### Higher-Dimension Markov Models

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#### Iron Laws of the Political Science Profession

#### Tolstoy's Law of Journal Reviews

All good reviews are good in the same way; all bad reviews are bad in different ways.

#### Corollary

Never revise a paper for a new journal submission in response to comments by a bad reviewer at the previous journal.

The James Bond Law of Previous Literature Never say never; you are sure to be wrong.

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#### Basics of Markov Models

- Given: a system that can exist in any of a finite number of states in each period.
- Markov models estimate the probabilities  $\pi_{ab}$  of transitions from state a at time t-1 to state b at time t.

```
\begin{pmatrix}
\pi_{11} & \pi_{12} & \dots & \pi_{1N} \\
\pi_{21} & \pi_{22} & \dots & \pi_{2N} \\
\vdots & \vdots & \vdots & \vdots \\
\pi_{N1} & \pi_{N2} & \dots & \pi_{NN}
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- 2. Election Challenger: Unchallenged ↔ Challenger
- 3. Transitions: Autocracy ↔ Democracy

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- Previous implementations in political science include:
  - 1. Dean and Moran (1977)
  - 2. Jones, Kim and Starz (2005)
  - 3. Walker (2005)
  - 4. Others??

# Models of Transition Dynamics

Given C categories for the dependent variable, let  $\pi_{ab}$  be the transition probabilities from state a to state b be, where  $0 \le a, b \le C - 1$  and  $\sum_b \pi_{ab} = 1$ .

The simplest Markov process consists of a two-state system:

$$\begin{array}{ccc}
0 & 1 \\
0 & \pi_{00} & \pi_{01} \\
1 & \pi_{10} & \pi_{11}
\end{array}$$

Using a logit link, this two-state case could be estimated by a single regression:

$$\Pr(Y_t = 1) = \operatorname{logit}(X_{t-1}\beta).$$



- ➤ This formulation implicitly assumes that the factors moving the state from 0 to 1 are equal and opposite from those that move it from 1 to 0.
- ▶ In many substantive applications, we would not wish to assume this *a priori*:
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The Markov approach is to estimate the 2x2 system by a pair of logit regressions, each depending explicitly on the prior state of the system:

$$\Pr(Y_t = 1 | Y_{t-1} = 0) = \operatorname{logit}(X_{t-1}\beta)$$
  
 $\Pr(Y_t = 1 | Y_{t-1} = 1) = \operatorname{logit}(X_{t-1}\alpha)$ 

which can be written more compactly as

$$\Pr(Y_t = 1) = \text{logit}(X_{t-1}\beta + Y_{t-1}X_{t-1}\gamma)$$

$$\gamma = \alpha - \beta.$$



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### Higher-Dimension Processes

For the 3-state case we want to estimate the probabilities  $\pi_{ab}$  in the transition matrix

$$\begin{array}{cccc}
Y_0 & Y_1 & Y_2 \\
Y_0 & \pi_{00} & \pi_{01} & \pi_{02} \\
Y_1 & \pi_{10} & \pi_{11} & \pi_{12} \\
Y_2 & \pi_{20} & \pi_{21} & \pi_{22}
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We could run nine regular logits for each entry in the matrix; this is known as the "fully saturated" model.

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#### Cumulative Probabilities

First, it is easier to work with *cumulative* transition probabilities:  $Y_a^* = 1$  if  $Y \le a$ .

