

Survey analysis week 1 “the inference wars”

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Outline for today

- Introduction
- Surveys and samples
- The first inference war:
 - 1948~1960
- The second inference war:
 - 2005~2020
- Election polling
- Class exercise



But first: Speed-dating!

- Form 2 rows of 10 people
- Ask 1 question (1 min max)
- Get 1 in return (1 min max)
- Row facing the Screen:
shift one place on signal
- <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=2dAorgAB0I4>



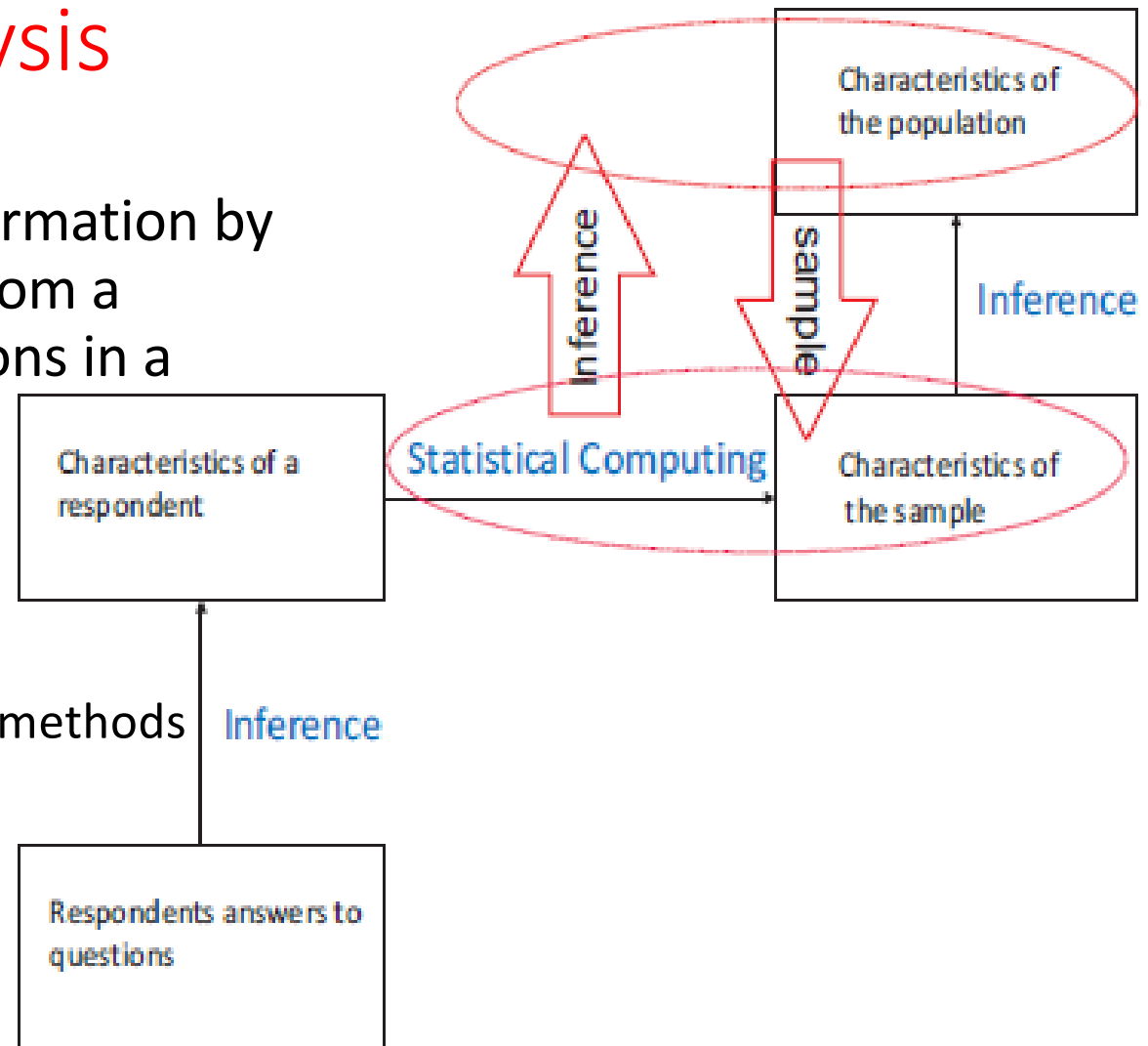
Survey data analysis

- A method to acquire information by asking people selected from a predefined group questions in a structured manner
 - Dominant method of collecting data in the social and behavioral sciences
 - Learn about the methodology of conducting the survey



Survey data analysis

- A method to acquire information by asking people selected from a predefined group questions in a structured manner
- Survey data analysis
 - Sampling
 - Inference
 - Doing this for all kinds of methods



Why focus on Sampling?

