

KOALA: Estimating coalition probabilities in multi-party electoral systems

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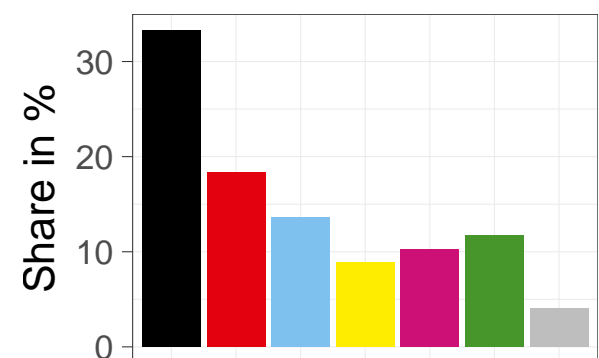
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Motivation

Election poll-based reporting

What's the status quo?

Typical election poll reporting:



- is based on observed mean voter shares
- sets the focus on individual party achievements
- imparts sample uncertainty only insufficiently

Example

Reporting on Union and FDP to jointly obtain a majority before the German federal election 2013

Last pre-election opinion poll: Source: Forsa, 20.09.2013

Union	SPD	Greens	FDP	The Left	AfD	Others
40%	26%	10%	5%	9%	4%	6%

After redistribution of party votes <5%
(i.e. the minimum hurdle to pass into German parliament)
Union-FDP jointly obtain exactly 50%.

Media headline:

“Union-FDP loses its majority”

Source: FAZ.net (2017). Umfrage zur Bundestagswahl: Schwarz-Gelb verliert die Mehrheit. <http://archive.is/SuXVt>. Accessed 26 April 2018.

Flaws of this type of reporting:

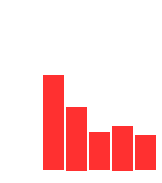
- Misleading conclusions are drawn
A mean share of 50% only means that it's slightly more probable that a majority is missed
- Sample uncertainty is ignored
E.g., with a mean voter share of 5%, FDP will only enter the parliament with ~50%
- Redistribution of votes is ignored
FAZ.net bases the conclusion on the observed voter share and not on the redistributed 50% share

What do we propose?

Good reporting:

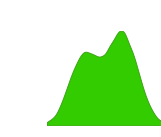
- should impart findings in an easily graspable way
- should prevent potential misunderstandings
- should focus on the most relevant topics

We aim at **shifting the focus** from



Incomprehensive
observed party shares

to



Uncertainty-based
event probabilities

Foundations of KOALA-based reporting:

- Use event **probabilities** instead of voter shares
Probabilities comprise sample uncertainty in a natural way and are less at risk to be misinterpreted
- Use **event** probabilities instead of voter shares
Focusing on the main events allows the reader to easily grasp the big picture

KOALA headline:

*“Union-FDP gains seat majority with 26%,
FDP passes into parliament with 51%*”*

* If the election was held today

1 Event probability estimation

We use a **Multinomial-Dirichlet model** for the true party shares θ_j (Gelman et al., 2013):

$$(\theta_1, \dots, \theta_k)^T \sim \text{Dirichlet}(\alpha_1, \dots, \alpha_k), \text{ with } \alpha_1 = \dots = \alpha_k = \frac{1}{2}$$

Given one survey, the posterior also is a Dirichlet distribution with $\alpha_j = x_j + \frac{1}{2}$ for each party j and its observed vote counts x_j .

Using **Monte Carlo simulations** of election outcomes, we obtain specific event probabilities by taking their relative frequency of occurrence.

Pooling is used to summarize multiple polls to reduce sample uncertainty:

- We pool the most recent survey per polling agency within the past 14 days
- The summed number of votes per party are also multinomially distributed
- **But:** Polls from different polling agencies are correlated

Hence: We adjust the distribution by using an **effective sample size** (Hanley et al., 2003): Party-specific correlations were estimated based on 20 surveys of polling agencies Emnid and Forsa, using

$$\text{Cov}(X_{A_j}, X_{B_j}) = \frac{1}{2} \cdot (\text{Var}(X_{A_j}) + \text{Var}(X_{B_j}) - \text{Var}(X_{A_j} - X_{B_j})),$$

