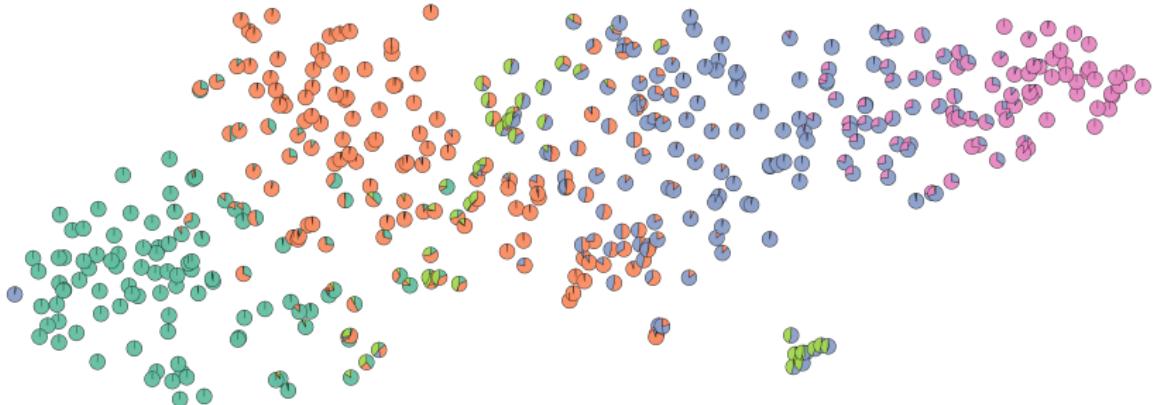


# Mixture modeling political cultures (and more?)

Nathan Kellerman

Bowdoin College · Department of Mathematics



## Toy example: educational ideology referendum

**Assume:** Bowdoin has 33 academic departments (unique membership)

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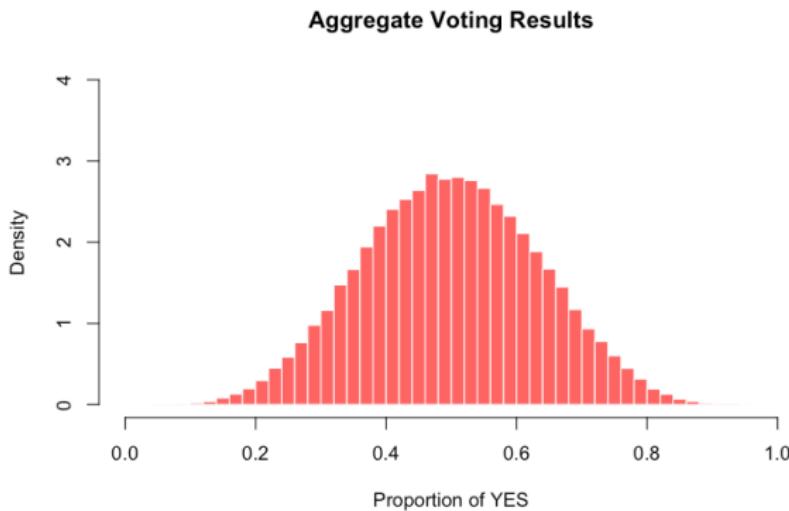
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1. I train my students for a professional workplace
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- 3.

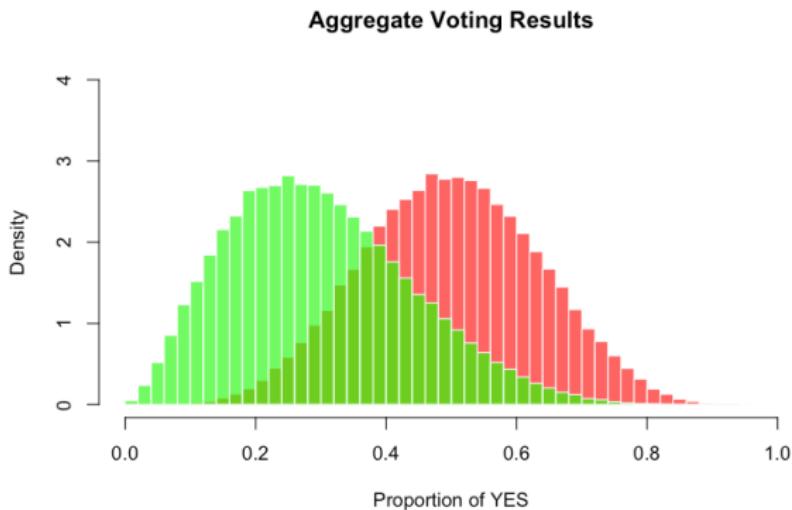


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Within each department, determine binary support for the following:

