

A Bayesian Approach to Two-Mode Clustering*

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ECONOMETRIC INSTITUTE REPORT EI 2009-06

Abstract

We develop a new Bayesian approach to estimate the parameters of a latent-class model for the joint clustering of both modes of two-mode data matrices. Posterior results are obtained using a Gibbs sampler with data augmentation. Our Bayesian approach has three advantages over existing methods. First, we are able to do statistical inference on the model parameters, which would not be possible using frequentist estimation procedures. In addition, the Bayesian approach allows us to provide statistical criteria for determining the optimal numbers of clusters. Finally, our Gibbs sampler has fewer problems with local optima in the likelihood function and empty classes than the EM algorithm used in a frequentist approach. We apply the Bayesian estimation method of the latent-class two-mode clustering model to two empirical data sets. The first data set is the Supreme Court voting data set of Doreian, Batagelj, and Ferligoj (2004). The second data set comprises the roll call votes of the United States House of Representatives in 2007. For both data sets, we show how two-mode clustering can provide useful insights.

Keywords: two-mode data, model-based clustering, latent-class model, MCMC

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1 Introduction

Clustering algorithms divide a single set of objects into segments based on their similarities and properties, or on their dissimilarities, see, for example, Hartigan (1975). Such methods typically operate on one mode (dimension) of a data matrix; we refer to these methods as one-mode clustering. Two-mode clustering techniques (Van Mechelen, Bock, & De Boeck, 2004) cluster two sets of objects into segments based on their interactions. In two-mode clustering, both rows and columns of data matrix are clustered simultaneously.

Many clustering methods, such as k -means clustering and Ward's method, lack a method to ascertain the significance of the results and rely on arbitrary methods to determine the number of clusters. To solve these problems, one may consider model-based techniques for clustering data. For one-mode data, model-based clustering methods have been developed, see, for example, Fraley and Raftery (1998); Wedel and Kamakura (2000); Frühwirth-Schnatter (2006). These model-based clustering methods use statistical tools for inference.

In this article, we extend the model-based one-mode clustering approach to two-mode clustering. In two-mode clustering, we cluster both the rows and the columns of a data matrix into groups in such a way that the resulting block structure is homogenous within blocks but differs between blocks. This requires matrix-conditional data, which means that all elements must be comparable in size, standardized, or measured on the same scale. Methods for two-mode clustering are in general not model-based (see, for example, Candel & Maris, 1997; Doreian et al., 2004; Brusco & Steinley, 2006; Van Rosmalen, Groenen, Trejos, & Castillo, 2009). One-mode model-based clustering methods usually rely on latent-class techniques. It is not straightforward to extend these techniques to two-mode data, because, unlike one-mode data, two-mode data cannot be assumed to be independent. Despite this problem, Govaert and Nadif (2003, 2008) have been able to use a latent-class approach to cluster two-mode data. They use a frequentist approach to estimate the parameters, but they are only able to optimize an approximation of the likelihood function using the EM algorithm (Dempster, Laird, & Rubin, 1977). In this article, we use the same likelihood function as Govaert and Nadif (2003, 2008), but

we propose a Bayesian estimation procedure. This enables us to estimate the model parameters properly and to do statistical inference on the estimation results.

The contribution of our Bayesian approach is threefold. First, our approach allows for statistical inference on the parameter estimates. Govaert and Nadif (2003, 2008) estimate the model parameters in a frequentist setting, but they are unable to compute standard errors of the estimated parameters. Our Bayesian approach provides posterior distributions and hence posterior standard deviations of the parameters. Therefore, our approach enables hypothesis testing, which is not feasible in the frequentist setting.

Secondly, our Bayesian method has fewer computational problems than the maximum likelihood approach. Using proper priors, we avoid some computational issues with empty classes, which is a well known problem when using the EM algorithm for finite mixture models. Posterior results can be obtained using Gibbs sampling with data augmentation (Tanner & Wong, 1987). Because of the more flexible way Markov Chain Monte Carlo methods search the parameter space, our Bayesian approach is less likely to get stuck in a local optimum of the likelihood function. This flexibility may cause *label switching*, see Celeux, Hurn, and Robert (2000). However, solutions to this problem exist (see, for example, Frühwirth-Schnatter, 2001; Geweke, 2007).

Finally, our method can help indicate the optimal number of segments. The Bayesian approach can be used to derive selection criteria such as *Bayes factors*. Methods previously proposed in the literature for selecting the optimal number of clusters (see, for example, Milligan & Cooper, 1985; Schepers, Ceulemans, & Mechelen, 2008) seem somewhat arbitrary and lack theoretical underpinnings.

We illustrate our Bayesian approach using two data sets. The first data set comprises votes of the Supreme Court of the United States and was also used by Doreian et al. (2004). Our approach results in a similar solution; however, the optimal numbers of segments are lower than in their solution. Our second application is a large data set concerning roll call voting in the United States House of Representatives. We use our model to cluster both the representatives and the bills simultaneously.

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. In Section 2 we introduce our new Bayesian approach for clustering two-mode data. We compare this Bayesian approach

with the existing frequentist approaches of Govaert and Nadif (2003, 2008). In Section 3, we discuss the posterior simulator for our Bayesian approach and the selection of the numbers of segments. In Section 4, the Bayesian approach is illustrated on the Supreme Court voting data. Section 5 deals with our second application, which concerns roll call votes of the United States House of Representatives in 2007. Finally, Section 6 concludes.

2 The Latent-Class Two-Mode Clustering Model

In this section, we present our Bayesian approach to clustering both modes of two-mode data simultaneously. We first give a derivation of the likelihood function and then discuss Bayesian parameter estimation for the latent-class two-mode clustering model.

2.1 The Likelihood Function

For illustrative purposes, we start this discussion with one-mode data, that is, we have N observations denoted by $\mathbf{y} = (y_1, \dots, y_N)'$. These observations can be discrete or continuous, and one-dimensional or multidimensional. We assume that each observation comes from one of K segments, and that the elements within each segment are independently and identically distributed. As a result, all observations must be independent. Furthermore, we assume that the observations come from a known distribution which is the same across segments; only the parameters of the distribution vary among the segments. These data can be described by a mixture model. Let $k_i \in \{1, \dots, K\}$ be an indicator for the segment to which observation y_i belongs, and let $\mathbf{k} = (k_1, \dots, k_N)'$. The conditional density of y_i belonging to segment q only depends on the parameter vector θ_q and is denoted by $g(y_i|\theta_q)$. The segment membership is unknown. We assume that the probability that observation y_i belongs to segment q is given by κ_q for $q = 1, \dots, K$, with $\kappa_q > 0$ and $\sum_{q=1}^K \kappa_q = 1$. We collect the so-called mixing proportions κ_q in the vector $\boldsymbol{\kappa} = (\kappa_1, \dots, \kappa_K)'$. The likelihood function of this model is given by

$$l(\mathbf{y}|\boldsymbol{\theta}, \boldsymbol{\kappa}) = \prod_{i=1}^N \left\{ \sum_{q=1}^K \kappa_q g(y_i|\theta_q) \right\}, \quad (1)$$

where $\boldsymbol{\theta} = (\theta_1, \dots, \theta_K)'$.

To cluster two-mode data, we would like to extend (1) to two-mode data matrices, with a simultaneous clustering of both rows and columns. We aim to construct a model in which the observations that belong to the same row cluster and the same column cluster are independently and identically distributed. In two-mode clustering, unlike in one-mode clustering, this assumption does not ensure that all observations are independent. As a result, a naive extension of the one-mode likelihood function to two modes will not adequately describe the dependence structure in the data.

