

# Econ 103: Statistics for Economists

## Polls and Forecasting

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Mallick Hossain

# In Case You Forgot

**Hillary Clinton** has an  
**85% chance** to win.

Last updated Tuesday, November 8 at 10:20 PM ET

CHANCE OF WINNING



85%

Hillary Clinton



15%

Donald J. Trump

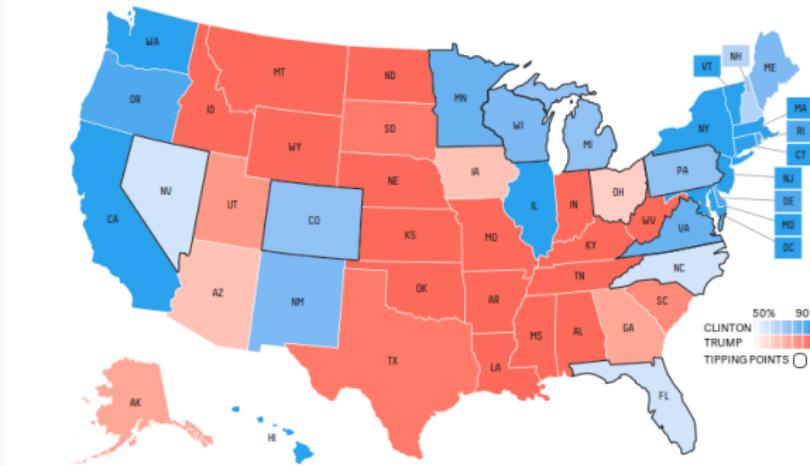
Source: New York Times

# In Case You Forgot

## Who will win the presidency?



### Chance of winning



Source: FiveThirtyEight

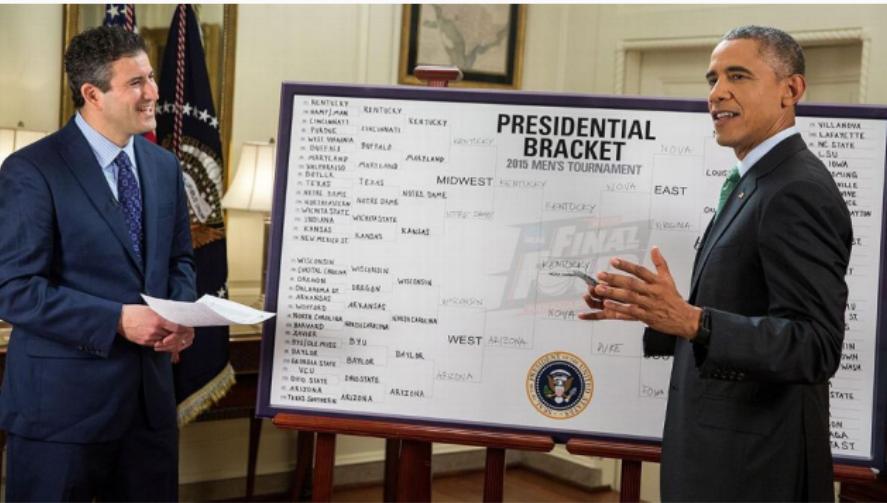
## Why is Forecasting Important?

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# Keeps Us Dry



# Bragging Rights



**HOW I'LL LOOK**



**AFTER I FINISH ABOVE YOU IN  
MARCH MADNESS**

[memeshappen.com](http://memeshappen.com)

