



Polarization Measurement through Ordered Latent Class Analysis

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The Basic Idea

- A two-stage approach to polarization measurement
- First Stage: Latent Class Analysis. Test for ordinality of latent variable.
- Second stage: measuring polarization for class proportions in different clusters.

Why polarization?

- Attitudinal polarization is an evidence of cultural cleavage
- Polarization may be used as a second-level predictor for analyses of many social processes, especially related to politics and ethnic relations.
- Polarization (and the related cleavage) may be interesting to model as well.

Measurement of Polarization

Previous developments

- Variance (or Standard Deviation)
- Kurtosis
- Foster-Wolfson Index
- Duclos-Esteban-Ray family of indices
- Ethno-Linguistic Fractionalization Index
- Reynal-Querol Index of polarization
- Various measures of ordinal variation
- Visual distribution comparisons
- *Ad hoc* methods (like Mouw and Sobel 2001)

Polarization in Survey Data

- The main objects of interest are latent constructs (measured through multiple manifest variables).
- Information about distributional parameters of latent variables provided by relevant statistical software is limited, therefore complex methods for measurement of polarization are non-applicable.
- Latent Variance and measuring polarization for aggregated factor scores seems to be insufficiently accurate approaches due to possible non-normality of the latent variable

Why (Ordinal) Latent Classes?

- **Non-normality** of latent variable distribution
- **Possible multidimensionality**: when the latent categorical variable is nominal rather than ordinal, it is impossible to order all individuals on all items in the same direction.
- Allows for testing **scale of the latent variable** and **measurement Invariance**
- **Classification of individuals** according to their value patterns, to which ordinal measures of polarization are easily applicable

Latent Class Model

- $X_1, X_2, X_3,$ and X_4 are observed variables
- Y a latent categorical variable which accounts for the relationships among these four observed variables
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- π_j is a probability that a randomly selected individual will be in latent class j of latent variable
- θ_{1j} is a probability that a member of latent class j will provide a response of 1 for observed variable
- θ_{2j} is a probability that a member of latent class j will provide a response of 2 for observed variable 2
- θ_{3j} is a probability that a member of latent class j will provide a response of 3 for observed variable 3
- θ_{4j} is a probability that a member of latent class j will provide a response of 4 for observed variable 4

Ordinal Latent Classes

- Ordering of the categories of the latent variable is provided by imposing inequality constraints on model parameters: means for continuous manifest variables and thresholds for binary and ordinal manifest variables.
- Thresholds is used instead probabilities
- Large positive thresholds indicate the probability of a specific response value is relatively low, whereas large negative values suggest that the probability of the response is relatively high.
- Inequality constraint assumes the following ordering of classes for threshold for variable :
Class 1 > Class 2 > Class 3 > Class4

Approach to Measurement of Polarization

- Testing for unidimensionality: comparing unconstrained and strictly ordered models.
- Applying relevant index of nominal or ordinal polarization to class proportions for each country obtained at the first stage.
- Bonus: exploring measurement invariance cross-country differences in value distributions

Assessment of Model Fit

- Bayesian Information Criterion adjusted to sample size (aBIC):

$$\underline{\text{BIC} = -2 * \log L + p * \ln((n+2)/24)}$$

- Lo-Mendell-Rubin Test and Bootstrapped Likelihood Ratio Test (are not appropriate for comparisons between models with the same number of classes)
- Interpretability of the model: we do not need many senseless classes with perfect fit

Data

- Survival/Self-Expression Values. WVS, Fifth Wave
- Manifest variables: Happiness, Tolerance for Homosexuality, Trust, Four-Item Postmaterialism Index (as a single variable), Signing Petition
- 29 European Countries: 27 EU members, Norway, and Switzerland
- 42817 respondents
- Data were not weighted
- Data were not imputed

Fit Statistics for Competing Models

	aBIC	LMR Test p-value	BLRT p-value	Free Parameters	Violations of Ordering
Three Classes	471413.682	0.000	0.000	30	0
Four Classes	463097.672	0.000	0.000	40	1
Five Classes	448977.323	0.000	0.000	50	1
Five Classes_Ord	448977.441	***	***	50	0
Six Classes	446572.609	0.000	0.000	60	3
Six Classes_Ord	469077.511	***	***	55	0
Seven Classes	444052.829	0.000	0.000	70	6
Seven_Classes_Ord	***	***	***	64	0