Assume that \mathbf{Y} is an $(N \times M)$ matrix with elements $Y_{i,j}$, and that we want to cluster the rows into K latent classes and the columns into L latent classes. The naive extension of (1) to two-mode data yields

$$l_{\text{naive}}(\mathbf{Y}|\theta, \kappa, \lambda) = \prod_{i=1}^N \prod_{j=1}^M \sum_{q=1}^K \sum_{r=1}^L \kappa_q \lambda_r g(Y_{i,j}|\theta_{q,r}), \quad (2)$$

where $\kappa = (\kappa_1, \dots, \kappa_K)'$ gives the size of each row segment, $\lambda = (\lambda_1, \dots, \lambda_L)'$ gives the size of each column segment, and $\theta_{q,r}$ contains the parameters of observations belonging to row segment q and column segment r . Model (2) fails to impose that all elements in a row belong to the same row cluster and also does not impose that all elements in a column belong to the same column cluster; using this model, the data matrix \mathbf{Y} would effectively be modeled as a vector of one-mode data.

To derive the proper likelihood function, we first rewrite the one-mode likelihood function (1) as

$$\begin{aligned} l(\mathbf{y}|\theta, \kappa) &= \prod_i^N \left\{ \sum_{q=1}^K \kappa_q g(y_i|\theta_q) \right\} \\ &= \left\{ \sum_{q=1}^K \kappa_q g(y_1|\theta_q) \right\} \left\{ \sum_{q=1}^K \kappa_q g(y_2|\theta_q) \right\} \dots \left\{ \sum_{q=1}^K \kappa_q g(y_N|\theta_q) \right\} \\ &= \sum_{k_1=1}^K \sum_{k_2=1}^K \dots \sum_{k_N=1}^K \prod_{i=1}^N \kappa_{k_i} g(y_i|\theta_{k_i}) \\ &= \sum_{\mathbf{k} \in \mathcal{K}} \prod_{q=1}^K \kappa_q^{N_{\mathbf{k}}^q} \prod_{i=1}^N g(y_i|\theta_{k_i}), \end{aligned} \quad (3)$$

where we introduce some new notation in the last line. First, the set \mathcal{K} contains all possible divisions of the observations into the segments and thus has K^N elements if there are N

observations and K possible segments. Second, $N_{\mathbf{k}}^q$ equals the number of observations belonging to segment q according to segmentation \mathbf{k} . Thus, $\sum_{q=1}^K N_{\mathbf{k}}^q = N$ for a fixed classification \mathbf{k} . The fact that these two representations of the likelihood function of a mixture model are equivalent was already noticed by Symons (1981).

Using this representation, we can extend the mixture model to clustering two modes simultaneously. The resulting likelihood function for two modes is

$$l(\mathbf{Y}|\theta, \kappa, \lambda) = \sum_{\mathbf{k} \in \mathcal{K}} \sum_{\mathbf{l} \in \mathcal{L}} \prod_{q=1}^K \kappa_q^{N_{\mathbf{k}}^q} \prod_{r=1}^L \lambda_r^{M_r^{\mathbf{l}}} \prod_{i=1}^N \prod_{j=1}^M g(Y_{i,j}|\theta_{k_i, l_j}), \quad (4)$$

where \mathcal{L} denotes all possible divisions of the columns into L segments, $M_r^{\mathbf{l}}$ equals the number of items belonging to segment r according to column segmentation $\mathbf{l} = (l_1, \dots, l_M)'$. Note that it is impossible to rewrite (4) as a product of likelihood contributions as is possible in the one-mode case (1).

2.2 Parameter Estimation

The likelihood function (4) was already proposed by Govaert and Nadif (2003), who estimate the parameters of this model in a frequentist setting. However, their approach has several limitations. First, in contrast to the likelihood function in the one-mode case, the likelihood function (4) cannot be written as a product over marginal/conditional likelihood contributions; we only have a sample of size 1 from the joint distribution of \mathbf{Y} , \mathbf{k} , and \mathbf{l} . Therefore, the standard results for the asymptotic properties of the maximum likelihood estimator are not applicable.

Second, standard approaches to maximize the likelihood function (4) and estimate the model parameters are almost always computationally infeasible. Enumerating the $K^N L^M$ possible ways to assign the rows and columns to clusters in every iteration of an optimization routine is only possible for extremely small data sets. To solve this problem, Govaert and Nadif (2003) instead consider the so-called classification likelihood approach, in which \mathbf{k} and \mathbf{l} are parameters that need to be optimized. Hence one maximizes

$$l(\mathbf{Y}; \mathbf{k}, \mathbf{l}|\theta, \kappa, \lambda) = \prod_{q=1}^K \kappa_q^{N_{\mathbf{k}}^q} \prod_{r=1}^L \lambda_r^{M_r^{\mathbf{l}}} \prod_{i=1}^N \prod_{j=1}^M g(Y_{i,j}|\theta_{k_i, l_j}) \quad (5)$$

with respect to θ , κ , λ , $\mathbf{k} \in \mathcal{K}$, and $\mathbf{l} \in \mathcal{L}$. As the parameter space contains discrete parameters \mathbf{k} and \mathbf{l} , standard asymptotic theory for maximum likelihood parameter estimation does not apply. Govaert and Nadif (2008) also consider the optimization of an approximation to the likelihood function (4). This approximation is based on the assumption that the two classifications (that is, the classification of the rows and the classification of the columns) are independent.

We solve the aforementioned problems by considering a Bayesian approach. This approach has several advantages. First, we do not have to rely on asymptotic theory for inference. We can use the posterior distribution to do inference on the model parameters. In addition, it turns out that we do not need to evaluate the likelihood specification (4) to obtain posterior results. Posterior results can easily be obtained using a Markov Chain Monte Carlo [MCMC] sampler (Tierney, 1994) with data augmentation (Tanner & Wong, 1987). Data augmentation implies that the latent variables \mathbf{k} and \mathbf{l} are simulated alongside the model parameters θ , κ , and λ . This amounts to applying the Gibbs sampler to the complete data likelihood in (5). As Tanner and Wong (1987) show, the posterior results for the complete data likelihood function are equal to the posterior results for the likelihood function. As we can rely on the complete data likelihood (5) and do not have to consider (4), obtaining posterior results is computationally feasible. Furthermore, unlike previous studies (see, for example, Govaert & Nadif, 2003, 2008), we can provide statistical rules for choosing the numbers of segments as will be shown in Section 3.2. Finally, our method does not suffer much from computational difficulties when searching the global optimum of the likelihood function. The EM algorithm is known to get stuck in local optima of the likelihood function, which often occurs in local optima with one or more empty segments. Because we rely on MCMC methods, our approach has fewer problems with local optima. Furthermore, by using proper priors, we can avoid solutions with empty segments, see also Dias and Wedel (2004) for similar arguments.

3 Posterior Simulator

As discussed previously, we rely on MCMC methods to estimate the posterior distributions of the parameters of the two-mode mixture model. We propose a Gibbs sampler (Geman & Geman, 1984) with data augmentation (Tanner & Wong, 1987), in which we sample the vectors \mathbf{k} and \mathbf{l} alongside the model parameters. This approach allows us to sample from the posterior distributions of the parameters without evaluating the full likelihood function and therefore requires limited computation time. We assume independent priors for the model parameters with density functions $f(\kappa)$, $f(\lambda)$, and $f(\theta)$. In Section 3.1, we derive the Gibbs sampler. Methods for choosing the numbers of segments are discussed in Section 3.2.

