Bayesian Inference of Pollster Bias

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Introduction

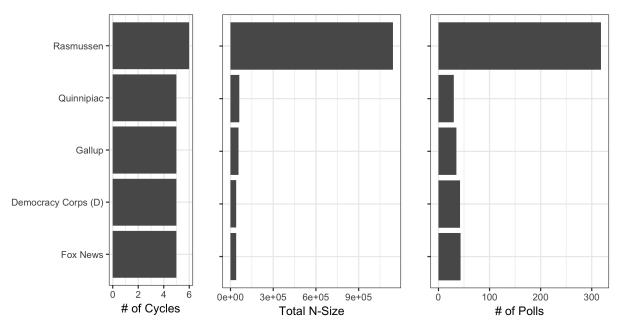
In this analysis, I estimate the bias for each public pollster active in the last 6 congressional elections. My final estimate identifies X as the most conservative pollster and Y as the most liberal. I likewise estimate bias of various sampling universes. Next, I use these biases to estimate the true level of support for Democrats over time in each cycle. Lastly, I regress the final estimate of support in each cycle against the number of seats Democrats won.

The Data

I have two primary sources of data: past polls and election results. The poll response that I use is the 'generic Congressional ballot.' Each pollster has a slightly different wording (and hence why we measure pollster bias), but they are all similar to: 'If the elections for the U.S. House of Representatives were being held today, which party's candidate would you vote for in your congressional district: The Democratic candidate or the Republician candidate?' The named Congressional ballot question would account for incumbency effects and more closely mirror the choice voters are making in the voting booth. However, since not all candidates are known for 2018 yet, this is the only current question being polled, and so for comparability, I will use the same question for past elections.

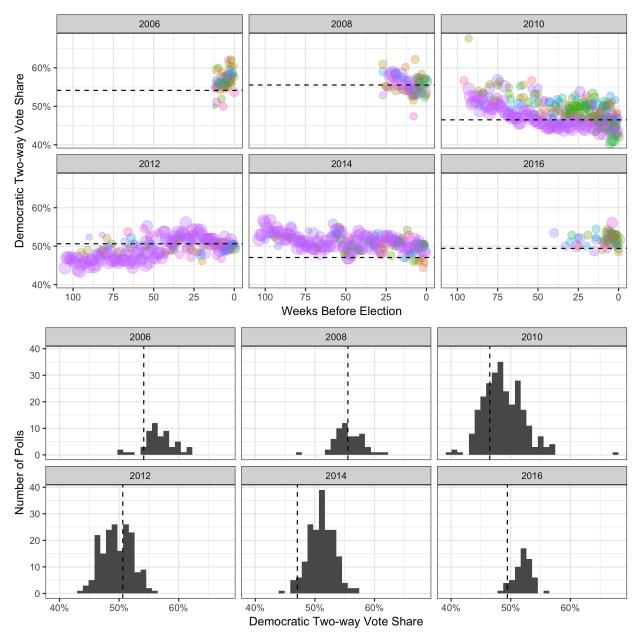
The past polls were taken from Real Clear Politics' database across 6 election cycles: **2006**, **2008**, **2010**, **2012**, **2014** and **2016**. Only polls where the year, date range, pollster, sampling universe and sample size are all known were included. Additionally, the polls' results were transformed to reflect the two-way share for Democrats (Dem/(Dem+Rep)): it is a proportion between 0 and 1. Time is transformed to be the rounded number of weeks between the middle day of the poll and election day. A daily model would be more precise, but would take more data.

In total, 797 polls from 41 pollsters contacting 1.7m respondents over the 6 election cycles were used. These are the 5 largest pollsters. See Appendix B for full details.



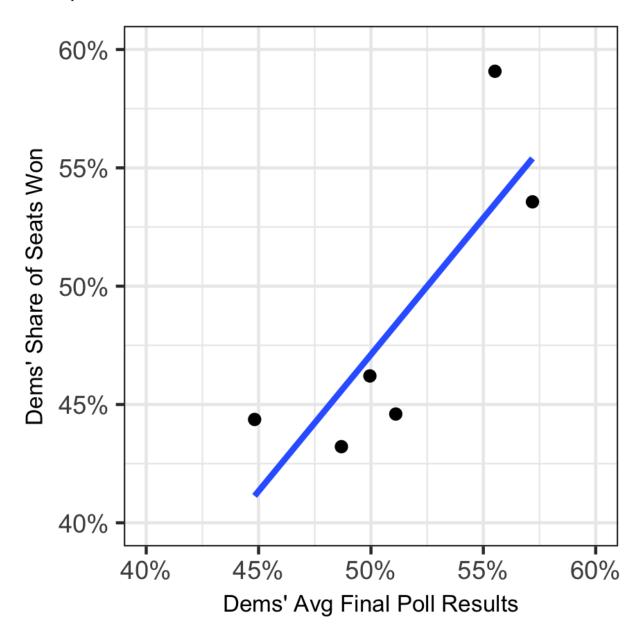
For election results, I use both the popular vote share and the seats won. These were taken from Wikipedia: **2006**, **2008**, **2010**, **2012**, **2014**, and **2016**. Again, I use Democrats' two-way vote share of the popular vote to mimic their two-way support in the polling data, and their percentage share of seats in the Congress.

First, let's explore the trends over time in each cycle. Here, each point is a poll; it's size relfects the sample size and color represents the pollster. The dashed line represents the final two-way popular vote share of Democrats. A couple of observations from this are clear. We see that by election, some pollsters are systematically off. For example, the pink pollster in 2010 was consistently below the final election result, suggesting bias. Last, we see that there are trends in results over time. For example, in 2014 the polls got closer and closer to the true result over time. Further investigation shows that poll results are not normally distributed around the result **across time**, suggesting we will need a time-dependent model.



It's also worth exploring the relationship between polls and two-way seats won. While I later improve upon this through modeling, a crude measure is the average poll result within 1 week of election day, weighted by sample size. The correlation between this and two-way seat share is 0.82 suggesting a strong positive

relationship.

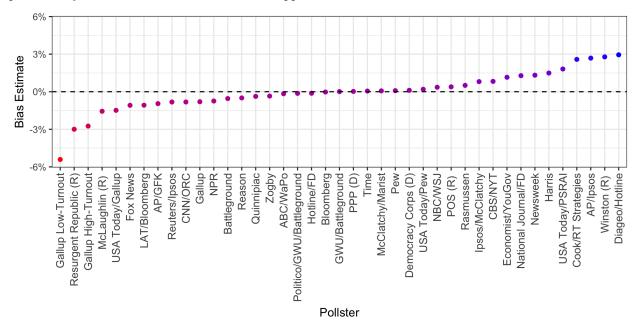


Estimating pollster and universe bias

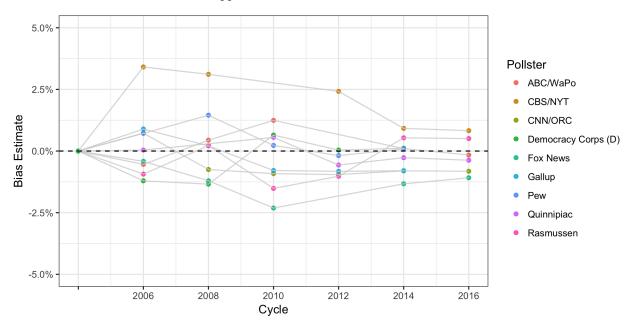
To estimate bias for each pollster and universe, I use a Bayesian random-walk models anchored to the true final election results. For the first cycle a pollster/universe is used in, its prior is normally distributed around 0pp and assumed to be less than 20pp 95% of the time, in either direction. This prior is updated to be the posterior from the most recent previous cycle the pollster/universe was active in. Full specification of the theoretical model can be found in Appendix A; implementation specifications and key convergance diagnostics can be found in Appendix B.