# Make Tons of Money



Make Tons of Money

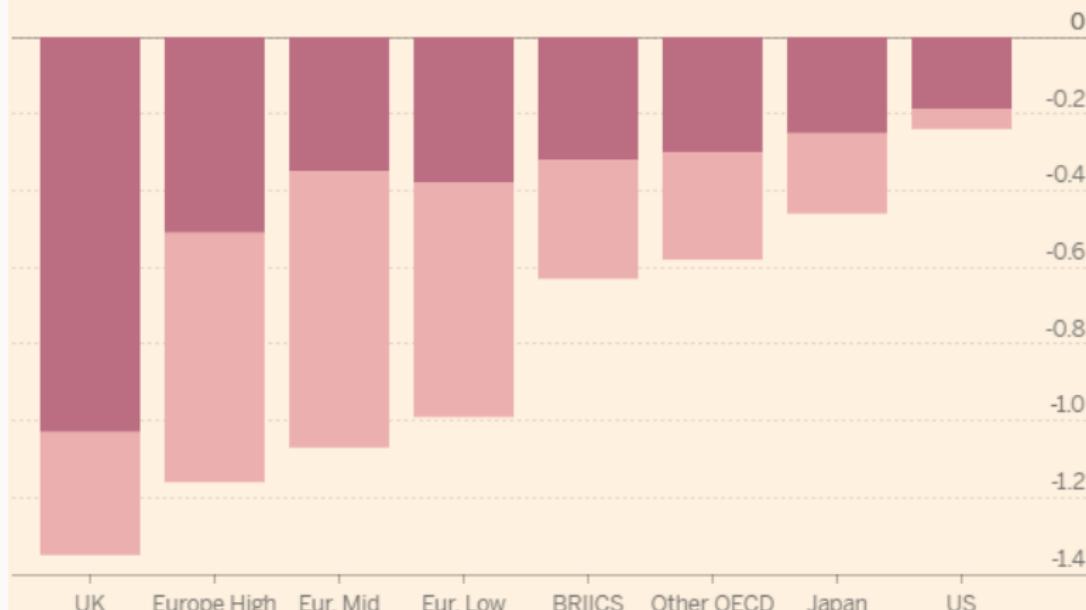


# What Would Happen If?

## The financial impact of Brexit by 2018

The impact on GDP of a Brexit scenario vs baseline (%)

Shock from UK      Shock from Europe



\*European countries classified according to ties to the UK economy. See below.

Source: OECD/ Joel Lewin/ FT

FT

## How Does Polling Work?

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## Polling Basics

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- Sound familiar?
- We will not discuss the details of survey design, but we will briefly discuss important questions that must be addressed when conducting any survey.

# Conducting Surveys

There are a lot of options when it comes to conducting surveys:

- Phone calls
- Online surveys
- In-person interviews
- Mail surveys

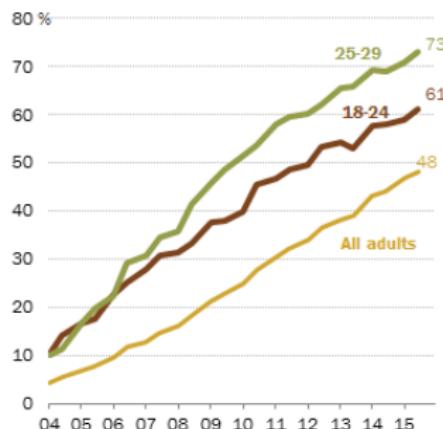
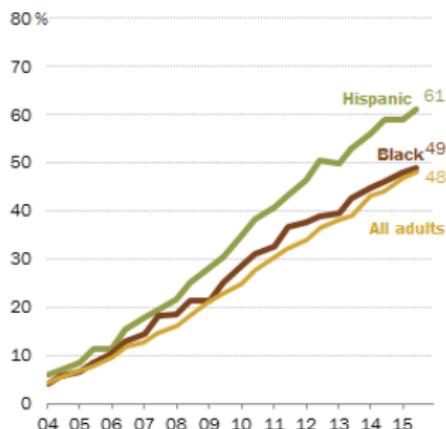
## Phone Surveys

- Live or automatic phone calls?
- For landlines, do you survey the person picking up the phone or someone else in the household?
- Do you include cell phones?
  - People under 18 are usually not eligible for surveys so screening out ineligible respondents increases survey costs
  - Determining geography from cell phone number is hard
- Call or text?
- Should we be worried about the ~3% of people without phones?

# Cell Phone Use

## Growth in the Cell-Only Population

% of each group with wireless service only



Source: National Health Interview Survey 2004- 2015

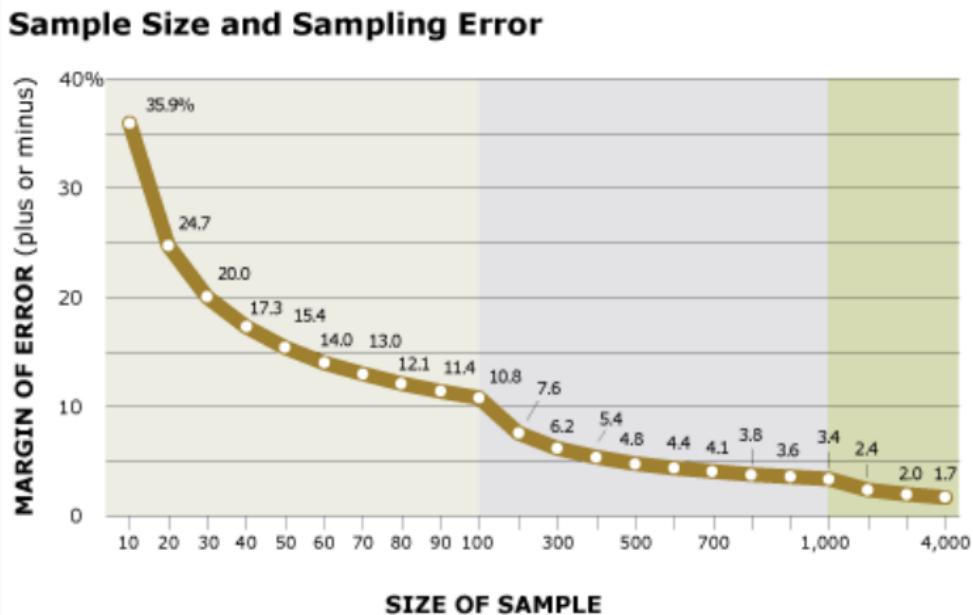
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

- **Meta-point:** Survey design is changing due to survey results.