3.1 The Gibbs Sampler

In each iteration of the Gibbs sampler, we sample the parameters θ , κ , and λ together with the latent variables \mathbf{k} and \mathbf{l} from their full conditional distributions. The MCMC simulation scheme is as follows:

- Draw $\kappa, \lambda | \theta, \mathbf{k}, \mathbf{l}, \mathbf{Y}$
- Draw $\mathbf{k} | \kappa, \lambda, \theta, \mathbf{l}, \mathbf{Y}$
- Draw $\mathbf{l} | \kappa, \lambda, \theta, \mathbf{k}, \mathbf{Y}$
- Draw $\theta | \kappa, \lambda, \mathbf{k}, \mathbf{l}, \mathbf{Y}$

Below we derive the full conditional posteriors, which are needed for the Gibbs sampler. After convergence of the sampler, we obtain a series of draws from the posterior distributions of the model parameters θ , κ , and λ . These draws can be used to compute posterior means, posterior standard deviations, and highest posterior density regions. Because we use data augmentation, we also obtain draws from the posterior distributions of \mathbf{k} and \mathbf{l} . This enables us to compute the posterior distributions of each row of data and each column of data over the segments. We can store the posterior distributions in matrices \mathbf{Q} and \mathbf{R} , where \mathbf{Q} is of size $(N \times K)$, and \mathbf{R} is of size $(M \times L)$. Each row of \mathbf{Q} contains the

posterior distribution of a row of data over the K possible row segments, and each row of \mathbf{R} contains the posterior distribution of a column of data over the L possible column segments.

Sampling of κ and λ

The full conditional density of κ is given by

$$\begin{aligned} f(\kappa|\theta, \lambda, \mathbf{k}, \mathbf{l}, \mathbf{Y}) &\propto l(\mathbf{Y}; \mathbf{k}, \mathbf{l}|\theta, \kappa, \lambda) f(\kappa) \\ &\propto \prod_{q=1}^K \kappa_q^{\sum_{i=1}^N I(k_i=q)} f(\kappa), \end{aligned} \quad (6)$$

where $l(\mathbf{Y}; \mathbf{k}, \mathbf{l}|\theta, \kappa, \lambda)$ is the complete data likelihood function given in (5), where $f(\kappa)$ is the prior density of κ , and where $I(\cdot)$ is an indicator function that equals 1 if the argument is true and 0 otherwise. The first part of (6) is the kernel of a Dirichlet distribution, see, for example, Frühwirth-Schnatter (2006). If we specify a Dirichlet(d_1, d_2, \dots, d_K) prior distribution for κ , the full conditional posterior is also a Dirichlet distribution with parameters $\sum_{i=1}^N I(k_i = 1) + d_1, \sum_{i=1}^N I(k_i = 2) + d_2, \dots, \sum_{i=1}^N I(k_i = K) + d_K$.

If we take a Dirichlet(d_1, d_2, \dots, d_L) prior for λ , the λ parameters can be sampled in exactly the same way. The full conditional posterior density is now given by

$$f(\lambda|\theta, \kappa, \mathbf{k}, \mathbf{l}, \mathbf{Y}) \propto \prod_{r=1}^L \lambda_r^{\sum_{j=1}^M I(l_j=r)} f(\lambda), \quad (7)$$

where $f(\lambda)$ denotes the prior density. Hence, we can sample λ from a Dirichlet distribution with parameters $\sum_{j=1}^M I(l_j = 1) + d_1, \sum_{j=1}^M I(l_j = 2) + d_2, \dots, \sum_{j=1}^M I(l_j = L) + d_L$.

Sampling of \mathbf{k} and \mathbf{l}

We sample each element of \mathbf{k} and \mathbf{l} separately. The full conditional density of k_i is given by

$$p(k_i|\theta, \kappa, \lambda, \mathbf{k}_{-i}, \mathbf{l}, \mathbf{Y}) \propto \kappa_{k_i} \prod_{j=1}^M g(Y_{i,j}|\theta_{k_i, l_j}) \quad (8)$$

for $k_i = 1, \dots, K$, where \mathbf{k}_{-i} denotes \mathbf{k} without k_i , and \mathbf{Y}_i denotes the i th row of \mathbf{Y} . Hence, k_i can be sampled from a multinomial distribution. In a similar way, we can

derive the full conditional density of l_j , which equals

$$p(l_j|\theta, \kappa, \lambda, \mathbf{k}, \mathbf{l}_{-j}, \mathbf{Y}) \propto \lambda_{l_j} \prod_{i=1}^N g(Y_{i,j}|\theta_{k_i, l_j}), \quad (9)$$

where \mathbf{l}_{-j} denotes \mathbf{l} without l_j . We can thus sample l_j from a multinomial distribution.

Sampling of θ

The sampling of the parameters θ depends on the specification of $g(Y_{i,j}|\theta_{q,r})$. With our application in mind and for illustrative purposes, we discuss below the sampling of the model parameters for the case where $Y_{i,j}$ follows a Bernoulli or a Normal distribution.

Example 1: Bernoulli Distribution

If $Y_{i,j}$ is a binary random variable with a Bernoulli distribution, with probability $p_{q,r}$ when belonging to row segment q and column segment r , the density is given by

$$g(Y_{i,j}|\theta_{q,r}) = Y_{i,j}^{p_{q,r}} (1 - Y_{i,j})^{1-p_{q,r}}. \quad (10)$$

Let \mathbf{P} denote the $(K \times L)$ matrix containing these probabilities for each combination of a row segment and a column segment, so that $\theta = \mathbf{P}$.

To sample $p_{q,r}$, we need to derive its full conditional density, which is given by

$$\begin{aligned} f(p_{q,r}|\mathbf{P}_{-q,r}, \kappa, \lambda, \mathbf{k}, \mathbf{l}, \mathbf{Y}) & \\ \propto \prod_{i \in \mathcal{Q}} \prod_{j \in \mathcal{R}} p_{q,r}^{Y_{i,j}} (1 - p_{q,r})^{1-Y_{i,j}} f(p_{q,r}) & \\ \propto p_{q,r}^{\sum_{i=1}^N \sum_{j=1}^M I(k_i=q)I(l_j=r)Y_{i,j}} (1 - p_{q,r})^{\sum_{i=1}^N \sum_{j=1}^M I(k_i=q)I(l_j=r)(1-Y_{i,j})} f(p_{q,r}), & \quad (11) \end{aligned}$$

where \mathcal{Q} is the set containing all rows that belong to segment q , where \mathcal{R} contains all columns that belong to segment r , where $\mathbf{P}_{-q,r}$ denotes \mathbf{P} without $p_{q,r}$, and where $f(p_{q,r})$ denotes the prior density of $p_{q,r}$. The first part of (11) is the kernel of a Beta distribution.

If we specify a $\text{Beta}(b_1, b_2)$ prior distribution, the full conditional posterior distribution is also a Beta distribution with parameters $\sum_{i=1}^N \sum_{j=1}^M I(k_i = q)I(l_j = r)Y_{i,j} + b_1$ and $\sum_{i=1}^N \sum_{j=1}^M I(k_i = q)I(l_j = r)(1 - Y_{i,j}) + b_2$.

Example 2: Normal Distribution

If $Y_{i,j}$ is a normally distributed variable, with mean $\mu_{q,r}$ and variance $\sigma_{q,r}^2$ in row segment q and column segment r , we have

$$g(Y_{i,j}|\theta_{q,r}) = \frac{1}{\sqrt{2\pi\sigma_{q,r}^2}} \exp\left\{-\frac{1}{2}\frac{(Y_{i,j} - \mu_{q,r})^2}{\sigma_{q,r}^2}\right\}. \quad (12)$$

Let $\boldsymbol{\mu}$ and $\boldsymbol{\Sigma}$ denote the $(K \times L)$ matrices containing the means and variances for each combination of a row segment and a column segment, respectively; hence $\theta = \{\boldsymbol{\mu}, \boldsymbol{\Sigma}\}$.