Below I plot the final bias estimate for each pollster. For example, for a pollster who polled in 2014 but not 2016, this will be their 2014 posterior results. Most pollsters are not biased by more than a percentage point in either direction. 'Gallup Low-Turnout' was the mostly conservative estimate (they took 4 polls in 1

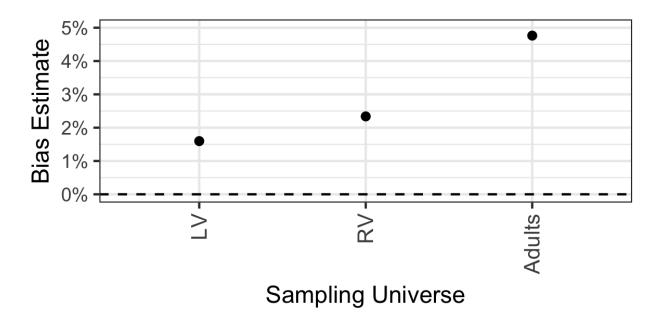
election cycle). 'Diageo/Hotline' most consistently overestimted Democratic support (they took 7 polls in 2 election cycles). Bloomberg was the least biased pollseter with an average bias of -0.00008 across their 12 polls in 4 cycles. Full results can be found in Appendix B.



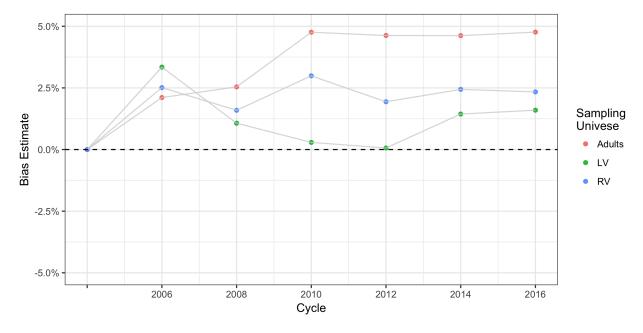
Looking more closely at pollsters that were active in at least 5 of the 6 cycles examine, we some variation in bias across cycles. For example, CBS/NYT strongly oveestimated Democratic support in 2006, but became less and less biased each cycle. Others were too conservative in some cycles and too liberal in others. Fox News underestimated Democratic support in all.



Additionally, we see that most sampling universes also show some overestimation of Democratic support. Our posterior observation from the 2016 cycle shows that likely voter universes across pollsters were biased 1.7pp in favor of Democrats, registered voter universes were biased 2.4pp and samples of just adults were biased nearly 5pp in favor of Democrats. Full results can be found in Appendix B.



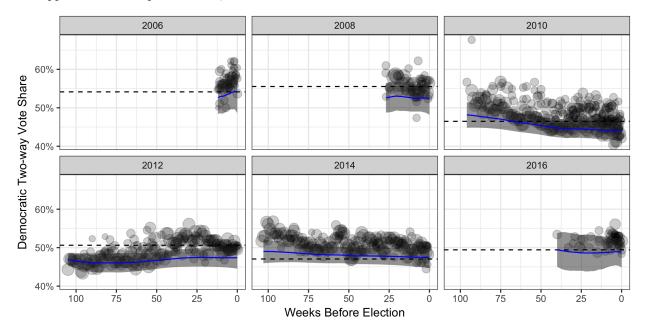
These trends were fairly stable over time. The rank order of the universes was the same for all elections except 2006. Both adult and registered voter universes were stable around their final estimate since the 2010 cycle. In 2010 and 2012, there was basically no bias in likely voter universes, but this increased in 2014 and 2016.

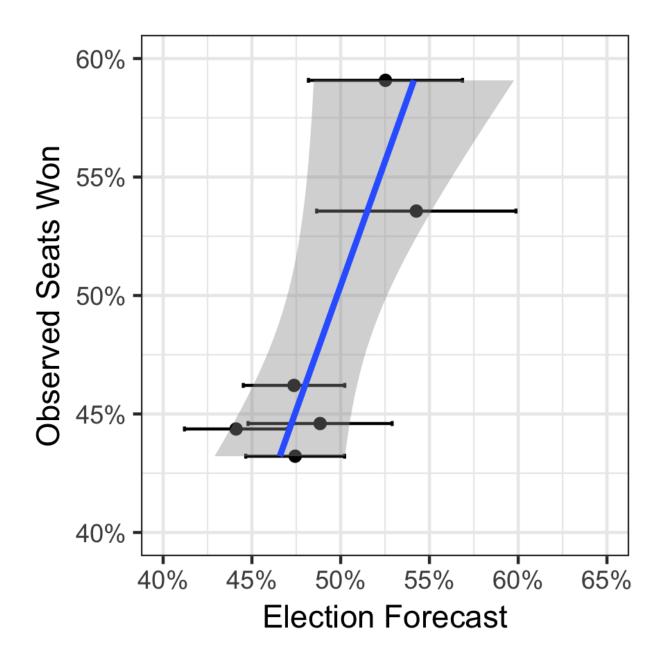


Week-by-week estimates of support by cycle

Using the final estimates of bias for pollsters and universes as priors, I now refit the random-walk models, but with no anchor to the true result. This allows us to generate estimates week-by-week for each election, including a final estimate of election outcome, simulating a future prediction. The results are slightly overfit, especially for 2016, since the true results in each election updated the priors which are now inputs to the model. For 2016 specifically, the priors are derived from posterior distribution of the model anchored in the

true result, so we should expect the model to be very precise. For full model specification see Appendix A and Appendix B for implementation, code and full results.





Conclusions

Using the estimate for the true current level of support, about 54%, and the parameter estimates from the regression model previously fit, I predict democrats will win about 52% of the seats, or 225 seats, with a 2.5% lower bound of 177 seats and a 97.5% upper bound of 273 seats. This estimate is similar to other's. For example, one respected **author** finds an 8pp advantage in the generic ballot for Democrats will yield 224 Democratic seats.

Appendix A

To answer question 1 above, I follow **Jackman (2005)** to specify my model to estimate biases, but with an added term for sampling universe. A given poll is assumed to be normally distruted with support as the

mean and the standard deviation a function of y_i and sample size. This would be specified as:

$$y_i \sim \mathcal{N}(\mu_i, \sigma_i^2)$$

That poll is centered around mean μ_i , which itself is a function of α_t , the true value of support at the time the poll was taken t, δ_i , the bias of pollster j, and θ_k , the bias of sampling universe k. Fully specified, this is:

$$\mu_i = \alpha_{t_i} + \delta_{j_i} + \theta_{k_i}$$

Due to the trends we see in our initial data exploration, a random walk model is appropriate. In such a model, support at time t is normally distributed around support at time t-1.

$$\alpha_t \sim \mathcal{N}(\alpha_{t-1}, \omega^2)$$

By anchoring the model in the final election results, and by using a random walk, I will be able to estimate the consistent bias, δ , of each pollster and the effect, θ , of different sampling universes.

For these given specifications, we have the following priors:

$$\sigma_i^2 = \sqrt{\frac{y_i(1-y_i)}{n_i}}, \quad \delta_j \sim \mathcal{N}(0,1), \quad \theta_k \sim \mathcal{N}(0,1), \quad \alpha_1 \sim \mathcal{U}(0.46, 0.56), \quad \omega^2 \sim IG(1/2, 1/2)$$

 σ_i^2 just follows the formula for standard deviation of a sample. For pollster biases (δ) , my prior is that there is no bias with a standard deviation large enough to capture 100% bias; my prior for bias from sampling universe (θ) is the same. As a prior for the starting true value of support (α_1) , I use a uniform distribution over the minimum and maximum actual vote share of Democrats in the six elections analyzed. Lastly, as a prior for the true standard deviation of support (ω) , I use the inverse gamma distribution with an effective sample size of 1 and a prior guess of 1 like the standard deviation for δ and θ .

To answer question 2 above, I will use the pollster and universe biases estimated above, and the same random walk algorithm to generate a final polling average at the time of the election, α_E . I will then use the following model to estimate number of seats:

$$S_{cycle} \sim \mathcal{N}(\phi_{cycle}, \sigma^2)$$

$$\phi_{cycle} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 * \alpha_{E_{cycle}}, \quad cycle = 2006, ..., 2016$$

My priors for this model are:

$$\beta_0 \sim \mathcal{N}(0,1), \quad \beta_1 \sim \mathcal{N}(1,1), \quad \sigma^2 \sim IG(1/2,1/2)$$

 β_0 here has a prior of 0 seats in the House of Representatives with a standard deviation 1. β_1 has a prior that says a 1 unit increase in $\alpha_{E_{cycle}}$ (a 100 perctange point increase in the Democrats' modeled vote share) is associated with a 100 percentage point increase in the share of seats awarded to Democrats, with a standard deviation of the same. Lastly, I use an inverse gamma distribution with a prior guess of 1 and effective sample size of 1 for the standard deviation.

