiple chains and tests for differences between chains and also within each single chain. This approach is more systematic and scales better to many QoIs than the approach used here.

Third, the number of chains does not have an effect and the warmup length is ideal at the value recommended by STAN. The takeaway here is that it does not add much value to look at changes to these hyperparameters from the defaults that are recommended by experts on MCMC methods as long as the posterior sample has converged.

---

<sup>9</sup>As Claassen notes in the Readme file of his replication directory the estimation runtime is 12 hours in his setup.

## 6 Conclusion

## 7 Appendix: Mathematical Background

### 7.1 Introduction

The Metropolis-Hastings (MH) algorithm is a method for sampling data points from a probability distribution from which direct sampling is difficult. It places among the top 10 algorithms with the greatest influence on science and engineering in the 20th century (Beichl and Sullivan (2000)). The MH algorithm belongs to the class of Markov chain Monte Carlo (MCMC) methods. In my explanation I assume prior knowledge on Monte Carlo sampling. However, I will describe the basics of Markov Chains. As motivation serves section 3.2. in the main part of this paper about estimating Claassen (2019)’s latent PSD model. There, I also provide a more intuitive, high-level explanation. This section has two parts that both rely on Andrieu et al. (2003) as main reference. First, I explain the basics of Markov Chains. Second, I derive the algorithm and show why it works.

### 7.2 Markov Chains

A Markov chain  $(X_t)_{t \in \mathbb{N}}$  is a stochastic process (over time) with the property that the probability of the realization in the next period depends solely on the realization in the current state and not the complete history. This is called the Markov property. Because Markov chains with a countable, or discrete, state space are much more accessible than their continuous variant, in this chapter we will look at the discrete case. Formally, the Markov property writes

$$P(X_{t+1}|X_t, X_{t-1}, \dots, X_0) = P(X_{t+1}|X_t). \quad (10)$$

Under some conditions, the stochastic process described by a Markov chain converges to a time-invariant probability distribution, i.e.  $P(X_{t+k}|X_{t+k-1}) = P(X_t|X_{t-1}), \forall k > 0$ . The crucial step for understanding the MH is to see how it samples a Markov Chain that is certain to converge to a stable posterior distribution. Before exploring how the MH algorithm achieves this result,

however, it is necessary to understand its conditions conceptually. To this end, we will use the example depicted by the following graph in Figure 1 that shows the intertemporal transition probabilities between three states representing random events.

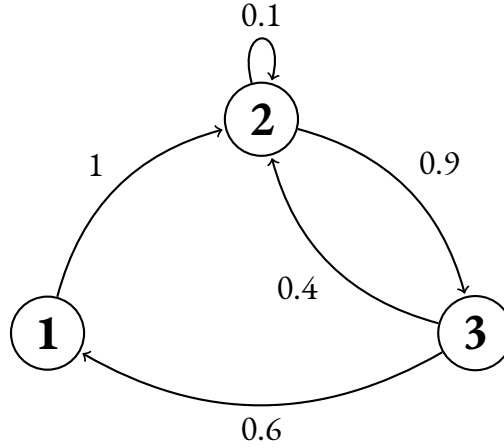


Figure 6: Transition Graph for Markov Chain with 3 states.

This transition graph can be summarized by the  $n \times n$  transition matrix  $T$  where each element  $(i, j)$  represents the probability of moving from state  $i$  in period  $t$  to state  $j$  in period  $t + 1$ , and where  $n$  represents the number of states, i.e  $T_{i,j} = P(X_{t+1} = j | X_t = i)$ . For our example, we have

$$T = \begin{pmatrix} 0 & 1 & 0 \\ 0 & 0.1 & 0.9 \\ 0.6 & 0.4 & 0 \end{pmatrix}. \quad (11)$$

### 7.2.1 Limit Distribution

As touched upon in the previous subsection, interesting questions can be what the probabilities of each state  $j \in \{1, \dots, s\}$  are after a finite number or infinitely many steps. For this purpose let  $\pi_t(j) = P(X_t = j)$  denote the probability of being in state  $j$  in period  $t$ . Of course, the probabilities in  $t > 0$  depend on the probabilities for the the initial state  $\pi_0$ . We can use the law of total probability to calculate the probability of each state for the next period  $t = 1$  by

$$P(X_1 = j) = \sum_{i=1}^3 P(X_1 = j | X_0 = i) \pi_0(i). \quad (12)$$

I.e., to compute the probability of being in state  $j$  in  $t = 1$ , for each initial state  $i$ , we multiply its probability  $\pi_0(i)$  by the probability of moving from  $i$  to state  $j$ . This is equivalent to  $\pi_1 = \pi_0 T$  in vector notation. Further, we can compute the distributions in an arbitrary future period by repeating the matrix multiplication, e.g,  $\pi_2 = \pi_0 T T$ , or in general,  $\pi_t = \pi_0 T^t$ .