To sample $\mu_{q,r}$, we need to derive its full conditional distribution, which density is given by

$$\begin{aligned} & f(\mu_{q,r}|\boldsymbol{\mu}_{-q,r}, \boldsymbol{\Sigma}, \kappa, \lambda, \mathbf{k}, \mathbf{l}, \mathbf{Y}) \\ & \propto \exp\left[-\frac{\sum_{i \in \mathcal{Q}} \sum_{j \in \mathcal{R}} (Y_{i,j} - \mu_{q,r})^2}{2\sigma_{q,r}^2}\right] f(\mu_{q,r}) \\ & \propto \exp\left[-\frac{(\mu_{q,r} - 1/N_{\mathbf{k},\mathbf{l}}^{q,r} \sum_{i \in \mathcal{Q}} \sum_{j \in \mathcal{R}} Y_{i,j})^2}{2\sigma_{q,r}^2/N_{\mathbf{k},\mathbf{l}}^{q,r}}\right] f(\mu_{q,r}), \end{aligned} \quad (13)$$

where $\boldsymbol{\mu}_{-q,r}$ denotes $\boldsymbol{\mu}$ without $\mu_{q,r}$, and where $f(\mu_{q,r})$ denotes the prior density of $\mu_{q,r}$. The number of observations that are both in row segment q and column segment r according to segmentations \mathbf{k} and \mathbf{l} is denoted by $N_{\mathbf{k},\mathbf{l}}^{q,r} = \sum_{i=1}^N \sum_{j=1}^M I(k_i = q)I(l_j = r)$. As some segments may become empty in one of the iterations of the Gibbs sampler, we propose to use a proper prior specification for the elements of $\boldsymbol{\mu}$ and $\boldsymbol{\Sigma}$. To facilitate sampling we opt for conjugate priors and specify independent normal prior distributions for the elements of $\boldsymbol{\mu}$ with mean μ_0 and variance σ_0^2 . This results in the following full conditional posterior distribution

$$\mu_{q,r}|\boldsymbol{\mu}_{-q,r}, \boldsymbol{\Sigma}, \kappa, \lambda, \mathbf{k}, \mathbf{l}, \mathbf{Y} \sim \mathcal{N}\left(\frac{\sigma_0^{-2}}{\sigma_0^{-2} + s^{-2}}\mu_0 + \frac{s^{-2}}{\sigma_0^{-2} + s^{-2}}\bar{\mu}, (\sigma_0^{-2} + s^{-2})^{-1}\right), \quad (14)$$

where $\bar{\mu} = \sum_{i \in \mathcal{Q}} \sum_{j \in \mathcal{R}} Y_{i,j}/N_{\mathbf{k},\mathbf{l}}^{q,r}$, the sample average within the cluster and $s^2 = \sigma_{q,r}^2/N_{\mathbf{k},\mathbf{l}}^{q,r}$.

The full conditional density of $\sigma_{q,r}^2$ is given by

$$f(\sigma_{q,r}^2|\boldsymbol{\mu}, \boldsymbol{\Sigma}_{-q,r}, \kappa, \lambda, \mathbf{k}, \mathbf{l}, \mathbf{Y}) \propto (\sigma_{q,r}^2)^{N_{\mathbf{k},\mathbf{l}}^{q,r}/2} \exp\left[-\frac{\sum_{i \in \mathcal{Q}} \sum_{j \in \mathcal{R}} (Y_{i,j} - \mu_{q,r})^2}{2\sigma_{q,r}^2}\right] f(\sigma_{q,r}^2), \quad (15)$$

where $\boldsymbol{\Sigma}_{-q,r}$ denotes $\boldsymbol{\Sigma}$ without $\sigma_{q,r}^2$, and where $f(\sigma_{q,r}^2)$ denotes the prior density of $\sigma_{q,r}^2$. The first part of (15) is the kernel of an inverted Gamma-2 distribution. To facilitate

sampling we specify independent inverted Gamma-2 priors with parameters g_1 and g_2 for the elements in Σ . The full conditional posterior of $\sigma_{q,r}^2$ is therefore an inverted Gamma-2 distribution with parameters $N_{\mathbf{k},1}^{q,r} + g_1$ and $\sum_{i \in \mathcal{Q}} \sum_{j \in \mathcal{R}} (Y_{i,j} - \mu_{q,r})^2 + g_2$.

3.2 Selecting the Numbers of Segments

The standard way to determine the numbers of clusters in a finite mixture model in a frequentist framework is to use information criteria such as AIC, AIC-3, BIC, and CAIC (see, for example, Fraley & Raftery, 1998; Andrews & Currim, 2003). The reason for this is that standard tests for determining the optimal number of classes in latent-class models are not valid due to the Davies (1977) problem. Within a Bayesian framework, we can avoid this problem by computing Bayes factors (see, for example, Berger, 1985; Kass & Raftery, 1995; Han & Carlin, 2001). Unlike the hypotheses testing approach, Bayes factors can be used to compare several possibly nonnested models simultaneously; Bayes factors naturally penalize complex models. The Bayes factor for comparing Model 1 with Model 2 is defined as

$$B_{21} = \frac{f(\mathbf{Y}|M_2)}{f(\mathbf{Y}|M_1)}, \quad (16)$$

where $f(\mathbf{Y}|M_i)$ denotes the marginal likelihood of model M_i . The marginal likelihood is defined as the expected value of the likelihood function with respect to the prior, see, for example, Gelman, Carlin, Stern, and Rubin (2003).

Computing the value of the marginal likelihood is not an easy task. Theoretically, its value can be estimated by averaging the likelihood function over draws from the prior distribution. If the support of the prior distribution does not completely match with the support of the likelihood function, the resulting estimate will be very poor. Another strategy is to use the harmonic mean estimator of Newton and Raftery (1994). However, this estimator can be quite unstable. In this article, we estimate the marginal likelihood using the fourth estimator proposed by Newton and Raftery (1994, p. 22), which is also used by DeSarbo, Fong, Liechty, and Saxton (2004) in a similar model. This estimator uses importance sampling to compute the marginal likelihood value. The importance sampling function is a mixture of the prior and the posterior distribution with mixing proportion δ . Using the fact that the marginal likelihood is the expected value of the

likelihood function with respect to the prior, it can be shown that the marginal likelihood $f(\mathbf{Y})$ can be estimated using the iterative formula

$$\widehat{f(\mathbf{Y})} = \frac{\delta m / (1 - \delta) + \sum_{i=1}^m (f(\mathbf{Y}|\vartheta^{(i)}) / (\delta \widehat{f(\mathbf{Y})} + (1 - \delta) f(\mathbf{Y}|\vartheta^{(i)}))}{\delta m / (1 - \delta) \widehat{f(\mathbf{Y})} + \sum_{i=1}^m (\delta \widehat{f(\mathbf{Y})} + (1 - \delta) f(\mathbf{Y}|\vartheta^{(i)}))^{-1}}, \quad (17)$$

where $f(\mathbf{Y}|\vartheta)$ denotes the likelihood function and m denotes the number of draws $\vartheta^{(i)}$ from the posterior distribution; for notational convenience, we drop the model indicator M_i . To apply this formula, we need to choose the value δ ; Newton and Raftery (1994) recommend using a low value of δ , which we set to 0.001 in our application below. Another approach to compute marginal likelihoods is to use the bridge sampling technique of Frühwirth-Schnatter (2004).

Obtaining an accurate value of the marginal likelihood for any moderately sophisticated model tends to be hard, as was noted by Han and Carlin (2001). Therefore, we also propose a simpler alternative method to choose the numbers of segments, based on information criteria. Simulations in Andrews and Currim (2003) suggest that the AIC-3 of Bozdogan (1994) performs well as a criterion for selecting numbers of segments. To evaluate the AIC-3, we need the maximum likelihood value and the number of parameters. To compute the maximum likelihood value, we take the highest value of the likelihood function (5) across the sampled parameters.

Determining the appropriate number of parameters in our two-mode clustering model is not straightforward. The parameters θ , κ , and λ contain wKL , $K - 1$, and $L - 1$ parameters, respectively, where w denotes the number of parameters in θ per combination of a row segment and a column segment. Although \mathbf{k} and \mathbf{l} contain the same numbers of parameters for all numbers of latent classes, the number of possible values for each parameter increases. We can think of \mathbf{k} as representing an $(N \times K)$ indicator matrix, where each row indicates to which segment an object belongs. This means that \mathbf{k} and \mathbf{l} represent $N(K - 1)$ and $M(L - 1)$ free parameters, respectively. Hence, the effective total number of parameters is $wKL + NK + ML + K + L - M - N - 2$.