To answer question 3, I will use the same random walk algorithm already mentioned, along with the pollster and universe biases to generate a polling average for today. I will then use this α with the coefficients estimated in the second model to predict the number of seats Democrats will win in 2018.

Appendix B

Functions and setup

```
library(ggplot2)
library(tidyverse)
library(rjags)
library(cowplot)
set.seed(102)
scipen=999
data prep <- function(data, res, year, anchor = T) {</pre>
  data <- data %>%
    filter(cycle == year) %>%
    mutate(pollster_num = as.numeric(as.factor(as.character(pollster))),
           univ_num = as.numeric(univ),
           prec = 1 / (sqrt((twoway * (1 - twoway)) / n size)),
           week_adj = -1 * (week - max(week)) + 1) %>%
    select(-pollster_raw)
  data_jags = as.list(data)
  if(anchor) {
    xi <- rep(NA, max(length(unique(data$week_adj)), max(data$week_adj))+1)
    xi[max(data$week_adj+1)] <- res$twoway_vote[res$cycle == year]</pre>
  } else {
    xi <- rep(NA, max(length(unique(data$week_adj)), max(data$week_adj)))</pre>
  data_jags$xi <- xi
  return(data_jags)
bias_priors <- function(data_jags, deltas, thetas) {</pre>
  thetas <- thetas %>%
    filter(theta_univ %in% unique(data_jags$univ)) %>%
    mutate(theta_univ_num = as.numeric(theta_univ)) %>%
    arrange(theta_univ_num)
  deltas <- deltas %>%
    filter(delta_pollster %in% unique(data_jags$pollster)) %>%
    mutate(delta_pollster_num = as.numeric(as.factor(as.character(delta_pollster)))) %>%
    arrange(delta_pollster_num)
  data_jags <- append(data_jags, as.list(thetas))</pre>
 data_jags <- append(data_jags, as.list(deltas))</pre>
 return(data_jags)
}
run_model <- function(data_jags,</pre>
                      anchor = T,
                       chains = 4,
                      thining = 10,
                      burnin = 10000,
                      iter = 1000000,
                      params = c("xi", "delta", "theta")) {
```

```
mod_string_1 <- " model {</pre>
  xi[1] ~ dunif(0.46, 0.56) #The lower and upper limit of Dem two-way vote share in the 6 elections exa
  for(i in 1:length(twoway)){
    mu[i] <- xi[week_adj[i]] + delta[pollster_num[i]] + theta[univ_num[i]]</pre>
    twoway[i] ~ dnorm(mu[i],prec[i])
 for(t in 2:length(xi)){
    xi[t] ~ dnorm(xi[t-1],tau)
  ## prior for standard deviations
  #omega2 ~ dgamma(1.0/2.0,1.0/2.0) I(0.001, 0.999)
  omega ~ dunif(0, .1)
  tau <- 1/pow(omega,2) "
  if(anchor) {
    mod_string_2 <- "
      ## priors for house effects
      for (i in 1:max(pollster_num)) {
        delta[i] ~ dnorm(delta_mu[i], 1.0/delta_sigma2[i])
      for (i in 1:max(univ num)) {
        theta[i] ~ dnorm(theta_mu[i], 1.0/theta_sigma2[i])
      } "
 } else {
    mod_string_2 <- "</pre>
      ## priors for house effects
      for (i in 1:max(pollster_num)) {
        delta[i] = delta_mu[i]
      }
       for (i in 1:max(univ_num)) {
        theta[i] = theta_mu[i]
      } "
  }
 mod_string <- paste(mod_string_1, mod_string_2)</pre>
 mod <- jags.model(textConnection(mod_string), data = data_jags, n.chains = chains)</pre>
  update(mod, burnin) # burn-in
 mod_sim <- coda.samples(model = mod, variable.names = params, n.iter= iter, thin = thining)</pre>
  return(mod_sim)
calculate_priors <- function(mod_res, year, data_jags) {</pre>
  mod_csim <- as.mcmc(do.call(rbind, mod_res))</pre>
  param_ests <- data.frame(iter_mean = colMeans(mod_csim),</pre>
                            iter_sigma2 = (apply(mod_csim, 2, FUN ="sd"))^2)
```

```
delta_est <- param_ests %>%
    filter(substr(row.names(param_ests),1,1) == 'd') %>%
    mutate(delta_pollster_num = data_jags$delta_pollster_num,
           pollster = data jags$delta pollster) %>%
    full_join(data.frame(pollster = levels(data_jags$pollster)), by = "pollster") %>%
    mutate(delta cycle = year,
           delta_mu = iter_mean,
           delta sigma2 = iter sigma2,
           delta_pollster = pollster) %>%
    select(delta_cycle, delta_pollster, delta_mu, delta_sigma2)
  theta_est <- param_ests %>%
    filter(substr(row.names(param_ests),1,1) == 't') %>%
    mutate(theta_univ_num = data_jags$theta_univ_num,
           univ = data_jags$theta_univ) %>%
    full_join(data.frame(univ = levels(data_jags$univ)), by = "univ") %>%
    mutate(theta_cycle = year,
           theta_mu = iter_mean,
           theta_sigma2 = iter_sigma2,
           theta univ = univ) %>%
    select(theta_cycle, theta_univ, theta_mu, theta_sigma2)
 return(list(deltas_est = delta_est, thetas_est = theta_est))
}
update_priors <- function(deltas_all, thetas_all, deltas_new, thetas_new) {
 x <- rbind(deltas_all, deltas_new)</pre>
  y <- rbind(thetas_all, thetas_new)</pre>
  w <- x %>%
    filter(!is.na(delta_mu)) %>%
    group_by(delta_pollster) %>%
    filter(delta_cycle == max(delta_cycle)) %>%
    ungroup()
  z <- y %>%
    filter(!is.na(theta_mu)) %>%
    group by(theta univ) %>%
    filter(theta_cycle == max(theta_cycle)) %>%
    ungroup()
 return(list(deltas = w, deltas_all = x, thetas = z, thetas_all = y))
convergence_diagnostics <- function(chains = 4,</pre>
                                     thining = 10,
                                     burnin = 10000,
                                     iter = 1000000,
                                     data_jags) {
  xi <- paste0("xi[", sample(seq(1,length(data_jags$xi)), 1), "]")</pre>
  delta <- paste0("delta[", sample(seq(1,length(data_jags$delta_pollster)), 1), "]")</pre>
  theta <- paste0("theta[", sample(seq(1,length(data_jags$theta_univ)), 1), "]")</pre>
  params <- c(xi, delta, theta)</pre>
```

```
mod_res <- run_model(chains = chains,</pre>
                        thining = thining,
                        burnin = burnin,
                        iter = iter,
                        params = params,
                        data_jags = data_jags)
 return(list(gelman = gelman.diag(mod res), autocorr = autocorr.diag(mod res)))
}
extract_time_est <- function(mod_res, year, data_jags) {</pre>
  mod_csim <- as.mcmc(do.call(rbind, mod_res))</pre>
  param_ests <- data.frame(iter_mean = colMeans(mod_csim),</pre>
                            iter_sigma2 = (apply(mod_csim, 2, FUN ="sd"))^2)
  time_est <- param_ests %>%
    filter(substr(row.names(param_ests),1,1) == 'x') %>%
    mutate(time_before_elec = seq((length(data_jags$xi) - 1), 0, -1),
           upper_bound = iter_mean + 1.96*sqrt(iter_sigma2),
           lower_bound = iter_mean - 1.96*sqrt(iter_sigma2),
           cycle = year)
 return(time est)
}
```