Now we are ready to define the limit distribution that describes the probability distribution after infinitely many periods by

$$\pi_\infty = \lim_{t \rightarrow \infty} \pi_t = \lim_{t \rightarrow \infty} \pi_0 T^t. \quad (13)$$

We can further ask two additional important questions. First, does a limit distribution exist? And second, is it unique, or in other word, do we have the same limit distribution independent from the realization of the initial state  $X_0$ ? In our example, there does not only exist a limit distribution with  $\pi_\infty = (0.2, 0.4, 0.4)$ , it is even unique regardless of start distribution  $\pi_0$ . This means that independent of the start state, the probability of each state converges to the same number. For the context of the MH algorithm, this is an important property because we always want to compute the same estimates for our parameters  $\theta$ , regardless of the starting values of our simulation. In the next section, we introduce and simplify conditions that guarantee a unique limit distribution.

### 7.2.2 Irreducibility, Periodicity and Stationarity

**Definition 7.1.** A Markov chain is called *irreducible* if each state is reachable from any other state in a finite number of steps.

Figure 2 shows a Markov chain represented by a bipartite graph. This graph is composed by two times the graph in Figure 1. Obviously, this chain is not irreducible because the initial state impacts all future distributions. More precisely, starting in one subgraph sets the probability of reaching states in the other subgraph to zero. We see that a Markov Chain is only irreducible if there is at least

an indirect link between every pair of states. We also observe that if the Markov Chain is not irreducible there can be no limit distribution.

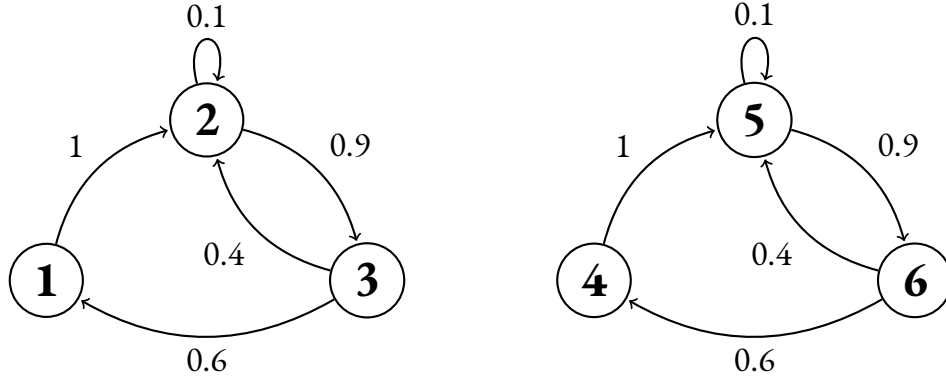


Figure 7: Transition Graph for Irreducible Markov Chain.

**Definition 7.2.** A state  $i$  has a period  $k$  if the greatest common denominator of possible revisits is  $k$ . A Markov chain is *aperiodic* if the period of all its states is 1.

Consider the five-state Markov chain in Figure 3 as an illustration for the above definition and suppose we start in state 1. Observe that, independent of the random draw for next period, we will arrive again in state 1 after two or four steps. Therefore, state 1 has a period of 2. If a state is revisited in random rather than a fixed time period then the state has period 1. This is automatically the case if a state has a positive edge with itself.

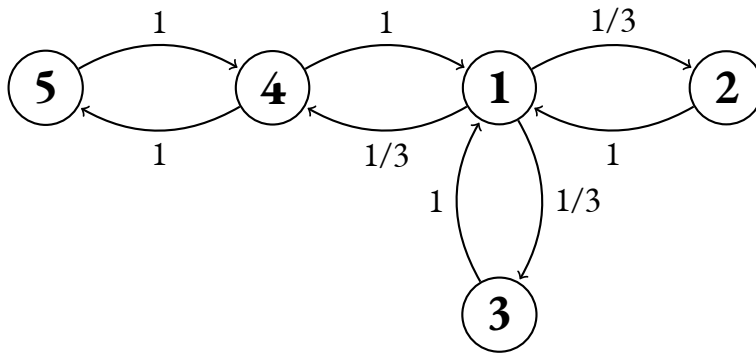


Figure 8: Markov Chain with 2-periodic State 1

**Definition 7.3.**  $\pi^*$  is the *stationary distribution* of a Markov Chain with Transition matrix  $T$  if  $\pi^* = \pi^*T$  and  $\pi^*$  is a probability vector.