Given the cumulative probabilities, we can recover the cell probabilities since  $\Pr(Y \le a) = \Pr(Y \le a - 1) + \Pr(Y = a)$ .

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<i>Y</i> :	0	1	2
$Y_0^*$ :	1	0	0
$Y_1^*$ :	1	1	0

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As a simple example, the log-odds model of cumulative probabilities is:

logit 
$$\Pr(Y \le a) = \log \frac{\Pr(Y \le a)}{\Pr(Y > a)} = \theta_a + X\beta.$$

If X=0, then  $\Pr(Y\leq a)=e^{\theta_a}/(1+e^{\theta_a})$ , which is non-decreasing in a, so  $\theta_0\leq \theta_1\leq \ldots \leq \theta_{C-2}$ .

If  $\theta_a = \theta_{a+1}$ , then  $\Pr(Y \le a) = \Pr(Y \le a+1)$ , and categories a and a+1 can therefore be collapsed.

Second, we can run each column of the matrix as a single estimation equation, as in the 2x2 case.

Assume that for any given a, the model to be estimated is

$$\Pr(Y_t = b | Y_{t-1} = a) = \operatorname{logit}(\theta_{ab} + X\beta_a)$$

$$\Pr(Y_t = b) = \operatorname{logit}\left(X_{t-1}\beta + \sum_{a} Y_{at-1}^* X_{t-1} \gamma_a\right)$$

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Say we have three states and one independent variable. Then we estimate:

$$\Pr(Y_{it} = b) = \beta_0 + \beta_1 y_0^* + \beta_2 y_1^* + \gamma_0 X + \gamma_1 X y_0^* + \gamma_2 X y_1^*$$

Now if X = 0, then

$$Pr(Y_t = b | Y_{t-1} = 2) = \beta_0$$

$$Pr(Y_t = b | Y_{t-1} = 1) = \beta_0 + \beta_2$$

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To summarize, for any given independent variable X:

- ▶ The  $\gamma_0$  coefficient on the un-interacted X term gives the impact of  $X_{t-1}$  on  $Y_t$  when  $Y_{t-1} = Y_{C-1}$ , the "last" category of Y.
- ▶ The  $\gamma_a$  coefficients on the interaction terms  $Xy_a^*$  give the differential impact of  $X_{t-1}$  on  $Y_t$  between  $Y_{t-1} = Y_{a+1}$  and  $Y_{t-1} = Y_a$ .
- ▶ The cell probabilities giving the impact of X on  $\Pr(Y_t = b | Y_{t-1} = a)$  when a < C 1 can be recovered as the sums of the  $\gamma$  coefficients, in the order

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$$Y_{t-1} = 0$$
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Insignificant values of coefficients on interactions of X with  $Y_a^st$  mean that X has a similar impact on Y for categories a and a+1, so we can collapse those categories in the analysis

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#### Key points in higher-dimension Markov models:

- Work with cumulative probabilities.
- ▶ Combine cases for transitions to state b using interactions with the  $y^*$  terms.
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- ► This was always thought of as a causal relationship, although there has always been a dispute about the mechanics.
- Przeworski, et. al. ("PACL" 2000) challenge this, saying that the process could be:
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  - 2. Once there, higher GDP per capita helps keep them there.
- ➤ So a GDP-democracy relationship could develop, even though modernization doesn't *cause* democracy.



### Results from PACL Table 2.12

Indep. Var.	$D \to A$	A  o D (Original)	A  o D (Corrected)
Constant	-1.144**	-2.524**	-2.524**
	(0.000)	(0.000)	(0.000)
GDP	-0.201	0.329	0.329**
	(0.162)	(0.484)	(0.004)
$GDP^2$	-0.003	-0.029	-0.029
	(0.874)	(0.191)	(0.069)
GDP	-0.042**	-0.021**	-0.021*