Load, prep and explore data

```
pollster_lkup <- read.csv("pollsters.csv")</pre>
res <- read.csv("election_results.csv") %>%
  mutate(twoway_vote = dem_vote/(dem_vote+rep_vote),
         twoway_seat = dem_seats/(dem_seats+rep_seats)) %>%
  arrange(cycle)
polls <- read.csv("training_dat.csv") %>%
  mutate(twoway = dem/(dem+rep)) %>%
  inner_join(res[,c("cycle","date")], by="cycle") %>%
  mutate(week = round(as.numeric((as.Date(as.character(date), format="%m/%d/%y") -
           as.Date(as.character(end_date), format="%m/%d/%y")) +
           (as.Date(as.character(end_date), format="%m/%d/%y") -
           as.Date(as.character(start_date), format="%m/%d/%y"))/2)/7),
         n_size = as.numeric(as.character(n_size)))
## Warning in strptime(x, format, tz = "GMT"): unknown timezone 'zone/tz/
## 2017c.1.0/zoneinfo/Europe/London'
polling_summary <- polls %>%
  group_by(pollster) %>%
  summarise(`Total N-Size` = sum(n_size),
            \# of Polls \# n(),
            `# of Cycles` = length(unique(cycle))) %>%
  arrange(desc(`Total N-Size`)) %>%
```

```
inner_join(pollster_lkup, by = "pollster") %>%
    mutate(pollster_raw = factor(pollster_raw, levels = pollster_raw[order(`Total N-Size`)]))
print(polling_summary) #Flextable
## # A tibble: 41 x 5
##
          pollster `Total N-Size` `# of Polls` `# of Cycles`
##
            <fctr>
                          <dbl>
                                         <int>
                                                       <int>
## 1
                          1140483
                                           318
         rasmussen
## 2
        quinnipiac
                            61471
                                            30
                                                           5
## 3
            gallup
                            56170
                                            35
                                                           5
## 4
         dem corps
                            40457
                                            42
                                                           5
## 5
                                            43
                                                           5
          fox_news
                            40139
## 6
               pew
                            29423
                                            20
                                                           5
## 7 reuters_ipsos
                                            26
                                                           3
                            28448
## 8
                            28410
                                            32
                                                           4
## 9
                            26294
                                            33
                                                           6
            cnn_orc
                                            23
                                                           4
## 10
                            21483
           nbc_wsj
## # ... with 31 more rows, and 1 more variables: pollster_raw <fctr>
```

Estimate bias for pollsters and universes

```
deltas <- data.frame(delta_cycle = 0,</pre>
                      delta_pollster = unique(polls$pollster),
                      delta_mu = rep(0, length(unique(polls$pollster))),
                      delta_sigma2 = rep(0.2, length(unique(polls$pollster))))
deltas_all <- deltas
thetas <- data.frame(theta_cycle = 0,</pre>
                      theta_univ = unique(polls$univ),
                      theta mu = rep(0, length(unique(polls$univ))),
                      theta_sigma2 = rep(0.2, length(unique(polls$univ))))
thetas_all <- thetas
convergence <- list()</pre>
#Estimation
for(cycle in res$cycle) {
  data_jags <- data_prep(data = polls, res = res, year = cycle)</pre>
  data_jags <- bias_priors(data_jags = data_jags, deltas = deltas, thetas = thetas)</pre>
  convergence[[paste(cycle)]] <- convergence_diagnostics(data_jags = data_jags)</pre>
  mod_res <- run_model(data_jags = data_jags)</pre>
  prior_ests <- calculate_priors(mod_res = mod_res, year = cycle, data_jags = data_jags)</pre>
  new_priors <- update_priors(deltas_all = deltas_all, thetas_all = thetas_all,</pre>
                                deltas_new = prior_ests$deltas_est, thetas_new = prior_ests$thetas_est)
  deltas <- new_priors$deltas</pre>
  deltas_all <- new_priors$deltas_all
 thetas <- new_priors$thetas
  thetas_all <- new_priors$thetas_all
```

```
deltas <- deltas %>%
   arrange(delta_mu) %>%
    inner_join(pollster_lkup, by = c("delta_pollster" = "pollster")) %>%
    mutate(pollster_raw = factor(pollster_raw, levels = pollster_raw[order(delta_mu)]))
deltas all <- deltas all %>%
   inner_join(pollster_lkup, by = c("delta_pollster" = "pollster"))
thetas <- thetas %>%
    arrange(theta_mu) %>%
   mutate(theta_univ = factor(theta_univ, levels = theta_univ[order(theta_mu)]))
## Sample convergance diagnostics for 2006 parameters:
## Potential scale reduction factors:
##
##
             Point est. Upper C.I.
## delta[10]
                      1
## theta[3]
                      1
                                 1
## xi[9]
                      1
                                 1
## Multivariate psrf
##
## 1
##
              delta[10]
                           theta[3]
                                            xi[9]
           1.000000000 1.00000000 1.000000000
## Lag 0
## Lag 10 0.2445259265 0.569077062 0.4630583553
## Lag 50 0.0627509373 0.157272682 0.0879823359
## Lag 100 0.0122757308 0.028920535 0.0211248974
## Lag 500 0.0008124322 0.001746556 -0.0007014931
## Sample convergance diagnostics for 2008 parameters:
## Potential scale reduction factors:
##
##
            Point est. Upper C.I.
## delta[2]
                     1
                                1
## theta[2]
                     1
                                1
## xi[16]
##
## Multivariate psrf
##
## 1
##
                delta[2]
                            theta[2]
                                         xi[16]
           1.000000000 1.00000000 1.00000000
## Lag 0
## Lag 10
            0.0569999100 0.302573395 0.69595473
           0.0009719112 0.032511979 0.41597106
## Lag 50
## Lag 100 0.0018236070 0.019730419 0.25180491
## Lag 500 -0.0014534723 0.002196649 0.03101867
## Sample convergance diagnostics for 2010 parameters:
## Potential scale reduction factors:
##
             Point est. Upper C.I.
##
## delta[10]
                      1
                                 1
```

```
## theta[3]
                 1
## xi[96]
##
## Multivariate psrf
## 1
            delta[10]
                       theta[3]
          1.000000000 1.00000000 1.00000000
## Lag 0
## Lag 10 0.053331836 0.25897587 0.30702748
## Lag 50 0.004296288 0.13330088 0.14372717
## Lag 100 0.001192921 0.12604516 0.10560381
## Lag 500 0.002873576 0.07626071 0.04679898
## Sample convergance diagnostics for 2012 parameters:
## Potential scale reduction factors:
##
##
            Point est. Upper C.I.
## delta[15]
               1.00
## theta[3]
                 1.00
                             1.00
                  1.01
## xi[45]
                             1.02
##
## Multivariate psrf
##
## 1.01
##
            delta[15] theta[3]
                                    xi[45]
## Lag 0 1.000000000 1.00000000 1.0000000
## Lag 10 0.018601569 0.05958484 0.8977321
## Lag 50 0.015362948 0.05666102 0.7840805
## Lag 100 0.013454749 0.05099776 0.7094229
## Lag 500 0.005899275 0.03552638 0.4602087
## Sample convergance diagnostics for 2014 parameters:
## Potential scale reduction factors:
##
           Point est. Upper C.I.
## delta[9]
               1 1.00
## theta[2]
                    1
                           1.00
## xi[86]
                    1
                           1.01
##
## Multivariate psrf
## 1
             delta[9] theta[2]
## Lag 0 1.000000000 1.0000000 1.0000000
## Lag 10 0.008939093 0.2069485 0.8570945
## Lag 50 0.005381014 0.2001767 0.6993678
## Lag 100 0.006466919 0.1900636 0.6004499
## Lag 500 0.001111191 0.1458464 0.3427827
## Sample convergance diagnostics for 2016 parameters:
## Potential scale reduction factors:
##
##
            Point est. Upper C.I.
## delta[10]
                1
```

```
## theta[2]
## xi[39]
##
## Multivariate psrf
##
## 1
             delta[10]
                           theta[2]
##
                                         xi[39]
## Lag 0
           1.000000000 1.000000e+00 1.000000000
## Lag 10
           0.025349452 1.403155e-02 0.302718486
## Lag 50
          0.012241025 9.025631e-03 0.096738011
## Lag 100 0.009137053 5.700552e-03 0.052714166
  Lag 500 0.002130057 9.788608e-06 0.008417222
## Final estimates of pollster bias:
   # A tibble: 41 x 5
##
      delta_cycle
                     delta_pollster
                                         delta_mu delta_sigma2
##
            <dbl>
                                            <dbl>
                                                         <dbl>
                             <fctr>
##
   1
             2010
                          gallup lt -0.054082492 0.0033069401
   2
##
             2012 resurgen_republic -0.029966231 0.0053551393
##
    3
             2010
                          gallup_ht -0.027434046 0.0033364616
##
   4
             2010
                         mclaughlin -0.015596968 0.0082250323
   5
             2012
                   usa_today_gallup -0.014865011 0.0014064116
##
                           fox_news -0.010851414 0.0005337405
##
   6
             2016
   7
##
             2008
                      lat_bloomberg -0.010752850 0.0071090674
##
   8
             2016
                             ap gfk -0.009505441 0.0029422690
                      reuters_ipsos -0.008207589 0.0007298973
##
   9
             2016
             2016
                            cnn_orc -0.008200193 0.0007600370
##
  10
   # ... with 31 more rows, and 1 more variables: pollster_raw <fctr>
  Estimate for each pollster and cycle:
##
       delta_cycle
                              delta_pollster
                                                   delta_mu delta_sigma2
## 1
                 0
                                    rasmussen
                                               0.000000000 0.200000000
  2
##
                 0
                                               0.000000000 0.200000000
                                      cnn_orc
## 3
                 0
                                     hotline
                                               0.000000000 0.200000000
##
  4
                 0
                                               0.000000000 0.200000000
                            usa_today_gallup
## 5
                 0
                                      cbs nyt
                                               0.000000000 0.200000000
## 6
                 0
                                   quinnipiac
                                               0.000000000 0.200000000
## 7
                 0
                                               0.000000000 0.200000000
                                         time
## 8
                 0
                                               0.000000000 0.2000000000
                                    newsweek
## 9
                 0
                                               0.000000000 0.200000000
                                         cook
                 0
## 10
                                    fox news
                                               0.000000000 0.200000000
## 11
                 0
                                               0.000000000 0.200000000
                                    abc wapo
## 12
                 0
                                       gallup
                                               0.000000000 0.200000000
                 0
## 13
                                               0.000000000 0.200000000
                 0
## 14
                                               0.000000000 0.200000000
                                     nbc_wsj
## 15
                 0
                                               0.000000000 0.2000000000
                                     ap_ipsos
## 16
                 0
                               lat_bloomberg
                                               0.000000000 0.200000000
                 0
## 17
                                        zogby
                                               0.000000000 0.200000000
                                               0.000000000 0.2000000000
## 18
                 0
                                battleground
## 19
                 0
                                   dem_corps
                                               0.000000000 0.2000000000
## 20
                 0
                                       harris
                                              0.000000000 0.200000000
                 0
## 21
                                       ap_gfk
                                              0.000000000 0.200000000
                            gwu_battleground 0.0000000000 0.2000000000
## 22
                 0
## 23
                                       diageo 0.000000000 0.2000000000
```

```
## 24
                  0
                                                0.000000000 0.200000000
                                           ppp
##
   25
                  0
                                                0.000000000 0.2000000000
                                    mclaughlin
                                                 0.000000000 0.200000000
##
  26
                  0
  27
                  0
##
                                                0.000000000 0.200000000
                                           pos
                              ipsos_mcclatchy
##
  28
                  0
                                                0.000000000 0.2000000000
  29
                  0
                                                0.000000000 0.200000000
##
                                   nat journal
  30
                  0
                                                0.000000000 0.200000000
##
                                     bloomberg
## 31
                  0
                                                 0.000000000 0.2000000000
                                 reuters_ipsos
##
   32
                  0
                    politico_gwu_battleground
                                                 0.000000000 0.200000000
  33
                  0
##
                             mcclatchy_marist
                                                 0.000000000 0.2000000000
##
   34
                  0
                                     gallup_ht
                                                 0.000000000 0.2000000000
                  0
   35
                                     gallup_lt
                                                 0.000000000 0.2000000000
##
                  0
##
   36
                            resurgen_republic
                                                0.000000000 0.200000000
  37
                  0
                                                0.000000000 0.200000000
##
                                        reason
##
  38
                  0
                                                 0.000000000 0.2000000000
                                 usa_today_pew
##
  39
                  0
                              usa_today_psrai
                                                 0.000000000 0.200000000
                  0
                                                 0.000000000 0.200000000
##
   40
                             economist_yougov
##
  41
                  0
                                                 0.000000000 0.200000000
                                       winston
                                      abc_wapo -0.0053994410 0.0239024667
##
  42
              2006
##
  43
              2006
                                      ap ipsos
                                                0.0157478299 0.0139653485
##
   44
              2006
                                 battleground -0.0195792257 0.0232985900
##
  45
                                                0.0341061905 0.0142404046
              2006
                                       cbs nyt
  46
              2006
                                                0.0072736423 0.0118917629
##
                                       cnn_orc
                                                0.0258310256 0.0132160408
##
   47
              2006
##
   48
              2006
                                     dem corps -0.0120761702 0.0231696393
##
   49
              2006
                                      fox news -0.0041738126 0.0118916536
##
   50
              2006
                                                0.0089264045 0.0250058697
                                        gallup
   51
##
              2006
                                        harris
                                                0.0149196423 0.0240908692
##
  52
                                       hotline -0.0012145421 0.0164731363
              2006
##
  53
              2006
                                 lat_bloomberg
                                                0.0014248029 0.0228454260
## 54
              2006
                                       nbc_wsj
                                                 0.0081717774 0.0150138488
##
   55
              2006
                                      newsweek
                                                0.0140308274 0.0127210159
##
  56
              2006
                                                 0.0071535934 0.0131662398
                                           pew
##
  57
              2006
                                                0.0003994740 0.0240879221
                                    quinnipiac
##
   58
              2006
                                               -0.0093437028 0.0237809039
                                     rasmussen
##
  59
                                                0.0151492203 0.0146195819
              2006
                                          time
##
  60
              2006
                             usa today gallup -0.0189353254 0.0123708358
##
  61
              2006
                                         zogby -0.0034666847 0.0166064144
##
   62
              2006
                                                           NA
                                                                         NA
                                        ap_gfk
  63
                                                                         NA
##
              2006
                                     bloomberg
                                                           NA
   64
                                                                         NA
##
              2006
                                        diageo
                                                           NA
##
   65
              2006
                             economist_yougov
                                                           NA
                                                                         NA
##
   66
              2006
                                     gallup_ht
                                                           NA
                                                                         NA
##
   67
              2006
                                     gallup_lt
                                                                         NA
                                                           NA
   68
##
              2006
                             gwu_battleground
                                                           NA
                                                                         NA
  69
              2006
                               ipsos_mcclatchy
##
                                                           NA
                                                                         NA
##
   70
              2006
                             mcclatchy_marist
                                                           NA
                                                                         NA
  71
##
              2006
                                    mclaughlin
                                                           NA
                                                                         NA
##
  72
              2006
                                   nat_journal
                                                           NΑ
                                                                         NA
  73
##
              2006
                                                           NA
                                                                         NA
                                           npr
##
  74
                                                                         NA
              2006
                    politico_gwu_battleground
                                                           NA
## 75
              2006
                                           pos
                                                           NA
                                                                         NA
## 76
              2006
                                                           NA
                                                                         NA
                                           ppp
## 77
              2006
                                                           NA
                                                                         NA
                                        reason
```