Thresholds and Means Estimates for the Five-Class Unconstrained Model

	Happy1	Happy2	Happy3	Pmat1	Pmat2	Trust	Petition 1	Petition 2	Homose x	Order
Class1	-3.84	-1.692	1.348	-0.836	2.365	0.859	-0.798	0.735	3.452	2
Class2	-3.495	-1.278	1.357	-0.598	2.631	1.174	-0.231	1.068	1.118	1
Class3	<u>-4.492</u>	-2.433	0.604	-1.706	1.291	-0.208	-2.322	-0.723	9.819	5
Class4	-4.3	-1.931	0.998	-1.038	1.991	0.69	-1.189	0.263	5.256	3
Class5	<u>-4.555</u>	-2.084	0.865	-1.294	1.661	0.394	-1.637	-0.134	7.557	4

Thresholds and Means Estimates for the Six-Class Unconstrained Model

	Happy1	Happy2	Happy3	pmat1	pmat2	trust	petition 1	petition 2	homosex	Order
Class1	-3.83	-1.682	1.375	-0.825	2.393	0.865	-0.778	0.763	3.426	2
Class2	<u>-4.492</u>	-2.43	0.605	-1.705	1.292	-0.207	-2.321	-0.722	9.819	6
Class3	-4.57	-1.969	<u>1.038</u>	-1.082	1.847	0.519	-1.216	0.228	6.023	4
Class4	<u>-3.495</u>	-1.278	1.357	-0.598	2.631	1.174	-0.232	1.067	1.118	1
Class5	<u>-4.556</u>	-2.092	0.86	-1.303	1.652	0.387	-1.655	-0.147	7.567	5
Class6	-4.215	-1.915	<u>0.982</u>	-1.022	2.044	0.754	-1.178	0.277	4.978	3

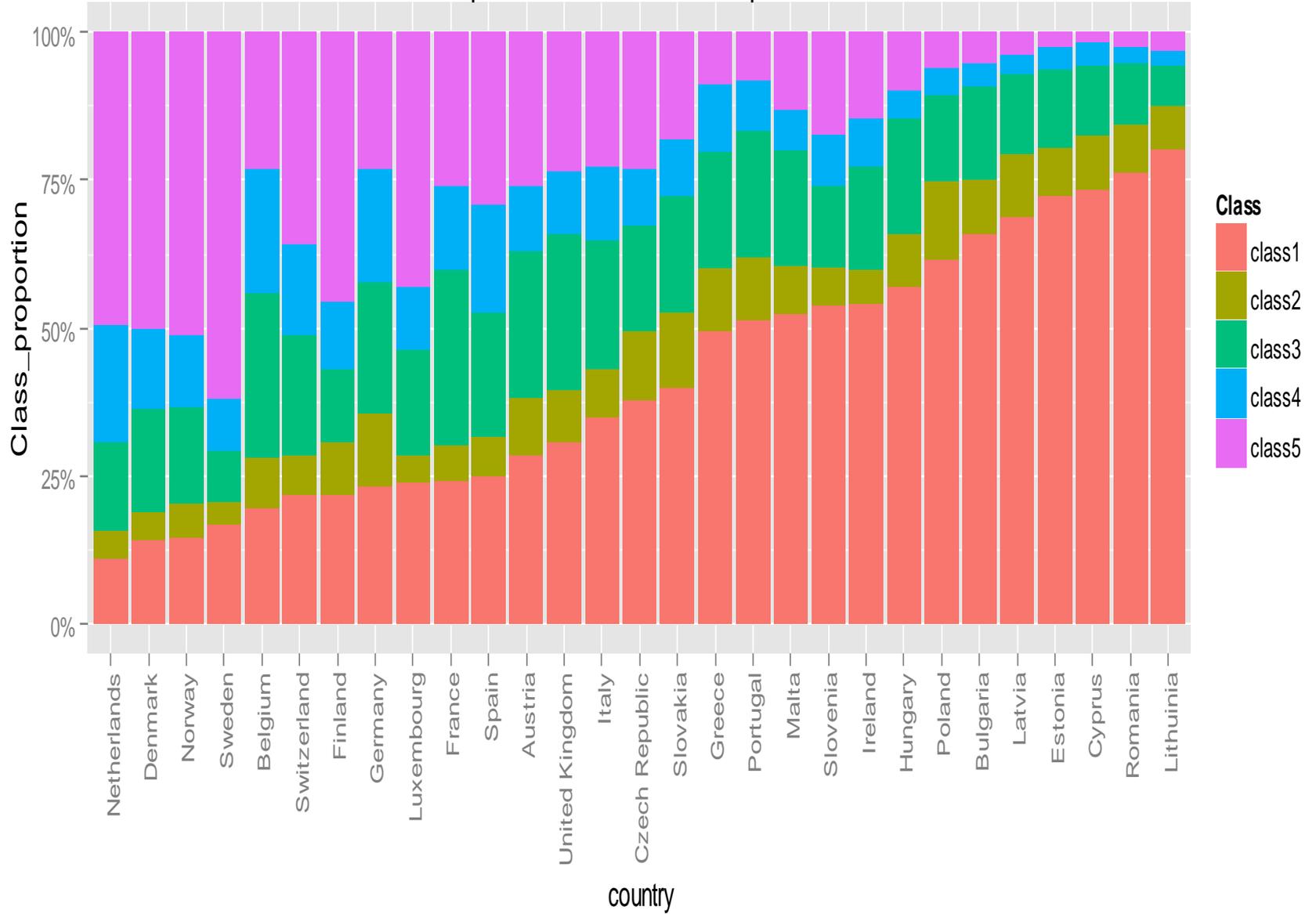
Thresholds and Means Estimates for the Seven-Class Unconstrained Model