- Basis of all inferential statistics
 - Standard error in t-test, Anova, regression.
- Sampling errors can be estimated
 - Design based inference
 - (model-based inference later in course)
- Power analysis, efficient design of studies
- Important in understanding other techniques (e.g. Bootstrapping)
- There are not so many people who know about this
 - A specific skill 'survey statistics'

Links to other courses

- [Multivariate Statistics](#)
- [Fundamentals of Statistics](#)
- [Computation inference with R](#)

- **Survey data analysis:**
 - **Links/overlap**
 - [Apply the general linear model under correct inferential design](#)
 - [Apply fundamental knowledge about estimators](#)
 - [Apply R skills to analyse a real-life dataset and data problem](#)
 - **Specific goals: inference, data collection, missing data**

Sample

- NL: steekproef
- DE: stichprobe
- FR: Échantillon
- ES: muestra



The first inference war (1936-1952)



The 1936 Literary Digest survey

- Correct result since 1916
- Sample: 2.4 million people(!)
- Opt-in sample

Digest poll respondent

Candidate	Digest poll respondent				Total	
	Yes		No			
Roosevelt	42.9	(48.5)	<i>60.9</i>	(66.1)	<i>56.6</i>	(54.8)
Landon	57.1	(51.5)	<i>39.1</i>	(33.9)	<i>43.4</i>	(45.2)
Total ^a	23.8	(63.7)	76.2	(36.3)	764 ^b	

Source: Roper Center for Public Opinion Research 2003b.

Note: This table indicates voting preference *at the time of the Digest* poll; that is, it accounts for those who remembered changing their minds ($n = 26$); those who claimed not to have changed their minds ($n = 433$); those who said that they did not remember ($n = 13$); and those who gave no answer ($n = 292$). The original unweighted results are in parentheses ($n_{11} = 236$; $n_{12} = 183$; $n_{21} = 251$; $n_{22} = 94$). The weighted results are italicized ($n_{11} = 78$; $n_{12} = 355$; $n_{21} = 104$; $n_{22} = 228$). (Weighted cell frequencies do not sum to total due to rounding.) The bolded numbers are known (population) values.

^aRow percentages.

^bTotal sample size. It is made up of AIPO poll respondents who report having received a *Digest* ballot. Of those, *respondents* are individuals who claim to have returned their straw ballots ($n = 487$), and *nonrespondents* are individuals who said that they did not return theirs ($n = 246$) or did not remember returning it ($n = 31$).

The Literary Digest

NEW YORK OCTOBER 31, 1936

Topics of the day

LANDON, 1,293,669; ROOSEVELT, 972,897
Final Returns in The Digest's Poll of Ten Million Voters

Well, the great battle of the ballots in the Poll of ten million voters, conducted throughout the forty-eight States of the Union, is now finished, and in the table below we record the Digest's counted opinion of the voters of the nation.

These figures are exactly as received from more than one in every five voters polled in our country—they are neither weighted, adjusted nor interpolated.

Never before in an experience covering more than a quarter of a century in talking polls have we received so many different varieties of criticism—opinion from more confederations from more others—and yet it has been just of the same type that has come to us every time a Poll has been taken in all these years.

A telegram from a newspaper in California asks: "It is true that Mr. Hooper has purchased Ten Literary Digests?" A right States, and especially in Presidential election years, and we have always merely mailed these lists were written: "Has the Republic

returned and let the people of the Nation share their conclusions as to our accuracy, for we have been right in every Poll. Will we be right in the current Poll? That, as Mr. Hooper said concerning the President's reelection, is in the "eye of the gods."

"We never make any claims before election but we respectfully refer you to the opinion of one of the most quoted oracles to-day, the Hon. James A. Farley, Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. This is what Mr. Farley said October 14, 1936:

"Any sane person can not escape the implication of such a gigantic sampling of popular opinion as is contained in The Literary Digest's vote. It is evidence of the people of this country for a change in the National Government. The Literary Digest's poll is an achievement of no little magnitude. It is a Poll fairly and honestly conducted."