1. I train my students for a professional workplace
2. Learning should always be difficult
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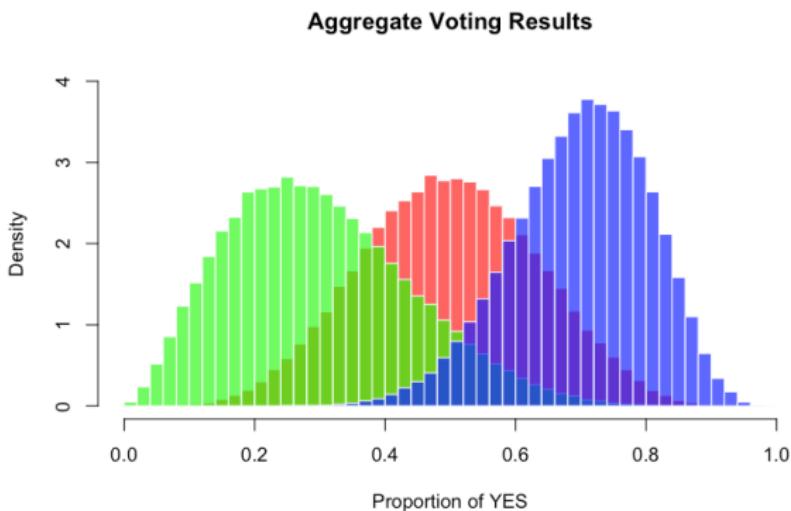


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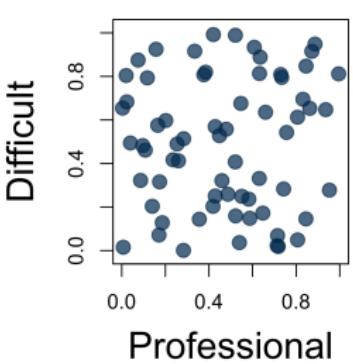
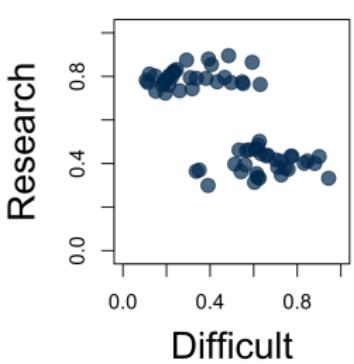
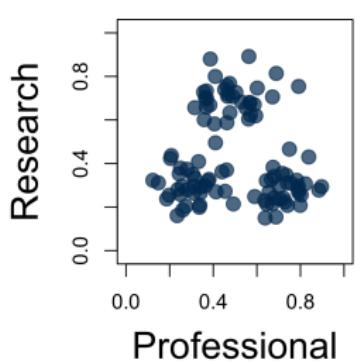
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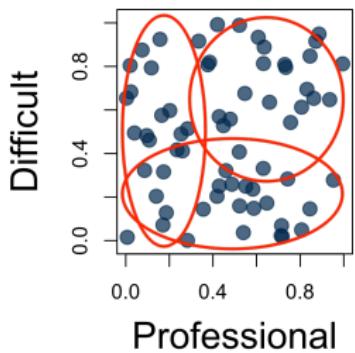
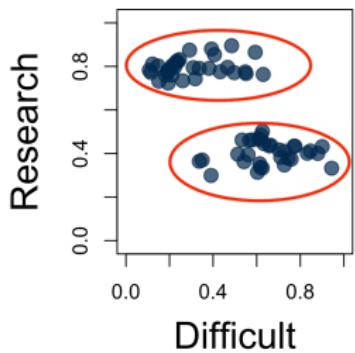
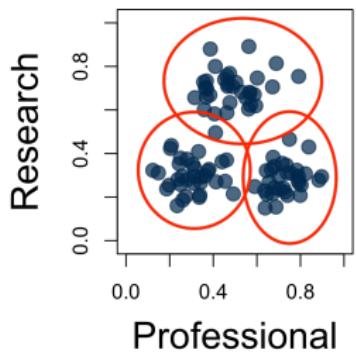
1. I train my students for a professional workplace
2. Learning should always be difficult
3. All students should pursue undergraduate research



## Toy example: educational ideology referendum



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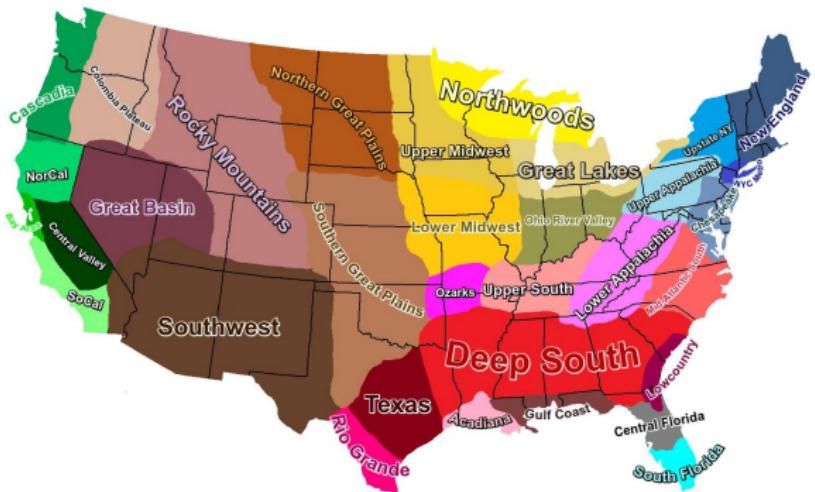
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### Political data: Three Big Qs