	Happy1	Happy2	Happy3	pmat1	pmat2	Trust	petition1	petition2	Homosex	Order
Class1	<u>-4.164</u>	-1.46	<u>1.490</u>	-0.711	<u>2.696</u>	1.028	-0.53	0.803	2.003	2
Class2	<u>-3.844</u>	-2.698	1.335	-0.841	2.349	0.854	-0.808	0.722	3.466	3
Class3	<u>-4.555</u>	-2.083	0.865	-1.294	1.661	0.394	-1.637	-0.133	7.553	5
Class4	<u>4.476</u>	<u>-2.424</u>	0.573	-1.759	1.249	-0.26	-2.401	-0.789	9.996	7
Class5	<u>-4.566</u>	<u>-2.454</u>	0.752	-1.482	1.501	0.044	-2.003	-0.428	8.997	6
Class6	-3.433	-1.256	<u>1.341</u>	-0.583	<u>2.623</u>	1.193	-0.194	1.104	1.004	1
Class7	-4.301	-1.931	1	-1.038	1.993	0.69	-1.188	0.265	5.267	4

Thresholds and Means Estimates for the Five-Class Model with Inequality Constraints

	Happy1	Happy2	Happy3	Pmat1	Pmat2	Trust	Petition 1	Petition 2	Homose x	Order
Class1	-3.84	-1.692	1.348	-0.836	2.365	0.859	-0.798	0.735	3.452	2
Class2	-3.495	-1.278	1.357	-0.598	2.631	1.174	-0.231	1.068	1.118	1
Class3	<u>-4.513</u>	-2.433	0.604	-1.706	1.291	-0.208	-2.322	-0.723	9.819	5
Class4	-4.3	-1.931	0.998	-1.038	1.991	0.69	-1.189	0.263	5.256	3
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Class Proportions in Different European Countries