Verbally, this means that the probability distribution  $\pi^*$  does not change anymore over time. If  $\pi^*$  is also unique, then  $\pi^*$  is our aim, the limit distribution introduces in section 1.3.1, i.e.,  $\pi^* = \pi_\infty$ .

These three definitions are enough to understand the next fundamental theorem.

### 7.2.3 The Fundamental Theorem of Markov Chains

The next theorem defines formally the condition when a Markov Chain converges to a unique distribution, i.e. the limit distribution.

**Theorem 7.1.** (*Fundamental Theorem of Markov Chains*) *If a Markov chain is irreducible and aperiodic (called ergodic) then it has a stationary distribution  $\pi^*$  that is unique ( $\lim_{t \rightarrow \infty} P(X_t = i) = \pi_i^*, \forall i$ ).*

Therefore, if we want to construct a stable distribution  $P(X)$  via Markov chains, we need to ensure that it is irreducible and aperiodic with stationary distribution  $\pi^* = P(X)$ . In the next subsection, we substitute the stationarity condition by a stronger one before we finally derive the MH algorithm.

### 7.2.4 Reversibility

**Definition 7.4.** A Markov chain is *reversible* if there is a probability distribution  $\pi$  over its states such that  $\pi(i)T_{ij} = \pi(j)T_{ji}, \forall i, j$  (reversibility condition).

**Theorem 7.2.** *A sufficient condition for distribution  $\pi^*$  to be a stationary distribution of a Markov chain with transition matrix  $T$  is that it fulfills the reversibility condition.*

*Proof.*  $\sum_i \pi(i)T_{ij} = \sum_i \pi(j)T_{ji} = \pi(j) \sum_i T_{ji} = \pi(j) \implies \pi T = \pi$   $\square$

Reversibility is a stronger condition than stationarity because it requires that the probability flux from  $i$  to  $j$  is equal to the one from  $j$  to  $i$  for each possible pair of states. Recall, that stationarity only requires that the probability flux to one state is equal on aggregate and not that it is symmetric between each pair of states over time. Therefore, if we want to achieve a stationary distribution it is enough to ensure that it is reversible.



### 7.3 The Algorithm

Recall that we want to generate a sample of a desired distribution  $P(X)$ . For this purpose, we use a Markov process that is uniquely defined by its transition probabilities  $P(X_{t+1}|X)$  with limit distribution  $\pi$  so that  $\pi = P(X)$ . As explained in the previous section, a Markov process has a limit distribution if each transition  $X_t \rightarrow X_{t+1}$  is reversible and if the stationary distribution  $\pi$  is ergodic. With the MH algorithm, we construct such a Markov process with stationary distribution  $\pi = P(X)$ . The derivation starts with another way of writing reversibility<sup>10</sup>:

$$P(x'|x)P(x) = P(x|x')P(x') \iff \frac{P(x'|x)}{P(x|x')} = \frac{P(x')}{P(x)} \quad (14)$$

The main idea is to separate transition  $P(x'|x)$  in two steps: the proposal step and the acceptance-or-rejection step. Let  $g(x')$  be the proposal distribution, i.e., the conditional probability of proposing state  $x'$  given  $x$ . And let  $A(x'|x)$  be the probability of accepting proposed state  $X'$ . Formally, we have  $P(x'|x) = g(x'|x)A(x'|x)$ . Inserting this in Equation (14) gives

$$\frac{P(x')}{P(x)} = \frac{g(x'|x)A(x', x)}{g(x|x')A(x', x)} \iff \frac{A(x', x)}{A(x, x')} = \frac{P(x')}{P(x)} \frac{g(x|x')}{g(x'|x)}. \quad (15)$$

The following choice, termed the Metropolis choice, is commonly used as an acceptance ratio for sampling  $x'$  from  $P(x')$  that fulfills the above reversibility condition:

$$A(x', x) = \min \left( 1, \frac{P(x')}{P(x)} \frac{g(x|x')}{g(x'|x)} \right) \quad (16)$$

Note that the minimizer in  $A(x', x)$  enforces that the probability is below 1. The MH algorithm writes as follows:

---

<sup>10</sup>We simplify our notation by using  $x'$  and  $x$  instead of  $X_{t+1}$  and  $X_t$ .