## Picking a Sample

- How big should your sample be?
- Should you pick a random sample and just tally what you get?
- Should you have a desired sample and survey until you get that sample?
- Who should you survey? Everyone? Eligible voters? Likely voters?
  - How do you figure out which group people belong to?

# Sampling Error and Sample Size



Source: Pew Research

## Adjusting the Results

- How do you deal with non-response or refusals?
  - For context, response rates are about 5% - 15%.
  - Response rates have been declining over time. Should we be worried?
- How do you account for people lying?
  - Social desirability bias
- How do you properly weight your results?
  - Generally, pollsters use Census demographics to construct their weights.

## **Detour/PSA: Concerns About National Statistics and Their Perception**

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# National Statistics

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  - If there are shortcomings in their methods, let them know because they want to improve their data quality

# What Should We Be Worried About?

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# What Should We Be Worried About?

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- There is a debate to be had about national statistics, but the current tone of debate is an all-out disregard for them
- Outright disregard is dangerous

## Cases in Point



“People in this country have had enough of experts”

## Cases in Point



"5.3 percent unemployment – that is the biggest joke there is in this country. ... The unemployment rate is probably 20 percent, but I will tell you, you have some great economists that will tell you it's a 30, 32. And the highest I've heard so far is 42 percent."

## Why is This Concerning?

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- There seems to be a movement to undo all of our statistical progress.
- It's important to convince everyone of the value of statistics
- Maybe a story would help

# **Curiosity: How a Statistic is Made (A Made-Up History)**

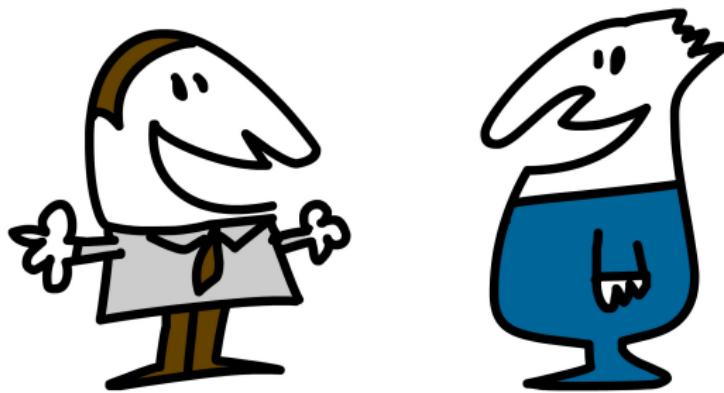
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# It Starts with a Question



"I wonder what the national unemployment rate is."

# Ask the Question



"Do you have a job?"

## Gather Results



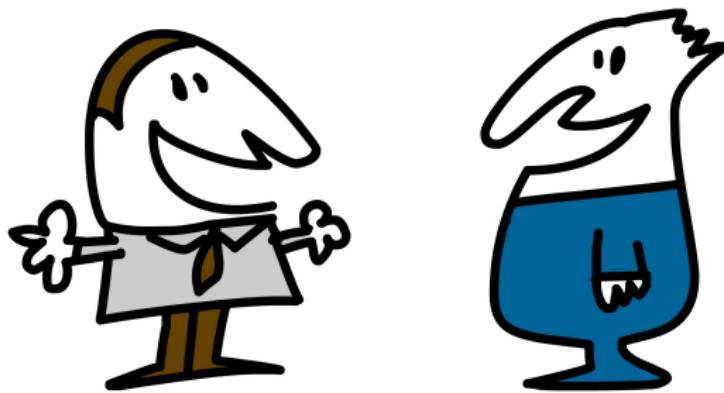
"Fifty percent of my friends do not have a job"

# Question Results



"This doesn't seem right. Maybe I should ask more people since I only asked 2 of my friends."

# Ask More People



"Do you have a job?"

## Gather Results



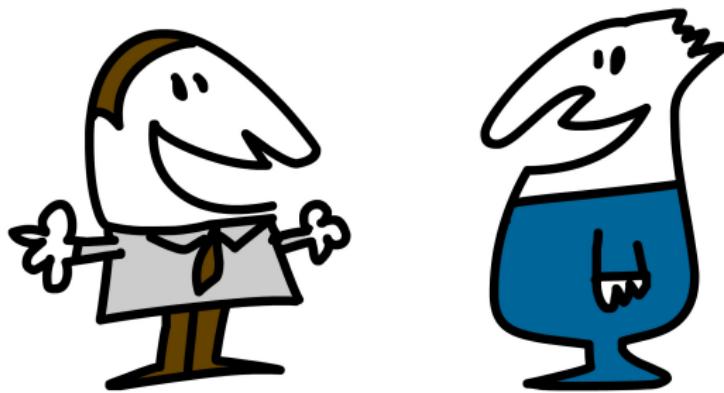
"Twenty percent of my friends do not have a job"

# Question Results



"This doesn't seem right. Maybe I should ask people in other parts of town since I only asked people in my neighborhood and one of the stores just closed."