##	70	2006	rogurgon ropublic	NA	NA
	79	2006	resurgen_republic reuters_ipsos	NA NA	NA NA
##		2006	usa_today_pew	NA NA	NA NA
##		2006	usa_today_psrai	NA NA	NA NA
##		2006	winston	NA NA	NA NA
##		2008		0.0044130048	
##		2008	abc_wapo		
##		2008		-0.0051361319	
##		2008	ap_ipsos	0.0268302166	
##		2008	_	-0.0114143198	
##		2008	cbs_nyt	0.0311224816	
				-0.0074962937	
##		2008	-	-0.0134178122	
##	90	2008		-0.0311831700	
##	91	2008	-	-0.0120599291	
##	92	2008	gallup		
##		2008	gwu_battleground		
##	94	2008	_	-0.0107528499	
##		2008	nbc_wsj	0.0109198885	
##		2008		-0.0002788923	
##		2008	pew	0.0145290079	
##		2008	rasmussen	0.0021947209	
##		2008	time	0.0083117719	
	100	2008	usa_today_gallup	-0.0263898294	0.0047360558
##	101	2008	bloomberg	NA	NA
##	102	2008	cook	NA	NA
##	103	2008	economist_yougov	NA	NA
##	104	2008	gallup_ht	NA	NA
##	105	2008	gallup_lt	NA	NA
##	106	2008	harris	NA	NA
##	107	2008	hotline	NA	NA
##	108	2008	ipsos_mcclatchy	NA	NA
##	109	2008	${ t mcclatchy_marist}$	NA	NA
##	110	2008	mclaughlin	NA	NA
##	111	2008	nat_journal	NA	NA
##	112	2008	npr	NA	NA
##	113	2008	politico_gwu_battleground	NA	NA
##	114	2008	pos	NA	NA
##	115	2008	ppp	NA	NA
##	116	2008	quinnipiac	NA	NA
##	117	2008	reason	NA	NA
##	118	2008	resurgen_republic	NA	NA
##	119	2008	reuters_ipsos	NA	NA
##	120	2008	usa_today_pew	NA	NA
##	121	2008	usa_today_psrai	NA	NA
##	122	2008	winston	NA	NA
##	123	2008	zogby	NA	NA
##	124	2010	abc_wapo	0.0124346838	0.0043016165
	125	2010	_ -	-0.0085618200	
	126	2010	1 -0	-0.0054568977	
	127	2010	bloomberg	0.0109500905	
	128	2010		-0.0091622237	
	129	2010	dem_corps	0.0064721475	
	130	2010	diageo	0.0294797325	
	131	2010		-0.0231178084	

```
## 132
              2010
                                        gallup -0.0078837727 0.0009305075
                                     gallup_ht -0.0274340455 0.0033364616
## 133
              2010
## 134
              2010
                                     gallup lt -0.0540824916 0.0033069401
              2010
## 135
                             gwu_battleground -0.0032803839 0.0031958126
## 136
              2010
                              ipsos mcclatchy 0.0080732292 0.0033219658
              2010
                             mcclatchy marist -0.0035492308 0.0104151779
## 137
## 138
                                   mclaughlin -0.0155969684 0.0082250323
              2010
              2010
## 139
                                  nat journal 0.0128119828 0.0080327680
## 140
              2010
                                      newsweek
                                                0.0144427624 0.0029023532
              2010
                                               -0.0065881705 0.0063093903
## 141
                                           npr
## 142
              2010
                                                0.0022630465 0.0013736440
                                           pew
              2010
## 143
                                                0.0128032840 0.0056631215
                    politico_gwu_battleground
                                           pos
## 144
              2010
                                                0.0039021324 0.0060137553
                                               -0.0042676595 0.0020841491
## 145
              2010
                                           ppp
## 146
              2010
                                                0.0055335189 0.0019791175
                                    quinnipiac
## 147
              2010
                                     rasmussen
                                               -0.0151444796 0.0006491263
## 148
              2010
                                                0.0025436536 0.0038342971
                                reuters_ipsos
## 149
              2010
                                                0.0005469444 0.0043049413
                                          time
## 150
              2010
                             usa_today_gallup -0.0144989275 0.0023623476
## 151
              2010
                                       winston
                                                0.0278174054 0.0154498295
## 152
              2010
                                      ap_ipsos
                                                           NA
                                                                         NΔ
## 153
              2010
                                                           NA
                                                                         NA
                                       cbs_nyt
## 154
              2010
                                                           NA
                                                                         NA
                                          cook
## 155
              2010
                             economist_yougov
                                                           NA
                                                                         NA
## 156
                                                                         NA
              2010
                                        harris
                                                           NA
## 157
              2010
                                      hotline
                                                           NA
                                                                         NA
## 158
              2010
                                                           NA
                                                                         NA
                                lat_bloomberg
## 159
              2010
                                      nbc_wsj
                                                           NA
                                                                         NA
## 160
              2010
                                                                         NA
                                        reason
                                                           NA
## 161
              2010
                                                           NA
                                                                         NA
                            resurgen_republic
## 162
              2010
                                usa_today_pew
                                                           NA
                                                                         NA
## 163
              2010
                              usa_today_psrai
                                                           NA
                                                                         NA
## 164
              2010
                                                           NA
                                                                         NA
                                         zogby
## 165
              2012
                                     bloomberg
                                                0.0016464683 0.0023985781
## 166
              2012
                                                0.0242119386 0.0030318131
                                       cbs nyt
## 167
              2012
                                       cnn_orc -0.0095416208 0.0011300741
## 168
              2012
                                     dem corps 0.0003992991 0.0006230319
## 169
              2012
                                        gallup -0.0082331361 0.0008544447
## 170
              2012
                             mcclatchy_marist -0.0036622698 0.0065453589
              2012
## 171
                                      newsweek 0.0131862053 0.0025506902
## 172
              2012
                                           npr -0.0100907762 0.0036390975
## 173
              2012
                                           pew -0.0018327673 0.0011508790
## 174
              2012
                   politico_gwu_battleground -0.0015086156 0.0011175978
              2012
                                           ppp -0.0021782571 0.0013300846
## 175
## 176
              2012
                                    quinnipiac -0.0056641712 0.0009330094
## 177
              2012
                                     rasmussen -0.0102182180 0.0002875544
## 178
              2012
                            resurgen_republic -0.0299662309 0.0053551393
## 179
                                reuters_ipsos -0.0164479243 0.0012379731
              2012
## 180
              2012
                             usa_today_gallup -0.0148650114 0.0014064116
              2012
## 181
                                      abc_wapo
                                                           NA
                                                                         NA
## 182
              2012
                                                           NA
                                                                         NA
                                        ap_gfk
## 183
              2012
                                      ap_ipsos
                                                           NA
                                                                         NA
## 184
              2012
                                 battleground
                                                           NA
                                                                        NA
## 185
              2012
                                          cook
                                                           NA
                                                                         NA
```