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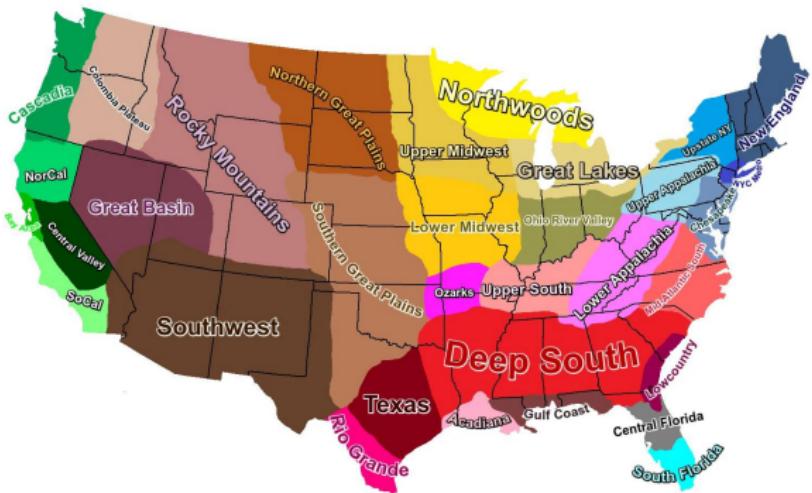
## Assumptions:

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2. Voting populations are finite mixtures of political cultures



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Can we quickly detect hidden populations in high-dimensional data?

1.  $q = 1, \dots, Q$  referendum questions
2.  $i = 1, \dots, M$  municipalities
3.  $k = 1, \dots, K$  political cultures
4.  $N_{iq} = y_{iq} + n_{iq}$  voters per municipality, question
5.  $p_{iq} = y_{iq}/N_{iq}$  observed proportion of support per municipality, question

	$Q_1$ , Yes	$Q_1$ , No	...	$Q_Q$ , Yes	$Q_Q$ , No
Municipality 1	$y_{11}$	$n_{12}$	...	$y_{1Q}$	$n_{1Q}$
Municipality 2	$y_{21}$	$n_{22}$	...	$y_{2Q}$	$n_{2Q}$
:	:	:		:	:
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Our observed votes are aggregated within each town!

Traditional political science inference pipelines:

- ▶ generalized regression; ecological regression; latent class analysis

---

<sup>1</sup>Holmes et al. 2012

<sup>2</sup>Hellenthal et al. 2014

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**Question:** How do researchers in other empirical fields answer questions about aggregated mixtures?

1. How can we probabilistically model taxa frequencies in microbial metagenomics data?<sup>1</sup>
2. To what extent can the DNA of admixed populations explain the rise and fall of human populations?<sup>2</sup>
3. How can we uncover and understand an underlying set of topics from a series of text documents?<sup>3</sup>

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**Idea:** Initialize a finite mixture model to explore our **Three Big Qs**

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## Modeling our data as a mixture distribution

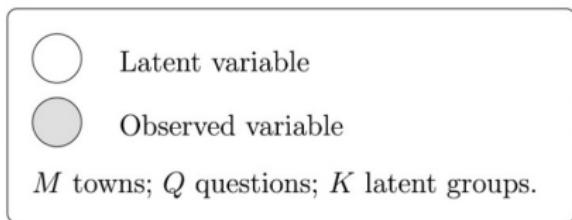
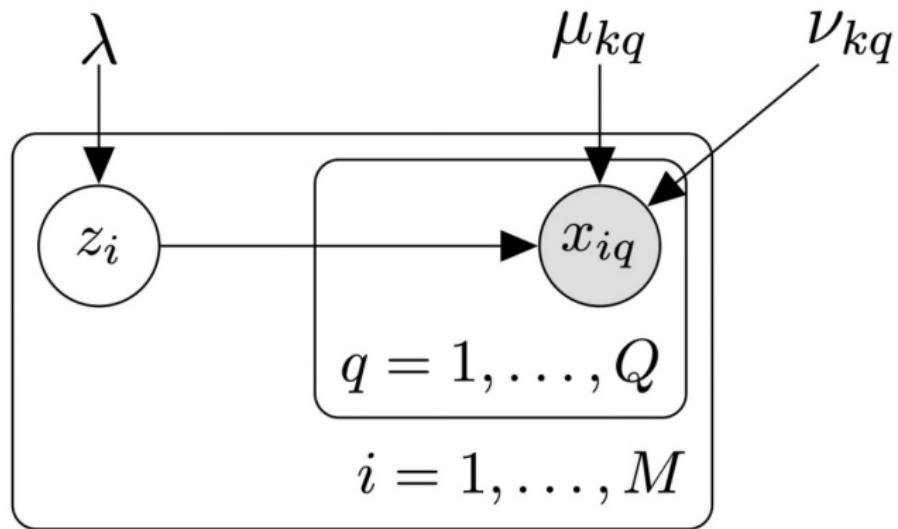
- ▶ Each observation  $\mathbf{c}_{iq} = (y_{iq}, n_{iq})$  is generated by a finite mixture
- ▶ Each response  $y_{iq}|z_i = k \sim \text{BetaBinomial}(N_{iq}, \mu_{kq}, \nu_{kq})$
- ▶ Thus,  $f_{kq}(y_{iq}) = \text{BetaBinomial}(y_{iq}|N_{iq}, \mu_{kq}, \nu_{kq})$
- ▶  $\vec{\theta}_k = (\mu_k, \nu_k)$
- ▶  $\lambda_k$  is the mixture proportion of being in cluster  $k$