# Ask More People



"Do you have a job?"

## Gather Results



"Fifteen percent of the people I talked to do not have a job"

# Question Results



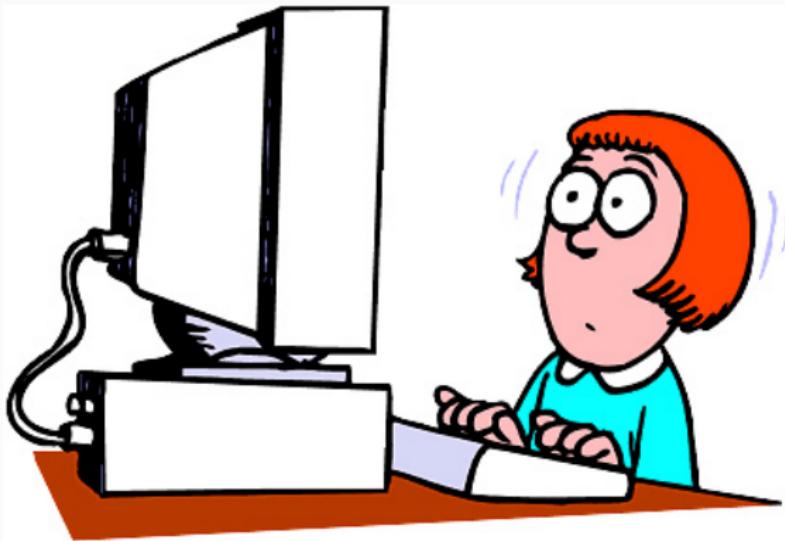
"Is my number a good estimate of the national unemployment rate? Probably."

# Publish Results



"I'm gonna tell everyone the national unemployment rate!"

## Respond to Comments



"My friend commented that he thinks my number is wrong. None of his friends are unemployed. He's in California, so maybe I should talk to people in California and see what their job prospects are."

# Repeat

- Repeat

# Repeat

- Repeat
- Repeat

# Repeat

- Repeat
- Repeat
- Repeat

## Repeat

- Repeat
- Repeat
- Repeat
- Repeat until you get a representative sample.

## Repeat

- Repeat
- Repeat
- Repeat
- Repeat until you get a representative sample.
- Or just skip most of these initial steps and start with a nationally representative sample

# And So a Statistic Was Born!



# And Statistics Lived Happily Ever After



# And Now We're Here



"Yeah, I don't believe that number either. Two of my friends don't have a job, so the unemployment rate has got to be higher than that. The rest of my friends are emus, so they don't count."

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  - It's really not that crazy, is it?
- It's up to all of us to help others understand that statistics is a tool
- If we do not believe a number, let's figure out the assumption we do not like, let's not throw out the whole statistic (or all of statistics)

## **Back on Track: Thinking About Forecasting**

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## Point Estimates

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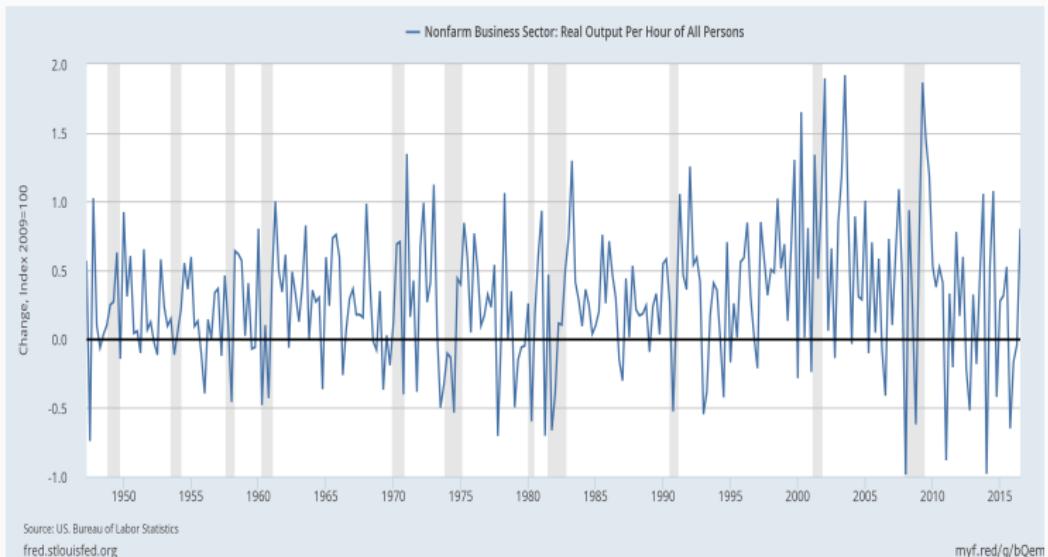
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- Point estimates are helpful, but not particularly informative
  - Trump/Clinton will win the election
  - GDP growth will be 1.8% in 2016:Q4
  - Unemployment will be 5% in December 2016
- Why are these not particularly informative?
- What statistical concept have we discussed would be more informative?