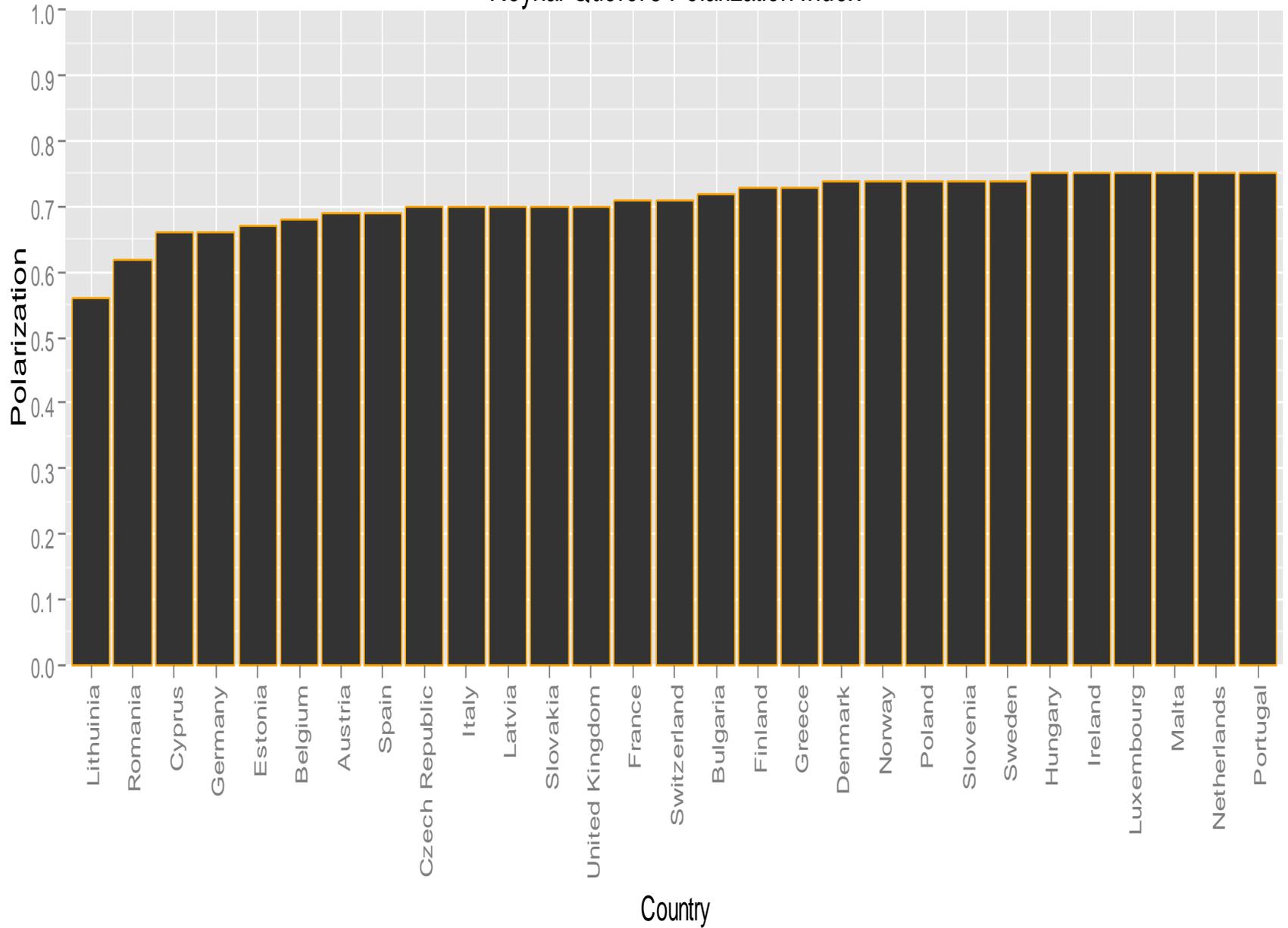
Results of Latent Class Analysis

- Strict unidimensionality (ordering) holds only for models with no more than five classes.
- Class proportions vary in a large amount between countries (Non-invariance?)
- There is a clear pattern: Eastern European countries shows larger proportions of lower classes (i.e. less “modernized”)