---

**Algorithm 1** Metropolis-Hastings algorithm

---

```
Initialize  $X_0$ 
for  $t \leftarrow 0$  to  $T - 1$  do
    Draw  $u \sim \mathcal{U}_{[0,1]}$ 
    Draw candidate  $X^* \sim P(X^*|X_{t-1})$ 
    if  $u < \min\{1, \frac{p(X^*)g(X_t|X^*)}{p(X_t)g(X^*|X_t)}\}$  then
         $X_{t+1} \leftarrow X^*$ 
    else
         $X_{t+1} \leftarrow X_t$ 
    end if
end for
```

---

Obviously, the construction of the acceptance ratio ensures reversibility. Ergodicity is ensured by the random nature with which we accept proposed states: First, the chain is irreducible because each state is reachable from any other state with positive probability at every single step. Second, for each state  $x$ ,  $P(x' = x)$  is always positive and therefore the Markov chain is aperiodic.

In a general setting, the choice for transition distribution  $g(x'|x)$  and the number of iterations until the limit distribution is reached are unclear. These two choices are the hyperparameters of the MH algorithm. In the Bayesian inference application in the article series starting from Claassen (2019), additional important choices are the prior distribution  $p(\theta)$  and the model choice  $f$ .

## References

- Andrieu, Christophe, Nando De Freitas, Arnaud Doucet, and Michael I Jordan. 2003. "An Introduction to MCMC for Machine Learning." *Machine learning* 50(1): 5–43.
- Baker, Kendall L, Russell J Dalton, Kai Hildebrandt, et al. 1981. *Germany Transformed: Political Culture and the New Politics*. Harvard University Press.
- Beichl, Isabel, and Francis Sullivan. 2000. "The Metropolis Algorithm." *Computing in Science & Engineering* 2(1): 65–69.
- Booth, John A, and Mitchell A Seligson. 2009. *The Legitimacy Puzzle in Latin America: Political Support and Democracy in Eight Nations*. Cambridge University Press.
- Brooks, Stephen P, and Andrew Gelman. 1998. "General Methods for Monitoring Convergence of Iterative Simulations." *Journal of computational and graphical statistics* 7(4): 434–55.
- Chib, Siddhartha, and Edward Greenberg. 1995. "Understanding the Metropolis-Hastings Algorithm." *The american statistician* 49(4): 327–35.
- Claassen, Christopher. 2019. "Estimating Smooth Country–Year Panels of Public Opinion." *Political Analysis* 27(1): 1–20.
- . 2020a. "Does Public Support Help Democracy Survive?" *American Journal of Political Science* 64(1): 118–34.
- . 2020b. "In the Mood for Democracy? Democratic Support as Thermostatic Opinion." *American Political Science Review* 114(1): 36–53.
- Dalton, Russell J. 1994. "Communists and Democrats: Democratic Attitudes in the Two Germanies." *British Journal of Political Science* 24(4): 469–93.
- Denemark, David, Todd Donovan, Richard G Niemi, and Robert Mattes. 2016. "The Advanced Democracies: The Erosion of Traditional Democratic Citizenship." *Growing up democratic: Does it make a difference*: 181–206.
- Fails, Matthew D, and Heather Nicole Pierce. 2010. "Changing Mass Attitudes and Democratic Deepening." *Political Research Quarterly* 63(1): 174–87.
- Foa, Roberto Stefan, and Yascha Mounk. 2016. "The Danger of Deconsolidation: The Democratic Disconnect." *Journal of democracy* 27(3): 5–17.
- . 2017. "The Signs of Deconsolidation." *Journal of democracy* 28(1): 5–15.
- Geweke, John. 1992. "Evaluating the Accuracy of Sampling-Based Approaches to the Calculations of Posterior Moments." *Bayesian statistics* 4: 641–49.
- Graham, Carol, and Sandip Sukhtankar. 2004. "Does Economic Crisis Reduce Support for Markets and Democracy in Latin America? Some Evidence from Surveys of Public Opinion and Well Being." *Journal of Latin American Stud-*