##	186	2012	diageo	NA	NA
	187	2012	economist_yougov	NA NA	NA NA
	188	2012	fox_news	NA	NA NA
	189	2012	gallup_ht	NA	NA
	190	2012	gallup_lt	NA	NA
	191	2012	gwu_battleground	NA	NA
	192	2012	harris	NA	NA
	193	2012	hotline	NA	NA
	194	2012	ipsos_mcclatchy	NA	NA
##	195	2012	lat_bloomberg	NA	NA
##	196	2012	mclaughlin	NA	NA
##	197	2012	nat_journal	NA	NA
##	198	2012	nbc_wsj	NA	NA
##	199	2012	pos	NA	NA
##	200	2012	reason	NA	NA
##	201	2012	time	NA	NA
##	202	2012	usa_today_pew	NA	NA
##	203	2012	usa_today_psrai	NA	NA
##	204	2012	winston	NA	NA
##	205	2012	zogby	NA	NA
##	206	2014	abc_wapo	0.0009864316	0.0025420721
##	207	2014	ap_gfk	-0.0163212617	0.0036690904
##	208	2014	bloomberg	0.0018122605	0.0021179765
##	209	2014	cbs_nyt	0.0092036278	0.0021380167
##	210	2014	cnn_orc	-0.0080201703	0.0008285321
	211	2014	dem_corps	0.0011214884	0.0005498969
	212	2014	_	-0.0133030756	
##	213	2014	0 1	-0.0079988321	
	214	2014	<pre>gwu_battleground</pre>		
	215	2014	3 –		
	216	2014	nbc_wsj	0.0107482927	
	217	2014	=	-0.0074355441	
	218	2014	pew	0.0008513936	
	219		politico_gwu_battleground		
	220	2014	ppp 	0.0004561586	
	221	2014		-0.0026901852	
	222	2014	rasmussen	0.0053570520	
	223	2014		-0.0049608450	
	224	2014		0.0019524637	
	225	2014	- ·	0.0181515030	
	226 227	2014		NA NA	NA NA
	228	2014	9		NA NA
	229	2014 2014		NA NA	NA NA
	230	2014	9	NA NA	NA NA
	231	2014	- \$	NA NA	NA NA
	232	2014	0 1-	NA NA	NA NA
	233	2014	-	NA NA	NA NA
	234	2014		NA NA	NA NA
	235	2014		NA NA	NA NA
	236	2014		NA NA	NA NA
	237	2014		NA NA	NA NA
	238	2014	9	NA NA	NA NA
	239	2014	_5	NA NA	NA NA
πĦ	200	2014	пемамеек	IVA	IVA

```
## 240
               2014
                                                             NA
                                                                           NA
                                            pos
## 241
               2014
                             resurgen_republic
                                                             NΑ
                                                                           NΑ
## 242
               2014
                                 reuters ipsos
                                                             NA
                                                                           NA
## 243
               2014
                                           time
                                                             NA
                                                                           NA
## 244
               2014
                              usa_today_gallup
                                                             NA
                                                                           NA
## 245
               2014
                                        winston
                                                             NA
                                                                           NA
## 246
               2014
                                          zogby
                                                             NA
## 247
               2016
                                       abc wapo -0.0016096123 0.0017909152
                                         ap_gfk -0.0095054409 0.0029422690
## 248
               2016
## 249
               2016
                                      bloomberg -0.0002446860 0.0015497203
  250
               2016
                                        cbs_nyt
                                                  0.0082604509 0.0016469999
## 251
               2016
                                        cnn_orc -0.0082001931 0.0007600370
  252
##
               2016
                              economist_yougov
                                                  0.0115274430 0.0016133524
## 253
               2016
                                       fox_news -0.0108514135 0.0005337405
                              gwu_battleground
## 254
               2016
                                                  0.0001052708 0.0013565419
## 255
               2016
                              mcclatchy_marist
                                                  0.0006751487 0.0016442953
## 256
               2016
                                                  0.0035759539 0.0010757658
                                        nbc_wsj
## 257
               2016
                                                  0.0002363241 0.0006755544
                                            ppp
## 258
               2016
                                     quinnipiac -0.0037205807 0.0005153677
## 259
                                                  0.0050592227 0.0001765328
               2016
                                      rasmussen
                                 reuters_ipsos -0.0082075893 0.0007298973
##
  260
               2016
## 261
               2016
                                                             NA
                                       ap_ipsos
## 262
               2016
                                  battleground
                                                             NA
                                                                           NA
## 263
               2016
                                                             NA
                                                                           NA
                                           cook
## 264
               2016
                                                             NΑ
                                                                           NΑ
                                      dem_corps
  265
               2016
                                         diageo
                                                             NA
                                                                           NA
##
  266
               2016
                                         gallup
                                                             NA
                                                                           NA
   267
               2016
                                      gallup_ht
                                                             NA
                                                                           NA
## 268
                                                                           NA
               2016
                                      gallup_lt
                                                             NA
## 269
               2016
                                         harris
                                                             NA
                                                                           NA
## 270
               2016
                                        hotline
                                                             NA
                                                                           NA
## 271
               2016
                               ipsos_mcclatchy
                                                             NA
                                                                           NA
## 272
               2016
                                 lat_bloomberg
                                                             NA
                                                                           NA
## 273
               2016
                                    mclaughlin
                                                             NA
                                                                           NA
## 274
               2016
                                   nat_journal
                                                             NA
                                                                           NA
## 275
               2016
                                       newsweek
                                                             NA
                                                                           NA
## 276
               2016
                                            npr
                                                            NA
                                                                           NA
## 277
               2016
                                                            NA
                                                                           NΑ
                                            pew
## 278
               2016
                    politico_gwu_battleground
                                                             NA
                                                                           NA
               2016
## 279
                                                                           NA
                                                             NA
                                            pos
## 280
               2016
                                                             NA
                                                                           NA
                                         reason
## 281
               2016
                             resurgen_republic
                                                             NΑ
                                                                           NΑ
   282
               2016
                                                                           NA
                                           time
                                                             NA
##
  283
               2016
                              usa_today_gallup
                                                                           NA
                                                             NA
## 284
               2016
                                                             NA
                                                                           NA
                                  usa_today_pew
               2016
## 285
                                                                           NA
                               usa_today_psrai
                                                             NA
  286
               2016
                                        winston
                                                             NA
                                                                           NA
##
  287
               2016
                                                                           NA
                                          zogby
                                                             NA
##
                     pollster_raw
##
   1
                         Rasmussen
##
  2
                           CNN/ORC
## 3
                       Hotline/FD
## 4
                 USA Today/Gallup
## 5
                           CBS/NYT
```