By studying the table of the voters' trust in the machine and the machine in the action of the people of these 48 States, you will find that the Digest's poll is an achievement of no little magnitude. It is a Poll fairly and honestly conducted."

The Literary Digest

NEW YORK AUGUST 22, 1936

Topics of the day

"THE DIGEST" PRESIDENTIAL POLL IS ON!
Famous Forecasting Machine Is Thrown Into Gear for 1936

The 1936 Literary Digest survey

- Sample: 2.4 million people(!)
- Opt-in sample

Candidate	<i>Digest</i> poll respondent		Total
	Yes	No	
Roosevelt	42.9		
Landon	57.1		
Total ^a	23.8		

Source: Roper Center for Public Opinion Research 2003b.

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^aRow percentages.

- The literary Digest

^bTotal sample size. It is made up of AIPO poll respondents who report having received a *Digest* ballot. Of those, *respondents* are individuals who claim to have returned their straw ballots ($n = 487$), and *nonrespondents* are individuals who said that they did not return theirs ($n = 246$) or did not remember returning it ($n = 31$).

1936-1948: Quota Sampling

- Opt-in sample, but:
 - Record characteristics that are important for voting behavior.
 - We want a sample of 1000 respondents
 - Quota:
 - White, male, aged 35-54, blue collar worker 5% of population -> 50 in sample
 - Black, female, aged 18-35, in education 2% of population -> 20 in sample
 -
 - Choice of variables for quota is important!
- Why does this go wrong in election polling? ----->



1948: Truman vs. Dewey

- **Gallup**, Roper
- Quota sample
- Prediction: +5 for Dewey
- Result: +5 for Truman
 - Problem with quotas
 - Gender, age, race
 - Late undecideds



Developments in statistics 1900-1930

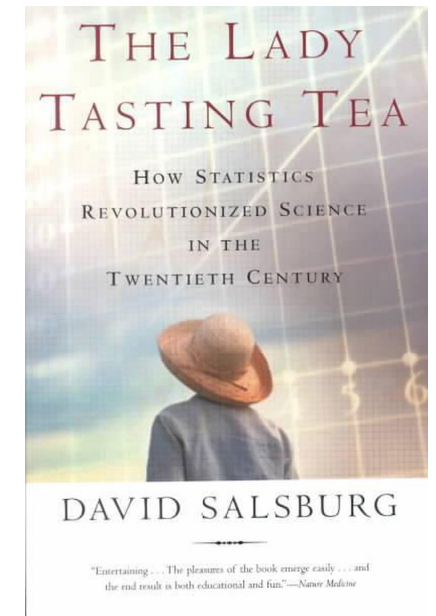
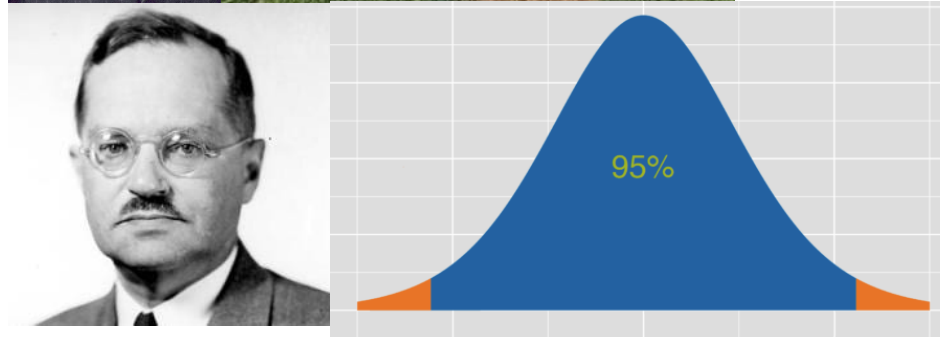
- Gosset
(Student-T)



- Fisher



- Neyman



Sampling and the central limit theorem

- Galton board



- Central limit theorem:
 - https://gallery.shinyapps.io/CLT_mean/

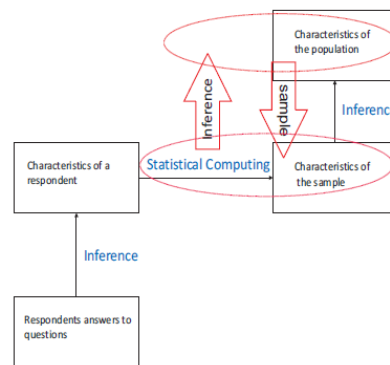
Sampling and the central limit theorem

- Galton board
- Central limit theorem:
 - https://gallery.shinyapps.io/CLT_mean/
 - The distribution of means that are the result from repeatedly sampling from any population distribution will result in a normal distribution
- Law of large numbers: the confidence interval of an estimate from a sample will become smaller the larger the sample size is.