- ies 36(2): 349–77.
- Hadenius, Axel, and Jan Teorell. 2005. “Cultural and Economic Prerequisites of Democracy: Reassessing Recent Evidence.” *Studies in comparative international development* 39(4): 87–106.
- Inglehart, Ronald. 2003. “How Solid Is Mass Support for Democracy—and How Can We Measure It?” *PS: Political Science & Politics* 36(1): 51–57.
- Lambert, Ben. 2018. *A Student’s Guide to Bayesian Statistics*. Sage.
- Magalhães, Pedro C. 2014. “Government Effectiveness and Support for Democracy.” *European Journal of Political Research* 53(1): 77–97.
- Mannheim, Karl. 1970. “The Problem of Generations.” *Psychoanalytic review* 57(3): 378–404.
- Mattes, Robert, and Michael Bratton. 2007. “Learning about Democracy in Africa: Awareness, Performance, and Experience.” *American Journal of Political Science* 51(1): 192–217.
- Mishler, William, and Richard Rose. 1996. “Trajectories of Fear and Hope: Support for Democracy in Post-Communist Europe.” *Comparative political studies* 28(4): 553–81.
- . 2002. “Learning and Re-Learning Regime Support: The Dynamics of Post-Communist Regimes.” *European Journal of Political Research* 41(1): 5–36.
- . 2007. “Generation, Age, and Time: The Dynamics of Political Learning During Russia’s Transformation.” *American journal of political science* 51(4): 822–34.
- Montero, José Ramón, Richard Gunther, and Mariano Torcal. 1997. “Democracy in Spain: Legitimacy, Discontent, and Disaffection.” *Studies in comparative international development* 32(3): 124–60.
- Niemi, Richard G. 1974. *The Political Character of Adolescence: The Influence of Families and Schools [by] m. Kent Jennings and Richard g. Niemi*. [Princeton, NJ]: Princeton University Press.
- Norris, Pippa. 2017. “Is Western Democracy Backsliding? Diagnosing the Risks.” *Forthcoming, The Journal of Democracy, April*.
- Plummer, Martyn. 2003. “JAGS: A Program for Analysis of Bayesian Graphical Models Using Gibbs Sampling.”
- Qi, Lingling, and Doh Chull Shin. 2011. “How Mass Political Attitudes Affect Democratization: Exploring the Facilitating Role Critical Democrats Play in the Process.” *International Political Science Review* 32(3): 245–62.
- Stan Development Team. 2018. “Stan Modeling Language Users Guide and Reference Manual, Version 2.18.0.” <http://mc-stan.org/>.
- Stegmueller, Daniel. 2011. “Apples and Oranges? The Problem of Equivalence in Comparative Research.” *Political Analysis* 19(4): 471–87.
- Voeten, Erik. 2016. “Are People Really Turning Away from Democracy?”

*Available at SSRN 2882878.*

- Welzel, Christian. 2007. "Are Levels of Democracy Affected by Mass Attitudes? Testing Attainment and Sustainment Effects on Democracy." *International Political Science Review* 28(4): 397–424.
- Welzel, Christian, and Ronald Inglehart. 2005. "Liberalism, Postmaterialism, and the Growth of Freedom." *International Review of Sociology* 15(1): 81–108.
- Wlezien, Christopher. 1995. "The Public as Thermostat: Dynamics of Preferences for Spending." *American journal of political science*: 981–1000.

## Statutory Declaration

Hiermit versichere ich, dass diese Arbeit von mir persönlich verfasst ist und dass ich keinerlei fremde Hilfe in Anspruch genommen habe. Ebenso versichere ich, dass diese Arbeit oder Teile daraus weder von mir selbst noch von anderen als Leistungsnachweise andernorts eingereicht wurden. Wörtliche oder sinngemäße Übernahmen aus anderen Schriften und Veröffentlichungen in gedruckter oder elektronischer Form sind gekennzeichnet. Sämtliche Sekundärliteratur und sonstige Quellen sind nachgewiesen und in der Bibliographie aufgeführt. Das Gleiche gilt für graphische Darstellungen und Bilder sowie für alle Internet-Quellen. Ich bin ferner damit einverstanden, dass meine Arbeit zum Zwecke eines Plagiatsabgleichs in elektronischer Form anonymisiert versendet und gespeichert werden kann. Mir ist bekannt, dass von der Korrektur der Arbeit abgesehen werden kann, wenn die Erklärung nicht erteilt wird.

Mannheim, den \_\_\_\_\_  
Name und Unterschrift

I hereby declare that the paper presented is my own work and that I have not called upon the help of a third party. In addition, I affirm that neither I nor anybody else has submitted this paper or parts of it to obtain credits elsewhere before. I have clearly marked and acknowledged all quotations or references that have been taken from the works of other. All secondary literature and other sources are marked and listed in the bibliography. The same applies to all charts, diagrams and illustrations as well as to all Internet sources. Moreover, I consent to my paper being electronically stored and sent anonymously in order to be checked for plagiarism. I am aware that the paper cannot be evaluated and may be graded "failed" ("nicht ausreichend") if the declaration is not made.

Mannheim, \_\_\_\_\_  
Name and Signature