4 Application 1: Supreme Court Voting Data

We apply the latent-class two-mode clustering model to two empirical data sets. The first data set, which is discussed in this section, is the Supreme Court voting data of Doreian et al. (2004). We use this data set to compare the results of our approach with the results of previous authors, and we discuss this data set relatively briefly. The second data set will be analyzed in greater detail in the next section. The Supreme Court voting data set comprises the decisions of the nine Justices of the United States Supreme Court on 26 important issues. The data are displayed in Table 1. In this table, a 1 reflects that the Justice voted with the majority, and a 0 means that the Justice voted with the minority.

To describe the votes, we use a Bernoulli distribution with a Beta(1,1) prior for the probability, which is equivalent to a uniform prior on (0,1). Furthermore, we use an uninformative Dirichlet(1, 1, . . . , 1) prior for both κ and λ .

To determine the optimal numbers of segments, we compute the marginal likelihoods for several values of K and L , based on an MCMC chain of 100,000 draws for each combination of K and L . Table 2 displays the values of log marginal likelihoods $\ln f(\mathbf{Y})$ for every combination of $K = 1, \dots, 6$ rows segments and $L = 1, \dots, 6$ column segments. The highest marginal likelihood is achieved with $K = 2$ segments for the issues and $L = 3$ segments for the Justices. Note that we find fewer segments than Doreian et al. (2004), who applied blockmodeling to this data set and found 7 clusters for the issues and 4 clusters for the Justices, and Brusco and Steinley (2006), who found 5 clusters for the issues and 3 clusters for the Justices.

We experience *label switching* in our MCMC sampler. Two of the segments of Justices switched places twice in the MCMC chain of 100,000 draws. However, we could easily identify where these switchings occurred. As suggested by Geweke (2007), we solved the label switching problem by sorting the draws in an appropriate way.

To analyze the posterior results, it is possible to weight the results with different numbers of segments according to the posterior model probabilities that follow from the marginal likelihoods. However, we find it more convenient to consider the results for only one value of K and L . Therefore, we focus on the solution with the highest marginal

Table 1: The Supreme Court Voting Data

| Issue | Supreme Court Justice | | | | | | | | | | Supreme Court Justice | | | | | | | | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---------------------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| | Br | Gi | So | St | OC | Ke | Re | Sc | Th | Th | Br | Gi | So | St | OC | Ke | Re | Sc | Th | Th | |
| 2000 Presidential Election | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | Title VI Disabilities | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Illegal Search 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | PGA vs. Handicapped | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Illegal Search 2 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | Immigration Jurisdiction | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Illegal Search 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | Deporting Criminal Aliens | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Seat Belts | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | Detaining Criminal Aliens | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Stay of Execution | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | Citizenship | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Federalism | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | Legal Aid for the Poor | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Clean Air Act | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | Privacy | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Clean Water | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | Free Speech | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Cannabis for Health | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | Campaign Finance | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| United Foods | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | Tobacco Ads | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| New York Times Copyright | 0 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | Labor Rights | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Voting Rights | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | Property Rights | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

Table 2: Log marginal likelihoods for the Supreme Court Voting Data

| Segments of issues | Segments of Justices | | | | | |
|--------------------|----------------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| 1 | -155.56 | -160.96 | -164.17 | -166.28 | -168.13 | -169.96 |
| 2 | -172.98 | -117.69 | -109.98 | -111.00 | -112.27 | -114.02 |
| 3 | -183.29 | -124.17 | -112.17 | -113.83 | -114.63 | -116.56 |
| 4 | -189.60 | -129.92 | -115.57 | -117.72 | -119.27 | -118.61 |
| 5 | -194.88 | -133.45 | -118.78 | -120.00 | -121.50 | -121.51 |
| 6 | -199.67 | -137.27 | -122.29 | -122.66 | -125.84 | -126.28 |

likelihood value, that is, $K = 2$ segments of issues and $L = 3$ segments of Justices. The posterior means and standard deviations of \mathbf{P} , κ , and λ are shown in Table 3. Tables 4 and 5 show the marginal posterior distributions of the issues and the Justices over the segments. We find that Justices *Ginsburg*, *Stevens*, *Breyer*, and *Souter* constitute the liberal wing (that is, the left wing) of the Supreme Court. The Court’s moderate wing comprises Justices *O’Connor* and *Kennedy*, and the conservative wing (that is, the right wing) consists of Justices *Rehnquist*, *Scalia*, and *Thomas*. The segments of the issues consist of issues that resulted in liberal decisions (segment 1) and issues that resulted in conservative decisions (segment 2). We find strong partisan tendencies in the Supreme Court: liberal Justices support liberal decisions in 97% of the cases, and conservative Justices also support conservative decisions with a 97% probability. The liberal Justices sometimes (in 26% of the cases) vote for a conservative decision, whereas conservative Justices seldom support a liberal decision. Because of their central position in the court, the moderate Justices usually are in the majority. However, the moderate Justices are slightly more likely to support conservative decisions than liberal decisions. In general, the uncertainty in these classifications is low, especially given the relatively small size of the data set. The Justices and almost all issues can be assigned to one segment with a posterior probability close to 1.

The segmentation of the Justices, as displayed in Table 4, resembles the one found by Doreian et al. (2004), who divide the Justices into four segments. The segmentation of the issues deviates more from the solution of Doreian et al. (2004), who find 7 segments for the issues. Brusco and Steinley (2006) also find more segments for the issues than the

Table 3: Posterior means with posterior standard deviations in parentheses, for $K = 2$ and $L = 3$ in the Supreme Court Data.

| Segment of issues Interpretation | Segment of Justices | | | Posterior segment size |
|-------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| | 1 liberal | 2 moderate | 3 conservative | |
| 1 (liberal majority) | 0.97 (0.03) | 0.68 (0.10) | 0.10 (0.07) | 0.46 (0.10) |
| 2 (conservative majority) | 0.26 (0.07) | 0.84 (0.07) | 0.97 (0.03) | 0.54 (0.10) |
| Posterior segment size | 0.42 (0.14) | 0.25 (0.12) | 0.33 (0.13) | |

Table 4: Marginal posterior distribution of the Justices over the segments.

| Justice | 1 | 2 | 3 |
|----------------|---------|----------|--------------|
| Breyer | 1.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Ginsburg | 1.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Stevens | 1.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| Souter | 1.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 |
| O'Connor | 0.00 | 1.00 | 0.00 |
| Kennedy | 0.00 | 0.98 | 0.02 |
| Rehnquist | 0.00 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| Thomas | 0.00 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| Scalia | 0.00 | 0.00 | 1.00 |
| Interpretation | liberal | moderate | conservative |

Table 5: Marginal posterior distribution of the issues over the segments.

| Issue \ Segment | 1 | 2 | Issue \ Segment | 1 | 2 |
|----------------------------|---------|--------------|---------------------------|---------|--------------|
| 2000 Presidential Election | 0.00 | 1.00 | Clean Air Act | 0.20 | 0.80 |
| Federalism | 0.00 | 1.00 | Illegal Search 3 | 0.57 | 0.43 |
| Clean Water | 0.00 | 1.00 | PGA vs. Handicapped | 1.00 | 0.00 |
| Title VI Disabilities | 0.00 | 1.00 | Illegal Search 1 | 1.00 | 0.00 |
| Tobacco Ads | 0.00 | 1.00 | Illegal Search 2 | 1.00 | 0.00 |
| Labor Rights | 0.00 | 1.00 | Stay of Execution | 1.00 | 0.00 |
| Property Rights | 0.00 | 1.00 | Privacy | 1.00 | 0.00 |
| Citizenship | 0.00 | 1.00 | Immigration Jurisdiction | 1.00 | 0.00 |
| Free Speech | 0.00 | 1.00 | Detaining Criminal Aliens | 1.00 | 0.00 |
| Seat Belts | 0.00 | 1.00 | Legal Aid for the Poor | 1.00 | 0.00 |
| United Foods | 0.00 | 1.00 | Voting Rights | 1.00 | 0.00 |
| New York Times Copyright | 0.00 | 1.00 | Deporting Criminal Aliens | 1.00 | 0.00 |
| Cannabis for Health | 0.01 | 0.99 | Campaign Finance | 1.00 | 0.00 |
| Majority | liberal | conservative | Majority | liberal | conservative |

numbers of segments found here. We believe that the methods used by these authors may overestimate the numbers of segments in the data.