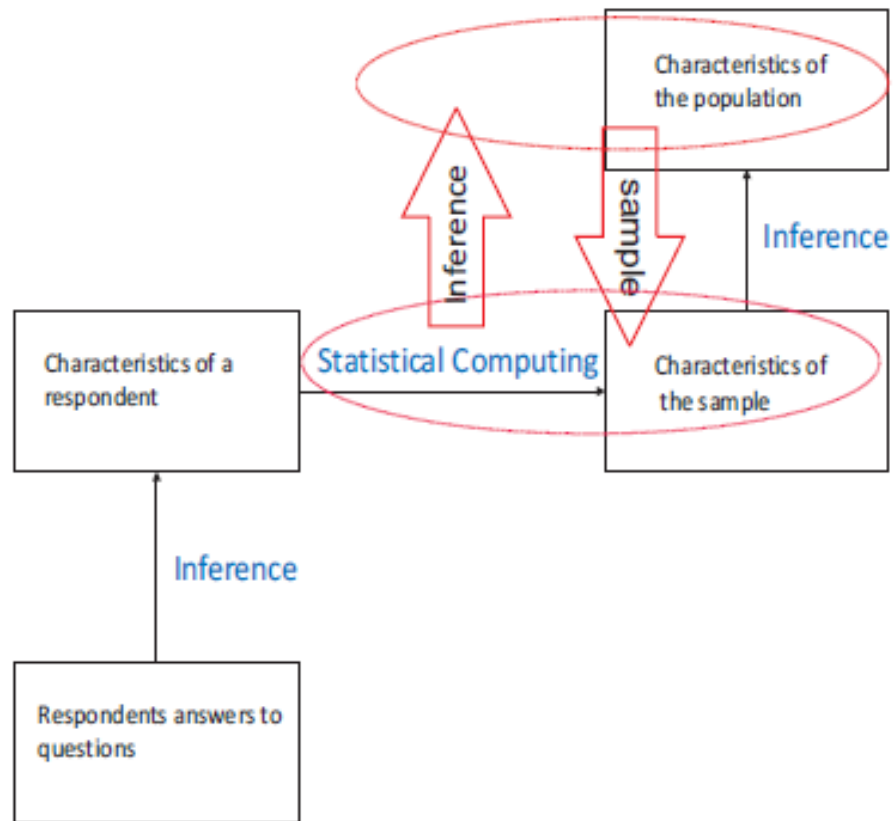
1952 onwards: Michigan election studies

Idea: a random sample from the population

- 1. Population
- 2. Frame for population elements
 - Addresses, phone-numbers, etc.
- 3. Sample from frame
- 4. Response from the sample