with

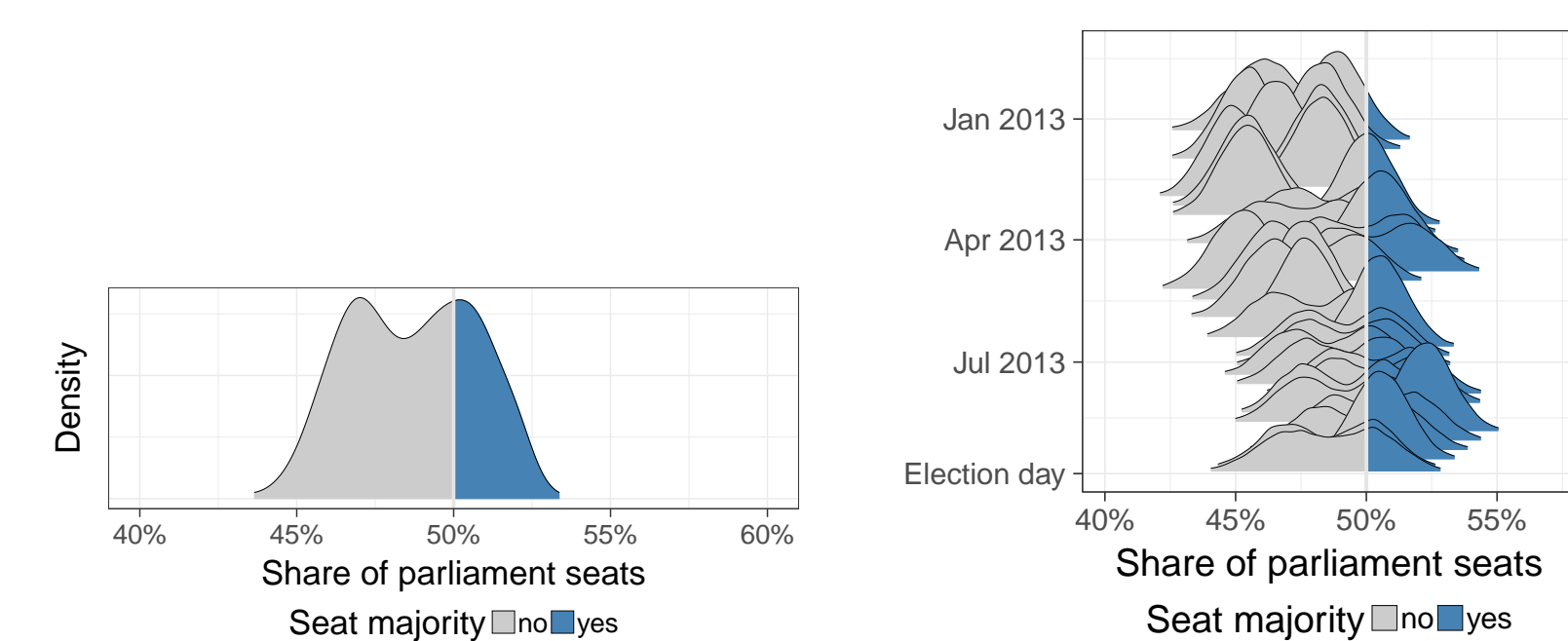
- $\text{Var}(X_{A_j})$, $\text{Var}(X_{B_j})$ the theoretical variances of binomial distributions,
- $\text{Var}(X_{A_j} - X_{B_j})$ estimated from the party share differences.

For simplicity, we set the correlation to a fixed value of 0.5. The effective sample size n_{eff} is then defined as the ratio between the estimated variance for the pooled sample and the theoretical variance for a sample of size one:

$$n_{\text{eff}} = \frac{\text{Var}(\text{pooled})}{\text{Var}(\text{sample of size one})}.$$

2 Visualization

To visualize the development of such probabilities together with the underlying uncertainty for a specific coalition we use **ridgeline plots** (Wilke, 2017) for the simulated seat distributions:



Looking at the probabilities based on the last opinion poll before the German election 2013, the posterior distribution is bimodal, based on the distinction whether FDP and/or AfD pass the 5% hurdle. The resulting probability for a Union-FDP majority is 27.2%, based on 10,000 simulations.

3 Implementation and results communication

KOALA

Results for selected elections are presented on koala.stat.uni-muenchen.de

The implementation is based on several points:

- Our approach is implemented in the R package **coalitions**
- The website is shiny-based
- The website update approach is automated
- Automatic tweets are sent in the case of new results
- For sharing our results we automatically export them to Google Sheets



Shiny



References

- Bender, A. and Bauer, A. (2018). coalitions: Coalition probabilities in multi-party democracies. *Journal of Open Source Software*, **3(23)**, 606, <https://doi.org/10.21105/joss.00606>.
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 Wilke C.O. (2017). *ggribges: Ridgeline Plots in 'ggplot2'*. R package version 0.4.1. URL <https://CRAN.R-project.org/package=ggribges>