5 Application 2: Roll Call Voting Data

5.1 Data

To apply our method to a larger data set, we consider the voting behavior of the entire United States House of Representatives. The details of each roll call vote of the United States congress are published on the website <http://www.GovTrack.us>. We gathered data on all roll call votes from the House of Representatives in 2007. We only use data on votes that are related to a bill. We thus obtain data on 766 roll call votes from 427 members of the House of Representatives in 2007. There are four possible types of votes: *yea*, *nay*, *no vote*, and *present*. A *no vote* means that the representative was absent at the moment of voting; this is the case for 3.5% of the observations. A *present* vote means that the representative is present, but votes neither *yea* nor *nay*, which happens only 143 times (0.00%). In contrast to the previous example, we now do not recode our data in such a way that the majority vote is 1 or that the majority vote of the Democrats is 1 to avoid any form of preclustering.

We collected some additional information on the representatives from GovTrack.us. We have data on their party membership, gender, age on January 1st 2007, and state from which they were elected. Table 6 shows the means for these variables for the entire House of Representatives and for the Democrats and Republicans separately. In 2007, the Democrats had a majority in the House of 53.9%, and there were no third-party or independent representatives. There is a fairly large difference in the share of female representatives between the Democrats (20.4%) and the Republicans (10.1%). The average age is about the same for representatives from both parties. We divided the representatives' home states into nine regions.

We also collected more information on the bills. Before a bill comes to a vote in the House of Representatives, it is prepared by at least one of the 20 House Committees. Table 7 shows the committees and how many bills they prepared. The committee that

Table 6: Sample means of the individual characteristics for the whole House, Democrats, and Republicans.

| | House | Democrats | Republicans |
|--------------------|-------|-----------|-------------|
| Size | 1.00 | 0.54 | 0.46 |
| Democrat | 0.54 | 1.00 | 0.00 |
| Female | 0.16 | 0.20 | 0.10 |
| Age | 55.73 | 56.54 | 54.78 |
| <i>Region</i> | | | |
| Pacific | 0.16 | 0.19 | 0.12 |
| Mountain | 0.07 | 0.05 | 0.09 |
| West North Central | 0.07 | 0.07 | 0.08 |
| East North Central | 0.15 | 0.14 | 0.17 |
| Middle Atlantic | 0.14 | 0.18 | 0.10 |
| New England | 0.05 | 0.09 | 0.01 |
| West South Central | 0.11 | 0.08 | 0.15 |
| East south Central | 0.06 | 0.05 | 0.08 |
| South Atlantic | 0.18 | 0.15 | 0.22 |

handles the largest number of bills is *Appropriations*, which controls the disbursement of funds. The *Rules* committee influences what is discussed and voted upon; this committee is not primarily concerned with bills and only prepared nine of them. Most other committees deal with specific topics. The committee(s) that prepared a bill provides an indication for the subject of the bill. Having this information should allow us to interpret the segments of bills. Identifying the segments of bills may help us understand the segments of representatives in a better way, as we know what types of bills they support and oppose.

Roll call votes have been analyzed before. Poole and Rosenthal (1991), Heckman and

Table 7: The numbers of bills prepared by each House Committee

| | | | |
|---------------------|-----|-----------------------------------|----|
| Administration | 14 | Intelligence (Permanent Select) | 15 |
| Agriculture | 18 | Judiciary | 51 |
| Appropriations | 291 | Natural Resources | 50 |
| Armed Services | 43 | Oversight and Government Reform | 57 |
| Budget | 14 | Rules | 9 |
| Education and Labor | 51 | Science and Technology | 43 |
| Energy and Commerce | 44 | Small Business | 26 |
| Financial Services | 98 | Transportation and Infrastructure | 69 |
| Foreign Affairs | 44 | Veterans' Affairs | 15 |
| Homeland Security | 55 | Ways and Means | 42 |

Snyder Jr. (1997), and Nelson (2002) try to estimate latent preferences of representatives, based on their voting behavior. De Leeuw (2006) plots the relative positions of representatives into a two-dimensional space. The paper that most closely resembles our analysis is Hartigan (2000), who clusters the members of the United States Senate, as well as the bills on which they vote. However, Hartigan (2000) does not cluster the two dimensions simultaneously, but alternates between clustering one dimension conditional on the segmentation of the other dimension, until convergence.

5.2 Parameter Estimates

We apply the latent-class two-mode clustering model to the roll call voting data. We assign a 1 to *yea* votes and a 0 to *nay* votes; we treat the response options *no vote* and *present* as missing observations. Again, we describe the individual votes using a Bernoulli distribution with a Beta(1, 1) prior for the probability. Furthermore, we use an uninformative Dirichlet(1, 1, ..., 1) prior for both κ and λ .

To determine the numbers of segments, we now opt for the AIC-3 criterion as described in Section 3.2. We use the MCMC sampler to determine the optimal value of the complete data log-likelihood function. To prevent the Gibbs sampler from getting stuck at a local optimum of the likelihood function, we sample 10 sets of 10 MCMC chains, and each of the 100 MCMC chains has length 200. For each set, the MCMC chain that attains the highest likelihood value is chosen, and this MCMC chain is allowed to run for an additional 3,000 iterations. The highest likelihood value that is attained during these 3,000 iterations over all sets of MCMC chains is then used as the final maximum likelihood value. This likelihood value serves as input for the AIC-3 information criterion.

Table 8 displays the AIC-3 values. The lowest AIC-3 value is attained with $K = 10$ segments of bills and $L = 6$ segments of representatives; the corresponding log-likelihood value is $-66,108.70$. For these numbers of segments, we sample an additional 100,000 iterations from the chain that had the highest likelihood value. Due to the large size of the data set, we have no problems with label switching. In the remainder of this section, we present and interpret the results for this model specification.

Table 9 shows the posterior means and standard deviations for \mathbf{P} , κ , and λ . The

Figure 1: Graphical Representation of Voting Data Set Before (Upper Panel) and After (Lower Panel) Reordering of Rows and Columns. A black box indicates a *yea* vote and a white box indicates a *nay* vote.