Design based inference



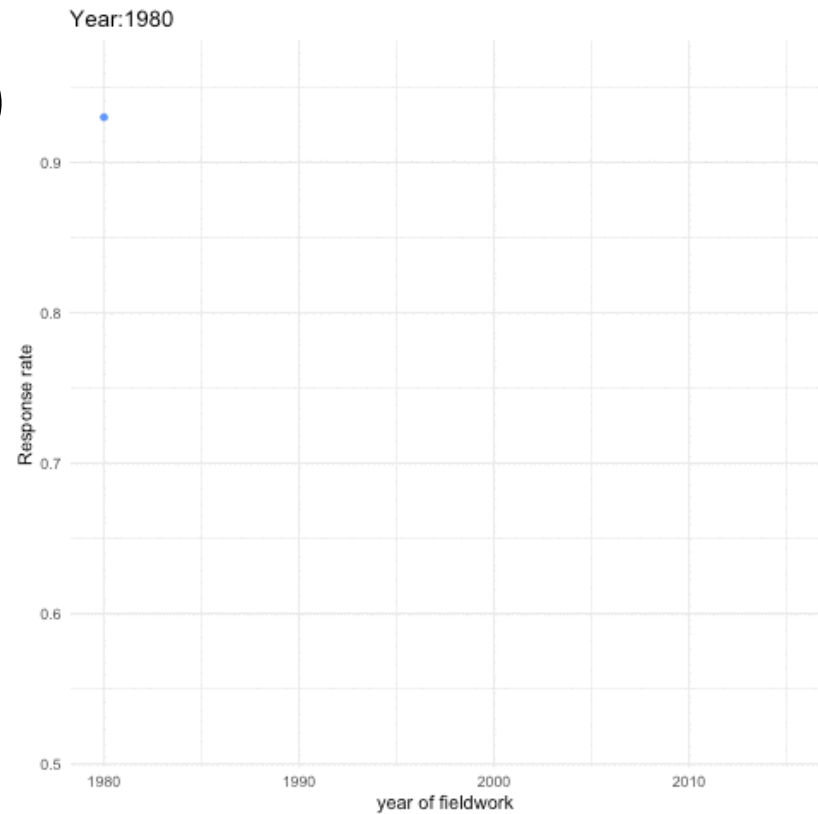
Elements of design-based inference

- Sampling methods: clustering, stratification
 - Corrections for unequal sampling methods
 - Horvitz-Thompson estimator (1948, 1952) (week 4)
- Corrections for missing data: weighting, imputation
 - Nonresponse (week 8-9,11-12)
 - Errors on frame (weeks 8,9)
- Estimation of uncertainty (errors) (week 3-7)
- Variance estimators (week 3-7)
- 1952-now: development of a framework for inference: **design-based**

So, what led to the 2nd inference war?

Problems with surveys

- Lists are getting worse (telephone esp)
- Falling response rates
- Costs!



So, what led to the 2nd inference war?

- Lists are getting worse
- Falling response rates
- Costs!

- The Internet
- Growing need for information
- Quick and cheap valued more than slow and expensive



Survey

2 .Depth - The material presented was the right technological depth.

Excellent

Very Good

Good

Fair

Ok

Bad/No Comments

Submit

What is the 2nd inference war about?

- Design-based inference:
 - We have worked 60 years to work out sampling theory and survey practice
 - Methods are **unbiased** and **consistent (week 39)**
 - Using opt-in or quota samples is unscientific

Vs.

- **Model-based inference:**
 - Response rates are too low
 - It is just not feasible anymore to do expensive surveys
 - And a lot of other data is just there!
 - You need to model nonresponse anyway
 - Lets model the whole selection process



Election polling

- Need for fast results
- Can't be too expensive
 - Internet panels: quota samples from pre-recruited panel members
 - Telephone: random digit dialing (USA)
 - Telephone: registers (phone book)
 - IVR vs. in-person calls
- 1000s of polls per election cycle
- Polls are generally accurate (see article by Kennedy et al)
 - But recent high profile misses: US election, British EU-referendum
 - https://utrecht-university.shinyapps.io/SDA_shinyelectionbias/

Inference peace remains as well:
design-based dominant



Class exercise



- The 2016 U.S. elections
 - News stations believed Clinton would easily win
 - Trump won the election (although lost the popular vote)
 - Was there a polling miss?
- www.fivethirtyeight.com has a database with about 1,600 polls conducted before the election
 - Sample size, company, date conducted, state conducted, reputation of pollster, whole population vs. likely voters, raw and adjusted % for Trump and Clinton

Class exercise

- Go to https://utrecht-university.shinyapps.io/SDA_shinyelectionbias/

Five groups (4 people each- 20 minutes):

1. Was Trump underestimated? (or was he particularly in the swing states)?
2. Did the quality of the pollster matter? (what is quality?)
3. Was there a difference between sampling likely voters and registered voters?
4. Are larger polls better?
5. Is there a difference between raw and adjusted (modeled) poll estimates?

Class exercise (1)

Was Trump underestimated? in the swing states? (Michigan, Wisconsin, Pennsylvania)

Class exercise (2)

Did the quality of the pollster matter?

Class exercise (3)

Was there a difference between sampling likely voters and registered voters?

Class exercise (4)

Are larger polls better?

Class exercise (5)

Is there a difference between raw and modeled polls?

Next week: Total survey error

- We move into design-based surveys
- Read articles
- Complete take-home exercise and bring to class
 - THE 1- Your adopted survey.