$$\pi(\vec{\theta}_k) = \prod_{q=1}^Q f_{kq}(y_{iq}) \quad (1)$$

$$(y_{iq}, n_{iq}) \sim \sum_{k=1}^K \lambda_k \pi(\vec{\theta}_k) \quad (2)$$

for mixture weights  $\lambda_k \geq 0$  and  $\sum_{j=1}^K \lambda_j = 1$

## The model's substructure



**Crossroads:** Bayesian approach or maximum likelihood approach?

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To answer our **Three Big Qs**, we want to find the most probable:

- ▶  $K$ , number of political cultures
- ▶  $\lambda_k$ , global mixture weights (which sum to 1)
- ▶  $\mu_{kq}$ , mean proportion of support per political culture, question
- ▶  $\nu_{kq}$ , dispersion of support per political culture, question
- ▶  $z_i$ , latent assignments for each town

**Idea:** Expectation-Maximization (EM).

---

Consider  $\mathcal{D} = (X, \mathcal{Z}) \equiv (\text{observed } X, \text{unobserved latent assignments } \mathcal{Z})$

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**Definition:** the complete data log-likelihood is  $\log \mathcal{L}(\vec{\theta}; X, \mathcal{Z})$ .

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**Definition:** the complete data log-likelihood is  $\log \mathcal{L}(\vec{\theta}; X, \mathcal{Z})$ .

**Fact:** Finding  $\arg \max_{\vec{\theta}} \log \mathcal{L}(\vec{\theta}; X)$  is hard.

**Claim:** Finding  $\arg \max_{\vec{\theta}} \log \mathcal{L}(\vec{\theta}; X, \mathcal{Z})$  may be easier.

Let's "pretend" to know  $\mathcal{Z}$  and let our data guide us in the right direction

## Expectation-Maximization iteration scheme

**E-Step:** Computes expected value of  $\log \mathcal{L}(\vec{\theta}; X, \mathcal{Z})$  given  $X$  and  $\vec{\theta}_{old}$ .

$$Q(\theta; \theta_{old}) = \mathbb{E}[\log \mathcal{L}(\vec{\theta}; X, \mathcal{Z}) | X, \theta_{old}] = \sum_i \sum_k \gamma_{ik} \log \mathbb{P}(X_i = x, Z_i = k | \theta)$$

$$\gamma_{ik} = \mathbb{P}(z_i = k | x_i, \theta_{old}) = \frac{\lambda_k \prod_{q=1}^Q \text{BB}(x_{iq} | n_{iq}, \mu_{kq}, \nu_{kq})}{\sum_{j=1}^K \lambda_j \prod_{q=1}^Q \text{BB}(x_{iq} | n_{iq}, \mu_{jq}, \nu_{jq})}$$

**M-Step:** Maximizes<sup>4</sup> the expectation we just computed over  $\vec{\theta}$ .

Procedure:

1.  $\theta_{new} := \max_{\theta} Q(\theta; \theta_{old})$
2. Set  $\theta_{old} = \theta_{new}$

BB derivations:

- $\widehat{\lambda}_k = \frac{1}{M} \sum_{i=1}^M \gamma_{ik}$
- $\widehat{\mu}_{kq} \equiv$  approximated by Newton-Raphson method