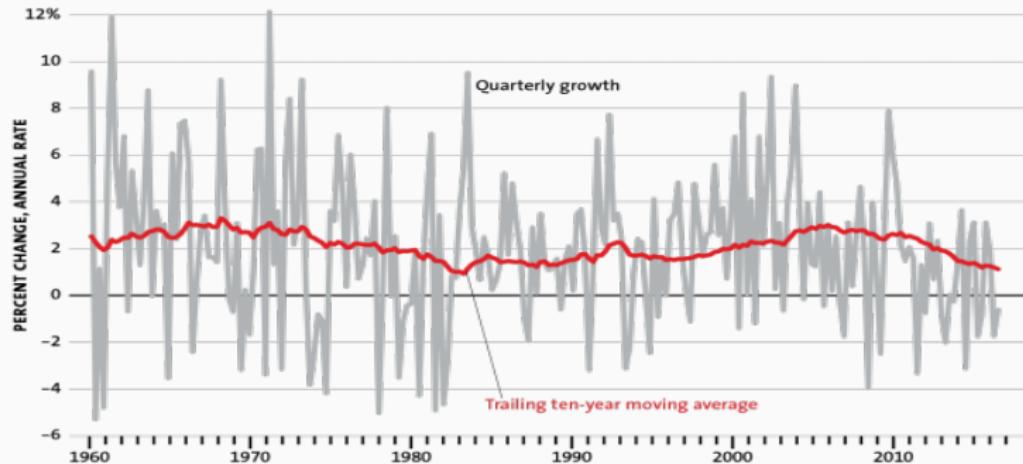
# Creating a Forecast



What is your forecast of the change in productivity next quarter?

# Smoothing Out the Noise

FIGURE 1: LABOR PRODUCTIVITY GROWTH, NON-FARM BUSINESS SECTOR

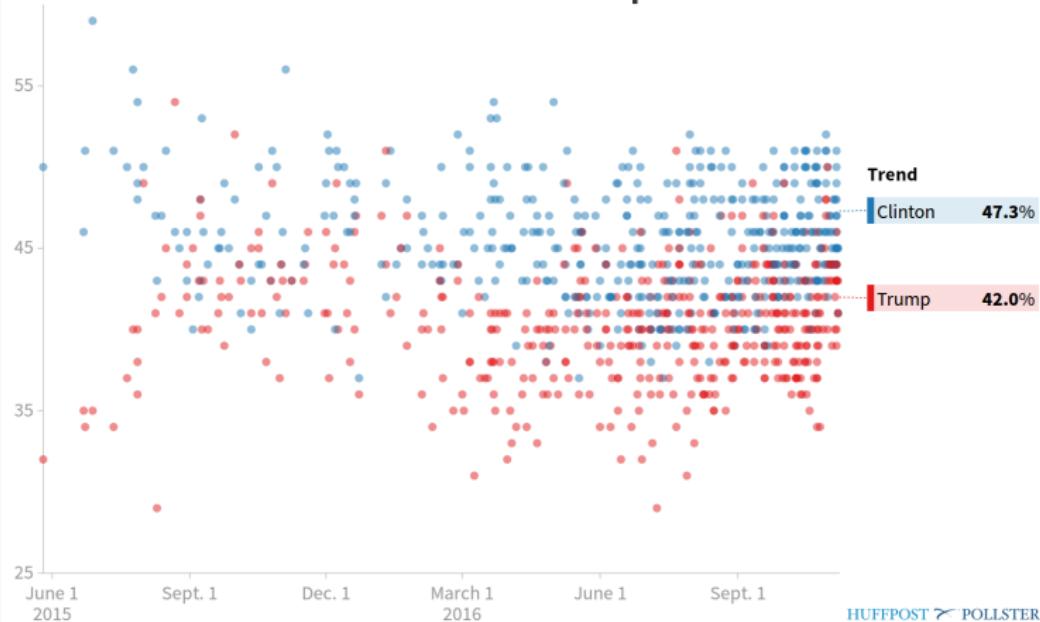


SOURCE: Bureau of Labor Statistics, Productivity and Costs; CEA calculations

Now it might be easier to make a forecast? How confident are you that your estimate will be right?