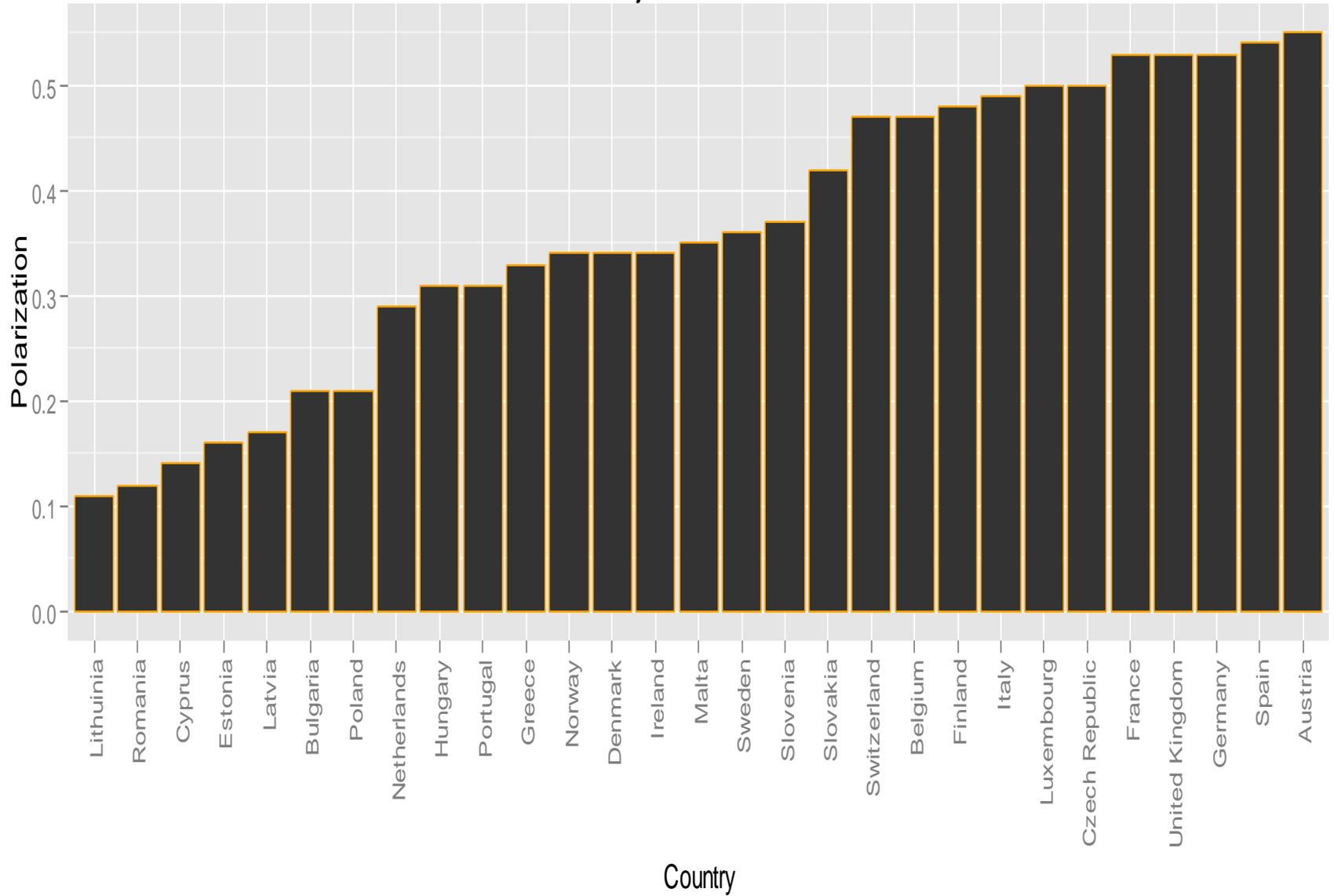
Polarization Indices

- Reynal-Querol Index (nominal)
- Standardized Van der Eijk's Agreement A measure
- Berry/Mielke Index of Ordinal Variation
- Leik's Ordinal Variation Index
- L-Squared