## 6	Quinnipiac
## 7	Time
## 8	Newsweek
## 9	Cook/RT Strategies
## 10	Fox News
## 11	ABC/WaPo
## 12	Gallup
## 13	Pew
## 14	NBC/WSJ
## 15	AP/Ipsos
## 16	LAT/Bloomberg
## 17	Zogby
## 18	Battleground
## 19	Democracy Corps (D)
## 20	Harris
## 21	AP/GFK
## 22	GWU/Battleground
## 23	Diageo/Hotline
## 24	PPP (D)
## 25	McLaughlin (R)
## 26	NPR
## 27	POS (R)
## 28	Ipsos/McClatchy
## 29	National Journal/FD
## 30	Bloomberg
## 31	Reuters/Ipsos
## 32	Politico/GWU/Battleground
## 33	McClatchy/Marist
## 34	Gallup High-Turnout
## 35	Gallup Low-Turnout
## 36	Resurgent Republic (R)
## 37	Reason
## 38	USA Today/Pew
## 39	USA Today/PSRAI
## 40	Economist/YouGov
## 41	Winston (R)
## 42	ABC/WaPo
## 43	AP/Ipsos
## 44	Battleground
## 45	CBS/NYT
## 46	CNN/ORC
## 47	Cook/RT Strategies
## 48	Democracy Corps (D)
## 49	Fox News
## 50	Gallup
## 51	Harris
## 52	Hotline/FD
## 53	LAT/Bloomberg
## 54	NBC/WSJ
## 55	Newsweek
## 56	Pew
## 57	Quinnipiac
## 58	Rasmussen
## 59	Time

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## 60
                 USA Today/Gallup
##
  61
                            Zogby
                           AP/GFK
## 62
## 63
                        Bloomberg
##
   64
                   Diageo/Hotline
##
  65
                 Economist/YouGov
##
  66
             Gallup High-Turnout
## 67
               Gallup Low-Turnout
##
   68
                 GWU/Battleground
                  Ipsos/McClatchy
##
  69
##
   70
                 McClatchy/Marist
  71
##
                  McLaughlin (R)
   72
             National Journal/FD
##
## 73
                              NPR
##
  74
       Politico/GWU/Battleground
                         POS (R)
## 75
##
  76
                          PPP (D)
## 77
                           Reason
## 78
          Resurgent Republic (R)
## 79
                    Reuters/Ipsos
## 80
                    USA Today/Pew
## 81
                  USA Today/PSRAI
## 82
                     Winston (R)
##
  83
                         ABC/WaPo
## 84
                           AP/GFK
  85
                         AP/Ipsos
## 86
                     Battleground
##
   87
                          CBS/NYT
                          CNN/ORC
## 88
## 89
             Democracy Corps (D)
## 90
                   Diageo/Hotline
##
  91
                         Fox News
## 92
                           Gallup
## 93
                 GWU/Battleground
##
  94
                    LAT/Bloomberg
                          NBC/WSJ
##
  95
## 96
                         Newsweek
## 97
                              Pew
## 98
                        Rasmussen
## 99
                             Time
## 100
                 USA Today/Gallup
## 101
                        Bloomberg
## 102
               Cook/RT Strategies
## 103
                 Economist/YouGov
## 104
             Gallup High-Turnout
## 105
               Gallup Low-Turnout
## 106
                           Harris
## 107
                       Hotline/FD
## 108
                  Ipsos/McClatchy
## 109
                 McClatchy/Marist
## 110
                  McLaughlin (R)
## 111
             National Journal/FD
## 112
                              NPR
## 113 Politico/GWU/Battleground
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##	114	POS (R)
##	115	PPP (D)
##	116	Quinnipiac
##	117	Reason
##	118	Resurgent Republic (R)
##	119	Reuters/Ipsos
##	120	USA Today/Pew
##	121	USA Today/PSRAI
##	122	Winston (R)
##	123	Zogby
##	124	ABC/WaPo
##	125	AP/GFK
##	126	Battleground
##	127	Bloomberg
##	128	CNN/ORC
##	129	Democracy Corps (D)
##	130	Diageo/Hotline
##	131	Fox News
##	132	Gallup
##	133	Gallup High-Turnout
##	134	Gallup Low-Turnout
##	135	GWU/Battleground
##	136	Ipsos/McClatchy
##	137	McClatchy/Marist
##	138	McLaughlin (R)
##	139	National Journal/FD
##	140	Newsweek
##	141	NPR
##	142	Pew
##	143	Politico/GWU/Battleground
##	144	POS (R)
##	145	PPP (D)
##	146	Quinnipiac
##	147	Rasmussen
##	148	Reuters/Ipsos
##	149	Time
##	150	USA Today/Gallup
##	151	Winston (R)
##	152	AP/Ipsos
##	153	CBS/NYT
##	154	Cook/RT Strategies
##	155	Economist/YouGov
##	156	Harris
##	157	Hotline/FD
##	158	LAT/Bloomberg
##	159	NBC/WSJ
##	160	Reason
##	161	Resurgent Republic (R)
##	162	USA Today/Pew
##	163	USA Today/PSRAI
##	164	
##	165	Zogby Bloomberg
##	166	CBS/NYT
##	167	CNN/ORC