Growth	(0.003)	(0.000)	(0.015)

- ▶ PACL also run a regression adding a number of covariates, but without GDP<sup>2</sup>.
- ► Actual results here are more favorable to their hypothesis:
  - GDP helps keep democracies from backsliding, but has no effect on autocracy.
    - These results are somewhat fragile to specification.
- Leaves open the central question of modernization and democracy.

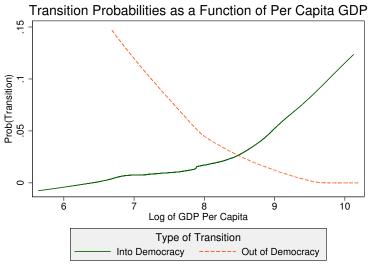
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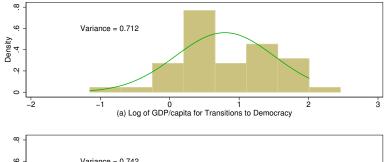
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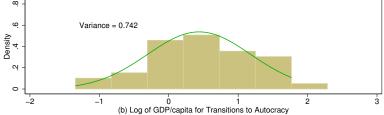
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# Impact of GDP on Transition Probabilities

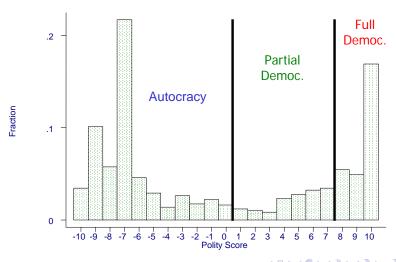


### Distribution of GDP for Transition Years

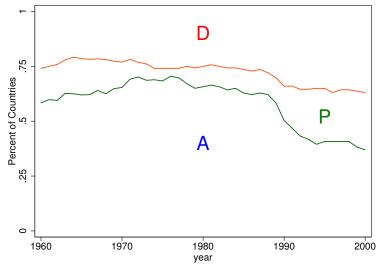




# Definition of Partial Democracy



### World Democratization Trends, 1960-2000



# Transition Marginals

	Current Year		
Previous Year	Autocracy	Partial Democracy	Democracy
Autocracy	97.3%	2.1%	0.7%
	(3,121)	(66)	(22)
Partial Democracy	6.4%	90.4%	3.3%
	(49)	(695)	(25)
Democracy	1.1%	0.8%	98.2%
	(16)	(12)	(1,496)
Total	3,186	773	1,543

Note: Numbers in parentheses are cell counts.



# **Summary Statistics**

Variable	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min.	Max.	N
Polity Score	-0.45	7.58	-10	10	5671
Regime Category	0.70	0.88	0	2	5671
Log of Per Capita GDP	8.14	1.04	5.64	10.21	4417
Percent Change in GDP	0.02	0.06	-0.52	1.01	4475
Percent Urban Pop.	44.94	24.29	2.3	100	5245
Log of Population Density	3.61	1.46	-0.49	8.77	5600
Log of Trade Openness	3.98	0.62	0.43	6.16	4902
Previous Transitions	3.96	6.41	0	31	5671
Resource Curse	0.23	0.42	0	1	5671

### Regression Results

### Adding Partial Autocracies

	Polity Range
Autocracy	(-10,-7)
Partial Aut.	(-6,0)
Partial Dem.	(1,7)
Democracy	(8,10)

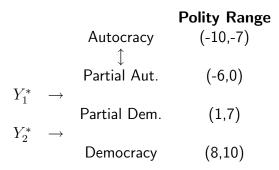
Check to see if we should split the autocracies as well.

### Adding Partial Autocracies

			Polity Range
		Autocracy	(-10,-7)
$Y_0^*$	$\longrightarrow$		, ,
		Partial Aut.	(-6,0)
$Y_1^*$	$\longrightarrow$		
		Partial Dem.	(1,7)
$Y_2^*$	$\longrightarrow$		
		Democracy	(8,10)

Use the  $Y^*$  variables to test for collapsing adjacent categories.

## Adding Partial Autocracies



Only  $Y_0^*$  is insignificant, lending support to our three-way classification vs. four-way classification with partial autocracies.



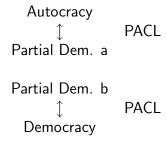
Autocracy

Partial Dem. a

Partial Dem. b

Democracy

Split our partial democracies into PACL autocracies (a) and PACL democracies (b).



PACL collapse the partial democracies into the full autocracies and full democracies.

Autocracy

Partial Dem. a

O'Epstein

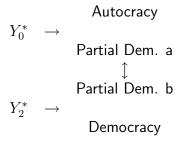
Partial Dem. b

Democracy

We collapse the partial democracies into a single category.

$$Y_0^* \quad \rightarrow \\ \qquad \qquad \text{Partial Dem. a} \\ Y_1^* \quad \rightarrow \\ \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{Partial Dem. b} \\ Y_2^* \quad \rightarrow \\ \qquad \qquad \qquad \qquad \text{Democracy} \\$$

Again use the  $Y^*$  variables to discriminate.



Only  $Y_1^*$  is insignificant, lending support to our three-way classification vs. PACL's dichotomous classification.