

# Predicting FPP elections

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- ▶ FPP is known to lead to very disproportional outcomes, where the seat share of a party can vary hugely from its overall national vote share.
- ▶ This system is strongly associated with British colonization. Used in UK, Canada, USA, India (was used in NZ until 1993).

## Other countries using FPP for parliamentary elections

- ▶ Antigua and Barbuda, Bahamas, Bangladesh, Barbados, Belize, Bermuda, Bhutan, Botswana, Burma, Dominica, Ghana, Grenada, Jamaica, Kenya, Malawi, Malaysia, Nigeria, Pakistan, St Kitts and Nevis, St Lucia, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, Uganda, Zambia.






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- ▶ Azerbaijan, Ethiopia, Gambia, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Maldives, Federated States of Micronesia, Palau, Sierra Leone, Solomon Islands, Tanzania, Yemen.



## Plurality ballots - no further preferences can be expressed

**Choose ONE candidate to EXECUTE  
by placing an X next to his name.**

	SIMON COWELL	
	SEPP BLATTER	
	GEORGE OSBORNE	
	GORDON RAMSAY	
	RUPERT MURDOCH	

## FPP often distorts the vote-seat ratio

# First Past the Post Explained

**UKIP** 3.8m votes = 1 MP

**Greens** 1.1m votes = 1 MP

**SNP** 1.5m votes = 56 MPs

Numbers as of 10.45am Friday 8 May

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- ▶ This is said to be the closest thing to a scientific law in political science. There are exceptions.
- ▶ Strategic voting is very common in FPP elections — “voting for a loser is a wasted vote”.

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- ▶ There is a huge demand for polling by news media.
- ▶ Poll information is often used to determine candidate and party viability and has impact on fundraising. Polls can be self-reinforcing.
- ▶ For political scientists, predictions serve to help refine their models of voter preferences. This is more important than just getting the right answer.

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- ▶ All predictions involve uncertainty, but how to estimate it, and convey this to the public?

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- ▶ Predictions can be point estimates or probability distributions.

## Prediction is sometimes difficult

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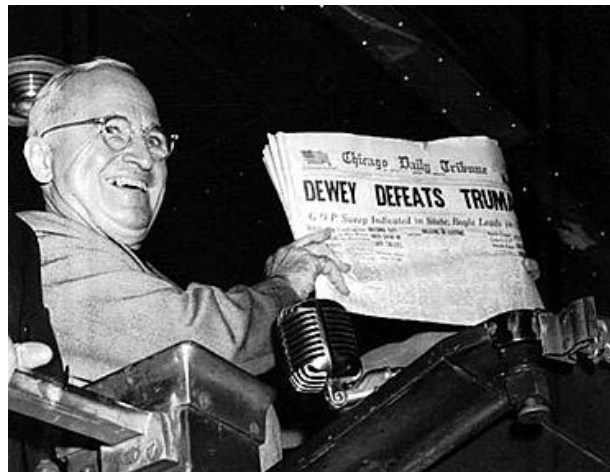
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- ▶ In reality Conservatives obtained an absolute majority of seats.

## US Presidential election 1948



## US Presidential election 2012



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- ▶ FPP itself magnifies small differences in party support.
- ▶ The US system has an extra level (Electoral College) which amplifies small differences even more.
- ▶ There are not many data points for statistical techniques to work on, yet it is very complicated to model voter behaviour very accurately.

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- ▶ District-level polls are usually restricted to districts in which the result is expected to be close.
- ▶ Even if national opinion polls (random sampling of voting intentions) give a completely accurate result, we don't know what is happening in each district.

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- ▶ The most basic predictions simply compute each seat result based on the votes from last election and the district-level votes imputed by using the swing hypothesis and poll data.
- ▶ We call this the **default model**. Any more complicated model based on voting intention polls should do at least as well as this in order to be credible.

## Models behind the two hypotheses

- ▶ AS is based on the idea of voter flows between parties. If 1% of eligible voters switch from  $X$  to  $Y$  then this happens in each district.

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- ▶ MS requires changes in the total numbers of voters (so can account for turnout changes?) but AS does not.

## Example

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- ▶ We have

$$A(x_i, \varepsilon) = x_i + \varepsilon/2$$
$$M(x_i, \varepsilon) = \frac{x_i(1 + \varepsilon)}{1 + \varepsilon(2x_i - 1)}.$$

## Example continued

$\varepsilon$	$x_i$	$A(x_i, \varepsilon)$	$M(x_i, \varepsilon)$
-1	0.3	-0.2	0
-0.1	0.3	0.25	0.2596
0.1	0.3	0.35	0.3438
1	0.3	0.8	1
$\varepsilon$	0.5	$(1 + \varepsilon)/2$	$(1 + \varepsilon)/2$
-0.2	0.6	0.5	0.5
0.2	0.6	0.7	0.6923
0.5	0.6	0.9	0.8682

- ▶  $A(x_i, \varepsilon) - M(x_i, \varepsilon)$  has degree 4 Taylor expansion about  $(1/2, 0)$  equal to  $\varepsilon^2(x - 1/2) + 2\varepsilon(x - 1/2)^2$ .
- ▶  $A(x_i, \varepsilon) - M(x_i, \varepsilon)$  has maximum value 0.5, minimum  $-0.5$ .



## Comments

- ▶ If  $x_i$  is small and  $X$  loses support nationally, AS may predict a negative vote share in district  $i$ . If  $X$  gains support, AS may predict huge relative changes in  $x_i$ .

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- ▶ AS seems to be much more popular in the UK prediction community, but I don't really understand why.
- ▶ Many models use one of these as a base, but do a lot of possibly ad hoc work in order to make use of extra information (which is often biased or has large error). This includes models of poll bias and voter dishonesty, district-level polls.

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- ▶ I have "predicted" past NZ elections all the way back to 1935, with remarkable accuracy, using this basic method. Why does it work so well?
- ▶ We can predict election  $i + 1$  using the default model based on election  $i$ , and opinion polls (averaged somehow, which is a big issue). We can then try to optimize the poll date relative to the election - there is some evidence that it should not be the latest possible.

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- ▶ Another measure is the number of seats whose result was correctly predicted (for those models that give this detail).
- ▶ I have not yet analysed the UK2015 predictions to see whether they outperformed the default model. Note that the default model was not run separately on regions (Scotland, Wales).

## Point predictions for the UK 2015 election (632 GB seats)

Predictor	date	CON	LAB	LIB	UKIP	GREEN	SNP
previous	20100506	306	258	57	0	1	6
real	20150507	330	232	8	1	1	56
Hanretty	20150507	278	267	27	1	1	53
Fisher	20150507	285	262	25	0	1	53
default (AS)	20150508	328	277	15	0	1	7
default (MS)	20150508	332	258	0	0	3	34

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  - ▶ (MS): CON 126, NDP 96, LIB 113, BQ 2, GRE 1
- ▶ It seems likely that CON will be the biggest party, no party will have a majority, and BQ will have very few seats. All forecasters are predicting the same thing, to my knowledge.

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- ▶ If there was no change in voting behaviour, a switch to proportional representation would benefit BQ and Green the most, be very good for LIB, not much different for NDP, very bad for CON.
- ▶ The current seat allocations are: CON 166, NDP 103, LIB 34, BQ 4, GRE 1. Scaled up to the current Parliament size this is: CON 182, NDP 113, LIB 37, BQ 5, GRE 1.

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- ▶ It is easy to predict who will (not) be advocating PR after this election. CON seem to be better at winning seats by small margins than other parties.