# Let's Look at Election Polls!

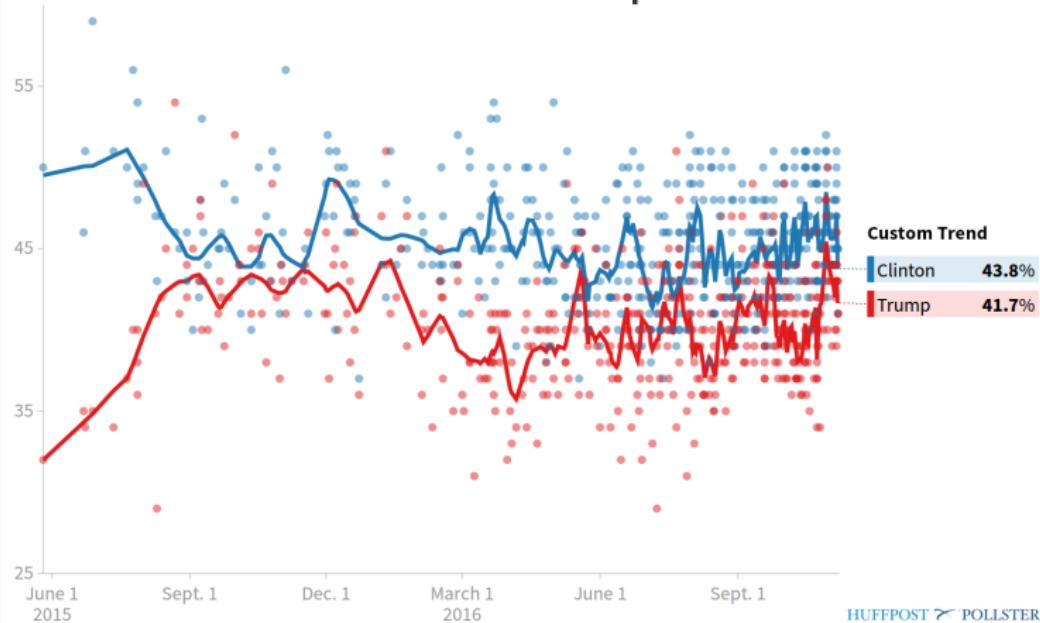
Custom Chart: 2016 General Election: Trump vs. Clinton



Uh oh... This is gonna be hard.

# Smooth Them Out?

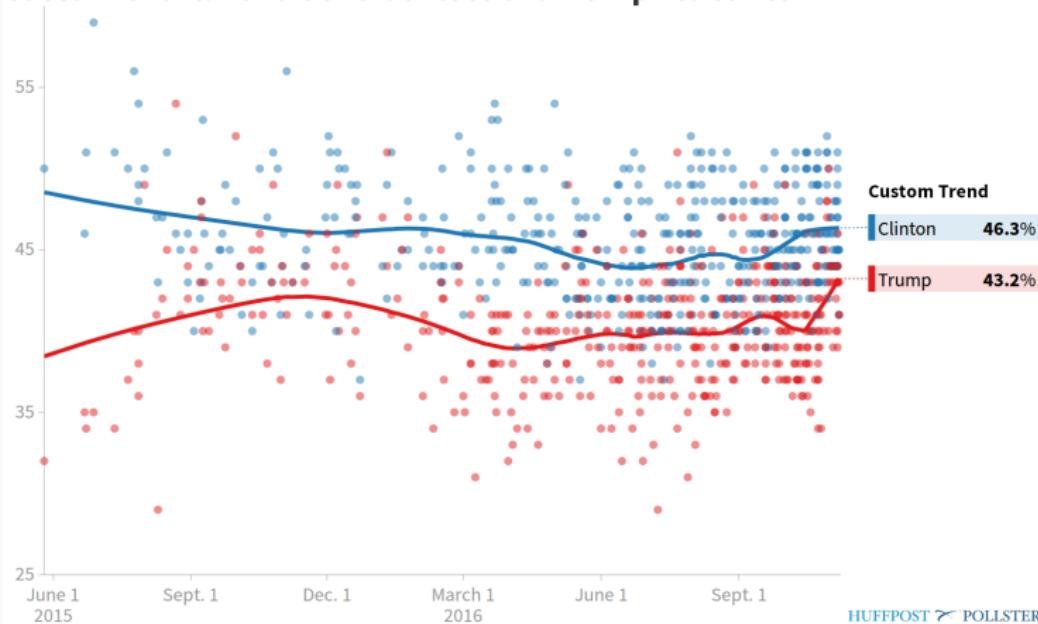
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If we don't smooth too much, this still looks difficult.

# More Smoothing!

Custom Chart: 2016 General Election: Trump vs. Clinton



HUFFPOST POLLSTER

This makes it easier to make a forecast. Do we believe it though? Too much smoothing could be covering up some meaningful shifts in polls.

# Difficult Decisions



## Difficult Decisions



## Poll Rating

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## How to Rate Polls

Note: I am primarily outlining FiveThirtyEight's methodology since they're probably the most popular poll aggregator and forecaster. If you have questions about other forecasters, just let me know!

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  - Some are more wrong than others
- What is the best way to combine them to extract meaning and hopefully cancel out a lot of the noise?
  - We want a system that gives more accurate polls more weight

## What Do Polls Look Like?

Let's look at FiveThirtyEight's database of polls! <https://github.com/fivethirtyeight/data/tree/master/pollster-ratings>

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  - Bonus question: What assumption does herding violate?