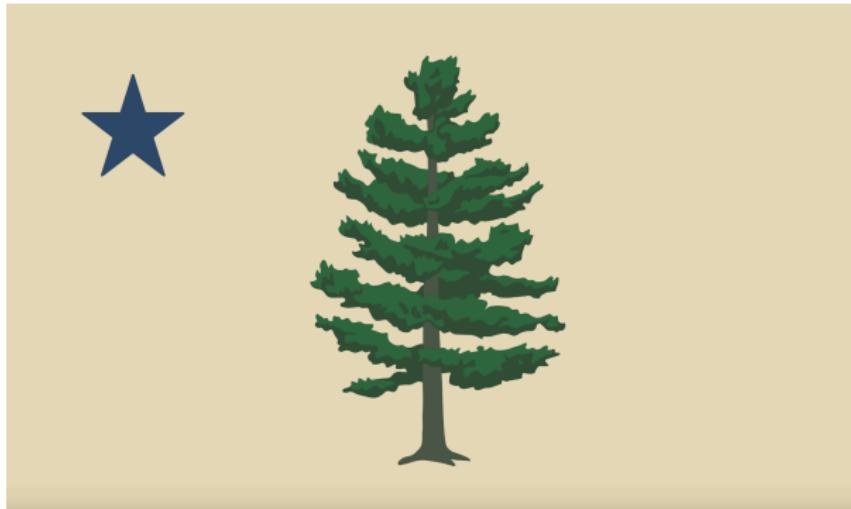
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<sup>4</sup>Initialize Newton steps at Binomial MLE, almost guarantees convergence

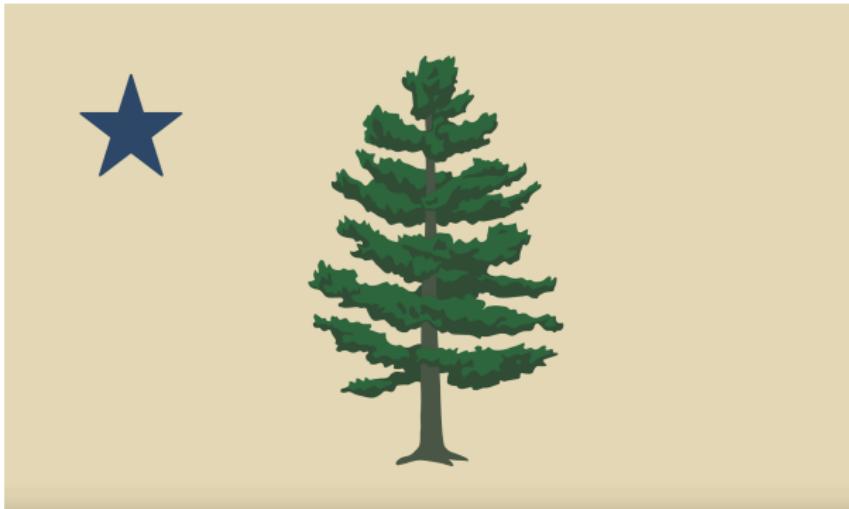
With these estimates for updated parameters  $\hat{\lambda}_k$  and  $\hat{\mu}_{kq}$ , we perform:

1. Initialize  $\lambda_k$  and  $\mu_{kq}$ , find log-likelihood with these parameters.
2. Find  $\gamma_{ik}$  with current parameters.
3. Estimate  $\hat{\lambda}_k$  and  $\hat{\mu}_{kq}$  with found  $\gamma_{ik}$ .
4. Evaluate new log-likelihood with these new parameters.
5. Repeat (1) through (4) until the log-likelihood converges.

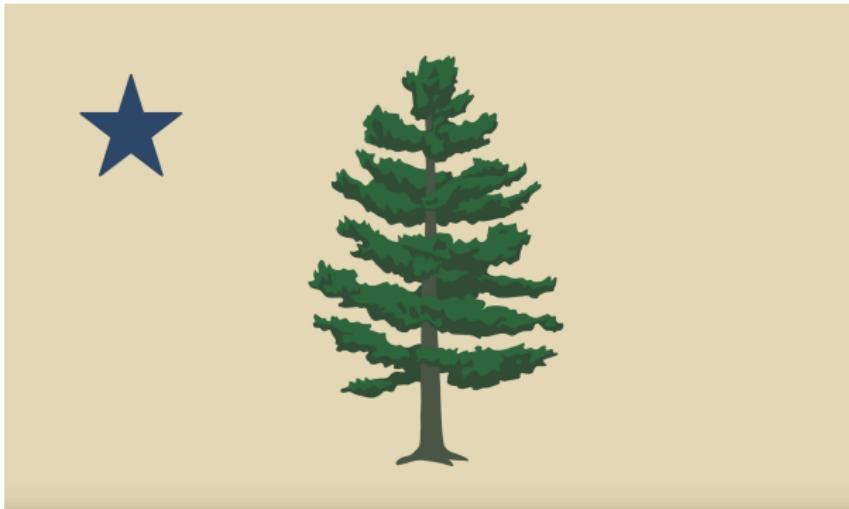
We are left with our most probable parameters!



- ▶ 70 referendum questions from 2008-2024, i.e.