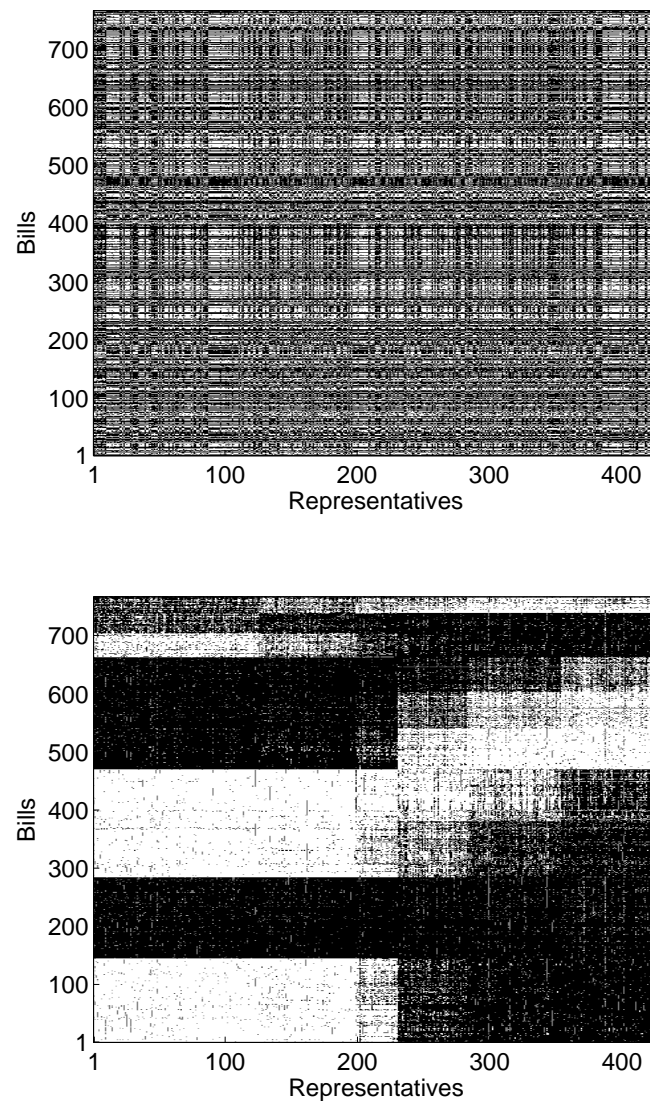


Table 8: AIC-3 values for $K = 2, \dots, 12$ segments of bills and $L = 2, \dots, 10$ segments of representatives.

| Segments of bills | Segments of representatives | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------|-----------------------------|---------|---------|---------|----------------|---------|---------|---------|---------|
| | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 |
| 2 | 251,889 | 245,490 | 242,752 | 242,630 | 243,333 | 244,062 | 245,130 | 246,267 | 247,433 |
| 3 | 206,373 | 197,752 | 193,995 | 193,132 | 193,360 | 193,966 | 194,899 | 195,951 | 197,020 |
| 4 | 191,907 | 181,359 | 177,459 | 176,081 | 176,193 | 176,556 | 177,376 | 178,328 | 179,349 |
| 5 | 186,493 | 175,547 | 170,848 | 169,409 | 169,370 | 169,698 | 170,476 | 171,396 | 172,353 |
| 6 | 181,998 | 170,774 | 165,959 | 164,315 | 164,261 | 164,480 | 165,229 | 166,115 | 167,061 |
| 7 | 179,889 | 168,300 | 163,112 | 161,363 | 161,263 | 161,449 | 162,178 | 163,044 | 163,920 |
| 8 | 179,620 | 167,790 | 162,484 | 160,722 | 160,516 | 160,698 | 161,421 | 162,244 | 163,136 |
| 9 | 179,565 | 167,459 | 162,080 | 160,182 | 160,015 | 160,056 | 160,745 | 161,567 | 162,449 |
| 10 | 179,531 | 167,209 | 161,744 | 159,715 | <i>159,530</i> | 159,553 | 160,194 | 161,011 | 161,837 |
| 11 | 180,904 | 168,414 | 162,822 | 160,696 | 160,443 | 160,346 | 160,986 | 161,810 | 162,621 |
| 12 | 182,500 | 169,944 | 164,292 | 162,167 | 161,802 | 161,671 | 162,248 | 163,065 | 163,854 |

first thing to note is that, except for segments (of bills) 9 and 10, the posterior means of the *yea* voting probabilities are monotonously increasing or decreasing in each row. For segments 9 and 10, there are only deviations from monotonicity in segment 6 of the representatives. These results imply that the political preferences in the House are one-dimensional. Bills from segment 2 are approved more or less unanimously, and bills from segments 7 and 9 are also widely supported. Bills from other segments seem to be backed by representatives from either segments 1-3 or segments 4-6. In the next subsection, we show that these segments mainly contain Democrats and Republicans, respectively.

To show the effectiveness of our two-mode clustering method, we show graphical representations of the roll call voting data set before and after reordering the rows and columns according to their segment in Figure 1. For this reordering, we used the segmentation \mathbf{k} and \mathbf{l} that yielded the highest likelihood value. Before reordering the rows and columns, it is already apparent that some structure exists in the data; after reordering, the nature of the block structure becomes clear.

5.3 Interpretation of Segments

For each row (bill) and for each column (representative), we compute the marginal posterior distribution over the segments. This allow us to compute the means of the explanatory variables within each segment. Table 10 shows the posterior means of the individual char-

Table 9: Posterior means and posterior standard deviations in parentheses of \mathbf{P} , κ , and λ .

| Segment of bills | Segment of representatives | | | | | | κ |
|------------------|----------------------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|----------------|
| | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | |
| 1 | 0.00 (0.00) | 0.01 (0.00) | 0.20 (0.01) | 0.87 (0.01) | 0.98 (0.00) | 0.99 (0.00) | 0.19 (0.01) |
| 2 | 1.00 (0.00) | 1.00 (0.00) | 1.00 (0.00) | 1.00 (0.00) | 1.00 (0.00) | 0.98 (0.00) | 0.18 (0.01) |
| 3 | 0.01 (0.00) | 0.03 (0.00) | 0.17 (0.01) | 0.45 (0.01) | 0.83 (0.01) | 0.93 (0.00) | 0.13 (0.01) |
| 4 | 0.01 (0.00) | 0.01 (0.00) | 0.07 (0.01) | 0.13 (0.01) | 0.30 (0.01) | 0.79 (0.01) | 0.12 (0.01) |
| 5 | 0.99 (0.00) | 0.97 (0.00) | 0.84 (0.01) | 0.14 (0.01) | 0.02 (0.00) | 0.02 (0.00) | 0.09 (0.01) |
| 6 | 1.00 (0.00) | 0.99 (0.00) | 0.95 (0.01) | 0.65 (0.01) | 0.25 (0.01) | 0.10 (0.01) | 0.08 (0.01) |
| 7 | 1.00 (0.00) | 1.00 (0.00) | 0.99 (0.00) | 0.95 (0.00) | 0.83 (0.01) | 0.48 (0.01) | 0.08 (0.01) |
| 8 | 0.11 (0.01) | 0.41 (0.01) | 0.78 (0.01) | 0.93 (0.01) | 0.97 (0.00) | 0.98 (0.00) | 0.05 (0.01) |
| 9 | 0.71 (0.01) | 0.91 (0.01) | 0.95 (0.01) | 0.97 (0.00) | 0.98 (0.00) | 0.97 (0.00) | 0.05 (0.01) |
| 10 | 0.74 (0.01) | 0.49 (0.02) | 0.34 (0.02) | 0.25 (0.01) | 0.09 (0.01) | 0.15 (0.01) | 0.04 (0.01) |
| λ | 0.29 (0.02) | 0.17 (0.02) | 0.08 (0.01) | 0.12 (0.02) | 0.17 (0.02) | 0.17 (0.02) | |

acteristics of the representatives for each segment of representatives. The main result is that the first three segments consist of Democrats, and the last three contain Republicans. We know from Table 9 that voting behavior is monotonous; therefore, we can interpret segments 1 and 6 as very partisan Democrats and Republicans, respectively. Segments 2 and 5 seem to be typical Democrats and Republicans, respectively, and the representatives in segments 3 and 4 are relatively moderate. Note that segments 3 and 4 are not completely homogenous, which means that there is a little overlap between these moderate Democrats and Republicans.