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## 168
             Democracy Corps (D)
## 169
                           Gallup
## 170
                McClatchy/Marist
## 171
                         Newsweek
## 172
                              NPR
                              Pew
## 173
## 174 Politico/GWU/Battleground
                          PPP (D)
## 175
## 176
                       Quinnipiac
## 177
                        Rasmussen
## 178
          Resurgent Republic (R)
## 179
                    Reuters/Ipsos
## 180
                 USA Today/Gallup
## 181
                         ABC/WaPo
## 182
                           AP/GFK
## 183
                         AP/Ipsos
## 184
                     Battleground
## 185
              Cook/RT Strategies
## 186
                   Diageo/Hotline
## 187
                 Economist/YouGov
## 188
                         Fox News
## 189
             Gallup High-Turnout
## 190
              Gallup Low-Turnout
## 191
                 GWU/Battleground
## 192
                           Harris
## 193
                       Hotline/FD
## 194
                  Ipsos/McClatchy
## 195
                    LAT/Bloomberg
## 196
                  McLaughlin (R)
## 197
             National Journal/FD
## 198
                          NBC/WSJ
## 199
                         POS (R)
## 200
                           Reason
## 201
                             Time
## 202
                    USA Today/Pew
## 203
                 USA Today/PSRAI
## 204
                     Winston (R)
## 205
                            Zogby
## 206
                         ABC/WaPo
## 207
                           AP/GFK
## 208
                        Bloomberg
## 209
                          CBS/NYT
## 210
                          CNN/ORC
## 211
             Democracy Corps (D)
## 212
                         Fox News
## 213
                           Gallup
## 214
                 GWU/Battleground
## 215
                McClatchy/Marist
## 216
                          NBC/WSJ
## 217
                              NPR
## 218
                              Pew
## 219 Politico/GWU/Battleground
## 220
                          PPP (D)
## 221
                       Quinnipiac
```

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## 222
                        Rasmussen
## 223
                           Reason
## 224
                    USA Today/Pew
## 225
                 USA Today/PSRAI
## 226
                         AP/Ipsos
## 227
                     Battleground
## 228
              Cook/RT Strategies
## 229
                   Diageo/Hotline
## 230
                 Economist/YouGov
## 231
             Gallup High-Turnout
## 232
              Gallup Low-Turnout
## 233
                           Harris
## 234
                       Hotline/FD
## 235
                  Ipsos/McClatchy
## 236
                    LAT/Bloomberg
## 237
                  McLaughlin (R)
## 238
             National Journal/FD
## 239
                         Newsweek
## 240
                         POS (R)
## 241
          Resurgent Republic (R)
## 242
                    Reuters/Ipsos
## 243
## 244
                 USA Today/Gallup
## 245
                     Winston (R)
## 246
                            Zogby
## 247
                         ABC/WaPo
## 248
                           AP/GFK
## 249
                        Bloomberg
## 250
                          CBS/NYT
## 251
                          CNN/ORC
## 252
                 Economist/YouGov
## 253
                         Fox News
## 254
                 GWU/Battleground
## 255
                 McClatchy/Marist
## 256
                          NBC/WSJ
## 257
                          PPP (D)
## 258
                       Quinnipiac
## 259
                        Rasmussen
## 260
                    Reuters/Ipsos
## 261
                         AP/Ipsos
## 262
                     Battleground
## 263
              Cook/RT Strategies
##
  264
             Democracy Corps (D)
## 265
                   Diageo/Hotline
## 266
                           Gallup
## 267
             Gallup High-Turnout
## 268
              Gallup Low-Turnout
## 269
                           Harris
## 270
                       Hotline/FD
## 271
                  Ipsos/McClatchy
## 272
                    LAT/Bloomberg
## 273
                  McLaughlin (R)
             National Journal/FD
## 274
## 275
                         Newsweek
```

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## 276
                              NPR
## 277
                              Pew
## 278 Politico/GWU/Battleground
## 279
                         POS (R)
## 280
                           Reason
## 281
          Resurgent Republic (R)
## 282
                             Time
## 283
                USA Today/Gallup
## 284
                   USA Today/Pew
                 USA Today/PSRAI
## 285
## 286
                     Winston (R)
## 287
                            Zogby
## Final estimates of sampling universe bias:
## # A tibble: 3 x 4
##
     theta_cycle theta_univ
                               theta_mu theta_sigma2
##
                      <fctr>
                                                <dbl>
           <dbl>
                                  <dbl>
## 1
            2016
                          LV 0.01596482 0.0001329264
## 2
            2016
                          RV 0.02338311 0.0002178063
## 3
            2016
                      Adults 0.04763284 0.0018096272
## Estimate for each universe and cycle:
##
      theta_cycle theta_univ
                                  theta_mu theta_sigma2
## 1
                           LV 0.0000000000 0.2000000000
                0
## 2
                0
                      Adults 0.000000000 0.2000000000
## 3
                0
                           RV 0.000000000 0.2000000000
## 4
             2006
                      Adults 0.0210996520 0.0110815541
## 5
             2006
                           LV 0.0334382849 0.0101673765
## 6
             2006
                           RV 0.0251190100 0.0118993805
## 7
             2008
                      Adults 0.0254188895 0.0086206882
## 8
             2008
                           LV 0.0106802193 0.0020426944
## 9
             2008
                           RV 0.0159184790 0.0024556905
## 10
             2010
                      Adults 0.0475875842 0.0030126012
             2010
                           LV 0.0029033028 0.0005617518
## 11
## 12
             2010
                           RV 0.0299013340 0.0007108394
## 13
             2012
                      Adults 0.0462627603 0.0025626236
## 14
             2012
                           LV 0.0006183682 0.0002668847
## 15
             2012
                           RV 0.0193759507 0.0004051631
## 16
             2014
                      Adults 0.0462067290 0.0025242212
## 17
             2014
                           LV 0.0144001889 0.0001655448
## 18
             2014
                           RV 0.0244048312 0.0002675046
## 19
             2016
                      Adults 0.0476328388 0.0018096272
                           LV 0.0159648153 0.0001329264
## 20
             2016
                           RV 0.0233831102 0.0002178063
## 21
             2016
#Estimate week-by-week movement using past pollster and universe bias
all_cycle_est <- data.frame(iter_mean = numeric(0),</pre>
                             iter_sigma2 = numeric(0),
                             time_before_elec = numeric(0),
                             upper_bound = numeric(0),
                             lower_bound = numeric(0),
                             cycle = numeric(0))
for(cycle in res$cycle) {
```

```
data_jags <- data_prep(data = polls, res = res, year = cycle, anchor = F)</pre>
  data_jags <- bias_priors(data_jags = data_jags, deltas = deltas, thetas = thetas)</pre>
 mod_res <- run_model(data_jags = data_jags, params = c("xi"), anchor = F)</pre>
  cycle_time_est <- extract_time_est(mod_res = mod_res, year = cycle, data_jags = data_jags)</pre>
  all_cycle_est <- rbind(all_cycle_est, cycle_time_est)</pre>
}
summary(glm(twoway_seat ~ iter_mean, data = all_cycle_est %>%
 filter(time_before_elec == 0) %>%
 inner_join(avgs, by = "cycle")))
##
## Call:
## glm(formula = twoway_seat ~ iter_mean, data = all_cycle_est %>%
##
       filter(time_before_elec == 0) %>% inner_join(avgs, by = "cycle"))
## Deviance Residuals:
           1
                                 3
                                                        5
                          0.028376
                                     0.001066 -0.029729 -0.035593
## -0.021818
               0.057698
## Coefficients:
               Estimate Std. Error t value Pr(>|t|)
## (Intercept) -0.2022
                            0.2434 -0.831
                                             0.4529
                            0.4946
                                     2.830
                                             0.0473 *
## iter_mean
                 1.4000
## Signif. codes: 0 '***' 0.001 '**' 0.05 '.' 0.1 ' ' 1
## (Dispersion parameter for gaussian family taken to be 0.001690536)
##
##
       Null deviance: 0.0203039 on 5 degrees of freedom
## Residual deviance: 0.0067621 on 4 degrees of freedom
## AIC: -17.702
##
## Number of Fisher Scoring iterations: 2
```