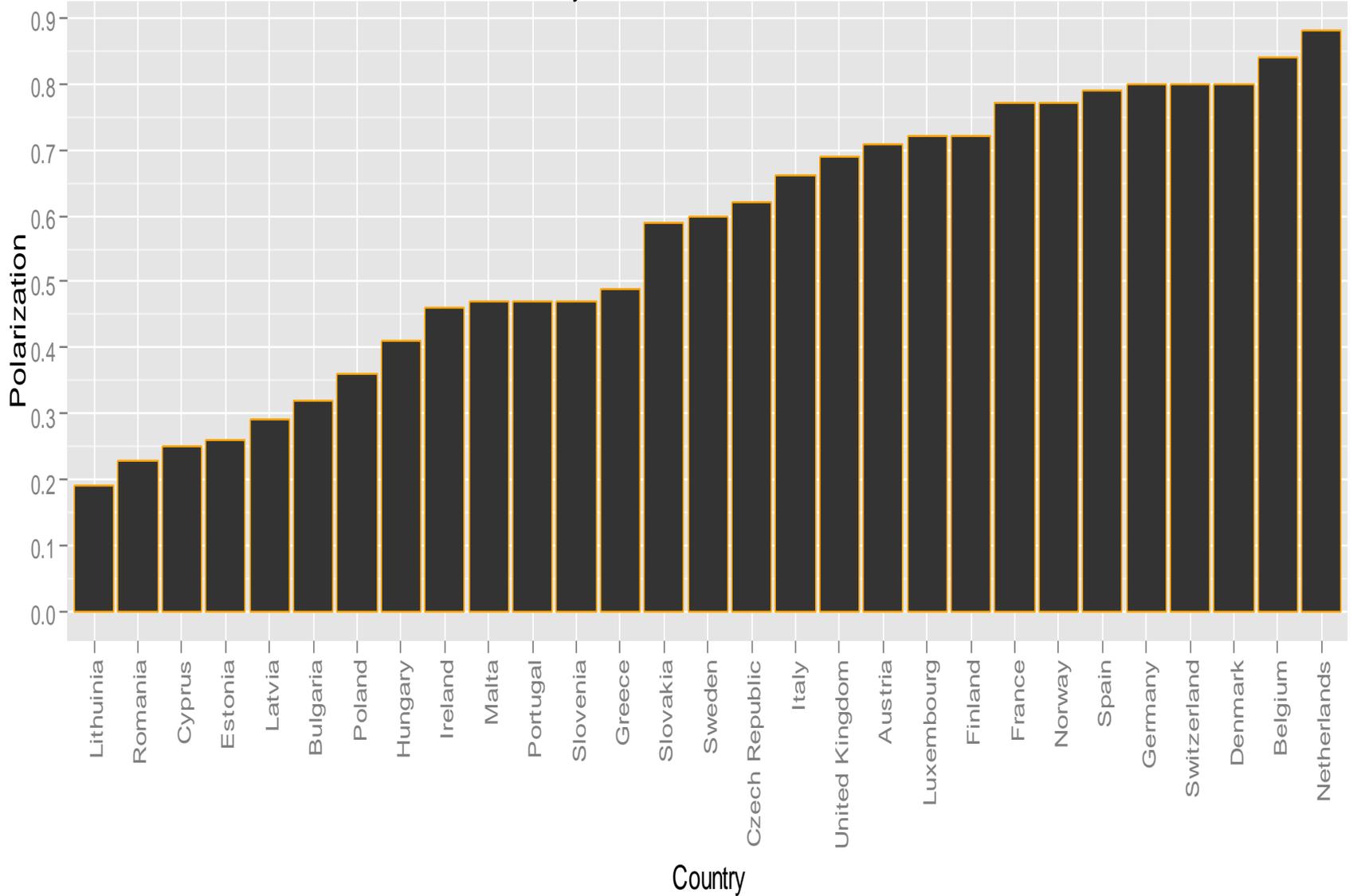
Reynal-Querol's Polarization Index



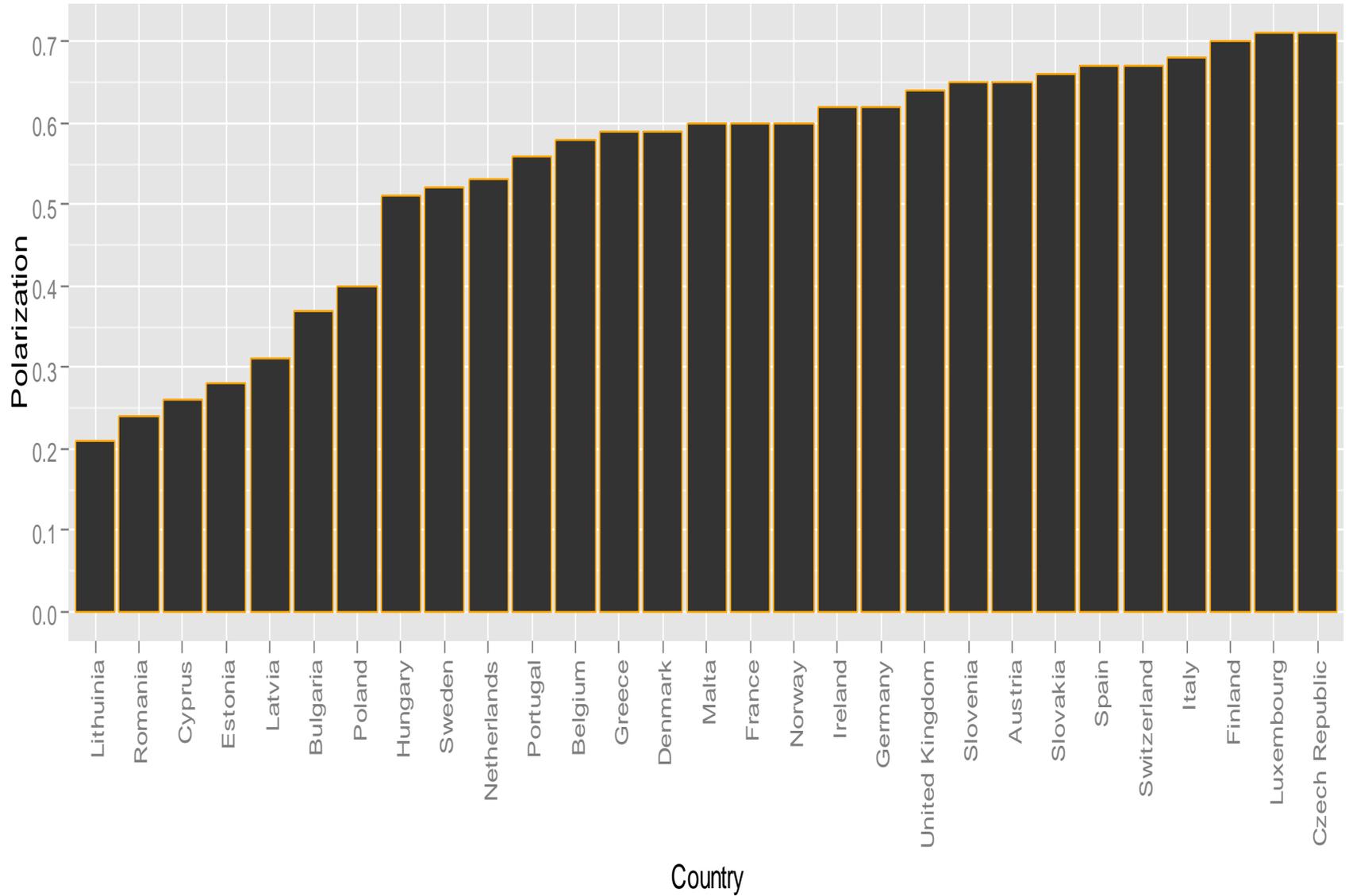
Van der Eijk's Polarization Index



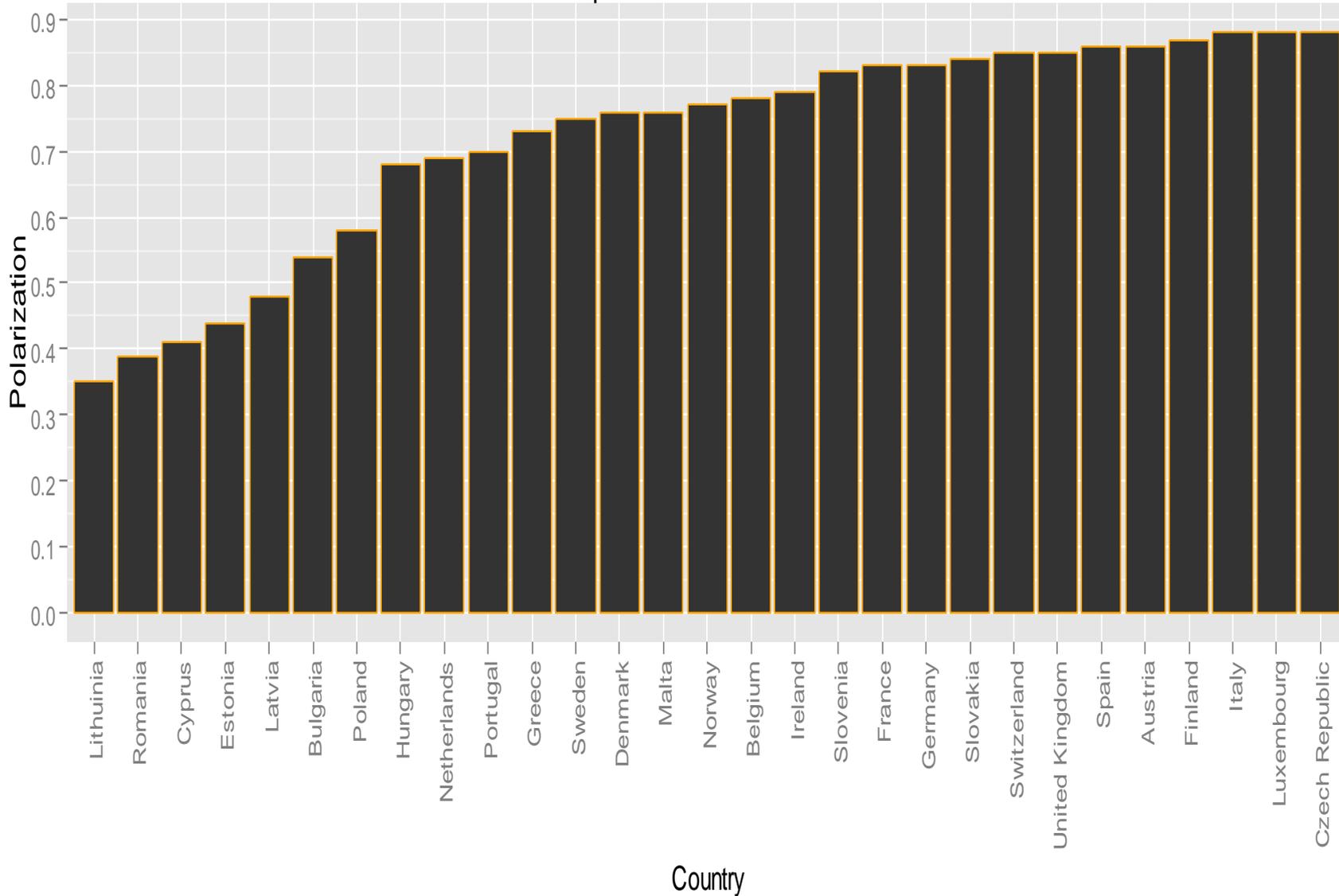
Berry/Mielke's Polarization Index



Leik's Polarization Index



L-Squared Polarization Index



Pairwise Correlations between Polarization Measures

	RQ Index	Berry-Mielke	Lsquared	Polarization	Leik
RQ Index	1	0.35	0.52	0.28	0.55
Berry_Mielke	0.35	1	0.82	0.83	0.79
Lsquared	0.52	0.82	1	0.94	0.99
Polarization	0.28	0.83	0.94	1	0.91
Leik	0.55	0.79	0.99	0.91	1

Polarization Patterns

- Nominal Index (RQ) suggests relatively small differences in value polarization across European Countries
- According to ordinal Indices, the less polarized countries are at the same time the less modernized while many modernized countries are highly polarized
- Modernization and spread of self-expression values lead to the growth of value polarization?

Thank you very much
for your attention!