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  - If my goal was to be the top pollster, I would just poll for easy elections.
  - We want to figure out which pollsters are actually good instead of which ones are just good at picking easy elections.

# Comparing Pollsters

## Pollster Performance By Simple Average Error

Analysis includes polls in FiveThirtyEight's pollster ratings database

POLLSTER	SIMPLE AVERAGE ERROR	
	1998-2007	Since 2008
ABC News/Washington Post	3.0	3.1
American Research Group	6.1	7.8
CBS News/New York Times	5.1	3.9
CNN/Opinion Research Corp.	5.4	4.5
EPIC-MRA	5.7	5.2
Fox News/Opinion Dynamics Corp.	4.1	3.6
Gallup	4.2	4.5
George Washington University (Battleground)	3.5	3.5
Greenberg Quinlan Rosner (Democracy Corps)	4.9	4.0
InsiderAdvantage	9.5	8.0
Marist College	5.5	4.7
Mason-Dixon Polling & Research, Inc.	4.8	6.0
Mitchell Research & Communications	5.5	5.0
Princeton Survey Research Associates International	5.2	3.5
Public Opinion Strategies	6.7	5.2
Quinnipiac University	5.4	3.9
Rasmussen Reports/Pulse Opinion Research	4.2	5.8
Research & Polling, Inc.	3.8	4.7
Research 2000	4.8	6.2
Selzer & Company	5.0	3.0
Strategic Vision, LLC	3.8	4.4
Suffolk University	5.0	5.0
SurveyUSA	4.4	4.5
University of New Hampshire	5.6	5.3
University of Cincinnati (Ohio Poll)	4.8	2.5
YouGov	4.2	4.4
Zogby Analytics, telephone	5.4	5.4
Zogby Interactive/JZ Analytics	7.2	5.0

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- If there are certain factors that are related to polling accuracy, then using regression, we should be able to control for these factors

$$\text{PollingError} = \beta_1 + \beta_2 \text{Election Type} + \beta_3 \text{SampleSize} + \beta_4 \text{DaysToElection}$$

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- How can we game this ranking?
  - Pick well-covered elections and just mirror the results of other good pollsters. Maybe make your sample size really small so it looks like you're doing even better than you should!

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- How can we game this ranking?
  - Pick well-covered elections and just mirror the results of other good pollsters. Maybe make your sample size really small so it looks like you're doing even better than you should!
  - We have to try and break rewarding herding behavior so that good pollsters can really shine

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  - If there are a lot of pollsters predicting an election, we do not want to reward them too much for being right for similar reasons as above.
  - Pollster ratings are like sports rankings. You account for both the win record as well as the “strength” of the schedule.

# Comparing Pollsters

## Pollster Performance By Advanced Plus-Minus

Analysis includes polls in FiveThirtyEight's pollster ratings database

POLLSTER	ADVANCED PLUS-MINUS	
	1998-2007	Since 2008
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American Research Group	-0.2	1.3
CBS News/New York Times	-0.2	-0.2
CNN/Opinion Research Corp.	0.4	-0.6
EPIC-MRA	0.2	-1.0
Fox News/Opinion Dynamics Corp.	0.5	-0.5
Gallup	0.1	1.2
George Washington University (Battleground)	0.0	0.5
Greenberg Quinlan Rosner (Democracy Corps)	1.2	-0.3
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Marist College	-0.0	-0.3
Mason-Dixon Polling & Research, Inc.	-0.8	0.2
Mitchell Research & Communications	0.1	-0.4
Princeton Survey Research Associates International	0.3	-0.0
Public Opinion Strategies	1.1	-0.3
Quinnipiac University	0.2	-0.5
Rasmussen Reports/Pulse Opinion Research	-0.4	0.5
Research & Polling, Inc.	-1.5	-1.1
Research 2000	-0.6	0.8
Selzer & Company	-0.6	-2.1
Strategic Vision, LLC	0.0	-0.7
Suffolk University	-0.5	-0.5
SurveyUSA	-0.9	-1.2
University of New Hampshire	-0.3	0.1
University of Cincinnati (Ohio Poll)	-0.1	-1.2
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## Step 4: Refining to Predictive Measures

- Remember, the whole point of these pollster ratings is to figure out which ones will be best at predicting future election outcomes
- After accounting for historical performance, is there anything else we can incorporate to get a better insight into predictive power?
  - Yes. Incorporating some measure of methodological standards can help better separate shady pollsters that are doing well by herding to strong polling firms from pollsters that are actually putting out rigorous results. Strong methodological standards leave less room for fudging.