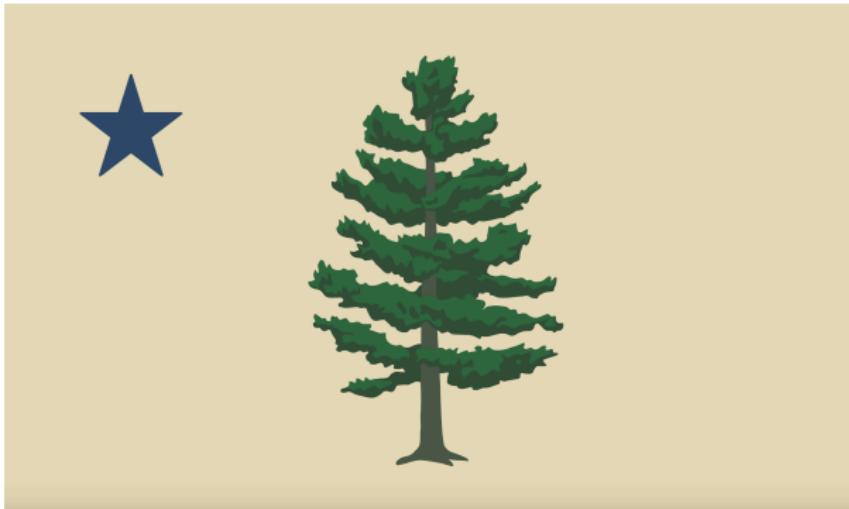
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  - ▶ 2024: Replace Maine state flag
- ▶ 423 municipalities (Acton, ..., York)
  - ▶  $N_M \in [3, 37829]$ ,  $\text{mean}(N_M) \approx 1220$

Three Big Qs, revisited Maine-style:

1. How many different cultures of Mainers are there?
2. How does each culture of Mainer vote in referendum?
3. What cultures of Mainers compose each municipality?

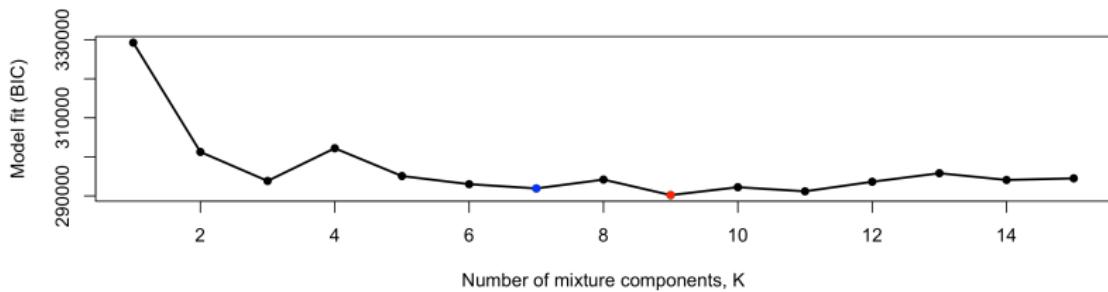
## Big question 1: BIC analysis

Bayesian information criterion:

$$BIC = \underbrace{\mathcal{K} \ln(M)}_{\text{complexity}} - 2 \underbrace{\ln \mathcal{L}}_{\text{fit}},$$