Further, we can see that there are relatively more women in the left wing. Not only are women more often Democrats than Republicans, but they also seem to be on the left side within their parties. There appear to be no effects of age within the Republican party, but within the Democratic party, the younger representatives seem to be more moderate

Table 10: Posterior means of individual characteristics for each segment of representatives.

| Segment of representatives | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | Total |
|----------------------------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|-------|
| Democrat | 1.00 | 1.00 | 0.97 | 0.02 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.54 |
| Female | 0.29 | 0.08 | 0.16 | 0.16 | 0.08 | 0.08 | 0.16 |
| Age | 59.30 | 57.44 | 50.79 | 57.68 | 55.19 | 55.06 | 55.73 |
| <i>Region 9</i> | | | | | | | |
| Pacific | 0.27 | 0.12 | 0.03 | 0.10 | 0.14 | 0.12 | 0.16 |
| Mountain | 0.03 | 0.06 | 0.09 | 0.08 | 0.03 | 0.15 | 0.07 |
| West North Central | 0.03 | 0.12 | 0.09 | 0.08 | 0.07 | 0.08 | 0.07 |
| East North Central | 0.13 | 0.14 | 0.16 | 0.26 | 0.14 | 0.15 | 0.15 |
| Middle Atlantic | 0.22 | 0.12 | 0.13 | 0.27 | 0.06 | 0.03 | 0.14 |
| New England | 0.12 | 0.07 | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.05 |
| West South Central | 0.04 | 0.12 | 0.15 | 0.00 | 0.21 | 0.19 | 0.11 |
| East South Central | 0.01 | 0.06 | 0.16 | 0.02 | 0.15 | 0.04 | 0.06 |
| South Atlantic | 0.14 | 0.18 | 0.19 | 0.18 | 0.20 | 0.25 | 0.18 |
| <i>Region 4</i> | | | | | | | |
| West | 0.30 | 0.18 | 0.13 | 0.18 | 0.17 | 0.27 | 0.22 |
| Mid West | 0.17 | 0.26 | 0.25 | 0.34 | 0.21 | 0.23 | 0.23 |
| North East | 0.34 | 0.20 | 0.13 | 0.29 | 0.06 | 0.03 | 0.19 |
| South | 0.19 | 0.36 | 0.50 | 0.20 | 0.57 | 0.48 | 0.36 |
| Segment size | 0.29 | 0.17 | 0.08 | 0.12 | 0.17 | 0.17 | 1.00 |

than the older ones.

There are also some clear regional patterns. Representatives from states in the *West* are more extreme in their voting behavior, as there are few representatives from these states that are in the moderate clusters 3 and 4. The representatives from the *Pacific* are responsible for the left wing, while the right-wing representatives seem to come mainly from the *Mountain* states. Representatives from the *Mid West* seem to be more moderate than the national average, though this effect is not very strong. In the *North East*, we find that the Democrats are relatively liberal and that the Republicans are relatively moderate. Finally, in the *South*, we find that the Democrats are moderate, whereas the Republicans often belong to the most conservative segments.

Table 11 contains the posterior means of the committees for the segments of bills. The results are less pronounced than for the representatives. For example, the posterior means for segment 1 closely resemble the entire sample (that is, the final column in the table), except for the *Financial Services* committee which is relatively higher.

Nevertheless, there are some striking results. Bills from the *Veterans' Affairs* commit-

Table 11: Posterior means of committees for each segment of bills.

| Segment of bills | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 | 7 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Total |
|-----------------------------------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|------|-------|
| Administration | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.04 | 0.02 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.09 | 0.03 | 0.02 |
| Agriculture | 0.01 | 0.01 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.00 | 0.28 | 0.02 |
| Appropriations | 0.36 | 0.05 | 0.66 | 0.92 | 0.27 | 0.24 | 0.07 | 0.58 | 0.37 | 0.38 | 0.38 |
| Armed Services | 0.06 | 0.05 | 0.02 | 0.00 | 0.12 | 0.00 | 0.05 | 0.02 | 0.14 | 0.27 | 0.06 |
| Budget | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.07 | 0.05 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.02 |
| Education and Labor | 0.07 | 0.05 | 0.08 | 0.00 | 0.11 | 0.15 | 0.09 | 0.00 | 0.06 | 0.10 | 0.07 |
| Energy and Commerce | 0.07 | 0.11 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.07 | 0.08 | 0.05 | 0.00 | 0.03 | 0.10 | 0.06 |
| Financial Services | 0.24 | 0.09 | 0.15 | 0.03 | 0.03 | 0.24 | 0.14 | 0.12 | 0.03 | 0.07 | 0.13 |
| Foreign Affairs | 0.05 | 0.08 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.06 | 0.02 | 0.09 | 0.00 | 0.09 | 0.35 | 0.06 |
| Homeland Security | 0.08 | 0.05 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.19 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.12 | 0.14 | 0.13 | 0.07 |
| Intelligence (Permanent Select) | 0.04 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.07 | 0.02 | 0.02 | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.02 |
| Judiciary | 0.04 | 0.14 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.07 | 0.03 | 0.16 | 0.02 | 0.23 | 0.07 | 0.07 |
| Natural Resources | 0.08 | 0.09 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.10 | 0.14 | 0.05 | 0.02 | 0.03 | 0.10 | 0.07 |
| Oversight and Government Reform | 0.03 | 0.17 | 0.02 | 0.00 | 0.10 | 0.07 | 0.14 | 0.05 | 0.09 | 0.10 | 0.07 |
| Rules | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.04 | 0.03 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.06 | 0.03 | 0.01 |
| Science and Technology | 0.04 | 0.10 | 0.04 | 0.01 | 0.05 | 0.02 | 0.09 | 0.07 | 0.09 | 0.10 | 0.06 |
| Small Business | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.01 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.02 | 0.11 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.10 | 0.03 |
| Transportation and Infrastructure | 0.06 | 0.09 | 0.05 | 0.03 | 0.17 | 0.18 | 0.15 | 0.07 | 0.06 | 0.10 | 0.09 |
| Veterans' Affairs | 0.00 | 0.11 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.00 | 0.02 |
| Ways and Means | 0.06 | 0.04 | 0.00 | 0.01 | 0.18 | 0.11 | 0.05 | 0.02 | 0.11 | 0.00 | 0.05 |
| Segment size | 0.19 | 0.18 | 0.13 | 0.12 | 0.09 | 0.08 | 0.08 | 0.05 | 0.05 | 0.04 | 1.00 |

tee all belong to segment 2, which contains bills that receive nearly unanimous support. *Transportation and Infrastructure* is relatively common in segments 5, 6, 7, and 10, which are all primarily favored by Democrats. Bills from the *Judiciary* committee can primarily be found in segments 2, 7, and 9. For these segments, the voting is almost unanimously *yea*. Segment 4 almost solely contains bills from the *Appropriations* committee. Only the hard-line Republicans from segment 6 vote in majority (79%) *yea* for these bills. To a lesser extent, this is also true for bills from segment 3, though there is a little more support for these bills, even from some of the moderate Democrats in segment 3.

6 Conclusions

We have developed a Bayesian approach to do inference in a latent-class two-mode clustering model, which has several advantages over frequentist parameter estimation methods. First, our method allows for statistical inference on the model parameters, which is not possible using a maximum likelihood approach. Furthermore, the Bayesian approach also

allows us to do statistical inference on the number of segments using marginal likelihoods. An alternative way to select the numbers of segments is to consider information criteria. The third advantage of using Bayesian techniques is that fewer computational problems occur during parameter estimation.

We have applied our model to the Supreme Court voting data set of Doreian et al. (2004). The marginal likelihoods used to determine the optimal number of segments indicate fewer segments than were found in these previous studies. In the second example, we consider roll call votes from the United States House of Representatives in 2007. We detect six segments of representatives and ten segments of bills. Three of the individual segments contain Democrats and the other three segments contain Republicans, though there is a little overlap. We also find clear regional effects on voting behavior.

Finally, our approach can easily be extended in several directions. First, it can easily be adopted to use with data matrices with arbitrary distributions. Although we have only derived posterior samplers for Bernoulli and normally distributed data, it is straightforward to derive posterior samplers for all kinds of distributions. Secondly, our method can easily be extended to three-mode data, see Schepers, Van Mechelen, and Ceulemans (2006). Thirdly, explanatory variables can be added, either with segment-dependent effects or as concomitant variables, that is, variables explaining why a row (or column) belongs to a certain segment, see Dayton and MacReady (1988) and Wedel (2002) for a discussion.

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