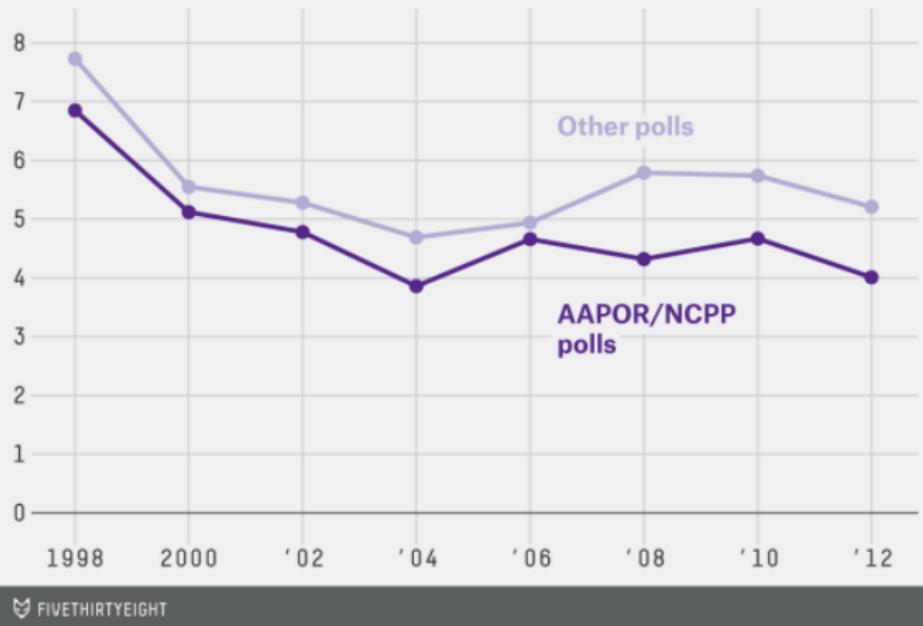
## Step 4: Refining to Predictive Measures

- Remember, the whole point of these pollster ratings is to figure out which ones will be best at predicting future election outcomes
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  - Being a member of the National Council of Public Polls or supporting the American Association for Public Opinion Research Transparency Initiative are both good indicators that a pollster adheres to rigorous polling standards.

# Comparing Pollsters

## Methodology Matters In Polling

Simple average error based on AAPOR/NCPP status in June 2010



FIVETHIRTYEIGHT

Note: 2010 and 2012 are out-of-sample tests

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- Now that we've got our ratings, let's aggregate and adjust our polls!

# **Poll Aggregation and Election Forecasting**

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  - House effects (account for statistical biases of various pollsters)

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  - Error distributions are assumed to have fat tails, so they are drawn from a t-distribution! Some of this is also motivated because these forecasts are based on 11 past elections, so we're not exactly in large sample territory just yet.

## What Happened?

---

# The Question

- The overarching question since the election has been did Trump beat the odds or were the odds wrong all along?
- It is difficult to separate the two.

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  - You know how to do this!
  - So if it wasn't sampling error, what was it?

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  - Dealing with undecided voters is a judgement call

## Takeaways and Future Work

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- There's plenty of room for improvement. Just because Nate Silver is the best-known statistician does not mean he is the best statistician.
  - I assume there's some Nate Gold/Platinum/Diamond out there waiting to make his/her name! Maybe someone in this class!

## Notable 538 Assumptions

- 538 only computes the error based on the difference between the top 2 finishers. Would taking a more comprehensive account of errors if there are more than 2 finishers give a better result?
- 538 only includes polls that are conducted within 21 days of the election. Is there information to be obtained from using earlier polls? Is there a more nuanced cut-off date we could apply?
- 538 bans certain pollsters that it believes have “faked some polling results or engaged in other gross ethical misbehavior.” Would having stricter rules improve forecasts (e.g. removing demonstrated “herders”)?

## Startup Idea

*It is indeed problematic, and even a little dangerous, for any one site like FiveThirtyEight to have that much influence over the market... It's the "fault" of a marketplace that has failed to develop alternatives to our ratings, in spite of the barriers to entry being relatively low... But this hasn't happened, for reasons I don't fully understand. I think part of it is that the overlap of skills and interests required to motivate something like a set of pollster ratings occurs relatively rarely outside of academia, and the culture of the Academy is very conservative in many ways. And outside of academia, deigning to rate anything from restaurants to baseball players usually results in a lot of people being fed up at you; it's not the best way to make friends.*

***The Pollster Ratings are a product of which I'm immensely proud, but it would be better if they had some competition.*** –Nate Silver (June 20, 2010)

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- You've been preparing for this moment your whole life!
  - Well, most of the preparation was this semester... but you're whole life has led up to this point!

Go Fly!



## Sources

- The State of the Polls, 2016
- The Polls Missed Trump. We Asked Pollsters Why
- Presidential Forecast Post-Mortem
- Pollster Ratings v4.0: Methodology
- How the FiveThirtyEight Senate Forecast Model Works
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- Here's Proof Some Pollsters Are Putting A Thumb On The Scale
- A User's Guide To FiveThirtyEight's 2016 General Election Forecast
- Why FiveThirtyEight Gave Trump A Better Chance Than Almost Anyone Else
- Explanations for that shocking 2% shift