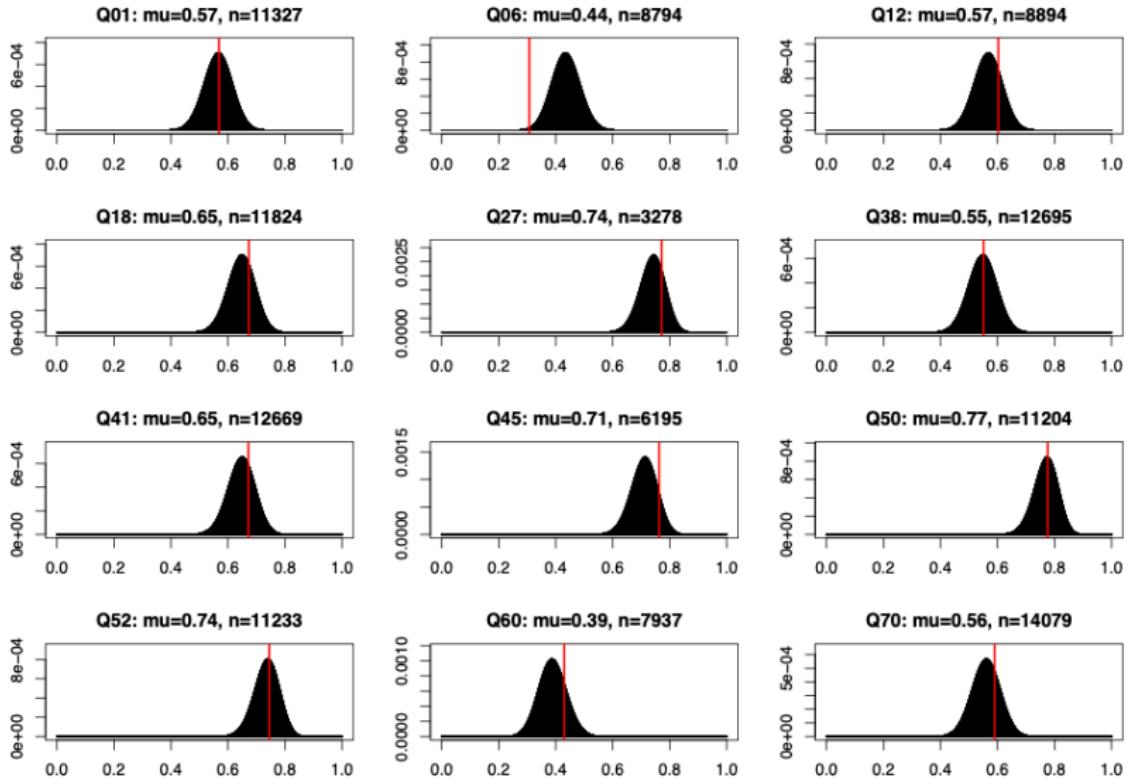
where

$$\mathcal{K} = \underbrace{(K - 1)}_{\text{mixture weights}} + \underbrace{(K \cdot Q)}_{\mu \text{ parameters}} + \underbrace{1}_{\text{fixed } \nu \text{ parameter}}$$



## Big question 2: per-question support

Town BRUNSWICK – Predicted Beta–Binomial Distributions



## Big question 2: per-question support

Town BRUNSWICK – Questions 6, 27, 38

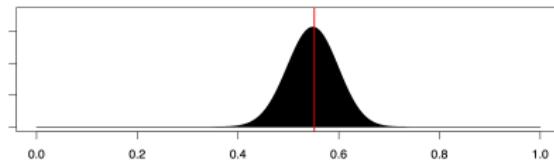
Q06



Q27

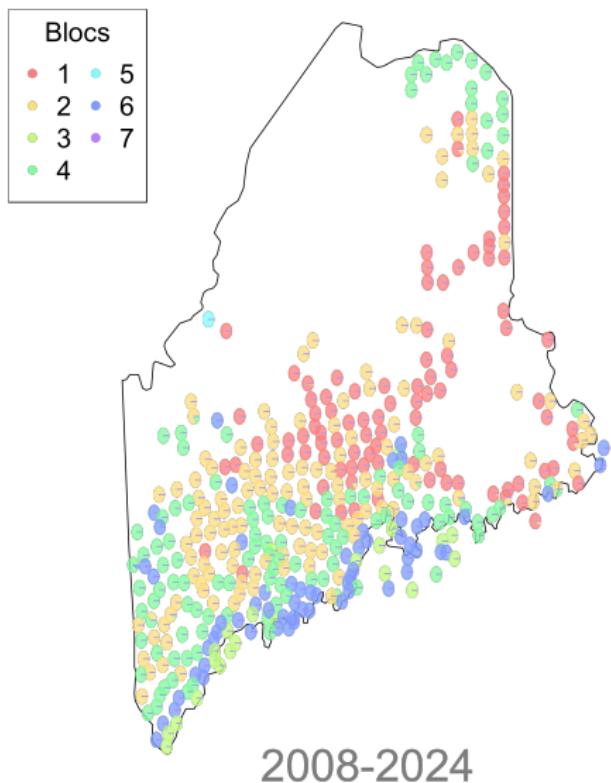


Q38

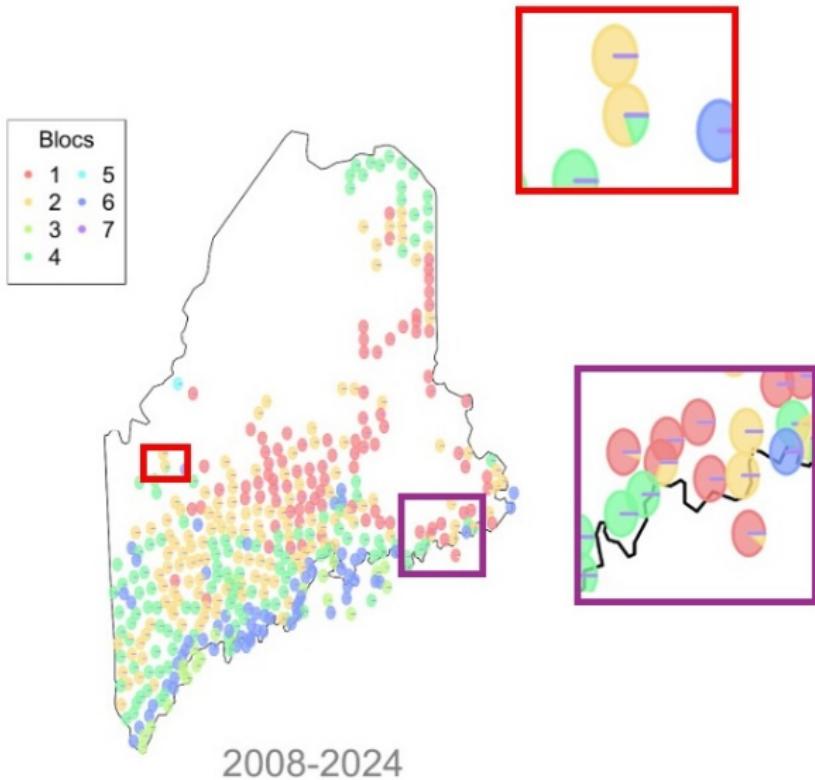


1. Repeal law mandating school district restructuring
2. \$15,500,000 bond to upgrade buildings in Maine CC system
3. Legalize marijuana for personal use

### Big question 3: by-municipality mixtures



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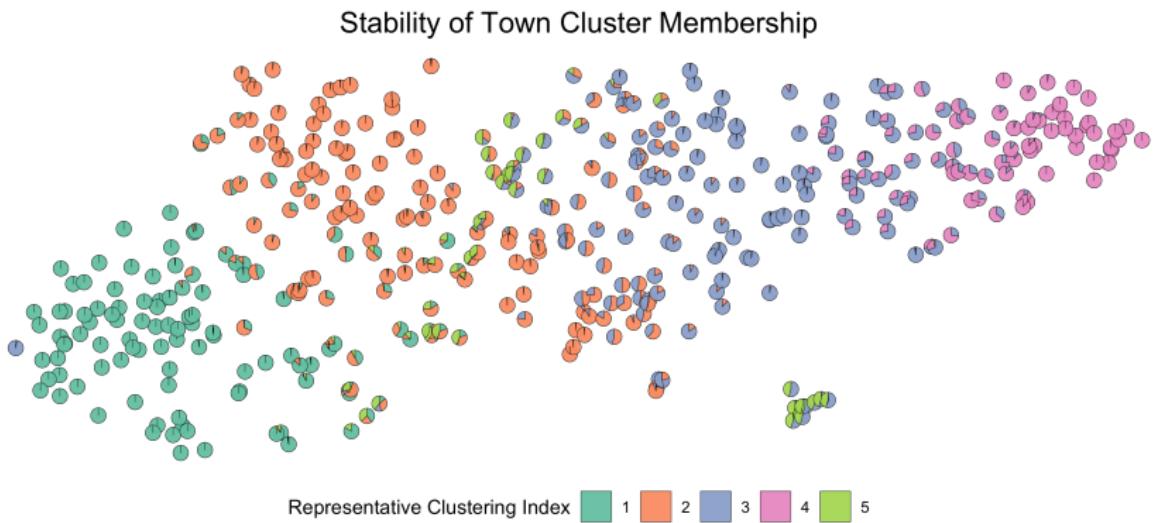
## Multiple EM runs

**Idea:** Noise our count data, run EM many times on our “new” data

$$\underbrace{\widetilde{\mu}_{iq}}_{\text{jittered BB mean}} \sim \text{Normal}\left(\underbrace{p_{iq}}_{\text{observed}}, \frac{\sqrt{\epsilon}}{N_{iq}}\right)$$

Average town-level mixtures across multiple EM runs

## Representative clustering



- ▶ Frame-by-frame t-SNE embedding animation

- ▶ Research-grade simulation study (use of Bowdoin HPC)
- ▶ Application to larger political science datasets
  - ▶ Voting data in Switzerland, Los Angeles (unique structures of ideology)
- ▶ Generalizing method for social science count data
  - ▶ Writing R package with general algorithm
- ▶ Longitudinal analysis of shifts in ideology across time and space
- ▶ Methods for aggregating multiple EM runs, to achieve more intense municipality-level mixtures

## Acknowledgements

A special thanks to Prof. Jack O'Brien and the Mathematics Department



Questions, please!

## NB: Writing our model's likelihood

The log-likelihood  $\log \mathcal{L}(\vec{\theta}; X)$  of our  $M$  observations is

$$\sum_{i=1}^M \log \left\{ \sum_{k=1}^K \lambda_k \left( \prod_{q=1}^Q \text{BetaBinomial}(X_{iq} | N_{iq}, \mu_{kq}, \nu_{kq}) \right) \right\}$$

If we pretend to know the latent assignments, our complete data log-likelihood  $\log \mathcal{L}(\vec{\theta}; X, \mathcal{Z})$  is

$$\sum_{i=1}^M \sum_{k=1}^K z_{ik} \left[ \log \lambda_k + \sum_{q=1}^Q \log \text{BetaBinomial}(X_{iq} | N_{iq}, \mu_{kq}, \nu_{kq}) \right]$$